

Irina Nikolaeva

A Grammar of Tundra Nenets

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Bernard Comrie
Matthew Dryer
Patience L. Epps

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Irina Nikolaeva

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INTENS	intensive
ACC	accusative	INTER	interrogative
ADJ	adjective	INTJ	interjection
ADV	adverbial	INTR	intransitive
AFF	affirmative	JUS	jussive
AN	action nominal	LIM	limitative
APPR	apprehensive	LOC	locative
APRX	approximative	MOD	modal converb
ASS	assertive	MODER	moderative
AUD	auditive	N	noun
AUG	augmentative	NEC	necessitative
CAR	caritive	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
COMP	comparative	OBJ	object
COND	conditional	PART	participle
CONNEG	connegative	PAS	passive
DAT	dative	PAST	past
DEB	debitive	PEJ	pejorative
DIM	diminutive	PERF	perfective
DP	discourse particle	PL	plural
DU	dual	POL	polar
DUB	dubitative	POT	potential
DUR	durative	PREC	precative
EMPH	emphatic	PRED	predestinative
EQU	equative	PROB	probabilitative
ESS	essive	PROL	prolative
EVAS	evasive	PROP	proprietary
EXCL	exclamative	PURP	purposive
FOC	focus	REC	reciprocal
FREQ	frequentative	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	REP	reportative
GEN	genitive	REPUT	reputative
HAB	habitual	SG	singular
HORT	hortative	SIM	similative
IMP	imperative	SUBJ	subjunctive
IMPF	imperfective	TR	transitive
INCH	inchoative	V	verb
INFR	inferential		

Chapter 1

Introduction

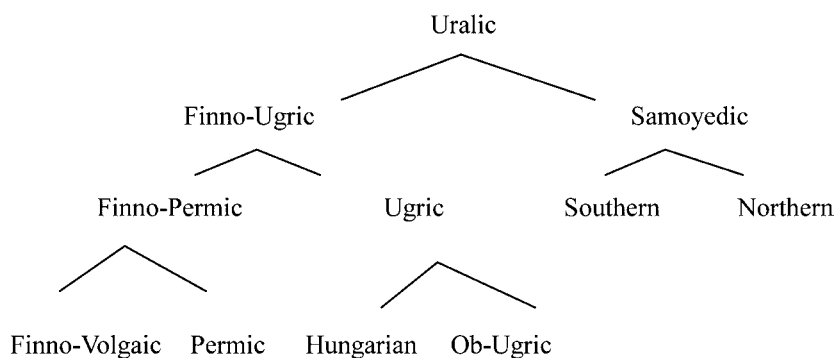
Section 1 of this chapter summarizes the basic facts about the geographical area where Tundra Nenets is spoken, the number of speakers, the sociolinguistic status of the language, its typological profile and the history of previous studies. For more geo- and sociolinguistic information consult Tereshchenko (1965 [2003]), Xomich (1966 [1985]), Burkova (2010), and Salminen (1993–2012), among others. Section 2 explains the structure of the grammar.

1 Tundra Nenets language

The self-designation of the Tundra Nenets is *n'enec'oh* 'Nenets; person', etymologically related to the word *n'enev'o* 'true'. The older name for the Nenets used in 19th and early 20th century Russian-language literature, as well as in European languages, is Yurak-Samoyeds or simply Yuraks. The word 'Yurak' originates from Komi Zyryan and may be related to the family name Yar in widespread use on the Yamal peninsula.

1.1 Genetic affiliation

Tundra Nenets belongs to the Samoyedic group of the Uralic language family. The main branches of the family are schematically represented below according to traditional classifications (see e.g. Abondolo 1998):



Apart from Tundra Nenets, the Samoyedic group includes Forest Nenets, Tundra Enets, Forest Enets, and Nganasan (these are usually classified as Northern Samoyedic languages), as well as the only living representative of the Southern Samoyedic subgroup, Selkup, which consists of several dialects. Other Southern Samoyedic languages, Kamassian, Mator and Koibal are now extinct, with the last speaker of

regions, where they are likely to have assimilated the native Arctic population which was autochthonous in that area. They spread further over the vast territory of the Arctic part of European Russia and North-Western Siberia, with the Tundra Nenets being the largest and most dominant group there. The native land of the Tundra Nenets is the tundra zone adjacent to the Arctic Ocean and some islands in the ocean, while along the course of the river Ob it also reaches the taiga forest area. Their traditional economy has always been based on hunting and reindeer herding in this area. Using reindeer as a draft animal made the Nenets very mobile and allowed them to cover great distances.

Administratively the Tundra Nenets territory presently includes the whole Nenets District of the Arkhangelsk Province, parts of the northernmost regions in the Komi Republic, several regions of the Yamal-Nenets District in the Tyumen Province, and most of the Ust-Yeniseisk region of the Taimyr District in the Krasnoyarsk Region. The most western territory of the Tundra Nenets is the Kanin Peninsula and the tundra of the Malaya Zemlya. In the east the Tundra Nenets area reaches the Yamal peninsula, the delta of the Yenisei river and Yenisei Bay, while the southern boundary of their territory extends just beyond the tree line.

The territory of the Tundra Nenets is adjacent to the areas where other languages of the Uralic language family are spoken. These include Northern Mansi (spoken in the area of the Northern Ural mountains), Komi (spoken across most of the European side of the Urals) and Northern Khanty (spoken in the Ob area). These languages have had extensive contact with Tundra Nenets for a very long time. Tundra Nenets has also been in close contact with all other Samoyedic languages, namely, Forest and Tundra Enets on the Taimyr peninsula, Forest Nenets in the Nadym and Pur areas, Northern varieties of Selkup along the river Taz, and Nganasan in the far eastern part of the Tundra Nenets territory. Non-Uralic languages which have been in contact with Tundra Nenets are Evenki (Tungusic), Ket (Yeniseian) and Dolgan (Turkic) in the east, and of course Russian is now spoken in practically the whole Tundra Nenets linguistic area.

It should be noted that geographically the Tundra Nenets territory has been undergoing continuous expansion in the past millennium, both in the east and west. For instance, the spread of Tundra Nenets speakers to the European side dates back to the first centuries of the second millennium AD. The Tundra Nenets settlers first appeared on the island of Novaya Zemlya in the Arkhangelsk Province as late as the 19th century. In the east, Tundra Nenets speakers have spread to the larger parts of the Taimyr District where they have been mixing with various groups of Enets. This has contributed to the decline of the Enets languages. However, we can also observe the recession of the western part of the Tundra Nenets territory in the 20th century because of the growing presence of the Russians and, in certain areas, the Komi.

1.3 Dialects

In spite of the fact that the area where Tundra Nenets is spoken is spread over a vast territory, the language itself exhibits relatively little dialectal diversity. Speakers of different varieties of Tundra Nenets can easily understand each other, partly because the traditional nomadic way of life means that the population is highly mobile and so the different groups of Tundra Nenets speakers are often in contact with each other.

Three large dialectal groups are usually recognised:

- (i) Western dialects spoken to the west of the river Pechora, namely, the dialects of Kanin, Timan, Kolguev, and the Malaya Zemlya;
- (ii) Central dialects spoken between the Pechora river and the Ural mountains in the tundra of Bolshaya Zemlya;
- (iii) Eastern or Siberian dialects, spoken to the east of the Urals; these are the dialects spoken in the area near the Ural mountains and on the Yamal Peninsula, as well as the dialects spoken to the east of the Ob Bay (on the rivers Nadym, Taz, and Gydan, and on the Taimyr peninsula).

The major phonological difference lies between the Western dialectal group on the one hand, and the Central-Eastern groups on the other. One of the characteristic features of the phonology of Western dialects is the loss of the word-initial (and in some local idioms also word-internal) velar nasal η , but the actual isoglosses may vary. The most Western varieties of the language demonstrate syncope of the word-internal x , cf. $n'ax^o r$ (the dialect spoken in the tundra of Bolshaya Zemlya) vs. $n'a^o r$ (the dialect spoken on the Kanin peninsula) ‘three’, but this feature is actually shared by the Taimyr variety of Eastern Tundra Nenets. A characteristic phonetic feature of the most Eastern dialects, spoken in the Taz and Nadym regions of the Yamalo-Nenets district as well as in Taimyr, is the pronunciation of a $[\theta^i]$ -like sound instead of $[s]$. There are many other phonetic differences between dialects and sub-dialects, and speakers are well aware of them (for an overview see Salminen 1998a: 16–17 and Burkova 2010: 228–231).

For morphological and lexical variants the natural border is provided by the Ural mountains, so that it is often justified to talk about Western (i.e. European) vs. Eastern (i.e. Siberian) varieties of Tundra Nenets, with the notion ‘Western’ in this broader sense including the Western dialects proper, as well as the Central dialects (e.g. Tereshchenko 1959: 8–9). This major distinction will be employed in the present grammar: most of the data cited in the grammar comes from speakers of the Eastern dialects, as explained in Section 2.2 below, but sometimes I compare them with the Western varieties, which in this particular case are mostly represented by the language spoken in the tundra of Malaya Zemlya. One example of a grammatical difference between the Eastern and Western varieties of Tundra Nenets in this sense is

mentioned in Chapter 10, Sections 1.2 and 2.5: in the Western dialects some verbs take (collective or generic) objects in the prolative plural, while in the Eastern dialects the corresponding verbs can only be transitive and take the accusative. This difference was explicitly addressed in Tereshchenko (1956: 118–119).

The speakers of Western Tundra Nenets have been in closer and longer contact with the Russians than the speakers of Siberian Tundra Nenets, and their language has experienced stronger linguistic influence from the Russian language. This means that various aspects of the grammar of the Western varieties of Tundra Nenets have undergone russification, and speakers increasingly rely on Russian syntax in lieu of complex native constructions. For instance, word order is considerably freer in Western Tundra Nenets with rigid verb finality being gradually lost. Western dialects quite easily allow the agent-like argument to be expressed by a locative or dative noun in some grammatical constructions, such as passives and causatives (see Chapter 10, Sections 3.1 and 4.1). This feature seems to be a grammatical calque from Russian, but it is virtually impossible in Eastern Tundra Nenets.

1.4 The number of speakers

According to the official census data, the population figures for the Nenets people and the percentage of native speakers of the Nenets language among them are as follows:

year	Nenets people	speakers of the Nenets language
1926	17,566	?
1939	24,791	?
1959	23,007	84,7%
1970	28,705	83,4%
1979	29,894	80,4%
1989	34,665	77,1%
2002	41,302	76%
2010	44,640	49%

The 2010 data estimate the number of speakers of the Nenets language in the Russian Federation as 21,926 and this estimate is probably quite accurate. However, the numbers include speakers of both Tundra and Forest Nenets, since the official trend in Russia is to view them as a single language. According to unofficial estimates, there may be about 1,500 speakers of Forest Nenets, so Tundra Nenets may be currently spoken by about 20,000 people.

As these figures show, the number of Tundra Nenets people may have actually been growing. The reason for this is that, as mentioned above, their territory was

expanding until very recently. However, although there are officially, at present, a fairly large number of Tundra Nenets, the actual health and viability of the language must be estimated differently. In the 1930s the government of the Soviet Union started the policy of 'collectivization', which in particular meant that the nomadic or semi-nomadic Samoyedic people were forced to settle down in newly created villages, while their children were educated in Russian-language state boarding schools. This resulted in considerable erosion of their cultural identity. In addition, the number of proficient speakers has been declining because of the migration of other populations into the indigenous settlement areas of the Tundra Nenets, resulting in a decrease of the proportion of ethnic Nenets in these areas and, consequently, their extensive assimilation, mostly by Russians. At present the shift to Russian proceeds faster than the natural growth of the population, so Tundra Nenets is definitely an endangered language.

Language proficiency actually varies from one area to another and, not surprisingly, it is weakest in the areas where the Russian presence is greatest. This is the situation on the whole European side of the Urals, where certain local varieties of Tundra Nenets have already become extinct (e.g. the variety spoken on the island of Novaya Zemlya, which disappeared after the 1950s). Others are no longer passed on to the younger generation at all and are probably close to extinction. Today, the Western Nenets who speak Tundra Nenets are all fully bilingual with Russian. There are only middle-aged or elderly speakers; the natural transmission of the language to children has stopped and the Nenets youth prefer to use Russian.

Tundra Nenets is best preserved in the eastern parts of its territory, namely in the Ob area, where it once functioned as a kind of lingua franca because the aboriginal Tundra Nenets and Northern Khanty communities were relatively strong. Moreover, the presence of other immigrant groups such as Komi and Tatar ensured extensive multilingualism rather than the dominance of a single language. Komi and Northern Khanty are still spoken by some Tundra Nenets in those areas, although Russian is now taking over as an interethnic language. In the Yamal and Taimyr peninsula you can still meet groups of Tundra Nenets who lead a nomadic way of life where children learn the language from their parents and grandparents, at least until the age of 7, when they are usually sent to boarding schools. Only in these remote areas to the east of the Ural mountains is an equal knowledge of Russian not yet common. However, the state of the language is threatened even there, mostly because of extensive industrialization of the Nenets land. The expansive gas and oil industry obviously attracts a great number of non-native settlers, while the reindeer pastures are shrinking, and so the traditional economy is coming under threat.

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that not a single Nenets home has avoided russification. In this situation, the present generation of Nenets speakers may be the last to provide valuable information about the 'uncorrupted' form of the language free from the extensive influence of Russian.

1.5 The functions of the language

Tundra Nenets does not have an official status. It is mostly used in everyday oral communication, in particular, in family life and in the sphere of traditional economic activities, i.e. reindeer breeding, hunting and fishing. It may also be used while practicing native religion and cultural life in general, typically if no Russians are present.

The first attempts to establish a written language were made by Orthodox missionaries in the 19th century. In the 1830s archimandrite Veniamin Smirnov published some religious texts and other works. Spelling books were also introduced, e.g. those by Jurij Sibircev in 1895, however, they had little lasting success. Tundra Nenets has had marginal use as a written language in the Soviet Union starting from the 1930s. In 1931–1933 the so-called ‘Nenets literary language’ was established on the basis of the dialect of the Bolshaya Zemlya (one of the dialects belonging to the Central dialectal group). It employed the ‘Unified Northern Alphabet’ based on Latin orthography, which was also used for other minority languages of the Russian North. A spelling book, a reader, an arithmetic book and school glossaries were published, and a number of political writings and descriptions of everyday life were translated from Russian, as happened for most other minority languages in the Soviet Union. Later the norms of the literary language were reconsidered and adapted to a larger dialect, the dialect of Yamal, spoken in the Yamal-Nenets District with its administrative centre in the city of Salekhard.

As with other languages of the North, in 1936–1937 a transition to the Russian (Cyrillic) alphabet was made and since then there has always been at least partial compliance with the Russian orthography, but specific devices for representing unique Nenets features were also adopted. For instance, the normative orthography represents the glottal stops absent in Russian as ‘ (for the so-called ‘nasalizable’ glottal stop denoted in this grammar as *h*) and as” (for the ‘non-nasalizable’ glottal stop denoted here as *q*), although the distinction between these two types of glottal stop is not always followed consistently. Actually, by sheer coincidence the Russian orthography works quite well for Tundra Nenets because the latter exhibits some phonological oppositions similar to those in Russian (for instance, the opposition of palatalized vs. non-palatalized consonants). The normative rules of the Tundra Nenets orthography, described in Tereshchenko (1959), are rather strict and are accepted as such by the community. They have been used both for original literature in the language and in numerous translations into Nenets of excerpts from Russian literature starting from the 1940s.

These orthographic rules, as well as the basics of Tundra Nenets grammar, are being taught in local schools (primary and secondary schools up to the 8th grade), pedagogical colleges and the Herzen State Pedagogical University in Saint Petersburg. New textbooks, including schoolbooks for primary schools, are published quite regularly (for a fairly exhaustive bibliography see Burkova 2010). However, many

individuals use orthographic variants that better suit their local dialect or perhaps even their personal idiolect. In fact, although many Tundra Nenets speakers are able to write in their native language, the only language in which they really have literacy is Russian, thanks to its overwhelming presence in the school system and the vast body of publications in the language.

However, there is a small amount of literary work in Tundra Nenets too: altogether about 100 titles. The best known writers are Tyko Vylka (1886–1960), Ivan Istomin (1917–1988) Leonid Lepcuj (1932–1982), Vasilij Ledkov (1933–2002), Ljubov' Nenjang (1931–1996), Anton Pyrerka (1905–1941), Prokopij Javtysyj (1932–2005), and Anna Nerkagi (b. 1953). A short history of Nenets literature in Nenets is presented in Susoj (1990), see also Burkova (2010). A few books containing samples of folklore, i.e. fairy tales, legends and poems, have also been published in the language, but most authors and editors of folklore texts are now elderly, while not many representatives of the younger generation are involved in this work. Sadly, the cultural influence of printed literature in Tundra Nenets is minimal and its future looks bleak.

Although at present there are no newspapers written entirely in Nenets, some materials in the language have been occasionally published in local newspapers. In 2011 these included the weekly *Няръяна Ы́рм* and *Советское Заполярье* in the Yamal-Nenets District, *Няръяна вындер* and *Едэй вада* in the Nenets District, and *Таймыр* in the Taimyr District. There are also short but regular radio and television broadcasts in Tundra Nenets in the city of Salekhard.

1.6 Basic typological profile

Tundra Nenets is a fairly typical language of the Uralic language family. Its morphological structure is characterized by a certain degree of agglutination. In some instances the words can be divided into a linear sequence of distinct markers/morphemes (i.e. suffixes; prefixation is absent), each of which has a fairly consistent shape and a single function. Generally speaking, the language exhibits a rather high degree of morphological synthesis: inflected words typically consist of more than one morphological marker per word and some grammatical morphemes are semantically equivalent to separate lexical items in European languages. Theoretically, a nominal word may include at most five morphemes (the root, a derivational affix, a possessive suffix, a number suffix and a case suffix), and a verbal word may include six or seven morphemes (the root, one or two derivational suffixes, tense, mood, subject agreement and object agreement). In practice, however, such cases are rarely found, with the noun normally containing no more than three or four morphemes and the verb containing no more than five.

However, agglutination is far from absolute: the boundaries between many suffixes are not clear-cut, and several grammatical meanings may be expressed

cumulatively. This is mostly (but not exclusively) due to various morphophonological alternations of remarkable complexity. Moreover, although synthesis predominates in the expression of grammatical meanings, a few analytical constructions are also found. For instance, we find the periphrastic expression of negation and certain aspectual, temporal, and modal categories are formed using auxiliary verbs. Other morphological processes are compounding and conversion. Reduplication and incorporation are not typical, but some incorporation-like phenomena are attested.

In Tundra Nenets the major open word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs) can be distinguished by morphological, syntactic and (partly) semantic criteria. Nouns have the following inflectional categories: number, case and possessive. There are three numbers (singular, dual and plural), and seven cases (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative and prolativ). More specialized place meanings are expressed by postpositional phrases. The possessive category realizes the person/number of the possessor by means of person/number affixes attached to the head nominal in the possessive construction. The verbal inflectional categories are (subject and object) agreement, tense and mood. The present tense is formally unmarked, while inflectionally expressed tenses are past, future, habitual and future-in-the-past. All verbs are lexically divided into two aspectual classes, perfective and imperfective, which largely determine the meaning of the tenses. Imperfective verbs denote present situations in the present and past situations in the past, while perfective verbs denote immediate past situations in the present and remote past situations in the past. Nenets exhibits 16 inflectional moods including the imperative, hortative, optative, conjunctive, necessitative, interrogative, probabilitive, obligative, potential, inferential, etc., all of which are formed by suffixation. The category of tense is marginal in non-indicative moods. As in many Uralic languages, clausal negation is periphrastic and formed by means of an inflected finite negative verb and a non-finite connegative form of a lexical verb.

Syntactically Tundra Nenets is a head-final SOV language. Verb finality is fairly rigid; matrix clauses, therefore, are consonant with the head-finality evident in noun phrases, postpositional phrases and left-branching dependent clauses. With respect to linear order in possessive constructions, both lexical NPs and (optional) independent pronouns functioning as possessors always precede the possessed head. But the order of non-verbal constituents in the matrix clause is largely motivated by information structure.

Major grammatical functions, such as the subject and direct object, are identified by a cluster of grammatical properties. In particular, the subject is a grammatical element associated with a significant number of syntactic behaviors such as being the main controller of coreferential relations, both within the clause and clause-externally, although some of these properties may be sensitive to such factors as information structure or semantics, rather than syntactic functions. The case marking patterns of core arguments follow accusative alignment, however, lexical objects of imperative verbs can optionally stand in the nominative. The matrix verb obligatorily agrees

with the subject in person/number, whereas object agreement is only in number (singular, dual or plural) and ‘optional’ in the sense that only objects with particular semantic and information structure-related features trigger agreement. The absence of independent pronouns indicates the pro-drop status of Nenets: as in many other languages, syntactically independent pronouns are omitted unless specific discourse considerations obtain, while subject, object and possessive ‘agreement’ can be construed as incorporated pronouns.

There are virtually no free-standing complementizers in the language. Subordinate clauses make extensive use of non-finite verbal forms, which typically express fewer grammatical categories than finite verbs and have a very limited use in the independent function. There are essentially three types of non-finite verbs: (i) participles; (ii) clausal nominalizations which will be referred to as ‘action nominals’ here, and (iii) converbs. All of them are examples of so-called ‘mixed categories’ in the sense that they exhibit properties of verbs and one other part of speech (adjectives, nouns or adverbs, respectively). For instance, some of them take nominal case inflections or combine with postpositions. The clausal status of syntactic domains defined by these non-finite verbs is evident from the fact that they typically express tense opposition, are syntactically opaque and preserve the argument structure of the base verb. Most grammatical functions in non-finite clauses are realized in the same way as in main/independent clauses, except for the subject. The subject exhibits all relevant behavioural properties but essentially takes the same form as the possessor in possessive constructions in terms of the type of case and agreement it can trigger. Clause-chaining and serialization are overall not typical. Simple parataxis serves for clausal coordination, but various connective adverbs are also available.

1.7 Brief overview of previous studies

Tundra Nenets has been fairly well documented from a lexicographic point of view. The first published dictionary of the language is Castrén (1855). Lehtisalo (1956) provides thorough phonetic and dialectological information, Tereshchenko (1965, second edition in 2003) is a large standard dictionary, which offers a very rich picture of the Tundra Nenets lexicon and grammar, while Salminen (1998a) is especially valuable because it provides morphological and morphophonological information for every lexical stem. Koshkarëva (2010) presents dialectal information based on modern field research and includes both Tundra Nenets and Forest Nenets. Pyrerka and Tereshchenko (1948) is the largest dictionary from another language (Russian) to Tundra Nenets. A Russian-Nenets phrasebook is Nenjang (2005). A number of text collections focusing on folklore have been published with Russian or German translations (the largest are Castrén 1940; Lehtisalo 1947; Castrén and Lehtisalo 1960; Kuprijanova 1960, 1965; Tereshchenko 1990; Pushkareva 2000; Labanauskas

1992, 1995, 2001), although none of them presents the texts annotated by glosses keyed to the major grammatical points. Some sound recordings of the language with transcription and grammatical analysis can be found at <http://siberianlanguages.com>, while <http://www.speech.nw.ru/DNenets/introduction.html> is an online multi-media dictionary and an audio phrase book. The site http://www.n-trk.ru/news_show_news.php?news=1502 contains 23 audio lessons of Tundra Nenets.

Until more or less the beginning of the 21st century, the grammar of the language received treatment primarily in pedagogical works and cursory chrestomathy format, mostly written in Russian or Hungarian. Major introductions and grammatical treatments appear in Tereshchenko (1947, 1956, 1965) and Hajdú (1968). There are a fairly large number of Russian-language papers dealing with particular topics in phonology, morphology, basic syntax and semantics, as well as several textbooks, for example, Almazova (1961), Barmich and Kuprijanova (1979), and Kuprijanova, Barmich and Homich (1985). The most important English-language works are Décsy's (1966) small chrestomathy, Janhunen (1986) on historical and synchronic phonology, Salminen's sketch of Tundra Nenets (1998b), as well as his two substantial monographs *Tundra Nenets inflection* (Salminen 1997) and *A morphological dictionary of Tundra Nenets* (Salminen 1998a). Some more recent English-language papers which address various synchronic aspects of the language are Salminen (1993a) and Ogden (1995) on phonology, Salminen (1993b) on word classes, Nikolaeva (2003) on the structure of the noun phrase, Körtvély (2005) on verbal conjugation, Ackerman and Salminen (2006) (a general overview), Kavitskaya and Staroverov (2008, 2010) on phonology, Khanina (2008) on intransitive verbs, Mus (2009) on question words, Nikolaeva (2009) on the syntax and semantics of the predestinative forms, Burkova (2011) on modality, Nikolaeva (2012) on periphrastic constructions, Jalava (2013) on adjectives, and Ackerman and Nikolaeva (2013) on relative clauses.

A (non-exhaustive) bibliography of linguistic studies on Tundra Nenets published before 2008 can be found in Salminen (1993–2012), whereas information on numerous Russian-language papers dedicated to various aspects of Tundra Nenets, from socio-linguistics to phonetics and semantics, can be found in Burkova (2010: 199–221) and on several websites, including http://ciu.nstu.ru/kaf/persons/1588/nauchnaya_deyatelnost/ppubl and <http://iling.spb.ru/nord/persona/lyublinskaya.html>.

2 About this grammar

This work is the first English-language book-length reference grammar of a Samoyedic language aimed at the international community of scholars studying linguistic typology and theoretical linguistics. Its main goal is to provide a fairly comprehensive description of Tundra Nenets documenting all the major phenomena in the language, mostly on the basis of new field data collected by the author.

2.1 The structure

This grammar follows the traditional structure: general introduction – phonology – morphology – syntax – texts – references. Much use is made of cross-references between various chapters and sections. Importantly, the grammar emphasizes syntax (and morphosyntax). The reason for this is that it has traditionally been the most neglected area in research on Tundra Nenets. While the works mentioned in Section 1.7 present the basic lexical, phonological and morphological information, often from a historical perspective, for the most part syntax has been insufficiently studied or completely ignored. For example, only two pages are devoted to it in Salminen's works (Salminen 1997, 1998b). Tereshchenko's comparative syntax of the Samoyedic languages (Tereshchenko 1973) is rich in examples and identifies basic language-particular syntactic constructions, but omits many phenomena that are presently regarded as crucial in a more comprehensive grammatical account (e.g. complex sentences). More recent papers mentioned above provide interesting discussion of various grammatical points, including those not mentioned in the earlier literature, but they only concentrate on selected topics. There are thus significant lacunae with respect to various aspects of the grammar and their detailed documentation. Moreover, some of the earlier works employ distinct terminology and representational conventions and the presentation of relevant examples uses a format that is opaque in terms of modern scholarly practice (i.e., they are not always provided with morphological analysis). As a result the studies on Tundra Nenets have not been well integrated within the research communities of other more accessible and more standardized research traditions. There is a need to provide a systematically organized, conventionally represented and relatively comprehensive description of Tundra Nenets syntax.

On the other hand, the grammar is not meant to present a comprehensive description of Tundra Nenets phonology and the formation of inflectional categories, because these have been extensively discussed in earlier literature. The basics of Tundra Nenets phonology are presented in Chapter 2 after Salminen (1997, 1998a, 1998b) and Salminen's on-line grammatical sketch of the language (Salminen 1993–2012), with some modifications and many simplifications. Salminen's work is presently the most consistent and complete account of Tundra Nenets phonology and morphophonology, although there is of course potential for new perspectives in this research, particularly with respect to prosodic structure.

The morphological description is organized around inflectional forms. The chapters on inflectional categories of nouns and verbs (Chapters 4 and 5) focus on their function. I do provide basic information about their form but, again, it is largely a summary of Salminen (1997). The syntactic part of the grammar (Chapters 6–18) is for the most part organized around various syntactic units and constructions such as, for example, the noun phrase, the relative clause, the adverbial clause and so on, but in some instances I also follow the function-to-form approach. Chapter 19

presents two folklore texts in Tundra Nenets recorded and published earlier in Labanauskas (1995), but proof-read and partly changed by my language consultants.

The grammar is not biased towards any particular theoretical framework, although in several cases I have chosen to explain within the text the theoretical basis of the notions used in the description. The terminology is intended to be as theory-independent as possible.

2.2 The data

Most of the examples cited in the grammar come from my own fieldwork. The fieldwork in Russia was conducted in 2003 in the village of Nelmin Nos located on the Pechora river, 60 kilometres away from Naryan Mar, the administrative centre of the Nenets District. About 1000 people lived in the village at that time. The majority are ethnic Nenets, though not all of them are fluent speakers of the language. The population of the village is engaged in traditional activities, namely reindeer breeding and hunting for fur animals. The variety of the language spoken in the village is the dialect of Malaya Zemlya which belongs to the Western group. My main language consultants in Nelmin Nos were Marija Kanjukova and Klara Taleeva but I also received valuable data from many other inhabitants of the village. Second, I consulted several Tundra Nenets speakers who visited Finland on numerous occasions between 2001 and 2013, by the invitation of the Finnish Academy of Science. Most of this work was conducted with the help of Galina Koreneva who speaks the Ural and Yamal dialects and Anna Lamdo who speaks the Taz dialect, but I have also worked with Larisa Tajbarej (the Yamal dialect), Elena Susoj (the Yamal dialect) and Marija Barmich (the dialect of Bolshaya Zemlya).

The language data collected through this work are sentences or short fragments of texts produced by native speakers either spontaneously or in response to questions posed in Russian. Although the latter examples may not be spontaneous, I believe they nevertheless encapsulate an essential linguistic competence.

I also use other sources of examples such as Labanauskas (1995) and, most importantly, Tereshchenko (1965), abbreviated here as T. These examples are largely excerpts from original Tundra Nenets texts, mostly various genres of folklore. Importantly, all examples from the published sources cited in this grammar have been checked with contemporary native speakers and judged by them as acceptable in their own variety of the language. In some instances I modified these examples according to my consultants' advice; changes are usually shown with the slash sign or brackets. The original glossing and transcription of Tereshchenko's examples have been provided by Tapani Salminen (see http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/tn_corpus.html), but I have modified some of his conventions.

Thus, the examples cited in this grammar may represent different dialectal varieties of Tundra Nenets. However, this does not present a consistency problem

for the presentation of the relevant facts because the dialectal (and idiolectal) difference, if any, is commented upon. In any case, for the most part the dialects do not differ with respect to morphosyntax, although there may be minor phonetic differences.

2.3 The transcription

The transcription is phonological and essentially based on Salminen (1997, 1998a, 1998b) and especially Salminen (1993–2012). The latter transcriptional system differs from the former in that the digraph *ng* was replaced by *ŋ* to represent the velar nasal and the sign *ø* denoting the over-short neutral vowel was replaced by *ə*. These changes are adopted in this book as well, however, Salminen's transcription is modified even further. In particular, I do not use digraphs at all. That is, palatalization is designated in this book with the sign ' rather than *y* after the consonant, cf. *ny* (in Salminen's transcription) vs. *n'* (in the present transcription) for the palatal nasal. This stands in accordance with the conventions adopted in traditional Uralic transcription and allows for transcription of the glide consonant as *y* rather than Salminen's *ȳ*. In addition, as explained in Chapter 2, I treat Salminen's 'stretched' vowels *í*, *ú* and *æ* as long vowels and represent them as *ī*, *ū* and *æ̃*, respectively. As in Salminen's works, the sign *°* indicates the extra-short *ə* (see Chapter 2, Section 1.1). The most important (but not exhaustive) correspondences between the present transcription and the standard Cyrillic-based orthography employed for Tundra Nenets is shown below:

а	a, ə, °	п	p
б	b, p	р	r
в	w	с	s
г	g	т	t
д	d, t	у	u, ū, ə, °
е	ye, 'e	х	
ё	yo, 'o	ц	c
з	c	ъ	-
и	'i, i, ī, ə, °	ы	i, ə, °
й	y	ь	'
к	k	э	æ̃, e
л	l	ю	yu, yū
м	m	я	ya, yə, y°
н	n	'	h
ŋ	ŋ	”	q
о	o, ə, °		

The Russian loanwords which have been fully assimilated by the language are cited in the regular transcription adopted in this grammar, while words that can be characterized as ‘citation loans’ are given in transliteration from Russian. In particular, *š* stands for the Russian *ш* ([ʃ]), *ž* stands for *ж* ([ʒ]), *č* stands for *ч* ([tʃ]), and *f* stands for *ф* ([f]), while Russian palatalization is represented with the sign ‘ just as in native Tundra Nenets words. Obviously, the boundary between assimilated and non-assimilated words is rather vague (see Salminen 1992 for a discussion of this question specifically with respect to Tundra Nenets), so determining what counts as a citation loan may be a rather subjective decision and vary from speaker to speaker.

The punctuation I use in the transcription line is minimal. Commas are used to separate finite clauses, but there is no dot at the end of a sentence unless I cite a passage of text comprising several sentences. However, the question mark and the exclamation point are employed to indicate interrogatives and exclamatives, respectively, because these are usually associated with very distinct intonation.

2.4 Glossing and translation conventions

Sentence examples are provided with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. Roots are glossed with English lexical words as consistently as possible, although their meaning obviously changes in different contexts. For instance, the noun *n’a* can mean ‘friend, (younger) sibling, relative, companion’, but it is always glossed as ‘companion’ for consistency. When more than one English word is required to translate a Tundra Nenets root, they are linked by a dot. For the sake of economy personal pronouns, which are not marked for gender in Tundra Nenets, are all translated and glossed as ‘he’, ‘his’ etc. although they can equally mean ‘she’, ‘her’ etc. Numerals are glossed by digits except for ‘one’. Complex lexicalized words which originate as inflectional forms are glossed as single morphemes. For instance, the postposition *s’er^oh* ‘when’ is etymologically the genitive of the noun *s’er^o* ‘thing, business, matter’, but this is not indicated in glosses: the postposition is simply glossed as ‘when’. Again, the decision about lexicalization may sometimes be subjective.

Grammatical morphemes are glossed by abbreviated category labels. Grammatical categories that are never expressed by means of a separate morpheme are not reflected in the glosses (e.g. nominative case and singular number on nouns, present tense and 3rd person singular on verbs). This is done partly for reasons of economy, and partly because the matter of the presence or absence of the morphological null is controversial.

I do not always provide morpheme-by-morpheme segmentation in the transcription line and glosses because, as mentioned above, Tundra Nenets morphology is rather cumulative and traditional morpheme-based morphological analysis is not always applicable. Two morphemes are separated by hyphens in the glosses and

the transcription line only if there are no alternations that change the shape of either morpheme, with the exception of automatic postlexical changes which work independently of the morphological context. When two separate morphemes are contracted to one for phonological reasons, this is indicated by a dot in the glosses. The dot is also used for those few portmanteau morphemes that do not result from phonological merging at the synchronic level. The order of category labels in glosses reflects the morphotactic order in purely agglutinative forms: on nouns the order is number – case – possessive, whereas for indicative verbs the order is future/habitual – object agreement – subject agreement – past. The glossing convention for the cumulatively expressed subject and object agreement is e.g. 3SG > SG. OBJ; this indicates the 3rd person singular subject participant acting upon the singular direct object participant. Secondary (oblique) stems derived from primary stems by the (morpho)phonological processes described in Chapter 2, Section 3.2 are not indicated in glosses, that is, the primary and secondary stem of the same word is glossed identically. For instance, the primary stem of the verb *xada-* ‘to kill’ is *xada-* and the secondary stem (the so-called ‘general finite stem’) is either *xadaə-* or *xadaŋa-*, depending on the nature of the following morpheme, but in all instances the stem is simply glossed as ‘kill’. This ensures glossing consistency with the forms that are not morphologically segmentable in a clear way, as in e.g. *xon’o-* ‘to sleep’ (the primary stem) vs. *xoni-* (the general finite stem). Clitics are separated with the equals sign, where possible. Particles are glossed as DP (discourse particle); they are translated in glosses only if they have a consistent meaning largely equivalent to English. Derivational affixes changing word class are glossed as N (noun), V (verb), ADJ (adjective) or ADV (adverb). In general, derivational affixes are only separated with hyphens when they have a clearly identifiable form and meaning.

Other conventions are as follows. Unlike nominal stems, bare verbal stems are cited with a hyphen, for example, *to-* ‘to come’ (a verb) vs. *to* ‘lake’ (a noun). In some instances embedded clauses and other syntactic phrases are indicated by square brackets. Sentences that provide context are also shown in square brackets on a separate line. Examples that only make up a fragment of a sentence are glossed in round brackets. In the translations of some examples I have included a grammatical specification of the meaning in round brackets. This is not intended as a gloss, but is rather meant to facilitate the understanding of the translation. The translations of examples from Tereshchenko (1965) and Labanauskas (1995) are sometimes modified; more literal translations are provided.

Chapter 2

Phonology

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the description of phonology provided in this chapter is rather basic and for the most part represents a summary of Salminen (1997, 1998b, 1993–2012). The deviations from Salminen’s account are explicitly discussed below.

1 Phonemic inventory

This section presents the inventory of vowel and consonant phonemes and some sketchy observations on phonetics. However, phonetic variations are not the major topic of this section. As discussed in Chapter 1, the transcription adopted in this book is not IPA: it is based on Salminen’s transcription, employed in many other publications on Tundra Nenets in languages other than Russian, but is slightly modified.

1.1 Vowels

The vocalic inventory of Tundra Nenets includes 10 vowels, which fall into 4 classes depending on their length:

	long	short	over-short	reduced
high	ī ū	i u		
mid		e o		
low	ǣ	a	ə	◦

Long vowels are referred to as ‘stretched’ by Salminen, who denotes high long (stretched) vowels as *í* and *ú*. Long high vowels are pronounced as long or half-long and only occur in the first syllable, but they only seem to be present in the Eastern dialects of Tundra Nenets, having merged with short vowels in most Western varieties. The vowel *ǣ* is pronounced as a raising diphthong in the Eastern dialects.

Short vowels (referred to as ‘plain’ by Salminen) occur in every position in the word and can be pronounced as long or half-long when stressed, especially the low vowel *a*. The mid short vowels *e* and *o* are actually rather high in their pronunciation but still contrast with *i* and *u*.

The over-short vowel *ə* (‘short’ in Salminen 1993–2012) is typically pronounced as a very short *a*.

The reduced vowel $^{\circ}$ is either pronounced as a very short ə , i.e. mid central vowel, or it adds length to the preceding consonant (e.g. in word-final sequences $C^{\circ}q$ or $C^{\circ}h$) or vowel. Sometimes it does not seem to be pronounced at all at the segmental level; however, its underlying presence has suprasegmental effects: basically, it adds a mora to the preceding segment, and affects phonological alternations. This vowel does not occur in the first syllable and is never stressed. The reduced vowel normally appears as a result of the automatic phonological reduction $\text{ə} \rightarrow ^{\circ}$ in unstressed position (typically in final syllables or in even syllables if they do not precede another syllable with $^{\circ}$, see Section 4 on the rules of stress assignment). This leads to alternations such as xər° ‘knife’ vs. $\text{xər}\text{ə}-r^{\circ}$ ‘your knife (2SG)’, $\text{xər}^{\circ}-da$ ‘his knife (3SG)’, $\text{xər}^{\circ}-da-r^{\circ}$ ‘knife for you (PRED.2SG)’. In this grammar the basic form of grammatical morphemes is only represented with the ə variant, but the reader should assume that their allomorphs may contain $^{\circ}$ due to regular reduction.

In some cases, however, the reduced $^{\circ}$ appears in an odd non-final syllable, where it may stand in phonological contrast with ə , and is therefore treated as a distinct phoneme by Salminen (1997). For instance, $^{\circ}$ can appear in vowel sequences and after glides in the third syllable as in səwa-xəna ‘good (LOC)’ vs. $\text{səwa-w}^{\circ}na$ ‘good (PROL)’. Bisyllabic verbal stems ending in l or l' may be augmented by $^{\circ}$ in various derived forms, e.g. poyol- ‘to get mixed up’ \rightarrow $\text{poyol}^{\circ}ta-$ ‘to mix up’, which again results in $^{\circ}$ in the odd (third) syllable. In loanwords $^{\circ}$ may occur in the first syllable for the purpose of breaking the word-initial consonantal clusters, which are not allowed in Tundra Nenets, and it can also be inserted as a word-final epenthesis after certain consonants, e.g. $\text{p}^{\circ}lat^{\circ}$ ‘head scarf’ < Russian plat(ok) . See more discussion of the distribution of $^{\circ}$ in Salminen (1997: 42–43).

All vowels except æ are fronted after palatalized consonants, but this is a purely phonetic automatic process not reflected in the present transcription. The same concerns the process of distant assimilation: the vowels $^{\circ}$, ə and sometimes a following x assimilate in quality to the vowel that precedes x . The quantity contrast remains in place, however, e.g. noxa ‘polar fox’ is pronounced as $[\text{nox}\text{o}]$, tux° ‘fly’ is pronounced as $[\text{tux}^{\text{u}}]$ with a very short u at the end, and $\text{jix}\text{əs}^{\circ}$ ‘rubbing’ is pronounced as $[\text{jixis}^{\text{ə}}]$ with a short i after x . Vowel sequences cannot normally precede x .

1.2 Consonants

The consonant inventory of the Eastern dialects, from which most examples in this book are cited, is as follows:

	labial				velar	glottal
	non-palatalized	palatalized	dental	palatal		
nasals	m	m'	n	n'	ŋ	
stops voiceless	p	p'	t	t'	k	q/h
voiced	b	b'	d	d'		
affricates			c	c'		
fricatives			s	s'	x	
glides	w				y	
laterals			l	l'		
trills			r	r'		

The sign ' here marks phonemic palatalization. As can be seen from the table, most labial consonants have a palatalized (palato-labial) variant, and all dentals have a palatal counterpart. They stand in phonemic contrast, cf. the following minimal and quasi-minimal pairs: *mad*^o 'barking' vs. *m'aw*^o 'honey', *t'erac*^o 'to be full' vs. *teras*^o 'to choose', *num* 'sky' vs. *n'um* 'name'. Palatal and palatalized consonants are only possible prevocally in Tundra Nenets (Salminen 1993: 182).

The consonants *b b' d d' c c'* and *k* are referred to as 'secondary' consonants in Salminen (1997) because they only occur in restricted positions. For instance, they do not stand word-initially or in a post-consonantal position, except that post-consonantal *b* appears as a result of the change of *w* in some stems (see Section 2.2). Secondary consonants typically emerge due to postlexical phonological alternations described in Section 2.1 and sometimes other phonological processes, but in many instances these processes are not synchronically noticeable, so the secondary consonant appears in all environments. This means that we may have contrasts such as the following: *wada* 'hook' vs. *wata* 'extra, excessive'. The stem *wada* does not undergo alternations, that is, *d* is always realized as phonetic [d] in this word, even though this consonant is historically secondary. According to Salminen (1997: 40), "secondary consonants do not belong to the underlying phonological representation", even though they are included in the phonemic inventory. So presumably, the underlying phonological representation of 'hook' for Salminen would be /wata/. However, in this book secondary consonants are treated as full-fledged phonemes and are represented as such in the phonological transcription, although indeed in many instances they appear as a result of the automatic change of the 'primary' consonant.

Like secondary consonants, *r* and *r'* do not occur word-initially, except in recent loanwords.

There are two types of phonemic glottal stop denoted here as *h* and *q*. They are traditionally called 'nasalizable' and 'non-nasalizable' glottal stops, respectively. Nasalizable and non-nasalizable glottal stops have identical phonetic content [ʔ]

when pronounced, but they occur in different positions in the word and undergo different sets of alternations (see Section 2.1). Phonemic glottal stops play an important role in syllable structure and phonological processes, while there is also a non-phonemic glottal stop which is automatically pronounced by some speakers after other consonants in the word-final position, e.g. after the accusative singular marker *-m*. The phonetic word-final glottal stop is not reflected in the transcription in this book as it is largely optional.

Glides *w* and *y* (the latter stands for the IPA [j]) do not occur before a consonant or a pause. Geminates are not generally typical of Tundra Nenets; if identical consonants become adjacent in the course of morphological derivation, degemination occurs, e.g. *n'um* 'name' > *n'um'i* 'my name (1SG)' (<*n'um-m'i*). For other phonotactic restrictions on consonants see Salminen (1997: 40–41).

2 Phonological processes

Phonological alternations fall into two types: automatic postlexical processes which occur independently of morphological environment, and alternations sensitive to morphological contexts.

2.1 Postlexical alternations

Postlexical phonological processes occur independently of morphological boundaries and, in particular, at the word edges. They include the following two types of change.

First, the consonants *p p' t t'* are voiced after a vowel, and the consonants *s s' x* change into *c c' k*, respectively, after a consonant. This produces the so-called secondary consonants. For instance, the 3rd person singular possessive affix *-ta* is realized as *-da* after a vowel as in *p'a* 'tree' and *p'a-da* (<*p'a-ta*) 'his tree (3SG)', cf. *p'a-m-ta* 'his tree (ACC 3SG)'. The locative affix *-xəna* is realized as *-kəna* after a consonant, e.g. *yam* 'sea' and *yam-kəna* 'in the sea (LOC)'.

Second, the glottal stops show the following alternations. The non-nasalizable glottal stop *q* falls out before an obstruent, i.e. *q* → ∅, e.g. *toxox* 'cloth' vs. *toxox-ta* (<*toxox-ta*) 'his cloth (3SG)', *toxox-kəna* (<*toxox-kəna* < *toxox-xəna*) 'in the cloth (LOC)'. But it is pronounced as a phonetic glottal stop in all other positions, e.g. *toxox-waq* [toxoʔwaʔ] 'our cloth (1PL)'. The nasalizable glottal stop *h* is only pronounced word-finally. It undergoes nasalization *h* → *m n ŋ* before a homorganic obstruent, e.g. in the genitive forms ending in *-h* such as *n'e-h xən^o* 'woman's sledge' → [n'ɛŋ kan^o], *n'e-h ti* 'woman's reindeer' → [n'ɛn ti], *n'e-h p'a* 'woman's tree' → [n'ɛm p'a]. Before a sonorant *h* falls out, e.g. *n'e-h m'aq* 'woman's tent' → [n'ɛ m'aʔ]. Since Tundra Nenets words cannot begin with a vowel (in the Eastern dialects), this means that, unlike *q*, *h* is only pronounced as [ʔ] before a pause.

In the transcription adopted in this book postlexical alternations are reflected word-internally, but not at the boundaries of the word.

2.2 Alternations sensitive to morphology

Many alternations occur in specific morphological environments. They differ from postlexical changes in that they do not occur at word boundaries and morpheme-internally. That is, they occur exclusively at morpheme boundaries. Only some frequent processes are listed below, for more information see Salminen (1997: 57–68).

2.2.1 Phonologically conditioned processes

Processes belonging to this type only occur at the edge of morphemes but apply in all morphological contexts, that is, in all morphemes. First, the sonorant *m* is realized as the glide *w* before vowels. Since this process only takes place at the morpheme boundary, intervocalic *m* can only occur morpheme-internally, e.g. *xamada*- ‘to prepare’ where *m* is in the root. This contrasts with the alternation *m* ~ *w* e.g. in the formation of perfective participles: the participial suffix *-mi*^o is realized as *-wi*^o after a vowel-final stem, cf. *lador-mi*^o ‘beaten’ vs. *xada-wi*^o ‘killed’.

The consonants *t* (*d* after a vowel) and *s* change to *q* before a consonant or a pause. This is especially typical of the stems ending in *t* or *s*, where the stem-final consonant is only visible before a vowel-initial affix, cf. *m’is-^oq* (CONNeg) and *m’iq-l^oxawi^o* (REP), both derived from the verbal stem *m’is-* ‘to give’. There are many nouns that end in *-q* in the basic nominative form due to the change *t/d*, *s* > *q*, but the primary stem actually ends in *t* (*d*) or *s*. Because of neutralization in the preconsonantal or prepausal position, the quality of the stem-final consonant is only revealed before a vowel, e.g. in the accusative plural form, cf. *s’aq* ‘face’ > *s’ado* (PL.ACC) vs. *toxog* ‘cloth’ > *toxoso* (PL.ACC).

The liquidization *r* > *l* and *r’* > *l’* takes place after a consonant. This is frequent in (but not restricted to) the 2nd person singular possessive forms derived with *-r^o* in the nominative singular of those nouns which end in a consonant, e.g. *n’um* ‘name’ > *n’uml^o* ‘your name (2SG)’ (< *n’um-r^o*). In *t/d-* and *s-*final stems, glottalization also takes place in this instance, so we have *s’aql^o* ‘your face (2SG)’ (< *s’aq-r^o* < *s’ad-r^o*).

The nasals *n* and *ŋ* change into *h* before an obstruent or prepausally, and fall out before a sonorant. This means, in particular, that in *n-* and *ŋ-*final stems we have the following alternations: *n’ah* ‘mouth’ (SG.NOM) ~ *n’aho* (PL.ACC) ~ *n’al^o* < *n’anj^o* < *n’anj-r^o* (2SG) ~ *n’anj^oh* < *n’ah-k^oh* < *n’anj-k^oh* < *n’anj-x^oh* (DU.NOM). The change *n’ah-k^oh* > *n’anj^oh* is motivated by the automatic process *h* → *ŋ*.

2.2.2 Lexically conditioned processes

These are modifications which only apply in lexically specified morphological environments, i.e. they are only typical of certain morphemes, which must be listed. In this section I only illustrate a few processes that affect the form of affixes, whereas modifications of stems are treated in more detail in Section 3.

Some (but not all) suffixes demonstrate the alternation $n \sim t$ of the suffix-initial consonant. The distribution is as follows: a t -initial suffix attaches to consonantal and alternation stems (on these stems see Section 3.1.2) and an n -initial suffix otherwise. These are, for example, the imperfective participle suffix $-na \sim -ta$, cf. $n\bar{u}$ - na ‘standing’ (IMPF.PART) vs. $m'in$ - ta (< $m'ih$ - ta) ‘going’ (IMPF.PART), the non-possessive dative singular $-n^{\circ}h \sim -t^{\circ}h$, cf. $\eta\bar{a}no$ - $n^{\circ}h$ ‘to the boat’ (DAT) vs. $n'enec'an$ - $t^{\circ}h$ (< $n'enec'ah$ - $t^{\circ}h$) ‘to the person’ (DAT), and the 2nd person singular predicative form of nominals $-n^{\circ} \sim -t^{\circ}$, cf. $xasawa$ - n° ‘you are a man (2SG)’ vs. $n'enec'an$ - t° (< $n'enec'ah$ - t°) ‘you are human (2SG)’. It does not seem to be possible to decide which consonant is underlying in such instances, n or t , cf. Salminen (1997: 68). On the other hand, the verbal derivational suffixes $-t\bar{a}$ - and $-n\bar{a}$ - always occur in this form independently of the stem to which they attach.

Palatalization affects consonants in certain suffixes such as the nominal possessive 3SG $-ta \sim -t'a$, the locative singular $-x\bar{a}na \sim -x\bar{a}n'a$, the locative plural $-x\bar{a}qna \sim -x\bar{a}qn'a$, the prolative singular $-m\bar{a}na \sim -m\bar{a}n'a$, the prolative plural $-qm\bar{a}na \sim -qm\bar{a}n'a$, and the suffix of ordinal numerals $-mtey^{\circ} \sim mt'ey^{\circ}$. In verbs palatalization is observed in imperfective participles in $-ta \sim -t'a$ or $-na \sim -n'a$. Palatalization of this type is only restricted to lexically specified stems, mostly those that involve stem-internal palatal consonants, so it is conditioned by some kind of partial assimilation. It is normally optional, although some palatalized forms seem to have lexicalized. For instance, a number of postpositions only have a palatal variant in case suffixes such as $m'u$ - ‘inside’ > $m'un'a$ (LOC).

3 Stem types

According to the present account, primary stems are either lexical stems or lexical stems augmented by derivational and sometimes inflectional morphology. They can occur in uninflected forms (e.g. the non-possessive nominative singular of nouns) and are the most important basis of further inflection and derivation. Secondary stems are oblique stems which are derived from primary stems by relatively regular phonological changes and play a role in some other morphological processes, i.e. their presence is conditioned by the morphological environment. They only occur in inflected forms.

3.1 Primary stems

Nominal and verbal stems are classified into two major types, with each type being divisible into further subtypes. The first type consists of stems ending in a consonant and includes regular non-alternating consonantal stems, as well as special subtypes where the stem-final consonant alternates with one of the two glottal stops. The second type includes vowel-final stems and consists of several distinct subtypes, depending on the patterns of alternations of the final vowel. Consonant-final stems differ from vowel-final stems in a number of ways. The major differences concern the formation of secondary stems (see Section 3.2) and the form of certain affixes which attach to the stem. For example, the modal converb is formed with *-o* after a polysyllabic vowel-final stem and *-s'o* after a consonant-final or a monosyllabic vowel-final stem. In addition, consonant-final stems often trigger the processes of epenthesis and consonant deletion when inflected (see Section 4.1).

It should also be noted that each subtype includes idiosyncratic instances only represented by a few words; these will not be described here, see Salminen (1997). The morphological dictionary of Salminen (1998) should also be consulted for the alternations of each lexical stem.

3.1.1 Consonant-final stems

As mentioned in Salminen (1997: 71–72), this type is non-productive because recent borrowings which end in a consonant in a donor language (mostly Russian) are adapted by Tundra Nenets as *a*-final stems.

Stem-final consonants can be *-b*, *-r*, *-m* and *-l*. Such stems exhibit degemination when followed by suffixes beginning with identical consonants, while *m*-final stems additionally show the change *m* > *w* in intervocalic position (see Section 2.2).

As mentioned in 2.2, there are also *t/d*- and *s*-final stems that show neutralization: the stem-final consonant alternates with *q* before a consonant or in the prepausal position, so the two stem types only contrast before a vowel. Similarly, *n*- and *ŋ*-final stems only contrast before a vowel because of the change *n* *ŋ* > *h* or *Ø*. There is also a stem type that ends in *n* alternating with *y* before a vowel, e.g. *toh* ‘blanket’ (SG.NOM) ~ *toy°q* (PL.NOM) ~ *toŋ-k°na* < *toh-x°na* < *ton-x°na* (SG.LOC). Salminen (1997: 78) illustrates the difference between the three types of nasal-final stems which show neutralization in the basic nominative singular form in the following way:

	‘dog’	‘mouth’	‘blanket’
NOM SG	<i>weh</i>	<i>n'ah</i>	<i>toh</i>
NOM PL	<i>wen°q</i>	<i>n'a°q</i>	<i>toy°q</i>
ACC PL	<i>weno</i>	<i>n'aŋo</i>	<i>toyo</i>

Similar stem types occur in verbs, except that η -final verbs do not exist. These types of stem will be conventionally called (alternating) q - or h -stems when I refer to their common properties, but I will represent the stem-final consonant as d , s , n or η when citing individual stems.

There is a small number of stems ending in glides w or y , and they do not essentially differ from vowel stems in their behaviour, but also show some properties of consonant-final stems. The glide is present before vowel-initial suffixes. For instance, the accusative plural of consonant-final stems usually ends in $-o$ and for glide stems the accusative plural is preceded by the glide, cf. *m'aq* 'tent' > *m'ad-o* (PL.ACC) and *s'o* 'throat' > *s'oy-o* (PL.ACC).

3.1.2 Vowel-final stems

Vowel-final stems fall into several subtypes depending on the modifications they exhibit in the formation of secondary stems (see Section 3.2). Monosyllabic vowel-final stems can end in all vowels except ∂ , while polysyllabic vowel stems can end in e , a and ∂ , as well as o , i and u (only nouns).

A very peculiar subtype of vowel-final stems is represented by the so-called 'alteration verbs'. These are polysyllabic verbs ending in o or ∂ which show a mixture of properties of vowel and consonantal stems. These verbs are numerous because, apart from lexical stems, they include stems derived via some regular inflectional and derivational processes. For instance, this class includes verbs in the future and habitual tenses ending in ∂ (see Chapter 5). Alteration stems exhibit the modification of the final vowel in secondary stems into i or u (see Section 3.2), a change of the final vowel to u in the connegative form (with possible palatalization of the preceding consonant), e.g. *xon'o-* 'to sleep' > *xon'uq* (CONN), and a few further peculiarities in inflection and derivation.

A few monosyllabic stems exhibit alternation of the final vowel $e \sim i$ in certain inflectional forms, for example in the very frequent word *ti* 'reindeer', which actually has the primary stem *te-* (cf. *tēda* 'his reindeer (3SG)'), and the verbal stem *me-* 'to take'. Polysyllabic vowel-final stems also show alternations such as $i\partial \sim e$ and $y\partial \sim \emptyset$, e.g. *pāni* 'coat' > *pāne-da* (3SG), *xan'esey* 'pray' > *xan'ese-xad* (ABL). Perfective participles derived with the suffix *-mi* and a number of modal forms etymologically based on perfective participles also belong to this type of stems (see Chapter 5).

3.1.3 Irregular stems

Irregular verbs all have vowel-final monosyllabic stems, but show some suppletion. The most frequent irregular verbs are *xā-* 'to go, to depart', *ηā-* 'to be', *to-* 'to come',

ta- ‘to bring, to give’ and the negative auxiliary *n’i-*. Some irregular forms are shown below:

3SG	<i>xəya</i>	<i>ηa</i>	<i>to</i> ^o	<i>ta</i> ^o	<i>n’i</i>
CONNNEG	<i>xan</i> ^o <i>q</i>	<i>ηaq</i> (~ <i>ηæq</i>)	<i>tuq</i>	<i>taq</i>	-
IMPF PART	<i>xæn</i> (^o) <i>a</i>	<i>ηæda</i>	<i>tona</i>	<i>tada~tana</i>	<i>n’in’a</i>
IMP 2SG	<i>xan</i> ^o <i>q</i>	<i>ηaq</i>	<i>tuq</i>	<i>taq</i>	<i>n’on</i> ^o
FUT 3SG	<i>xan</i> ^o <i>tə</i> ^o	<i>ηæηu</i>	<i>tütə</i> ^o	<i>tətə</i> ^o	-

The stem *n’i-* functions as both the general finite stem and the reflexive stem of the negative auxiliary, while *n’o-* derives imperative and jussive forms. The negative verb *xən’a-* ‘how not’ does not have derived oblique stems and only employs the basic primary stem in inflection and derivation. The verbs *mah-* ‘to say’ and *so-* ‘to be heard’ also show some irregularities.

The only really irregular noun is *ηəmke* ‘what’, which forms the accusative plural stem as *ηəwo*.

3.2 Secondary stems

Secondary stems are derived from primary stems. The secondary stem of nouns is the oblique stem that appears in the accusative plural and serves as the base of further inflection in certain forms. For verbs we can distinguish the so-called general finite stem (for transitive and intransitive ‘subjective’ verbs) and the reflexive stem (for intransitive ‘reflexive’ verbs). This terminology goes back to Salminen (1997). The general finite stem and the reflexive stem provide the morphological base for most person/number inflection, whereas derivational morphology and suffixes that derive non-finite forms are added to the primary stem.

3.2.1 Accusative plural stem

The accusative plural stem is formed by suffixation or modification of the final vowel of the nominal primary stem. It appears uninflected in the accusative plural and is inflected in some other forms such as in the possessive plural nominative and plural genitive, as well as in non-possessive genitive (and sometimes prolativ) plural. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

The consonant-final stems add *o* or *ye* to the primary stem in the accusative plural, e.g. *pad*^o*r* ‘paper, book’ > *pad*^o*r-o* (PL.ACC), *n’um* ‘name’ > *n’ub-ye* (PL.ACC) (with the change *m* > *b*). For some vowel-final stems, the accusative plural coincides with the primary stem – these are mostly monosyllabic nouns, e.g. *to* ‘lake’ > *to* (PL.ACC), as well as some *ə*-final stems and the stems ending in *i* and *u*, e.g. *ηesi*

‘camp’ > *ɲesi* (PL.ACC). In other vowel-final stems various modifications of the stem-final vowels are observed. The most important changes of the stem-final vowels can be summarized as follows:

primary stem	accusative plural stem
a (monosyllabic stems)	o
i ~ e (monosyllabic stems)	ī
ya (monosyllabic stems)	yī
ə	o, ye
a	ə, i, yī
ya	ə, e, yī
e	i
o	u
i ~ iə (polysyllabic stems)	iə
o ~ uə (polysyllabic stems)	uə

Some examples of frequent nominal stems are *xər^o* ‘knife’ > *xəro* (PL.ACC), *xal’a* ‘fish’ > *xale* (PL.ACC), *tī* ‘reindeer’ > *tī* (PL.ACC), *pəni^o* ‘coat’ > *pəni^o* (PL.ACC), *n’an^o* ‘bread’ > *n’an’o* (PL.ACC), *n’a* ‘companion’ > *nī* (PL.ACC), *yes’a* ‘metal, iron, money’ > *yes’o* (PL.ACC), *ɲəno* ‘boat’ > *ɲənu* (PL.ACC).

Note the obligatory palatalization and depalatalization of consonants in certain accusative plural stems, e.g. *ɲuda* ‘hand’ > *ɲud’i* (PL.ACC), *t’on’a* ‘fox’ > *t’on^o* (PL.ACC). There may be other consonantal alternations in the formation of the accusative plural stem such as *ɲ ~ y*, *k ~ c’*, *x ~ s’* and *w ~ b’*. Some examples are: *noxa* ‘polar fox’ > *nos’i* (PL.ACC), *n’um* ‘name’ > *n’ub’e* (PL.ACC), *tubka* ‘axe’ > *tubc’i* (PL.ACC). Some stems exhibit totally idiosyncratic changes in the formation of the accusative plural, e.g. *xasawa* ‘man’ > *xas’ew^o* (PL.ACC).

3.2.2 General finite stem

The general finite stem is the verbal stem which serves as the basis of inflection in the indicative present and past in the subjective conjugation and the objective conjugation with the singular and dual object. It is also present in the formation of the jussive mood. In the paradigm of the objective conjugation with the dual object the general finite stem is followed by the dual object marker *-xəyu-*, the resulting stem being referred to as the ‘dual object subsystem’ in Salminen (1997).

The vowel-final verb stems form the general finite stem by adding either *ə* or *ɲa* to the primary stem. The latter variant is chosen before a *x*-initial suffix, e.g. the dual object suffix. Thus, we have the following alternations: *xada-* ‘to kill’ > *xada^o* (3SG), *xada^o-da* (3SG > SG.OBJ), *xadaɲa-xəyu-da* (DU.OBJ-3SG). After the consonant-final

stems the *ŋa* variant is always attached, e.g. *sel-* ‘to dry’ > *selŋa* (3SG), but *ŋ* is lost after *m*-final stems, e.g. *ŋəm-* ‘to eat’ > *ŋəma* (3SG).

As mentioned above, the alteration verbs ending in *o* and *ə* show the change of the final vowel either to *i* or to *u* to form the general finite stem. This only happens in the indicative, e.g. *s’anako-* ‘to play’ > *s’anaku* (3SG), *ləbc’o-* ‘to stick together’ > *ləbc’i* (3SG). For many verbs of this type the formation of the general finite stem is accompanied by palatalization/depalatalization and the same changes of consonants, which are also observed in the formation of the accusative plural stem of nouns (see 3.2.1), e.g. *xon’o-* ‘to sleep’ > *xoni* (3SG).

3.2.3 Reflexive stem

The reflexive stem (called ‘special finite stem’ in Salminen 1997) provides a basis for inflection in the reflexive conjugation. It is formed in the following way.

All consonant-final stems and vowel-final stems except those ending in *ə* form the reflexive stem by adding *yə*, e.g. *te-* ‘to flow’ > *tey^o-q* (REFL.3SG), *səl-* ‘to return’ > *səly^o-q* (REFL.3SG). In *ə*-final stems there is a change of the final vowel *ə* > *iə* except before *x* where we find the variant *yə*, which yields the following alternations: *tū-lə-* ‘to start coming (INCH)’ > *tū-li^o* (3SG), *tū-ləyə-x^oh* (REFL.3DU). The alteration verbs do not have a reflexive stem, the general finite stem is used in the reflexive conjugation.

4 Remarks on prosodic structure

The rules of stress assignment are presented here after Salminen (1997). An alternative view on the prosody of Tundra Nenets dialects can be found in Amelina (2011, 2012) and a number of other works mostly published in Russian.

4.1 Syllables

The minimal word is CV, but ^o and *ə* do not occur in monosyllabic words. The maximal syllable structure is (C)V(C). This implies that there are no consonantal clusters word-initially and word-finally and that three-consonantal clusters are not allowed. Onsetless syllables do not occur word-initially in the Eastern dialects, but in the Western dialects word-initial *ŋ* is lost, so there are words beginning with a vowel, cf. Eastern *ŋəno* vs. Western *əno* ‘boat’. Word-internal onsetless syllables are not frequent and only occur when ^o or *ə* follow another vowel. For instance, this often happens in the general finite stem formed by adding *ə* to the vowel-final primary lexical stem (see Section 3.2), e.g. *me^o* ‘he takes (3SG)’ and *meə-s^o* ‘he took

(3SG.PAST)’ derived from the lexical stem *me-*, but vowel clusters can also occur internally to the primary stem, e.g. *ηə°bc°* ‘habit’, *yo°* ‘fish stomach’. Such vocalic sequences are best treated as bisyllabic for the purpose of stress assignment. In fact, Tundra Nenets lacks monosyllabic vowel clusters, i.e. diphthongs.

Epenthesis and consonant deletion apply to prevent creation of syllable-internal consonantal clusters, i.e. these processes are motivated by syllable structure. The epenthetic vowel is *ə* which is reduced to *°* according to the general rule described in Section 4.2. It appears after a consonant-final stem and before a word-final suffix that consists of a single consonant, e.g. *m’ad-°-q* ‘tents (PL.NOM)’ and *m’is-°-q* ‘give (CONNEG)’. Note that the stem-final *η* drops before the epenthetic vowel, e.g. *wīh* ‘tundra’ > *wī°q* (<*wīη-°-q*) (PL.NOM). Epenthesis is also observed between certain suffixes word-internally. It is not indicated as such in glosses in this grammar; rather it is marked as part of the stem.

Deletion applies when a suffix begins with a consonantal cluster. In such affixes the first consonant falls out when it follows a consonant-final stem, e.g. the durative affix *-mpə-* is realized as *-pə-* in such instances as *tedor-pə-* ‘to scold (DUR)’.

4.2 Stress assignment

As mentioned in Section 1.1, the over-short vowel *ə* reduces to *°* in unstressed positions. According to the description in Salminen (1997, 1993–2012 and other work), unstressed syllables are even syllables which do not precede the syllable with *°*, as well as the final syllables. The primary stress falls on the initial syllable and the secondary stress falls on further odd syllables and on an even syllable preceding a syllable with *°* (typically in the last syllable of the word). The final syllable is always excluded from the domain of stress assignment. These rules are illustrated by the following examples, where the symbol ‘ on a vowel indicates the primary stress and the symbol ` after a vowel indicates the secondary stress:

<i>méηa-xə`yu-n°</i>	‘take (DU.OBJ-1SG)’
<i>méηa-xə`yu-nə`-s’°</i>	‘take (DU.OBJ-1SG-PAST)’
<i>mé-nake`-x°yu`-n’ə-s’°</i>	‘take (PROB-DU.OBJ-1SG-PAST)’

In other words, Tundra Nenets exhibits bisyllabic trochaic feet aligned to the left.

Chapter 3

Grammatical classes

The two major word classes are verbs and nouns, which clearly differ in their morphological, syntactic and semantic properties. Adjectives, pronouns, numerals and even the classes of adverbs and postpositions exhibit certain inflectional properties of nouns, but can be distinguished by other criteria. Minor classes include conjunctions, particles and interjections.

1 Nouns

Prototypically nouns function as referent-denoting words, i.e. arguments and adjuncts, but they may also function as predicates or adnominal dependents. Nouns are compatible with determiners and possessors and can be modified by attributive modifiers. Some nouns denoting location may be modified by the word *səwa* ‘good’, which in this instance has meaning ‘the very’, e.g. *səwa yer* ‘the very centre (of)’. There are a few unique noun-like morphemes which only exist in a bound form as parts of compounds; on them see Salminen (1998a: 19–20).

1.1 Morphosyntactic properties

Nominal inflectional categories are case, number, possessive agreement (person/number of the possessor), and the category traditionally (i.e. in prior work on the language) called ‘destinative’ or ‘predestinative’. The latter expresses a TAM-like category in the possessive noun phrase. In the predicative function nouns take subject agreement, largely identical to that found in the verbal subject paradigm, as well as past tense, identical to verbal tense. However, predicative nouns are not converted into full-fledged verbs: verbs are associated with different derivational morphology (e.g. aspectual morphology described in Section 3.2), and productively derive non-finite forms, which predicative nouns do not have. Moreover, predicative nouns and verbs pattern differently with respect to the future and habitual tense, and with respect to non-indicative moods: unlike ‘true’ verbs, which form these categories in a synthetic manner, nominal predicates require with periphrastic constructions with the auxiliary ‘be’, cf.:

- (1) a. *xan'ena-dəm-c'o*
hunter-1SG-PAST
‘I was a hunter.’

- b. *xan'ena* *ηḁ-ηu-d^om*
 hunter be-FUT-1SG
 'I will be a hunter.'
- c. *mənc^ora^o-dəm-c^o*
 word-1SG-PAST
 'I worked.'
- d. *mənc^ora-ηu-d^om*
 work-FUT-1SG
 'I will work.'

As follows from these examples, the predicative noun 'hunter' is inflected for subject agreement and past tense (1a) in the same way as the verb 'to work' (1c). However, the future tense is formed differently, cf. (1b) and (1d). Note also that inflectional forms of (non-reflexive) verbs in the present and past are derived from the so-called general finite stem (see Chapter 2, Section 3.2.2). For instance, the verb *mənc^ora-* 'to work' forms the general finite stem by adding ^o or ə, as in (1c). Predicative nouns do not have general finite stem, the inflection being added directly to the primary stem of the noun, as in (1a). Moreover, negation also differs, cf.:

- (2) a. *xan'ena* *n'ī-d^om* *ηa-q*
 hunter NEG-1SG be-CONN
 'I am not a hunter.'
- b. *n'ī-d^om* *mənc^ora-q*
 NEG-1SG work-CONN
 'I don't work.'

While regular verbs are negated by means of the negative auxiliary combined with the connegative form (2b), predicative nouns are negated using the negation of the verb 'to be' (2a).

Nominal derivational morphology described in the next subsection is only typical of nouns and does not apply to e.g. adjectives. In addition, only nouns derive fully productive attributive, adverbial and verb-like forms, described in Section 1.3. Question words such as e.g. *xīb'a* 'who' and *ηəmke* 'what' are formally nouns, although they have certain idiosyncratic properties (see Chapter 12).

1.2 Nominal derivation

There are relatively few nominal derivational affixes; some of them are addressed below. All nominal derivational suffixes are glossed here as N (noun).

The non-productive suffixes *-sə-* and *-na-* derive dual and plural nouns from a closed class of kinship terms and other relational nouns denoting humans. The resulting meaning is something like ‘respective; to each other; personal’, e.g. *n’a* ‘companion, friend, sibling, relative’ > *n’a-sə-x^oh* (DU), *n’a-s^o-q* (PL) ‘friends, siblings (to each other)’; *n’is’a* ‘father’ > *n’is’a-nə-naq* (PL.1PL) ‘our (respective) fathers’, *n’is’a-nə-n’i* ‘my ancestors’. Such nouns can act as modifiers to other nouns, e.g. *n’a-sə(-x^oh) xasawa(-x^oh)* (companion-N-DU man) ‘brothers (to each other)’. The denominal affix *-yi-* derives human nouns with the meaning ‘late, deceased’: *n’is’a-yeda* ‘his late father (father-N.3SG)’, *paraṇoda-yi* ‘the late tsar’, *n’a-yi-m’i* (1SG) ‘my late friend’. There is also the non-productive suffix of parametric nouns *-əd^o*, e.g. *xun^o* ‘length’ > *xun-əd^o* ‘distance’, *lat^o* or *lat-əd^o* ‘width’, *yamp^o* ‘long’ > *yamp-əd^o* ‘length, size’.

Potential nouns are derived with the suffix *-yiq-* from verbs and denote something like ‘possibility of X’, where X is the base verb, e.g. *si^or-* ‘to look’ > *si^or-yiq* ‘possibility of looking’, *temta-* ‘to buy’ > *temta-yiq* ‘possibility of buying’. Such nouns usually occur in possessive forms. In the predicative function they mean ‘it is possible / impossible to X’, whereas the object argument of the base verb functions as the syntactic possessor in the resulting construction, e.g.:

- (3) *t’uku^o s’er^o-h yexara-yi-ta yəŋku*
 this thing-GEN ignore-N-3SG no
 ‘It is impossible to ignore this business.’ (T 113)

Deverbal nouns, often with the resultative meaning or denoting a cause, can be derived from certain verbs with the suffix *-bco-*, e.g. *xərwa-bco* ‘wish’ (from *xərwa-* ‘to want’), *xo-bco* ‘what can be easily found’ (from *xo-* ‘to find’), *yude-bco* ‘dream’ (from *yude-* ‘to dream’), *pəra-bco* ‘what can cause burning’ (from *pəra-* ‘to burn’).

These derivational patterns are not productive, but the language has two other fairly productive types of deverbal nominals. The first type is formed by means of the suffixes *-s’əh* or *-bc’əh* (with phonological variants). In many instances the derived noun has a lexicalized meaning which expresses an instrument, e.g. *pad^onə-bc’əh* ‘pen’ (from *pad^onə-* ‘to write’), or some sort of location, e.g. *yil’e-s’əh* ‘dwelling’ (from *yil’e-* ‘to live’), *xon’o-bc’əh* ‘bed’ (from *xon’o-* ‘to sleep’). In other instances the derivation preserves the argument structure of the base verb and denotes a process entailed by the semantics of the verbal base, the result of this process or its (temporary) location.

The second type, unlike the first, tends to refer to a location where the action denoted by the base verb typically/habitually takes place. Such nominals are derived with the suffix *-ləwa*. Again, there is a certain degree of lexicalization here, e.g. *yo^oləwa* ‘fishing hamlet’ (from *yoər-* ‘to fish’), but there are many non-lexicalized instances. A characteristic difference in the semantics of these two types of derived nominals is exemplified in the contrast between (4a) and (4b):

- (4) a. *xob°* *let°bə-bc°h* *ya-m'i*
 skin.ACC.PL keep-N place-1SG
 ‘the place where I (temporarily) keep skins (e.g. a box, a suitcase)’
- b. *xob°* *let°bə-l°wa* *ya-m'i*
 skin.ACC.PL keep-N place-1SG
 ‘the place where I (usually) keep skins (e.g. a room, a house)’

Unlike non-finite verbal forms described in Chapter 5, Section 4, deverbal nouns addressed here do not define a clausal domain. They do not realize tense distinctions and express a permanent property, therefore the only time adverbials with which they are compatible are ‘always’ and the like. They cannot be negated. Although in most instances deverbal nouns preserve the argument structure of the base verb as shown by some examples above, the subject argument of the verb from which they are derived does not function as the syntactic subject: instead, it has the properties of a possessor. In contrast to non-finite forms employed in dependent clauses, which require modification by manner adverbs, deverbal nouns must be modified by adjectives: *səwa* / **səwa-w°na xan'e-ləwa ya-m'i* (good / good-PROL hunt-N place-1SG) ‘the place where I hunt well’. In the predicative function they behave like other nouns, for instance, they take past tense inflections:

- (5) *n'an°-m* *temta-ba-l°wa-s°*
 bread-ACC buy-DUR-N-PAST
 ‘This was the place where one used to buy bread.’

However, they do have certain syntactic peculiarities related to agreement, addressed in Chapter 7, Section 5.4.

1.3 Nominal mixed categories

Mixed categories are fully productive inflectional forms of nouns which have a dual categorial nature: they preserve many properties of nouns, but additionally demonstrate the syntactic distribution of other parts of speech, namely, adjectives, verbs or adverbs.

1.3.1 Adjectival forms of nouns

The adjectival form of nouns referred to here as ‘propriative’ is derived with the suffix *-sawey°* and its meaning is ‘with X, having X’, where X stands for the base noun. If the base noun is an abstract or mass noun, propriatives are often lexicalized, e.g. *yī-sawey°* ‘intelligent’ (from *yī* ‘mind’), *wər-cawey°* ‘dirty’ (from *wərq*

‘dirt’). For the most part, however, proprietives are derived from countable inanimate nouns and the referentiality of the base noun is preserved, as shown by the following contrast: *ɲod’a-sawey° xid’a* ‘the cup with the berries (berry-PROPR cup)’ vs. *ɲod’a xid’a* ‘berry cup, cup for berries’. Such proprietives usually denote temporal possession, cf. *ɲarka ɲæwa-sawey° wæsaako* ‘the old man holding a big head (somebody else’s head)’ vs. *ɲæwa ɲæarka wæsaako* ‘big-headed man’. With human nouns proprietives are not frequent, although possible, but normally denote a general property. Thus, *n’e-sawey°* (woman-PROPR) does not normally mean ‘with the wife’, but has a more general meaning ‘married’. Proprietary morphology is compatible with diminutives and augmentatives, e.g. *pad°-ko-sawey°* ‘with a little bag (bag-DIM-PROPR)’, as well as question words e.g. *ɲəmke-sawey°* ‘with what’.

Proprietives are typically used as attributive modifiers. The examples in (6) demonstrate that the noun modified by the proprietary form triggers singular agreement on the predicate:

- (6) a. *n’ū-sawey° xasawa to°*
 child-PROPR man-GEN come
 ‘A man who has a child came.’
- b. **n’ū-sawey° xasawa toŋa-x°h*
 child-PROPR man-GEN come-3DU
 (‘A man who has a child came.’)
- c. *n’ū-sawey° xasawa-m ladorma-da*
 child-PROPR man-ACC beat.up-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He beat up the man who has a child / *He beat up the man with his child.’
- d. **n’ū-sawey° xasawa-m ladorma-x°yu-da*
 child-PROPR man-ACC beat.up-DU.OBJ-3SG
 (‘He beat up the man who has a child.’)

Tundra Nenets has optional attributive concord in number (see Chapter 7) and adjectival forms of nouns do not differ from regular adjectives in this respect, e.g. *sira-sawey°-q s’adoda* (snow-PROPR-PL precipice.PL.3SG) ‘his snowy precipices’ (T 608). However, concord on proprietives is far from obligatory and seems to be even less frequent than on regular adjectives. Another adjectival property of proprietives is that, like many adjectives, proprietives in the genitive function like agent-oriented adverbs. These are clause-level elements and do not show attributive concord.

- (7) a. *yes’a-sawey°-h to-yi-n°, temtor-tə°-waq*
 metal-PROPR-GEN come-SUBJ-2SG shop-FUT-1PL
 ‘Come with money, we will go shopping.’ (T 112)

- b. *sə-ta* *yed'a-xəd^onta* *s'acawey^o-h* *wəḏdər^oηkə^o*
 strong-IMPF.PART pain-ABL.3SG face.PROPR-GEN become.crooked
 'His face became crooked from strong pain (lit. he became crooked with his face).' (T 67)

In the function of finite predicates, proprietives behave like nouns or adjectives (see Chapter 11):

- (8) a. *t'edah* *m'irw^o-sawewaq*
 now weapon-PROPR.1PL
 'Now we are armed.' (T 254)
- b. *yab^o-sawen^o* *ηḁ-wen^o*
 luck-PROPR.2SG be-INFR.2SG
 'It turns out that you are lucky.' (T 822)

The proprietive form of nouns is only derived from singular nouns, even when the meaning of the resulting derivation may presuppose the plurality (or duality) of X. Proprietives are not derived from possessed and proper nouns either, so both **Wera-sawey^o* 'with Wera' and **n'is'a-da-sawey^o* (father-3SG-PROPR) 'with his father' are impossible. The base noun of the proprietive cannot head its own possessor, cf. the ungrammatical **mən^o pad^o-sawey^o n'enec^oh* 'man with my bag', and cannot be cross-referenced by anaphora:

- (9) **pad^o-sawey^o n'enec^oh xaqw^orabta^o-da*
 bag-PROPR person drop-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('The man with a bag dropped it.')

In (9) object agreement (or rather the incorporated pronominal object) on the verb cannot target the base noun of the proprietive 'bag'. The repetition of the noun is required to convey the relevant meaning.

These distributions qualify proprietives as syntactic adjectives, nevertheless, they preserve some nominal properties. First, negation does not follow the adjectival pattern. Unlike adjectives, proprietives are not negated by means of the auxiliary *n'in'a*; instead they are negated by means of the imperfective participle of a caritive verb (see Section 1.3.2). Thus, to express the meaning 'a man without a bag, a man not having a bag' it is not possible to say **n'i-n'a pad^o-sawey^o n'enec^oh* (NEG-IMPF. PART bag-PROPR person), the equivalent expression is *pad^o-s'ada n'enec^oh* (bag-V. IMPF.PART person). The only exception is when the proprietive is fully lexicalized as an adjective, in which case it can be negated by means of the negative auxiliary, e.g. *n'i-n'a wər-cawey^o* 'not dirty'.

Second, the base noun of the proprietive can take regular attributive modifiers, i.e. adjectives or nominative nouns, e.g. *səwa pad°-sawey° n'enec°h* (good bag-PROPR person) 'the man with a good bag'. We can also observe that proprietive derivations are not fully opaque in the sense that the base noun can trigger optional plural concord on its modifier (but apparently not in the dual):

- (10) *n'ud'a-q xal'a-sawey° to* (small-PL fish-PROPR lake)
 'lake with small fish (PL)'
**/?serako-x°h pad°-sawey°* (white-DU bag-PROPR)
 'with bags (DU)'

Since the base noun is typically referential, it is also compatible with determiners, e.g. *t'uku° pad°-sawey°* 'with this bag', although numerals are questionable: *?n'ax°r pad°sawey°* 'with three bags'.

Apart from proprietives, nouns have the similitive form in *-rəxa*, which also displays mixed properties of nouns and adjectives. The similitive expresses comparison on nouns, that is, the meaning 'like X, similar to X in some property'. The default property is physical appearance, e.g. size or shape, but other typical properties may be relevant too. The similitive forms of nouns have the same syntactic distribution as adjectives: they function as attributive modifiers or predicates.

- (11) *xoy°-rəxa xampa-x°q siər-c° s'ey°-m'i n'amnan° tūrŋa*
 mountain-SIM wave-PL.DAT look-MOD heart-1SG through.1SG reach
 'When I look at the waves looking like mountains, my heart sinks
 (lit. reaches through me).' (T 543)

In addition they show optional attributive concord in number, e.g. *wen'ako-r°xa-x°h t'on'a-x°h* (dog-SIM-DU fox-DU) 'foxes (DU) looking like dogs', but possessive concord with the nominal head is very marginal, while case concord seems to be impossible. Like with proprietives, the base noun can be modified and triggers plural agreement on its modifier:

- (12) *numki°-q tu-r°xa-q* (star.PL.GEN fire-SIM-PL)
 'like the lights of the stars'
tob°yowa yamt'o-rəxa-q (leather decoration-SIM-PL)
 'like leather decorations'
pər'id'e-n'a-q wen'ako-r°xa-q (black-IMPF.PART-PL dog-SIM-PL)
 'like black dogs'

Similitives can be formed from question words and demonstratives, e.g. *t'ukuə-r°xa* 'like this one', *xīb'a-rəxa* 'like who', *xurka-rəxa* 'like which', but not from personal pronouns or possessed nouns.

The similative may occur on adjectives, see 2.1, and action nominals:

- (13) *n'eri°* *ya°r-oqma-da* *xad°-h* *xæ-qm'a-rəxa*
 recently cry-PERF.AN-3SG snowstorm-GEN go-PERF.AN-SIM
 'Her crying stopped recently like a snowstorm that has passed'. (T 714)

However, the similative cannot be hosted by adverbs and finite verbs, although the approximative mood marker is obviously etymologically related to it (Chapter 5, Section 3.14).

1.3.2 Verbal forms of nouns

Different kinds of denominal verbs can be derived from nouns with various degrees of productivity (see Section 3.3), but only some of them preserve the properties of the base noun. These are referred to as 'verbal forms of nouns' here. The base nouns of such forms can take attributive modifiers (an adjective or a nominative noun) and trigger plural agreement on it, just like the base nouns of proprietives described in the previous subsection.

There are two deverbal forms of nouns. Proprietary verbs in *-(n)tə-* are derived from nouns with the meaning 'to be with X, to wear X', where X is the base noun. Typically, although not exclusively, they refer to items of clothing. The examples below illustrate that the base noun takes a modifier:

- (14) a. *ser* *toyo-tə-°* *ləbta* *wih* *p'enana°*
 white blanket-V-MOD flat tundra spread
 'The flat tundra covered with a white blanket spreads out.' (T 666)
- b. *yor'a* *pəni°-tə-°* *m'akəd°* *tərpi°-q*
 warm coat-V-MOD tent.ABL go.out-REFL.3SG
 'He went out of the tent dressed in a warm coat.' (T 443)
- c. *ŋan'i-doh* *noy°* *pəni°-tə°-q*, *ŋan'i-doh* *tob°yowa* *ləd°kə-tə°-q*
 again-PL.3PL broadcloth coat-V-3PL again-PL.3PL leather jacket-V-3PL
 'Some of them wear broadcloth coats, some of them wear leather jackets.' (T 171)

In the examples in (14) derived proprietary verbs act as intransitives. In fact they seem to be transitive because the quantifier targeting the base noun must stand in the accusative.

- (15) a. *s'id'a-m pəni°-tə°*
 two-ACC coat-V
 'He wears two coats (at the same time).'
- b. *n'axər°-m toyo-tə° waq-m'i tən'a°*
 three-ACC blanket-V-MOD bed-1SG exist
 'I have a bed with three blankets.'
- c. *ηoka-m ηəno-ta-° tu ηəno*
 many-ACC boat-V-MOD fire boat
 'steam boat with many (small) boats'

Proprietary verbs are not fully productive though, and in this sense they approach regular derivation.

The second type is formed by caritive verbs derived with the suffix *-s'ə-* (ending in *-s'i* in inflected forms), which is obviously etymologically related to the 'multi-based' caritive affix that attaches to nouns and words of some other grammatical classes (Chapter 6, Section 2.13). Caritive verbs seem to be fully productive, i.e. they can be derived from more or less every noun, e.g. *m'aq* 'tent' > *m'a-c'ə-* 'to be tentless', *munoc°h* 'beard and moustache' > *munoc'ən-c°-* 'to be without beard and moustache'. This includes diminutive nouns, e.g. *ηəno-ko-s°-* 'to be without a small boat', as well as question words and demonstratives, e.g. *xib'a-s'ə-* 'without whom', *xurka-s'ə-* 'without which'. The base noun of the caritive verb can head its own modifier, e.g. *səwa m'a-c'ə-* 'to be without a good tent', *səwa wen'ako-s°-* 'to be without a good dog'. The imperfective participles of the caritive verbs ending in *-s'əda* are often used in the attributive function and mean 'without X, X-less', e.g. *t'ir°-s'ə-da* 'cloudless' (from *t'ir°* 'cloud'), *ηod'a-s'ə-da* 'without berries'. The base noun can also be modified in this instance: *ηarka ηəno-s'ə-da nenec°h* (big boat-V-IMPF.PART person) 'man without a big boat', *n'ud'a-ko-q ηəc'eke-s°-da n'e* (small-DIM-PL child-V-IMPF.PART woman) 'woman without small children'.

1.3.3 Adverbial forms of nouns

The adverbial forms of nouns are fully productive (and possibly, inflectional) forms which have various adverbial functions and certain case-like properties. However, they stand outside the case system because they are not compatible with number and possessive marking. The markers of adverbial forms are always located at the right edge of the nominal word, i.e. such forms are unchangeable. They are not fully adverbialized either because the base noun preserves the ability of being modified.

The caritive adverbial form ends in *-s'iq* and has the meaning 'without': *weba-s'iq* 'without leaves', *xər°-s'iq* 'without a knife', *yi-c'iq* 'without water'. It functions as a secondary predicate characterizing subjects or objects.

- (16) a. *yeqy°-s'iq wəqla°-doh*
share-CAR leave-3PL > SG.OBJ
'They left him without his share.' (T 53)
- b. *xən'ah ηædara-mpə-b°q wada-s'iq xæ-s°ti*
where send-DUR-COND word-CAR go-HAB
'Wherever they send him, he goes without saying a word.' (T 32)
- c. *Wera səwa wen'ako-s'iq to°*
Wera good dog-CAR come
'Wera came without a good dog.'

Caritive nouns can be modified by attributive modifiers and determiners, but are not compatible with possessors. The caritive may occur on proper nouns, as well as numerals or action nominals but only if these are substantivized, as in (17) and (18), respectively. Caritive forms cannot be freely derived from every action nominal.

- (17) *ηod'a-ko-c'i ηul'iq ηob-c'iq məqle-yə-naq*
berry-DIM-DIM.PL.ACC completely one-CAR gather-PL.OBJ-1PL
'We gathered absolutely all the berries.'
- (18) a. *t'uku° yal'a-h nix°q-ma-s'iq mənç°raə-n°*
this day-GEN strong-IMPF.AN-CAR work-2SG
'Today you work badly.' (T 324)
- b. *məd°r-ma-s'iq xəya-s°*
be.delayed-IMPR.AN-CAR go-PAST
'He left without delay.' (T 215)

In older folklore texts one can observe some kind of optional caritive concord on attributive modifiers as shown by the next example from Tereshchenko (1965), however this is not normally acceptable in modern everyday speech.

- (19) *xurka-s'iq xəra-s'iq p'i-m məda°-waq*
which-CAR incident-CAR night-ACC cross-1PL
'We spent the night without any incidents.' (T 745)

The caritive marker is likely to be etymologically related to the suffix of denominal caritive verbs which preserve some nominal properties too, see Section 1.3.2.

The equative adverbial form is marked by the suffix *-(də)r'em*. The equative nouns may take the nominative or the dative case without apparent difference in meaning, so we find free variation e.g. *sarm'ik°* 'wolf' > *sarm'ikə-d°r'em* like a wolf' ~ *sarm'ikə-d°r'ew°-h* 'like a wolf (DAT)'. In both the nominative (20) and dative (21) forms the equative noun functions as a standard of comparison.

- (20) a. *ɲud'in'i* *sert°-r'em* *xəya-q*
 hand.PL.1SG ice-EQU go-3PL
 'My hands became like ice.' (T 586)
- b. *wad'ida* *yəxa-h* *yent°-tər'em* *xəmc'adə°-q*
 word.PL.3SG river-GEN stream-EQU pour-3PL
 'His words were pouring like a river stream.' (T 30)
- (21) a. *p'ad°r'ew°h* *pəl°li*
 tree.EQU.DAT stick.up
 'He sticks up like a tree.' (T 439)
- b. *xər'iq* *n'is'a-dər'ew°h* *s'an-c°ti-w°*
 own father-EQU.DAT feel.sorry-HAB-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I feel sorry for him like my own father.' (T 315)

There is also the essive adverbial form that ends in *-ɲe°*. The essive is very frequent. In many respects it behaves like a grammatical case but, unlike true grammatical cases, the essive is not compatible with the expression of grammatical number and possessive person/number, and does not license concord on the modifying adjective:

- (22) *səwa* / **səwa-ɲe°* *l'ekarə-ɲe°* *xəya-d°m*
 good / good-ESS doctor-ESS go-1SG
 'I became a good doctor.'

However, it is compatible with the genitive possessor: *n'ū-n'i n'e-ɲe°* (son-GEN.1SG woman-ESS) 'as the wife of my son' (Labanauskas 1995: 92).

The essive is mostly non-referential. It shares many of its syntactic functions with the genitive predestinative (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). First, it is used as an adjunct meaning 'as', 'for', 'instead', 'like' or the like. In this function it can be located NP-internally, as in the following examples:

- (23) a. *mən°* *mənc°rana-ɲe°* *ɣil°-m'i*
 I worker-ESS life-1SG
 'my life as a worker'
- b. *mənc°rana-ɲe°* *mən°* *ɣil°-m'i*
 worker-ESS I life-1SG
 'my life as a worker'
- c. *mən°* *yerw°-ɲe°* (*mən°*) *wada-m'i*
 I master-ESS I word-1SG
 'my word as a boss'

- d. **wada-m'i* *yerw^o-ŋe^o*
 I word-1SG master-ESS I
 ('my word as a boss')
- e. (*mən'ih*) *s'id'a-ŋe^o* *ŋəno-m'i*
 we.DU two-ESS boat-1DU
 'the boat which belongs to the two of us'

As shown here, the NP-internal essive either precedes or follows the possessor, but it cannot be located after the head noun. It normally clarifies the meaning of the possessor. For example, in (24) the essive is needed for the disambiguation of the 3rd person possessive affix on the possessed nouns, which in principle can refer to a sentence-internal element or another referent not mentioned in the sentence.

- (24) a. *Wera-h* *n'a* [*Wera-ŋe^o* *ŋəno-x^odənta*] *ŋamti*
 Wera-GEN friend Wera-ESS boat-LOC.3SG sit
 'Wera's friend is sitting in his, Wera's, boat.'
- b. *Maša-h* *wəsak^o* [*pida* *Maša-ŋe^o* *xə^o-mta*] *xana^o*
 Masha-GEN old.man he Masha-ESS knife-ACC.3SG take
 'Masha_i's husband_j took her_{i/*j} knife.'
- c. *Wera Maša-n^oh* (*pida*) *Wera-ŋe^o* *n'amna-nta* *ŋə-da*
 Wera Masha-DAT he Wera-ESS about-3SG be-IMPF.PART
kniga-m *m'iŋŋa*
 book-ACC give
 'Wera_i gave Masha_j the book written about him_{i/*j/*k}.'
- d. *Wera* *Maša-m* [*pida* *Wera-ŋe^o* *kniga-mta*
 Wera Masha-ACC he Wera-ESS book-ACC.3SG
tola-ba-da-xənta] *məneŋŋa-da*
 read-DUR-IMPF.PART-DAT see-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i saw how Masha_j was reading his_{j/*i/*k} book.'

The essive also functions as a clause-level adjunct and is very common in this function:

- (25) a. *səwa-n^o* *pad^otaqma-ŋe^o* *ser* *p'ena-ko-də-w^o* *ta-q*
 hat-GEN.1SG ornament-ESS white leg.skin-PRED-1SG bring-IMP.2SG
 'Give me white leg skin for the ornament of my hat.' (T 433)
- b. *lata-m* *učit'el^o-h* *tol^o-ŋe^o* *ta^o-da*
 board-ACC teacher-GEN table-ESS bring-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He brought a board as a table for the teacher.'

- c. *Wera-h ηano-ηe° s'erta°-w°*
 Wera-GEN boat-ESS do-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I made this into a boat for Wera.'
- d. **Wera-h ηano-ηe° s'erta°-d°m*
 Wera-GEN boat-ESS do-1SG
 ('I made this into a boat for Wera.')
- e. *ηar°xə-nta tu-ηe° ley°na°*
 whole-3SG fire-ESS blaze
 'He was all blazing like fire.' (Labanauskas 1995: 9)

Note that in (25c) the object is a referential null that must trigger agreement on the verb.

The essive has other functions too: it serves as a kind of verbal argument or a secondary predicate (Chapter 10, Section 3.3), it is compatible with some auxiliary-like verbs (Chapter 11, Section 3.5) and has emphatic function (Chapter 12, Section 3). The latter is not characteristic of the predestinative. The essive is also found on adjectives (2.1) and participles (Chapter 16, Section 3).

2 Adjectives

As mentioned in Salminen (1993: 261, 1997), Tundra Nenents adjectives are identical to nouns with respect to their inflectional properties. However, they can be classified as a separate category on the basis of derivational, syntactic and (partly) semantic criteria.

2.1 Morphosyntactic properties

In null-headed NPs adjectives assume head properties and take nominal inflections identical to that found on nouns, i.e. case, number and possessive. This is exemplified in Chapter 17, Section 1.3. Like nouns, predicative adjectives express the category of tense (inflectional past) and subject agreement, see Chapter 11, Section 2.1. And just like nouns, they are not turned into verbs. The difference between adjectives and verbs is the same as that found with nouns (Section 1.2): predicative adjectives do not have non-finite forms, do not form inflectional future, habitual and oblique moods, and show different patterns of negation. The difference between verbs and predicative adjectives in the formation of the future and negation is shown in (26) and (27), respectively.

- (26) a. *wen'ako tū-ta°*
 dog come-FUT
 'The dog will come.'
- b. *wen'ako ser ηæ-ηku*
 dog white be-FUT
 'The dog will be white.'
- (27) a. *wen'ako m'ak°nta n'ī m'iy°-q*
 dog tent.DAT.3SG NEG enter-CONNEG
 'The dog does not enter the tent.'
- b. *wen'ako ser n'ī ηa-q*
 dog white NEG be-CONNEG
 'The dog is not white.'

In addition, like nouns, adjectives can take the similative and essive forms. The similative expresses a meaning close to the meaning of the approximative mood on verbs, that is, 'seem':

- (28) a. *n'ananta wæwa-ræxa-s°*
 LOC.3SG bad-SIM-PAST
 'He seemed unhappy.' (T 67)
- b. *xolkabey° ηod'a-xæt° ya-da tas'exey°-ræxa-s°*
 ripe berry-PL.ABL place-3SG yellow-SIM-PAST
 'The earth seemed yellow from ripe berries.' (T 639)

The essive, like the essive on nouns, occurs in the predicative role with auxiliary-like verbs (see Chapter 11, Section 3.5) and functions as a secondary predicate which is either subject- or object-oriented. As a clause-level adjunct, it is obviously not in constituency with the respective subject or object.

- (29) a. *ηarka-rka-ηe° t'en'ana tol°-m s'erta-weda*
 big-COMP-ESS yesterday table-ACC do-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Yesterday he made the table bigger.'
- b. *ηarka-ηe° s'it° ηæt'eə-d°m*
 big-ESS you.ACC wait-1SG
 'I am waiting for you who are older.'
- (30) a. *p'a-q ηarka-ηe° wad'orηa-q*
 tree-PL big-ESS grow-3PL
 'The trees are growing big.'

- b. *pidər° ηarka-ηe° to-yi-n°*
 you big-ESS come-SUBJ-2SG
 ‘You, the old one, do come.’

This indicates inherent affinity between nouns and adjectives.

However, there are several reasons for classifying adjectives separately from nouns. First, adjectives have different derivational morphology (see the next section) and do not derive some of the mixed categories described in Section 1.3. Second, they show different concord patterns. When used as modifiers, adjectives either stand in the nominative or may agree in case with the head noun, although this latter kind of concord is quite infrequent (see Chapter 7, Section 3). There is also optional concord in number and possessive categories, the latter being restricted to certain registers. In contrast nouns, when used as modifiers, never take case and possessive concord, even though they may show number concord, cf.: *serako-r° xid’a-r°* (white-2SG cup-2SG) ‘your white cup’ and **yes’a-r° xid’a-r°* (metal-2SG cup-2SG) ‘your metal cup’. Third, adjectives and nouns show similar negation patterns in the predicative function, but attributive nouns cannot be negated, while adjectives are negated with the negative auxiliary *n’in’a*, see Chapter 12, Section 4.3. Fourth, the genitive or prolativ form of many (though not all) qualitative adjectives form manner adverbs, see Section 5, while nouns do not derive adverbs in this manner.

The class of adjectives identified based on these criteria includes lexemes with typical property meanings, such as size, form, colour, human propensity and so on. It also comprises ordinal numerals described in Section 7, as well as determiners and demonstratives. Note that some property words are not expressed by adjectives, but rather correspond to the attributive forms of verbs (on colours see below in Section 3).

2.2 Adjectival derivation

Adjectives are derived from nouns, adverbs and verbs. Only the most important derivational patterns are described here. Adjectival derivational suffixes are glossed as ADJ.

Proprietary adjectives are derived with the suffix *-l’anj°*, e.g. *sar’o* ‘rain’ > *sar’o-l’anj°* ‘rainy’, *n’arco* ‘moss’ > *n’arco-l’anj°* ‘mossy’. This pattern is quite productive, although not fully productive. The meaning of the resulting adjectives is basically similar to the meaning of the proprietary forms of nouns, but the base nouns do not preserve any nominal properties. In particular, they do not take modifiers. Unlike proprietary forms of nouns, adjectives in *-l’anj°* cannot be derived from question words and pronouns: **ηəmke-l’anj°* ‘with what’.

Locative or temporal adjectives in *-(x)i°*, *-y°* or *-ηi°* are derived from nouns, adverbs and sometimes verbs, e.g. *war°* ‘edge, shore’ > *war°xi°* ‘located on the

shore', *xūb°ta* 'morning' (N) > *xūb°ta-xi°* 'morning (ADJ)', *p'i* 'night' (N) > *p'i-y°* 'night (ADJ)', *təh* 'summer' (N) > *tə-ŋi°* 'summer (ADJ)', *summery*, *t'en'ana* 'yesterday' > *t'en'ana-ŋi°* 'yesterday's', *pedara* 'forest' > *pedarey°* 'foresty, forest (ADJ)'. Note that attributive forms of postpositions (see Section 6) are derived with the same suffix.

There are also a few unproductive derivational patterns of deverbal adjectives exemplified by *p'in°-xad°* 'cowardly' (from *p'inə-* 'to be afraid'), *tara-xad°* 'diligent' (from *tara-* 'to be needed'), *temp°r'-ik°* 'liar' (from *temp°ra-* 'to deceive'), *xəp'er'-ik°* 'idle' (from *xəp'er-* 'to be idle'). Resultative adjectives are derived from some verbs with the suffix *-bey°*, e.g. *xa-bey°* 'dead' (from *xə-* 'to go'), *xolka-bey°* 'ripe' (from *xolka-* 'to get ripe'). Such adjectives can undergo nominalization, while in the Western dialects they compete with perfective participles (see Chapter 5, Section 4.1),

3 Verbs

Verbs function as main or dependent predicates and denote eventualities of various kinds, but a fairly large class of verbs has qualitative meaning, i.e. they denote properties. In the attributive function, the canonical function of property words, qualitative verbs take a participial form. We therefore have a kind of split in terms of how property concepts are mapped onto morphosyntactic classes in Tundra Nenets: some of them are grammaticalized as adjectives, while others correspond to verbs. For instance, this split is noticeable in basic colour terms: the concept 'white' is expressed by the adjective *ser* 'white', whereas the concept 'black' is expressed by the verbal stem *pər'id'e-* 'black'. Verbs that denote colours and other properties have non-finite forms except negative participles, e.g. *pər'id'e-n'a* 'black (IMPF.PART)', *pər'id'e-wi°* 'that used to be black (PERF.PART)', *pər'id'e-w°nta* 'that will be black (FUT.PART)', *pər'id'e-wənc°* 'to be black (PURP)'. They are negated by means of regular verbal negation, e.g. *n'i pər'id'e-q* 'not black' (NEG black-CONNEG).

3.1 Morphosyntactic properties

Inflectional categories of verbs are tense, mood, subject agreement, and object agreement (for transitive verbs). Verbs also have non-finite forms (mixed categories), namely, four types of participles, two action nominals, four converbs and converb-like forms, as well as the connegative. Verbal derivational morphology includes valence-changing, aspectual and interclass derivations; the latter two types are addressed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3., while valence-changing morphology is discussed in Chapter 10.

3.2 Deverbal derivation: aspectual classes

All verbs are lexically divided into two aspectual classes, the perfective class and the imperfective class. They largely determine the meaning of inflectional tenses, as explained in Chapter 5. There is a fairly large number of derivational aspectual suffixes which, when attached to the verbal stem, can change its aspectual class. Some of them change the valence patterns too, these are discussed in Chapter 10. Here I only mention a few aspectual affixes that do not normally involve transitivity or detransitivization.

Imperfectivizing affixes typically express durative, frequentative, multiplicative and iterative meanings. The durative in *-(m)pə-* (with the variant *-bə-*) is quite productive. It indicates that the situation lasts a certain amount of time, e.g. *tola-* ‘to count, to read’ > *tola-bə-* ‘to keep counting, to keep reading’, *t’irc’id’e-* ‘to push’ > *t’irc’id’e-mpə-* ‘to keep pushing’, *xada-* ‘to kill’ > *xada-bə-* ‘to keep killing’, *loxo-* ‘to boil up’ > *loxo-pə-* ‘to keep boiling’, or has a habitual meaning, e.g. *xo-* ‘to find’ > *xo-mpə-* ‘to find usually’. For base verbs that denote short single events, the resulting durative verb indicates that the situation occurs many times (the multiplicative meaning), e.g. *lad°-* ‘to hit’ > *lad°-mpə-* ‘to beat’. When derived from inchoative verbs, duratives can indicate a result, e.g. *ɲamt’o-l-* ‘to sit down (INCH)’ > *ɲamt’o-l-pə-* ‘to be sitting’.

The frequentative-iterative-multiplicative suffixes *-or-*, *-ur-*, *-er-* are fairly productive too. On one-place verbs they usually indicate that the situation is repeated with the same participant (the subject), e.g. *xayo-* ‘to stay’ > *xayur-* ‘to stay many times’. They can also have a habitual or dispersive meaning, e.g. *yakə-* ‘to itch’ > *yakur-* ‘to itch regularly’, *ɲox°lə-* ‘to swim’ > *ɲox°l’ur-* ‘to swim here and there, to swim habitually’, *t’im-* ‘to rot’ > *t’iw-or-* ‘to rot habitually, to have a propensity to rot’. If the base verb is more than one-place, the derived verb either denotes that the situation is repeated with identical participants or that it involves multiple subjects or objects, e.g. *ladə-* ‘to hit’ > *lador-* ‘to hit many times; to beat up’, *ɲəm-* ‘to eat’ > *ɲəw-or-* ‘to have a meal’, *temta-* ‘to buy’ > *temtor-* ‘to buy many times, from time to time; to buy many things’, *nəmtə-* ‘to hear’ > *nəmtor-* ‘to listen to’, *s’erta-* ‘to do, to make’ > *s’ert’er-* ‘to make a big quantity of something’.

The iterative suffix *-ɲkə-* is usually found on verbs that denote repeating interrupted events, e.g. *n’awotə-* ‘to gallop, to run (of an animal)’ > *n’awotə-ɲkə-* ‘to run and stop several times’, *t’u-* ‘to enter’ > *t’u-ɲk°-* ‘to enter and exit several times’. Such verbs can also mean that the participant has the property of X-ing, e.g. *xəwə-* ‘to fall down (of standing objects)’ > *xəw°-ɲkə-* ‘to have a propensity to fall down’. The suffix *-q-* derives durative verbs or indicates plurality of objects, e.g. *mə-* ‘to take’ > *meq-* ‘to keep, to use, to wear’, *xo-* ‘to find’ > *xoq-* ‘to fetch (several objects)’.

Perfectivizing affixes normally denote inchoative and momentative situations. The most frequent inchoative affix is *-l-* (after vowel-final stems) or *-lə-* (after other stems). The inchoative verbs are only derived from imperfectives and typically

belong to the reflexive inflectional class (see Chapter 10, Section 1.1), some examples are *yil'e-* 'to live' > *yil'e-l-* 'to start living', *xodor-* 'to cough' > *xodo-lə-* 'to start coughing', *ηəm-* 'to eat' > *ηəwo-lə-* 'to start eating'. Some inchoative verbs, however, remain transitive such as *səx°də-* 'to hate' > *səx°də-l-* 'to start hating'. The inchoative verbs in *-ləm-* are usually derived from denominal caritive verbs in *-s'ə-* described in Section 1.3.2, e.g. *m'irw°* 'weapon' > *m'irw°-s'ə-* 'to be unarmed' > *m'irw°-s'al°m-* 'to become unarmed'.

The momentative *-xəl-* or *-xəla-* usually attaches to transitive verbs, e.g. *s'ak°l-* 'to bite' > *s'ak°l-xəl-* 'to bite once', *n'ancə-* 'to lick' > *n'ancə-xəl-* 'to lick once', *səbka-* 'to dig' > *səbka-xəl-* 'to dig once'.

The verbal diminutive in *-(yə)bt'e-* does not change the aspectual class of the base verb but denotes low intensity of the action denoted by it, e.g. *nū-* 'to stand' > *nū-y°bt'e-* 'to stand for a while', *t'irc'id'e-* 'to push' > *t'irc'id'e-(y°)pt'e-* 'to push a little', *tola-* 'to read, to count' > *tola-yəbt'e-* 'to read a little'. It can also be used with the causative meaning, see Chapter 10, Section 2.1.2.

3.3 Denominal derivation

Tundra Nenets has a large number of denominal verbs, but only a few basic patterns are mentioned here. They are all glossed as V (verb).

Transitive proprietary verbs meaning 'to use as X, to have as X' are derived from the accusative plural stem of some nouns with the suffix *-q*, e.g. *səwa* 'hat' > *səb'i-q-* or *səb'e-q-* 'to use as a hat', *səwək°* 'man's coat' > *səw°kə-q-* 'to use as a man's coat'. The overt object is in fact required for such verbs, but object agreement is rare although acceptable under appropriate pragmatic conditions. Sentence examples follow.

- (31) a. *xər°-da* *ya-h* *n'amt°-m* *n'ir'eqna*
 knife-3SG place-GEN horn-ACC handle.V
 'The handle of his knife is made of mammoth bone.' (T 315)
- b. *t'uku°* *xasawa* *noxa-h* *xoba-m* (**səwa* / **səwa-w°na*) *səb'iqna*
 this man polar.fox-GEN skin-ACC good / good-PROL hat.V
 'This man's (*good) hat is made of the skin of a polar fox.' Or:
 'This man uses a polar fox skin as a hat.'

As shown in (31b), such verbs are not compatible with modifiers: neither an adjective nor a manner adverb can modify them. However, verbs similar in form can be derived from certain adjectives albeit with a different meaning, e.g. *ηarka* 'big' > *ηarka-q-* 'to consider it to be the biggest'.

Intransitive proprietary verbs usually have the meaning 'to have (a lot of) X, to have big X', e.g. *səwək°* 'man's coat' > *səw°kə-q-* 'to have many man's coats', but

sometimes the meaning is not entirely predictable, e.g. *s'aq* 'face' > *s'ado-q-* 'to have a beautiful face', *səŋo* 'look' > *səŋo-q-* 'with an expressive look'. Again the base noun cannot be modified, so you cannot say 'to have many good coats' using such verbs. 'Odorative' verbs (the term of Salminen 1993–2012) mean 'to smell of X', e.g. *xal'a* 'fish' > *xal'a-yə-* 'to smell of fish', *ŋəmca* 'meat' > *ŋəmca-yə-* 'to smell of meat'. However, with a few nouns it can also mean 'to taste of' or 'to feel like' (cf. Burkova 2010: 303), e.g. *sax^or* 'sugar' > *sax^or-yə-* 'to have a light taste of sugar, to be a little sweet', *n'a* 'companion, relative, sibling' > *n'a-yə-* 'to be treated like a relative, to be counted as a relative'. Intransitive verbs in *-h* denote consumption, e.g. *noxa* 'Arctic fox' > *nos'i-h-* 'to hunt Arctic foxes', *məraŋka* 'cloudberries' > *məraŋki-h-* 'to collect cloudberries', *n'an^o* 'bread' > *n'an^o-h-* 'to eat bread'. Attributive modifiers modifying the base noun are not normally accepted with such verbs: */? *səwa nos'ih-* 'to hunt good Arctic foxes'. The suffix *-m-* derives intransitive verbs with the inchoative/translative meaning from nouns and adjectives, e.g. *ŋar^o* 'largeness' > *ŋarə-m-* 'to become larger', *s'in^o* 'fog' > *s'in^o-m-* 'to become foggy', *taŋko* 'spacious' > *taŋkum-* 'to become spacious'. Examples of other denominal verbs are *yun^o* 'news' > *yun^o-rə-* 'to ask', *m'aq* 'tent' > *m'a-r^o-* 'to set up a tent' (T 278). Some verbs are derived from adjectives or quantifiers, e.g. *ŋoka* 'many, much' > *ŋok^owor-* 'to grow', *ŋok^omtən^o-* 'to grow in number', as well as postpositions (on these see Chapter 10, Section 2.6). All these types of verbs are of limited productivity.

4 Pronominals

Personal pronouns can only refer to humans and, very marginally, animals, but never refer to inanimate objects, with demonstratives being used instead. Pronouns are distinguished for three persons and three numbers and only have three grammatical cases (nominative, accusative and genitive). Their paradigm is shown below. As can be seen here, the non-nominative forms are suppletive.

(32) Personal pronouns

Nominative

1SG	<i>mən^o</i>	2SG	<i>pidər^o</i>	3SG	<i>pida</i>
1DU	<i>mən'ih</i>	2DU	<i>pid^or'ih</i>	3DU	<i>pid'ih</i>
1PL	<i>mən'aq</i>	2PL	<i>pid^oraq</i>	3PL	<i>pidoh</i>

Accusative

1SG	<i>s'iqm'i</i>	2SG	<i>s'it^o</i>	3SG	<i>s'it(')a</i>
1DU	<i>s'id^on'ih</i>	2DU	<i>s'id^od'ih</i>	3DU	<i>s'id^od'ih</i>
1PL	<i>s'id^onaq</i>	2PL	<i>s'id^odaq</i>	3PL	<i>s'id^odoh</i>

Genitive

1SG	<i>s'iqn° ~ s'iqn'i</i>	2SG	<i>s'it°</i>	3SG	<i>s'it(')a</i>
1DU	<i>s'id°qn'ih</i>	2DU	<i>s'id°t'ih</i>	3DU	<i>s'id°t'ih</i>
1PL	<i>s'id°qnaq</i>	2PL	<i>s'id°taq</i>	3PL	<i>s'id°toh</i>

The function of these cases partly differs from the respective cases of nouns, see Chapter 4 on the genitive and nominative.

Local meanings of personal pronouns are expressed by possessive forms of postpositions, in particular the postpositional stem *n'a-* 'at, by' in respective cases. In this grammar they are conventionally glossed as cases. For instance, *n'a-dən°* 'from me' is the ablative 1st person singular form of the postposition *n'a-* and is glossed as ABL.1SG, cf. the locative 2SG form *n'a-nantaq* 'by you (LOC.2PL)', the prolative 2SG form *n'a-mnant°* 'along you (PROL.2SG)', and the dative 3SG form *n'a°-nta* 'to him (DAT.3SG)'.

The class of anaphors includes reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. Reflexive elements are formed in two different ways: (i) the reflexive stem *xər°q-* (glossed as REFL) appears in the respective person/number followed by a personal pronoun in a relevant case, (ii) the reflexive stem *pi(x)°də-* (also glossed as REFL) appears in the relevant case and person/number preceded by an optional *xər°q-* in the nominative and in the relevant person/number. Person/number marking on reflexive elements comes from the possessive paradigm. Below I present the person/number paradigm of the reflexive stem *xər°q-* in the basic form, cited after Salminen (1997: 134):

(33) Reflexive pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>xəraqn° ~ xər°qn'i</i>	<i>xər°n'ih</i>	<i>xər°qnaq</i>
2	<i>xərat°</i>	<i>xər°t'ih</i>	<i>xər°taq</i>
3	<i>xər°ta</i>	<i>xər°t'ih</i>	<i>xər°toh</i>

These basic forms fulfill the function of the nominative and genitive. Other grammatical cases are derived in the regular manner. The examples in (34) illustrate reflexives in the dative, ablative and accusative cases.

- (34) a. *xər°-ta pi°də-x°nta ma*
 REFL-3SG REFL-DAT.3SG say
 'He spoke to himself.' (T 494)
- b. *pix°də-x°dən'i p'in°ə-d°m*
 REFL-ABL.1SG be.afraid-1SG
 'I am afraid of myself.'

- c. *tərc'a-m s'erta-b°qna-n° xər°q-n'i pix°də-m'i sãx°d'il-t°ə-d°m*
 such-ACC do-COND.EMPH-1SG REFL-1SG REFL-ACC.1SG hate.INCH-FUT-1SG
 'If I do such thing, I will start hating myself.' (T 587)

Reflexives may function as objects of postpositions. The postposition bears person/number markers agreeing with the reflexive element *xər°q-*, e.g. (*xər°q-n°*) *ɲil°na-n'i* (REFL-GEN.1SG under-1SG) 'under myself', *xər°-ta n'amma-nta* (REFL-3SG about-3SG) 'about himself'. Reflexives based on *pix°də-* do not trigger agreement on the postposition, e.g. *xər°q-n° pix°də-n° ɲil°na* (REFL-1SG REFL-1SG under) 'under myself'.

The difference between the two classes of reflexive expressions is basically semantic. The first class normally indicates the non-physical 'essence'. It is only used for humans, but not for animals or inanimate objects. The second class is mainly used when talking about physical features and it is not entirely clear to what extent the stem *pi(x)°də-* is grammaticalized as a semantically bleached reflexive, as opposed to its original literal meaning 'body'. The contrast between the two classes of reflexive expressions is shown below.

- (35) a. (*xər°q-n'i*) *pix°də-m'i xamc°ə-d°m*
 REFL-1SG REFL-1SG love-1SG
 'I love myself (my body, my figure etc.).'
 b. *xər°q-n'i s'iqm'i xamc°ə-d°m*
 REFL-1SG I.ACC love-1SG
 'I love myself.'

With some verbs only one class of reflexives is possible because of their semantics.

- (36) *pix°də-m'i / *xər°q-n'i s'iqm'i xəl°ta-mp'i-d°m*
 REFL-ACC.1SG / REFL-1SG I.ACC wash-DUR-1SG
 'I wash myself.'

The reflexive stem *xər°q-* is also used as an intensifier, see Chapter 8, Section 1.4.4.

Reciprocals are represented by the dual or plural forms of the noun *n'a* 'companion, sibling, friend, relative'. Such grammaticalized forms are glossed as REC here. Reciprocals agree with the antecedent in number and person and take appropriate case inflections, e.g.:

- (37) a. *walakəda n'in'ih wun'i-n'ih xo-ɲku-q*
 but REC.ACC.1DU NEG.EMPH-1DU find-FUT-CONNEG
 'But we (DU) will not find each other.' (T 335)

- b. *n'ax°t'ih* *məy°mp'i-x°h*
 REC.DAT.3DU happy-3DU
 'They (DU) are happy with each other.'(T 335)
- c. *yal'a-ŋe°* *n'idoh* *n'er°t'e-mp'iq*
 day-ESS REC.ACC.3PL outrun-DUR.3PL
 'They keep outrunning each other.'(T 303)

On the syntax of reflexivization and reciprocalization see Chapter 17.

5 Adverbs

Three subclasses of adverbs are agreeing adverbs, non-agreeing adverbs and predicative adverbs. Agreeing adverbs can agree in (possessive) person/number with one of the elements of the clause, on them see Chapter 8, Section 1.4. Predicative adverbs are used in both non-predicative and predicative functions; in the latter function they show subject agreement and tense (see Chapter 8, Section 1.5).

Non-agreeing adverbs have various meanings. Locative adverbs are typically inflected for the same four local cases as nouns (dative, locative, ablative and prolativ). The locative denotes location, the dative denotes direction 'to', the ablative denotes direction 'from' or 'out of' and the prolativ denotes direction 'through' or 'along'. However, the morphological expression of cases may be different from that on regular nouns, namely, the dative *-h*, the locative *-n(')a*, the ablative *-tə*, and the prolativ *-mna*. These frozen case affixes are not indicated in glosses, instead adverbs are glossed as non-inflected lexical items. Deictic locative adverbs derived from demonstratives and wh-adverbs utilize the same case affixes. Some examples of adverbs in various case forms are presented below

(38)	LOC		DAT	ABL	PROL
	<i>t'ukoxəna</i>	'here'	<i>t'ukon°h</i>	<i>t'ukoxəd°</i>	<i>t'ukow°na</i>
	<i>xuna</i>	'where'	<i>xuh</i>	<i>xud°</i>	<i>xumna</i>
	<i>təs'ina</i>	'down'	<i>təs'ih</i>	<i>təs'id°</i>	<i>təs'imna</i>
	<i>t'uq°na</i>	'above'	<i>t'uq°h</i>	<i>t'uqəd°</i>	<i>t'uq°mna</i>

Compound locational adverbs include the postpositional element *n'a-* 'at, by', e.g. *xə-n'a-* 'where', *s'ata-n'a-* 'left', but it will be written without a hyphen here. Interestingly, some adverbial stems still exhibit plural inflections before the case affix, which indicates their nominal origin, e.g. *ŋa-* 'far' > *ŋax°q* (PL.DAT), *ŋax°qna* (PL.LOC), *ŋaxət°* (PL.ABL), *ŋaqm°na* (PL.PROL). However, local adverbs are not compatible with agreement morphology and cannot be modified by adjectives.

Time and degree adverbials have various origins and are unchangeable; they do not take case-like forms, e.g. *t'en'ana* ‘yesterday’, *xūn'ana* ‘tomorrow’, *səc'o* ‘very’, note also *xuna* ‘where’ with the meaning ‘when’. Such adverbs sometimes have a suffix *-ku-* which expresses some degree of comparison: *m'er°h* ‘soon, quickly, early’ > *m'er°kuh* ‘more quickly’, *pon°h* ‘long, late’ > *pon°kuh* or *pon°kurkah* ‘longer, later’. It will be glossed as ADV here. Various temporal adverbial meanings may also be expressed by modal converbs, case forms of nouns or postpositional phrases.

Deadjectival manner adverbs are usually frozen case forms of adjectives or adjective-like categories, e.g. *xusuwey°* ‘each, all, every’ > *xusuwex°na* ‘always’ (LOC). Genitive adjectives in the adverbial function are especially common, e.g. *lək°-h* ‘quickly’ (GEN), and similar adverbs can be derived from some numerals too, e.g. *ɲob°-h* ‘suddenly, once’, *s'id'a-h* ‘twice’. Prolative forms of adjectives also derive manner adverbs, e.g. *n'esey°-wəna* ‘anew, again’, *ɲənpoko-w°na* ‘quietly’, and *meyo-w°na* ‘hard(ly)’.

6 Postpositions

Local postpositions preserve some properties of the category from which they are historically derived, namely, nouns. These postpositions, like adverbs, employ a special set of local case suffixes, that is, they typically exist in the locative, dative, ablative and prolative form (see Section 5). They may be glossed as e.g. ‘to.under’, ‘through.under’ etc. Some examples of frequent postpositions in various cases are presented in the following table.

(39)	LOC		DAT	ABL	PROL
	<i>n'ana</i>	‘at’	<i>n'ah</i>	<i>n'ad°</i>	<i>n'amna</i>
	<i>n'in'a</i>	‘on’	<i>n'ih</i>	<i>n'id°</i>	<i>n'imn'a</i>
	<i>ɲil°na</i>	‘under’	<i>ɲil°h</i>	<i>ɲiləd°</i>	<i>ɲil°mna</i>
	<i>m'un'a</i>	‘inside’	<i>m'uh</i>	<i>m'ud°</i>	<i>m'umn'a</i>
	<i>t'ax°na</i>	‘behind’	<i>t'ax°h</i>	<i>t'axəd°</i>	<i>t'ax°mna</i>

There are no other case forms and postpositions are obviously not compatible with modifiers. However, they do take possessive agreement morphology which expresses a pronominal object of the postposition, e.g. *ɲil°mna-ntoh* ‘along the place under them (3PL)’. Some postpositions may optionally express number agreement with their object. Like adverbs, postpositions often have compound forms with *n'a-* ‘at’ in the respective case as the second component, in which instance they denote more abstract directions, e.g. *m'uh* ‘into’ and *m'u-n'ah* ‘in the direction of inside of’, *ɲil°h* ‘to the place under’ and *ɲil°-n'ah* ‘in the direction of under of’, and so on.

Non-local postpositions do not have cases, but historically they usually represent a frozen case or case-like forms of nouns. For example, *yegy^one^o* ‘instead’ is historically the essive of the noun *yegy^o* ‘part, share, property’. In fact, local postpositions often have grammaticalized non-local meaning too, e.g. *n’amna* has grammaticalized as ‘about’ and *n’ah* as ‘with’. Some postpositions are not compatible with agreement morphology. For more information on the structure of postpositional phrases see Chapter 8.

The suffix *-(x)i^o/-ŋi^o/-y^o* creates attributive forms of many postpositions mostly with the local meaning, for example: *ŋil^o* ‘under’ > *ŋil-i^o* ‘being under’, *m’u-* ‘inside of’ > *m’u-y^o* ‘being inside of, internal to’, *xæw^o* ‘at the side of’ > *xæw^o-xi^o* ‘being at the side of’. Attributive forms of compound postpositions can be derived with basically the same meaning: *ŋil^o-n’a-ŋi^o* ‘being in the direction of under’, *m’u-n’a-ŋi^o* ‘being in the direction of inside’. On the syntax of these forms in attributive constructions see Chapter 14, on the postpositions in predicative constructions see Chapter 11.

7 Numerals

Numerals are not distinct from nouns and adjectives in their inflectional properties, but have certain derivational peculiarities, as well as distinct semantics and syntax. Cardinal numerals take nominal inflections when used in null-headed NPs (see Chapter 17, Section 1.3) and are unchangeable when used adnominally (see Chapter 7, Section 4.2). Compound numerals are formed in the following way. Numerals from 11 to 19 employ the word *yəŋk^on’a* (literally ‘separate’) added to the simple numeral from 1 to 9, e.g. *ŋob yəŋk^on’a* (one separate) ‘11’, *s’id’a yəŋk^on’a* (two separate) ‘12’. Another possible compound form is *n’ab’i yū-t’a s’id’a* (and ten-3SG two) ‘18’. Numerals starting from ‘20’ are derived by simple juxtaposition of relevant digits, e.g. *s’id’a yūq* (two ten) ‘20’, *n’ax^or yūq* (three ten) ‘30’, *yūq yon^or’eq^o* (ten thousand) ‘10 000’, *s’id’a yūq s’id’a* (two ten two) ‘22’. When a compound numeral stands in one of the non-nominative cases, only its last component is inflected. Approximate number may be expressed by combining a cardinal numeral with *s’an^o* ‘few’ or *p’ir* ‘size; likelihood’, e.g. *s’id’a s’an^o* or *s’id’a p’ir^o* ‘approximately two’.

Ordinal numerals have morphosyntactic properties of adjectives. The first two ordinal numerals are suppletive: *n’ūr^ot’ey^o* ‘first’, *n’ab’imt’ey^o* ‘second’. Other ordinal numerals are derived from cardinals with the suffix *-mt(’ey^o)*: *n’ax^or* ‘three’ > *n’ax^oro-mtey^o* ‘third’, *t’et^o* ‘four’ > *t’et’i-mt’ey^o* ‘fourth’, *mæt^oq* ‘six’ > *mæt^odə-mtey^o* ‘sixth’. In compound ordinal numerals only the last component takes the suffix, e.g. *n’ab’i yūt’a mæt^odəmt’ey^o* ‘sixteenth’, but such numerals are not used very often.

The distributive forms of numerals end in *-ləd°h*, e.g. *ɲob-ləd°h* ‘one by one’, *t’et°-ləd°h* ‘four at a time, four each’. They are used adverbially and are only derived from the numerals from 1 to 5.

- (40) a. *pida konfetki t’et°-ləd°h me-y°-da*
 he candy.ACC.PL 4-DISTR take-PL.OBJ-3SG
 ‘He distributed the candies by four.’
- b. *xusuwey° xən°-h n’in’a s’id-ləd°h ɲamti*
 each sled-GEN on 2-DISTR sit
 ‘Two people sit on each sled.’

Adverbial numerals either take the essive form, e.g. *s’id’a-ɲe°* ‘being two, in two’, or stand in the genitive, e.g. *n’axər°-h* ‘three times’. Additionally, the first three numerals have special adverbial forms in *-(n)oq*: *ɲob-oq* ‘once’, *s’id’a-noq* ‘twice’ and *n’axər-oq* ‘thrice’. Note also the irregular *ɲob°ɲkuna* ‘once’.

8 Conjunctions and particles

These are unchangeable classes without inflectional or derivational morphology. Unlike, for instance, adverbs, conjunctions and particles cannot stand on their own even in elliptical contexts. Particles are unchangeable elements without a connective function; instead they have various discourse-related meanings. Some frequent particles are *yekar°q* ‘it is unknown’, *ɲod°q* ‘hardly’, *tæ̃r’i* ‘just, very’, and *məs’iq* ‘maybe, perhaps’, but they are all glossed as DP (discourse particle) in this grammar. Some examples are shown below:

- (41) a. *yekar°q tūt°-bə-ta=w°h*
 DP come.FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 ‘It’s unlikely that he will come.’ (T 92)
- b. *mad° mūnc’u-q*
 DP be.silent-IMP.2SG
 ‘Do keep quiet!’ (T 213)
- c. *maraq s’ertaə-r°*
 DP do-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘It’s good that you did it.’ (T 235)
- d. *məs’iq tū-tə°*
 DP come-FUT
 ‘Perhaps he will come.’ (T 240)

- e. *ηod^oq yil'e^o*
 DP live
 'He is hardly alive.' (T 396)
- f. *ti-q tæ'r'i win'erηa-q*
 reindeer-PL DP run-3PL
 'Reindeer run very quickly.' (T 61)

Conjunctions fulfil connective functions. Native conjunctions are not numerous, but Tundra Nenets makes active use of Russian conjunctions such as *ali* 'or', *ηa < a* 'and' and some others, see Tereshchenko (1956: 142–144). Some native Tundra Nenets conjunctions are cited below.

The conjunction *ηan'ih* derived from *ηan'i* 'other' typically takes the second position in the clause and has various meanings such as 'and, but', although in some instances it can rather be translated as 'the other one' and does not serve as a conjunction (42c). It can also mean 'again, more' in which instances it does not have to take the second position (42c). This item will be consistently glossed here as 'more'.

- (42) a. *Wera yewey^o-m p'ir'e, mæn^o ηan'ih ηəm^ola-w^o*
 Wera fish.soup-ACC cook I more eat-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera cooked a soup and I ate it.'
- b. *ηumb^oya-m'i tən'a^o, n'ib'a-m'i ηan'ih yəŋku*
 thimble-1SG exist needle-1SG more no
 'I have a thimble, but don't have a needle.'
- c. *xasawa ηæc'eki^o n'e n'a-mta*
 man child woman companion-ACC.3SG
yex^ol'urta-mp'i, n'ab'i yex^ol'urηa
 tease-DUR more lose.temper
 'The boy is teasing his younger sister and she loses her temper.' (T 112)
- d. *ηan'ih xetə-d^o*
 more say-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Say it again.' (T 803)

When repeated in the beginning of two clauses *ηan'ih* means 'once this once that':

- (43) *ηan'ih l'asa-s'əti-q, ηan'ih ηamt^o-s'əti-q*
 more lay.down-HAB-REFL.3SG more sit.down-HAB-REFL.3SG
 'He keeps sitting and lying down alternately.' (T 383)

When used attributively, *ηan'ih* functions as an adjective and means 'another'.

The conjunction $\eta o(d^\circ)q$, homonymous with the particle ‘hardly’, means ‘and, but, too, even, although, in spite of’ and is glossed as ‘too’.

- (44) a. $w\ddot{a}sako-r^\circ$ $x\ddot{a}nako-mta$ $n'\ddot{u}p'iwa$, $s'iqyem'i$ $\eta od^\circ q$ $n'\ddot{u}p'iwa$
 old.man-2SG sled.DIM-ACC.3SG carry I.PEJ too carry
 ‘The old man carried the sled and he carried me too.’ (T 332)
- b. $yed'a-nta$ $t\ddot{a}n'a-s^\circ$ $\eta od^\circ q$ $n'a^\circ naq$ to°
 pain-GEN.3SG exist-MOD too LOC.1PL come
 ‘He came to us in spite of being ill.’ (T 90)
- c. $m\ddot{a}nc^\circ ra-b^\circ-ta$ ηoq $t\ddot{a}ra^\circ$
 work-COND-3SG too dance
 ‘He dances even when he is working.’

On its usage in concessive clauses as ‘although’ see Chapter 16, Section 2.1. In combination with $t\ddot{a}r'em$ ‘so’, $\eta o(d^\circ)q$ expresses the meaning ‘still, nevertheless’:

- (45) $x\ddot{a}r^\circ-ta$ $l'\ddot{e}d^\circ r'e^\circ$, $t\ddot{a}r'em$ ηoq $m'ak^\circ nta$ $n'i$ $m'iy^\circ-q$
 REFL-3SG shiver so even tent.DAT NEG go-CONNEG
 ‘He is shivering, yet still doesn’t go home.’ (T 185)

The conjunction $yib^\circ q$ means ‘although’ and is typically clause-initial:

- (46) $yib^\circ q$ $s'iqw^\circ$ $n'e$ $n'\ddot{u}-m'i$, $x\ddot{a}n'a\eta e-x\ddot{a}rt^\circ-mtoh$
 although 7 woman child-1SG which-AFF-ACC.3PL
 $n'i-d^\circ m$ $m'i-t^\circ-q$
 NEG-1SG give-FUT-CONNEG
 ‘Although I have seven daughters, I won’t give (you) any of them.’ (T 135)

Coordination may be expressed with the conjunctions $n'ab'i$ ‘and, the other’, $tad'ek\ddot{a}x\ddot{a}t^\circ$ ‘and, then’, and disjunction with $\eta oq \dots \eta oq$ ‘either ... or’ (see Chapter 18 for more examples). Various frozen forms of demonstratives and some agreeing adverbs addressed in Chapter 8, Section 1.4 may have the connective function and in this sense are close to conjunctions. More grammaticalized conjunctions are listed in Tereshchenko (1956), although they are probably only widespread in the Western varieties of Tundra Nenets. For example, according to Tereshchenko (1956), the double 3rd person singular conditional form of the negative verb $n'ib^\circ ta \dots n'ib^\circ ta$ is used with the meaning ‘either ... or’, but this usage is not observed in the modern Eastern dialects.

9 Interjections

Interjections express emotions or have appellative functions. Some examples of native interjections are *s'°(-s'°)* 'shut up!', *xiy'°* 'what a pity!', *xəy'°* 'hey! (calling a reindeer)', *ηa'°* 'ouch!', *yewey'°* 'oh! wow!', *n'awey'°q* 'hey!'. Russian interjections are widely used as well.

Chapter 4

Nominal inflection

This chapter describes the basic rules of formation and the function of nominal inflectional categories, namely, number, case, possessive person/number and predestinative (nominal TAM), as well as the predicative forms of nouns, which express subject agreement and tense.

1 Number

There are three numbers, singular, dual and plural. The singular is morphologically unmarked. It denotes single countable objects, e.g. *ɲəno* ‘boat’ and *xər°* ‘knife’, as well as uncountable abstract and mass entities, e.g. *yes’a* ‘iron, metal’ and *yiq* ‘water’. The singular may be used (either obligatorily or optionally) after some quantifiers, see Chapter 7.

1.1 Dual

Inflected dual only occurs in the core grammatical cases, i.e. nominative, accusative and genitive, while in local cases periphrastic constructions are used (see Chapter 8, Section 2.2 for more detail). In the grammatical cases the dual marker is *-x°h* in non-possessive forms; the nominative, accusative and genitive always coincide, so we can talk about syncretism in this instance. For instance, *ɲəno* ‘boat’ has the syncretic dual form *ɲəno-x°h* ‘boats’ for the nominative, accusative and genitive. In possessive forms the dual marker is *-xəyu-* followed by possessive affixes, on which see Section 3. In the 1st person possessive all three case forms are identical, just like in non-possessive forms. But in the 2nd and 3rd person the genitive is different because of regular phonological alternations: for instance, the possessive 2SG affix in the nominative/accusative *-t°* is realized as *-d°* in the postvocalic position, while in the genitive it is preceded by the genitive marker *-q-*, which yields the underlying sequence *-qt°*. The glottal stop *-q-* falls out before the consonant *t* but prevents voicing from taking place. Below I present a subpart of the dual paradigm for non-possessed nouns and for the 1st and 2nd person singular possessed nouns for the word ‘boat’.

Dual paradigm (non-possessive)

	1SG	2SG
NOM	<i>ɲəno-x°h</i>	<i>ɲəno-xəyu-n°</i>
ACC	<i>ɲəno-x°h</i>	<i>ɲəno-xəyu-d°</i>
GEN	<i>ɲəno-x°h</i>	<i>ɲəno-xəyu-t°</i>

Dual serves to denote two entities, e.g. *ηano-x^oh* means ‘(two) boats’, as well as for coordination of similar entities, see Chapter 18, Section 1.3. The use of the dual is restricted in the sense that it seems to correlate with definiteness and/or discourse givenness. Nouns in the dual normally denote already established referents known from the previous context, while novel referents introduced into discourse for the first time as paired objects are typically expressed by a singular noun quantified by *s'id'a* ‘two’ rather than a noun in the dual. Consider the following piece of discourse from Labanauskas (1995: 31), which represents a Taimyr variety of Tundra Nenets (the transcription is modified). The first sentence of this passage introduces two new discourse entities, two children, referred to by a singular noun with the numeral ‘two’. This is the first mention of the respective referents. However, the same referents are collectively referred to by the dual possessed noun *ηac'ekex^oyunaq* ‘our two children’ in (1c) and consequent discourse.

- (1) a. *tad^o ηob po-h ηesonkəna s'id'a ηac'eki-doh*
 then one year-GEN after 2 child-3PL
ηad'im'a xasawa ηac'eki^o n'e ηac'eki^o
 appear man child woman child
 ‘Then a year later they had two children, a boy and a girl.’
- b. *ηarka-yum xasawa ma-q n'i=w^oq tad'eb'a-d^o-waq xo-k^o-waq*
 big-POL man say-CONN NEG-DUB shaman-PRED-1PL call-HORT-1PL
 ‘The older man said: Let us call a shaman.’
- c. *ηac'ekex^oyu-naq tad^o n'er^o n'ah yil'ebc'a-d'ih xac'er^o*
 child.DU-1PL then forth to life-3DU how
ηæ-ηko-b^o-ta=w^oh
 be-FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 ‘How on earth will the future life of our children be?’

This is presumably the reason why dual is disallowed or at least occurs very rarely on predicative nouns in existential constructions.

- (2) a. *Wera-h s'id'a xasawa n'ū-da*
 Wera-GEN 2 man child-3SG
 ‘Wera has two sons (literally: there are Wera’s two sons).’
- b. **Wera-h xasawa n'ū-xəyu-da*
 Wera-GEN man child-DU-3SG
 (‘Wera has two sons.’)

Note that the dual is not impossible on nouns quantified by *s'id'a*, but its presence depends on a number of conditions addressed in Chapter 7, Section 3.3.

1.2 Plural

The plural marker is *-q* in the non-possessive nominative; in possessive nominative forms, plural is indicated by the accusative plural stem followed by possessive affixes (on the formation of the accusative plural stem see Chapter 2, Section 3.2.1). In non-nominative cases the plural is formed from the accusative plural stem, followed by case affixes: *-q* in the genitive, *-x°q* in the dative, *-xəqn(')a* in the locative, in the ablative *-xəqt°*. The prolativ in *-qm(ə)n(')a* is formed either from the accusative plural stem or the primary stem. In possessive forms the case affix is followed by possessive affixes. This means that the possessive nominative and accusative plural are homophonous and simply correspond to the accusative plural stem augmented by possessive affixes. The plural paradigm for *ηəno* ‘boat’ in non-possessive forms and the possessive 1st person singular forms is shown below.

Plural paradigm

	PL	PL 1SG
NOM	<i>ηəno-q</i>	<i>ηənu-n°</i>
ACC	<i>ηənu</i>	<i>ηənu-n°</i>
GEN	<i>ηəno-q</i>	<i>ηənu-qn°</i>
DAT	<i>ηəno-x°q</i>	<i>ηəno-x°q-n°</i>
LOC	<i>ηəno-xəqna</i>	<i>ηəno-xəqna-n°</i>
ABL	<i>ηəno-xət°</i>	<i>ηəno-xətə-n°</i>
PROL	<i>ηənu-qməna</i>	<i>ηənu-qməna-n°</i>

Plural denotes multiple countable objects, e.g. *ηəno-q* ‘boats’. Unlike in some other Uralic languages, it is also used on nouns denoting paired objects. For instance, paired body parts usually stand in the plural:

- (3) a. *səw°-da numke-rəxa-q*
 eye-PL.3SG star-SIM-3PL
 ‘His eyes are like stars.’ (T 319)
- b. *wen°ako-h xawoda lebtə°-q*
 dog-GEN ear.PL.3SG hang-3PL
 ‘Dog’s ears are hanging.’ (T 201)

However, dual is not totally excluded in such cases either, so the meaning ‘my eyes’ can be expressed either as *səw°-xəyu-n°i* (DU) or as *səw°-n°i* (PL). When the speaker refers to one of a pair, the singular form is used, e.g.

- (4) *n°ib°er°u-q s°ak°l-mi° səwə-r° wək°l-mi°-q*
 midge-GEN.PL bite-PERF.PART eye-2SG get.swollen-INFR-REFL.3SG
 ‘Your eye got swollen from the midge bite.’ (T 37)

Uncountable nouns can stand in the plural when they denote a large quantity or different kinds of a substance, cf.: *weya* ‘blood’ > *weya-q* (PL) ‘drops of blood’, *yes’a* ‘metal, iron’ > *yes’a-q* (PL) ‘much iron; money’, *s’ar°ka* ‘wine, alcohol’ > *s’ar°ka-q* ‘much alcohol; alcohol of different sorts’. Sentences in (5) illustrate the use of such plurals:

- (5) a. *læqmoroko* *n’an’o-q* *xampolo* *tæri* *til°de-y°-da*
 small.bird.DIM bread-PL.GEN crumb.PL.ACC DP collect-PL.OBJ-3SG
 ‘The little bird picked up all the bread crumbs.’ (T 679)
- b. *korowitoh* *moloka-q* *səwa-q*
 cow.PL.GEN.3PL milk-PL good-PL
 ‘The milk of their cows is good.’

It is probably correct to say that Tundra Nenets does not exhibit nouns that are *singularia tantum*: basically every noun can take a plural form.

2 Case

Tundra Nenets has seven cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, and prolative. More specialized local meanings are expressed by postpositional phrases. Traditionally, the case system is divided into grammatical cases (nominative, accusative, and genitive) and local cases (dative, locative, ablative, and prolative). The former combine with all three numbers, while the local cases appear only in the singular and plural. In this section I only describe the formation of the cases in the singular, for dual and plural forms see Section 1.

2.1 Nominative

The nominative is morphologically unmarked. Its main syntactic functions are as follows: (i) the subject of a finite clause, see Chapter 9, Section 1.1, (iii) the subject of some non-finite clauses see Chapter 13, Section 2.1, (iii) pronominal possessor, see Chapter 7, Section 2.1, (iv) adnominal modifier, see Chapter 7, Section 5.1, (v) non-verbal predicate, see Chapter 11, (vi) apposition, see Chapter 7, Section 6, (vii) address, and (viii) imperative object. With respect to the last function it should be mentioned that the imperative object either stands in the nominative or the accusative if it is a lexical noun. This seems to be a free variation:

- (6) a. *ti / ti-m* *xada-q*
 reindeer / reindeer-ACC kill-IMP.2SG
 ‘Kill a reindeer.’

- b. *teda / temta* *xada-q*
 reindeer.3SG / reindeer.ACC.3SG kill-IMP.2SG
 ‘Kill his reindeer.’

Pronominal imperative objects always take the accusative. Contrary to the claims made in some previous literature (e.g. Burkova 2010), my material does not confirm that the nominative can mark the object in non-imperative constructions.

2.2 Accusative

The non-possessive and possessive 2nd and 3rd person accusative marker is *-m(-)*; in possessive forms it is followed by possessive markers. There is no accusative case marker in the 1st person possessive forms, e.g. *ɲəno* ‘boat’ > *ɲəno-m* (ACC), *ɲəno-w^o* ~ *ɲəno-m’i* (ACC.1SG), *ɲəno-m-t^o* (ACC.2SG), *ɲəno-m-ta* (ACC.3SG).

The accusative marks the direct object of transitive verbs in finite and non-finite clauses. On object properties see Chapter 9, Section 1.2. The causee argument in causative constructions also functions as the direct object and takes the accusative (Chapter 10, Sections 2.1.2 and 3.1). Double accusative is observed in one special construction, but only one of the accusatively marked NPs is a true syntactic object (see Chapter 9, Section 3.3).

2.3 Genitive

The genitive marker in the singular of non-possessive forms is *-h*. In possessive forms there is no special marking in the 1st person. In the 2nd and 3rd person the possessive affix is preceded by *-h-*, which can probably count as a case marker in this instance. Note that *h* regularly realizes as *n* before a homorganic obstruent. Some examples of the genitive forms of the noun *ɲəno* ‘boat’ are *ɲəno-h* (GEN), *ɲəno-n^o* (GEN.1SG), *ɲəno-n-t^o* (GEN.2SG), *ɲəno-n-ta* (GEN.3SG).

The main function of the genitive on lexical nouns is the expression of a possessor but, as mentioned in Section 2.1, the pronominal possessor stands in the nominative. The structure of the possessive construction is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, Section 2. In addition to possession, the NP-internal genitives may express nominal modification, in which case they are normally non-referential, see Chapter 7, Section 5.2. Furthermore, the genitive of lexical nouns serves as the subject of non-finite clauses (Chapter 13, Section 2.1), the passive agent (Chapter 10, Section 4.1), the object of postpositions (Chapter 8, Section 2.1) and the object of verbs derived from postpositions (Chapter 10, Section 2.6). It also marks some temporal adjuncts, e.g. *n’ax^or po-h* ‘(during) three years (three year-GEN)’ and *p’i-h* ‘in the night (night-GEN)’, and manner adverbs derived from adjectives and the adjectival form of

nouns, e.g. *m'er°* 'quick, fast' > *m'er°-h* 'quickly (GEN)', see also Chapter 3, Section 1.3.1. The pronominal genitive is infrequent and only occurs as the object of some adjectives and postpositions, see Chapter 8, Sections 1.3 and 2.1.

2.4 Dative

The dative is indicated by *-n°h* ~ *-t°h* in non-possessive nouns, by *-xə-* in the 1st person possessive forms and *-xəh-* in the 2nd and 3rd person possessive forms. Some examples are *ηəno-n°* 'boat (DAT)', *ηəno-xə-n°* (DAT.1SG), *ηəno-xən-t°* (DAT.2SG), *ηəno-xən-ta* (DAT.3SG).

The dative marks the indirect object; on the verbs that take the dative object see Chapter 10, Sections 2.2 and 3.1. For some speakers of the Western dialects the dative indicates the causee argument of causative constructions derived from transitive verbs (Chapter 10, Section 3.1). The dative also expresses the following meanings:

(7) direction of movement or transfer

- a. *tinaq* *n'esey°* *ya-n°h* *wad°la°* *tara°*
 reindeer.ACC.PL.1PL new place-DAT lead.MOD needed
 'Our reindeer have to be taken to a new place.' (T 35)
- b. *lam°pa-n°h* *xəras'in°-m* *xəmta-q*
 lamp-DAT kerosene-ACC pour-IMP.2SG
 'Pour some kerosene into the lamp.'

(8) cause

- a. *n'e* *yerw°* *puxac'a* *n'en°xa-x°nta* *l'eqmi°-q*
 woman master old.woman anger-DAT.3SG choke-REFL.3SG
 'The old mistress choked with anger.' (T 189)
- b. *yerw°-nta* *t'orə-n°h* *wen'ako* *ηə-*da** *məd°rŋa*
 master-GEN.3SG scream-DAT dog leg-PL.ACC.3SG hold
 'The dog stopped because of its master's scream.' (T 216)

(9) distribution

- toxoc'a-m* *s'ida* *ya-n°h* *məda-da*
 fabric.DIM-ACC 2 place-DAT cut-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He cut the fabric into two parts.'

(10) period of time

- n'ax°r* *yal'a-n°h* *xan°təθ-d°m*
 3 day-DAT go-FUT-1SG
 'I will go away for three days.'

In these meanings the dative functions adverbially, i.e. as an adjunct.

2.5 Locative

The marker of the non-possessive locative is *-xən(')a*. In the 1st person possessive forms the dative is also indicated by *-xən(')a-* and in the 2nd and 3rd person possessive forms by *-xən(')ah-*. Examples are *ηəno-xəna* (DAT), *ηəno-xəna-n^o* (DAT-1SG), *ηəno-xənan-t^o* (DAT-2SG), *ηəno-xənan-ta* (DAT-3SG).

On verbs that take the locative oblique object see Chapter 10, Sections 2.3 and 3.2. Another function of the locative is to indicate a force (non-agent) argument in passive constructions (Chapter 10, Section 4.1). A small number of verbs and non-verbal predicates require a locative with subject-like properties (Chapter 9, Section 1.2.3 and Chapter 10, Section 1.1). The locative also expresses:

(11) general location

- a. *t'iki^o ya-x^ona p'a-q ηəmted^o-q səwa-w^ona wad'urηa-q*
 this place-LOC tree-PL grass-PL good-PROL grow-3PL
 'In this place trees and grass grow well.' (T 36)
- b. *xada-xəna-n'i yil'eə-d^om*
 grandmother-LOC-1SG live-1SG
 'I live at my grandmother's.'

(12) location in time or circumstances:

- a. *sar'o-xəna səqn'ir'e-wi^o-q*
 rain-LOC get.wet-INFR-REFL.3SG
 'He got a little wet in the rain.' (T 540)
- b. *xayer yal'a-xəna yader-c^o səwa*
 sun day-LOC walk-MOD good
 'It's nice to have a walk on a sunny day.'

(13) instrument

- a. *berdanka-x^ona yen'erηa*
 rifle-LOC shoot
 'He is shooting with a rifle.' (T 28)
- b. *tira-xəna ladə^o-da*
 fist-LOC hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He hit it with his fist.' (T 170)

(14) means of transportation

- a. *tu ηəno-xəna ηædal'or-ma-h yeqm^on'a bilet^o-m temta^o*
 fire boat-LOC travel-IMPF.AN-GEN for ticket-ACC buy
 'He bought a ticket for travelling on an airplane.' (T 28)

- b. *te-x^oqna* *tən'ah* *yer'emyita* *yəŋku*
 reindeer-PL.LOC to.there possibility.of.getting.3SG no
 'It is impossible to get there on reindeer.' (T 105)

(15) cause

- sə-ta* *m'erc'a-xəna* *yamp^o-qya* *xo-q* *xər^o-toh* *wiyebti-q*
 strong-IMPF.PART wind-LOC tall-AUG birch-PL REFL-3PL bend-3PL
 'The tall birch trees bend by themselves from the strong wind.' (T 59)

(16) comitative

- Wera-xəna* / *Wera-xənanta* *to^o*
 Wera-LOC / Wera-LOC.3SG come
 'He came with (his) Wera.'

The comitative meaning of the locative is only available for nouns denoting humans. Thus, 'he came with a dog' cannot be expressed by the locative construction.

2.6 Ablative

The ablative is marked by *-xəd^o* in non-possessive forms, by *-xətə-* in the possessive 1st person forms and by *-xətəh-* in the possessive 2nd and 3rd person forms. Examples are *ηəno-xəd^o* (ABL), *ηəno-xətə-n^o* (ABL.1SG), *ηəno-xətən-t^o* (ABL-2SG), *ηəno-xət^on-ta* (ABL-3SG). The ablative typically indicates:

(17) direction away from or out of something or somebody

- a. *n'e* *m'a-kəd^o* *p'in^oh* *welkadə^o*
 woman tent-ABL out slip.out
 'The woman slipped out of the tent.' (T 69)
- b. *yo^or-t'a-q* *sə-ta* *xampa-xət^o* *wen^kma-q*
 fish-IMPF.PART-PL strong-IMPF.PART wave-PL.ABL escape-PL
 'The fishermen escaped large waves.' (T 74)

(18) the beginning of a period of time

- a. *t'iki^o* *yal'a-xət^o* *n'ax^or* *po* *xəya*
 this day-PL.ABL 3 year go
 'Three years have passed since those times.'
- b. *xūb^ota-xəd^o* *xuni*
 morning-ABL sleep
 'He has been sleeping since morning.'

(19) cause

wen'ako sə-ta t'ec'°-da-xəd° wəd'ely°-q
 dog strong-IMPF.PART cold-IMPF.PART-ABL bend-REFL.3SG
 'The dog huddled up from strong cold.' (T 33)

(20) source, origin

a. *Xæx°ko-h puxac'a-h t'exē pəŋk°-da xəb'i-xət° ləbara-wi°*
 Xexeko-GEN old.woman-GEN that root-3SG Khanty-PL.ABL break.off-INFR
 'The old woman Xexeko originated from the Khanty people.' (T 160)

b. *xən'uy° ηəmca-xəd° ηayabad°-də-mta ləb°da°*
 frozen meet-ABL raw.frozen.food-PRED-ACC.3SG chop.off
 'He chopped off some frozen meat for eating raw.' (T 161)

c. *t'uku° xər° xurka yes'a-xəd° s'erta-wi° ?*
 this knife which metal-ABL do-PERF.PART
 'What metal is this knife made of?' (T 111)

(21) standard of comparison

mənc°ya-waq s'en'ey°xəd°nta səŋkowo-ŋa
 work-1PL before.ABL difficult-FREQ
 'Our work became more difficult than before.' (T 531)

In (21) the property word 'difficult' is categorially a verb. The ablative standard of comparison within adjectival and adverbial phrases is addressed in Chapter 8, Section 1.1. In addition, a small number of verbs take the ablative object (Chapter 10, Section 2.4).

2.7 Prolative

In non-possessive nouns the prolative is indicated by *-mən(')a*, in the 1st person possessive forms it is marked by *-mən(')a-* and in the 2nd and 3rd person possessive forms it is marked by *-mən(')ah-*. The consonant *m* regularly changes into *w* in intervocalic position. Examples are *ηəno-wəna* (PROL), *ηəno-wəna-n°* (PROL.1SG), *ηəno-wənant°* (PROL.2SG), *ηəno-wənant°a* (PROL.3SG). Note also that stem-final *ə* is realized as *u* before *w* in the prolative singular, e.g. *xər°* 'knife' > *xəruw°na* (PROL). The prolative has several adverbial functions and expresses the following meanings:

(22) movement along, across between or through something

a. *yəxa-w°na buksir m'inja*
 river-PROL tugboat go
 'A tugboat is moving along the river.' (T 28)

- b. *xə^o p'a-w^ona yixəmy^o-q*
 knife tree-PROL slip-REFL.3SG
 'The knife slipped along the tree.' (T 151)
- c. *n'o-h s'ī-w^on'a puxac'a weqləmy^o-q*
 door-GEN hole-PROL old.woman look.out-REFL.3SG
 'The old woman looked out of the door.' (T 80)

(23) manner, cause, means, correlation

- a. *ηax^oqna ηæ-da Moskva-m radio-w^ona nəmtorŋa-waq*
 far be-IMPF.PART Moscow-ACC radio-PROL hear-1PL > SG.OBJ
 'We can hear distant Moscow on the radio.' (T 283)
- b. *xəb'i-h wada-w^ona s'an^o-r'i-h wərc'id'e^o-da*
 Khanty-GEN word-PROL few-LIM-GEN pull-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He rudely said (lit. pulled) a few words in Khanty.' (T 48)
- c. *s'aq-m^ona-nta n'a-x^otəta səwa*
 face-PROL-3SG companion-PL.ABL.3SG good
 'She is the most beautiful among her friends, judging by her face.'

In the Western dialects some intransitive verbs take the prolative plural object, but this is not allowed in the Eastern dialects. Thus, the following example was not accepted by my consultants as grammatical, but examples of this kind are abundant in Tereshchenko (1965).

- (24) *n'is'a-w^o nos'iqməna xan'e^o*
 father-1SG polar.fox.PL.PROL hunt
 'My father hunts for polar foxes.' (T 736)

See also Chapter 10, Section 1.2. On the verbs that take the regular prolative object see Chapter 10, Section 2.4. The prolative expressing measure of comparison is exemplified in Chapter 8, Section 1.1.

3 Possessive category

In Tundra Nenets all nouns have possessive forms.

3.1 Form

The possessive category expresses the person/number of the possessor by means of possessive affixes attached to the head noun (the possessed) in the possessive construction. The pronominal possessor can be dropped (and in most instances it is

absent), so that possessive marking on the head represents some kind of incorporated pronoun, see Chapter 17, Section 1.2. The system of possessive affixes in the nominative for the singular possessed nouns is as follows:

Possessive affixes

	SG	DU	PL
1	-m'i / -w ^o / -m'ih	-m'ih	-waq
2	-r ^o	-r'ih	-raq
3	-da	-t'ih	-doh

The 1st person singular variant -m'i is typical of the Eastern dialects and is reflected in most examples in this book. In the Western dialects it is typically represented as -w^o or -m'ih. The case paradigm for the possessive forms of the singular noun *ηano* 'boat' is presented below (on the dual and plural possessed forms see Section 1).

Possessive paradigm

	1SG	2SG	3SG
NOM	<i>ηano-m'i</i>	<i>ηano-r^o</i>	<i>ηano-d-a</i>
ACC	<i>ηano-m'i</i>	<i>ηano-m-t^o</i>	<i>ηano-m-t-a</i>
GEN	<i>ηano-n^o</i>	<i>ηano-n-t^o</i>	<i>ηano-n-t-a</i>
DAT	<i>ηano-xə-n^o</i>	<i>ηano-xən-t^o</i>	<i>ηano-xən-t-a</i>
LOC	<i>ηano-xəna-n^o</i>	<i>ηano-xənan-t^o</i>	<i>ηano-xənan-t-a</i>
ABL	<i>ηano-xəd^o-n^o</i>	<i>ηano-xədən-t^o</i>	<i>ηano-xədən-t-a</i>
PROL	<i>ηano-wəna-n^o</i>	<i>ηano-wənan-t^o</i>	<i>ηano-wənan-t-a</i>
	1DU	2DU	3DU
NOM	<i>ηano-m'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-r'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-d'-ih</i>
ACC	<i>ηano-m'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-m-t'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-m-t'-ih</i>
GEN	<i>ηano-n'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-n-t'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-n-t'-ih</i>
DAT	<i>ηano-xə-n'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-xən-t'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-xən-t'-ih</i>
LOC	<i>ηano-xəna-n'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-xənan-t'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-xənan-t'-ih</i>
ABL	<i>ηano-xəd^o-n'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-xəd^on-t'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-xəd^on-t'-ih</i>
PROL	<i>ηano-wəna-n'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-wənan-t'-ih</i>	<i>ηano-wənan-t'-ih</i>
	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	<i>ηano-w-aq</i>	<i>ηano-r-aq</i>	<i>ηano-d-oh</i>
ACC	<i>ηano-w-aq</i>	<i>ηano-m-t-aq</i>	<i>ηano-m-t-oh</i>
GEN	<i>ηano-n-aq</i>	<i>ηano-n-t-aq</i>	<i>ηano-n-t-oh</i>
DAT	<i>ηano-xə-n-aq</i>	<i>ηano-xən-t-aq</i>	<i>ηano-xən-t-oh</i>
LOC	<i>ηano-xəna-n-aq</i>	<i>ηano-xənan-t-aq</i>	<i>ηano-xənan-t-oh</i>
ABL	<i>ηano-xəd^o-n-aq</i>	<i>ηano-xəd^on-t-aq</i>	<i>ηano-xəd^on-t-oh</i>
PROL	<i>ηano-wəna-n-aq</i>	<i>ηano-wənan-t-aq</i>	<i>ηano-wənan-t-oh</i>

Speaking very generally, the structure of the possessive forms in non-nominative cases is ‘stem – case – person of possessor – number of possessor’. But in the 1st person the accusative does not have a case marker and cumulates with the expression of the person/number of the possessor, while the genitive does not have a person marker. The 1st person accusative is therefore identical to the nominative. The singular of the possessor is expressed by the word-final $-\text{°}$ for the 1st and 2nd persons (except for the 1st person accusative) and $-a$ for the 3rd person; the dual of the possessor is expressed as $-ih$ (with palatalization of the preceding consonant), and the plural of the possessor is expressed by $-aq$ in the 1st and 2nd person and $-oh$ in the 3rd person. The person of the possessor is indicated as follows: $-n-$ in the 1st person (except in the accusative and genitive) and $-t-$ in the 2nd and 3rd person. However, this segmentation into morphemes is only given in this section for illustrative purposes. It may reflect the previous historical stage, but does not necessarily represent the best synchronic analysis of the Tundra Nenets possessive paradigms. In the examples cited in this grammar I will assume that possessive person/number, case and number of the possessed are expressed cumulatively and will not separate them by hyphens.

3.2 Function

The possessive construction renders the usual possessive meanings of alienable and inalienable possession such as part-whole, kinship and other relations between humans, legal ownership, activities and their results, disposal, content, location, intrinsic properties such as size, smell and shape, and so on (see examples in Chapter 7, Section 2.1). This is not an exhaustive list of course. In addition, possessive affixes can render meanings which can be only loosely described as ‘possessive’, typically in the absence of an overt possessor within the same NP. First, the 3rd person singular possessive affixes express identifiability based on deixis and situational context. This usually applies to nouns denoting natural phenomena, flora and fauna in the subject role. The meaning of possessive affixes in this case is close to the meaning of the definite article, but they have not fully grammaticalized as articles because they are always optional in this function. For instance, the noun *num* meaning ‘sky, weather’ and used as the expletive subject with weather predicates often stands in the 3rd person singular possessive form *num-ta*, however, this is optional. More examples follow:

- (25) a. *t'uku°* *yal'a-h* *sin'o(-da)* *pas°koy°*
 this day-GEN fog-3SG beautiful
 ‘The fog is beautiful today.’

- b. *t'ukona sira(-da) wər-cawey^o*
 here snow-3SG dirt-PROP
 'The snow is dirty here.'
- c. *xəb'id'a to-x^ona xal'a-da ŋoka*
 holy lake-LOC fish-3SG many
 'There are a lot of fish in the holy lake.' (Labanauskas 1995: 16)

In examples (25) the possessive affix indicates concrete individualized weather phenomena. However, such possessive affixes are impossible when the same nouns function as predicates, cf. (25b) and (26).

- (26) a. *t'uku^o wər-cawey^o sira*
 this dirt-PROP snow
 'This is dirty snow.'
- b. **t'uku^o wər-cawey^o sira-da*
 this dirt-PROP snow-3SG
 ('This is dirty snow.')

Second, the 2nd person singular possessive affix may attach to virtually any noun whose referent has been introduced in the previous discourse in a story addressed to a particular person. For instance, in the second clause in (27) the 2nd person possessive affix is hosted by the noun 'old woman'. The function of the possessive affix here is to highlight that the referent is identifiable and to make the utterance somehow emotionally closer to the addressee. However, the anaphoric function is primary: it would be impossible to use the 2nd person possessive affix on the noun 'old woman' in the first clause in (27) because the respective referent is discourse-novel.

- (27) *puxac'a-ko yil'e-wi^o. puxac'a-ko-nt^o s'id'a səwa n'u-da*
 old.woman-DIM live-INFR old.woman-DIM-GEN.2SG 2 good child-3SG
 'An old woman lived. This old woman had two nice sons.'

Third, possessive affixes have a partitive function, e.g. *xusuwedoh* 'each of them (each.3PL)', *ŋob-m'ih* 'one of us two (one-1DU)', *s'id'a-waq* 'two of us (two-1PL)'. The 'possessor' may be expressed within the same NP but need not, as shown in the following examples:

- (28) a. *Wera-h te-xət^o ŋarka-doh səwa*
 Wera-GEN reindeer-PL.ABL big-3PL good
 'Among Wera's reindeer the big one is good.'

- b. *Wera-h te-x^otata ŋarka-doh səwa*
 Wera-GEN reindeer-PL.ABL.3SG big-3PL good
 ‘Among Wera’s reindeer the big one is good.’
- c. *t’uku^o xasawa ŋac’eki^o-q ŋob-toh səwa*
 this man child-PL one-3PL good
 ‘One of these boys is good.’
- d. *t’uku^o xasawa ŋac’eke-xət^o ŋob-toh səwa*
 this man child-PL.ABL one-3PL good
 ‘One of these boys is good.’

Fourth, possessives indicate some kind of associative relationship with another entity either known from the previous discourse or available in the situation of speech. This associative relation is very broad and is not a relation of ownership or any other kind of relation usually rendered by possessive constructions, although of course the borderline between ‘possessive’ and ‘associative’ meanings is vague. Possessive affixes of all persons and numbers are involved in their expression of the presupposed semantic association between two entities. Since they cross-reference the associative ‘possessor’, their choice is predictable. Thus, only the 1st person singular possessive affix expresses the associative relation with the speaker herself, while the 2nd and the 3rd person possessive affixes are completely excluded in this instance. The exact semantic interpretation of the associative relationship depends on the situation and the context, but in any case it is always part of the pragmatic presupposition carried by the utterance. This presupposition may remain formally unexpressed, that is, possessive affixes are always optional in this function. Their presence ultimately depends on how the speaker construes the situation described by the sentence.

For example, in (29) the 3rd person singular possessive affix on the word ‘wolf’ indicates that there is some kind of associative relation in the mind of the speaker between the wolf and another entity (the dog), which the speaker chooses to highlight. It can be paraphrased as ‘the wolf the dog was fighting with’.

- (29) *wari^o nix^o-mta me-c^o wen’ako ŋan’ih*
 last strength-ACC.3SG use-MOD dog more
sarm’ikə-x^onta səney^o-q
 wolf-DAT.3SG attack-REFL.3SG

‘Having used its last strength, the dog attacked the wolf again.’ (T 49)

Sentence (30) was spontaneously produced when the speaker and the addressee looked at several moving cars. The speaker wanted to refer to one of these cars and used the word ‘car’ with the 2nd person possessive affix, although the car did not

belong to the addressee. The reason for using the possessive suffix is that the speaker intended to call the attention of the addressee to the car. In other words, the car is ‘yours’ because ‘I am talking to you about it’.

- (30) *siər-°q, taki° mašina-r° xəya*
 look-IMP.2SG that car-2SG go
 ‘Look, that car of yours left.’

Note that the definite determiner cannot be omitted in this reading. Without *taki°* example (30) can only have the possessive reading ‘the car that belongs to you’.

Not every association between two entities can be expressed by means of possessive affixes, only one which is relatively well established. This can be seen from the following elicited fragment.

- (31) a. *mən° xarəd°-h m’uh t’u-d°m, xar°də-x°na soldat° ηamd’o-wi°*
 I house-GEN into enter-1SG house-LOC soldier sit-INFR
 ‘I entered the house; there was a soldier sitting in the house.’
 b. *t’iki° soldatə-n°h tewi-w°q, tu°n’i-m’i yilə-d°m*
 this soldier-DAT reach-REFL.1SG gun-ACC.1SG raise-1SG
 ‘I came to this soldier and raised my gun.’
 c. *soldatə-h / soldatə-n’i s’ey°-da xəya*
 soldier-GEN / soldier-GEN.1SG heart-3SG go
 ‘The soldier got frightened (lit.: the soldier’s heart went).’

In the second clause in (31a) the word ‘soldier’ does not bear a possessive affix. This is the first mention of the respective referent in the discourse. The possessive form is equally unacceptable in (31b) ‘I came to this soldier’: the possessed form *soldatə-x°n’i* (soldier-DAT.1SG) would be impossible here. Although the referent of the word ‘soldier’ is identifiable by its previous occurrence, the strong associative relationship between it and the speaker is not yet created. However, in the last sentence ‘the soldier got frightened’ the speaker has the option to use the word ‘soldier’ with the 1st person possessive affix. It indicates that a presupposed associative relation between the speaker and the soldier has been established in the previous context (‘I came to this soldier’). Similarly, in (32b) the possessive affix highlights the existing pragmatic association between the speaker and the ‘lake’, but it is not possible in (32a).

- (32) a. *mən° s’an° po-h t’uku° to-h xəwxəna xan’ea-d°m*
 I few year-GEN this lake-GEN near hunt-1SG
 ‘I’ve been fishing in this lake for a few years.’

- b. *t'iki° to-xənan'i xal'a-da ŋoka ŋæ-s'°ti*
 this lake-LOC.1SG fish-3SG many be-HAB
 'There is usually a lot of fish in this lake (of mine).'

Obviously, the presupposed associative relationship is a matter of the pragmatic construal of the utterance and is difficult to generalize about. What is clear is that it must be well-established, either through repeated occurrences in the discourse or through a long-term association between two entities.

Possessive affixes also function as subject agreement markers in some types of non-finite clause (see Chapter 13, Section 2.1). All these functions naturally make them extremely frequent in the Tundra Nenets discourse.

4 Predestinative

The so-called predestinative forms are productively derived with the suffix *-tə(-)*, which typically precedes possessive affixes, since the predestinative noun must function as the head of the possessive phrase. The structure of the predestinative phrase largely mirrors the structure of regular possessive constructions, see Chapter 7, Section 2.3 for more information. Predestinative forms with possessive affixes, i.e. those that take pronominal possessors, occur in three grammatical cases, nominative, accusative and genitive. They are shown below for the noun 'boat' with singular possessors. If the predestinative possessor corresponds to a lexical noun, the predestinative head noun may (but does not need to) take the 3rd person possessive affix. Such forms are syncretic in the nominative and accusative, but do not exist in the genitive.

Predestinative forms

	1SG possessor	2SG possessor	3SG possessor	lexical possessor
NOM	<i>ŋəno-də-m'i</i>	<i>ŋəno-də-r°</i>	<i>ŋəno-də-da</i>	<i>ŋəno-d° / ŋəno-də-da</i>
ACC	<i>ŋəno-də-m'i</i>	<i>ŋəno-də-mt°</i>	<i>ŋəno-də-mta</i>	<i>ŋəno-d° / ŋəno-də-da</i>
GEN	<i>ŋəno-də-n°</i>	<i>ŋəno-də-nt°</i>	<i>ŋəno-də-nta</i>	–

Predestinative nouns are unmarked for number.

Predestinatives express a TAM-like category; depending on the analysis, it is either a future tense or some kind of irrealis modality that takes scope over the possessive relation, cf. the regular possessive (*mən'°*) *l'ekarə-m'i* 'my doctor' and the predestinative possessive (*mən'°*) *l'ekarə-d°-m'i* 'my future doctor, a doctor meant/destined for me'. However, their distribution differs from that of regular possessives because they are not associated with the pragmatic presupposition of existence. First, unlike regular possessives, predestinative possessives cannot have an anaphoric function, do not serve as predicates and do not normally denote asso-

ciative relation with another entity, i.e. they only express fairly prototypical possessive meanings. Second, unlike regular possessives, predestinatives must be indefinite and most often non-specific; they are not compatible with definite determiners, as well as quantifiers and *wh*-words that require a specific head noun such as *xən'əŋi* 'which one'. This is because they denote a unique property rather than an established discourse referent. That is, the literal translation of (*mən'°*) *lekarə-d°-m'i* would be something like 'the one who will be my doctor, the one who is supposed to be my doctor'. Third, predestinative arguments are only selected by a certain class of verbs, see below. There are other peculiarities of the syntactic distribution of predestinatives; some of them are described in this section, while others are addressed in Chapter 9, Section 1.2.3.

4.1 Nominative predestinative

Nominative predestinatives function as subjects, but they are only available with a certain class of verbs, most importantly, intransitive verbs of appearance that tend to introduce a novel participant into the discourse:

- (33) a. *yid°-h* *warə-n°h* *ŋəno-də-m'i* *to°*
 water-GEN edge-DAT boat-PRED-1SG come
 'A boat for me came to the shore.'
- b. *xasawa* *n'ū-də-m'i* *soya*
 man child-PRED-1SG be.born
 'A son was born to me'.
- c. *ŋəmke-də-r°* *ŋəd'im-tə°?*
 what-PRED-2SG appear-FUT
 'What will come to you?' (T 374)

Predestinative subjects are in principle possible with other intransitive verbs, but only if the entity they denote is perceived as new and not uniquely identifiable by the epistemic agent, namely, the participant encoded as the predestinative possessor. For instance, (34) can be uttered in the situation when you are sitting under a shelf with cups, one cup falls and you are going to use it.

- (34) *xid'a-də-r°* *mən°tey°-q*
 cup-PRED-2SG fall.down-REFL.3SG
 'A cup fell down for you.'

However, predestinative subjects are generally impossible with transitive verbs, as well as verbs that presuppose pragmatic existence of their subject referent in the

universe of the discourse. For example, predestinative subjects cannot occur in the Tundra Nenets equivalents of the following sentences: ‘the doctor (meant) for us died’, ‘the bag (meant) for us became heavy’, ‘your future husband (the husband meant for you) smokes’, ‘the meat for the soup is good’, ‘the boat (meant) for me left’.

The second function of the predestinative nominative is the imperative object. In accordance with the general rule of Tundra Nenets, the lexical object of imperatives may stand in the nominative and this is what we find with predestinative nominatives too:

- (35) *ŋəmke-xəwa pad°r-tə-m’i ta°-daq*
 what-AFF paper-PRED-1SG bring-IMP.2PL
 ‘Give me some paper (or: some paper for me).’ (T 377)

On the syntactic properties of the predestinative subject see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.3.

4.2 Accusative predestinative

The accusative predestinative functions as a direct object. Unlike the regular possessive object, it is not freely available with every transitive verb. Verbs that take the predestinative object are typically verbs of creation and change of location.

- (36) a. *xasawa-nta mal°c’a-d° səd°-b’i*
 man-GEN.3SG parka-PRED sew-DUR
 ‘She is sewing a parka for her husband.’ (T 582)
- b. *kniga-də-mt° padə-d°m*
 book-PRED-ACC.2SG write-1SG
 ‘I wrote a book for you.’
- (37) a. *kniga-də-mt° m’iŋa-d°m*
 book-PRED-ACC.2SG give-1SG
 ‘I gave you a book.’
- b. *ŋəno-də-mt° ŋədara-ŋku-d°m*
 boat-PRED-ACC-2SG send-FUT-1SG
 ‘I’ll send you a boat.’

In this instance the predestinative possessor can be interpreted as the goal argument of the ditransitive verb as in (37). However, this requirement is not a part of the encoded meaning of the predestinative construction but rather some kind of implicature, which can easily be cancelled if the possessor and the goal are not co-referential:

- (38) *Maša-n°h kniga-də-mt° m'ija-d°m*
 Masha-DAT book-PRED-ACC.2SG give-1SG
 'I gave Masha a book for you.'

The predestinative object is sometimes possible with verbs which are not creation verbs in a strict sense but the object is perceived as new by the participant expressed by the predestinative possessor, because this participant has not encountered the object referent prior to the event described by the clause:

- (39) a. *pəne-n° n'i-d° temtaə-d°m*
 coat-GEN.1SG belt-PRED.ACC buy-1SG
 'I bought a belt for my coat.'
- b. *ɲəc'eki° xid'a-də-m'i xəl°ta°*
 child cup-PRED-ACC.1SG wash
 'The child washed a cup for me (and I will start using it).'
- c. *Wera ɲəno-də-m'i ɲol'ep'ada°*
 Wera boat-PRED-ACC.1SG paint
 'Wera painted a boat for me.'

Similarly, the predestinative object may occur in the following sentences in Tundra Nenets: 'the child brought a bag for me', 'I am reading a tale for you', 'I cut down a tree for you (and it will become yours)', 'I bought a boat for you', 'Wera killed a reindeer for me (and it will become my possession)'. However, predestinatives are absolutely impossible with verbs of destruction and manipulation which imply that the predestinative possessor will not become the owner of the predestinative object, such as e.g. 'the child broke the cup meant for me', 'I sold the house meant for you', 'I tore the shirt meant for you'.

On the syntactic properties of the predestinative object see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.2.

4.3 Genitive predestinative

The genitive predestinative is non-referential and serves as a secondary predicate in combination with some auxiliary verbs:

- (40) a. *n'abako-m'i sawa n'a-də-n'i tara-s°*
 elder.sister-1SG good friend-PRED-GEN.1SG needed-PAST
 'My elder sister was a good friend of mine.'

- b. *t'uku° wen'ako mən'aq wen'ako-d°-naq xəya*
 this dog we dog-PRED-GEN.1PL go
 'This dog became our dog.'

It is also common as an adjunct with the meaning 'as', 'for', 'instead' or the like.

- (41) a. *t'uku° pad°r xayobc'ən-tə-n° ta-d°*
 this book memory-PRED-GEN.1SG give-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Give me this book as a memory.' (T 722)
- b. *t'uku° ti-m ηəmcodə-d°-naq temta-wewaq*
 this reindeer-ACC food-PRED-GEN.1PL buy-INFR.1PL > SG.OBJ
 'We bought this reindeer as food for ourselves.' (T 380)
- c. *Maša-n°h t'uku° kniga-m xayobc'ən-tə-nt° m'ɪŋa-w°*
 Masha-DAT this book-ACC memory-PRED-GEN.2SG give-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I gave this book to Masha for you as a memory.'

As mentioned above, predestinatives which head lexical possessors do not have the genitive case. The equivalent genitive meanings are expressed by the essive (see Chapter 3, Section 1.3.3).

5 Predicative forms of nouns

As mentioned in Chapter 3, nouns and adjectives in the predicative function express subject agreement much in the same way as intransitive verbs do. They are conjugated by the subjective type of intransitive verbs, on which see Chapter 5, Section 1.1. The meaning of the forms exemplified below are 'I am a man', 'you are a man' and so on.

Predicative forms of nouns

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>xasawa-d°m</i>	<i>xasawa-n'ih</i>	<i>xasawa-waq</i>
2	<i>xasawa-n°</i>	<i>xasawa-d'ih</i>	<i>xasawa-daq</i>
3	<i>xasawa</i>	<i>xasawa-x°h</i>	<i>xasawa-q</i>

Thus, the co-occurrence of a root with the subjective conjugation cannot determine its categorial status as a verb, because the subjective conjugation is also used for predicative nominals in Tundra Nenets.

Predicative nouns and adjectives take past tense markers like subjective verbs (see Chapter 5, Section 2.2). However, they do not take the future, habitual, future-in-the-past and non-indicative moods and do not have non-finite forms. These

functions are expressed periphrastically by means of the copula *ηæ*- ‘to be’. The possessive nouns do not take regular subject agreement affixes when used in the predicative function (see Chapter 11, Section 2.2), but only express the number of the subject in the same way as the number of the possessed noun is usually expressed, e.g. *n’a-x^o yu-də-s’^o* ‘we (DU) / you (DU) / they (DU) were his friends (companion-DU-3SG-PAST)’. However they are compatible with past tense, e.g. *n’a-rə-s’^o* ‘I / you / he was your friend (companion-2SG-PAST)’.

Chapter 5

Verbal inflection

The verbal inflectional categories are subject and object agreement, tense and mood. The general structure of the finite verbal form is ‘stem – (future or habitual tense / non-indicative mood) – object agreement – subject agreement – (past tense)’. The chapter also provides information on non-finite verbal forms, namely, participles, action nominals and converbs. The basic structure of non-finite forms is ‘stem – non-finite marker – (subject agreement/case)’.

1 Agreement

Person/number marking on the verb targeting its core arguments is referred to here and hereafter as ‘agreement’ for convenience, although, as explained in Chapter 17, Section 1.1, in many instances it has pronominal force.

1.1 Subject agreement

Subject agreement in person/number is obligatory on finite verbs. Intransitive verbs are conjugated either by the so-called ‘subjective’ type or by the ‘reflexive’ type, termed ‘conjugations’ in the traditional literature on Tundra Nenets (e.g. Tereshchenko 1965) and in Salminen (1997). In this grammar these two types are analysed as inflectional classes. That is, each intransitive verb in Tundra Nenets belongs either to the subjective or the reflexive class and is conjugated according to the respective conjugation type. Inflectional class is a feature which has to be specified lexically (for more discussion see Chapter 10, Section 1.1).

The reflexive and subjective conjugations realize the same grammatical distinctions, namely, subject agreement in person and number, but differ in four forms (the 1st person singular, 3rd person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person plural) in terms of the actual exponence of subject agreement. This is demonstrated by the present tense paradigm of the reflexive verb *te-* ‘to flow’ in comparison with the present tense conjugation of the subjective verb *mənc^ora-* ‘to work’ in (1) and (2). As can be seen here, the subjective conjugation morphology is added to the general finite stem, while the reflexive conjugation is formed based on the reflexive stem (on their formation see Chapter 3, Section 3.2).

(1) Subjective conjugation

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>mənc^oraə-d^om</i>	<i>mənc^ora^o-n’ih</i>	<i>mənc^ora^o-waq</i>
2	<i>mənc^oraə-n^o</i>	<i>mənc^ora^o-d’ih</i>	<i>mənc^ora^o-daq</i>
3	<i>mənc^ora^o</i>	<i>mənc^oraə-x^oh</i>	<i>mənc^ora^o-q</i>

(2) Reflexive conjugation

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>teyā-w°q</i>	<i>tey°-n'ih</i>	<i>tey°-naq</i>
2	<i>teyā-n°</i>	<i>tey°-d'ih</i>	<i>tey°-daq</i>
3	<i>tey°-q</i>	<i>teyā-x°h</i>	<i>teyā-d°q</i>

As can be seen here, the 3rd person is uninflected in the subjective paradigm and therefore is not indicated in glosses. There is no difference in how subjective and reflexive verbs derive non-finite forms, that is, inflectional class is only apparent in the finite conjugation but in all tenses and moods.

Transitive verbs are conjugated either by subjective type, in which case they do not show object agreement, or the so-called objective type, which expresses both subject and object agreement (Section 1.2). There is also a group of labile verbs – or ‘transitive-reflexive’ verbs in Salminen (1997) – which can be either transitive or reflexive (see Chapter 10, Section 1.1).

1.2 Object agreement

Object agreement indexes the number of the object (but not the person). The object agreement paradigm is shown below for the transitive verb *me-* ‘to take, to do’ (based on Salminen 1998b: 25). The singular object remains unmarked (or, rather, the singular object is encoded by cumulated subject and object agreement affixes), while the dual object and plural are indicated by overt morphology. The dual object marker is *-xəyu-* added to the general finite stem, whereas the plural object marker basically coincides with the marker of the reflexive stem: it is *-iə-* in *ə*-final stems (*i* replaces the stem-final vowel) and *-yə-* otherwise.

(3) Objective conjugation, singular object

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>meā-w°</i>	<i>me°-m'ih</i>	<i>me°-waq</i>
2	<i>meā-r°</i>	<i>me°-r'ih</i>	<i>me°-daq</i>
3	<i>me°-da</i>	<i>me°-d'ih</i>	<i>me°-doh</i>

Objective conjugation, dual object

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>meŋa-xəyu-n°</i>	<i>meŋa-xəyu-n'ih</i>	<i>meŋa-xəyu-naq</i>
2	<i>meŋa-xəyu-d°</i>	<i>meŋa-xəyu-d'ih</i>	<i>meŋa-xəyu-daq</i>
3	<i>meŋa-xəyu-da</i>	<i>meŋa-xəyu-d'ih</i>	<i>meŋa-xəyu-doh</i>

Objective conjugation, plural object

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>me-yə-n^o</i>	<i>me-y^o-n'ih</i>	<i>me-y^o-naq</i>
2	<i>me-yə-d^o</i>	<i>me-y^o-d'ih</i>	<i>me-y^o-daq</i>
3	<i>me-y^o-da</i>	<i>me-y^o-d'ih</i>	<i>me-y^o-doh</i>

As can be seen here, object agreement affixes are largely identical to possessive affixes with the singular and dual possessed in the nominative case. However, the difference lies in the form of the stem. Nominal possessive morphology is always added to the primary stem of the nominative noun. In contrast, the singular and dual object paradigms of verbs are formed based on the general finite stem, derived from the primary stem. The plural object verbal forms do not bear formal resemblance to nominal possessives with the plural possessed because the latter are based on the accusative plural stem.

In polysyllabic *a*-final verbal stems the last vowel of the stem changes into *e* before the dual object marker, thus we have the following alternations: *xada* ‘to kill’ > *xadaə-da* ‘he killed him/her (3SG > SG.OBJ), *xadaŋa-xəyu-da* ‘he killed them two (DU.OBJ-3SG), *xade-y^o-da* ‘he killed them (many) (PL.OBJ-3SG)’.

Object agreement is ‘optional’ in the sense that not all objects trigger it. Conditions on object agreement are described in Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1. In short, the choice between the subjective and objective form for transitive verbs (i.e. the presence of object agreement) depends on some semantic characteristics and the topicality of the 3rd person object, while 1st and 2nd person objects never trigger agreement.

2 Tense in the indicative

The indicative mood does not have a dedicated morphological marker. It normally has a realis meaning and distinguishes five tenses: present, past, future, habitual and future-in-the-past.

2.1 Present

The present (sometimes termed ‘aorist’ in other literature on Tundra Nenets) is formally unmarked, and therefore I do not indicate it in the glosses. Perfective verbs in the present tense denote situations in the immediate past, that is, they have an aorist meaning.

- (4) a. *t'ür-t'a* *ŋəno* *aèrodromə-n^oh* *ŋamti^o-q*
 fly-IMPF.PART boat airport-DAT sit-REFL.3SG
 ‘The airplane landed in the airport.’ (T 27)

- b. *tu ηano-xəna ηædal'or-ma-h yeqm°n'a билет°-m temta°*
 fire boat-LOC travel-IMPF.AN-GEN for ticket-ACC buy
 'He bought a ticket for travelling on a boat.' (T 28)

Imperfective verbs in the present tense render typical imperfective meanings: they denote either progressive (5) or habitual (6) situations.

- (5) *t'ir-t'a ηano-h to-wa-m aëroport-xəna ηət'e°-waq*
 fly-IMPF.PART boat-GEN come-IMPF.AN-ACC airport-LOC wait-1PL
 'We are waiting for the arrival of the airplane in the airport.' (T 27)

- (6) a. *Wera xusuwey° yalya-h Maša-m ηət'e°*
 Wera each day-GEN Masha-ACC wait
 'Wera waits for Masha every day.'

- b. *t'ir-t'a ηənu yadela-w°nta-q*
 fly-IMPF.PART boat.ACC.PL lead-FUT.PART-PL
aviaškola-xəna toxodənə°-q
 flying.school-LOC study-3PL
 'Future pilots study in a pilot school.' (T 25)

In the latter meaning the present tense of imperfective verbs competes with the habitual tense. In addition, the present tense in narrative texts may function as a historical past.

2.2 Past

The past is expressed by the affix *-s'ə* (with the regular phonological alternations) added after the agreement affix, e.g. *nūə-n°* 'you stand (2SG)' vs. *nū°-nə-s'°* 'you stood (2SG-PAST)'.

Imperfective verbs in the past typically have past (progressive) meaning:

- (7) a. *t'uku° ya-x°na s'id'a po-h wəta-h yil'eə-s'°*
 this place-LOC 2 year-GEN extra-GEN live-PAST
 'He lived at this place for more than two years.' (T 50)
- b. *ηaw°na wəwa-h yil'eə-c'°*
 in.the.past bad-GEN live-3PL.PAST
 'In the past they lived poorly.' (T 66)

Past perfective verbs usually indicate remote past. The degree of remoteness may vary, but in any case it is more remote than the present tense reference of perfective verbs.

- (8) a. *t'uku° nara-h Pəyut'e-h xal'a-m n'un'ekəbtə° xada°-wac°*
 this spring-GEN Payuta-GEN fish-ACC shameless-MOD kill-1PL.PAST
 'This spring we managed to get an awful lot of fish in the river Payuta.' (T 332)
- b. *s'an° yal'a-h t'ax°na pūda-na èkzamen°-m m'iqṇa-wac°*
 few day-GEN behind last-IMPF.PART exam-ACC give-1PL.PAST
 'We passed the last exam a few days ago.' (T 257)
- c. *məl'e° ṇax°qna n'i-s° tū-r°-q*
 already long.ago NEG-PAST come-FREQ-CONN
 'He hasn't come for a long time.' (T 221)

In some instances perfective verbs in the past indicate pluperfect, i.e. they denote an event which precedes another past event in time.

- (9) a. *xə-wa-nt° n'er°c'una wərk°-m xada°-wa-c°*
 go-IMPF.AN-GEN.2SG before bear-ACC kill-1PL-PAST
 'We had killed a bear shortly before you left.' (T 304)
- b. *ṇump°a-m'i sədōrə-na-xən'i yoqṇa-wə-s°, təd°*
 thimble-ACC.1SG sew-IMPF.PART-DAT.1SG lose-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST then
t'ikaxəd° waqw°-h s'int°qm'a-h madi°-h poṇkəd° xoə-w°
 then bed-GEN cover-GEN fold-GEN between find-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'When I was sewing, I lost a thimble and then I found it between the folds of a blanket.' (T 217)
- c. *n'er°q xəya-s°, pūna ṇan'ih to°*
 first go-PAST then again come
 'First he left, then he came again.'

In these examples, the reference time is overtly expressed within the same sentence, but this need not be the case, it can simply be understood from the wider context.

2.3 Future

The future is expressed by the suffixes *-tə-* or *-ṇko-*. The variant *-ṇko-* is restricted to regular vowel stem verbs, alteration *ə*-final stems and the irregular verb *ṇə-* 'to be'. Consonant-final verbs, other irregular verbs and the alteration verbs with final *-o* derive the future with *-tə-*. Future verbs form the general finite stem to which agreement morphology is added. Note that the general finite stem of future verbs in *-ṇko-* ends in *-u-*. Examples of future formations are: *mənc°ra-ṇku-d°m* 'I will work (work-FUT-1SG)' (vowel-final stem), *tū-tə-d°m* 'I will come (come-FUT-1SG)' (irregular

verb), *man-t°ə-d°m* ‘I will say (say-FUT-1SG)’ (consonant-final stem), *xon’o-dəə-d°m* ‘I will sleep (sleep-FUT-1SG)’ (alteration o-final verb).

The future tense indicates immediate and remote future, both for perfective and imperfective verbs:

- (10) a. *t’uku° yiri°-h laxa° yader-təə-d°m*
 this month-GEN loose-MOD walk-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will hang about this month.’ (T 180)
- b. *tən’ana sira-h yolc°nta yil’e-ηku-q*
 there snow-GEN until live-FUT-3PL
 ‘They will live there until the snow.’
- c. *xad°-nta wəyarəy°bt’e-b°q ηədala-ηku-naq*
 snowstorm-GEN.3SG finish-COND travel-FUT-REFL.1PL
 ‘We’ll leave when the snowstorm stops.’ (T 36)
- d. *n’a-r° m’er°-h tū-tə°*
 companion-2SG fast-GEN come-FUT
 ‘Your friend will come soon.’ (T 76)

It should be mentioned that Salminen (1997) analyses future as a derivational category (possibly, some kind of aspect) because it is present in some non-finite forms (see Section 4) and may be combined with the past to yield the subjunctive/conditional meaning (referred to as future-in-the-past in Section 2.5 below). However, the future is fully regular and productive, and has a transparent predictable meaning. Like the inflectional past tense, it stands in paradigmatic contrast with the habitual tense and most moods. In this sense it sharply differs from true aspectual categories, such as the durative, momentative, imperfective and the like: these exhibit heavy lexical restrictions and are freely compatible with any tense and mood.

2.4 Habitual

Salminen (1997: 53) suggests that habitual (or ‘habitive’ in his terminology) is developing into a mood, however in this grammar it is analyzed as part of the tense paradigm because, from a formal perspective, it stands in complementary distribution with the other inflectional tenses: past, future and future-in-the-past. Salminen (1997: 54) mentions a few rare examples in the older literature where the habitual cooccurs with other inflectional tenses, but this seems to be ungrammatical in modern Nenets. On the other hand, while moods are generally incompatible with each other (see Section 3), the habitual can cooccur with at least some of them, e.g.

the inferential *ngæ-s'ota-wi°* ‘apparently it was always good (be-HAB-INFR)’ and the imperative *mūnoq-lə-s'otu-q* ‘start making noise all the time’ (make.noise-INCH-HAB-IMP.2SG)’. The habitual is fully productive and semantically transparent.

The habitual is derived with the suffix *-s'ətə-* which precedes agreement morphology. The resulting verb form shows the alternation *a > i* in the general finite stem, e.g.: *mānc°ra-s'əti-d°m* ‘I usually work (work-HAB-1SG)’, and forms the con-negative with *u*, e.g. *mānc°ra-s'ətu-q* (work-HAB-CONNeg).

The habitual denotes a generic timeless situation or a situation which is repeated periodically:

- (11) a. *t'iki° n'a-waq ŋoka-h wadaxəla-mpə-s'oti-waq*
 this friend-1PL many-GEN mention-DUR-HAB-1PL
 ‘We often mention this friend of ours.’ (T 32)
- b. *voskresen'ja-x°qna m'a-k°nanaq me-s'oti-waq*
 sunday-PL.LOC tent-LOC.1PL be-HAB-1PL
 ‘We are usually at home on Sundays.’ (T 57)
- c. *wānc'oy° ləqmor m'a-t°h t'u-b°-ta wāncə-s'əti*
 bad.omen bird tent-DAT come-COND-3SG portend-HAB
 ‘When a swallow flies into the tent, it’s a bad omen.’ (T 72)

In other words, the habitual form can be ambiguous. For instance, *xan'e-s'əti-d°m* (hunt-HAB-1SG) can mean either ‘I hunt from time to time’ or ‘I always hunt’.

2.5 Future-in-the-past

From a functional point of view, future-in-the-past makes a modal (irrealis) rather than a purely temporal contribution. That is why it is termed ‘conjunctive’ in Burkova (2010). However, it is treated as a tense here because it is formally part of the tense paradigm and is derived by the combination of the inflected future form and the past tense in *-s'ə*. The future-in-the-past denotes the apodosis of the irrealis condition or an unrealized situation in the past:

- (12) a. *nix°-qn'i p'ir° ŋæ-wi° ŋæ-b°qna-nta*
 power-PL.GEN.1SG height be-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-3SG
t'iki° mānc°'a-m me-ŋku-wə-s'°
 this work-ACC take-FUT-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘If it were in my power, I would have undertaken this work.’ (T 323)
- b. *poyor-c'° xan°-tə°-dəm-c'° leqlə-d°m*
 fetch.wood-MOD go-FUT-1SG-PAST change.mind-1SG
 ‘I was going to fetch wood but changed my mind.’ (T 206)

- c. *n'u^o kutə-^o wax^o l-tiəc^o*
gentle-MOD start.talking-FUT.REFL.3SG.PAST
'He was about to start talking gently.' (T 329)

It can also denote a wish:

- (13) *mən^o s'ay^o xid'a-m ɲəm-tə^o-dəm-c^o*
I tea cup-ACC eat-FUT-1SG-PAST
'I would have a cup of tea.'

The future-in-the-past is obviously incompatible with other inflectional tenses.

3 Mood

Tundra Nenets has 15 inflectionally formed non-indicative moods which express various epistemic, deontic and evidential meanings. The description of moods provided in this grammar is essentially based on Salminen (1997), although I have chosen different category labels in several instances. I follow Salminen's description in that the historically complex mood suffixes (namely, the potential, the reportative, the probabilitive and the approximative) are treated as synchronically unsegmentable. This description differs from the description of the mood system presented in Burkova (2010), where such suffixes are usually analysed as decomposable into the actual mood suffix and the marker of evidentiality (historically a participle).

In most moods the finite verb expresses subject and object agreement, i.e. it is conjugated by either the subjective, reflexive or objective type, under the same conditions as in the indicative. The only 'exception' is the debitive, which has not fully grammaticalized as a mood and does not show reflexive conjugation. Some moods have a defective paradigm in terms of person. Certain moods express the past/present distinction; the dubitative and probabilitive additionally have future, and the inferential and the approximative have future, habitual and future-in-the-past, but generally the category of tense is rather marginal in non-indicative moods. Moods are not compatible with each other. In some sense, then, all moods form a single paradigm, although the function of some of them is primarily evidential rather than modal *per se* (i.e. epistemic or deontic).

3.1 Imperative

The imperative only exists in the 2nd person. It employs a set of special agreement affixes with the singular subject, namely, *-q* in the 2SG, *-t^o* in the 2SG > SG.OBJ, *-n^oq* 2SG > DU.OBJ, 2SG > PL.OBJ, and *-t^oq* REFL.2SG. In the 2nd person dual and 2nd

person plural the imperative forms are identical to the indicative. Below I illustrate the imperative paradigm of the transitive verb *xada-* ‘to kill’ (the subjective and objective conjugation) and the reflexive conjugation of *te-* ‘to flow’.

(14) Imperative

		SG.OBJ	DU.OBJ	PL.OBJ	REFL
2SG	<i>xada-q</i>	<i>xada-d°</i>	<i>xada-xəyu-n°q</i>	<i>xada-n°q</i>	<i>te-d°q</i>
2DU	<i>xadaə-d’ih</i>	<i>xadaə-r’ih</i>	<i>xadaŋa-xəyu-d’ih</i>	<i>xadaə-y°-d’ih</i>	<i>tey°-d’ih</i>
2PL	<i>xadaə-daq</i>	<i>xadaə-raq</i>	<i>xadaŋa-xəyu-daq</i>	<i>xadaə-y°-daq</i>	<i>tey°-daq</i>

The alteration verbs (see Chapter 2, Section 3.1.2) change their final vowel into *-u* in the 2nd person singular imperative, e.g. *xon’o-* > *xon’uq*. For more detail on the formation of the imperative and the irregular forms see Salminen (1997: 105–107).

The imperative renders the usual directive meanings: request, order, command, wish, permission, invitation and the like.

- (15) a. *pidər° n’on° yed’eq-lə-q*
 you NEG.IMP.2SG get.ill-INCH-CONNEG
 ‘Don’t get ill.’
- b. *ŋū-daq!*
 Stand-IMP.2PL
 ‘Stand still!’
- c. *s’id°naq mənəq-mənc° tūrŋa-daq*
 we.ACC see-PURP reach-IMP.2PL
 ‘Do come to see us.’ (T 232)

The imperative often co-occurs with the precative marker, see Chapter 12, Section 2.

3.2 Hortative

The hortative only exists in the 1st person (singular, dual or plural). The hortative marker is *-xə* (with regular alternations) preceding the standard agreement morphology. The hortative expresses exhortations to the 1st person:

- (16) a. *mən° t’uku°-c’ey°-m xana-xə-d°m*
 I this-EMPH-ACC take-HORT-1SG
 ‘Let me take this away.’ (T 696)
- b. *ŋobk°na m’ado-kə-n’ih*
 together live.in.a.tent-HORT-1DU
 ‘Let’s live together in a tent.’ (T 277)

- c. *xər^oq-naq s'er-k^onaq n'ox^o-naq pə̃bta-b'uq*
 REFL-1PL thing-DAT.1PL NEG.HORT-1PL > PL.OBJ mix.up-DUR-CONNEG
 'Let's not get him mixed up in our own business.' (T 500)

The dependent hortative indicates a free-choice situation:

- (17) *xən'ar'ina yil'e-xə-d^om, s'ita t'en'eə-d^om*
 where.LIM live-HORT-1SG he.ACC remember-1SG
 'Wherever I live, I remember him.'

Like the imperative, the hortative is compatible with the precative (Chapter 12, Section 2).

3.3 Jussive

Another directive mood is the jussive, referred to as 'optative' in Salminen (1997) and Burkova (2010), which only has 3rd person forms. The jussive is formed from the general finite stem with the suffix *-ya* preceding agreement in the subjective conjugation, e.g. 3SG *xadaə-ya* 'let him kill', 3DU *xadaə-ya-x^oh* 'let them (DU) kill' and 3PL *xadaə-ya-q* 'let them (PL) kill'. In the objective conjugation the jussive marker is *-m-* for the singular object, and *-dəm-* for the dual or plural object in the Western dialects.

- (18) Objective conjugation, jussive

	SG.OBJ	DU.OBJ	PL.OBJ
3SG	<i>xadaə-m-ta</i>	<i>xadaŋa-xəyu-dəm-ta</i>	<i>xadaə-y^o-dəm-ta</i>
3DU	<i>xadaə-m-t'ih</i>	<i>xadaŋa-xəyu-dəm-t'ih</i>	<i>xadaə-y^o-dəm-t'ih</i>
3PL	<i>xadaə-m-toh</i>	<i>xadaŋa-xəyu-dəm-taq</i>	<i>xadaə-y^o-dəm-taq</i>

The dual and plural object agreement forms do not seem to exist in Eastern Tundra Nenets; the respective indicative forms are used instead. In the reflexive conjugation agreement morphology follows the reflexive stem; the forms look as follows (for the verb *te-* 'to flow'): 3SG *teyə-mt^oq*, 3DU *tey^o-xəmt^oq*, 3PL *tey^o-dəmt^oq*.

Jussive denotes various exhortations to the 3rd person:

- (19) a. *p'il'iq xayer tən'aə-ya*
 always sun exist-JUS
 'Let there always be the sun!'
- b. *xə̃-wa-n^oh n'i-b^o-ta xərwa-q xay^o-ya*
 go-IMP.F.AN-DAT NEG-COND-3SG want-CONNEG stay-JUS
 'If he doesn't want to go, let him stay.' (T 310)

- c. *xīb'a xərwa° t'iki° to°-ya*
 who want this come-JUS
 'Whoever wants to, let them come.' (T 765)

In addition, it may express free-choice in a dependent clause, just like the hortative:

- (20) a. *xən'ar'ih n'eb'a-da s'ita ηædara°-ya, xan°-tə°*
 where.to.LIM mother-3SG he.ACC send-JUS go-FUT
 'Wherever his mother sends him, he will go.'
- b. *xən'ar'ina yil'e°-ya, s'iqm'i t'en'e°*
 where.LIM live-JUS I.ACC remember
 'Wherever he lives, he remembers me.'

On the combination of the jussive with the precative see Chapter 12, Section 2.

3.4 Subjunctive

The subjunctive ('conjunctive' in Salminen 1997, 'optative' in Burkova 2010) exists in two tenses, the present and the past. It is formed in a rather agglutinative manner, by the suffix *-yi* added to the primary lexical stem before agreement affixes. The regular past tense marker may follow agreement.

The 1st person present subjunctive forms express a promise (often one which the speaker does not seriously intend to keep) or agreement, often involuntary, to perform the action, e.g.:

- (21) a. *səwa, kniga-m temta-yi-d°m*
 good book-ACC buy-SUBJ-1SG
 'Ok, ok, I will buy the book (leave me in peace!).'
- b. *t'uku° pad°r-m'i wəd°r'ih ta-yi-w°*
 this paper-ACC.1SG DP bring-SUBJ-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I will bring this paper one day.' (T 35)
- c. *xən°-m'i xura-yi-r°! ηæwi° xura-yi-w°*
 sled-ACC.1SG tie.up-SUBJ-2SG > SG.OBJ INTJ tie.up-SUBJ-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'Tie up my sled. Ok, I will.' (T 414)

The 1st person dual and plural forms may additionally have the hortative meaning (usually suggesting that the action denoted by the verb is to be performed in the more remote future than the action denoted by the hortative mood):

- (22) a. *xūn'ana m'er'esə-rka-yi-waq*
 tomorrow hurry.up-COMP-SUBJ-1PL
 'Let's hurry up tomorrow.' (T 248)
- b. *pon°h mənc°ra-rka-yi-waq*
 long work-COMP-SUBJ-1PL
 'Let's work longer (in principle, in the future)!'

The 2nd person present subjunctive is directive, but is perceived as a milder, more polite or more remote imperative, cf. *tuq* 'come (right now) (IMP.2SG)' vs. *to-yi-n°* 'come (some time later) (SUBJ-2SG)'. The 3rd person present subjunctive normally expresses the wish of the speaker and/or some kind of indirect inducement, cf. the 3rd person subjunctive and the optative *temta-yi* 'let him buy, tell him to buy (SUBJ)' vs. *temta°-ya* 'he should buy, he must buy (JUS)'. In a dependent clause the subjunctive expresses indirect imperative:

- (23) *Wera-n° ma-daḡ, kniga-m temta-yi*
 Wera-DAT say-IMP.2PL book-ACC buy-SUBJ
 'Tell Wera to buy the book.'

The basic meaning of the past subjunctive in all persons is a strong wish about a possible future event:

- (24) a. *ḡod°q s'it° məneq-yi-dəm-c°*
 DP you.ACC see-SUBJ-1SG-PAST
 'If only I could see you!' (T 396)
- b. *yen'ada-qn'i pūna xayō-w°nt'i let°ramp°-yi-nə-s°*
 heal-PL.GEN.1SG after stay-FUT.PART.PL.ACC take.care-SUBJ-2SG-PAST
 'Take care of those who will remain after me.' (T 100)
- c. *xīb'a-ko-r'i ḡəḡ-yi-s°*
 who-DIM-LIM be-SUBJ-PAST
 'Whoever it will be (let it be him or her)!' (T 765)

The past tense forms can also indicate irrealis possibility (25) and apprehension (26):

- (25) a. *s'it° ḡat'e-yi-dəm-c°, ḡəmke lək°-h tū-t°ə-n°*
 you.ACC wait-SUBJ-1SG-PAST what quick-GEN come-FUT-2SG
 'I would have waited for you, but it's unlikely that you'll come soon.' (T 174)
- b. *s'id'a s'an° po-h ḡesonḡəwaxəna ḡar'oy°-ḡe°*
 two few year-GEN after.AFF independent-ESS
yil'e-l-yi-n'in-c°
 live-INCH-SUBJ-1DU-PAST
 'In two years we could become independent.' (T 385)

- (26) *n'oyi-nə-s'°* *xan̄ku-l°-q!*
 NEG.SUBJ-2SG-PAST ill-INCH-CONNEG
 'If only you didn't get ill!'

In this sense the past subjunctive can be ambiguous. For instance, the past subjective verb *to-yi-s'°* (come-SUBJ-PAST) can have at least two meanings, i.e. 'If only he could come!' (wish) or 'What if he comes?' (apprehension).

3.5 Apprehensive

The apprehensive, termed 'desiderative' in Salminen (1997) or 'emphatic optative' in Burkova (2010), is formed with the suffix *-rəwa* added to the lexical stem and followed by agreement. Note the change of the suffix-final vowel *a* > *i* in the plural object agreement and reflexive forms, which is accompanied by the change *w* > *b'* (this type is referred to as 'special modal subsystem' in Salminen 1997), e.g. *xada-rəwa-da* 'if only he killed it (APPR-3SG > SG.OBJ)' vs. *xada-rəb'ida* 'if only he killed them (APPR.3SG > PL.OBJ)'.

The core meaning of the apprehensive is fear about the future. To express this meaning the apprehensive normally stands in the negative form, i.e. the auxiliary takes the apprehensive marker and combines with the connegative.

- (27) a. *yer°mpoy°* *n'ū-m'i* *nan'ih* *n'i-r°wa-q* *xan̄kul°-q!*
 INTRJ child-1SG again NEG-APPR-REFL.3SG get.ill-CONNEG
 'If only my child wouldn't get ill!' (T 103)
- b. *n'i-r°wa-d°m* *pūda-q*
 NEG-APPR-1SG late-CONNEG
 'If only I wouldn't be late!' (T 483)

The second meaning is regret about the past. To express this meaning the apprehensive cannot refer to future situations and must be combined with the clitic *=ma* (on this clitic see Chapter 6, Section 1.3). The omission of the clitic is impossible with this meaning.

- (28) a. *kniga-m* *temta-rəwa-wə=wa*
 book-ACC buy-APPR-1SG > SG.OBJ-ASS
 'If only I had bought that book!'
- b. *n'er°q* *tū-l°wa-n°=wa*
 earlier come-APPR-2SG-ASS
 'If only you had come earlier!' (T 305)

The reference of such utterances can only be in the past; it is impossible to use the apprehensive when expressing regrets about the present moment.

3.6 Necessitative

The marker of the necessitative is *-pc(')u*, which normally drops the first consonant after consonant-final stems. The 1st and 3rd person necessitative conveys expectation, some degree of certainty about a future event ('should'), or deontic obligation.

- (29) a. *ɲəmke-r'i ɲota ɲod°q s'id'a-ɲe° xæ-x°r-c'u-n'ih*
 what-LIM DP too 2-ESS go-PREC-NEC-1DU
 'Whatever happens, we should go together.' (T 377)
- b. *num-ta səwa, t'ir-t'a ɲəno to-bc'u*
 sky-3SG good fly-IMP.F.PART boat come-NEC
 'The weather is good, the airplane should arrive.'
- c. *xabc'ah syid°naq məs'iq xerabta-pc'u*
 illness we.ACC DP bypass-NEC
 'The illness should probably pass over us.'
- d. [He started thinking: Where would be good to go now?]
m'ak°-n'i p'a-bcu-w°q.
 tent-DAT.1SG start-NEC-REFL.1SG
 'I should go home.' (Labanauskas 1995: 57)

In the 2nd person the meaning of the necessitative may be close to permissive:

- (30) a. *pidər° to-bc'u-n°*
 you come-NEC-2SG
 'You should come (permission or agreement).'
- b. *pidər° ti-m xada-bc'u-n°*
 you reindeer-ACC kill-NEC-2SG
 '(I agree,) you should kill a reindeer.'

Generally speaking, the necessitative seems to express more certainty about a future event than other epistemic moods such as the probabilitive, the potential or the dubitative. According to Burkova (2010: 298), its core meaning consists in indicating that the situation is predetermined by the circumstances known to the speaker; therefore she refers to it as 'the mental prospective'.

3.7 Potential

The potential is formed with the suffix *-pc(')aqxiə* which produces *iə ~ e* alternation stems, e.g. *xada-bcaki°* ‘he may kill (POT)’ ~ *xada-bcakeda* ‘he will kill it (POT.3SG > SG.OBJ)’ ~ *xada-bcaki°da* ‘he may kill them (POT.3SG > PL.OBJ)’. The suffix-initial consonant *p* is normally dropped after consonant-final stems.

The 1st person potential expresses a promise about a future event, however, the event is perceived as remote in time and/or the speaker only regards it as a mere possibility. In fact, the speaker is not sure if she is going to keep the promise.

- (31) a. *n'is'a-n'i* *pempəd°-m* *ɲar°wo-qma-xəd°-n'i*
 father-GEN.1SG grave-ACC become.big-PERF.AN-ABL-1SG
p'ū-bcakew°
 look.for-POT.1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I may look for my father’s grave when I become adult.’ (T 503)
- b. *sīw°-h* *s'id°daq* *mər°-kəna* *xo-bcaked°m*
 winter-GEN you.PL.ACC city-LOC find-POT.1SG
 ‘Ok, I’ll try to find you in the city in winter.’ (T 572)

The 2nd person potential conveys hope and mild inducement (32) and the 3rd person denotes an event which the speaker judges as probable in some undetermined future and possibly wishes will come true (33):

- (32) a. *pidər°* *t'iki°-m* *s'erta-bcaker°*
 you that-ACC do-POT-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘(I hope) you will do it.’
- b. *s'ax°r'ih* *to-bcaken°*
 then.LIM come-POT.2SG
 ‘What if you come some time later.’
- (33) *xuna-r'i* *ɲæ°-ya,* *s'ax°r'ih* *xo-bcaki°-q*
 DP-LIM be-JUS then.LIM find-POT-REFL.3SG
 ‘Wherever he is, he will probably be found one day.’ (T 781)

See also the following contrast that illustrates the difference between the necessitative and the potential: *pida to-bc'u* ‘(don’t worry) he should come (NEC)’ (in the situation when the interlocutors are waiting for someone to come) vs. *pida to-bcaki°* ‘if only he would come (later) (POT)’.

The potential is referred to as ‘obligative’ in Salminen (1997) and is treated as a complex mood in Burkova (2010).

3.8 Inferential

The inferential (or ‘narrative’ in Salminen (1997)) is represented by grammaticalized forms of the perfective participle *-miə* used in the predicative function. The stem follows the *iə ~ e* alternation pattern, e.g. *xada-wi°* ‘he has killed (INFR)’ ~ *xada-weda* ‘he has killed him/her (INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ)’ ~ *xada-wi°da* ‘he has killed them (INFR.3SG > PL.OBJ)’. The inferential has five temporal forms, the present, past, future, habitual and future-in-the-past. Their formation and function are largely identical to the indicative, cf. *xada-wi°* ‘he has apparently killed (recently) (kill-INFR)’ and *xada-wiəs°* or *xada-wes°* ‘he has apparently killed (in the more remote past) (kill-INFR.PAST)’. The future denotes a modal situation in the past (some kind of deontic modality), the habitual indicates that the situation apparently takes place habitually, while the future-in-the-past renders the same meaning but in the more remote past, cf. *xada-ηko-wi°* ‘apparently he had to kill/apparently he was about to kill (recently) (kill-FUT-INFR)’, *xada-ηko-wiə-s°* ‘apparently he had to kill/apparently he was about to kill (in the more remote past) (kill-FUT-INFR-PAST)’, *xada-s°əta-wi°* ‘apparently he killed all the time (kill-HAB-INFR).’

Although translated as ‘apparently’ in the preceding examples, the inferential mood conveys a large variety of evidential meanings. It often denotes the events which cannot be witnessed directly: the speaker is certain that the situation has taken place but has no direct evidence for the assertion. The assertion is made based on inference from the result of the same or related event:

- (34) a. *tīnaq* *ya-mtoh* *war’ol’e-wedoh*
 reindeer.PL.1PL place-ACC.3PL trample-INFR.3PL > SG.OBJ
 ‘The reindeer have trampled that place.’ (T 46)
- b. *t’uku°* *padər°-m* *məl’e°* *tola-weda*
 this paper-ACC already read-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ
n’i-da *ηa-q*
 NEG-3SG > SG.OBJ be-CONN
 ‘He has probably already read this book.’ (T 667)
- c. *təηok°* *ηod’i* *məq°la-wedaq*
 so.many berry.PL.ACC collect-INFR.2PL > PL.OBJ
 ‘You have collected very many berries.’ (T 631)
- d. [When he woke up in the morning,]
puxuc’a-da *yed°-m* *məl’e°* *p’ir’e-wi°*.
 old.woman-3SG kettle-ACC already cook-INFR
 ‘The old woman had already boiled the kettle.’ (Labanauskas 1995: 71)

The inferential also denotes physiological and mental processes in humans (35), physical processes that happen to objects but cannot be witnessed directly (36) and natural phenomena (37).

- (35) a. *ɲæwa-da məl'e° sero-mi°*
 head-3SG already become.grey-INFR
 'His hair has already turned grey.' (T 586)
- b. *ɲar°-ma-nta s'er°h n'eko s'ador-mi°*
 grow-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG when Nyeko become.beautiful-INFR
 'Neko became beautiful when she grew up.' (T 596)
- (36) a. *s'ar° sel-mi°*
 tobacco get.dry-INFR
 'The tobacco got dry.' (T 584)
- b. *ɲəmca s'anc'ir'e-wi°-q*
 meat get.overfrozen-INFR-REFL.3SG
 'The meat got too frozen.' (T 601)
- (37) a. *sæw°-qn'i si°ləbta-b°q-n'i num-ta məl'e° yale-miäs°*
 eye-PL.GEN.1SG open-COND-1SG sky-3SG already dawn-INFR.PAST
 'When I opened my eyes, the day had already broken.' (T 573)
- b. *nədo-h s'a-k°na xarw° wad'o-wi°*
 steep.precipice-GEN face-LOC larch.tree grow-INFR
 'A larch tree has grown on a mountain ridge.' (T 608)

In the 1st person singular the inferential may denote events which happened to the speaker but were or are outside of her control, such as involuntary or unexpected situations or situations the speaker cannot remember.

- (38) a. *s'intara-wa-n'i s'er°h ɲob°-h tuy°bte-wew°q*
 nap-IMPF.INF-GEN.1SG when one-GEN bend.DIM-INFR.REFL.1SG
 'When I took a nap, I bent a little.' (T 674)
- b. *toxos°-m sæd°q mada-wew°*
 fabric-ACC DP cut-INFR.1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I must have cut the fabric unevenly.' (T 582)
- c. *ɲul'iq pon°kuh xon'o-we-d°m*
 completely long sleep-INFR-1SG
 'Apparently I have slept for a long time.' (Labanauskas 1995: 75)

The hearsay meaning is not typical of the inferential because it is normally conveyed by another mood, the reportative (Section 3.9), but is not impossible.

- (39) *ma-q=n'ow°q, mən'° mər°-kəna me-wed°m*
 say-3PL-EXCL I city-LOC be-INFR.1SG
 'People say that I've been to the city (but in fact I haven't).'

As in many languages, the inferential evidential also has a mirative or exclamative use. These two functions are difficult to separate because in both instances the mood conveys a witnessed but unexpected event, but exclamatives are typically combined with interjections and clitics, e.g. the clitic =*n'uq*, and make use of a special intonational contour (see Chapter 12, Section 3). Exclamative and mirative inferentials typically refer to the situation simultaneous with the reference time and therefore are in the present tense. Some examples of the mirative use of the inferential are presented below.

- (40) a. [In the morning Moseko woke up and got frightened:]
xəw°xəna-nta yexara-na n'enec°h nū-wi°
 near-3SG ignore-IMPF.PART person stand-INFR.
 'An unknown person was standing near him.' (Labanauskas 1995: 39)
- b. [He entered the tent and saw:]
waqw°-h n'in'a ηar°mpey° xasawa ηamt'uwi°
 bed-GEN on old man sit-INFR
 'An old man was sitting on the bed.' (Labanauskas 1995: 40)

The inferential mood is compatible with questions:

- (41) a. *s'ar° sel-mi°?*
 tobacco get.dry-INFR
 'Did the tobacco get dry?'
- b. *mər°-kəna me-wed°m?*
 city-LOC be-INFR.1SG
 'Have I been to the city? (I can't remember)'

Note also the following contrast:

- (42) a. *pidər° ti-m xada-sa-r°*
 you reindeer-ACC kill-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Did you kill the reindeer?'

- b. *pidər° ti-m xada-wer°?*
 you reindeer-ACC kill-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Did you kill the reindeer?’

In (42a) the regular interrogative mood indicates that the event of killing was somehow expected by the speaker. In contrast, the inferential in (42b) shows that the speaker was not aware that the reindeer was to be killed.

3.9 Reportative

The reportative is formed by the marker *-rəxamiə* which also shows the *iə ~ e* alternation, e.g. *xada-rəxawi°* ‘he has killed (REP)’ ~ *xada-rəxaweda* ‘he has killed him/her (REP.3SG > SG.OBJ)’ ~ *xada-rəxawi°da* ‘he has killed them (REP.3SG > PL.OBJ)’. It conveys an unwitnessed event usually known from hearsay:

- (43) a. *xawoq siŋk°r°o-x°na pedar’iq n’ana xæ-r°xawi°*
 ear.PL.GEN news-LOC forest.PL.GEN at go-REP
 ‘They say he went to the forest.’ (T 574)
- b. *sarm’ik° tex°qna tæwo-ləxawi°*
 wolf reindeer.PL.LOC reach-REP
 ‘Allegedly a wolf has come to the reindeer herd.’ (T 671)
- c. *n’is’a-m’i tu-l°xawi=n’uq!*
 father-1SG come-REP-EXCL
 ‘Allegedly my father has come.’

In this the reportative differs from the inferential forms: the inferential is typically used when the speaker is pretty certain that the event took place, but bases his/her assertion on inference, while the reportative indicates that the information was received second-hand and therefore the speaker is less certain that the event took place, cf. *pida to-wi°* ‘he has come (INFR)’ (the speaker can see the result of the event) vs. *pida to-r°xawi°* ‘he has probably come (REP) (they say)’.

In some instances the reportative may indicate that the information is based on first-hand non-visual perception, i.e. taste. Thus, (44) can be used either when the speaker was told that the fish had not been cooked or when the speaker actually tasted the fish herself.

- (44) *xaled° n’ul°rtə°-q, n’i-r°xawi°-q p’i-q*
 fish.PL.2SG soft-3PL NEG-REP-3PL get.cooked-CONNEX
 ‘The fish is soft, apparently it isn’t cooked.’ (T 330)

The 1st person reportative forms denote involuntary uncontrolled events, just like the inferential (Section 3.8).

- (45) a. *mən^o xonara-r^oxawew^o!*
 I get.asleep-REP-REFL.1SG
 ‘I must have fallen asleep!’
- b. *tīnc’a-m’i wəwa-w^ona wen^oq-ləxawew^o*
 lasso-ACC.1SG bad-PROL spread-REP.1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I must have spread the lasso badly.’ (T 599)

The reportative typically occurs in the present tense; the past tense is also available but used infrequently. It is formed by the regular past tense marker *-s’ə* added to the inflected present tense form.

- (46) a. *ηəmca p’i-r^oxawīs^o*
 meat get.cooked-REP.PAST
 ‘The meat had cooked.’
- b. *sarm’ik^o ti-m xada-rəxaweda-s’^o*
 wolf reindeer-ACC kill-REP.3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘Allegedly the wolf had killed the reindeer.’

The reportative is referred to as ‘hyperprobabilitative’ in Salminen (1997) and is analyzed as a combination of the approximative/simulative element *-rəxa* and the evidential (in my terminology, inferential) *-wi^o* in Burkova (2010).

3.10 Interrogative

The interrogative marker is *-s(’)a*. The optional palatalization is probably conditioned by dialect. The variant *-sa* normally changes into *-s’ə* when the interrogative marker is followed by agreement affixes, e.g. *xada-sa* ‘did he kill (INTER)’ ~ *xada-s’ə-da* ‘did he kill him/her (INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ)’.

The interrogative only has past tense reference (on these grounds it is not analysed as the interrogative mood in Burkova 2010). It is employed to form questions in the past, both constituent and yes-no questions, including embedded questions. On questions in main clauses see Chapter 12, Section 1, on questions in embedded clauses see Chapter 13, Section 3. Exclamative questions are addressed in Chapter 12, Section 3. It appears that in past tense clauses the presence of a *wh*-word must trigger the interrogative form of the verb even when the utterance is not meant as question. For instance, this is observed in free relatives exemplified in Chapter 13, Section 1.

The second function of the interrogative is the expression of emphatic assertion in the past, in which instance it has to be accompanied by the clitic =*m^oh*, see Chapter 6, Section 1.4.

The interrogative may be combined with the future tense. Depending on the intonation, the resulting meaning is (mildly) interrogative or possibly deliberative, as in (47a), or conveys a strong regret, as in (47b), but in both instances the future interrogative denotes some kind of unrealized modal situation in the past.

- (47) a. *tū-t^o-sa ?*
 come-FUT-INTER
 ‘I wonder: did he have to come or not?’
- b. *s'id^odaq tər'em me-ηko-sa*
 you.ACC so take-FUT-INTER
 ‘That’s what he had to do to you.’ (T 271)
- c. *ti-m xada-ηko-sa (?)*
 reindeer-ACC kill-FUT-INTER
 ‘Did he have to kill the reindeer?’ Or:
 ‘He had to kill the reindeer (but didn’t).’

In the answer to question (47a), the future-in-the-past must be used.

Questions in the present and future are expressed by the indicative mood.

3.11 Dubitative

The dubitative is termed ‘superprobabilitative’ in Salminen (1997) and Burkova (2010). It is formed by the suffix *-wan^oηkəb'a*, which historically includes the dative form of the imperfective action nominal (Salminen 1997: 109–110). This suffix involves the change of the stem-final vowel *a* into *i* in the forms of the reflexive conjugation and the objective forms with the plural object, e.g. *xada-wan^oηkəb'a* ‘he will probably kill (DUB)’ ~ *xada-wan^oηkəb'ida* ‘he will probably kill them (many) (DUB.3SG > PL.OBJ)’.

The dubitative has a variety of epistemic meanings including uncertainty, doubts and possibility. In some instances it indicates the inference that the event is bound to occur. The following examples illustrate the present tense:

- (48) a. *yaw^o-h war^o-xəna xəlew^o-q l'amp^owornə-q ηəmke-xəwa*
 sea-GEN edge-LOC seagull-PL flutter-3PL what-AFF
 tən'a-wan^oηkəb'a
 exist-DUB
 ‘Seagulls flutter at the sea shore, there must be something there.’ (T 43)

- b. *ηob-kərt° n'enev° wada-m n'i-wan°ηkəb'a nəmt°-q*
 one-FOC Nenets word-ACC NEG-DUB hear-CONNEG
 'He won't probably hear any Nenets words.' (T 299)
- c. *num-ta səwa, t'ir-t'a ηəno to-wan°ηkəb'a*
 sky-3SG good fly-IMPF.PART boat come-DUB
 'The weather is nice, the plane will probably arrive.'

A synthetic past form of the dubitative does not seem to exist, the past tense being expressed with an analytic construction in which the lexical verb takes the perfective participle form and the auxiliary *ηə-* 'to be' stands in the dubitative present:

- (49) a. *Wera ηəno-m s'erta-wi° ηə-wan°ηkəb'a*
 Wera boat-ACC do-PERF.PART be-DUB
 'I suppose Wera has already made a boat.'
- b. *ηax°qna to-wi° ηə-wan°ηkəb'a*
 long.ago come-PERF.PART be-DUB
 'He probably came long ago.' (T 390)

However, the future is synthetic: the dubitative can follow the regular future marker.

- (50) *pida tū-tə-wan°ηkəb'a*
 he come-FUT-DUB
 'He will probably come.'

In (50) the dubitative expresses probability but the event is judged by the speaker as more certain to occur than the event denoted by the probabilitive verb described in the next section.

3.12 Probabilitative

The probabilitive has present, past and future forms. The present and past are historically based on the imperfective and perfective participles respectively. The present is formed with the complex suffix *-n(')aqxiə* or *-t(')aqxiə*, and the past with *-meəqxiə*. The final vowel combination changes into *e* in some forms, i.e. the resulting stems show the alternation *iə ~ e*.

The probabilitive expresses probability. The speaker is not certain about the reality of the described event but makes a guess, often based on inference. In this sense its meaning is close to the meaning of the inferential. Temporal reference is roughly the same as for the indicative present, past and future, see Section 2. This is illustrated in (51) and (52) for the present and past tense.

- (51) a. *səc'° t'ec'°-daki°*, *yewey°-waq məl'e° l'ed°r-mi°-q*
 very cold-PROB fish.soup-1PL already freeze-INFR-REFL.3SG
 'It's probably very cold, our fish soup has already frozen.' (T 185)
- b. *sarm'ik° xax°yə° yader-taki°*, *wenonaq p'i-h*
 wolf be.close-MOD walk-PROB dog.PL.1PL night-GEN
yampən°h mərəsa°-q
 during bark-3PL
 'A wolf must be walking nearby, our dogs barked all night.' (T 235)
- (52) a. *n'ənaq peda-weken°*
 DP get.tired-PROB.PAST.REFL.2SG
 'You must have become very tired.' (T 351)
- b. *məl'e° ηax°q xə-weki°*
 already far go-PROB.PAST
 'He has probably gone far away.' (T 390)

The future probabilitive is formed by the future affix preceding the present probabilitive. It expresses a supposition about probability in the future.

- (53) a. *Xədoko, s'iqm'i tedor-tə-naken°?*
 Xedoko I-ACC scold-FUT-PROB.2SG
 'You will probably scold at me, will you Xedoko?' (T 687)
- b. *n'is'a-w° ti-m wal'ibt'eə-s°*, *temta-ηko-dakeda*
 father-1SG reindeer-ACC mention-PAST buy-FUT-PROB.3SG > SG.OBJ
 'My father mentioned the reindeer, he will probably buy it.' (T 38)
- c. *xərwa-b°-ta təmna ηo-poy° me-wa-h tū-t°-naked°m*
 want-COND-3SG still one-MODER be-IMPF.AN-GEN come-FUT-PROB.1SG
 'Perhaps I will come again if he wants.' (T 747)

There is a second way of forming the future probabilitive: it can be based on the future participle instead of the finite future. Thus, the following forms are in free variation, but both mean 'he will probably come': *tū-t°-naki°* (come-FUT-PROB) ~ *to-wənta-naki°* (come-FUT.PART-PROB). The doubling of the future marker is also acceptable in the probabilitive forms; this indicates that the future event is highly unlikely:

- (54) *mən'° tū-t°-ηko-daked°m*
 I come-FUT-FUT-PROB.1SG
 'I am unlikely to come.'

The probabilitive can be employed in questions. They mostly (but not necessarily) represent questions to oneself that express doubts, i.e. they are some kind of rhetorical question, e.g.:

- (55) a. *ɲəmca p'i-naki°?*
 meat get.cooked-PROB
 'Has the meat cooked perhaps?'
 b. *Wera-h yes° mən° xana-wekian°?*
 Wera-GEN money.PL.ACC I take-PROB.PAST.1SG > PL.OBJ
 'Did I really take Wera's money?'
 c. *ɲar'ikəwaxənanta yəŋkuqn° m'arid°-q wəwa-q ɲə-daki°-q?*
 long.ago.AFF trap.PL.GEN.1SG way.of.setting-PL bad-PL be-PROB-3PL
 'Did the way of setting my traps turn out to be bad?' (T 385)

On the use of the probabilitive in embedded clauses see Chapter 13.

3.13 Approximative

Approximative has present, past, future and future-in-the-past. These forms historically go back to the combination of the non-finite (participial) forms and the affix *-rəxa*. The present and past exist in perfective and imperfective forms. The present approximative imperfective and perfective forms are based on the imperfective and perfective participles respectively: *-n(')arəxa* or *-t(')arəxa* for the imperfective and *-meəraxa* for the perfective. Like a number of other oblique moods, these forms show the change of the stem-final vowel *a* into *i* in the plural object paradigm and the reflexive paradigm. These forms are compatible with the regular past tense marker which follows agreement, producing the imperfective and perfective past approximative. The future approximative is based on the future participle followed by the component *-rəxa*, so is formed with the complex affix *-məntarəxa*. It also has a past form which is referred to as future-in-the-past. So in total the approximative exists in six temporal-aspectual forms. The temporal distinctions are basically the same as in the indicative. The element *-rəxa* is etymologically related to the similative affix that occurs on nouns and adjectives (Chapter 3, Section 1.3.1). This suggests that the approximative mood originates as the similative forms of participles which acquired the ability to take subject and object agreement and thus have grammaticalized as a finite mood.

The approximative expresses the meaning 'it seems, it looks like' and basically denotes a higher degree of certainty than, e.g., the probabilitive, because the situation is either witnessed by the speaker directly or is familiar to her from previous experience. Examples in (56) illustrate the present approximative.

- (56) a. *ɲərt'i°-h s'ud°r'o so-darəxa*
 sea.hare-GEN whistle heard-IMPF.APRX
 'The whistling of sea hare is heard.' (T 588)
- b. *noxa-m xada-nar°xa*
 polar.fox-ACC kill-IMPF.APRX
 'It looks like he killed a polar fox.'
- c. *m'erc'a-da xəc'ah ɲən'im-tar°xa*
 wind-3SG a.bit calm.down-IMPF.APRX
 'It seems the wind almost dropped.' (T 843)

The present tense form can also indicate comparison ('looks like'), usually based on some visual properties:

- (57) a. *lax°nə-b°qna-nta loxor-tar°xa*
 speak-COND.EMPH-3SG purl-IMPF.APRX
 'He speaks as if he is purling.' (T 194)
- b. *yit°h tæxadə-narəxa*
 water.DAT dissolve-IMPF.APRX
 'As if he dissolved in water.' (T 153)
- c. *tərc'a wada-r'i-m ɲət'e-wer°xa*
 such word-LIM-ACC wait-PERF.APRX
 'As if he is waiting for this word.' (T 389)
- d. *pida mən°ra-werəxa*
 he work-PERF.APRX
 '(As if / he pretends that) he was working.'
- e. *yid°-h xəy°lə-da m'üd°tə-narəxa*
 water-GEN tear-3SG carry.sled-IMPF.APRX
 'His tears are pouring one after another (lit. like sleds in a caravan).' (T 275)

More rarely the present tense approximative has an inferential meaning. So (58) can be uttered when the speaker makes an inference based on second hand evidence, for instance, the father's coat being left in the room.

- (58) *n'is'a-m'i tūr-merəxa=n'uq !*
 father-1SG reach-PERF.APRX-EXCL
 'My father must have come!'

The 1st person singular approximative forms either have a comparative meaning or denote speaker's feelings, cf.:

- (59) *mən'° yab'e-nar°xa-d°m*
 I drunk-IMPF.APRX-1SG
 'I feel I am drunk' Or: 'It's as if I'm drunk.'

In (60) I demonstrate the past imperfective approximative.

- (60) a. *səŋo-xənanta n'u°kut°-nar°xa-s'°*
 look-LOC.3SG caress-IMPF.APRX-PAST
 'As if he was caressing it with his eyes.' (T 329)
- b. *yedey° yil'e-ləwa-xəna wə̃sako-q ŋəc'°wor-tarəxa-c'°*
 new live-N-LOC old.man-PL become.younger-IMPF.APRX-3PL.PAST
 'The old men seemed younger in the new dwelling.' (T 391)
- c. *s'ax°ŋkəwah s'it° mənətar°xa-dəm-c'°*
 once you.ACC see-IMPF.APRX-1SG-PAST
 'It seems I saw you once.' (T 607)

The past perfective approximative is an infrequent form and is absent from Tereshchenko (1965), but it does exist as shown in (61):

- (61) a. *pida mən°ra-werəxa-s'°*
 he work-PERF.APRX-PAST
 'It seems he has worked.'
- b. *ŋəno-m s'erta-wer°xa-s'°*
 boat-ACC do-PERF.APRX-PAST
 'It seems he once made a boat.'

Examples (62) illustrate the future approximative forms with various meanings.

- (62) a. *t'edaxəwah ŋar°mpey° xasawa-h xəw°xəna pūro-məntarəxa-d°m*
 now.AFF old man-GEN near grow.mouldy-FUT.APRX-1SG
 'And now I have to grow mouldy with the old husband.' (T 490)
- b. *t'ukoxəd° xə̃-b°qna-nt° səwa-rəxa, s'it° ŋud'eq-məntarəxa-q*
 from.here go-COND.EMPH-2SG good-SIM you.ACC use.hands-FUT.APRX-3PL
 'You have to escape from here, you could be killed (lit. they will take you with hands).' (T 403)
- c. *mən°ra-w°ntar°xa-d°m*
 work-FUT.APRX-1SG
 'It looks like I will work.'

- d. *to-wəntar^oxa*
 come-FUT.APRX
 ‘He is likely to come.’

The examples in (63) show the future-in-the-past approximative.

- (63) a. *mənc^ora-w^ontar^oxa-dəm-s^o*
 work-FUT.APRX-1SG-PAST
 ‘It seems I should have worked.’
 b. *to-wəntar^oxa-s^o*
 come-FUT.APRX-PAST
 ‘It seems he should have come.’

In both examples the verbal form indicates that the event should have taken place in the past and did not, but the speaker is not sure about it.

3.14 Reputative

The reputative is formed with the marker *-məna*, while the final *a* changes to *ə* in the reflexive and plural object paradigms, e.g. *xada-wəna* ‘as if he killed (REP)’ ~ *xada-wən^oda* ‘as if he killed him/her (REP.3SG > SG.OBJ)’. The affix-initial *m* is realized as *w* intervocally.

The main meaning of the reputative is some kind of irrealis comparison (‘as if’). In this meaning it is typically combined with the dubitative clitic *=m^oh* or *=ma*:

- (64) a. *wada-xəqnata s’ita xa-ma-m*
 word-PL.LOC.3SG he.ACC call-IMP.F.AN-ACC
nyi-w^on’a=w^oh nəmtor^o-q, yet^oh tolaŋku
 NEG-REPUT-DUB listen-CONNEG DP read
 ‘He is reading as if he doesn’t hear that he is being called.’ (T 33)
 b. *wada-xəqnat^o t’uku^o-m yexara-w^ona-r^o=wa!*
 word-PL.LOC.2SG this-ACC ignore-REPUT-2SG > SG.OBJ-ASS
 ‘As if you don’t know it yourself!’ (T 33)
 c. *ŋəc’eki^o kniga-m ŋə̃-wi^o, pida s’ik^onanta tolaŋko-w^ona=wa*
 child book-ACC be-INFR he pretending.3SG read-REPUT-ASS
 ‘The child opened the book and pretends to be reading.’ (T 559)

The reputative also expresses low probability (65) and can be used to form rhetorical questions asked with doubts (66):

- (65) a. *n'is'a-m'i t'uku° po-h ηawen to-w°na*
 father-1SG this year-GEN unlikely come-REPUT
 'My father is unlikely to come this year.'
- b. *t'uku° po-x°wa-h ηawey°q yedey° pəni° ηæ-w°na*
 this year-AFF-GEN DP new coat be-REPUT
 'It's unlikely that there will be a new coat already this year.' (T 372)
- (66) a. *xəraq-n° yeqm°n'an° ηəmke-m wad'eq-məna-m°=h*
 REFL-1SG for.1SG what-ACC tell-REPUT-1SG-DUB
 'Why shall I talk about myself?' (T 83)
- b. *xīb'a s'iqm'i mād°r-məna ?*
 who I.ACC hold-REPUT
 'Who on earth can keep me (here)?' (T 216)

The reputative exists in all persons and numbers, but does not show tense opposition.

3.15 Debitive

The debitive seems to be a newly developed mood which was grammaticalized quite recently. It is formally based on future participles (on their derivation see Section 4.1), which are glossed as debitive (DEB) in this instance. However, unlike in several other constructions addressed in Chapter 11, where participles serve as final predicates, the predicative participles expressing the debitive meaning have the category of conjugation. This means that they take not only subject agreement, but also object agreement. Based on this criterion, they are analysed as a finite mood here.

The debitive has various deontic modal meanings related to necessity or the like and can be translated as 'be about to', 'must', 'be going to'.

- (67) a. *ηælom to-w°nta*
 soon come-DEB
 'He is to come soon.' (T 420)
- b. *mən° xæ-w°nta-d°m?*
 I go-DEB-1SG
 'Shall I leave?'
- c. *kniga-x°h mən°te-w°nta-x°h*
 book-DU fall-DEB-3DU
 'The books (DU) are about to fall down.'

It also exists in the past tense, in which case it denotes a deontic modal situation in the past: *xada-wənta-s°* 'he had to kill (DEB-PAST)'.

In (68) I show object agreement forms of the debitive.

- (68) a. *Wera t'uku° noxa-m xada-wənta-da*
 Wera this polar.fox-ACC kill-DEB-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera is to kill this polar fox.'
- b. *mən° t'uku° noxa-x°h xada-wənta-xəyu-n'i*
 I this polar.fox-DU.ACC kill-DEB-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I am about to kill these two polar foxes.'
- c. *mən° s'it° xada-wənta-d°m*
 I you.ACC kill-DEB-1SG
 'I must kill you.'
- d. **mən° s'it° xada-wənta-w°*
 I you.ACC kill-DEB-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I must kill you.')

The rules conditioning the use of object agreement are identical to those that apply to other finite verbs: for instance, in (68c) object agreement is impossible because 2nd person objects never trigger agreement. However, there is no reflexive conjugation in the debitive mood: the reflexive verbs are conjugated by the subjective type.

- (69) *təpuwənta-d°m / *təpuwənta-w°q*
 go.out.DEB-1SG / go.out.DEB-REFL.1SG
 'I have to go out.'

This confirms again that the debitive is in a transitional state between a predicatively used non-finite form and an inflectional mood, and is probably one of the reasons why it is not mentioned in Salminen's (1997) description of Tundra Nenets inflection.

4 Non-finite forms

I refer as 'non-finite' to verbal forms that occur exclusively or predominantly in dependent contexts and rarely function as the only predicate in the clause. Non-finite forms do not have the category of conjugation in the same way as finite verbs do, i.e. they are not conjugated according to subjective, objective or reflexive types. They are not compatible with moods and often have reduced expression of tense.

4.1 Participles

There are four types of participles: imperfective participles, perfective participles, future participles and negative participles. The imperfective participles are derived by the suffix *-n(ʼ)a* (if the stem ends in a vowel) or *-t(ʼ)a* (if the stem ends in a consonant or after alteration stems). They typically denote a dependent situation simultaneous in time to the situation expressed by the main clause. The perfective participles are derived by *-miä* (alternating with *-me-*) and denote relative past tense. The future participles have the suffix *-mānta* and express future or modal meanings. Finally, the negative participles in *-mādawə(yə)* indicate the negation of the dependent situation that occurred prior to the situation of the main clause. Note that *m*-initial participial affixes are regularly realized as *w*-initial after verbal stems that end in a vowel, and this is what is represented in the transcription here. Examples are: *xada-na* ‘killing (IMPF.PART)’ ~ *xada-wi*° ‘killed (PERF.PART)’ ~ *xada-wānta* ‘the one who will kill (FUT.PART)’ ~ *xada-wādawey*° ‘the one who did not kill (NEG.PART)’; *lador-ta* ‘hitting (IMPF.PART)’ ~ *lador-mi*° ‘hit (PERF.PART)’ ~ *lador-mānta* ‘the one who will hit (FUT.PART)’ ~ *lador-mādawey*° ‘the one who did not hit (NEG.PART)’. The negative participle cannot combine with negation, while other participles can be negated by a periphrastic negative construction (Chapter 13, Section 2.5).

The major function of participles is attributive. They form relative clauses as described in Chapter 14, and define a fully-fledged clausal domain. In this function participles can show optional attributive concord with the relativized head noun in number, person/number and, rarely, case. The dative and essive forms of participles can head some kind of adverbial clauses (Chapter 16, Section 3). But participles occur in independent functions too, normally in combination with auxiliary verbs. On imperfective and negative participles in the predicative constructions see Chapter 11, Section 3.4. On participles in passive constructions see Chapter 10, Section 3.4. Participles served as a historical source for several oblique moods, e.g. the approximative, inferential, probabilitive and reportative (cf. Salminen 1997: 109).

Some participles (mostly imperfective) undergo nominalization. Nominalized participles cannot take an object but combine with a possessor in the manner of nouns. In (70) the word ‘assistant’ is derived from the transitive verb ‘to help’.

- (70) *mən*° *Wera-h* *n’ada-ŋko-da-d*°*m*
 I Wera-GEN help-IMPF-IMPF.PART-1SG
 ‘I am Wera’s assistant.’

When such nominalizations act as predicates, they take agreement affixes in the manner of predicative nouns (Chapter 4, Section 5).

In the varieties of Tundra Nenets spoken in the Malaya Zemlya the resultative deverbal adjectives in *-bey*° mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 5.2 are taking over perfective participles in relative clauses and passive constructions, and can perhaps

be termed participles too, as they seem to be fully productive. There is a certain tense-related difference between regular perfective participles and forms in *-bey°* when these are used in passive constructions: the perfective participle refers to the more remote past than the form *-bey°*, cf.:

- (71) a. *t'uku° ti sarm'ik° s'en'a xada-wi°*
 this reindeer wolf-GEN long.ago kill-PERF.PART
 'This reindeer was killed by a wolf long ago.'
- b. *t'uku° ti sarm'ik° t'eda xada-bey°*
 this reindeer wolf-GEN now kill-PERF.PART
 'This reindeer has just been killed by a wolf.'

It is possible that the forms in *-bey°* are developing into some kind of perfect in the dialects of Malaya Zemlya, as they are productive in the predicative function when derived from intransitive verbs too, cf.:

- (72) *puxac'a t'uku° xər°də-x°na yil'e-bey°*
 old.woman this house-LOC live-PERF.PART
 'The old woman has lived in this house (but doesn't live there anymore).'

This usage, however, is not typical of the Eastern varieties of Tundra Nenets.

4.2 Action nominals

Action nominals are clausal nominalizations. They denote dependent propositions, i.e. facts and events; in this function they head complement clauses, adverbial clauses and sometimes relative clauses, see Chapters 13, 14, 15 and 16.

There are two types of action nominal. The imperfective action nominal ('imperfective infinitive' in Salminen 1997) is formed with the suffix *-m(')a*. The perfective action nominal ('perfective infinitive' in Salminen 1997) is derived with *-(o)qm(')a*, the *o*-variant being present after consonant-final stems. Similar to participles, the imperfective action nominal denotes a simultaneous or posterior dependent event, while the perfective action nominal denotes an event preceding in time the main clause event.

Action nominals can be combined with the future tense, but such forms are marginal and are not normally mentioned in the literature on Tundra Nenets. Yet they do seem to be produced occasionally. The imperfective action in the future denotes relative future; it is exemplified in (73a) in the complement function and in (73b) in the attributive function.

- (73) a. *Wera-h mən^cra-ηko-wa-xəd^o mən^o t'en'ewaə-d^om*
 Wera-GEN work-FUT-IMP.F.AN-ABL I know-1SG
 'I know that Wera will work.'
- b. *n'an^o-m temta-ηko-wa ya*
 bread-FUT.AN buy-FUT-IMP.F.AN place
 'the place where one will buy bread'

The perfective action nominal can also be derived from the future stem and denotes the unrealized situation in the past (future-in-the-past), as is shown below:

- (74) a. *l'ekarə-ηe^o mən^cra-ηko-qma-mta wad'əŋa-s^o*
 teacher-ESS work-FUT-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG tell-PAST
 'He told that he would have worked as a teacher.'
- b. *n'an^o-m temta-ηko-qma ya*
 bread-ACC buy-FUT-PERF.AN place
 'the place where one should have bought bread'

However, examples like (73) and (74) are not accepted by all consultants. Instead the relevant meaning can be expressed periphrastically, e.g.:

- (75) *Wera mən^cra-wənc^o me-wa-mta wad'əŋa*
 Wera work-PURP take-IMP.F.AN-ACC.3SG tell
 'Wera tells that he will work.'

In (75) the relative future is indicated by the complex construction which consists of the imperfective action nominal of the auxiliary verb *me-* 'to take' and the purposive converb of the lexical verb 'to work'.

Action nominals have certain properties of nouns. They may take person/number agreement with the dependent subject identical to possessive agreement on a nominal, as well as case marking indicating the syntactic role of the clause with respect to the main predicate, as is described in respective chapters. Case markers are the same as those on regular nouns. Action nominals can stand in the plural, in which instance they denote multiple occurrences of the event:

- (76) a. *Wera ηənu səwa-w^ona s'erta-ba-qmida wad'əŋa-s^o*
 Wera boat.ACC.PL good-PROL do-DUR-PERF.AN.PL.3SG tell-PAST
 'Wera told how well he used to make boats (many times).'
- b. *Wera ηənu s'erta-ba-wida wad'əŋa*
 Wera boat.PL.ACC do-DUR-IMP.F.AN.PL.3SG tell
 'Wera told how he makes boats (many times).'

- c. *xan'e-wa-q* *yiq'l'eka-q*
 hunt-IMPF.AN-PL interesting-PL
 'Hunting (a lot) is interesting.'

In most instances such constructions are fully verbal and cannot be modified by attributive adjectives in the manner of nouns. For instance, the adjective *səwa* 'good' cannot modify the action nominal in (76a); a manner adverb has to be used instead. However, there are also instances when the action nominal appears to be substantivized and can be modified by an adjective, see examples in Chapter 7, Section 5.4.

4.3 Converbs

Converbs formally differ from action nominals in that they do not take case inflections, although some of them historically represent the frozen case forms of deverbal nouns. There are three types of converb in Tundra Nenets.

The modal converb ('modal gerund' in Salminen 1997) is derived by the suffix *-s'ə* (added to consonantal stems and monosyllabic vowel-final stems) or *-ə* (added to polysyllabic vocalic stems), e.g. *nū-s'ə* 'while standing', *lador-c'ə* 'while hitting', *xada-ə* 'while killing'. Some verbs allow variation, e.g. *yil'e-ə* vs. *yil'e-s'ə* 'while living'. The modal converb is uninflectable in most functions, i.e. it shows no subject agreement. The only function where it can optionally take subject agreement is the relative clause, see Chapter 14, Section 2.1.

The purposive converb ('final gerund' in Salminen 1997) ends in *-mənc'ə* and is unchangeable, e.g. *xada-wənc'ə* 'to kill', *lador-mənc'ə* 'to hit'.

The evasive converb has the suffix *-mohxətə* (historically, *-moh-* + the ablative case), e.g. *nū-wonkəd'ə* 'lest he stand'. It expresses subject agreement by means of possessive affixes.

The major function of converbs is adverbial subordination, as described in Chapter 16. The modal and purposive converbs are also used in complementation, and the modal converb can head certain types of relative clause (see Chapters 15 and 14, respectively). Converbs do not occur in the independent function.

4.4 The conditional

The conditional form (termed 'subordinative' in Salminen 1997) has several inflectionally derived tense forms. The present conditional takes the suffix *-pəq* which can be followed by possessive affixes expressing subject agreement. The emphatic present has the suffix *-bəqnan* followed by possessive affixes expressing subject agreement. The future form is formally the present conditional derived from a future

tense verb. All agreement affixes are taken from the genitive possessive paradigm, see Chapter 4, Section 3.1. The conditional forms are presented below for the verb *to-* ‘to come’ and 3rd person subject agreement (*-ta*).

<i>to-b^o-ta</i>	present	‘if he comes’
<i>to-b^oqnan-ta</i>	emphatic present	‘if he definitely comes’
<i>tū-t^o-bā-ta</i>	future	‘if he comes (in the future)’

Additionally, there are periphrastic forms composed of the perfective, imperfective or future participles of the lexical verb and the present tense conditional converb of the verb *ηḁ-* ‘to be’.

<i>to-wi^o ηḁ-b^o-ta</i>	past	‘if he had come’
<i>to-wi^o ηḁ-b^oqna-nta</i>	emphatic past	‘if he had definitely come’
<i>to-na ηḁ-b^o-ta</i>	recent past	‘if he has just come’
<i>to-wānta ηḁ-b^o-ta</i>	modal future	‘if he maybe comes’

As shown above, the subject agreement affix is normally hosted by the auxiliary verb only, but agreement doubling is not impossible, e.g. *to-wewaḡ ηḁ-b^oq-naḡ* ‘if we had come (come-PERF.PART.1PL be-COND-1PL)’. Obviously, ‘emphatic present’ and ‘emphatic past’ are highly idiosyncratic terms, but these forms do express more certainty with respect to the event denoted by either the dependent or main clause on the part of the speaker compared with the regular present and past conditionals (see Chapter 16, Section 2.1).

The conditional is employed in dependent predications to express various adverbial meanings (see Chapter 16, Section 2.1) and also forms dependent questions (Chapter 13, Section 3.1). In this sense it is similar to converbs. However, unlike non-finite forms described in the previous subsections, it has a number of independent functions where it does not require a copular verb in the finite form. In fact, future conditional converbs are not used in subordination and only function as main/independent predicates.

Independent conditionals express wishes about events unrealized in the past (‘if only’), see Chapter 12, Section 3, alternative or deliberative questions (Chapter 12, Sections 1.3 and 1.4, and Chapter 13, Section 3.1), or disjunctions (Chapter 18, Section 4). They are often combined with various emphatic clitics in these functions. As non-questions and non-disjunctions, independently used conditionals express doubt. Only non-emphatic present (77) and future (78) conditionals occur in this role, as well as periphrastic forms (79). The clitic *=m^oh* is obligatory here.

- (77) a. *pida to-b^o-ta(=*w^oh)*
 he come-COND-3SG-DUB
 ‘(I wonder) if he came?’

- b. *pida ti-m xada-b°-ta=w°h*
 he reindeer-ACC kill-COND-3SG-DUB
 'He has probably killed the reindeer.'
- c. *xaŋkulə-b°-ta=w°h*
 get.ill-COND-3SG-DUB
 'What if he got ill.' (T 196)
- d. *ŋəmke-xəwa xər°mpə-da tən'a-b°-ta=w°h*
 what-AFF float-IMPF.PART exist-COND-3SG-DUB
 'There is probably something brought by the waves.' (T 392)
- (78) a. *yekar°q tū-t°-bə-ta=w°h*
 DP come-FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 'I doubt he will come.' (T 92)
- b. *yekar°q tər'em ŋə-ŋko-b°-ta=w°h*
 DP so be-FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 'It's unlikely to be so.' (T 92)
- (79) a. *yes°-n'i xana-na ŋə-b°-ta=w°h*
 money-ACC.1SG take-IMPF.PART be-COND-3SG-DUB
 'It's unlikely that he has just taken my money.'
- b. *yes°-n'i xana-wi° ŋə-b°-ta=w°h*
 money-ACC.1SG take-PERF.PART be-COND-3SG-DUB
 'It's unlikely that he took my money.'
- c. *yes°-n'i xana-wənta ŋə-b°-ta=w°h*
 money-ACC.1SG take-FUT.PART be-COND-3SG-DUB
 'I wonder if he will take my money.'

Independent conditionals are marginally compatible with moods: these are expressed periphrastically by means of the auxiliary *ŋə-* 'to be'. For instance, in (80) the auxiliary takes the jussive and follows the conditional 3rd person form of the lexical verb, which also happens to be *ŋə-* in this instance. The resulting meaning can be approximately rendered as 'never mind'. The clitic is not required in this instance.

- (80) *yed°-m'i / *yed°-n'i sī-sawey° ŋə-b°-ta ŋə°-ya*
 bucket-1SG / bucket-GEN.1SG hole-PROPR be-COND-3SG be-JUS
 'Never mind if my bucket has holes.'

Note that the lexical subject of independent conditional converbs stands in the nominative, unlike the subject of other non-finite forms: example (79) shows that the genitive is impossible. This suggests that conditionals have some properties of finite verbs.

4.5 The auditive

The marker of the auditive is *-m(an)oh*. Like the conditional, the auditive behaves as a finite verb in some respects. It mostly occurs independently and takes the nominative-marked subject. Its meaning is comparable with the meaning of grammatical moods or of the evidential categories in many other languages. However, the auditive differs from other moods in that it does not express the distinction between conjugation types: object agreement and reflexive conjugation are impossible in the auditive, i.e. all verbs are conjugated in a uniform manner, like in other non-finite forms. The auditive has present and past, the past being formed with the regular past tense marker of finite verbs *-s'ə*. Suffix-final *h* undergoes regular alternations: in particular, it is realised as *n* before an agreement affix beginning with a dental obstruent. Agreement affixes are chosen from the genitive possessive paradigm (see Chapter 4, Section 3.1). In this sense the auditive is similar to the conditional converb. The 1st person auditive forms do not seem to exist.

The major function of the auditive is evidential: it renders auditory perceptions, as opposed to information received based on visual evidence.

- (81) a. *ləw°q p'ikad'o-q so-won-toh*
 oar.PL.GEN splash-PL hear-AUD-3PL
 'The splashing of oars is heard.' (T 464)
- b. *yes'a-q s'ep°-nta m'un'a s'ey°ra-won-toh*
 metal-PL pocket-GEN.3SG inside ring-AUD-3PL
 'The chinking of money is heard in his pocket.' (T 543)
- c. *sarm'ik°-q ηob'er-mon-toh*
 wolf-PL howl-AUD-3PL
 'The howling of the wolves is heard.' (T 392)

It also expresses information acquired through taste (82), as well as tactile and physical perception (83).

- (82) *ya səwa ηæ-wanon-ta*
 soup good be-AUD-3SG
 'The soup is good (I tasted it).'

- (83) a. *t'ey°-h s'inc'ibt'e-wi° p'ik°c'a-m'i tār'i p'ent'er-mon-ta*
 that-GEN frost.bite-PERF.PART thumb-1SG DP hurt-AUD-3SG
 'My thumb which was frost-bitten yesterday hurts very much.' (T 458)
- b. *p'ib'in° tərka°-q, sēdoŋodoh tīd°nə-wanon-toh*
 boots.PL.1SG tight-3PL seam.PL.3PL break-AUD-3PL
 'The boots are too tight for me, their seams are breaking.' (T 679)
- c. *s'ata n'ih ŋəmkexəwa tes°-xəl-manon-ta*
 face.GEN.3SG onto something drop-MOM-AUD-3SG
 'He felt something drop on his face.' (T 692)

Denominal verbs derived by the odorative affix denote perception through smell in the auditive form:

- (84) a. *ŋoba-w° p'id'e-yə-wanon-ta*
 glove-1SG singed-V-AUD-3SG
 'My glove smells singed.' (T 463)
- b. *ŋoba-da xəras'in°-yə-won-ta*
 glove-3SG kerosene-V-AUD-3SG
 'His glove smells of kerosene.' (T 746)

The auditive can sometimes express the epistemic meaning of uncertainty (85) or even hearsay (86). Unlike in the reportative mood, the described situation always takes place at the moment of speech, but these functions are marginal for the auditive, since they are more typical of the reportative and other moods.

- (85) a. *pida yab'e-won-ta*
 he drunk-AUD-3SG
 'It seems he is drunk / (*?) He feels drunk.'
- b. *ŋəwa-r° ye-won-ta-s'°*
 head-2SG hurt-AUD-3SG-PAST
 'It seems you had a headache.'
- (86) a. *t'ukoxəna xal'a-yə-won-ta-s'°*
 here fish-V-AUD-3SG-PST
 '(They say) he smelt of fish.'
- b. *pidər° yab'e-won-t°*
 you drunk-AUD-2SG
 'They say you are drunk.'

In some varieties of Tundra Nenets, for instance, in the variety spoken on Taimyr, the auditive combines with the similitive suffix *-rəxa*, which also forms attributive forms of nouns (Chapter 3, Section 1.3.1) but is not compatible with finite verbs:

- (87) *ma-q*, *xə̌-narəxa*, *ma-q*, *xə̌-r^oxa-wonta*
 say-3PL go-IMPF.APPR say-3PL go-SIM-AUD
 ‘They say that he has apparently left.’ (T 229)

This example from Tereshchenko (1965) was judged as grammatical by my consultants, but the speakers of the Ural and Yamal dialects commented that they would not use such forms in their own speech. The example confirms that the auditive has some properties of nominalized non-finite forms.

4.6 The connegative

As in many Uralic languages, clausal negation is periphrastic and formed by means of an inflected negative auxiliary and the so-called connegative form of the lexical verb. The connegative is a non-finite form in the sense that it never occurs as an independent predicate, however, unlike most other non-finite forms it does not form a dependent clause: the negative construction is monoclausal.

The present/past connegative is formally identical to the 2nd person singular imperative of the subjective conjugation. It is formed with the suffix *-q* which may be preceded by the epenthetic *°* that extends consonant-final stems, e.g. *xada-q* ‘kill (CONNEG)’ vs. *ɲəw^o-q* ‘eat (CONNEG)’ (from *ɲəw-* ‘to eat’). The suffix *-q* is sometimes omitted in the Western dialects. The final stem vowel changes into *u* in the alteration stems, with possible palatalization or other alternations of the preceding consonant, e.g. *xon’o-* ‘to sleep’ > *xon’uq* (CONNEG), *ɲeso-* ‘to camp’ > *ɲesuq* (CONNEG). Some irregular verbs have special connegative forms, see Chapter 2, Section 3.1.3. The future form of the connegative is derived in the regular way from verbs augmented with future morphology, e.g. *yur^o-ɲku-q* (forget-FUT-CONNEG), *tū-t^o-q* (come-FUT-CONNEG), *man-t^o-q* (say-FUT-CONNEG).

The only function of the connegative is to serve as the lexical verb in periphrastic constructions with negative auxiliaries. This is described in Chapter 12, Section 4.

Chapter 6

Clitics and multi-based affixes

Clitics are only hosted by main predicates, while multi-based suffixes are combined with different grammatical classes. Both express a wide range of discourse-related and evaluative meanings.

1 Clitics

There is no essential phonological difference between clitics and affixes: clitics participate in all phonological processes described in Chapter 2 (although they may additionally cause some idiosyncratic alternations, see below) and enter the domain of stress assignment. In this grammar they are only defined based on their position: clitics are hosted by the main predicate, that is, an affirmative finite verb, a negative auxiliary which bears most verbal inflection (see Chapter 12, section 4) or a non-verbal final predicate, and always follow all inflectional material in the word form. Clitics do not normally occur on the connegative and other non-finite verbs except conditionals used in the independent function, which take clitics in the manner of finite verbs. One ‘exception’ is the focus clitic $=(\eta)o/=e$ (Section 1.5) which can also attach to the connegative form. Clitics never occur on non-predicative elements. Examples in (1) demonstrate this distribution. The exclamative clitic $=n'uq$ is hosted by the finite verb (1a) but not the adverb (1b). In the negative construction it attaches to the negative auxiliary (1c) but cannot attach to the connegative verb (1d).

- (1) a. *pida t'ukoxana yil'e-wi°=n'uq!*
he here live-INFR-EXCL
'Apparently he does live here!'
- b. **pida t'ukoxana=n'uq yil'e-wi°*
he here-EXCL live-INFR
('Apparently he does live here!')
- c. *n'i=n'uq mɛnc°ra-q!*
NEG-EXCL work-CONNNEG
'But he doesn't work!'
- d. **n'i mɛnc°ra=n'uq!*
NEG work-CONNNEG.EXCL
('But he doesn't work!')

From a functional perspective, clitics have to do with assertion, exclamations, emphasis and the like. Where possible, in this grammar they are separated by the equals sign in the transcription line.

1.1 Exclamative =*n'uq*

This clitic attaches after all other inflectional material in a fairly agglutinative manner. It has a less frequently used variant =*n'ow^oq* (possibly, a combination of =*n'uq* and the focus clitic =(η^o)w^o/=*ey^o*), which conveys basically the same meaning but creates even more emotional and emphatic effect. The clitic expresses the exclamative meaning but, unlike the focus clitic =(η^o)w^o / =*ey^o* discussed in the next subsection, it does not necessarily involve the evaluation of the degree to which the described event differs from speaker's expectations.

- (2) a. *num-ta səwa=n'ow^oq!*
 sky-3SG good-EXCL
 'What nice weather!'
- b. *pidar^o tola-mp'i-n^o=n'uq!*
 you read-DUR-2SG-EXCL
 'It turns out you are reading!'
- c. *wen'ako=n'ow^oq !*
 dog-EXCL
 'It's a dog!'
- d. *n'esey^o n'enec'əye mənə-c'ə p'a^o-dəm=n'uq !*
 new person.PL.ACC see-MOD start-1SG-EXCL
 'Oh, I will start seeing new people!' (T 305)

The clitic =*n'uq* may have a mirative meaning. In this instance it simply conveys surprise about new information, but such utterances are not pronounced with the exclamative intonation.

- (3) *n'an'^o-m yur^o-wew^o=n'uq*
 bread-ACC forget-1SG > SG.OBJ-EXCL
 'Apparently I've forgotten the bread.'

In this function the clitic is obligatory and is often combined with the inferential form of the verb:

- (4) a. ηa° $t\acute{a}r'em$ $x\acute{a}rwa-wen^\circ=n'uq$?
 INTJ so want-INFR.2SG-EXCL
 'Apparently that's what you want?' (T 366)
- b. $Wera$ $t'ukox\acute{a}na$ $me-wi^\circ*(=n'uq)$
 Wera here be-INFR-EXCL
 'It turns out Wera is here.'

Additionally, the clitic $=n'uq$ may have a purely affirmative meaning and somehow strengthens the assertion:

- (5) a. $m\acute{a}n^\circ$ $m\acute{a}-d^\circ m-s'\acute{a}=n'uq$ $t\acute{e}mta-bc'u-d^\circ m$
 I say-1SG-PAST-EXCL buy-NEC-1SG
 'I did say I would buy it.'
- b. $n'ar^\circ$ $xal'a-ko-m$ $\eta\acute{a}ma-d\acute{a}m=n'uq$
 INTJ fish-DIM-ACC eat-1SG-EXCL
 'Oh, I would eat some fish.' (T 356)

As can be seen in (5), such examples do not convey surprise about new information.

1.2 Focus $=(\eta o)w^\circ / =ey^\circ$

There are various idiosyncratic phonological changes when this clitic attaches to the verb. They are difficult to generalize about and a fair amount of variation is observed. Words with final *a*, *o*, *ah* or *aq* select this clitic in the form $=ow^\circ$ and it can be either word-final or inserted before the glottal stop. Words ending in *ih* change this sequence into $ey^\circ h$ when they attach the focus clitic. Word-final \acute{a} is either replaced by $=ey^\circ$ or followed by $=\eta ow^\circ$. When a word ends in a consonant preceded by \acute{a} , the clitic $=ey$ may be inserted before \acute{a} , but other changes are also possible. These alternations are illustrated below by the subjective paradigms of the verbs $m\acute{a}nc^\circ ra-$ 'to work' and $x\acute{a}x-$ 'to go, to leave', as well as the objective paradigm with the singular object of the verb $lad\acute{a}-$ 'to hit'.

	SG	DU	PL
1	$m\acute{a}nc^\circ ra^\circ-dey^\circ m$	$m\acute{a}nc^\circ ra^\circ-n'ey^\circ h$	$m\acute{a}nc^\circ ra^\circ-wow^\circ q$
	$m\acute{a}nc^\circ ra^\circ-meh$	$x\acute{a}ya-n'ey^\circ h$	$x\acute{a}ya-wow^\circ q$
	$x\acute{a}ya-mey^\circ h$		
	$x\acute{a}ya-meh$		
	$lad\acute{a}^\circ-vey^\circ$	$lad\acute{a}^\circ-m'ey^\circ h$	$lad\acute{a}^\circ-wow^\circ q$

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | <i>mənc^ora^o-ney^o</i> | <i>mənc^ora^o-d'ey^oh</i> | <i>mənc^ora^o-dow^oq</i> |
| | <i>xəya-ney^o</i> | <i>xəya-d'ey^oh</i> | <i>xəya-dow^oq</i> |
| | <i>ladə^o-rey^o</i> | <i>ladə^o-r'ey^oh</i> | <i>ladə^o-row^oq</i> |
| | | | |
| 3 | <i>mənc^ora^o=ηow^o</i> | <i>mənc^oraŋa-xey^oh</i> | <i>mənc^ora^o-ηow^o-q</i> |
| | <i>xəyow^o</i> | <i>xəya-xəy^oh</i> | <i>xəyo-q</i> |
| | <i>ladə^o-dow^o</i> | <i>ladə^o-d'ey^oh</i> | <i>ladə^o-dow^oh</i> |

In the past tense the clitic is added after the tense marker as follows: *mənc^ora^o-dəm-s'ey^o* 'I did work' (work-1SG-PAST.FOC), *mənc^ora^o-s'ey^o* 'he did work', *mənc^ora^o-c'ey^o* (<*mənc^ora^o-q-s'ey^o*) 'they did work'. The focus clitic can sometimes take the form *=eq/=y^oq/=o^oq*, but the distribution of these variants is not entirely clear. In all cases verbs with the focus clitic require pitch raising and emphatic lengthening of the vowel in the last syllable.

The focus clitic expresses surprise about the degree to which an event or property goes beyond speaker's expectations, e.g.:

- (6) a. *səwa-w^ona xinoqηow^o*
 good-PROL sing.FOC
 'How well she sings!'
- b. *oy pedey^o-wey^o*
 INTJ get.tired-REFL.1SG.FOC
 'Oh, how tired I am!'

In questions the clitic *=(ηo)w^o / =ey^o* adds a certain emphasis:

- (7) *xən'ad^o m'ija-ney^o, xən'ah m'ija-ney^o?*
 from.where go-2SG.FOC where.to go-2SG.FOC
 'Where are you coming from, where are you going to?'

This clitic is also used in verb focus contexts, and this is the reason why it is glossed as 'focus' here. First, it can be employed in answers to yes-no questions:

- (8) a. [Has he left?]
pida xayow^o
 he go.FOC
 'He has.'
- b. [Will he come?]
tū-t^oə=ηow^o
 come-FUT-FOC
 'He will.'

Second, it strengthens polarity, very much like do-support in English:

- (9) a. *wæwa-w^ona ləx^onə-ney^o*
 bad-PROL speak-2SG.FOC
 ‘You DO speak badly!’
- b. *mən^o to-dey^om*
 I come-1SG.FOC
 ‘I HAVE come!’

As mentioned above, this is the only clitic that can attach to the connegative form of the verb and must therefore always be clause-final, e.g. *n’i tū-teq* ‘he will NOT come’, *n’i-d^om mən^orow^oq* ‘I do NOT work’. However, it is possible on the negative verb if the connegative is absent: [‘Is this your mother?’] *n’i=ηow^o* ‘no (NEG-FOC)’. The focus clitic is also possible on non-verbal predicates to convey various emotions, for instance, joy or regret: *taki^o n’is’a-wey^o* (that father-1SG.FOC) ‘This is my father!’, *taki^o n’is’a-dow^o* (that father-3SG.FOC) ‘This is his father!’, *n’enes’a tarcow^o!* (true such.FOC) ‘Yes, it’s true!’, *səwow^oq* (big.PL.FOC) ‘How big they are!’. It can be used in addresses, e.g. *n’is’ow^o* ‘Father!’, *n’abakow^o* ‘Elder sister!’, *Pet’ow^o* ‘Peter!’

1.3 Assertive =*ma*

The form of this clitic is either =*ma* (after a consonant) or =*wa* (in intervocalic position). Note also the processes of degemination (*mm* → *m*) and deletion of the preclitic *h* (*h* → ∅). Below I present illustrative paradigms for the present tense of the transitive verb *xada-* ‘to kill’ with singular object agreement, and the future tense of the intransitive verb *to-* ‘to come’.

Present tense, singular object agreement

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>xadaə-w^o=wa</i>	<i>xadaə-m’i=ma</i>	<i>xadaə-waq=ma</i>
2	<i>xadaə-r^o=wa</i>	<i>xadaə-r’i=ma</i>	<i>xadaə-raq=ma</i>
3	<i>xadaə-da=wa</i>	<i>xadaə-d’i=ma</i>	<i>xadaə-do=ma</i>

Future tense

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>tū-t^oə-d^o=ma</i>	<i>tū-t^oə-n’i=ma</i>	<i>tū-t^oə-waq=ma</i>
2	<i>tū-t^oə-n^o=wa</i>	<i>tū-t^oə-d’i=ma</i>	<i>tū-t^oə-daq=ma</i>
3	<i>tū-t^oə=wa</i>	<i>tū-t^oəηa-x^o=ma</i>	<i>tū-t^oə-q=ma</i>

Most commonly the clitic =*ma* expresses certainty:

- (10) a. *num-ta səwa, t'ir-t'a ɣəno tū-t°ə =wa*
 sky-3SG good fly-IMP.F.PART boat come-FUT-ASS
 'The weather is nice; the plane will certainly arrive (don't worry).'
- b. *mən° ye°nə-d°m, pidər° tola-ŋku-r°=wa*
 I hope-1SG you read-FUT-2SG > SG.OBJ-ASS
 'I hope that you certainly WILL read it.'

The clitic *=ma* is obligatory with verbs in the apprehensive mood which express regrets about the past, see Chapter 5, Section 3.5. It can also combine with the repulsive mood (Chapter 5, Section 3.14). However, it is not compatible with negation: the forms **n'i=wa tū-t°-q* / **n'i tū-t°-q=ma* do not exist with the meaning 'He will NOT come', the construction with the negative auxiliary *wun'i* must be used instead (see Chapter 12, Section 4.4).

1.4 Dubitative =*m°h*

This clitic shows the same following phonological changes as the clitic discussed in the previous section: the change of *m* > *w* between vowels, degemination of the sequence *mm*, and the loss of *h* before a sonorant. Below I present the present tense subjective paradigm of the negative auxiliary:

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>n'ī-dəm°=h</i>	<i>n'ī-n'ī=m°h</i>	<i>n'ī-waq=m°h</i>
2	<i>n'ī-nə=w°h</i>	<i>n'ī-d'ī=m°h</i>	<i>n'ī-daq=m°h</i>
3	<i>n'ī=w°h</i>	<i>n'ī-xə=m°h</i>	<i>n'ī-q=m°h</i>

On the negative auxiliary this clitic expresses affirmation. In other words, in the presence of this clitic polarity changes to positive and the assertion is somehow emphasized, as shown below. Note that in (11d) the clitic is hosted by the interrogative negative auxiliary 'how not', on which see Chapter 12, Section 4.4.

- (11) a. *t'iki° n'a-r° wə̃sako ɣə̃-q n'ī°=w°h*
 this friend-2SG old.man be-CONN NEG-DUB
 'This friend of yours is wise indeed!' (T 77)
- b. *s'ax°r'ih ɲoq sə̃də-° tara-ŋku-q n'ī=w°h*
 then.LIM too sew-MOD needed-FUT-CONN NEG-DUB
 'Indeed this has to be sewn one day.' (T 697)

- c. *ɲoka xan'esexəd° pidoh ɲoq ɲəmke-xəwa-m*
 many catch.ABL they too what-AFF-ACC
n'ĩ-q=m°h yeqyə-t°-q
 NEG-3PL-DUB have.share-FUT-CONNEG
 'They will have their share in the big catch.' (T 116)
- d. *xən'aə-dəm°=h xan'oq*
 how.not-1SG-DUB go.CONNEG
 'How can I not go?' (T 743)

The auxiliary in such constructions can follow the connegative, although this is impossible in 'true' negations. In fact, the connegative *-q* is sometimes lost, and the two components of the periphrastic construction seem to undergo amalgamation into one phonological word. The auxiliary cannot be separated from the lexical verb, even when it precedes it.

- (12) a. *n'ĩ(=w°h) mənc°ra°-q!*
 NEG-DUB work-CONNEG
 'He does work, doesn't he!'
- b. *mənc°ra°-q n'ĩ*(=w°h)!*
 work-CONNEG NEG-DUB
 'He does work, doesn't he!'

Interestingly, when the reference of the utterance is in the past, the verb must obligatorily stand in the interrogative form, even though the utterance is not meant as question:

- (13) a. *n'enes'a-daq ɲæ-q n'ĩ-s'a-daq=m°h*
 truth-2PL be-CONNEG NEG-INTER-2PL-DUB
 'You were right indeed.' (T 300)
- b. *Sern'e s'amedə n'e n'ú-k°c'a-da ɲaq n'ĩ-s'a=w°h*
 Sernye beloved.3SG woman child-DIM-3SG be.CONNEG NEG-INTER-DUB
 'Sernye was his favourite daughter.' (T 600)
- c. *mən'o ɲul'iq t'iki°-m wad'es°-q n'ĩ-s'a-dəm°=h*
 I DP this-ACC tell-CONNEG NEG-INTER-1SG-DUB
 'I did indeed say this.' (T 403)

The second function of the clitic *=m°h* is realized in constructions that express doubts (Chapter 5, Section 4.3), alternative questions (Chapter 12, Section 1.3) and other disjunctions (Chapter 18, Section 3). In these instances it is often hosted by

the conditional converb. It can also combine with the reputative mood, see Chapter 5, Section 3.14.

I have also recorded 3rd person objective forms where the clitic =*m^oh* appears to be positioned between the stem and the agreement inflection. They appear to express mild inducement, e.g. *temtaə-m^o-da* ‘let him buy it (buy-DUB-3SG > SG.OBJ)’, *temtaə-m^o-doh* ‘let them buy it (buy-DUB-3PL > SG.OBJ)’.

1.5 Emphatic =*t’iq*

This clitic is only typical of the dialects spoken on the Ural and in the Bolshaya Zemlya. The present tense paradigm of the verb *to-* ‘to come’ cited below demonstrates that the clitic does not cause any irregular phonological changes.

	SG	DU	PL
1	<i>to^o-dəm=t’iq</i>	<i>to^o-n’in=t’iq</i>	<i>to^o-wa=t’iq</i>
2	<i>to^o-nə=d’iq</i>	<i>to^o-d’in=t’iq</i>	<i>to^o-da=t’iq</i>
3	<i>to^o=d’iq</i>	<i>tona-xə=t’iq</i>	<i>to^o=t’iq</i>

The interrogative clitic is used in questions, most typically, in rhetorical questions, but sometimes also information questions. Its function consists in strengthening the interrogative force, roughly in the same way as the ‘on earth’ expression in English:

- (14) a. *xən’ah m’iŋa-dəm=t’iq ?*
 where.to go-1SG-EMPH
 ‘Where on earth am I going?’
- b. *teda s’an^o=t’iq ?*
 reindeer.3SG few-EMPH
 ‘And how many reindeer does he have?’

The interrogative clitic does not seem to be present in the most eastern varieties of Tundra Nenets.

2 Multi-based suffixes

Multi-based suffixes have different meanings and distributions, but their definitional property is that they are not limited to one grammatical class: they can occur with several parts of speech and do not change word-class membership. In this they differ from regular derivational affixes, as well as from most inflections, even though they

are normally fully productive and do not show semantic idiosyncrasy. This implies that their status as inflection or derivation cannot be determined unambiguously. Most multi-based suffixes precede inflectional morphology, but their position may vary; for this reason some of them are termed ‘clitics’ in Burkova (2010). Many multi-based suffixes can co-occur within one word, e.g. *yəna-mpo-ko-w^ona* (quiet-MODER-DIM-PROL) ‘rather quietly’. Here we can see the combination of the moderate *-mpo* and the diminutive *-ko*.

2.1 Limitative

The form of the limitative is *-rⁱ* or *-lⁱ* (after a consonant) and its most frequent meaning is ‘only’. The limitative occurs on nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, and postpositions. Its position in these parts of speech differs. In nouns and adjectives the limitative suffix precedes inflectional morphology, i.e. case, number and possessive affixes. On postpositions too the limitative must precede case and possessive. In personal pronouns the limitative is followed by the possessive affix in the respective person and number. Examples are *xər^o-rⁱ-x^ona* (knife-LIM-LOC) ‘only with the knife’, *pida* ‘he’ > *pid^o-rⁱ-da* ‘only him (3SG)’, *mən^o* ‘I’ > *mən^o-rⁱ-n^o* ‘only me (1SG)’, *yeqm^on^oant^o* ‘for you’ > *yeq-lⁱ-w^ona-nt^o* (for-LIM-PROL-2SG) ‘only for you’. Importantly, the scope of the limitative is the whole NP: the suffix can be located either on the head or any dependent constituent, without apparent difference in meaning:

- (15) a. *t’uku^o pedarⁱ-x^ona*
 this forest.LIM-LOC
 ‘only in this forest.’
- b. *t’uku^o-rⁱ pedara-x^ona*
 this-LIM forest-LOC
 ‘only in this forest.’
- (16) a. *mən^o m’aq-lⁱ-mⁱ*
 I tent-LIM-1SG
 ‘only my tent’
- b. *mən^orⁱn^o m’aq-mⁱ*
 I.LIM tent-1SG
 ‘only my tent’
- (17) a. *mən^o s’erta-wi^o m’aq-lⁱ-mⁱ*
 I do-PERF.PART tent-LIM-1SG
 ‘only the tent I made’

- b. *mən'°r'in° s'erta-wi° m'aq-m'i*
 I.LIM do-PERF.PART tent-1SG
 'only the tent I made'
- c. *mən'° s'erta-wer'i m'aq-m'i*
 I do-PERF.PART.LIM tent-1SG
 'only the tent I made'

In folklore we can also find instances of some kind of 'limitative concord' between the head and the modifier, similar to highly marginal case and possessive concord.

- (18) a. *ya-n°h xaqm°-na-r'i weya-r'i-da yəŋku*
 place-DAT go.down-IMP.F.PART.LIM blood-LIM-3SG no
 'Only the blood didn't pour to the ground.' (T 80)
- b. *ser s'ado-kə-nta yern'a s'id'a-r'i*
 white face-ACC-GEN.3SG in.the middle 2-LIM
sæw°-kə-r'i-da pər'id'eŋa-x°h
 eye-DIM-LIM-3SG black-3DU
 'Only two little eyes look black in the middle of his white face.' (T 447)

However, if the modifier alone is in the scope of 'only', the limitative must be on the modifier:

- (19) *noxa-q pæw°-d'a-r'i pedara-x°na yil'eə-q*
 polar.fox-PL dark-IMP.F.PART.LIM forest-LOC live-3PL
 'Polar foxes live only in a DARK forest.'

Postpositional phrases also show free variation: if the scope of the limitative is the whole phrase, it can be hosted by the head, i.e. the postposition, the object of postposition, or both: *ŋəno-r'i-q m'un'a / ŋənuq m'ul'ina* (boat-LIM-PL.GEN inside / boat.PL.GEN inside.LIM) 'only inside the boats', *yes'a-h yeql'iw°na / yes'a-r'i-h jeqm°n'a / yes'a-r'i-h jeql'iw°na* (money-GEN for.LIM / money-LIM.GEN for / money-LIM.GEN for.LIM) 'only because of money'.

When the verb is within the scope of the limitative, its meaning can normally be translated as 'X and nothing else', where X is the verb. On finite verbs the limitative precedes agreement, tense and mood:

- (20) a. *wərk°-h ŋæwa ŋæ-r'i-wi°*
 bear-GEN head be-LIM-INFR
 'It turned out that it was nothing other than a bear head.' (T 421)

- b. *xasawa kniga-m tola-wer'i-da,*
 man book-ACC read-INFR.LIM-3SG > SG.OBJ
pad°-weda n'i ɲa-q
 write-PERF.PART.3SG NEG be-CONNEX
 'The man only read the book, he didn't write it.'
- c. *ya-m p'ir'e-mpa-r'i-d°m*
 soup-ACC cook-DUR-LIM-1SG
 'I only cook the soup (I don't eat it).'

It is impossible for the negative auxiliary to host the limitative: in negative constructions it must be hosted by the connegative form (21a) or the imperfective action nominal (21b):

- (21) a. *n'i-d°m mənç°ra-r'i-q*
 NEG-1SG work-LIM-CONNEX
 'I don't just work (but do something else).'
- b. *mənç°ra-wa-r'i-m'i n'i ɲa-q*
 work-IMPF.AN-LIM-1SG NEG be-CONNEX
 'I don't just work (but do something else).'

As can be seen in (21b) the limitative affix precedes subject agreement in action nominals, see also (22a). But if an action nominal clause is combined with the postposition that indicates its adverbial role in the main clause, the limitative may be hosted by the postposition itself (22b).

- (22) a. *n'ew°xi° yeqy°tə-qma-r'i-da mes°*
 once have.share-PERF.AN-LIM-3SG enough
 'It's already enough that he used to have his share.' (T 115)
- b. *mən° to-wa-r'i-n'i s'erq*
 I come-IMPF.AN-LIM-GEN.1SG when
 'only when I come'
- c. *mən° to-wa-n'i s'err'i*
 I come-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG when.LIM
 'only when I come'

On action nominals in the ablative the limitative denotes the meaning 'as soon as' and again there is free variation in its position: *xə̌-qm'a-r'i-xəd°* ~ *xə̌-qm'a-xər'id°* 'as soon as somebody left (go-PERF.AN-LIM-ABL ~ go-PERF.AN-LIM.ABL)'. In participles the limitative follows the participial affix, e.g. *mənç°ra-na-r'i* 'only working', but

it must precede the affixes that derive converbs. For instance, in (23a) it is located before the modal converb, and in (23b) it is before the conditional converb.

- (23) a. *yil°-mta* *sagye-r'i-°* *meqηa-da*
 life-ACC.3SG vagrant-LIM-MOD take-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He is on the road all his life.' (T 539)
- b. *yal'a-h* *yin'a-xət°* *sar'o-h* *sæw°-q*
 day-GEN ray-PL.ABL rain-GEN drop-PL.GEN
yab'erilär'i-b°q *nuw°-h* *panu* *ηəd'ib'er-c°°ti*
 sparkle.LIM-COND sky hem appear.FREQ-HAB
 'Only when raindrops sparkle in the rays of the sun, the rainbow appears.' (T 145)

In converbial control constructions the limitative is either on the finite verb or the converb:

- (24) a. *ya-m* *p'ir'e-mpa-r'i-°* *p'imja-w°*
 soup-ACC cook-DUR-LIM-MOD can-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I can only cook soup.'
- b. *ya-m* *p'ir'e-mpa-°* *p'ir-l'i-w°*
 soup-ACC cook-DUR-MOD can-LIM-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I can only cook soup.'

Thus, assuming the variation in the position of the limitative occurs within a syntactic phrase, this data provides evidence for the noun phrase, the postpositional phrase and the dependent clause headed by a control verb. However, it does not support the postulation of a verb phrase in Tundra Nenets.

Another meaning of the limitative is 'same' or simply some kind of emphasis:

- (25) a. *to-qma-m'i* *yal'a-r'i-x°na* *ηod°q* *xanķu-liä-w°q*
 come-PERF.AN-1SG day-LIM-LOC too get.ill-INCH-REFL.1SG
 'I arrived and fell ill on the same day.' (T 673)
- b. *ηəc'eki°-q* *pərompə-r'i-°* *yemp°qyā-d°q*
 child-PL hurry-LIM-MOD get.dressed-REFL.3PL
 'The children got dressed in a hurry.' (T 450)

The limitative affix participates in the derivation of free-choice pronouns from question words, e.g. *ηəmke-r'i* 'any kind, whatever', *xib'a-r'i* 'whoever', *xurka-r'i* 'any kind' and so on. There are also various lexicalized forms such as *xib'ar'i* 'person', *ηəmker'i* '(inanimate) object, thing', *ηælo* 'soon' > *ηælor'i* 'very soon, shortly',

ηæ'l'i ‘another, different, unusual (adjective)’ > *ηæ'l'i-r'i-w^ona* (another-LIM-PROL) ‘unusually’ (the form **ηæ'l'i-w^ona* does not seem to exist).

2.2 Focus

The focus affix is termed ‘concessive’ in Salminen (1993–2012), but it has other focus meanings too. Its form is *-xərtə*, and it can have nouns, adverbs or a non-finite verb in its scope. The most frequent meaning is ‘even’.

- (26) a. *pad^onə-x^ortə-^o* *yexaraə-s^o*
 write-FOC-MOD ignore-PAST
 ‘He can’t even write.’ (T 432)
- b. *xayebcod^o-xərtə-w^o* *yəŋku*
 remainder-FOC-1SG no
 ‘I don’t even have anything to leave.’ (T 720)

In this meaning the focus suffix can be located on any sub-constituent of a syntactic phrase (a complex NP or a dependent clause) without any difference in scope, although focus ‘concord’ seems to be impossible.

- (27) a. *t’an^o-o-xərt^o* *tudako-m* *n’i-dəm-c^o* *xo-q*
 little-FOC mushroom-ACC NEG-1SG-PAST find-CONNEG
 ‘I didn’t even find a few mushrooms.’
- b. *t’an^o-a* *tudako-x^ortə-m* *n’i-dəm-c^o* *xo-q*
 little mushroom-FOC-ACC NEG-1SG-PAST find-CONNEG
 ‘I didn’t even find a few mushrooms.’
- c. *n’e^oka-nt^o* *xon^o-o-wa-x^ortə-n^oh* *mənc^oraə-n^o*
 elder.brother-GEN.2SG sleep-IMPF.AN-FOC-DAT work-2SG
 ‘You work even when your elder brother sleeps.’
- d. *n’e^oka-x^ortə-nt^o* *xon^o-o-wa-n^oh* *mənc^oraə-n^o*
 elder.brother-FOC-GEN.2SG sleep-AN-DAT work-2SG
 ‘You work even when your elder brother sleeps.’
- e. *tex^ortə-m* *xada-^o* *yaqmə^o-da*
 reindeer.FOC-ACC kill-MOD cannot-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He can’t even kill the reindeer.’
- f. *ti-m* *xada-xərt^o* *yaqmə^o-da*
 reindeer-ACC kill-FOC.MOD cannot-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He can’t even kill the reindeer.’

Another meaning is additive:

- (28) a. *pida xal'a-m ηəma-s'°, yīb'edornə-s'°, təd'ikexəd°*
 he fish-ACC eat-PAST think-PAST then
n'an'°-xərt°-m ηəma
 bread-FOC-ACC eat
 'He ate the fish, thought, then ate the bread as well.'
- b. *t'on'a-m n'əqma°, pūna (təmna) noxa-xərt°-m n'əqma°*
 foc-ACC catch then still polar.fox-FOC-ACC catch
 'He caught a fox and then a polar fox too.'

On finite and non-finite verbs the marker *-xərtə* simply indicates focus or some kind of emphasis:

- (29) a. *peda-xərtə-° n'i-w°q peda-q*
 get.tired-FOC-MOD NEG-REFL.1SG get.tired-CONNEG
 'I wasn't even tired.'
- b. *ya°r-c'° ηæwada-x°rə-kər°-q !*
 cry-MOD finish-FOC-PREC-IMP.2SG
 'Do stop crying!'

Finally, the focus affix added to question words regularly forms negative polarity items, see Chapter 12, Section 4.3.

2.3 Affirmative

The form of the affirmative affix is *-xəwa* or *-xəw°*. It can occur on pronouns and nouns, in which instance it usually indicates contrast.

- (30) a. *pəd°xəwar° ηul'iq səwa yompo-n°*
 you.AFF completely good liar-2SG
 'And YOU are a big liar.' (T 120)
- b. *t'uko-xəwa-raq ηul'iq yir'i-nta pid'ikəbt°q*
 this-AFF-2PL completely grandfather-GEN.3SG similar
 'And THIS ONE looks very similar to his grandfather.' (T 495)
- c. *Wera-xəwa xəya, Maša xayı*
 Wera-AFF go Masha stay
 'As for Wera, he left, and Masha stayed.'

- d. *m'a-k°wa-da tən'a°, ηəno-da yəŋku*
 tent-AFF-3SG exist boat-3SG no
 'He does have a tent, he doesn't have a boat.'

In (31) the affirmative affix is hosted by adverbs or numerals, again for contrast or emphasis:

- (31) a. *t'ikaxəwaxəna pedarey° wərk° xoba-mta ηədə-c'° n'awoti°q*
 here.AFF forest.ADJ bear skin-ACC.3SG tear.apart-MOD run.REFL.3SG
 'And now the forest bear started running very fast.' (T 373)
- b. *ηar'iq ηaw°na-x°wa-nta wun'°s'a-d°m n'a-s'uq*
 DP once-AFF-3SG NEG.EMPH.INTER-1SG companion-V.CONNEG
 'But once I did use to have relatives.' (T 385)
- c. *s'id'a-xəw° xasawa-x°h toŋa-x°h*
 2-AFF person.DU come-3DU
 'Only two men came.'

The affirmative does not seem to occur on finite verbs, but can be hosted by action nominals and converbs either with the intensive/emphatic function, or meaning 'as soon as' or 'finally'.

- (32) a. *ηəqnaq s'eqna-m nəmt°-xəwa-° yəŋkadey°-q*
 footstep.PL.GEN.1PL sound-ACC hear-AFF-MOD turn-REFL.3SG
 'As soon as he heard the sound of our footsteps, he turned.' (T 123)
- b. *ləqmorec'a-q to-qma-xəwa-xəd°*
 little.bird.DIM-PL.GEN come-PERF.AN-AFF-ABL
wəxt°-mtoh ηət'e°-waq
 continuation.PRED-ACC.3PL wait-1PL
 'As soon as one little bird comes, we wait for others.' (T 79)
- c. *tola-ηko-x°wa-° p'a°*
 read-IMP-AFF-MOD start
 'Finally he started reading.'

In (33) the relation between the main and dependent clause must be construed as causal in the presence of the affirmative. For instance, (33a) implies that Wera went out because of the dog barking, whereas in (33b) the woman started crying because the speaker entered the tent. There is no such implication in the absence of the affirmative: the relation between the two clauses is merely construed as a temporal relation.

- (33) a. *Wera-h wen'ako-h madər-ma-m*
 Wera-GEN dog-GEN bark-IMP.F.AN-ACC
nəmt^o-xəwa-^o p'in^oh tərpi^o-q
 hear-AFF-MOD out go.out-REFL.3SG
 'As soon as Wera heard the dog barking, he went out.'
- b. *mən'^o m'a-t^oh t'u-x^owa-^o n'e yaruma*
 I tent-DAT enter-AFF-MOD woman start.crying
 'As soon as I entered the tent, the woman started crying.'

In (34) the semantic contribution of the affirmative is associated with something like (contrastive) topic function. Note again that it can be hosted by either sub-constituent of the syntactic phrase without difference in meaning.

- (34) a. *ti-m xada-xəwa-^o p'ir^oqna*
 reindeer-ACC kill-AFF-MOD can
 'As for the reindeer, yes, he can kill it.'
- b. *tex^ow-m xada-^o p'ir^oqna*
 reindeer-DUB-ACC kill-MOD can
 'As for the reindeer, yes, he can kill it.'
- c. *par'id'en'a wen'ako-x^owa-m mənəqna-w^o*
 black dog-AFF-ACC see-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'As for the black dog, I saw it.'
- d. *par'iden'a-x^owa wen'ako-m mənəqna-w^o*
 black-AFF dog-ACC see-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'As for the black dog, I saw it.'

Verb focus constructions require the doubling of the relevant verb in the form of the modal converb with the affirmative affix, which precedes the finite form:

- (35) a. *to-x^owa-^o toə-n^o*
 come-AFF-MOD come-2SG
 'You DID come.' (T 712)
- b. *mənc^ora-x^owa-^o mənc^oraə-d^om*
 work-AFF-MOD work-1SG
 'I DO work.'

Finally, the affirmative forms indefinite pronouns from question words, e.g. *xurka-xəwa* 'some', *ηəmke-xəwa* 'something, some', *xīb'a-xəwa* 'somebody', *s'ax^oηkəwah* 'some time'.

2.4 Emphatic

The emphatic marker *-c'ey°* occurs on nouns, adjectives, pronouns and determiners. As shown in (36b) and (36c), in personal pronouns the emphatic marker is followed by a respective possessive affix. The meaning of the emphatic is 'exactly this' or contrast:

- (36) a. *mən° t'uku°-c'ey°-m xana-xə-d°m*
 I this-EMPH-ACC take-HORT-1SG
 'I'd rather take this (and not that).' (T 696)
- b. *pid°c'ey°da to*
 he.EMPH come
 'It's him who came.'
- c. *n'a-m'i pon°h ηət'e-° mən°c'eyən° xay-i-d°m*
 companion-ACC.1SG long wait-MOD I.EMPH stay-1SG
 'It's me who stayed for a long time because of my friend.'

Examples in (37) illustrate the emphatic forms of postpositions and adverbs:

- (37) a. *wə̃ncaxa-da n'ac'eyənt° xaqm°-ηku-q*
 offense-3SG DAT.EMPH.2SG fall-FUT-REFL.3SG
 'The offense you caused him will come back to you yourself.' (T 72)
- b. *m'er°-h to-qma-w° pūc'ey°h s'a°l'ilηa-w°*
 fast-GEN come-PERF.AN-ACC.1SG later.EMPH feel.sorry-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'Only later I felt sorry that I came early.' (T 492)

The emphatic *-c'ey°* does not seem to occur on finite verbs but is compatible with non-finite verbal forms except for the conditional and auditive. It usually expresses contrast or restriction ('only') in such instances:

- (38) a. *tola-ηko-c'ey-° p'a°*
 read-IMP-EMPH-MOD start
 'He started to read (and not anything else).'
- b. *tola-ηko-wa-c'ey° səwa*
 read-IMP-IMP-AN-EMPH good
 'It's good to read (and not to do other things).'
- c. *lad°-qma-c'eyə-x°dənta xəya*
 hit-PERF.AN-EMPH-ABL.3SG go
 'Only after he hit him, he left.'

In example (38c) the emphatic marker adds indication that the event of ‘hitting’ was somehow expected.

2.5 Comparative

The comparative affix *-rka* is most often found on predicative and attributive adjectives and on adverbs. This affix indicates comparison. The object of comparison may be overtly expressed by the ablative phrase, as in (39).

- (39) a. *n'e n'a-ko-c'a-m'i s'id'a po-h*
 woman companion-DIM-DIM-1SG 2 year-GEN
p'iruw^ona n'ad^on'i n'ud'a-rka
 compared ABL.1SG small-COMP
 ‘My younger sibling is two years younger than me.’ (T 329)
- b. *xadi xo-xad^o n'ajosə-rka^o*
 fir birch-ABL thick-COMP
 ‘The fir tree is thicker than the birch tree.’ (T 355)

Alternatively, the object of comparison may simply be implied but is easily reconstructed from discourse and the situation of speech:

- (40) a. *p'īya-ko m'er^o-ku-rka-w^ona wər^onə-ly^o-q*
 ermine-DIM fast-ADV-COMP-PROL run-INCH-REFL.3SG
 ‘The ermine started running faster.’ (T 47)
- b. *t'ec^o-da-da xolmi^o-q, yiba-rka-ŋe^o xəya*
 cold-IMPF.PART-3SG become.milder-REFL.3SG warm-COMP-ESS go
 ‘It has become warmer.’ (T 769)

On adverbs the comparative can mean ‘approximately’ or ‘rather’.

- (41) a. *m'aq-m'i t'ukorkan^oh m'arə^o xərwa-btaə-w^o*
 tent-ACC.1SG here.COMP make.tent-MOD want-CAUS-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I want to set up a tent somewhere near here.’ (T 747)
- b. *pon^orkaḥ yəŋku-n^o*
 long.COMP no-2SG
 ‘You were away for rather a long time.’ (T 477)

On verbs the same affix adds the meaning ‘from time to time, slightly, not much’, for instance, *t'en'ewə-* ‘to know’ > *t'en'ewə-rka-* ‘to know vaguely’, *temta-* ‘to buy’ > *temta-rka-* ‘to buy a little’. See also the following examples:

- (42) a. *wen^o-h n'ūk^oc'a s'ar^oner^o-rka^o*
 dog-GEN cub squeal-COMP
 'The puppy squeals from time to time.' (T 604)
- b. *xada-da sǣw^o-s'ə-rka^o*
 grandmother-3SG eye-CAR-COMP
 'His grandmother can't see well.' (T 581)

In other words, on finite verbs the comparative indicates the low intensity of the denoted action.

2.6 Polar

The polar marker occurs on nouns, pronouns and some non-finite forms of verbs. Its form is *-yum* and the meaning can roughly be described as 'the one out of the two', 'the one who / that'. For instance, in (43a) the polar marker on the word 'grandmother' suggests that the referent is chosen out of the group of two people known to the interlocutors, such as e.g. 'grandmother and granddaughter', 'grandmother and associate' or the like. The same applies to (43b), as suggested by the translation. In (43c) the polar is hosted by the modifying participle and indicates that the kettle which has tea leaves is chosen over the one that does not.

- (43) a. *xada-yum yed^o-m tu-h n'ih ŋida^o*
 grandmother-POL cauldron-ACC fire-GEN onto hang
 'The one who is grandmother hung the cauldron over the fire.' (T 406)
- b. *xīb'a-yum n'anantaq tū-tə^o?*
 who-POL LOC.2PL come-FUT
 'Who (out of the two) will come with you?'
- c. *web'itə-na-yum s'ayə-nt^o yed^o p'ir'e-q*
 leave.V-IMP.F.PART-POL tea-GEN.2SG cauldron boil-IMP.2SG
 'Boil the kettle with the tea leaves in it.' (T 66)

On adjectives the polar has a similar usage, e.g.:

- (44) *n'ud'a-yum n'ū-mta wǣsako təmna n'ī-d'a n'el'e-q*
 small-POL child-ACC.3SG old.man still NEG-3SG > SG.OBJ marry-CONN
 'The old man hasn't married off the youngest of his two sons.' (T 329)

But the same meaning can be rendered if the polar marker is hosted by the modified noun itself: *n'ud'a n'ū-yum-ta* 'the youngest of his two sons (small child-POL-ACC.3SG)'.

2.7 Moderative

The moderative affix *-mpoy^oh* / *-poy^oh* most often occurs on adjectives and indicates a high degree of the property expressed by the adjective. For instance, the adjective *səwa* ‘good’ derives the moderative form *səwa-mpoy^oh* ‘better’. Unlike the polar which when attached to adjectives denotes a contrast between two entities, the moderative indicates that the referent of the adjective is selected out of a group of several referents, cf. *ɲarka-yum* ‘the bigger (of the two) (POL)’ and *ɲarka-mpoy^oh* ‘the biggest (of several) (MODER)’. In null-headed phrases moderative adjectives can combine with case and possessive affixes, e.g.:

- (45) *ɲarka-mpodoh* *ti-h* *yin'-m* *meq-mənc'^o* *me^o-q*
 big-MODER.3PL reindeer-GEN rope-ACC use-PURP be.going-3PL
 ‘The oldest of them are going to drive reindeer.’ (T 273)

On adverbs the moderative denotes the meaning ‘rather, fairly’:

- (46) a. *yolc'^o-mpow^ona* *yil'e^o*
 average-MODER.PROL live
 ‘He lives in a rather average way.’ (T 119)
- b. *ɲob* *ya-x^ona* *t'an'o-mpow^ona* *yil'e-y^obt'e^o*
 one place-LOC little-MODER.PROL live-DIM
 ‘He has stayed in one place fairly little.’ (T 141)

The moderative often combines with the caritive adverbial form of nouns, on which see Chapter 3, Section 1.3.3. In this instance it has the intensifying meaning, e.g. *wen'ako-s'iq* (dog-CAR) ‘without a dog’ and *wen'ko-s'ipoy^oh* (dog-CAR.MODER) ‘even without a dog’. It can also be found on nouns and nominalized participles which have some parametric component in their meaning, emphasized in this instance. For example, *mənc^ora-na-mpoy^oh* (work-IMP.F.PART-MODER) is an exclamation meaning ‘He’s a real hard worker!’, see also example (47).

- (47) *t'iki^o* *n'a-mpom'i!*
 this companion-MODER.1SG
 ‘This is a real friend of mine!’

The moderative does not occur on finite verbs, but is possible on participles, e.g. *səɲkowo-ta* ‘heavy, difficult (heavy-IMP.F.PART)’ > *səɲkowo-ta-mpoy^oh* ‘heavier, more difficult (heavy-IMP.F.PART-MODER)’, *mal'^oc'a-s'^o-da-mpoy^oh* ‘even without a parka (parka-V-IMP.F.PART-MODER)’.

2.8 Diminutive

There are few diminutive suffixes in Tundra Nenets; the most frequent ones are *-ko* and *-c'a*. These suffixes occur on words of various grammatical classes, sometimes in combination. On pronouns and nouns they denote the small size of or an affectionate attitude towards the referent:

- (48) a. *mən'kon° s'iqm'i n'ada-daq=ma*
 I.DIM I.ACC help-IMP.2PL-ASS
 'Help poor little me.'
- b. *ɲəmke-ko-x°wa-m n'aənt° wad'eq-ma-n°h xərwa°-dəm-c'°*
 what-DIM-DUB-ACC DAT.2SG tell-IMP.F.AN-DAT want-1SG-PAST
 'I wanted to say something to you.' (T 376)

The diminutive can be repeated for more emphatic effect:

- (49) a. *p'iq poŋk°na tu-ko-c'a ɲəd'i*
 tree.PL.GEN between fire-DIM-DIM be.seen
 'A small fire is seen between trees.' (T 478)
- b. *t'ika-ko-c'a-r° ɲəmke-r°?*
 this-DIM-DIM-2SG what-2SG
 'What is this thing you have?'

The diminutive modifying the noun can attach to the attributive adjective which the noun heads (50a), and some kind of 'diminutive concord' within the noun phrase is also attested (50b).

- (50) a. *wæwa-ko xoba-m s'id'a ya-n°h ɲədar°taə-w°*
 bad-DIM skin-ACC 2 place-DAT tear-1SG > OBJ.SG
 'I tore the bad skin into two pieces.' (T 372)
- b. *pūda-na po-x°qna n'ud'a-ko papa-ko-waq meb'erɲa*
 last-IMP.F.AN year-PL.LOC small-DIM younger.sibling-DIM-1PL get.stronger
 'Our little brother got stronger in the last years.' (T 267)

The examples in (51) demonstrate the use of the diminutive on adverbs:

- (51) a. *lək°mpoy°koh n'ibk°la-ɲku-w°*
 meanwhile.DIM lower.head-FUT-REFL.1SG
 'I'll take a little nap meanwhile.' (T 310)

- b. *yīkə-w° wāwə-ko-w°na pəŋk°btaə-d°m*
 neck-ACC.1SG bad-DIM-PROL turn-1SG
 ‘I turned my neck incautiously.’ (T 443)

No diminutive is possible on finite verbs, but it combines with non-finite verbal forms, in particular, participles.

- (52) a. *m’i-qme-ko-c’a-m’i s’ay°xəlŋa-w°*
 give-PERF.PART-DIM-DIM-ACC.1SG feel.sorry-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I felt sorry about what I have given away.’ (T 598)
- b. *yewancə-da-ko-w° m’a-kənt° xāx°ya-q!*
 dear-IMP.F.PART-DIM-1SG tent-DAT.2SG go-INTENS-IMP.2SG
 ‘My darling, go home!’ (T 86)

This includes passive constructions formed on the basis of participles:

- (53) a. *n’is’a-nta lad°-weko*
 father-GEN.3SG hit-PERF.PART.DIM
 ‘He was lightly hit by his father.’
- b. *ŋəc’eki°-h xada-weko*
 child-GEN kill-PERF.PART.DIM
 ‘This poor little thing was killed by the child.’

In (53a) the diminutive on the perfective participle that heads the passive clause shows the low intensity of the action, while in (53b) it conveys sympathy towards the patient participant not overtly expressed in the clause.

2.9 Pejorative

The pejorative has the form *-ye*. On nouns or personal pronouns it conveys either a negative attitude or pity towards the referent:

- (54) a. *t’ika-xəwa-r° n’e-mpo-ye, sādorə-x°rtə° yexara°!*
 this-DUB-2SG woman-MODER-PEJ sew-FOC.MOD ignore
 ‘What kind of woman is she, she can’t even sew!’ (T 295)
- b. *xusuwey° yal’a-h s’iqyem’i n’ananta yəŋk°rila-° p’a°*
 each day-GEN I.PEJ.ACC LOC.3SG start.carrying-MOD start
 ‘Poor me, he started carrying me with him every day.’ (T 102)

It is often combined with the diminutive, in which case it expresses sympathy:

- (55) a. *saln'ik^o-h tuwo-qma-xəd^o n'e*
 lamp-GEN light.up-PERF.AN-ABL woman
n'a-ko-c'a-ye-n'i yar^o-da xənc'e^o
 companion-DIM-DIM-PEJ-GEN.1SG crying-3SG die.out
 'My little sibling stopped crying when the lamp (made of fat) lit up.'
 (T 737)
- b. *pid^okəyeda təmna pəx^onc'ə-ye^o*
 he.DIM-PEJ still root.V-PEJ
 'Poor thing, he is still small (lit. without roots).' (T 454)

The pejorative also occurs on predicative adjectives and verbs:

- (56) a. *wəwə-ye-d^om, wəwə-ye-d^om!*
 bad-PEJ-1SG bad-PEJ-1SG
 'Poor me, I am bad!' (T 66)
- b. *yaleq yamp^oxəqna t'ec'^o-da*
 day-GEN.PL during.PL cold-IMPF.PART
todala-w^odawey^o m'a-k^ona mənc'ena-ye^o
 heat-NEG.PART tent-LOC lie.shivering-PEJ
 'All day long he was lying shivering in a cold unheated tent, poor thing.' (T 229)
- c. *Wera to-ye^o*
 Wera come-PEJ
 'Wera has come, poor thing.'

In (56) the pejorative expresses the emotional attitude (sympathy and pity) towards the subject participant.

2.10 Augmentative

The augmentative in *-qya* or *-qya^o* attaches to nouns. It has an evaluative meaning: it denotes the large size of the referent or a negative attitude towards the referent on the part of the speaker. For example, *wen'ako-qya* (dog-AUG) means 'big dog' and something like 'bad dog', *n'e-qya* (woman-AUG) means 'large woman' and 'bad woman'. Like the diminutive, the augmentative can be located in several places within a noun phrase, e.g. *ɲarka wen'ako-qya* (big dog-AUG) ~ *ɲarka-qya wen'ako* (big-AUG dog) ~ *ɲarka-qya wen'ako-qya* (big-AUG dog-AUG) 'huge dog.'

On finite verbs the augmentative forms the general finite stem with the augmentative *ŋa*. It shows a negative attitude towards the action denoted by the verb and/or its subject participant:

- (57) a. *Wera(-qya) to-qyaŋa*
 Wera-AUG come-AUG
 ‘Wera came! What the hell?’ Or: ‘Finally Wera came (with disapproval).’
- b. *mən’^o to-qyaŋa-d^om*
 I come-AUG-1SG
 ‘I have come (although you do not like it).’

On non-finite verbal forms, adjectives and adverbs the augmentative may express high intensity of the action or property. For instance, the augmentative form of *yamp^o* ‘long’ *yamp^o-qya* means ‘very very long’. See also (58):

- (58) a. *sə-ta-qya-w^ona* *tol^o-m* *tira-xəna* *ladə^o-da*
 strong-IMP.F.PART-AUG-PROL table-ACC fist-LOC hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He hit the table with his fist very strongly.’ (T 537)
- b. *wən^o-q* *wəwə-ko-qya^o-wəna* *mad^o-liə-d^oq*
 dog-PL bad-DIM-AUG-PROL bark-INCH-REFL.3PL
 ‘The dogs started barking furiously.’ (T 66)

In (58b) the augmentative is combined with the diminutive. This combination is possible if the latter expresses affection.

2.11 Intensive

The intensive marker is *-xəya*. It differs from the other affixes described in this chapter because it normally occurs only on verbs, including various non-finite verbal forms. But in all other respects it is similar to the multi-based affixes described in this chapter. The intensive indicates high intensity of the action denoted by the base verb. In (59a) it is hosted by the finite verb, and in (59b) and (59c) it combines with modal converbs.

- (59) a. *noxa-h* *təwə* *təw’i* *l’iw^ortə-x^oya^o*
 polar.fox-GEN tail DP fluffy-INTENS
 ‘The polar fox has such a fluffy tail.’ (T 190)
- b. *tarenc’a-mta* *manəŋ-kəya^o* *waxəly^o-q*
 appearance-ACC.3SG wrap-INTENS-MOD start.speaking-REFL.3SG
 ‘He started speaking with an impenetrable face (lit. wrapping his appearance on purpose).’ (T 230)

- c. *sarm'ik^o-q* *tæw^o-doh* *ŋæ-toh* *pont^oh*
 wolf-PL tail-PL.ACC.3PL leg-PL.GEN.3PL between
me-x^oya-^o *xæw^on'ah* *n'awotia-d^oq*
 put-INTENS-MOD away run-REFL.3PL
 'Having had to put their tails between their legs, the wolves ran away.'
 (T 271)

The intensive cannot be termed 'mood' because, according to the criteria adopted here after Salminen (1997), inflectional moods in Tundra Nenets are not found on non-finite forms. Moreover, moods are not compatible with each other, but the intensive is compatible with at least some of them, as shown below.

- (60) a. *yəbto yamp^o* *yik^o-c'a-mta* *ya-h* *ŋesoməna* *wenkala-x^oya-wi^o*
 goose long neck-DIM-ACC.3SG place-GEN along spread-INTENS-INFR
 'The poor goose has spread its long neck along the earth.' (T 422)
- b. *p'iq* *n'imn'a* *yid^o-q* *xəy^olə-doh* *xənc'adə-x^oya-wi^o-q*
 tree.GEN.PL along water-PL tear-PL.3PL move-INTENS-INFR-3PL
 'Tears were moving quickly along the trees.' (T 738)
- c. *mənc^ora-x^oya-q*
 work-INTENS-IMP.2SG
 'Do some work please!'

Tereshchenko (1965) contains one example in which the intensive is hosted by the degree adverb *təmna* 'still, more, again, also' (glossed here as 'still'), but this example was not judged as grammatical by my consultants.

- (61) *xasawa* *ŋəc'eki^o* *təmna-xəya* *yaqw^ola-x^oma*
 man child still-INTENS brave-INCH
 'The boy appeared even braver.' (T 857)

The intensive does not seem to occur on nouns.

Chapter 7

Noun Phrases

A noun phrase consists of a head and optional dependents which always precede it. The head is either a noun or a personal pronoun, but pronouns do not normally take dependents. The classes of dependents discussed in this chapter include determiners, possessors, non-possessive nominal dependents, attributive adjectives, and quantifiers. The chapter also deals with apposition. Relative clauses are addressed in Chapter 14 and clausal complements of nouns in Chapter 15, Section 4.

1 Determiners

Prototypical articles are missing; definiteness may be expressed by means of optional possessive affixes (see Chapter 4, Section 3.2). But Tundra Nenets has several items that can be termed ‘determiners’. They form a relatively small closed class with little descriptive content and characterize the head noun with respect to deixis and definiteness. This class is shown below.

- (1) *t'uku°* ‘this’
tərc'a ‘such’
t'iki° ‘that’ (mostly anaphoric)
t'exa ‘that, distant or behind something’
taki° ‘that (deictic)’
tay°kuy° ‘that one over there (visible)’

Determiners differ from adjectives in their position. Unlike adjectives, they must precede the lexical possessor which does not trigger possessive agreement on the head (see Section 2 on the position of agreeing lexical possessors), as can be seen from the following contrast.

- (2) a. *Wera-h ηarka ti*
Wera-GEN big reindeer
‘Wera’s big reindeer’

b. **Wera-h t'uku° ti*
Wera-GEN this reindeer
(‘this reindeer of Wera’s’)

c. *t'uku° Wera-h ti*
this Wera-GEN reindeer
‘this reindeer of Wera’s’

The crucial contrast between (2a) and (2b) indicates that the adjective and the determiner occupy different positions with respect to the nominal head.

Like adjectives, determiners show optional number concord with the head noun, cf.:

- (3) *taki°(-q) ti-q* (that-PL reindeer-PL) 'those reindeer'
t'iki°-q ηod'a-q (this-PL berry-PL) 'those berries' (T 539)
t'exa-q t'ir'e-d° (that-PL cloud-PL.2SG) 'those clouds of yours' (T 349)

But possessive and case concord on determiners is problematic for most speakers, even more so than on adjectives (on concord on adjectives see Section 3). Most speakers of modern Tundra Nenets reject the following examples as ungrammatical:

- (4) *?/*t'exa-r° te-r°* (that-2SG reindeer-2SG) 'that reindeer of yours'
*?/*t'uku°-da te-da* (this-3SG reindeer-3SG) 'this reindeer of his'

However, a few examples are found in Tereshchenko's (1965) materials: *ηəmke-mta xəra-mta* 'which cause' (what-ACC.3SG cause-ACC.3SG) (T 746) and *t'ika-waq ηəmke-waq* 'what (thing) of ours' (this-1PL what-1PL) (T 826).

2 Possessive NPs

The basic constituent order in the possessive construction is 'possessor – possessed'.

2.1 The structure

Examples below illustrate various semantic relations between the possessor and the possessed. The lexical possessor takes the genitive form (5a), whereas the pronominal possessor stands in the nominative (5b).

- (5) a. *noxa-h tæwa* (polar.fox-GEN tail) 'polar fox's tail'
n'ib'a-h mal° (needle-GEN end) 'the end of the needle'
p'i-h l'enər° (night-GEN cold-GEN) 'the cold of the night'
teta-n'i puxac'a (master-GEN.1SG wife) 'my master's wife'
n'eb'a-n° pəni° (mother-GEN.1SG coat) 'my mother's coat'
yir'i-nta yon'eko (grandfather-GEN.3SG joke) 'his grandfather's joke'
p'ib'i-ta pad°ko (boots-GEN.3SG bag) 'a bag with his boots'
mərəd°-h yil° (city-GEN life) 'life in the city'

- b. (*pida*) *puxac'a-da* (he wife-3SG) 'his wife'
 (*pid^oraq*) *tex^oyu-dah* (you.PL reindeer.DU-2PL) 'your reindeer (DU)'
 (*mən'ih*) *wen'aku-n'ih* (we.DU dog.PL-1DU) 'our dogs (PL)'

As shown in (5b), the free-standing pronominal possessors are optional and, in accordance with the general tendency for pro-drop, they are most often absent. But the possessed noun must combine with possessive affixes (possibly, incorporated pronouns) which cross-reference the possessor in person and number.

When the possessor is lexical, the possessive affix is not obligatory. Thus, it is absent in (5a). However, the lexical possessor can optionally trigger 3rd person possessive agreement on the head. Crucially, agreeing and non-agreeing lexical possessors differ in their position within the NP. As mentioned in Section 1, the non-agreeing possessor follows the determiner. In contrast, the agreeing possessor is located on the left periphery of the phrase and cannot be preceded by any other dependents, including determiners.

- (6) a. *t'uku^o* *Wera-h* *ti*
 this Wera-GEN reindeer
 'this reindeer of Wera's'
- b. **t'uku^o* *Wera-h* *te-da*
 this Wera-GEN reindeer-3SG
 ('this reindeer of Wera's')
- c. *Wera-h* *t'uku^o* *te-da*
 Wera-GEN this reindeer-3SG
 'this reindeer of Wera's'
- d. **Wera-h* *t'uku^o* *ti*
 Wera-GEN this reindeer-3SG
 ('this reindeer of Wera's')

The opposite distribution of agreement is strictly ungrammatical. The phrase [*t'uku^o* *Wera-h*] *te-da* is in principle possible but only with the syntactic parsing indicated by brackets, i.e. in the meaning 'this Wera's reindeer'.

Note that under certain pragmatic conditions the lexical possessor that triggers agreement may be extracted out of the host noun phrase, in which case we are dealing with the external possessive construction (Chapter 9, Section 3.3). However, in other instances there is clear evidence that the agreeing possessor is NP-internal and forms a syntactic constituent with its head, even though it is somehow 'less tightly' connected to it than the non-agreeing possessor. This can be seen in the fact that it cannot be separated from the rest of the host NP by clause-level constituents. For instance, a clausal adverb cannot be inserted between the possessor

and the possessed, although in the examples below it would be possible in all other preverbal positions.

- (7) a. *Wera-h (*yetr'i) wen'ako-x°danta pin°ə-d°m*
 Wera-GEN always dog-ABL.3SG be.afraid-1SG
 'I am (always) afraid of Wera's dog.'
- b. *Wera-h (*yetr'i) te-x°nəq-ta to°-dəm-c'°*
 Wera-GEN always reindeer-LOC.PL-3SG come-1SG-PAST
 'I (always) arrived on Wera's reindeer.'
- c. *Wera-h (*t'en'ana) n'eb'a-da n'anta xal'a-m m'iqṇa-s'°*
 Wera-GEN yesterday mother-3SG DAT.3SG fish-ACC give-PAST
 '(Yesterday) Wera's mother gave him some fish.'

As far as the pronominal possessors are concerned, for most speakers they must precede the determiner, i.e. they are located in the peripheral position in the phrase, possibly the same position that accommodates agreeing lexical possessors. However, some speakers do allow pronominal possessors to follow the determiner, albeit marginally.

- (8) a. *pidər° t'uku° ṇəno-r°*
 you this boat-2SG
 'this boat of yours'
- b. *?t'uku° pidər° ṇəno-r°*
 this you boat-2SG
 'this boat of yours'

This seems to suggest that for these speakers the pronominal possessor too can occupy either of the two available possessor positions.

The syntactic and functional properties of agreeing lexical possessors are discussed in more detail in the next subsection.

2.2 The properties of the agreeing possessor

The functional difference between agreeing and non-agreeing lexical possessors is determined by a set of semantic and pragmatic factors.

First, in many instances the agreeing possessor bears the information structure role of secondary topic. Secondary topic is understood here as a topical element that is less pragmatically salient than the primary topic, but the utterance is construed to be about the relationship between the primary and secondary topic referents. The

secondary topic often corresponds to the direct object, in which case the 3rd person object triggers agreement on the verb (see Chapter 9, Section 2). But the possessor of the direct object may also be topical and indeed agreeing possessors are most easily available on objects. The topical possessor agrees with the possessed noun and the possessed noun, in its turn, triggers object agreement on the verb, which suggests that the topical possessor makes the whole object NP topical. The following examples provide contexts that ensure topical (e.g. (9a) and (9b)) vs. non-topical (e.g. (9c) and (9d)) interpretation of the possessor and demonstrate that topicality of the possessor correlates with the agreement on the possessed: in non-topical examples agreement is either impossible or strongly dispreferred.

- (9) a. [Did you see this girl?]

t'uku° n'e ηac'eki-h bantə-mta mənəqηa-wə-s'°
 this woman child-GEN ribbon-ACC.3SG see-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'I (only) saw the ribbon of this girl'

- b. [Did you see this girl?]

**t'uku° n'e ηac'eki-h bantə-mta mənəqηa-dəm-c'°*
 this woman child-GEN ribbon-ACC.3SG see-1SG-PAST
 ('I (only) saw the ribbon of this girl.')

- c. [What did you see? / Whose ribbon did you see?]

t'uku° n'e ηac'eki-h bantə-m mənəqηa-dəm-c'°
 this woman child-GEN ribbon-ACC-3SG see-1SG-PAST
 'I saw the ribbon of this girl.'

- d. [What did you see? / Whose ribbon did you see?]

**t'uku° n'e ηac'eki-h bantə-m mənəqηa-wə-s'°*
 this woman child-GEN ribbon-ACC-3SG see-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ('I saw the ribbon of this girl.')

- (10) a. [Did you fix Wera's boat?]

Wera-h ηəno-mta sulor-p'iwə-s'°
 Wera-GEN boat-ACC.3SG fix-DUR.1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Yes, I fixed Wera's boat.'

- b. [What did you fix? / Whose boat did you fix?]

Wera-h ηəno-m sulor-p'idəm-c'°
 Wera-GEN boat-ACC fix-DUR.1SG-PAST
 'I fixed Wera's boat.'

- c. [What did you fix? / Whose boat did you fix?]

**Wera-h ηəno-mta sulor-p'idəm-c'°*
 Wera-GEN boat-ACC.3SG fix-DUR.1SG-PAST
 ('I fixed Wera's boat.')

- (11) a. [Why did Wera hit you?]
mən'° Wera-h mašina-mta taxabta-dəm-c'°
 I Wera-GEN car-ACC.3SG break-1SG-PAST
 'I broke Wera's car.'
- b. [What happened?]
mən'° Wera-h mašina-m taxabta-d°m
 I Wera-GEN car-ACC break-1SG
 'I broke Wera's car.'
- c. [What happened?]
 *?*mən'° Wera-h mašina-mta taxabta-d°m*
 I Wera-GEN car-ACC.3SG break-1SG
 ('I broke Wera's car.')

This observation probably explains the fact that agreeing possessor is rarely found in oblique NPs, although it does occur: obliques are less likely to be topical than higher grammatical functions and not all speakers accept examples where possessive agreement is found on obliques. Moreover, this kind of possessive agreement is generally impossible in two different NPs within the same clause if agreement targets two different referents:

- (12) a. *Was'a-h tu°n'i Wera-h ηamt'orc'ə-nta n'in'a ηa*
 Wasya-GEN gun Wera-GEN chair-GEN.3SG on be
 'Wasya's gun is on Wera's chair.'
- b. **Was'a-h tu°n'i-da Wera-h ηamt'orc'ə-nta n'in'a ηa*
 Wasya-GEN gun-3SG Wera-GEN chair-GEN.3SG on be
 ('Wasya's gun is on Wera's chair.')
- c. *Wera-h n'abako-da Was'a-h wen'ako-m ladə°*
 Wera-GEN elder.sister-3SG Wasya-GEN dog-ACC hit-3SG
 'Wera's sister hit Wasya's dog.'
- d. **Wera-h n'abako-da Was'a-h wen'ako-mta ladə°*
 Wera-GEN elder.sister-3SG Wasya-GEN dog-ACC.3SG hit-3SG
 ('Wera's sister hit Wasya's dog.')

However, possessive agreement is possible on more than one NP in the clause if it refers to the same entity, in this particular case, the referent of *Was'a*:

- (13) *Was'a-h tu°n'i-da Wera-nta ηamt'orc'ə-h n'in'a ηa*
 Wasya-GEN gun-3SG Wera-GEN.3SG chair-GEN on be
 'Wasya's gun is on Wera's (literally: his Wera's) chair.'

Another syntactic constraint on agreeing possessors is that such constructions are incompatible with object agreement on the verb within the same clause if this object agreement does not target the possessed noun. As shown in (14), possessive agreement on the subject is impossible when the verb bears the person/number object marker which cross-references a participant mentioned in the previous discourse.

- (14) a. *Wera-h n'e°ka lad°ə-da*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i's brother_j hit him_{k/*i/*j}.'
- b. **Wera-h n'e°ka-da lad°ə-da*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother-3SG hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('Wera_i's brother_j hit him_k.)

This fact may have an information structure related explanation: as argued in Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1, the verb bears object marking if the 3rd person object corresponds to secondary topic. The role of secondary topic is presumably unique, that is, the clause cannot contain two non-coreferential secondary topics, therefore object marking on the verb and possessive marking of the lexical possessor cannot cooccur when their controllers differ.

Agreeing lexical possessors are very marginal within dependent clauses (15), except when the agreeing possessor is the possessor of the dependent subject (16) or is coreferential with the main clause subject (17).

- (15) a. *Wera-h wen'ako-m ladə-qma-x°dān'i ηəc'eki° yaruma-s'°*
 Wera-GEN dog-ACC hit-PERF.AN-ABL.1SG child start.crying-PAST
 'When I hit Wera's dog, the child started crying.'
- b. *?*Wera-h wen'ako-mta ladə-qma-x°dān'i ηəc'eki° yaruma-s'°*
 Wera-GEN dog-ACC.3SG hit-PERF.AN-ABL.1SG child start.crying-PAST
 ('When I hit Wera's dog, the child started crying.')
- c. *t'en'ana Wera-h ti-m xada-wa-n'i*
 yesterday Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC kill-IMPF.AN-1SG
mal'°ηkəna n'eb'a-m'i n'en°c'um'a-s'°
 during mother-1SG get.angry-PAST
 'When I killed Wera's reindeer yesterday, mother got angry.'
- d. *?*t'en'ana Wera-h te-mta xada-wa-n'i*
 yesterday Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC.3SG kill-IMPF.AN-1SG
mal'°ηkəna n'eb'a-m'i n'en°c'um'a-s'°
 during mother-1SG get.angry-PAST
 ('When I killed Wera's reindeer yesterday, mother got angry.')

- (16) a. *Wera-h t'ib'a xa-qma-xəd° Maša yaruma*
 Wera-GEN tooth-GEN fall-PERF.AN-ABL Masha start.crying
 'When Wera's tooth fell out, Masha started crying.'
- b. *Wera-h t'ib'a-nta xa-qma-xəd° Maša yaruma*
 Wera-GEN tooth-GEN.3SG fall-PERF.AN-ABL Masha start.crying
 'When Wera's tooth fell out, Masha started crying.'
- c. *Wera-h mašina-h xe-qm'a-xəd°*
 Wera-GEN car-GEN go-PERF.AN-ABL
mən'o manc°ra- p'a-wə-s'o
 I work-MOD start-REFL.1SG-PAST
 'After Wera's car left, I started working.'
- d. *Wera-h mašina-nta xe-qm'a-xəd°*
 Wera-GEN car-GEN.3SG go-PERF.AN-ABL
mən'o manc°ra- p'a-wə-s'o
 I work-MOD start-REFL.1SG-PAST
 'After Wera's car left, I started working.'
- (17) *t'en'ana Wera-h te-mta xada-qma-x°dən'i*
 yesterday Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC.3SG kill-PERF.AN-ABL.1SG
t'uku° yal'a-h s'iqm'i ladorna-s'
 this day-GEN I.ACC beat.up-PAST
 'Because I killed Wera's reindeer yesterday, he beat me up today.'

These distributional facts confirm that the agreeing lexical possessor is associated with the secondary topic function on the assumption that there is only one secondary topic per clause and that secondary topics, defined as above, are not easily available in dependent clauses.

Second, there are instances where an agreeing lexical possessor does not seem to have a topical interpretation. Instead the construction is chosen when the speaker wishes to emphasize the pragmatic salience of the possessor within the domain of the NP (as opposed to clause-level topics). It is likely to occur when there is an inalienable relation between the possessor and the possessed, so that they are closely related conceptually. But possessive agreement is not a means to encode inalienability *per se*, since inalienable possessive constructions are perfectly acceptable without it. The presence of agreement is determined by the speaker's construal of the possessive relationship: it indicates that the possessor is assigned a special level of prominence. Unlike in topical constructions, an inalienable agreeing possessor may be non-referential.

- (18) *pid'ih n'ū-d'ih māl'e° xasawa-h yolc'°n-kānta tēwi°-q*
 they.DU child-3DU already man-GEN age-DAT.3SG reach-REFL.3SG
 'Their (DU) child has already reached the age of a man.' (T 496)

Inalienable constructions with the agreeing possessor are not restricted in terms of the grammatical function of the possessed noun and freely occur on lower grammatical functions:

- (19) a. *Wera-h n'e-h n'a-nta n'amna yib'edorn̄a-d°m*
 Wera-GEN woman companion-GEN.3SG about think-1SG
 'I am thinking about Wera's sister.'
- b. *Wera-h n'e-h n'a-h n'amna yib'edorn̄a-d°m*
 Wera-GEN woman companion-GEN about think-1SG
 'I am thinking about Wera's sister.'
- c. *t'uku° wen'ako Wera-h n'abako-nta xada-wi°*
 this dog Wasya-GEN elder.sister-GEN.3SG kill-PERF.PART
 'This dog is killed by Wera's sister.'
- d. *t'uku° wen'ako Wera-h n'abako-h xada-wi°*
 this dog Wasya-GEN elder.sister-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 'This dog is killed by Wera's sister.'

As shown in Section 3.2, in constructions with agreeing inalienable possessors the modifying adjective may show optional possessive person/number concord.

There are additional syntactic restrictions on agreeing NP-internal possessors: when the subject is 3rd person, the agreeing possessor is impossible on non-subjects, cf.:

- (20) a. *mən'° Wera-h ti-m lad°ə-d°m*
 I Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC hit-1SG
 'I hit Wera's reindeer.'
- b. *mən'° Wera-h te-mta lad°ə-d°m*
 I Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC.3SG hit-1SG
 'I hit Wera's reindeer.'
- c. *Maša Wera-h ti-m lad°*
 Masha Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC hit-3SG
 'Masha hit Wera's reindeer.'
- d. **Maša Wera-h te-mta lad°*
 Masha Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC.3SG hit-3SG
 ('Masha hit Wera's reindeer.')

- (21) a. *mən'° Wera-h ten°h n'an'°-m m'iq̣a-d°m*
 I Wera-GEN reindeer.DAT bread-ACC give-1SG
 'I gave bread to Wera's reindeer.'
- b. *mən'° Wera-h tex°nta n'an'°-m m'iq̣a-d°m*
 I Wera-GEN reindeer.DAT.3SG bread-ACC give-1SG
 'I gave bread to Wera's reindeer.'
- c. *Maša Wera-h ten°h n'an'°-m m'iq̣a*
 Masha Wera-GEN reindeer.DAT bread-ACC give
 'Masha gave bread to Wera's reindeer.'
- d. **Maša Wera-h tex°nta n'an'°-m m'iq̣a*
 Masha Wera-GEN reindeer.DAT.3SG bread-ACC give
 ('Masha gave bread to Wera's reindeer.')

Examples (a) and (b) are grammatical whether or not the possessor of the non-subject element triggers agreement on it, because the subject is in the 1st person. But in (d) the subject stands in the 3rd person and this makes possessive agreement on the non-subject element ungrammatical. This applies to both topical and non-topical agreeing possessors.

In sum, the agreeing possessor is either secondary topic or inalienable and emphasized, or otherwise plays an important role in the interpretation of the possessive phrase. Importantly, agreeing NP-internal possessors exhibit certain syntactic properties of clause-level elements. I will discuss them in more detail in other chapters; see Chapter 16, Sections 2.3 and 2.4 on the control of converbs, Chapter 17, Sections 1.1 and 1.2 on agreeing possessors with antecedent non-reflexive pronouns within the clause, and Chapter 17, Section 2.1 on the role of agreeing possessors in cross-clause anaphora. This suggests that the functional prominence of the agreeing NP-internal possessor is mirrored by its syntactic prominence.

2.3 Predestinative possessive phrases

The predestinative NP has essentially the same structure as the regular possessive construction. The predestinative possessor precedes the head noun and takes the genitive form if it is a lexical NP or the nominative if it is pronominal. The lexical predestinative possessor can trigger 3rd person singular, dual or plural agreement on the head noun, but it is highly optional (22a). The pronominal predestinative possessor triggers obligatory person/number agreement (22b).

- (22) a. *Wera-h η̣ano-d°* (Wera-GEN boat-PRED) 'boat for Wera'
Wera-h η̣ano-ḍa-da (Wera-GEN boat-PRED-3SG) 'boat for Wera'
n'e°ka-x°yu-n'i η̣ano-d° (elder.brother-DU-1SG boat-PRED)
 'boat for my two brothers'
p̣ane-n'i n'i-d° (coat-GEN.1SG belt-PRED) 'belt for my coat'

- b. (*mən'°*) *s'ay°-də-m'i* (I tea-PRED-NOM.1SG) 'tea for me'
 (*mən'°*) *m'adoncey°-də-n°* (I gift-PRED-GEN.1SG) 'gift for me'
 (*pida*) *wada-də-mta* (he word-PRED-ACC.3SG) 'word for him'

The predestinative possessor may be additionally expressed by an NP-external postpositional phrase:

- (23) (*yeqmn'anaq*) *tad'eb'a* (*yeqmn'anaq*) *pardon-da-waq* *s'erta°*
 for.1PL shaman for.1PL medicine.PRED.1PL do
 'The shaman made a medicine for us.'

The predestinative possessor and the regular possessor are in complementary distribution: constructions like **Wera-h m'adoncey°-də-n'i* (Wera-GEN gift-PRED-1SG) with the intended reading 'Wera's gift for me' are ungrammatical.

As discussed in Chapter 4, predestinative phrases occur in three case forms, nominative, genitive and accusative, if the predestinative is pronominal, and in one case form (nominative/accusative) if it is a lexical noun. Their syntactic functions are described in that chapter. According to Leisiö (2014), if the predestinative has a plural reference, it requires the dative plural on the modifying adjective.

3 Attributive modifiers

Attributive modifiers include adjectives, ordinal numerals, quantificational adjectives and attributive forms of verbs (participles forming relative clauses). The latter are clausal structures and are discussed in Chapter 14. Like other dependents, modifiers precede their head. Attributive adjectives and relative clauses may agree in three features: number, case, and possessive person/number, although the conditions on these three types of concord differ. Ordinal numerals and quantificational adjectives do not normally show attributive concord.

3.1 Interaction of concord features

Attributive concord is always optional. Concord rules are unique and quite complex: they depend on the interaction of formal and semantic conditions. Number concord is the most common, especially in the Western dialects where it is present in the overwhelming majority of non-singular NPs. However, it does not seem to be true that in the Eastern dialects number concord is only possible in certain grammatical cases (Tereshchenko 1956: 168, 1973: 40). Neither do my data confirm the absence of case concord (Tereshchenko 1956: 168, 1973: 52–53). In fact, numerous examples of case concord can be found in the materials of Tereshchenko herself, but indeed case and possessive concord are far less frequent than number concord and are restricted

by special constraints. Most importantly, they are typically available in the language of folklore (cf. Tereshchenko 1973: 54), although speakers have clear intuitions about their (un)grammaticality.

The following rules apply. First, although number concord is optional, it is always available for all registers and speakers, and in all morphosyntactic contexts. At least for some speakers it can make semantic contribution: the singular on the adjective modifying a plural noun indicates that the plural has a group interpretation, whereas the plural suggests individual and/or distributive interpretation.

- (24) a. *ɲarka yes'a-q* (big metal-PL) 'a large sum of money'
 ɲarka-q yes'a-q (big-PL metal-PL) 'big roubles'
- b. *ɲarka ti-q* (big reindeer-PL) 'big herd'
 ɲarka-q ti-q (big-PL reindeer-PL) 'big reindeer'

The plural concord on the attributive adjective may also indicate some kind of definiteness or concreteness, as opposed to the generic interpretation of the plural NP:

- (25) a. *mūno-ta noxa-q* (make.noise-IMPF.PART polar.fox-PL)
 'barking polar foxes (in general)'
 mūno-ta-q noxa-q (make.noise-IMPF.PART-PL polar.fox-PL)
 'the barking polar foxes (a concrete group)'
- b. *ɲarka tīd°* (big reindeer.PL.2SG)
 'big reindeer associated with you in some way'
 ɲarka-q tīd° (big-PL reindeer.PL.2SG)
 'your big reindeer'

Second, possessive person/number and case concord are only available when all features are copied from the controller to the target – with the exception of person/number concord in the nominative singular. I have detected a few exceptions in Terechshenko (1965) where person/number concord applies in the absence of case and/or number concord. These examples were not confirmed by my consultants, so maybe we are dealing here with generational differences in the language.

According to these rules, if the controller is marked for only one of the concord features, the adjective can agree in number and person/number, but not case:

- (26) *serako-q teq* (white-PL reindeer.PL) 'white reindeer (PL)'
 serako-r° ter° (white-2SG reindeer.2SG) 'your white reindeer'
 **serako-xəd° texəd°* (white-ABL reindeer.ABL)
 'from the white reindeer'

If the controller is overtly marked for two or three features, number is available on its own. Otherwise, all features must be overtly expressed on the adjective, copying the features on the head noun.

- (27) a. *serako-q tīd* (white-PL reindeer.PL.2SG)
seraku-d° tīd (white-PL.2SG reindeer.PL.2SG)
 **serako-r° tīd* (white-2SG reindeer.PL.2SG)
 ‘your white reindeer (PL)’
- b. *serako-x°dant° texədant°* (white-ABL-2SG reindeer.ABL.2SG)
 **serako-r° tex°dant°* (white-2SG reindeer.ABL.2SG)
 **serako-xad° tex°dant°* (white-ABL reindeer.ABL.2SG)
 ‘from your white reindeer’
- c. *serako-q texat°* (white-PL reindeer.PL.ABL)
serako-xat° texat° (white-PL.ABL reindeer-PL.ABL)
 **serako-xad° texat°* (white-ABL reindeer-PL.ABL)
 ‘from white reindeer (PL)’
- d. *serako-q te-xatāt°* (white-PL reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
serako-x°tat° tex°tat° (white-ABL-PL.2SG reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
 **serako-r° tex°tat°* (white-2SG reindeer.PL ABL.2SG)
 **serako-xat° tex°tat°* (white-PL.ABL reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
 **serako-xad° tex°tat°* (white-ABL reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
 **seraku-d° tex°tat°* (white-PL.2SG reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
 **serako-x°dant° tex°tat°* (white-ABL.2SG reindeer.PL.ABL.2SG)
 ‘from your white reindeer (PL)’

In (28) I cite a few examples attested in Tereshchenko (1965), which illustrate some of these patterns.

- (28) a. *yamp°-q ŋebto-n°* (long-PL hair-PL.1SG) ‘my long hair’ (T 210)
 b. *ŋarka-q mun°-qmāna* (big-PL piece-PL.PROL) ‘along big pieces’ (T 598)
 c. *s’id’a-mta ŋuda-mta* (two-ACC.3SG hand-ACC.3SG) ‘his two hands’ (T 690)
 d. *ŋəwo syero* (what.ACC.PL thing.ACC.PL) ‘which things’ (T 93)

Similar patterns exist for the dual, although, as Tereshchenko (1973: 51) noticed, dual concord is very infrequent, probably because of the structural complexity of the dual forms. Generally speaking, concord seems to correlate with the phonetic ‘weight’ of the inflection. Longer inflections are less likely to be repeated on the adjective, while phonetically ‘light’ inflectional concord is more likely (for example, the accusative plural). As mentioned previously, concord is optional, so non-agreeing adjectival forms are always available. But when there are several coordinated

adjectives, all of them have to carry relevant features: concord on only one coordinated adjective is ungrammatical, cf.: *yedey^o-da ηarka-da ηəno-da* (new-3SG big-3SG boat-3SG) / **yedey^o-da ηarka ηəno-da* / **yedey^o ηarka-da ηəno-da* ‘his big new boat’.

Predestinative concord follows the same rules as case concord and is also stylistically restricted. Some examples are presented below.

- (29) a. *tola-wənta-m'i* *ηəmke-də-m'i* *ta*
 read-FUT.PART-1SG what-PRED-ACC.1SG give
 ‘He gave me something to read’.
- b. *tola-wənta-də-m'i* *ηəmke-də-m'i* *ta*
 read-FUT.PART-PRED-1SG what-PRED-ACC.1SG give
 ‘He gave me something to read’.
- c. *səwa-də-m'i* *kniga-də-m'i* *ta*
 good-PRED-1SG book-PRED-ACC.1SG give
 ‘He gave me a good book’.

In (29) the attributive modifiers (the participle and adjective) copy the morpho-syntactic features of the head noun, the predestinative and the possessive person/number.

3.2 Conditions on possessive concord

There is one additional restriction on possessive person/number concord: it can only occur in phrases where the possessor is in a peripheral position (this was termed ‘the agreeing possessor’ in Section 2). If the possessor is a lexical NP, possessive inflection on the adjective is only possible in the presence of possessive inflection on the head:

- (30) a. *Wera-h ηarka-da teda* (Wera-GEN big-3SG reindeer.3SG) ‘Wera’s big reindeer’
 b. **Wera-h ηarka-da ti* (Wera-GEN big-3SG reindeer) ‘Wera’s big reindeer’

In (30b) the possessor is in the regular position because there is no agreement on the head. Possessive marking on the modifier is impossible in this instance. But in (30a) there is possessive agreement on the head, which suggests that the possessor is located in the phrase-peripheral position. The head noun controls the possessive concord on the adjective. These facts show that person concord on the adjective crucially depends on the position of the possessor and provides evidence for the contention that the agreeing possessor must belong to the same syntactic domain.

As discussed in Section 2.1, pronominal possessors always trigger possessive agreement, but at least for some speakers the position of the pronominal possessor is ambiguous: it can be in either the regular position or the peripheral position, preceding the determiner. However, when the adjective hosts possessive concord, the pronominal possessor must precede the determiner:

- (31) a. *pidər° t'uku° səwa-r° ɲəno-r°* (you this good-2SG boat-2SG)
 'this good boat of yours'
 b. **t'uku° pidər° səwa-r° ɲəno-r°* (this you good-2SG boat-2SG)
 'this good boat of yours'

The contrast between (31a) and (31b) demonstrates that possessive concord on the adjective is only available when the possessor is the leftmost element in the phrase.

As argued above, non-topical agreeing lexical possessors are normally inalienable. Accordingly, possessive concord often occurs when the possessor and the possessed stand in an inalienable relationship. This is shown in (32) where I do not provide glossing, but separate the 2SG possessive affix *-r°* and the 3SG possessive affix *-da* with hyphens. When the possessed noun is a typical inalienable noun such as a body part, a kinship term, or an intrinsic property of the possessor, attributive person/number concord is always possible (32a). However, as is well known, inalienability is based on the culturally determined closeness of two concepts, so in the inalienable possessive constructions the possessor may denote a culturally basic item belonging to the so-called 'personal sphere'. The examples in (32b) show that in Tundra Nenets the concepts 'reindeer', 'coat', 'boat', 'sled', and 'fish' are treated as inalienable for the purpose of possessive concord. On the other hand, my consultants were not sure about the words 'knife', 'needle', and 'hat'; their opinions on the grammaticality of the phrases in (32c) varied. Finally, non-native concepts such as 'car' or 'book', as well as some native concepts (including 'house' and 'dog') are treated as alienable, as is shown by the fact that, under neutral pragmatic conditions, they do not allow possessive concord (32d).

- (32) a. *səwa-r° n'u-r°* 'your good child'
 ɲarka-da n'a-da 'his big younger sibling'
 səwa-r° ɲæwa-r° 'your good head'
 ɲarka-da t'or°-da 'his big scream'
 səwa-r° n'is'a-r° 'your good father'
 ɲarka-da piya-da 'his big nose'
 səwa-r° ɲəbtə-r° 'your good smell'
 ɲarka-da yir'i-da 'his big grandfather'

- b. *səwa-r° ter°* 'your good reindeer'
ŋarka-da xən°-da 'his big sled'
səwa-r° pəne-r° 'your good coat'
ŋarka-da xalya-da 'his big fish'
səwa-r° ŋəno-r° 'your good boat'
- c. *?səwa-r° xərə-r°* 'your good knife'
?səwa-r° səwa-r° 'your good hat'
?səwa-r° n'ib'a-r° 'your good needle'
- d. **səwa-r° kniga-r°* 'your good book'
**ŋarka-da tol°-da* 'his big table'
**səwa-r° ŋoba-r°* 'your good mitten'
**ŋarka-da ŋin°-da* 'his big bow'
**səwa-r° mašina-r°* 'your good car'
**ŋarka-da xar°də-da* 'his big house'
**səwa-r° n'an'ə-r°* 'your good bread'
**ŋarka-da tudako-da* 'his big mushroom'
**səwa-r° noxa-r°* 'your good fox'
**ŋarka-da wen'ako-da* 'his big dog'

Clearly, the notion of inalienability demonstrated by these patterns is very language- and culture-specific and hardly allows additional linguistic justification. Moreover, recall that possessive concord is mostly only available in a very specific register, namely, the language of folk tales, songs and legends.

3.3 Quantificational adjectives

These adjectives have quantificational and determiner-like meanings. They precede the head and do not trigger plural or dual marking on it, unlike the quantifiers described in Section 4; in this sense they are similar to other adjectives. However, they never show attributive concord, which makes them a separate adjectival class. Quantificational adjectives are *s'an°* 'how many, how much; some', *t'an'o* 'few, little', *xən'an'i°* 'what, which', *xurka* 'what kind', *xusuwey°* 'each, every, all kind of', as well their derivatives such as *ŋəmkexəw°* 'some', *xurkaxərt°* 'any, no kind', *xurkar'i* 'any, any kind', *s'an°xəwa* 'some, a few, several', and some others. Examples are shown below:

- (33) *s'an° ti / *ti-q* 'how many reindeer'
s'an° kniga-m'i 'a few of my books'
t'an'o ti-h 'of few reindeer (GEN)' (T 397)
t'an'oxərt° tudako-m 'not a single mushroom (ACC)' (T 702)

The reason why quantificational adjectives are classified together with adjectives rather than determiners is that their position in the noun phrase follows the possessor, e.g. *Wera-h ηəmkekəw° wen'ako* / **ηəmkekəw° Wera-h wen'ako* 'some dog of Wera's', *Wera-h xusuwey° wen'ako* / **xusuwey° Wera-h wen'ako* 'each of Wera's dogs.'

The ordinal numeral *s'id'a* 'two' also behaves like an adjective in many respects. The head noun quantified by 'two' is either in the singular or dual, although the singular is normally preferred. The presence of dual marking on the head noun may depend on the referential features of the noun. In (34d) AND (34f) the quantified nouns are non-human inanimates and dual marking is impossible.

- (34) a. *t'uku° ya-x°na s'id'a po-h wata-h yil'eə-s°*
 this place-LOC 2 year-GEN extra-GEN live-PAST
 'He lived for more than two years at this place.' (T 50)
- b. *pəne-w° s'id'a ti-m m'ir'eqqa*
 coat-1SG 2 reindeer-ACC cost
 'My coat costs two reindeer.' (T 255)
- c. *s'id'a po xəya*
 2 year go
 '(Exactly) two years passed.' (T 473)
- d. **s'id'a po-x°h xəya-x°h*
 2 year-DU go-3DU
 ('Exactly) two years passed.')
- e. *s'id'a səl'a ηəd'im'a*
 2 cape appear
 'Two forest capes appeared.'
- f. **s'id'a səl'a-x°h ηəd'im'a-x°h*
 2 cape-DU appear-3DU
 ('Two forest capes appeared.')

The dual form is optionally allowed for non-human or animate nouns quantified by *s'id'a* if they take a possessive form:

- (35) a. *s'id'a po-xəyu-naq mədāŋa-xəyu-naq*
 2 year-DU-1PL cross-DU.OBJ-1PL
 'We survived our two years.'
- b. *s'id'a noxa-m'i ηəḡwa-h n'iy° noxa-ŋe° xaqm°yə-x°h*
 2 Arctic.fox-1SG head-GEN upper Arctic.fox-ESS sell-REFL.3DU
 'Two of my Arctic foxes were sold as highest [price] Arctic foxes
 per head.' (T 312)

- c. *s'id'a noxa-xəyu-n'i ηəwə-h n'iy° noxa-ηe° xaqm°yə-x°h*
 2 Arctic.fox-DU-1SG head-GEN upper Arctic.fox-ESS sell-REFL.3DU
 'Two of my Arctic foxes were sold as highest [price] Arctic foxes
 per head.' (T 312)

With animate non-human head nouns the dual is optionally possible (36a) and with human head nouns it seems to be nearly obligatory: it is impossible to omit the dual in (36c).

- (36) a. *s'id'a wəŋe t'ir-c°o toŋa-x°h*
 2 crow fly-MOD come-3DU
 'Two crows came flying.'
- b. *s'id'a wəŋe-x°h t'ir-c°o toŋa-x°h*
 2 crow-DU fly-MOD come-3DU
 'Two crows came flying.'
- c. *s'id'a xasawa-x°h xəya-x°h*
 2 man-DU go-3DU
 'Two men left.'
- d. **s'id'a xasawa xəya-x°h*
 2 man go-3DU
 ('Two men left.')

So in this respect the numeral *s'id'a* does not essentially differ from other numerals, which require either singular or plural on the head noun. However, the numeral *s'id'a* itself can optionally stand in the dual. In this sense it behaves like an adjective and unlike other numerals:

- (37) *s'id'a ηarka ti* (2 big reindeer) 'two big reindeer'
s'id'a ηarka tex°h (2 big reindeer-DU) 'two big reindeer'
s'id'a ηarka-x°h tex°h (2 big-DU reindeer-DU) 'two big reindeer'
**s'id'a ηarka-x°h ti* (2 big-DU reindeer) 'two big reindeer'
s'id'a(-x°h) tex°h (2-DU reindeer-DU) 'two reindeer'

Another adjectival property of the numeral *s'id'a* is that objects quantified by *s'id'a* can trigger object agreement without any additional indication of definiteness, see Chapter 9, Section 2.1. In the language of folklore this numeral may exhibit attributive concord in case and/or possessive features, just as regular adjectives.

4 Quantified NPs

Like other adnominal dependents, quantifiers precede their head. However some universal quantifiers can be floated out of the host NP.

4.1 Universal quantifiers and numerals

The universal quantifier *mal^oh* is morphologically unchangeable and has two basic meanings: ‘all’ (with countable nouns) and ‘whole’ (often but not necessarily with mass nouns). The meaning ‘all’ requires the head noun to stand in the plural, although there are a few examples in Tereshchenko (1965) where it stands in the singular.

- (38) a. *mal^oh èkzamen-da səc'° səwa-w°na m'iq-y°-da*
 all exam-PL.ACC.3SG very good-PROL give-PL.OBJ-3SG
 ‘He passed all his exams very well.’ (T 809)
- b. *n'is'a-m'i mal^oh ηəmka-r'i-da*
 father-1SG all what-LIM-PL.ACC.3SG
papa-xən'i wal°tey°-da
 younger.brother-DAT.1SG bequeath-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘My father bequeathed all his things to my younger brother.’ (T 39)
- c. *mal^oh wen'aku xade-yə-n°*
 all dog.PL.ACC kill-PL.OBJ-1SG
 ‘I killed all the dogs.’
- d. **mal^oh wen'ako-m xade-yə-n°*
 all dog-ACC kill-PL.OBJ-1SG
 (‘I killed all the dogs.’)

With the meaning ‘whole’ this quantifier is only compatible with a singular head, e.g. *mal^oh yur* ‘all the fat’.

As mentioned above, the quantifier *mal^oh* can move out of the host NP and be located discontinuously to it, either preceding or following it. In fact, this happens very frequently.

- (39) a. *n'inaq mal^oh məl'e° məq°leyə-d°q*
 companion.PL.1PL all already collect-REFL.3PL
 ‘All our friends have gathered.’ (T 225)
- b. *yes'°-da mal^oh m'it'er-yə-da*
 money-PL.ACC.3SG all give.away-PL.OBJ-.3SG
 ‘He gave away all his money.’ (T 257)

- c. *t'edah mən'aq m'aq-naq t'er°-q*
 now we tent-GEN.1PL content-PL
xada-naq xaw°na mal°h toxodənə°-q
 grandmother-GEN.1PL except all study-3PL
 'Our whole family studies, except for our grandmother.' (T 712)
- d. *s'anako-da-q ηəc'eki°-q ya-mtoh*
 play-IMPF.PART-PL child-PL place-ACC.3PL
ηəx°qn mal°h ləbc°-wedoh
 eg-PL.LOC all trample-INFR.3PL > SG.OBJ
 'Playing children have trampled the whole earth flat with their feet.' (T 163)

The quantifier *mal°h* is compatible with higher grammatical functions, namely, the subject, the direct object and sometimes the indirect object and the possessor. It is very marginal with other grammatical functions, the quantifying adjective *xusuwey°* 'each' being used instead, cf.:

- (40) a. *?mal°h mər°xəqna me°-dəm-c'°*
 all city.PL.LOC be-1SG-PAST
 'I've been in all cities.'
- b. **mər°xəqna mal°h me°-dəm-c'°*
 city.PL.LOC all be-1SG-PAST
 ('I've been in all cities.')
- c. *xusuwey° mər°kəna me°-dəm-c°*
 each city.LOC be-1SG-PAST
 'I've been in each city.'
- (41) a. *?mal°h ηəc'ekex°q konfeta m'inja-d°m*
 all child.PL.DAT candy.PL.ACC give-1SG
 'I gave candies to all children.'
- b. **ηəc'ekex°q mal°h konfeta m'inja-d°m*
 child.PL.DAT all candy.PL.ACC give-1SG
 ('I gave candies to all children.')
- c. *xusuwey° ηəc'eken°h konfeta m'inja-d°m*
 each child.DAT candy.PL.ACC give-1SG
 'I gave candies to each child.'

Without an obvious semantic head *mal°h* means 'everyone, everybody', as in the following examples:

- (42) a. *mal^oh yemp^oqyā-d^oq*
 all get.dressed-REFL.3PL
 ‘Everybody got dressed.’ (T 93)
- b. *ḡamca-xāna mal^oh yeqy^od’e-y^o-naq*
 meat-LOC all provide-PL.OBJ-1PL
 ‘We provided everyone with meat.’ (T 115)

The distributive quantifier *to-* ‘each (of a group)’ is strictly subject-oriented and quantifies 3rd person human subjects. It is postnominal and must take the 3rd person possessive affix referring to the subject. Its usage is illustrated below.

- (43) *Wera-x^oh Wan’a-x^oh to-d’ih m’at^omt’ih s’ertāḡa-x^oh*
 Wera-DU Wanya-DU each-3DU tent.ACC.3DU do-3DU
 ‘Wera and Wanya each built a tent.’

The quantified noun can actually be absent:

- (44) a. *to-d’ih ḡamke-xāb’i tāḡa-x^oh*
 each-3DU what-AFF.PL.ACC bring-3DU
 ‘Each of the two brought something.’ (T 664)
- b. *to-doh s’id^o yed^o n’āqm^o-ḡḡa*
 each-3PL two.PL.ACC bucket.PL.ACC take-FREQ
 ‘Each of them (many) took two buckets.’ (T 664)

Note that *to-* is not used with other persons. Thus, the meaning ‘each of us’ is rendered by *xusuwewaḡ* (each.1PL) rather than **towaḡ*. The plural form *todoh* can also be used as a prenominal modifier modifying a plural noun with the meaning ‘each, different, various, respective’. For some speakers this is the only possible usage of *to-*. In (45c) we have an example of a floated (postnominal) *todoh*. In (45d) *to-* adds the distributive meaning.

- (45) a. *to-doh ya-xāt^o to-wewaḡ*
 each-3PL place-PL.ABL come-INFR.1PL
 ‘We came from different countries.’
- b. *xurkar’i knigi to-doh lapka-xāt^o (*to-doh) temta^o*
 whichever book.PL.ACC each-3PL shop-PL.ABL each-3PL buy
 ‘He bought various books in different shops.’
- c. *lapka-xāt^o to-doh knigi temta^o*
 shop-PL.ABL each-3PL book.PL.ACC buy
 ‘From each shop he bought books.’

- d. *Wera-x^oh Maša-x^oh [to-d'ih n'e^okit'ih*
 Wera-DU Masha-DU each-3DU elder.brother.PL.GEN.3PL
xæ-wa-xəd^o] t'en'ewəŋa-x^oh
 go-IMPF.AN-ABL know-3DU
 '[Wera and Masha]_i know that their_i (respective) brothers are leaving.'

The scalar word *ŋoka* 'many, much' as well as cardinal numerals higher than 'two' are compatible with either singular or plural head nouns.

- (46) a. *ŋoka tīq n'əyaqma-n^oh tæwi^o-naq*
 many reindeer.PL.GEN trampled.place-DAT reach-REFL.1PL
 'We have reached the place trampled by many reindeer.' (T 339)
- b. *ŋoka kniga-m tolaə-d^om*
 many book-ACC read-1SG
 'I read many books.' (T 396)

With numerals the quantified noun can stand in the singular or plural. In Tereshchenko (1965) it is usually in the singular:

- (47) a. *teta temtarəq-ŋe^o yon^or ti-m m'iqŋa*
 rich.person ransom-ESS 1000 reindeer-ACC give
 'The rich person gave him one thousand reindeer as a ransom.' (T 689)
- b. *ti-h səŋkom-ta yur kilogramm*
 reindeer-GEN weight-3SG 100 kilogramm
 'The weight of a reindeer is one hundred kilograms.' (T 532)

However, the speakers of the modern language prefer the plural, though may accept the singular as well. The numeral 'two' behaves differently from other numerals and is classified together with quantificational adjectives described in Section 3.3. On agreeing quantificational adverbs see Chapter 8, Section 1.4.3.

On the patterns of verbal agreement with quantified NPs see Chapter 9, Sections 1.1 and 2.1.

4.2 Quantificational nouns

In the so-called pseudo-partitive construction the quantifying noun denotes quantity/measure, whereas the quantified noun denotes a substance which has that quantity. The former follows the latter and functions as the syntactic head of the phrase. It triggers singular agreement on the verb if it is in the singular. The dependent

‘substance’ noun stands in the genitive, which may be plural if the noun is countable, i.e. the construction is modelled after the possessive construction. However, unlike in regular possessives, in pseudo-partitive constructions the genitive cannot be cross-referenced by the 3rd person possessive affix on the head.

- (48) *tīq mǎntal* (reindeer.PL.GEN bunch) ‘reindeer herd’
kniga-q mǎntal (book-PL.GEN bunch) ‘pile of books’
moloka-h pe (milk-GEN bottle) ‘bottle of milk’
s’ay°-h xid’a (tea-GEN cup) ‘cup of tea’
tudakuq yed° (mushroom.PL.GEN bucket) ‘bucket of mushrooms.’
s’id’a ηəmca-h yut’er (two meat-GEN piece) ‘two pieces of meat’ (T 167)

The dependent genitive can be modified and/or take its own possessor. In this sense the construction is different from non-possessive genitives, addressed in Section 5.2. For instance, in (49a) the quantifying noun is modified by a relative clause and, according to the general rule, the relative clause subject triggers agreement on the head of the relative clause. In fact, the possessor of the head noun is also formally marked on the dependent. In (49b) the dependent noun ‘milk’ takes possessive marking, although technically the possessed noun is the head ‘bottle’.

- (49) a. *xərwa-bta-na* *vodka-nt°* *pǣ*
 want-CAUS-IMPF.PART vodka-GEN.2SG bottle
 ‘a bottle of vodka which you prefer’
- b. *moloka-nt°* *pǣ*
 milk-GEN.2SG bottle
 ‘your bottle of milk’
- c. **moloka-h* *pǣ-r°*
 milk-GEN bottle-2SG
 (‘your bottle of milk’)

The noun *p’el’a* ‘half’ heads a regular possessive construction where the possessor corresponds to the quantified entity in the plural and may trigger possessive agreement on the head: *nos’iq ηoka-yum p’el’a-doh* / *p’el’a* (polar.fox.PL.GEN many-POL half-3PL / half) ‘most of the polar foxes’.

There is an alternative construction where the head-dependent relation is reversed: the substance noun follows the quantity noun. In this case the latter stands in the nominative, e.g. *xor xal’a* ‘barrel of fish (barrel fish)’. This is in fact a subtype of the semantically broader modificational construction where the modifier corresponds to the nominative noun (Section 5.1). In this construction the noun denoting

the substance is the morphosyntactic locus of the phrase and assumes case marking that indicates its external syntactic role. However, for most speakers this construction is only possible with measures.

- (50) a. *n'ax^or kilo n'an'^o-m temtaə-d^om*
 three kilogramm bread-ACC buy-1SG
 'I bought three kilograms of bread.'
- b. **n'ax^or kilo-m n'an'^o-m temtaə-d^om*
 three kilogramm-ACC bread-ACC buy-1SG
 ('I bought three kilograms of bread.')
- c. *ɲopoy^o m'etra yin'a-m mada^o*
 one meter rope-ACC cut
 'He cut off a meter of rope.'

The expression of content often involves the additional word *t'er^o* roughly meaning 'content'. It stands after the genitive noun denoting a container and functions as some kind of postposition in this case.

- (51) a. *yewey^o-m s'id'a yarako-h t'er^o yi-k^ona yew^oɲa-w^o*
 fish.soup-ACC 2 scoop-GEN content water-LOC dissolve-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I dissolved the fish soup with two scoops of water.' (T 85)
- b. *n'e nənɛd'a yed^o-h t'er^o yid^o-m tæw^ora^o*
 woman full bucket-GEN content water-ACC bring
 'The woman brought a bucket-size amount of water.' (T 284)

Thus, for some speakers the meaning 'He drank a cup of water' can be expressed by the construction in (52a), while for other speakers the presence of the word *t'er^o* is required as in (52b).

- (52) a. *xid'a yid^o-m ɲɛɲa*
 cup water-ACC drink
- b. *xid'a t'er^o yid^o-m ɲɛɲa*
 cup content water-ACC drink
 'He drank a cup of water.'

The expression *m'ad^oh t'er^o* (tent.GEN content) has a lexicalized meaning 'family (living in one tent)'.

On parametric nouns functioning as postpositions see Chapter 8, Section 2.1.

5 Non-possessive nominal dependents

This is a diverse class of constructions, but in all of them a head noun is modified by another noun.

5.1 Attributive nominative

The dependent noun may stand in the nominative. The meanings expressed by this construction typically include relations of material, kind/species, time, place, function, as well as some kind of property/characteristic, but in fact it can be virtually any conceivable semantic relation between two nouns.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (53) | <i>sirey° s'exari°</i> (winter road) | 'winter road' |
| | <i>ɲəc'eki° xasawa</i> (child man) | 'young man' |
| | <i>s'uŋkun° yed°</i> (cast.iron cauldron) | 'cast iron cauldron' |
| | <i>s'arəbc'°h yin'a</i> (lead rope) | 'rope used as a lead' |
| | <i>sax°r xid'a</i> (sugar cup) | 'sugar cup, cup used for sugar' |
| | <i>m'apoy° m'aq</i> (light.sledge tent) | 'tent transported on a light sledge'. |
| | <i>m'erc'a p'i</i> (wind night) | 'windy night' |
| | <i>pedara yəxa</i> (forest river) | 'forest river' |
| | <i>wiŋki° ɲesi</i> (tundra village) | 'tundra village' |

A subtype of this construction involves quantificational nouns denoting measures/containers, see Section 4.2.

These meanings only partly differ from the meanings conveyed by regular possessives (Section 2). However, the essential semantic difference between the two constructions is that the head-adjacent nominative has a non-possessive attributive function. It serves to modify the head noun. The relation between the two denotations is set intersection: the denotation of the nominative dependent identifies a certain subset in the denotation of the head noun. For instance, the denotation of *pedara yəxa* is a subset of all rivers, namely, the one that includes the rivers located in forests. The semantic difference between these two constructions has been extensively studied by Tereshchenko (1967, 1973: 219ff, and other works), see also Nikolaeva (2002) where it is argued that the dependent genitive expresses the relationship between two referents, while the dependent nominative is non-referential and expresses a property. See the following contrasts:

- | | | | |
|------|----|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| (54) | a. | <i>yes'a ləbtey°</i> (metal box) | 'iron box' |
| | | <i>yes'a-h ləbtey°</i> (metal-GEN box) | 'box with metal/money' |
| | b. | <i>ti ya</i> (reindeer soup) | 'reindeer soup' (soup made of reindeer meat) |
| | | <i>ti-h ya</i> (reindeer-GEN soup) | 'soup for the reindeer' |

They answer different questions. Typically, nominative modifiers answer the question *xurka* ‘what sort of?’, while genitives answer the questions *xīb’a-h* ‘whose? (GEN)’ or *ηəmke-h* ‘of what? (GEN)’. Since the dependent nominative is non-referential, it cannot be cross-referenced by anaphora and may not take a determiner or a genitive possessor. This can be seen from the fact that if the possessor precedes the adnominal nominative, the possessive relationship always holds between it and the head, but never between it and the adjacent nominative:

- (55) *mən’o* [*ηuda(-*m’i)* *yes’a-m’i*] (I hand metal-1SG) ‘my ring’
 **[mən’o ηuda-m’i]* *yes’a-m’i* (I hand-1SG metal-1SG) ‘the metal in my hand’

Under the assumption that referentiality is encoded by the determiner, the phrase headed by the adjacent nominative is structurally reduced: it lacks the determiner and the possessor, hence a non-referential interpretation.

Unlike the possessor, the nominative dependent must be immediately adjacent to the head. In other words, it cannot be separated from the head by any other lexical material (see Section 7). However, the string ‘adjacent nominative – head’ does not enter syntax as a fully formed and unchangeable structure. First, the adjacent nominative can take adjectival dependents on its own, therefore constructions such as those below are structurally ambiguous: the adjective either modifies the head noun or the modifying noun itself; in such cases stress is used for disambiguation.

- (56) *səwa* [*l’id’yaŋk° pəni*] (good beaver coat) ‘good coat made of beaver (skin)’
[səwa l’id’aŋk°] *pəni* ‘coat made of good beaver (skin)’
- (57) *səwa* [*s’ay° xid’a*] (good tea cup) ‘cup of good tea’
[səwa s’ay°] *xid’a* ‘good cup of tea’

Second, the adjacent nominative does not agree in person or case with the head, as adjectives sometimes do, e.g. **yes’a-r° ηəno-r°* (metal-2SG boat-2SG) ‘your iron boat’. There are a few examples in Tereshchenko (1965), for instance, *n’ed°ko-m’i n’ū-m’i* (daughter-1SG child-1SG) ‘my daughter’ (T 414) and *n’a-w° papa-ko-w°* (companion-1SG younger.sibling-DIM-1SG) ‘my younger sibling’ (T 224), but according to my consultants, they are not appropriate in the modern language. However, head-adjacent nominatives show fairly consistent concord in number, as attested in Terechshenko (1965) and confirmed by the modern speakers of Tundra Nenets. So with respect to the optional number concord adjacent nominative nouns behave just like attributive adjectives (Section 3):

- (58) *n'arawa-q lonkey°-q* (copper-PL button-PL) 'copper buttons' (T 193)
yes'a-q xid'a-q (metal-PL cup-PL) 'iron cups'
wiŋki°-q yəxa-ko-q (tundra-PL river-DIM-PL) 'small tundra rivers' (T 237)

Dual concord is not accepted by all consultants, so judgements vary: ? *yes'a-x°h xid'a-x°h* (metal-DU cup-DU) 'iron cup'.

These facts demonstrate that the adjacent nominative is accessible to syntax: it can head its own NP and exhibits concord, at least partially. However, there are several noun-noun combinations that behave like fully lexicalized compounds. In such compounds the first component does not take number: cf. *xasawa ηəc'eki°* (man child) 'boy' vs. *xasawa / *xasawa-q ηəc'eki°-q* (man / man-PL child-PL) 'boys'. The first component of the compound cannot be modified but the compound may be preceded by its own nominative dependent, e.g. *tob°yowa ləd° pəni°* (leather chest coat) 'short coat made of leather'.

5.2 Non-possessive genitive

Non-possessive genitives are fairly rare in Tundra Nenets. As demonstrated in 4.2, their usual meaning is pseudo-partitive. However, in some instances non-possessive genitives have a different interpretation: they seem to render modificational relations of the kind usually expressed by nominative dependents addressed in the previous subsection. There are instances in Tereshchenko (1965) where the provided translation suggests that the dependent is non-referential, although it is unclear how accurate the translation is.

- (59) *yaw°-h yiq* (sea-GEN water) 'sea water'
ye-q pedara (pine-PL.GEN forest) 'pine forest'
xasawa-h yont'er-t°h (man-GEN age.DAT) 'mature age (DAT)'
sira-h waŋkə-n°h (snow-GEN pit) 'snow pit (DAT)'

Some contemporary speakers allow non-possessive genitives too, see the following elicited examples:

- (60) *s'el°b'a-h sar'o* 'autumn rain'
paraŋoda-h xarad° 'royal palace'
ləx°nako-h n'enec'°o 'fairy tale character'
xal'a-h yewey° 'fish soup'

At least for some consultants it is possible to have two genitives within the same NP: the first of them has a possessive interpretation and the second has a modificational meaning (the opposite order is ungrammatical):

- (61) *pidər° ləx°nako-h wæ̃t°* (you tale-GEN end.ACC.2SG) ‘the end of your tale’.
pidər° paraŋoda-h xardə-r° (you tsar-GEN house-2SG) ‘your royal palace’
Wan’a-h xal’a-h yewey° (Wanya-GEN fish-GEN soup) ‘Wanya’s fish soup’
Wera-h ti-h ya (Wera-GEN reindeer-GEN soup) ‘Wera’s reindeer soup’

Non-possessive genitives can take modifiers, e.g. *ŋarka xal’a-h yewey°* ‘soup made of big fish’. But number concord on the modifying genitive is impossible, unlike on nominative dependents described in the previous subsection, cf. *xal’a-h/*xal’a-q yewey°-q* ‘the plates of fish soup (fish-GEN / fish-PL.GEN soup-PL)’. This starred example is in principle acceptable but only in the meaning ‘soup made out of many fishes’, so it does not instantiate attributive concord.

5.3 Oblique forms of nouns

Oblique NPs as adnominal dependents are not very typical of Tundra Nenets. Postpositional constructions may occasionally be found NP-internally, although this is not common. Some examples are *say°norma-h n’amna kniga* (war-GEN about book) ‘book about war’ and *verxovnoy sovetə-n°h deputat°-m* (Supreme council-DAT deputy-ACC) ‘the deputy (ACC) of the Supreme Council’. The latter example is from Tereshchenko (1965: 82), but it probably represents a syntactic calque from Russian. An adnominal dependent can be expressed by the essive form, which functions as a kind of NP-internal adjunct (see Chapter 6, Section 1.3.3), or by the genitive predestinative (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). This contrasts with the usage of the essive and predestinative genitive as clause-level adjuncts. Some types of oblique phrase within the larger NP serve for coordination, see Chapter 18, Section 1.4.

Instead of oblique NPs in the modifying role, Tundra Nenets employs constructions where the type of relation between the dependent noun and the head is overtly expressed by the participial form of a verb (see Chapter 14, Section 1.2).

5.4 Deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns may function as adnominal dependents. There are two basic patterns here. First, as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 1.2, deverbal nouns are derived with various degrees of productivity with the suffixes *-s’oh*, *-(b)c’oh* or *-lawa* (with phonological variants). When they modify a noun they stand in the nominative and show peculiar patterns of NP-internal agreement. The important point is that the subject argument of the base verb corresponds to the syntactic possessor and, when pronominal, must be cross-referenced by person/number agreement morphology. The person/number possessive affix may be hosted by the head noun. In addition, unlike head-adjacent nominatives described in Section 5.1, deverbal nouns may show

optional possessive concord, as is also typical of relative clauses (see Chapter 14) and sometimes adjectives (Section 3). These distributions are shown below.

- (62) a. *xan'e-ləwa pedara-r^o*
 hunt-N forest-2SG
 'the forest where you hunt'
- b. *xīb'ar'i-q n'an^o-m temta-ba-l^owa(-doh) ya-doh*
 people-PL.GEN bread-ACC buy-DUR-N-3PL place-3PL
 'the place where people usually buy bread'
- c. *pəne-m'i me-bc^o-m'i ya*
 coat.ACC.1SG take-N-1SG place
 'the place where I can put my coat'
- d. *yanoc^o to-bc^o (-m'i) ya-m'i*
 late come-N-1SG place-1SG
 'the place where I come late'
- e. *Moskva-n^oh to-bc^o (-m'i) yal'a-m'i*
 Moscow-DAT come-N-1SG day-1SG
 'the day when I came to Moscow'
- f. *p'il'i səc^o ye^onə-bc^o (-m'i) n'eŋec^o-m'i*
 always very hope-N-1SG person-1SG
 'the person on whom I always rely'

An alternative strategy requires possessive agreement on the deverbal noun alone, without indicating it on the head.:

- (63) a. *p'i-h xan'e-ləwa-m'i ya*
 night-GEN hunt-N-1SG place
 'the place where I (habitually) hunt at night'
- b. *m'in-c^o-m'i ya*
 go-N-1SG place
 'the place where I am going'

Thus, there are three options for registering person/number features of the subject argument of the dependent deverbal noun: (i) on the head noun only, (ii) on the deverbal noun only, and (iii) both on the head and the deverbal noun. However the pronominal argument of the deverbal noun must be expressed at least once.

Note that if the head noun takes its own possessor distinct from the agentive argument of the deverbal noun, possessive affixes on the head and dependent do not necessarily coincide.

- (64) *xər^o-m'i* *yoq-ləwa-m'i* *xardə-r^o*
 knife-ACC.1SG lose-N.1SG house-2SG
 'your house where I (usually) lose my knife'

This is the same pattern as observed in relative clauses, but deverbal nouns do not have a clausal status (see Chapter 3, Section 1.2).

Second, in some constructions action nominals, which normally define a clausal domain (see Chapter 5, Section 4.2), are fully substantivized. When they are NP-internal, they stand in the genitive, e.g. *n'e^or-m'a-h s'i* (fetch.water-IMP.F.AN-GEN hole) 'ice-hole', and may show person/number marking: *Wera-h n'e^or-m'a-nta s'i* (Wera-GEN fetch.water-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG hole) 'Wera's ice-hole'. Yet, they do not show tense distinction: perfective infinitives appear impossible or very marginal in such constructions, e.g. ? *n'e^or-oqma-h s'i* (fetch.water-PERF.AN-GEN hole) 'the former ice-hole'.

- (65) *n'ew^oxi^o-q* *yil'e-qm'ida* *yī-x^onta* *ŋəd'ib'erŋa-q*
 old-PL live-PERF.AN.PL.3SG mind-LOC.3SG appear.FREQ-3PL
 'His old life comes to his mind.' (T 373)

In (66) the action nominal is also substantivized, as can be seen from the fact that what is semantically the object argument of the base verb ('my reindeer') is not encoded as the regular accusative object. Instead it stands in the genitive, so the literal translation of (66) is something like 'my gathering (place) of my reindeer'.

- (66) *tīqn'i* *məq^olamp^o-wa-m'i* *xubta* *n'ī=w^oq* *ŋaq*
 reindeer.PL.GEN.1SG gather-IMP.F.AN-1SG far NEG-DUB be.CONNEG
 'The place where I gather my reindeer is not far.' (Labanauskas 1995: 116)

Substantivization of imperfective action nominals is often observed when they take the predestinative or essive forms:

- (67) a. *səwa* / **səwa-w^ona* *let^oraq-ma-də-nt^o* *tu^on'i temta-q*
 good / good-PROL defend-IMP.F.AN-PRED-GEN.2SG gun buy-IMP.2SG
 'Buy a gun for defending yourself well.'

- b. *səwa* / ? *səwa-w°na let°raq-ma-ŋe° tu°n'i-w° soda-° tara°*
 good / good-PROL defend-IMP.F.AN-ESS gun-ACC.1SG bring-MOD needed
 'My gun has to be brought for good defense.'
- c. *ŋəno-mta mən° ŋəno-n'i ŋok°mta-qma-ŋe° ta°-da*
 boat-ACC.3SG I boat-GEN.1SG add-PERF.AN-ESS give-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He gave (me) his boat as an addition to my boat.'

As shown above, the deverbal form cannot be modified by a manner adverb but is compatible with an attributive adjective.

6 Apposition

Appositions are nouns that share a referent with the head. In Tundra Nenets they always take the nominative form, independent of the case of the head noun, and in principle can be both prenominal and postnominal if they denote people or animals:

- (68) *səwa n'a-m'i Wera-m'i* (good friend-1SG Wera-1SG) 'my good friend Wera'
Wera-m'i səwa n'a-m'i (Wera-1SG good friend-1SG) 'my good friend Wera'
wen'ako Was'ka-m (dog Wasya-ACC) 'the dog Waska (ACC)'
Wera ŋəc'eki° (Wera child) 'Wera the guy' (T 162)

If the phrase denotes a geographical object, the proper noun always precedes the common noun: *Moskva mər°q* 'the city of Moscow', *Ob yam* 'the river Ob'. The same order is observed when the common noun denotes somebody's status: *Ivanov l'ekar°* / **l'ekar° Ivanov* 'doctor Ivanov'. The last noun bears the case marking that indicates the syntactic role of the phrase: *Ivanov l'ekarə-m* 'doctor Ivanov (ACC)'.

7 Constituent order

The basic constituent order in the Tundra Nenets NP (excluding relative clauses) is as follows:

- (69) Peripheral possessor – Determiner – Regular possessor – Adjectival form of noun – Quantifier – Adjectival modifier – Nominal modifier – Head

Obviously, not all structural positions have to be filled and, for example, the positions of the regular and peripheral possessor cannot be filled simultaneously. However, the possessor is compatible with the determiner, unlike, for example, in English, see examples in Section 2.

Modifying nominatives and genitives must be immediately adjacent to the head and cannot be separated from it by other constituents, for example, *Wera-h noxa-h pəni°* / **noxa-h Wera-h pəni°* ‘Wera’s polar fox coat (Wera-GEN polar.fox-GEN coat)’, **s’aj° səwa xid’a* (tea good cup) ‘nice cup of tea’. In the phrase *yes’a xid’a* ‘metal cup’ it is absolutely impossible to separate the nominative *yes’a* ‘metal’ from the head *xid’a* ‘cup’ by an adjective, a determiner or a possessor: **yes’asəwa* / *Wera-h / t’iki°xid’a* (metalgood / Wera-GEN / this cup) ‘good / Wera’s / this iron cup’. These elements must precede the dependent nominative: *səwa* / *Wera-h / t’iki° yes’axid’a* ‘good / Wera’s / this iron cup’. As mentioned in Section 2.1, in possessive NPs the adjective modifying the head noun must follow the possessor:

- (70) a. *Wera-h n’ud’a tubka* (Wera-GEN small axe) ‘Wera’s small axe’
 **n’ud’a [Wera-h tubka]* (small Wera-GEN axe) ‘Wera’s small axe’
 b. *pidər° səwa ηəno-r°* (you good boat-2SG) ‘your good boat’
 **səwa [pidər° ηəno-r°]* (good you boat-2SG) ‘your good boat’

Numerals and quantifiers normally precede qualitative adjectives and follow the possessor:

- (71) *n’ab’imt’ey° səwa xarəd°* (second good house) ‘the second good house’
 ?səwa n’ab’imt’ey° xarəd° ‘the second good house’
 pidər° n’ax°r ηanud° (you three boat.PL.2SG) ‘your three boats’
 **n’ax°r pidər° ηanud°* ‘your three boats’
 s’id’a ηarka ηəno-x°h (two big boat-DU) ‘two big boats’
 **ηarka s’id’a ηəno-x°h* ‘two big boats’
 n’a-nta xusuwey° wada-xəna ‘to his siblings’
 (companion-GEN.3SG each word-LOC) ‘every word’ (T 497)

It should be noted that some speakers marginally accept constructions in which the adjective/quantifier is located to the left of the possessor, especially if there is no ambiguity in interpretation, i.e. if the semantics makes the second interpretation unlikely, for example, *ηoka Wera-h ti* (many Wera-GEN reindeer) ‘Wera’s many reindeer / *reindeer of many Weras’. This is especially typical when the possessor is pronominal and therefore cannot be modified by an adjective, e.g. *n’ud’a pidər° tubka-r°* (small you axe-2SG) ‘your small axe / *the axe of small you’. What is absolutely impossible is to place an adjective before the peripheral possessor, cf.:

- (72) **ηarka [Wera-h teda]* (big Wera-GEN reindeer.3SG) ‘Wera’s big reindeer’
 **n’ud’a [xasawa-h tubka-da]* (small man-GEN axe-3SG) ‘the man’s small axe’

The phrases in (73) are in principle acceptable if the adjective modifies the possessor, i.e. [*ɲarka Wera-h*] *teda* ‘big Wera’s reindeer’ and *n’ud’a* [*χasawa-h tubka-da*] ‘the small man’s axe’, but are completely ruled out with the reading in question.

Stacked adjectives are overall not typical of Tundra Nenets and are not usually found in spontaneous speech. In elicitation consultants usually accept various orders, although the default order seems to be ‘size – assessment – other qualities’, e.g. *ɲarka pas°koy° pər’id’e-n’a pəni°* (big beautiful black coat) / *pər’id’e-n’a pas°koy° ɲarka pani°* ‘big beautiful black coat’. Adjectival forms of nouns follow the possessor and precede the adjective:

- (73) *n’ib’e-rəxa* [*p’irc’a p’a*] (needle-SIM tall tree)
 ‘a tall tree which looks like a needle’
[p’irc’a n’ib’e-rəxa] p’a (tall needle-SIM tree)
 ‘a tree which looks like a tall needle’
mən’° kniga-səwey° pad°-m’i (I kniga-PROPR bag)
 ‘my bag with books’
pidər° sarmikə-raxa wen’ako-r° (you wolf-SIM bog-2SG)
 ‘your dog which looks like a wolf’

Occasionally, an adjective (especially a quantificational adjective) can precede the determiner if it is placed under strong contrastive stress: *t’iki° səwa ɲəno* (this good boat) / ? *səwa t’iki° ɲəno* ‘this good boat’. There may be other variations too. They probably reflect the influence of Russian syntax with its more or less free word order.

Chapter 8

Adjectival, adverbial and postpositional phrases

This chapter describes the internal syntax of sub-clausal syntactic units other than NPs, namely, adjectival, adverbial and postpositional phrases.

1 Adjectival and adverbial phrases

Adjectives and adverbs rarely take dependents in Tundra Nenets, but some patterns are described below.

1.1 Comparative and superlative constructions

In comparative and superlative constructions adjectives stand in their basic form, although they can take the comparative affix addressed in Chapter 6, Section 2.5. However, it is highly optional and cannot be analyzed as marking the comparative degree. The standard of comparison stands in the ablative case. The word order is strict: the dependent precedes its head. This means that the ablative phrase must precede the adjective/adverb, while the adjective must precede the head noun (object of comparison) if it modifies it, as in (1b):

- (1) a. *t'uku° pəni° taki° pəne-xəd° səwa(-rka)*
this coat that coat.ABL good-COMP
'This coat is better than that one.'
- b. *n'ad°n'i p'irc'a n'enec'° to*
ABL.1SG all person come
'A man taller than me came.'
- c. *n'erka-h wadir n'ero-h wadir-kəd° m'er'eqna*
willow-GEN growth purple.willow-GEN growth-ABL fast
'The growth of the willow tree is faster than that of the purple willow.' (T 36)

The measure of comparison can be expressed by a construction with the postpositional word *p'iruw°na* 'compared to' (2) or the prolativ case (3).

- (2) a. *t'uku° yal'a-h t'ey°h p'iruw°na yiba-rka*
this day-GEN yesterday compared warm-COMP
'Today is warmer than yesterday.'

- b. *mən'° tudakun° pidər° p'iruw°na ŋoka-rka*
 I mushroom.PL.1SG you compared many-COMP
 'I have more mushrooms than you.'
- c. *n'e n'a-ko-c'a-m'i s'id'a po-h p'iruw°na*
 woman companion-DIM-PEJ-1SG 2 year-GEN compared
n'ad°n'i n'ud'a-rka
 ABL.1SG small-COMP
 'My sibling is two years younger than me.' (T 329)

- (3) *Wera Wan'a-xəd° s'id'a santimetruw°na p'irc'a-rka*
 Wera Wanya-ABL two centimetre.PROL tall-COMP
 'Wera is two centimeters taller than Wanya.'

The adjective can be implied, in which case the meaning is that of equality:

- (4) *Wera Wan'a-h p'iruw°na tudaku məq°la°*
 Wera Wan'a-GEN compared mushroom.PL.ACC collect
 'Wera collected as many mushrooms as Wanya.'

Adverbial comparative constructions behave in a similar manner: the standard of comparison stands in the ablative and precedes the adverb, while the measure of comparison is expressed by the prolate.

- (5) a. *Wera Wan'a-xəd° səwa-(rka-)w°na yil'eə*
 Wera Wan'a-ABL good-COMP-PROL live
 'Wera lives better than Wan'a.'
- b. *pida mən'° p'iruw°na-n° čas° p'el'a-w°na yanoc'° to*
 he I compared-1SG hour half-PROL late come
 'He came half an hour later than me.'

Superlatives are formed by the combination of the adjective and the degree adverbs *ŋul'iq* or *səc'°* 'very', see the next section. Superlative constructions often include the word *s'am'an°* 'most, all' or *s'am'anəxət°* 'most' modifying the ablative plural form of the noun that denotes the relevant set of referents:

- (6) a. *Wera s'am'anəxət° xan'ena-xət° səwa xan'ena*
 Wera most.PL.ABL hunter-PL.ABL good hunter
 'Wera is the best hunter (of all hunters).'
- b. *Wera s'am'an° xan'ena-xət° səwa xan'ena*
 Wera most hunter-PL.ABL good hunter
 'Wera is the best hunter (of all hunters).'

- c. *s'am'anəxət° səwa ηəno-m xanaə-d°m*
 most.PL.ABL good boat-ACC take-1SG
 'I took the best boat.'

Alternatively, the relevant set can be expressed by possessive affixes on the post-nominal adjective, which have a partitive function in this instance:

- (7) a. *ηac'ekexət° ηarka-doh to-ya*
 child.PL.ABL big-3PL come-JUS
 'Let the oldest of the children come.'
- b. *ηac'eki° ηarka-doh to-ya*
 child-PL big-3SG come-JUS
 'Let the oldest of the children come.'
- c. *mən'ih ηarka-waq Wera*
 we big-1PL Wera
 'The oldest of us is Wera.'

The polar suffix *-yum* addressed in Chapter 6, Section 2.6 often participates in superlative constructions when the relevant set consists of exactly two entities, e.g. *səwa-yum ηəno* (good-POL boat) 'the best out of the two boats', *ηarka-yum'ih* (big-POL.1DU) 'the oldest of the two of us.'

1.2 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs must come before the adjectival head, cf. *ηul'iq / səc'° p'irc'a xarəd°* (completely / very high house) 'a very high house; the highest house' and the ungrammatical **p'irc'a ηul'iq / səc'° xarəd°*. Some other examples are listed below:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (8) <i>tar°s'iq xən'uy° s'aj°</i> | 'totally cold tea', |
| <i>xəc'ah xən'uy° s'aj°</i> | 'slightly cold tea' |
| <i>ηarkaw°na yad'empəda s'aj°</i> | 'too hot tea' |
| <i>xusuwx°na / yetr'iq mekad° n'enec'°</i> | 'usually / always weird person' |
| <i>xəc'ah mekad° n'enec'°</i> | 'slightly weird person' |
| <i>səb'e (səc'°) ηarka ηəno</i> | 'too big boat' |

However, degree adverbs do not appear to modify other adverbs: adverbs like *səc'°* 'very' or *yol'c°h* 'too much' do not have to be adjacent to manner adverbs and do not form the same phrase with them.

1.3 Transitive adjectives

Adjectives that take a second argument are not numerous. The nominal argument of a two-place adjective precedes the head and takes an oblique case form. For instance, the adjective *xubta* ‘far from’ requires an ablative argument, e.g. *mər°kəd° xubta pedara* (city.ABL far forest) / **pedara mər°kəd° xubta* ‘the forest which is far from the city’. The adjective *toql°xa* ‘similar to’ requires a genitive argument, including the rarely used genitive forms of personal pronouns. Examples (9a) and (9b) show this adjective in its predicative form; in (9c) it is used attributively and agrees in number with the head noun, while (9d) represents a null-headed phrase where the adjective assumes the status of the head and hosts case marking that indicates the syntactic role of the phrase.

- (9) a. *s’iqn’ih toql°xa-n°*
I.GEN similar-2SG
‘You look like me.’
- b. *n’is’a-r° ηul’iq s’it° toql°xa-s’°*
father-2SG completely you.GEN similar-PAST
‘Your father looked very much like you.’ (T 673)
- c. *n’is’a-na-toh toql°xa-q ηəc’eki°-q*
father-N-PL.GEN.3PL similar-PL child-PL
‘children who look like their (respective) fathers’
- d. *n’is’a-n’i xər°-h toql°xa-m temtaə-dəm-c’°*
father-GEN.1SG knife-GEN similar-ACC buy-1SG-PAST
‘I bought a knife like my father’s.’

There is also a special adjective-like construction that consists of the imperfective action nominal of a lexical verb, which stands in the genitive case, and the demonstrative *t’exa* literally ‘that, distant’. The meaning of the resulting construction is something like ‘impossible to X’, e.g. *məl’e-wa-h t’exa n’enec’°* (get.full-IMPF.AN-GEN that person) ‘the man who can’t get full’. The construction behaves as some kind of compound adjective and shows regular adjectival properties:

- (10) a. *numki°-q tola-wa-h t’exa-c’°*
star-PL count-IMPF.AN-GEN that-PL.PAST
‘The stars were impossible to count.’
- b. *tola-wa-h t’exa-q numki°-q*
count-IMPF.AN-GEN that-PL star-PL
‘countless stars’

In (10a) the element *t'exa* functions predicatively and takes subject agreement and past tense, whereas in (10b) it shows attributive number concord with the head.

1.4 Agreeing adverbs

Agreeing adverbs (called ‘referentials’ in Salminen 1997) are a sub-class of adverbs which exhibit possessive-like agreement with one of the arguments of the clause, most typically, but not exclusively, the subject. Historically they represent various frozen possessive case forms of nouns and adjectives. In some instances the etymology is still fairly transparent, even though agreeing adverbs do not have any nominal properties and are not compatible with modifiers and possessors. In other instances there is no related noun at all at the synchronic level. Agreeing adverbs fall into several classes discussed below.

1.4.1 Agentive agreeing adverbs

Most agreeing adverbs are agent-oriented: they target an agent-like argument, which typically maps as subject but, as shown below, may also correspond to a non-subject argument with an agentive meaning. Like other adverbs, they are not associated with a particular position in the clause, although tend to be immediately preverbal. The most frequent agentive adverbs are the following: *m'in°xə*- ‘quickly’ is etymologically related to the noun *m'in°* ‘movement, direction, way’; *ηeso(xə)*- means ‘by itself, without reason; unexpectedly’ and may be related to the noun *ηeso* ‘joint’; the adverb *war'eq-* / *war'exə-* ‘with difficulty, hardly’ is related to the rarely used noun *war'e* ‘effort’; *s'en'a(na)*- is a rare archaic adverb meaning ‘earlier, in the past some time ago’; *ηaw°na-* has roughly the same meaning and is also used as an unchangeable adverb; *xuna(na)*- ‘some time, in the future’ related to the unchangeable adverb *xuna* ‘sometimes’, and *t'ike(xə)na-* ‘that is why, therefore’ is related to the demonstrative ‘this’. Possessive affixes on these adverbs target the agent argument and are usually the same as on genitive singular nouns or, rather, they present a combination of the genitive *h* (>*n*, Ø) and the possessive affix itself, see Chapter 4, Section 3.1. For example, the agreeing forms of the adverb *ηeso*- ‘unexpectedly’ are *ηeso-n'i* (1SG), *ηeso-n-t°* (2SG), *ηeso-n-ta* (3SG), *ηeso-n'ih* (1DU), *ηeso-n-t'ih* (2DU), *ηeso-n-t'ih* (3DU), *ηeso-naq* (1PL), *ηeso-n-taq* (2PL) and *ηeso-n-toh* (3PL).

As shown by the examples in (11), these adverbs agree in person/number with the agent argument (the subject), but cannot target the object.

- (11) a. *m'in°xə-nt°* *xan'exad°-ηe°* *wun'i-n°* *xanə-t°-q*
 quickly-2SG hunter-ESS NEG.EMPH-2SG take-FUT-CONNEG
 ‘You won’t become a good hunter quickly.’ (T 737)

- b. *mən'° s'it° m'in°xə-n'i xanaə-dəm-s'°*
 I you.ACC quickly-1SG take-1SG-PAST
 'I quickly took you away.'
- c. **mən'° s'it° m'in°xə-nt° xanaə-dəm-s'°*
 I you.ACC quickly-2SG take-1SG-PAST
 ('I quickly took you away.')
- d. *ɲeso-nt° n'en°s'um'a-n°*
 unexpectedly-2SG get.angry-2SG
 'You got angry unexpectedly.' (T 423)
- e. *ɲeso-n'i n'en°s'um'a-d°m*
 unexpectedly-1SG get.angry-1SG
 'I got angry unexpectedly.'
- f. *ləbtey°-m war'eq-naq nǣ°-waq*
 box-ACC with.difficulty-1PL open-1PL
 'We opened the box with difficulty.' (T 327)
- g. (*mən'°*) (*s'id°d'ih*) *war'eq-n'i xo-xəyu-n°*
 I they.DU.ACC with.difficulty-1SG find-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I found them (DU) with difficulty.'
- h. *(*mən'°*) (*s'id°d'ih*) *war'e-t'ih xo-xəyu-n°*
 I they.DU.ACC with.difficulty-3DU find-DU.OBJ-1SG
 ('I found them (DU) with difficulty.')

But in the passive constructions agreement on the adverb is controlled by the agent argument that stands in the genitive, rather than the nominative patient. This is the primary reason for calling this group of adverbs 'agentive' adverbs.

- (12) a. *war'eq-n'i / *war'e-t'ih* (*mən'°*) *xo-we-xəyu-n°*
 with.difficulty-1SG / with.difficulty-3DU I find-PERF.PART-3DU-1SG
 'They (DU) were found by me with difficulty.'
- b. *m'in°xə-nt° / *m'in°xə-nta xada-wer°*
 quickly-2SG / quickly-3SG kill-PERF.PART.2SG
 'He was quickly killed by you.'
- c. *war'exe-n'i / *war'exe-ta* *xo-wem'i*
 with.difficulty-1SG / with.difficulty-3SG find-PERF.PART-1SG
 'He was found by me with difficulty.'

It is important to note that agent-oriented adverbs can only express agreement with the agent argument in the presence of agreement targeting the same argument elsewhere in the clause, that is, on the main or dependent verb or – in the case of the relative clause – the relativized head nominal. In the absence of such agreement adverbs cannot agree, so adverbial agreement in this instance functions as some kind of concord. This implies that we do not find agent-orientated adverbs in converbial clauses which do not express subject agreement. For instance, in (13a) the adverb ‘earlier’ can only be located in the main clause and agree with the main clause subject, it cannot be placed in the dependent clause and cannot target the object controlling the dependent subject. Example (13b) shows that in the absence of subject agreement with the lexical subject on the head noun of the relative clause, the agreeing adverb becomes unacceptable.

- (13) a. *[ti-m (s'en'ana-n'i) xada-°] s'en'ana-nt° s'iqm'i tab'ida-nə-s°*
 reindeer-ACC earlier-1SG kill-MOD earlier-2SG I.ACC force-2SG-PAST
 ‘In the past you ordered me to kill the reindeer.’
- b. **[ti-m (s'en'ana-n'i) xada-°] s'en'ana-n'i s'iqm'i tab'ida-nə-s°*
 reindeer-ACC earlier-1SG kill-MOD earlier-1SG I.ACC force-2SG-PAST
 (‘In the past you ordered me to kill the reindeer.’)
- c. *Wera-h m'in°xə-nta xo-wi° tudako-da*
 Wera-GEN quickly-3SG find-PERF.PART mushroom-3SG
 ‘the mushroom which Wera quickly found’
- d. *?*Wera-h m'in°xə-nta xo-wi° tudako*
 Wera-GEN quickly-3SG find-PERF.PART mushroom
 (‘the mushroom which Wera quickly found’)

These adverbs also tend to have a default 3rd person singular form, which can be used with the agent of any person/number and is preferred by some speakers, especially from the younger generation.

1.4.2 Non-agentive agreeing adverbs

The adverbs that belong to this group are *ɲəd'°b'a(na)-* ‘that is why, therefore’, *tam'i-* ‘immediately’ and *yaql°-* ‘alone, only, lonely’. There are no nouns etymologically related to these adverbs in modern Tundra Nenets. The characteristic feature of these adverbs is that they are not necessarily agent-oriented, that is, they can target the agent (subject) as well as a non-subject argument (typically the object) of active verbs. This is associated with a meaning difference: the presence of the adverb highlights the semantico-pragmatic link between the event denoted by the clause

and the argument with which the adverb agrees. For example, in (14) the adverb can agree with either the 1st person subject or the 2nd person object; in both instances this suggests that the previous context provides some information about the respective referent to which the denoted event is linked.

- (14) *ηəd'°b'a-n'i / ηəd'°b'a-t° s'it° xamcəə-d°m*
 therefore-1SG / therefore-2SG you.ACC love-1SG
 'That is why I love you.'

See also the following contrasts:

- (15) a. *s'iqm'i tam'i-nt° l'ekarə-n°h xana-q*
 I.ACC immediately-2SG doctor-DAT take-IMP.2SG
 'Take me to the doctor immediately (after you come).'
- b. *s'iqm'i tam'i-n'i l'ekarə-n°h xana-q*
 I.ACC immediately-1SG doctor-DAT take-IMP.2SG
 'Take me to the doctor immediately (after I come).'
- (16) a. *yaql°-n'i / *yaql°-nt° s'it° xamcəə-d°m*
 alone-1SG / alone-2SG you.ACC love-1SG
 'I alone love you.'
- b. *yaqlə-nt° s'it° xamcəə-d°m*
 alone-2SG you.ACC love-1SG
 'I love you alone.'

As is to be expected, in passive constructions the adverb can be controlled either by the agent or patient argument, depending on the meaning; this stands in clear contrast with the adverbs from the previous group exemplified in (12).

- (17) a. *ηəc'eki° tam'i-nta mən'° xana-wem'i*
 child immediately-3SG I take-PERF.PART.1SG
 'The child was taken away by me immediately (after he became an orphan).'
- b. *ηəc'eki° tam'i-n'i mən'° xana-wem'i*
 child immediately-1SG I take-PERF.PART.1SG
 'The child was taken away by me immediately (after I arrived).'
- (18) a. *ηəd'°b'a-nta t'uku° ηəno mən'° s'erta-wem'i*
 therefore-3SG this boat I make-PERF.PART.1SG
 'Therefore this boat is made by me (because of the way this boat is).'

- b. *t'uku° ηəno ηəd'°b'a-n'i mən'° s'erta-wem'i*
 this boat therefore-1SG I make-PERF.PART.1SG
 'Therefore this boat is made by me (because of something I did).'

Examples in (19) demonstrate object-control constructions.

- (19) a. *tam'i-n'i [ti-m xada-°] s'iqm'i tab'ida-nə-s'°*
 immediately-1SG reindeer-ACC kill-MOD I.ACC order-2SG-PAST
 'You ordered that I should kill a reindeer immediately.'
- b. *tam'i-nt° [ti-m xada-°] s'iqm'i tab'ida-nə-s'°*
 immediately-2SG reindeer-ACC kill-MOD I.ACC order-2SG-PAST
 'You immediately ordered that I should kill a reindeer.'

The difference in agreement features here correlates with the difference in interpretation. In (19a) the adverb agrees with the object and semantically modifies the dependent verb, the subject of which is coreferential with the matrix object. In (19b) agreement on the adverb is controlled by the matrix subject and the adverb semantically modifies the matrix verb. In both sentences the agreeing adverb is located in the same position, which probably supports a clause-union style of analysis for such constructions. Consider also (20):

- (20) a. *[s'it° tam'i-nt° ladə-°] tara°*
 you.ACC immediately-2SG hit-MOD needed
 'One must hit you immediately.'
- b. *pidər° tam'i-nt° [ladə-°] taraə-n°*
 you immediately-2SG hit-MOD needed-2SG
 'You have to be hit immediately.'

Example (20a) demonstrates that in impersonal constructions that head the converbial dependent clause, agreement on the adverb is determined by the object of the lower clause, whereas (20b) demonstrates that when this object 'raises' to the main clause and assumes a subject role in it, there is no change in the form of the adverb. These examples also show that, unlike agentive agreeing adverbs described in the previous subsection, non-agentive agreeing adverbs do not require that the controller of agreement should be cross-referenced elsewhere, that is, agreement does not originate as concord.

1.4.3 NP-internal agreeing adverbs

The adverbs addressed in this section can have an optional possessor with which they agree, something the adverbs from the previous two groups can never have.

Thus, the adverbial phrase itself is modelled after the regular possessive construction. However, it is not compatible with attributive modifiers and has a lexicalized meaning. The overt or understood possessor must be coreferential with one of the verbal arguments, typically the subject or object, with the adverbial phrase having some kind of quantificational semantics. The adverbial phrase is located freely in the clause and does not have to be adjacent to the argument it quantifies.

The adverbs that belong to this group are *ɲar°xə-* ‘whole, all; totally’ (from *ɲar°* ‘size’); *ɲok°xə-* ‘all, together, the whole quantity’ (from *ɲoka* ‘many’), which take the plural possessor, and *mən°tə-* ‘personally’. The possessor seems to be required with the latter. Their usage is exemplified below.

- (21) a. *mal'°c'a-da ɲar°xə-nta səqn'e-wi°*
 parka-3SG whole-3SG get.wet-INFR
 ‘His whole parka got wet.’ (T 70)
- b. *xar°də-naq m'uy°-m ɲar°xə-nta xulcoqna-doh*
 house-GEN.1PL inside-ACC all-3SG rummage-3PL > SG.OBJ
 ‘They rummaged through everything in our house.’ (T 779)
- c. *(mən'°) ɲarxə-n'i s'iqm'i xəlt°ə-q*
 I whole-1SG I.ACC wash-3PL
 ‘They washed every bit of me.’
- (22) *tu-h p'a-q ɲok°xə-ntoh tabciə-d°q*
 fire-GEN tree-PL all-3PL catch.fire-REFL.3PL
 ‘All the firewood caught fire.’ (T 611)
- (23) a. *mən'° mən°tə-n° yader-kər-c'u-d°m*
 I personally-1SG walk-PREC-NEC-1SG
 ‘I will have to go personally.’ (T 226)
- b. *pidar° mən°tə-t° mən'° s'it° t'en'ewa-d°m*
 you personally-2SG I you.ACC know-1SG
 ‘I know you personally.’

As shown by these examples, the argument coreferential with the ‘possessor’ internal to the adverbial phrase is either the subject or the direct object. An indirect object cannot control such adverbs, thus, ‘I gave this book to you personally’ cannot be expressed using *mən°tə-*.

1.4.4 Intensifiers

The reflexive stem *xə°q-* ‘self’ can be used as an intensifier (on its forms see Chapter 3, Section 4). This stem can only refer to humans, not to inanimate objects or

animals. When used as an intensifier, it does not require an anaphoric antecedent but emphasizes the meaning of a sentence element indicated by possessive agreement on the reflexive stem. The syntactic role of the intensifier *xər^oq-* varies: it can either be a clause-level element or located NP-internally. As an argument, it means something like ‘alone, independently, (by) oneself’. For instance, in (24) *xər^oq-* in the appropriate person/number functions as the subject and means ‘yourself, himself’ etc. The respective subject pronoun may be omitted. Note that in (24c) *xər^oq-* is found within a control purposive clause which does not allow an overt subject, which shows that it does not assume a subject role but functions as some kind of adjunct. Constituent order in (24d) also confirms that the intensifier does not have to be adjacent to the subject.

- (24) a. *t'edah xərə-t^o t'en'ewəə-n^o*
 now REFL-2SG know-2SG
 ‘Now you know it yourself.’ (T 751)
- b. *xan-c^o n'ī tara-q, xər^o-ta tū-tə^o*
 call-MOD NEG needed-CONN REFL-3SG come-FUT
 ‘There is no need to call him, he will come himself.’ (T 751)
- c. *pida xəya [xər^o-ta kniga-m tola-wənc^o]*
 he go REFL-3SG book-ACC read-PURP
 ‘He left in order to read the book himself.’
- d. *xərə-n^o t'iki^o-m mən^o tenewəə-d^om*
 REFL-1SG this-ACC I know-1SG
 ‘I know it myself.’

Examples (24) show that the stem *xər^oq-* agrees with the subject in person and number, but the default 3rd person singular form *xər^ota* is always available as well.

When the intensifying *xər^oq-* targets a non-subject, it requires the overt presence of the respective argument in the regular form (a noun, personal pronoun, or a personal form of a postposition) and functions as an NP-internal adjunct preceding the head and adjacent to it. For instance, in (25a) the order of ‘you’ and ‘self’ cannot be reversed: **s'it^o xərə-t^o*.

- (25) a. *mən^o xərə-t^o *(s'it^o) lapka-n^oh ηədara-dəm-c^o*
 I REFL-2SG you.ACC shop-DAT send-1SG-PAST
 ‘I sent you yourself to the shop.’
- b. *xərə-n^o n'a^on'i n'ī pad^onə^o-q*
 REFL-1SG DAT.1SG NEG write-CONN
 ‘He doesn’t write to me myself.’

The intensifying *xər°q-* can be employed in the possessor function, in which case it means ‘own, personal’:

- (26) a. *mən°o ηəno-m°i xərə-n° ηəmke-m°i*
 I boat-1SG REFL-1SG what-1SG
 ‘My boat is my own thing.’
 b. *Semēn°-h xər°-ta yik°-xənta ηə̃-da-q tīda*
 Semen-GEN REFL-3SG neck-DAT.3SG be-IMPF.PART-PL reindeer.PL.3SG
ηoka-q n°i-c°o ηa-q
 many-PL NEG-3PL.PAST be-CONN
 ‘Semen didn’t have many reindeer of his own (lit.: on his own neck).’ (T 139)

With this meaning *xər°q-* is possible within the subject NP, unlike in its non-intensifying reflexive function addressed in Chapter 17:

- (27) a. *(pida) xər°-ta wen°ako-da xəya*
 he REFL-3SG dog-3SG go
 ‘His personal dog left (i.e. the dog that does not belong to the whole family / *His dog left.’
 b. *xər°-ta n°a-da xasawa-m ladə°*
 REFL-3SG companion-3SG man-ACC hit
 ‘The man_i was hit by his_{i/j} personal friend / His_{i/°i} friend hit the man_i.’

There is another intensifier whose form is *xər°iq* or *xər°eq* and the meaning is basically the same as the meaning of *xər°q-*, but for the most part it exhibits arbitrary control and does not agree with anything. In (28a) it functions as a generic subject ‘you yourself’, and in (28b) it is a generic possessor ‘your (own)’.

- (28) a. *xər°iq tən°akumna yader-c°o ηəmke wə̃wa ?*
 self there.PROL go-MOD what bad
 ‘Is it really bad to go there yourself?’ (T 750)
 b. *xər°iq m°a-k°na n°i-wa yil°e-wa xanco-s°i*
 self tent-LOC NEG-IMPF.AN live-IMPF.AN comfort-CAR
 ‘It is not comfortable not to live in your own tent.’ (T 739)

The contrast in (29) illustrates the meaning difference between *xər°iq* and *xər°q-*: (29a) has a generic interpretation, whereas in (29b) the dependent subject corresponds to the 3rd person singular pronoun, which is only expressed by the person/number marker on the dependent conditional converb.

- (29) a. *xər'iq* / * *xər°-ta* *xan°-xəna* *ŋædal'o-b°q* *səwa*
 self / REFL-3SG sledge-LOC travel-COND good
 'It is good to travel on your own sledge.'
- b. *xər°-ta* / * *xər'iq* *xan°-xəna* *ŋædal'o-b°-ta* *səwa*
 REFL-3SG / self sledge-LOC travel-COND-3SG good
 'It is good for him to travel on his own sledge.'

In some instances *xər'iq* / *xər'eq* may function just like *xər°q*-, that is, show person/number marking:

- (30) a. *xər'eq-n'i* *m'a-k°nan'i* *yil'eə-d°m*
 self-1SG tent-LOC.1SG live-1SG
 'I live in my own tent.'
- b. *xər'e-t°* / *xərə-t°* / * *xər'iq* *xan'°q!*
 self-2SG / REFL-2SG / self go.IMP.2SG
 'Go yourself!'

However, such usage is rather rare and is not accepted by all speakers.

1.5 Predicative adverbs

Predicative adverbs form a small closed class that exhibits a peculiar mixture of properties of several grammatical classes. It only includes two items: *təmna* and *t'i*. The former has various meanings related to degree, scalarity or focus when it functions at a clausal level ('still', 'yet', 'more', 'again', 'in addition') or means 'another' when it is NP-internal (31). The latter means 'so, here' (32). In these functions these adverbs are unchangeable.

- (31) a. *təmna* *ngob* *ya-h* *xora-m* *xada°*
 still one place-GEN bull-ACC kill
 'He killed another mammoth.' (Labanauskas 1995: 18)
- b. *təmna* *n'i-wi°* *xan'°q?*
 still NEG-INFR go.CONNEG
 'Hasn't he left yet?' (Labanauskas 1995: 44)
- c. *təmna* *ŋoka* *yabto-m* *xada-wen°*
 still many goose-ACC kill-INFR.2SG
 'In addition, you have apparently killed many geese.' (Labanauskas 1995: 44)

- d. *n'a-x°yu-n'i* *təmna* *ηædal'orŋa-x°h*
 companion-DU-1SG still travel-3DU
 'My two friends are still travelling.' (Labanuskas 1995: 45)

- (32) *t'i* *ηac'eki°* *yi-kəna* *xa°*
 so child water-LOC die
 'So the child drowned in the water.' (Labanauskas 1995: 26)

These two adverbs may also function as main predicates. The predicative *təmna* conveys the meaning 'to not be ready (yet)', whereas the predicative *t'i* can be translated roughly as 'to be right here'.

- (33) a. *mən'°* *təmna-d°m*
 I still-1SG
 'I am not ready yet.'
- b. *yerw°-xəyu-d°* *t'i-x°h*, *ma*
 master-DU-2SG so-3DU say
 'He said: here are your masters.' (Labanauskas 1995: 30)
- c. *pidər°* *t'i-n°*
 you so-2SG
 'Here you are.'

As can be seen here, such predicative adverbs behave like predicative adjectives in some respects: they take subject agreement but, unlike verbs, do not form the secondary general finite stem. They are also similar to adjectives in that they take synthetic past, and periphrastic future and oblique moods, which employ the auxiliary 'to be', e.g.:

- (34) *təmna-d°m-c'°* (still-1SG-PAST) 'I wasn't ready yet'
təmna ηæ-ηku-d°m (still be-FUT-1SG) 'I will not be ready yet'
təmna ηæ-wi° (still be-INRF) 'He wasn't ready, apparently'
t'i-xən-c'° (so-3DU-PAST) 'Here they (two) were'
t'i-x°h ηæ-ηku-x°h (so-DU be-FUT-3DU) 'Here they (two) will be'

However, these adverbs cannot be classified with adjectives because they also have idiosyncratic properties: they cannot be negated in the predicative role and never take case markers in any of their functions.

2 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases express various locational and non-locational meanings and function as adjuncts or sometimes verbal arguments.

2.1 Basic structure

The basic structure of the postpositional phrase mirrors the structure of the possessive construction: the phrase is head-final and the dependent (the object of the postposition in this instance) either stands in the genitive, if it is a lexical noun, or takes the nominative form if it is an (optional) personal pronoun. In the latter case the object must be cross-referenced by possessive affixes on the postpositional head, for example, *xarəd°-h* (GEN) *m'ud°* 'out of the house', *sira-h* (GEN) *n'ih* 'onto the snow', *tol°-h* (GEN) *ɲil°na* 'under the table', *mən'°* *ɲil°na-n'i* 'under me', *n'ad°-ntaq* 'from you (2PL)' *n'aə-nt°* 'to you (2SG)', *pūd°-naq* 'from behind us (1PL)', *n'er°n'a-nta* 'in front of him (3SG)'. But unlike in possessive constructions, person/number marking is completely impossible if the object of the postposition is a lexical noun. Another restriction is that, like personal pronouns, postpositions in personal forms can only refer to human (or sometimes non-human animate) referents. Thus, *n'er°n'a-nta* cannot mean 'in front of it', it can only mean 'in front of him/her'. The personal forms of the postposition *yeqy°-ɲe°* 'instead', historically based on the essive of the noun *yeqy°* 'share, part, property', represent its frozen predestinative forms, e.g. *yeqy°-də-nta* 'instead of him'.

Some postpositions have plural and dual forms when combined with plural and dual objects, but this is optional and is not accepted by all consultants. Several examples are presented below.

- (35) *xamp°q poyoqməna* (wave.PL.GEN between.PL) 'between the waves'
p'iq ɲil°xəqna (tree.PL.GEN under.PL) 'under the trees'
tolə-x°h ɲiləx°h (table-DU.GEN under.DU) 'under two tables'
yaleq yamp°xəqna (day.PL.GEN during.PL) 'during the days'

The postposition *ponk°na* requires plural or coordinated objects, e.g. *p'i-q ponk°na* 'between trees', *tolə-x°h waqwə-x°h ponk°na* 'between the table and the bed'. Some postpositions are unchangeable: they do not take possessive marking to cross-reference pronominal objects, but are combined with the genitive form of the pronoun. These are mostly postpositions derived from the stem *n'a-* 'at', e.g. *s'it° n'ah* 'with you' (*n'ah* literally means 'to' (at-DAT)), *s'id°qnaq n'ana* 'around us (1PL)', *s'id°toh n'ana* 'around them (3PL)', as well as *tot°r'ew°h* 'similar to, like', e.g. *s'it° tot°r'ew°h* 'similar to you'.

The internal syntax of the attributive forms of postpositions is the same as for non-attributive forms; on their external syntax see Chapter 14, Section 5.3 and Chapter 11, Section 2.1.

Tundra Nenets additionally has a number of abstract parametric nouns which behave like postpositions in most respects and do not normally allow modification by adjectives. They exhibit two possibilities: the pronominal object either takes the genitive form (36a) or is expressed by nominative and possessive affixes on the head (36b). The word *p'ir°* exemplified below can be roughly translated as 'similarity (in some property)'

- (36) a. *s'iqn° p'ir° xasawa to°*
 I.GEN similarity man come
 'A man similar to me came.'
- b. *mən° p'ir°-m'i xasawa to°*
 I similarity-1SG man come
 'A man similar to me came.'

This word is normally required to express approximate quantification, e.g. *n'ax°r čas p'ir°* 'about three hours (lit.: three hour similarity)'. Some other words that belong to this class are *yamp°* 'length, height', *yont'er* 'age' and *ηar°* 'size, age'.

2.2 Postpositional phrases as periphrastic cases

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Section 1.1, inflectional dual is only permitted in the nominative, genitive and accusative. Local cases in the dual are expressed by periphrastic constructions, by the combination of the genitive dual of the relevant noun (the usual case of the object of postpositions) and a respective case form of the postpositional stem *n'a-*. The case forms of this postposition are used in a variety of functions and not necessarily with dual objects. When they express location, they can be roughly translated as 'in the direction of', but they can also convey temporal meanings and more abstract meanings:

		locational meaning	temporal meaning	abstract meaning
DAT	<i>n'ah</i>	'to the direction of'	'before'	'with'
LOC	<i>n'ana</i>	'in the direction of'	'in, at'	–
ABL	<i>n'ad°</i>	'from the direction of'	'from'	–
PROL	<i>n'amna</i>	'through the place in the direction of'	–	'about'

However, with dual objects the original meaning of the postposition *n'a-* is bleached and it only serves as a periphrastic expression of case. This is demonstrated by this

fragment of the paradigm of the lexeme *ti* 'reindeer' in the non-possessive singular and dual, as well as in the dual for the 3rd person singular possessed forms.

	SG	DU	3SG.DU
NOM	<i>ti</i>	<i>tex^oh</i>	<i>tex^oyuda</i>
ACC	<i>tim</i>	<i>tex^oh</i>	<i>tex^oyuda</i>
GEN	<i>tih</i>	<i>tex^oh</i>	<i>tex^oyuta</i>
DAT	<i>ten^oh</i>	<i>tex^oh n'ah</i>	<i>tex^oyuta n'ah</i>
LOC	<i>tex^ona</i>	<i>tex^oh n'ana</i>	<i>tex^oyuta n'ana</i>
ABL	<i>texad^o</i>	<i>tex^oh n'ad^o</i>	<i>tex^oyuta n'ad^o</i>
PROL	<i>tew^ona</i>	<i>tex^oh n'amna</i>	<i>tex^oyuta n'amna</i>

The dual paradigm shows syncretism: the non-possessive nominative, accusative and genitive are formally identical and end in *-x^oh*, so the grammatical case of the lexical noun in periphrastic constructions cannot be decided based on non-possessive forms. However the 3rd person singular possessive sub-paradigm indicates that the lexical noun actually stands in the genitive (in this instance, *tex^oyuta*). In this sense periphrastic local cases behave just like regular postpositional phrases. The postposition *n'a-* is clearly a distinct phonological word in terms of stress assignment and segmental phonology. In particular, we can see that in non-possessive forms the postposition follows the genitive dual in *-x^oh*, but according to the phonotactic rules of Nenets, the glottal stop denoted here as *h* can only stand word-finally (Salminen 1997: 40) and therefore indicates a word boundary.

The examples in (37), (38) and (39) illustrate non-periphrastic grammatical cases in the singular, dual and plural nominative, accusative and genitive.

- (37) a. *wen'ako to^o*
 dog come.3SG
 'A dog came.'
- b. *wen'ako-x^oh toŋa-x^oh*
 dog-DU come-3DU
 'Two dogs came.'
- c. *wen'ako-q to^o-q*
 dog-PL come-3PL
 'Dogs came.'
- (38) a. *wen'ako-m məneqŋa-dəm-c^o*
 dog-ACC see-1SG-PAST
 'I saw the dog.'
- b. *wen'ako-x^oh məneqŋa-dəm-c^o*
 dog-DU.ACC see-1SG-PAST
 'I saw two dogs.'

- c. *wen'aku mənəqηa-dəm-c'°*
 dog.PL.ACC see-1SG-PAST
 'I saw the dogs.'
- (39) a. *tol°-h ηil°na kniga-q ηaq*
 table-GEN under book-PL be.3PL
 'There are books under the table.'
- b. *tol-x°h ηil°na kniga-q ηaq*
 table-DU.GEN under book-PL be.3PL
 'There are books under two tables.'
- c. *tol°-q ηil°na kniga-q ηaq*
 table-PL.GEN under book-PL be.3PL
 'There are books under the tables.'

In contrast, when it comes to local cases, we find periphrastic postpositional constructions with the dual object noun. This is demonstrated in (40) and (41) for the dative. The verb *si°r-* 'to look at' requires the dative object in the singular and plural. The dual object appears in the genitive as part of the postpositional construction *wen'ako-x°h n'ah* in (40b) and (41b) illustrates the same for the 2nd person singular possessed noun. This is the only way to express the relevant meaning in the language.

- (40) a. *wen'ako-n°h si°rηa-d°m*
 dog-DAT look-1SG
 'I am looking at the dog.'
- b. *wen'ako-x°h n'ah si°rηa-d°m*
 dog-DU.GEN at look-1SG
 'I am looking at two dogs.'
- c. *wen'ako-x°q si°rηa-d°m*
 dog-PL.DAT look-1SG
 'I am looking at the dogs.'
- (41) a. *wen'ako-xənt° si°rηa-d°m*
 dog-DAT.2SG look-1SG
 'I am looking at your dog.'
- b. *wen'ako-x°yut° n'ah si°rηa-d°m*
 dog-DU.GEN.2SG at look-1SG
 'I am looking at your two dogs.'

- c. *wen'ako-xət° si°rŋa-d°m*
 dog-PL.DAT.2SG look-1SG
 'I am looking at your dogs.'

Examples (42), (43) and (44) show the periphrastic expression of the dual locative, ablative and prolative, respectively.

- (42) a. *Pet'a-h n'e°ka-x°na yil'eə-d°m*
 Petya-GEN elder.brother-LOC live-1SG
 'I stay at Petya's brother's.'
- b. *Pet'a-h n'e°ka-x°h n'ana yil'eə-d°m*
 Petya-GEN elder.brother-DU.EN at live-1SG
 'I stay at Petya's two brothers.'
- (43) a. *wen'ako-xəd° p'in°ə-d°m*
 dog-ABL be.afraid-1SG
 'I am afraid of the dog.'
- b. *wen'ako-x°h n'ad° p'in°ə-d°m*
 dog-DU.GEN from be.afraid-1SG
 'I am afraid of two dogs.'
- (44) a. *xər° p'a-w°na yixəmy°-q*
 knife tree-PROL slide-REFL.3SG
 'The knife slid along the tree.'
- b. *xər°p'a-x°h n'amna yixəmy°-q*
 knife tree-DU.GEN through slide-REFL.3SG
 'The knife slid along two trees.'

Postpositional constructions in the dual are easily coordinated with synthetic cases (see Chapter 18).

However, the postpositional construction with *n'a-* cannot be used in all syntactic contexts which require the use of the relevant case forms. It is normally impossible in contexts where the relevant noun is indefinite, because the dual marking is associated with definiteness (Chapter 4, Section 1.1). For instance, in (45) the prolative object is indefinite and the periphrastic dual construction cannot be used, while (46) shows the same for a locative noun.

- (45) a. *tu°n'i-m xal'a-m°na temtaə-w°*
 gun-ACC fish-PROL buy-1SG
 'I bought a gun for a fish (used to barter for the gun).'

- b. *tu^on'i-m xal'a-x^oh n'amna temtaə-w^o
 gun-ACC fish-DU.GEN through buy-1SG
 ('I bought a gun for two fishes (used to barter for the gun).')

- (46) a. səwa m'a-k^ona yil'eə-waq
 good house-LOC live-1PL
 'We live in a good house.'

- b. *səwa m'a-k^oh n'ana yil'eə-waq
 good house-DU.GEN at live-1PL
 (We live in two good houses.)

In such examples the only way to express the dual meaning is with the numeral 'two'.

Chapter 9

Syntax of simple clauses

This chapter addresses the grammatical functions and basic rules of constituent order in simple main/independent clauses.

1 Grammatical functions in active clauses

The subject and object in Tundra Nenets grammar can be identified by a number of operational criteria discussed below. The section also addresses lower grammatical functions.

1.1 Subject

In this section I only discuss simple active clauses. On passive subjects see Chapter 10, Section 4.3, on non-finite clauses see Chapter 13, Section 2.2.

1.1.1 Coding properties

In main/independent clauses the overt subject stands in the nominative case, independently of the form of the predicate. This concerns both clauses with finite verbs and clauses with non-verbal predicates addressed in Chapter 11, as well as independent constructions where the verb takes a form analysed as non-finite in this grammar, in particular, the independently used conditional or auditive (see Chapter 5, Section 4.5 and 4.6). Imperative subjects also stand in the nominative, although they are rarely overt.

- (1) (*pidar°*) *ti* *xada-q*
 you.SG reindeer kill-IMP.2SG
 ‘Kill a reindeer!’

Generally speaking, as discussed in Chapter 17, Section 1, pronominal subjects are only expressed by free-standing pronouns if they are focussed or somehow emphasized, otherwise pro-drop is very common.

The nominative subject controls person/number marking on the verb, that is, subject agreement; for the structure of the agreement paradigms see Chapter 5, section 1. As discussed in Chapter 7, Section 4.1, the quantifier *ɲoka* ‘many, much’ is compatible with either a singular or a plural head noun, which accordingly, triggers either singular (2) or plural (3) agreement on the verb if it is a subject.

- (2) *t'iki° yal'a-xəd° ηoka po wəyarə°*
 this day-ABL many year pass
 'Many years have passed since that day.' (T 396)

- (3) a. *ηoka noxa-q to°-q*
 many polar.fox-PL come-3PL
 'Many polar foxes came.'
- b. *n'a°nta ηoka n'enec'°h tūrηa-q*
 DAT.3SG many person.PL come-3PL
 'Many people came to him.' (T 547)

But the distribution is different with numerals: agreement on the verb can be plural even when the quantified subject stands in the singular, as in (5). In fact, in most instances it is plural if the subject is quantified by a numeral higher than 'two'.

- (4) a. *n'ax°r s'iqw° wəyarə°*
 3 week pass
 'Three weeks passed.' (T 564)
- b. *kolxoz-xəna-naq yūq yon°r ti toli*
 collective.farm-LOC-1PL 10 1000 reindeer be.counted
 'Our collective farm counts ten thousand reindeer.' (T 668)
- (5) a. *səm°l'ank° yon°r-maq yes'i tola-wi°-q*
 5 1000-1PL river.PL.ACC count-INFR-3PL
 'Five thousand of ours (reindeer) walked along (lit. counted) the rivers.' (T 667)
- b. *yur xabt'eqə-m'i p'enc'°q wəηkaxət° ηəno-h piya-rəxa-q*
 100 reindeer.bull-1SG canyon.PL.GEN pit.PL.ABL boat-GEN nose-SIM-3PL
 'My hundred reindeer bulls came out of the canyons like the nose of the boat.' (T 459)

If the noun quantified by 'two' corresponds to the subject, subject agreement on the verb must be in the dual, even if the subject itself is formally singular:

- (6) a. *s'id'a ti toηa-x°h*
 2 reindeer come-3DU
 'Two reindeer came.'
- b. *s'id'a tex°h toηa-x°h*
 2 reindeer.DU come-3DU
 'Two reindeer came.'

- c. *s'id'a ti to°
 2 reindeer come
 ('Two reindeer came.')
- d. *s'id'a tex°h to°
 2 reindeer.DU come
 ('Two reindeer came.')

Approximate numbers expressed with *s'an°* 'few' (see Chapter 3, Section 7) trigger singular agreement.

On agreement in coordination and resolution strategies see Chapter 18.

1.1.2 Behavioural properties

Behavioural tests identifying subjects do not always produce unambiguous results since some subject properties are shared by non-subject elements and seem to depend on non-syntactic factors. There are properties sensitive to the linear order of elements, which is ultimately motivated by considerations of information structure (see Section 3.1). For instance, secondary predicates are usually expressed by a noun, an adjective or a participle in the caritive or essive form (Chapter 3, Sections 1.3.3 and 2.1; Chapter 16, Section 3). In principle, they can pick out either the subject or the direct object, although their position and the intonation can disambiguate. All the following examples are ambiguous but when the secondary predicate immediately follows the element it refers to, it is more likely to be interpreted as referring to that element:

- (7) a. *mən'° ηarka-ηe° s'it° ηət'eə-d°m*
 I big-ESS you.ACC wait-1SG
 'I, being older, am waiting for you.' Or: 'I am waiting for you who are older.'
- b. *man'° s'it° ηarka-ηe° ηət'eə-d°m*
 I you.ACC big-ESS wait-1SG
 'I, being older, am waiting for you.' Or: 'I am waiting for you who are older.'
- c. *ηarka-ηe° mən'° s'it° ηət'eə-d°m*
 big-ESS I you.ACC wait-1SG
 'I, being older, am waiting for you.' Or: 'I am waiting for you who are older.'
- (8) a. *Wera Maša-m møy°mpə-da-ηe° pad°ta°-da*
 Wera Masha-ACC cheerful-IMP.F.PART-ESS draw-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera drew Masha being cheerful.' Or: 'Wera, being cheerful, drew Masha.'

- b. *Wera məy°mpə-da-ŋe° Maša-m pad°ta°-da*
 Wera cheerful-IMPF.PART-ESS Masha-ACC draw-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera, being cheerful, drew Masha.’ Or: ‘Wera drew Masha being cheerful.’
- (9) a. *Wera Maša-m p’iwas’i yad°bta°-da*
 Wera Masha-ACC boots.CAR meet-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera met Masha who was barefoot.’ Or: ‘Wera, being barefoot, met Masha.’
- b. *p’iwas’i Wera Maša-m yad°bta°-da*
 boots.CAR Wera Masha-ACC meet-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera met Masha who was barefoot.’ Or: ‘Wera, being barefoot, met Masha.’

However, *Wera p’iwas’i Maša-m yad°bta°da* is more likely to be interpreted as ‘Wera, being barefoot, met Masha.’ Some speakers in fact prefer not to use the essive to refer to the lexical subject and choose a regular modifier instead, as in (10):

- (10) *məy°mpə-da Wera Maša-m pad°ta°-da*
 cheerful-IMPF.PART Wera Masha-ACC draw-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Cheerful Wera drew Masha.’

Constraints on pronominalization and reflexivization are described in Chapter 17. As shown there in Section 1.2, possessive affixes on subjects can be coreferential with a non-subject element only if the latter precedes the subject, but not the other way round. The subject is also superior with respect to non-subject arguments because it can control the reflexive element from any position, while non-subject arguments, when they are the antecedent of a reflexive within the same clausal domain, must precede and possibly be adjacent to it, and in fact not all speakers accept such constructions. This is demonstrated by examples below. In (11) the reflexive *xər°ta* can be controlled either by the subject ‘father’ or the non-subject dative object, but the latter must precede the reflexive. In contrast, (12) shows that when the indirect object follows the reflexive, it cannot be the antecedent of it, but the subject still can.

- (11) a. *Wera-h n’is’a Was’a-n°h xər°-ta temta m’iqŋa*
 Wera-GEN father Wasya-DAT REFL-3SG reindeer.ACC.3SG give
 ‘Wera’s father_i gave Wasya_j his_{i/j} reindeer.’
- b. *Was’a-n°h xər°-ta temta Wera-h n’is’a m’iqŋa*
 Wasya-DAT REFL-3SG reindeer.ACC.3SG Wera-GEN father give
 ‘Wera’s father_i gave Wasya_j his_{i/j} reindeer.’
- (12) a. *xər°-ta temta Wera-h n’is’a Was’a-n°h m’iqŋa*
 REFL-3SG reindeer.ACC.3SG Wera-GEN father Wasya-DAT give
 ‘Wera’s father_i gave Wasya_j his_{i/*j} reindeer.’

- b. *Wera-h n'is'a xər^o-ta temta Was'a-n^oh m'iq̃a*
 Wera-GEN father REFL-3SG reindeer.ACC.3SG Wasya-DAT give
 'Wera's father_i gave Wasya_j his_{i/*j} reindeer.'

Rather similar facts are observed for the phenomenon of zero anaphora in the dependent clause (Chapter 17, Section 2.1). For all speakers and independently of its position, the main subject can control the anaphoric null as the dependent subject. Some speakers additionally allow for non-subjects to control the referential null, but only if they precede the dependent clause. Moreover, in passive constructions the patient argument and the oblique agent seem to behave identically with respect to reflexivization and switch-reference (Chapter 10, Section 4.2).

Other subjecthood tests seem to be sensitive to semantics, namely, some kind of agenthood (possibly in combination with information structure). First, raising and control constructions addressed in Chapter 15, Sections 1.1 and 2.1 only target active subjects and (optional) passive agents. Similarly, the agentive agreeing adverbs (Chapter 8, Section 1.4.1) agree either with the active subject or the passive agent. In these instances the relevant properties target the agent argument rather than the grammatical subject. As shown in Chapter 16, modal and purposive converbs can only introduce different-subject adverbial clauses if the dependent subject is not coreferential with any element of the main clause. In other words, non-subject elements do not generally control such converbs. However, this does not always hold: in some instances the topical direct object and the NP-internal agreeing possessor of the subject behave like a subject in this respect. In passive constructions the passive agent controls such converbs, so again this property seems to depend on agenthood.

In Chapter 18, Section 1.5 I describe what I refer to as 'converbial coordination strategy'. This strategy has several subtypes but in all instances it involves modal converbs and light verbs meaning something like 'to have as companion; to be in friendly relations with' grammaticalized to various degrees. The strategy mostly targets subjects. Non-subject elements cannot normally be coordinated using this strategy, evidently because of its historical origin: the modal converbs tend to express same-subject relations. However, evidence from raising constructions suggests that at least in this instance the relevant property may be agenthood. In (13a) I show that the coordinating structure *Weramta n'ac'^o* 'with Wera' serves to denote an extra referent to the syntactically unexpressed understood subject of the impersonal dependent clause. In (13b) the original dependent object appears in the main clause as its syntactic subject, but the phrase *Weramta n'ac'^o* cannot be interpreted as coordinating subjects: structurally it must remain within the dependent clause, hence the reading 'One should beat up Petya and Wera' is impossible. To render this meaning one must use a different coordination strategy as in (13c).

- (13) a. [*Pet'a-m Wera-mta n'ac'^o lador-c'^o]* *tara^o*
 Petya-ACC Wera-ACC.3SG with beat.up-MOD needed
 'One should beat up Petya with the help of Wera.'

- b. *Pet'a [Wera-mta n'ac'o lador-c'o] tara°*
 Petya Wera-ACC.3SG with beat.up-MOD needed
 'One should beat up Petya with the help of Wera.'
- c. **Pet'a [Wera-mta n'ac'o] lador-c'o tara°*
 Petya Wera-ACC.3SG with beat.up-MOD needed
 ('One should beat up Petya and Wera.')
- d. *Pet'a-x°h Wera-x°h [lador-c'o] tarana-x°h*
 Petya-DU Wera-DU beat.up-MOD needed-3DU
 'One should beat up Petya and Wera.'

Moreover, Chapter 10, Section 4.2 argues that passive agents are coordinated in the same way.

So none of the properties discussed above applies exclusively to subjects: rather they pick up the most pragmatically and/or semantically salient element. But the entire cluster of these tests can identify an argument which is probably the most prominent syntactically too. Moreover, only the subject seems to trigger NP-external possessors, as explained in Section 3.3 of this chapter. Possessors of non-subject elements cannot normally be extracted out of the host NP.

Imperative subjects are most often covert, but the understood 2nd person subject does have a relevant cluster of properties. For instance, in (14a) and (14b) it controls converbs, in (14c) it is the antecedent of a reflexive, and in (14d) it participates in a control construction.

- (14) a. *Maša-m tol°-h t'ax°na ŋamt'o-° n'or° pæər°-q*
 Masha-ACC table-GEN at sit-MOD NEG.IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ do-CONNEG
 'Don't touch Masha while sitting at the table.'
- b. *n'abako-mt° ŋəw°la-wənc° xal'a-m p'ir'e-q*
 sister-ACC.2SG feed-PURP fish-ACC cook-IMP.2SG
 'Cook some fish in order to feed your sister.'
- c. *Maša-m xər-t° p'a-x°nant° n'or° pæər°-q*
 Masha-ACC REFL-2SG tree-LOC.2SG NEG.IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ do-CONNEG
 'Don't touch Masha with your stick.'
- d. *mənc°ra-° pæ-d°q*
 work-MOD start-REFL.IMP.2SG
 'Start working.'

Truly subjectless clauses usually describe natural phenomena, see Chapter 10, Section 1.3, or represent impersonal (generic) constructions. The latter are illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. *t'ukoxəna yedey° m'ad°-m s'erta-b'iq*
 nere new tent-ACC do-DUR.3PL
 'A new tent is being built here.'
- b. *xər'eq m'a-k°na tabor°-m n'ī-q moyo-p'uq*
 self tent-LOC litter-ACC NEG-3PL throw-DUR.CONNEG
 'One doesn't throw litter in one's own tent.'

As shown by these examples, the verb must stand in the 3rd person plural.

1.1.3 Non-canonical subjects

A small number of (mostly non-verbal) predicates require the locative experiencer. These are normally stative adjectival predicates such as *yiq'l'eka* 'interesting, funny', *səwa* 'good', *wəwə* 'bad' (16a), as well as the rare alteration stem verb *yīb'o-* 'to be hurting' (16b).

- (16) a. *t'uku° yal'a-h n'anan° ηod°q səwa-rka*
 this day-GEN LOC.1SG DP good-COMP
 'Today I feel a little better.' (T 396)
- b. *n'anan° yīb'i*
 LOC.1SG hurting
 'I am in pain.' (T 133)

See also Chapter 15, Section 1.1. Obviously, experiencer arguments do not stand in the nominative and do not trigger agreement on the predicate: the latter stands in the default 3rd person singular form. But they do seem to exhibit most behavioural properties of subjects, such as reflexivization (17a), control constructions (17b), and coordination by means of the converbial strategy (17c).

- (17) a. *xər°-n'i / *mən° m'a-k°nan'i n'anan'i səwa*
 REFL-1SG / I tent-LOC.1SG LOC.1SG good
 'It's good for me (to live) in my (own) tent.'
- b. *mənc°ra-° pə-wa(-m'i) n'anan'i yiq'l'eka*
 work-MOD start-IMP.F.AN-1SG LOC.1SG interesting
 'It's interesting for me to start working.'
- c. *Wera-xəna Maša-m n'ac° mənc°ra-wa(-da) yiq'l'eka*
 Wera-LOC Masha-ACC with work-IMP.F.AN-3SG interesting
 'It's interesting for Wera to work with Masha.'

However, adverbial clauses headed by converbs appear to be at best marginal when their subject argument is coreferential with the main clause locative.

- (18) a. *?tol^o-h t'ax^ona ηamt'o-^o mən'^o n'anan'i səwa*
 table-GEN behind sit-MOD I LOC.1SG good
 'It's good for me to sit at the table.'
- b. *?mānc^ora-wa n'anan'i səwa yes'a-m n'əqm^o-wunc'^o*
 work-IMP.F.AN LOC.1SG good money-1SG grab-PURP
 'It's good for me to work in order to get money.'

Predestinative subjects are addressed in Chapter 4, Section 4.1. It is important to emphasize that the nominative predestinative does indeed function as the subject in the sense that it cannot cooccur with a non-predestinative nominative element within the same clause. That is, the essential difference exists between the nominative predestinative and the essive form, which always functions as an adjunct and is compatible with the nominative subject.

- (19) *(*pida) škola-h l'ekarə-d^o to^o*
 (he) school-GEN doctor-PRED come
 'A doctor for the school arrived / *He arrived as a doctor for the school.'

Recall that predestinatives do not show number opposition, or rather they are singular by default. The verb also takes a default 3rd person singular agreement form. The examples in (20) illustrate some behavioural properties of the predestinative subject.

- (20) a. *l'ekarə-d^o-waq n'ada-ηko-da-m n'ac'^o to^o*
 doctor-PRED-1PL help-INTR-IMP.F.PART-ACC with come
 'A doctor for us came with an assistant.'
- b. *Wera-h l'ekarə-d^o-da to^o s'ita səwumta-mpa-wānc'^o*
 Wera-GEN doctor-PRED-3SG come he.ACC cure-DUR-PURP
 'A doctor for Wera came in order to cure him.'

As shown here, predestinative nominatives behave like true subjects in at least two respects: they allow coordination by means of the converbial form *n'ac'^o* grammaticalized as the coordinator 'with', and can control the purposive converb.

1.2 Direct object

The object can be uniquely identified by its grammatical case and participates in a number of important syntactic processes.

1.2.1 Accusative objects

The case of the object is invariably the accusative, except in the imperative. Imperative objects may stand either in the nominative or the accusative if they are lexical nouns (21a–b), although pronominal objects always seem to be accusative (21c). Possessed nouns tend to stand in the nominative, although the accusative is not totally excluded either (21d–e).

- (21) a. *pis'mo / pis'mo-m tola-q*
 letter / letter-ACC read-IMP.2SG
 'Read the/a letter!'
- b. *pis'mo / pis'mo-m tola-d°*
 letter / letter-ACC read-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Read the/a letter!'
- c. *s'iqm'i / *mən'o n'u°c'a-q*
 I.ACC / I kiss-IMP.2SG
 'Kiss me.'
- d. *tu°n'i-r° / ? tu°n'i-mt° tæw°ra-q*
 gun-2SG / gun-ACC.2SG bring-IMP.2SG
 'Bring your gun.'
- e. *tu°n'i-r° / ? tu°n'i-mt° tæw°ra-d°*
 gun-2SG / gun-ACC.2SG bring-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Bring your gun.'

Generally, there may be only one accusative per clause, but Tundra Nenets has one special construction which allows case doubling. Still only one of the two accusatives counts as the 'true' object (see Section 3.3).

Direct objects may trigger agreement in number (but not person) on the main verb. Object agreement is reflected in the so-called objective conjugation of transitive verbs, see Chapter 5, Section 1.2. Only 3rd person objects trigger agreement; 1st and 2nd person pronouns never agree, cf. the lexical dual object in (22a) and the pronominal dual object in (22c).

- (22) a. *ηəno-x°h mən'iyəηa-xəyu-n°*
 boat-ACC.DU see-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I see the boats (DU).'
- b. *pida s'id°n'ih ladə°*
 he we.DU.ACC hit
 'He hit the two of us.'

- c. **pida s'id°n'ih lad°ηa-x°yu-da*
 he we.DU.ACC hit-DU.OBJ-3SG
 ('He hit the two of us.')

3rd person pronouns allow variations: for most speakers 3rd person pronominal objects are equally unable to trigger agreement, but for some speakers of the Western dialects agreement is allowed:

- (23) a. *n'is'a-da s'ita lad°*
 father-3SG he.ACC hit
 'His father hit him.'
- b. ?*n'is'a-da s'ita lad°ə-da*
 father-3SG he.ACC hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'His father hit him.'

Reflexive expressions which consist of the stem *xər°q-* and a personal pronoun in the object role cannot trigger object agreement, just like other pronouns, while reflexive expressions based on *pix°də-* can, see the following contrast:

- (24) a. (*xər°q-n°*) *pix°də-m'i lad°ə-d°m*
 REFL-ACC.1SG REFL-1SG hit-1SG
 'I hit myself.'
- b. (*xər°q-n°*) *pix°də-m'i lad°ə-w°*
 REFL-ACC.1SG REFL-1SG hit-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I hit myself.'
- c. *xər°q-n° s'iqm'i lad°ə-d°m*
 REFL-1SG I.ACC hit-1SG
 'I hit myself.'
- d. **xər°q-n° s'iqm'i lad°ə-w°*
 REFL-1SG I.ACC hit-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I hit myself.')

Crucially, object agreement is 'optional' even with lexical objects, in the sense that not all of them trigger agreement. Objects that never trigger agreement include the following semantic types:

(i) indefinite and negative pronouns (on their derivation see Chapter 6, Sections 2.2 and 2.3), as well objects modified by indefinite and negative pronouns:

- (25) a. *mən° ηəmkexəwa-m xoə-d°m*
 I something-ACC find-1SG
 'I found something.'

- b. **mən*^o *ɲəmkeɣəwə-m* *xoə-w*^o
 I something-ACC find-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I found something.')
- c. *Wera* *xīb'axəwə-m* *pedara-x^ona* *p'ūrɲa*
 Wera somebody-ACC forest-LOC search
 'Wera is looking for somebody in the forest.'
- c. **Wera* *xīb'axəwə-m* *pedara-x^ona* *p'ūrɲa-da*
 Wera somebody-ACC forest-LOC search-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('Wera is looking for somebody in the forest.')
- d. *xurkaxəw*^o *p'ir'ibt'a-m* *p'ūrɲa*
 some girl-ACC search
 'He is looking for some girl.'
- e. **xurkaxəw*^o *p'ir'ibt'a-m* *p'ūrɲa-da*
 some girl-ACC search-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He is looking for some girl.'
- f. *xīb'axərt^o-m* *n'ī-s'* *lad^o-q*
 nobody-ACC NEG-PAST hit-CONN
 'He didn't hit anybody.'
- g. **xīb'axərt^o-m* *n'ī-da-s^o* *lad^o-q*
 nobody-ACC NEG-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST hit-CONN
 ('He didn't hit anybody.')

(ii) wh-question object words, as well as wh-modifiers and possessors of objects:

- (26) a. *ɲəmke-m* *taxabta^o?*
 what-ACC break
 'What did he break?'
- b. **ɲəmke-m* *taxabta^o-da?*
 what-ACC break-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('What did he break?')
- c. *xurka* *ti-m* *xada-sa?*
 what.kind reindeer-ACC kill-INTER
 'What kind of reindeer did he kill?'
- d. **xurka* *ti-m* *xada-sa-da?*
 what.kind reindeer-ACC kill-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('What kind of reindeer did he kill?')

- e. *xīb'a-h wen'ako-m mənə-ca-n°?*
 who-GEN dog-ACC see-INTER-2SG / see-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Whose dog did you see?'
- f. **xīb'a-h wen'ako-m mənə-ca-r°?*
 who-GEN dog-ACC see-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('Whose dog did you see?')
- g. *s'an° noxa-m xada-n°?*
 how.many polar.fox-ACC kill-2SG
 'How many polar foxes did you kill?'
- h. **s'an° noxa-m xada-r°?*
 how.many polar.fox-ACC kill-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('How many polar foxes did you kill?')

(iii) objects that host the limitative affix meaning 'only' (described in Chapter 6, Section 2.1) and for some speakers, also objects modified by the adjective in the limitative form:

- (27) a. *Wera-r'i-m ladə°*
 Wera-LIM-ACC hit
 'He only hit Wera'
- b. **Wera-r'i-m lad°ə-da*
 Wera-LIM-ACC hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('He only hit Wera')
- c. *par'id'en'a-r'i wen'ako-m mənəqηa-d°m*
 black-LIM dog-ACC see-1SG
 'I only saw a/the black dog.'
- d. ?*par'id'en'a-r'i wen'ako-m mənəqηa-w°*
 black-LIM dog-ACC see-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I only saw a/the black dog.'

The word *ηobciki* 'too' scoping over the object seems to have the same property, although there is a certain amount of variation here.

- (28) a. *Wera-m ηobciki lad°ə-da*
 Wera-ACC too hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He hit Wera too.'
- b. ?*Wera-m ηobciki ladə°*
 Wera-ACC too hit
 'He hit Wera too.'

For all other 3rd person lexical objects agreement depends on their topicality, definiteness and specificity. The basic rules are as follows. Focus objects in narrow focus structures never trigger agreement:

- (29) a. [Whom did he hit?]
Wera-m ladə°
 Wera-ACC hit
 'He hit Wera.'
- b. [Whom did he hit?]
 **Wera-m ladə°ə-da*
 Wera-ACC hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('He hit Wera.')
- c. *ti-m pedara-x°na xadaə-n°*
 reindeer-ACC forest-LOC kill-2SG
 'It was a REINDEER that you killed in the forest.'
- d. **ti-m pedara-x°na xadaə-r°*
 reindeer-ACC forest-LOC kill-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('It was a REINDEER that you killed in the forest.')

Examples (29a–b) are answers to the question to the object provided in the context, while in (29b–c) the object bears a contrastive focus. Wh-question words mentioned above also target narrow focus. Examples in (26) demonstrate that when the narrow focus semantically scopes over a sub-constituent of the object NP (a possessor or a modifier), the whole NP counts as focus for the purpose of object agreement. This is similar to what we can observe in dependent clauses containing question words, which make the whole clause focussed (Chapter 13, Section 3.2). However, when an NP-internal adjunct element is questioned, object agreement is optional and depends on the regular conditions.

- (30) a. *ɲəmke-h n'amna ləx°nako-m wad'e-ca-n°?*
 what-GEN about tale-ACC tell-INTER-2SG
 'What was the fairy tale that you told about?'
- b. *ɲəmke-h n'amna ləx°nako-m wad'e-ca-r°?*
 what-GEN about tale-ACC tell-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 'What was the fairy tale that you told about?'

In the context of wide focus specificity may play a role too: object agreement is only allowed with specific objects. For instance, in (31) object agreement indicates

that the speaker is looking for a specific house, while the absence of agreement implies that the existence of the object referent is not presupposed.

- (31) a. [What are you busy with?]
xarad-m p'ūrṇa-d°m
 house-ACC search-1SG
 'I am looking for a house.'
- b. [What are you busy with?]
xarad-m p'ūrṇa-w°
 house-ACC search-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I am looking for a house.'

Roughly similar considerations obtain in verb-focus structures where the focus scope only includes the verb: in (32) the agreement form suggests the specific or even definite interpretation of the direct object, while the object that does not trigger agreement can only be interpreted as non-specific/indefinite.

- (32) a. *Wera ti-m xada-sa(-da)?*
 Wera reindeer-ACC kill-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Did Wera kill the/a reindeer?'
- b. *xadaə-s'° / xadaə-da-s'°*
 kill-PAST / kill-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Yes, he did.'

Specific or definite interpretation of the object in such constructions often implies that the event denoted by the verb reached its completion. For example, when object agreement is used in (33), the implication is that the making of a specific boat was completed. In the absence of object agreement there is no such implication.

- (33) a. *n'is'a-m'i ṇəno-m s'ertaə-da?*
 father-1SG boat-ACC do-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Has my father finished making the boat?'
- b. *n'is'a-m'i ṇəno-m s'erta°?*
 father-1SG boat-ACC do
 'Did my father make a boat?'

Thus, non-specific 3rd person objects and narrow focus 3rd person objects pattern similarly with respect to agreement.

In contrast, topical objects trigger agreement. Under the assumption that in the default case (primary) topicality is associated with the subject, agreeing objects most

often correspond to secondary topics, i.e. less pragmatically salient topical referents that stand in a presupposed relationship with the primary topic referent. The following examples are construed as information about the relationship that holds between the primary and secondary topic referents.

- (34) a. *ti-m pedara-x^ona xada-sa-r^o? pedara-x^ona*
 reindeer-ACC forest-LOC kill-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ forest-LOC
 ‘Did you kill a/the reindeer in the forest? Yes, in the forest.’
- b. **ti-m pedara-x^ona xada-sa-n^o? pedara-x^ona*
 reindeer-ACC forest-LOC kill-INTER-2SG forest-LOC
 (‘Did you kill a/the reindeer in the forest? Yes, in the forest.’)
- c. *ti-m xənc’er^oq me-sa-r^o? xadaə-wə-s’^o*
 reindeer-ACC how take-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ kill-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘What did you do to the reindeer? I killed it.’
- d. **ti-m xənc’er^oq me-sa-r^o? xadaə-dəm-s’^o*
 reindeer-ACC how take-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ kill-1SG-PAST
 (‘What did you do to the reindeer? I killed it.’)

In (35) the agreeing object corresponds to the primary topic, because the subject is associated with the focus function.

- (35) a. *Wera-m xīb’a lad^oə-da?*
 Wera-ACC who hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Who hit Wera?’
- b. **Wera-m xīb’a lad^o?*
 Wera-ACC who hit
 (‘Who hit Wera?’)

If the object is a referential null as in (32b), object agreement becomes obligatory and must be interpreted as pronominal incorporation.

The object quantified by *ηoka* ‘many, much’ and cardinal numerals except ‘two’ do not normally trigger agreement:

- (36) a. *ηoka ηəno-m s’erta^o*
 many boat-ACC do
 ‘He made many boats.’
- b. **ηoka ηəno-m s’ertaə-da*
 many boat-ACC do-3SG > SG.OBJ
 (‘He made many boats.’)

- c. *n'ax°r ηəno-m s'erta*
 3 boat-ACC do
 'He made three boats.'
- d. **n'ax°r ηəno-m s'ertaə-da*
 3 boat-ACC do-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('He made three boats.')

However, they can in fact agree if they are overtly marked as definite, i.e. are accompanied by a definite determiner. Object agreement with such quantified nouns is normally plural, even if the quantified object stands in the singular:

- (37) a. *t'uku° n'ax°r noxa-m xadeyə-n°*
 this 3 polar.fox-ACC kill.PL.OBJ-1SG
 'I killed these three polar foxes.'
- b. *t'uku° n'ax°r xal'a-ko-c'a xalet°*
 this 3 fish-DIM-DIM fish.PL.GEN.2SG
ηok°mtə-qma-ηe° xana-n°q
 many.V-PERF.AN-ESS take-IMP.2SG > PL.OBJ
 'Take these three fishes to add to your fish.' (T 397)

As mentioned in Chapter 7, Section 3.3, the numeral *s'id'a* 'two' does not behave like other numerals, but has adjectival properties. The objects quantified by 'two' trigger agreement if they are topical without additional indication of definiteness. Agreement must be in the dual even if the quantified object stands in the singular:

- (38) a. *s'id'a ηəno-m mən'iyəŋa-xəyu-n°*
 2 boat-ACC see-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I see two boats.'
- b. *s'id'a ηəno-x°h mən'iyəŋa-xəyu-n°*
 2 boat-ACC.DU see-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I see two boats.'
- c. *s'id'a ti-m xadaŋa-x°yu-da*
 2 reindeer-ACC kill-DU.OBJ-3SG
 'He killed two reindeer.'
- d. *s'id'a tex°h xadaŋa-x°yu-da*
 2 reindeer.DU.ACC kill-DU.OBJ-3SG
 'He killed two reindeer.'

Agreeing and non-agreeing objects exhibit identical positional restrictions (Section 3.1) and behavioural properties. Some of these properties are shared with

subjects. For instance, only subjects and objects control secondary predicates (Section 1.1.1), are relativized by means of participles (Chapter 14, Section 1) and trigger agreement on non-agentive agreeing adverbs (Chapter 8, Section 1.4.2). For some speakers agreeing objects, unlike non-agreeing objects, play a prominent role in the control of reflexivization and zero anaphora in dependent clauses (Chapter 17), but this may be independently motivated by linear precedence: agreeing objects tends to precede oblique elements, while non-agreeing objects tend to follow them. On object control verbs see Chapter 15, Section 2.2; on passivization and the promotion of the object to the subject role see Chapter 10, Section 4.

1.2.2 Predestinative objects

Accusative predestinative objects described in Chapter 4, Section 4.2 are syntactically less active than regular objects. They never trigger object agreement, as follows from their semantics: predestinative objects denote a discourse-novel, indefinite and often non-specific entity.

- (39) a. *ɲəno-də-mt°* *s'ertaə-dəm-c'°*
 boat-PRED-ACC.2SG do-1SG-PAST
 'I made a boat for you.'
- b. **ɲəno-də-mt°* *s'ertaə-wə-s'°*
 boat-PRED-ACC.2SG do-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ('I made a boat for you.')
- c. *Wera-h* *ɲəno-d°* *s'ertaə-d°m*
 Wera-GEN boat-PRED.ACC do-1SG
 'I made a boat for Wera.'
- d. **Wera-h* *ɲəno-d°* *s'ertaə-w°*
 Wera-GEN boat-PRED.ACC do-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I made a boat for Wera.')

The verb can (in fact, must) show object agreement in clauses which contain predestinative forms, but only if the predestinative stands in the genitive:

- (40) a. *ɲəno-də-nt°* *s'ertaə-wə-s'°*
 boat-PRED-GEN.2SG do-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'I made this as a boat for you.'
- b. **ɲəno-də-nt°* *s'ertaə-dəm-c'°*
 boat-PRED-GEN.2SG do-1SG-PAST
 ('I made this as a boat for you.')

- c. *pəne-də-n'i* *sædə°-da-s'°*
 dress-PRED-GEN.1SG sew-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'He made this into a coat for me.'
- d. **pəne-də-n'i* *sædə°-s'°*
 dress-PRED-GEN.1SG sew-PAST
 ('He made this into a coat for me.')

The predestinative here is an adjunct that accompanies the null object. This is confirmed by the fact that, first, object agreement can be in the dual, as in (41a), and second, the syntactic object can correspond to a null-headed adjective while the genitive predestinative is still an adjunct, as in (41b).

- (41) a. *ηəno-də-nt°* *s'ertəŋa-x°yu-n°*
 boat-PRED-GEN.2SG do-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I made these two as boats for you.'
- b. *Wera ηəno-də-n'i* *ηarka-m s'erta°*
 Wera boat-PRED-GEN.1SG big-ACC do
 'Wera made something big as a boat for me.'

Predestinative objects do not passivize. Again, the only way to express a comparable meaning is to use a construction where the passive subject is null but coreferential with the genitive predestinative adjunct. As shown in (42), a predestinative nominative is impossible as the subject of a passive clause. Example (42b) additionally demonstrates that the genitive predestinative is not a syntactic subject in this instance: the dual agreement on the passive verb unambiguously indicates that the understood subject is in the dual.

- (42) a. *kniga-də-nt°* / **kniga-də-r°* *pad°-wi°*
 book-PRED-GEN.2SG / book-PRED-2SG write-PERF.PART
 'This was written as a book for you.'
- b. *kniga-də-nt°* *pad°-wex°h*
 book-PRED-GEN.2SG write-PERF.PART.3DU
 'These two were written as books for you.'

Predestinative objects cannot be modified by a relative clause. The only strategy to express the meaning 'Wera painted the boat I made for you' is by way of the construction which literally means something like 'Wera painted what I made as a boat for you'. In such examples the semantic head of the relative clause is not expressed, while the relative participle assumes the role of the syntactic head, as evidenced by the fact that it takes subject agreement and case marking indicating the external

syntactic role of the clause (the accusative, in this instance). Like in (41) and (42), the null element (the object of the relative clause) is coreferential with a predestinative adjunct in the genitive.

- (43) a. *Wera [ɲəno-də-nt^o s'erta-wem'i] ɲol'ep'ada^o*
 Wera boat-DEST-GEN.2SG do-PERF.PART.ACC.1SG paint
 'Wera painted the boat I made for you.'
- b. **Wera [ɲəno-də-mt^o s'erta-wem'i] ɲol'ep'ada^o*
 Wera boat-DEST-ACC.2SG do-PERF.PART.ACC.1SG paint
 ('Wera painted the boat I made for you.')
- c. *[pidə^o mən'^o ɲəno-də-n^o s'erta-wemt^o]*
 you I boat-PRED-GEN.1SG do-PERF.PART.ACC.2SG
Wera taxabta^o-da-s'^o
 Wera break-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Wera broke the boat you made for me.'
- d. *[Wera-h mən'^o ɲəno-də-n'i*
 Wera-GEN I boat-PRED-GEN.1SG
s'erta-wenta] m'un'a ɲamti-d^om
 do-PERF.PART.GEN.3SG inside sit-1SG
 'I am sitting in the boat Wera made for me.'

Secondary predicates can be controlled by predestinative objects, typically if they follow it:

- (44) a. *Wera ɲarka-ɲe^o ɲəno-də-m'i s'erta^o*
 Wera big-ESS boat-PRED-ACC.1SG do
 'Wera, being older, made a boat for me /
 ? Wera made something big as a boat for me.'
- b. *Wera ɲəno-də-m'i ɲarka-ɲe^o s'erta^o*
 Wera boat-PRED-ACC.1SG big-ESS do
 'Wera made something big as a boat for me.'

Finally, predestinative objects do not seem to participate in object control constructions.

1.3 Oblique grammatical functions

Indirect objects stand in the dative and do not show agreement. They cannot be promoted to the subject via passivization, cf.:

- (45) a. *kniga n'e ηac'eken^oh mən'^o m'i-mew^o*
 book woman child.DAT I give-PERF.PART.1SG
 'The book was given by me to the girl.'
- b. **n'e ηac'eki^o kniga-m mən'^o m'i-mew^o*
 woman child book-ACC I give-PERF.PART.1SG
 ('The girl was given the book by me.')

Indirect objects (as well as lower grammatical functions) are relativized by the non-participial relativization strategy, see Chapter 14, Section 2. On indirect object control verbs see Chapter 15, Section 2.2.

Oblique objects and adjuncts either stand in the oblique cases, the locative, dative, ablative or prolativ, or take postpositional marking. See Chapter 4, Section 2 on the function of cases and Chapter 3, Section 6 for a short list of postpositions.

2 Constituent order

There is a great deal of variation in the linear order of clausal constituents. This can partly be explained by the influence of Russian syntax with its 'free' word order and partly by factors such as emphasis and information structure. Here I only describe the variety of language which has not undergone any significant influence from Russian. The section addresses the basic tendencies in main/independent clauses; on constituent order in dependent clauses see Chapter 13, Section 2.4.

2.1 Affirmative clauses

The most important constraint on the order of constituents in Tundra Nenets is verb finality. Except for the rather infrequent cases of afterthought described in Section 3.3 below, the verb must occupy the clause-final position.

There is no clear evidence for a VP. Rather, the structure of the non-subject part of the clause is essentially flat, although there is certain evidence for a subject being more syntactically prominent than other verbal arguments (see Section 1.1.1). The general tendency for verbal arguments is such that the informationally new (focus) element tends to be immediately preverbal, while informationally old (topical) elements precede it. In a default case the indirect object precedes the direct object, but the opposite order is possible too. This is illustrated below:

- (46) a. *xasawa n'e-x^onta ti-m minqa*
 man woman-DAT.3SG reindeer-ACC give
 'The man gave his wife a reindeer.'

- b. *xasawa ti-m n'e-x^onta m'inqa-da*
 man reindeer-ACC woman-DAT.3SG give-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'The man gave the reindeer to his wife.'

The subject tends to stand clause-initially, but in (47) the informationally new subject follows the direct object and is located in the immediately preverbal position in accordance with the general tendency.

- (47) *s'exari^o-m sira toxora^o-da*
 road-ACC snow cover-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Snow covered the road.'

Clausal adjuncts normally precede the subject, especially if they denote time. The VP adverbs (manner adverbs) are typically adjacent to the verb, but again this is only a tendency. Other orders of non-verbal elements are equally possible and in general there is a great deal of positional freedom for non-verbal elements, as demonstrated below. These orders are not necessarily motivated by topic-focus articulation; some kind of emphasis marked by intonation also plays a role. In (48a) the alternative orders are possible: *n'ũmta t'en'ana n'e n'ukuc^o s'ewolɣas^o* and *n'ukuc^o t'en'ana n'e n'ũmta s'ewolɣas^o*. The alternative orders in (48b) are *səwaw^ona t'en'ana Maša pəni^om səd^oweda*, *Maša pəni^om səwaw^ona t'en'ana səd^oweda*, and *t'en'ana səwaw^ona Maša pəni^om səd^oweda*.

- (48) a. *t'en'ana n'e n'uku-c^o n'ũ-mta s'ewolɣa-s^o*
 yesterday woman caress-MOD child-ACC.3SG embrace-PAST
 'Yesterday the woman gently embraced her child.'
- b. *t'en'ana Maša pəni^o-m səwa-w^ona səd^o-weda*
 yesterday Masha coat-ACC good-PROL sew-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Yesterday Masha made a coat well.'

So the preferred order of constituents is as follows: time adjunct – subject – place adjunct – indirect object – direct object – manner adverb – verb. This order probably reflects the default mapping between information structure and syntax in informationally neutral topic-comment structures.

However, unlike a number of related Uralic languages, Tundra Nenets does not seem to have a grammaticalized focus position immediately before the verb. Although the focus constituent tends to be adjacent to the verb, it does not have to be located in this position. This can be most clearly seen in *wh*-questions. In (49) the *wh*-word immediately precedes the verb, and in (50) it is located in the clause-initial position.

- (49) a. (*pidər°*) *t'uku°* *xoba-mt°* (*pidər°*) *ɲəmke-n°h* (*pidər°*)
 you this skin-ACC.2SG you what-DAT you
wæ̃ta-sa-r°?
 use-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 'What did you use this skin for?' (T 78)
- b. (*pidər°*) *t'ey°* *yal'a-h* (*pidər°*) *xən'ana* (*pidər°*) *me-sa-n°?*
 you that day-GEN you where you be-INTER-2SG
 'Where were you yesterday?' (T 271)
- (50) a. (*pidər°*) *s'an°* *mewa-h* (*pidər°*) *t'ukoxəna* *me-sa-n°?*
 you few occasion-GEN you here be-INTER-2SG
 'How many times have you been here?' (T 600)
- b. *xən'ana* *pon°h* *me-sa-n°?*
 where long be-INTER-2SG
 'Where have you been for so long?' (T 478)
- c. *ɲəmke-m* *tən'ana* *məne-ca-n°?*
 what-ACC there see-INTER-2SG
 'What did you see there?' (T 232)

Consequently, object agreement does not depend on the position of the object. Although agreement tends to be present when the object is not adjacent to the verb and a verb-adjacent object typically does not trigger agreement, this is not always so. The examples in (51) illustrate that both verb-adjacent and non-adjacent objects can either agree or not.

- (51) a. *xīb'a* *ti-m* *xada°?*
 who reindeer-ACC kill
 'Who killed the reindeer?'
- b. *xīb'a* *ti-m* *xadaə-da?*
 who reindeer-ACC kill-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Who killed the reindeer?'
- c. *ti-m* *xīb'a* *xada°?*
 reindeer-ACC who kill
 'Who killed the reindeer?'
- d. *ti-m* *xīb'a* *xada°?*
 reindeer-ACC who kill
 'Who killed the reindeer?'

There is in fact a position immediately before the verb, which is strongly associated with a particular class of items: some adverbial particles e.g. *ɲul'iq* 'completely, totally, very much, well', *səc'o* 'very much' and *tæ'r'i* 'just so, without purpose, needlessly, very' (glossed as DP here) cannot be separated from the verb by other sentence elements and arguably form a syntactic constituent with it.

- (52) a. *Wera ɲul'iq məy'omp'i*
 Wera completely get.happy
 'Wera became very happy.'
- b. **ɲul'iq Wera məy'omp'i*
 completely Wera get.happy
 ('Wera became very happy.')
- c. *Wera ti-m tæ'r'i xada-da-s'o*
 Wera reindeer-ACC DP kill-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera killed the reindeer needlessly.'
- d. **Wera tæ'r'i ti-m xada-da-s'o*
 Wera DP reindeer-ACC kill-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('Wera killed the reindeer needlessly.')

These elements, however, are not inherently focussed.

Constituent order in passives is largely similar: the passive verb is clause-final and the nominative (subject) argument tends to be clause-initial, otherwise the order is quite free. However, there is one additional constraint: the oblique agent element cannot precede the nominative subject:

- (53) a. *t'uku° ɲəno n'e°ka-n'i m'i-wi°*
 this boat elder.brother-GEN.1SG make-PERF.PART
 'This boat is made by my brother.'
- b. **n'e°ka-n'i t'uku° ɲəno m'i-wi°*
 elder.brother-GEN.1SG this boat make-PERF.PART
 ('This boat is made by my brother.')
- c. *pidər° n'e°ka-n'i lador-men*
 you elder.brother-GEN.1SG beat.up-PERF.PART.2SG
 'You were beaten up by my brother.'
- d. **n'e°ka-n'i pidər° lador-men*
 elder.brother-GEN.1SG you beat.up-PERF.PART.2SG
 ('You were beaten up by my brother.')

The oblique agent tends to be adjacent to the verb, but does not have to be: elements other than the subject can in principle intervene between it and the verb: in (54a) it is the indirect object and in (54b) it is a temporal adverb.

- (54) a. *t'uku° kniga n'e ηac'eki°-h n'an'i ta-wi°*
 this book woman child-GEN DAT.1SG give-PERF.PART
 'This book was given to me by the girl.'
- b. *Maša Wera-h t'en'ana xada-wi°*
 Masha Wera-GEN yesterday kill-PERF.PART
 'Masha was killed by Wera yesterday.'

The particles *ηul'iq*, *sac'°* and *tæ'r'i* cannot precede the agent and must be adjacent to the verb:

- (55) a. *tol° mən'° ηul'iq xalt°-wem'i*
 table I completely wash-PERF.PART.1SG
 'The table was well washed by me.'
- b. **tol° ηul'iq mən'° xalt°-wem'i*
 table completely I wash-PERF.PART.1SG
 ('The table was well washed by me.')

So the constituent order in the passive clause must be subject – agent – particle – verb, while other clausal elements precede the agent or the subject and their position may vary.

2.2 Constituent order in negative constructions

In negative constructions the auxiliary must precede the lexical verb in the con-negative form:

- (56) a. *n'ī mənc°ra°-q*
 NEG work-CONNNEG
 'He doesn't work.'
- b. **mənc°ra°-q n'ī*
 work-CONNNEG NEG
 ('He doesn't work.')

But at least for some speakers they do not have to be adjacent: other constituents can intervene between the two verbs, namely, objects and VP-adverbs (57), although apparently not subjects or clausal adverbs (58).

- (57) a. *Pet'a n'ī(-da) ti-m xada-q*
 Petya NEG-3SG > SG.OBJ reindeer-ACC kill-CONNEG
 'Petya didn't kill the reindeer.'
- b. *ηəc'eki°-m n'ī-w° m'er°-h xana-q*
 child-ACC NEG-1SG > SG.OBJ fast-GEN take.away-CONNEG
 'I didn't take the child away quickly.'
- (58) a. **ti-m n'ī-da Wera xada-q*
 reindeer-ACC NEG-3SG > SG.OBJ Wera kill-CONNEG
 ('Wera didn't kill the reindeer.')
- b. **Wera n'ī-c° t'en'ana xonara-q*
 Wera NEG-REFL.3SG yesterday get.to.sleep-CONNEG
 ('Wera didn't get to sleep yesterday.')

These facts, together with the patterns observed in affirmative clauses, seem to suggest that apart from the structurally superior subject and the constraints on verbal particles, the structure of the clause is essentially flat.

Non-verbal predicates are negated by means of the negative auxiliary and the connegative of the verb 'to be' (Chapter 12, Section 4.2). All orders of the relevant elements are possible, but the negative verb has to precede the connegative.

- (59) *mən° n'ī-d°m wə̀wa(-d°m) ηaq / wə̀wa-d°m mən' n'ī-d°m ηaq*
 I NEG-1SG bad-1SG be.CONNEG
 'I am not bad.'

However, in negative passive constructions the lexical verb in the participial form can never be separated from negation:

- (60) a. *(xūn'ana) t'on'a (xūn'ana) xan'ena-h (xūn'ana)*
 tomorrow fox tomorrow hunter-GEN tomorrow
*xada-wənta (*xun'ana) n'ī ηaq*
 kill-FUT.PART tomorrow NEG be.CONNEG
 'The fox will not be killed tomorrow by the hunter.'
- b. *t'uku° ti n'īs'a-n'ī m'er°-h xada-wi°*
 this reindeer father-GEN.1SG fast-GEN kill-PERF.PART
n'ī ηaq
 NEG be.CONNEG
 'The reindeer wasn't killed quickly by my father.'

- c. *t'uku° ti n'is'a-n'i xada-wi° m'er°-h
 this reindeer father-GEN.1SG kill-PERF.PART fast-GEN
 n'i̯ ηaq
 NEG be.CONNEG
 ('The reindeer wasn't killed quickly by my father.')

So the periphrastic negative passive consisting of the participle, the negative verb and the connegative of the verb 'to be' forms a syntactic unit.

2.3 Dislocated constituents

Dislocated topics are overall not typical of Tundra Nenets, but they do occur. A dislocated topic can be adjoined to the clause from the left or right and separated from it by an intonational break. When the topic precedes the clause it is cross-referenced by a clause-internal anaphoric element and is usually introduced by a special construction. Thus, in (61a) the topic 'Wera' is introduced as the object of the propositional phrase *n'amna s'er°h*, whereas in (61b) it combines with the particle *ti* and the affirmative marker. The intonational break is indicated here by a comma.

- (61) a. *Wera-h n'amna s'er°h, tarc'a Maša s'ita maneq̃a*
 Wera-GEN about when so Masha he.ACC see
 b. *Wera-xəw° ti, Maša maneq̃a-da*
 Wera-AFF DP Masha see-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'As for Wera, Masha saw him.'

But in (62) there is no special topicalizing construction: the left-dislocated topic *Maša* simply stands in the nominative case. It cannot be preceded by a clausal adjunct.

- (62) (*pon) *Maša, [Moskwa-xəna pon°h mənç°ra-wa-nta*
 long Masha Moscow-LOC long work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG
mal'°ηkəna] Wera s'ita ηət'eə-s'°
 during Wera he.ACC wait-PAST
 'When Masha_i worked in Moscow for a long time, Wera waited for her_i.'

Long-distance topicalization appears to be impossible or very marginal:

- (63) ?ti [n'is'a-nta t'uku°-m xada-qma-xəd°] *Wera xəya-s'°*
 reindeer father-GEN.3SG this-ACC kill-PF.AN-ABL Wera go-PAST
 'The reindeer, Wera left after his father killed it.'

Post-clausal dislocated elements function as afterthoughts. They often have adverbial meanings (64) or correspond to semantically null-headed modifiers which assume the case and number marking of their discontinuous semantic head (65).

- (64) a. *ɲəwe-q* *yolc'°ɲkəna* *xo-y°-da*,
 what-PL.GEN after find-PL.OBJ-3SG
 n'ita *yad°qm'i*
 companion.PL.GEN.3SG footstep.ACC.PL
 'After a while she found them, the footsteps of her relatives.'
- b. *t'ur°-h* *mal°-xəna* *n'ab'i* *moncaŋ-kən°h*
 rod-GEN tip-LOC and buttock-DAT
 mət'iyē°-da *ɲopoy°* *ɲuda-xəna*
 stick-3SG > SG.OBJ one hand-LOC
 'He stuck it with the tip of the rod to the buttock, with one hand.'
- (65) *xasuy°* *ya-w°na* *yader-pə-ta* *wen'ako* *s'id'a* *n'enec'ə°-m*
 dry place-PROL walk-COND-3SG dog 2 human-ACC
 yad°bta°, *n'arawa* *pəni°-m* *me-ta-x°h*
 meat copper coat-ACC use-IMP.F.PART-DU.ACC
 'Walking on the dry land the dog met two people, the two dressed in copper clothes.' (Labanauskas 1995: 12)

However, such violations of verb-finality are rare.

In a special topicalization-like construction the accusative element must be cross-referenced by the anaphoric object pronoun, which also stands in the accusative. This double accusative structure is shown below:

- (66) *Wera-m* *n'a-da* *s'ita* *lad°ə-(°da)-s'°*
 Wera-ACC friend-3SG he.ACC hit-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Yesterday Wera's friend hit him.'

In (65) the accusative-marked lexical NP is a dislocated element which preserves the case marking indicating the syntactic role of the respective participant. But the true grammatical object is the pronoun here, as witnessed by the fact that the verb cannot host object agreement: as argued in 1.2.1, pronominal objects do not normally trigger agreement. The word order is fixed: the accusative lexical noun must precede the subject, while the anaphoric pronoun follows it. In (67) alternative orders are impossible: **t'uku° yal'ah s'ita p'ir'ibt'ada Weram n'i n'u°c'aq*, **t'uku° yal'ah Weram s'ita p'ir'ibt'ada n'i n'u°c'aq*, **Weram p'ir'ibt'ada s'ita t'uku° yal'ah n'i n'u°c'aq*.

- (67) *t'uku° yal'a-h Wera-m p'ir'ibt'a-da s'ita n'i n'u°c'a-q*
 this day-GEN Wera-ACC girl-3SG he.ACC NEG kiss-CONNeg
 'Wera's girl didn't kiss him today.'

These facts suggest that the lexical accusative is in fact some kind of adjoined topical element, even though it may be preceded by another adjunct (*t'uku° yal'ah* in (67)) and in this sense it is more tightly connected to the rest of the clause than the external topic in (62). This construction is grammatically required when the 3rd person object referent is coreferential with the possessor of the subject, but impossible otherwise. For instance, it cannot occur in (68), where this condition does not hold.

- (68) a. *Wera-m mən° (*s'ita) lad°ə-d°m*
 Wera-ACC I he.ACC hit-1SG
 'I hit Wera.'
- b. *t'uku° yal'a-h Was'a-m Wera-h p'ir'ibt'a(-da) (*s'ita) n'u°c'a°*
 this day-GEN Wasya-ACC Wera-GEN girl-3SG he.ACC kiss
 'Today Wera's girl kissed Wasya.'

Note that without *s'ita* in (67) the possessive affix on the subject *p'ir'ibt'ada* cannot be interpreted as coreferential with *Was'am*, i.e. the sentence can only mean 'Today his_i girl kissed Wasya'.

The semantic dependents of nouns can sometimes be located discontinuously with respect to their semantic head. In (69) I present a discontinuous right-dislocated modifier which functions as an afterthought:

- (69) *Wera pedara-x°na ti-m xada°, səwa-m*
 Wera forest-LOC reindeer-ACC kill good-ACC
 'Wera killed a reindeer in the forest, a good one.'

This example shows that the discontinuous modifier assumes case marking characteristic of its semantic head. On dislocated relative clauses see Chapter 13, Section 2.3.

Possessors can also be extracted out of the host NP and located discontinuously to it. The external possessor takes the regular possessor form: the nominative on personal pronouns or the genitive on lexical nouns. The external lexical possessor always triggers 3rd person agreement on the possessed noun: for instance, the unpossessed form **bant°* is impossible in (70a). This pattern is superficially similar to what we find with NP-internal phrase-peripheral possessors described in Chapter 7, Section 2.1, however, in this instance the possessor is clearly NP-external. In the following examples the possessor and the possessed are separated by clause-level adverbs.

- (70) a. *t'uku° n'e ηəc'eki°-h yetr'i bant°-da ηarka*
 this woman child-GEN always ribbon-3SG big
 'As for this girl, her ribbon is always big.'
- b. *Wera-h t'en'ana n'abako-da xal'a-də-m'i ta-s'°*
 Wera-GEN yesterday elder.sister-3SG fish-PRED-ACC.1SG give-PAST
 'As for Wera, his sister gave me some fish.'

Possessor extraction is typically possible if the possessed noun is the subject, as in (69), and is very marginal or even ungrammatical otherwise:

- (71) a. **?Wera-h t'en'ana n'abako-mta ladorηa-dəm-s'°*
 Wera-GEN yesterday elder.sister-ACC.3SG beat-1SG-PAST
 ('As for Wera, I beat up his sister yesterday.')
- b. **Wera-h t'en'ana ηəno-xənanta to-dəm-s'°*
 Wera-GEN yesterday boat-LOC.3SG come-1SG-PAST
 ('As for Wera, I arrived yesterday on his boat.')

The external possessor is not necessarily located at the clause edge: it may be located within the clause, where it either follows or precedes its semantic head.

- (72) a. *t'exa teda Wera-h ηarka*
 that reindeer.3SG Wera-GEN big
 'As for Wera, that reindeer of his is big.'
- b. *ηarka ηəno-r° pidər° səwa*
 big boat-2SG you good
 'As for you, your big boat is good.'

Functionally, the external possessive construction often serves to topicalize a possessor element, which cannot be topicalized by other grammatical processes. Unlike the NP-internal agreeing possessor which normally corresponds to the secondary topic while the subject functions as the primary topic (Chapter 7, Section 2.2), the external possessor can rather be characterized as the primary topic itself. Obviously, the possessor topic is not a semantic participant in the situation described by the sentence, but it is salient enough for the speaker at the time of the utterance to construe the utterance as being about it. The saliency of the possessor topic is demonstrated by example (73).

- (73) [What about this girl?]
t'uku° n'e ηəc'eki°-h p'il'iq bant°-da ηarka
 this woman child-GEN always ribbon-3SG big
 'This girl's ribbon is always big.'

This sentence can be uttered as an answer to the question which establishes the topical role of the referent ‘this girl’. It cannot answer the question such as *Whose ribbon is always big?* which does not presuppose that ‘this girl’ is under discussion in the answer. However, similar to the agreeing NP-internal possessor, the extracted possessor can be non-topical, especially in predicative possessive constructions (see Chapter 11, Section 1) or with other intransitive verbs, e.g.:

- (74) a. *xīb'axəw^o-h wen'ako-da xa^o*
 somebody-GEN dog-3SG die
 ‘Somebody’s dog died.’
- b. *Wera-h teda yuxu*
 Wera-GEN reindeer.3SG get.lost
 ‘Wera’s reindeer got lost.’

The examples in (74) do not require a context which would establish a topical role for the possessor referent.

Chapter 10

Valence patterns and alternations

In this chapter I present the basic valence patterns of underived morphologically simplex verbs, as well as verbs derived by derivational valence-changing suffixation. The patterns are classified according to the syntactic types of verbal arguments. The chapter also describes the only fully productive valence-changing process in Tundra Nenets grammar, passivization.

1 One-place predicates

One-place intransitives take the nominative subject. On the predicates that require the locative subject-like experiencer see Chapter 9, Section 1.1.3.

1.1 Inflectional classes of intransitive verbs

As discussed in Chapter 5, Section 1.1, intransitive verbs fall into two inflectional classes, the ‘subjective’ and the ‘reflexive’ class. Class membership is a lexical (morphological) feature of the verb, which is only made obvious in finite inflection. Class distribution is not syntactically motivated: core participants of reflexive and subjective verbs are encoded in exactly the same way, for instance, in both cases the subject stands in the nominative and has the same grammatical properties.

- (1) a. *mən^o tərpiə-w^oq*
I.NOM go.out-REFL.1SG
‘I went out.’
- b. **mən^o tərpiə-d^om*
I.NOM go.out-1SG
(‘I went out.’)
- c. *mən^o xəya-d^om*
I.NOM leave-1SG
‘I left.’
- d. **mən^o xəya-w^oq*
I.NOM leave-REFL.1SG
(‘I left.’)

No apparent semantic, pragmatic or phonological motivation exists for the distinction between subjective and reflexive verbs at the synchronic level either. Reflexive

verbs are normally perfective, but not all perfective intransitives are reflexive. For example, the subjective class includes the verbs *to arrive*, *to leave*, *to stay*, *to die*, *to enter*, *to turn down*, and *to grow up*, while the verbs *to turn to*, *to smile at*, *to get tired*, *to lose weight*, *to look back*, *to lie down (of animals)*, *to go away*, *to jump out suddenly*, *to look out* and *to go out* are reflexive. As can be seen from this list, it is virtually impossible to come up with any clear semantic criteria which would predict class membership. Reflexive verbs often denote the beginning of an action or a state, hence the pairs such as *wagnə-* (subjective) ‘to lie (of animals)’ vs. *wagnə-* (reflexive) ‘to lie down (of animals)’, but this is not the case for all of them. Some aspectual or valence-changing affixes when added to the stem unambiguously indicate that the resulting verb belongs to one or the other inflectional class. For instance, most intransitive inchoative verbs derived with the suffix *-l(ə)-* are reflexive and all intransitive imperfective verbs in *-ŋko-* are subjective. However, not all derivational affixes come with their own specification of the inflectional class and for all underived intransitive verbs one has to know the class in order to determine the form of inflection. For class membership of each intransitive verb Salminen (1998a) must be consulted.

The labile verbs are either transitive or intransitive reflexive, depending on their meaning, e.g. *pudabta-* ‘to spill, to pour’ (transitive) and ‘to be spilt’ (reflexive), *lat^ora-* ‘to press’ (transitive) and ‘to be pressed’ (reflexive), *pad^o-* ‘to write’ (transitive) or ‘to sign up, to leave a signature’ (reflexive). When they are transitive, these verbs are conjugated either by the subjective or the objective type, that is, they either express object agreement or not, depending on the usual conditions.

- (2) a. *saxarə-m pudabta^o-da*
 sugar-ACC spill-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He spilt the sugar.’
 b. *saxar^o pudabtey^oq*
 sugar spill.REFL.3SG
 ‘The sugar spilt.’

Some verbs derived with the inchoative affix *-l(ə)-* from transitive verbs behave either as transitive or as reflexive, e.g. the verb *ŋəwolə-* or *ŋol^o-* ‘to start eating’:

- (3) a. *pida n’an^o-m ŋol^o-da*
 he bread-ACC start.eating-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He started eating the bread.’
 b. *pida ŋoli^oq*
 he start.eating.REFL.3SG
 ‘He started eating.’

There is a subtle semantic difference between certain reflexive verbs and the combination of the respective transitive verb with a reflexive pronoun: the latter usually have a more volitional meaning. This is illustrated by the following contrast:

- (4) a. *pix°də-mta xad'ol'e°*
REFL-ACC.3SG wound
'He wounded himself.'
- b. *pida xad'ol'ey°-q*
he get.wounded-REFL.3SG
'He got wounded.'

Example (4a) described the situation when he wounded himself on purpose, while (4b) implies that he got wounded accidentally.

1.2 Derived intransitives

A number of derivational affixes cause detransitivization when attached to the verbal stem, sometimes together with additional aspectual meaning, namely, imperfectivization. For instance, the suffixes *-ηko/-nc'o-* (the latter variant being typical of Western dialects) and *-ηkur-* are shown in the following examples.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (5) | <i>tola-</i> | 'to read' | <i>tola-ηko- ~ tola-nc'o-</i> | 'to do reading' |
| | <i>yera-</i> | 'to guard, to keep' | <i>yera-ηko-</i> | 'to be busy guarding' |
| | <i>p'ir'e-</i> | 'to cook' | <i>p'ir'e-nc'o- ~ p'ir'e-ηko-</i> | 'to do cooking' |
| | <i>n'ada-</i> | 'to help' | <i>n'ada-ηko- ~ n'ada-nc'o-</i> | 'to be helping' |
| | <i>xəlo'ta-</i> | 'to wash' | <i>xəlo'ta-ηkur-</i> | 'to do washing' |

The resulting verbs are one-place in Eastern varieties of Tundra Nenets, however in Western dialects they may be combined with the plural prolativ object:

- (6) a. *kniga-qm°na tola-nc'o-rka*
book-PL.PROL read-INTR-COMP
'He reads books from time to time.' (T 667)
- b. *xal'a-qm°na səc'° serota-ηko-° n'ī tara-q*
fish-PL.PROL very salt-INTR-MOD NEG needed-CONNEG
'One shouldn't salt fish too much.'

The suffix *-ra-* derives lexical passives which belong to the reflexive class:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>taxabta-</i> | ‘to break’ | <i>taxa-ra-</i> | ‘to get broken’ |
| | <i>xona-</i> | ‘to go to sleep’ | <i>xona-ra-</i> | ‘to get to sleep’ |
| | <i>womt^o-</i> | ‘to spoil’ | <i>womta-ra-</i> | ‘to get spoiled; to become guilty’ |

This suffix is not very productive, though. The suffix *-tə-* (after stems ending in alternating *q*) / *-də-* (after stems ending in alternating *h*) / *-nə-* (after other stems), as well as the suffix *-rə-* may produce one-place intransitive verbs, for the most part belonging to the imperfective class, from transitives.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (8) | <i>p'ir'e-</i> | ‘to cook’ | <i>p'i-nə-</i> | ‘to get cooked’ |
| | <i>pad^o-</i> | ‘to write’ | <i>pad^o-nə-</i> | ‘to do writing’ |
| | <i>ɲət'e-</i> | ‘to wait’ | <i>ɲət'e-nə-</i> | ‘to be busy waiting’ |
| | <i>xəd'eq-</i> | ‘to scratch’ | <i>xəd'e-tə-</i> | ‘to scratch oneself’ |
| | <i>pæ^os-</i> | ‘to chop wood’ | <i>pæ^o-tə-</i> | ‘to be busy chopping wood’ |
| | <i>s'ator-</i> | ‘to bite (many times)’ | <i>s'ato-rə-</i> | ‘to be biting away’ |

Again, at least some of these verbs are compatible with the prolativ plural object in the Western dialects. The object has some kind of generic interpretation in this instance.

- (9) *p'a-qm^ona* *pæ^o-tə*
 tree-PL.PROL chop-INTR
 ‘He is chopping wood.’

The derived verb *ɲət'enə-* ‘to be busy waiting’ combines with the dative object.

1.3 Weather predicates

This class of predicates includes nouns denoting weather-related phenomena such as *sar'o* ‘rain’ and adjectival predicates such as *səwa* ‘good’ or *wəwa* ‘bad’. On the syntactic behaviour of non-verbal predicates see Chapter 11. There is also a group of verbs denoting natural phenomena. They are most derived from nouns, e.g. *s'eyol-* ‘to become foggy, to drizzle’ derived from *s'eyo* ‘ice or snow floating in water’. Weather-denoting intransitive verbs often have the inchoative suffixes *-m-* or *-mtənə-*. In the latter instance the derived verbs belong to the reflexive class.

- (10) a. *sar'om-* ‘to start raining’
 s'in'om- ‘to become foggy’
 sir'im- ‘to become covered with snow’
 təjom- ‘to start (of summer)’
- b. *sir'imtənə-* ‘to start snowing’
 yalumtənə- ‘to break (of the day)’

Weather predicates are typically combined with the expletive subject *num* or its possessive form *num-ta* (3SG). The literal meaning of this noun is something like ‘sky, weather, universe, god’, but in the expletive usage the literal meaning is semantically bleached. The expletive subject is optional.

- (11) a. (*num-ta*) *məl'e° təlmə°?*
 sky-3SG already get.dark
 ‘Has it got dark already?’
- b. *t'uku° yal'a-h (num-ta) səwa*
 this day-GEN sky-3SG good
 ‘The weather is nice today.’

Possessive affixes other than 3rd person singular on the word *num* indicate that the statement applies to a particular territory, e.g. *numaq səwa* (sky.1PL good) ‘We have good weather here.’ The relevant location can also be restricted by means of a locational adjunct instead of *num*:

- (12) a. *p'ix°na təlm°*
 outside cloudiness
 ‘It is cloudy.’
- b. *t'ukoxəna yəbta*
 here damp
 ‘It’s damp here.’ (T 822)
- c. *klass°-xəna pəb'i*
 classroom-LOC dark
 ‘It’s dark in the classroom.’

Weather predicates that denote the beginning of the process or state are expressed by the complex construction consisting of the auxiliary-like verb *xə-* ‘to go, to leave, to become’ and the essive form of the lexical predicate. The expletive *num(ta)* is not present in this instance.

- (13) a. *m'erc'a p'i-ŋe° xəya*
 wind night-ESS go
 ‘A windy night arrived.’ (T 250)
- b. (**num-ta*) *xupta-ŋe° xəya*
 sky-3SG morning-ESS go
 ‘Morning arrived.’

Younger speakers of Tundra Nenets who do not have a full command of the language may occasionally use Russian-type constructions with the verb *m'in-* 'to go, to walk' to talk about the weather, e.g. *sar'o m'in̩a* 'It's raining (literally: the rain is walking)'.

Some weather-related expressions are formally transitive. For instance, in (14a) the object is 'snowstorm'. In (14b) the word *num* in the plural accusative form functions as the object explicative, which triggers plural object agreement on the verb.

- (14) a. *yiba-nta n'ad° xad°-m n'əlpada-la-da*
 south-GEN.3SG from snowstorm-ACC elicit-INCH-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'A snowstorm started to arrive from the south.'
- b. *wəqnuy° nuwoda p'a-y°-da*
 spring sky.PL.ACC.3SG start-PL.OBJ-3SG
 'Spring came.'

A few relevant verbs are transitive, but the object is not overtly expressed and apparently has some kind of generic meaning.

- (15) a. *num-ta s'in'o-ŋe° s'inta°*
 sky-3SG fog-ESS cover
 'Everything got covered with fog.'
- b. *num-ta s'in'o-ŋe° s'intə-da*
 sky-3SG fog-ESS cover-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Everything got covered with fog.'
- c. *n'er°q xad°-s'ə-qma-xəd°-nta tər'i l'iw°ralta°-da*
 DP snowstorm-V-PERF.AN-ABL-3SG DP make.fluffy-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'At first there was no snowstorm, but then fluffy snow started.' (T 191)

In accordance with the general rule, in the absence of a free-standing object, the verb is marked for object agreement (the default singular agreement in this instance), but the non-agreeing form is not impossible here.

2 Two-place predicates

Most two-place verbs take the accusative direct object. Oblique objects are expressed by other grammatical cases, but two-place verbs that take oblique objects form a relatively small class.

2.1 Accusative objects

In (16) I present a few examples of simple underived transitives. On the behavioural properties of the accusative object see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.

- (16) *n'ada-* 'to help'
s'an- 'to feel sorry for'
yada- 'to shoot up'
pida- 'to look similar to' (about relatives)

Verbs of creation and sometimes other transitive verbs can take either the regular accusative or the predestinative accusative object, on which see Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and Chapter 9, Section 1.2.2. On the double accusative construction see Chapter 9, Section 3.3.

The object can correspond to a referential null if it has been introduced in a previous context. The verb must then be marked for object agreement, see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1 and Chapter 17, Section 1.1. Some transitive verbs (in some of their meanings) do not actually combine with the overt object but take the default 3rd person singular object agreement even if the object referent has not been introduced before. Presumably, such objects are highly relevant in the described situation and their meaning is incorporated into the meaning of the verb. For example, the verb *warc'ad^ot'e-* is a regular transitive verb which can combine with an overt object with the meaning 'to pull, to tug' (17a), but it may also be used without an overt object with the meaning 'to jerk (of a reindeer in harness)' (17b). This can perhaps be literally interpreted as 'to (suddenly) pull on the harness' even though the referent 'harness' does not need to have been mentioned previously.

- (17) a. *n'a-mta* *t'ū-x^odanta* *warc'ad^ot'e^o-da*
 companion-ACC.3SG sleeve-ABL.3SG pull-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He pulled his friend on his sleeve' (T 49)
- b. *s'iqw^o* *xabt^orka-da* *ler^okabt^oh* *warc'ad^ot'e^o-doh*
 7 reindeer.doe-3SG suddenly pull-3PL > SG.OBJ
 'His seven reindeer does suddenly jerked.' (Labanauskas 1995: 96)

Tundra Nenets has many derived transitive verbs. Transitivity and applicative-like suffixes *-ta-*, *-tə-*, *-ra-*, *-l(t)a-*, *-da-*, *-(la)pta(la)-* derive transitives from intransitives and sometimes from other transitives, for example:

(18)	<i>n'eseɣəm-</i>	'to change (INTR)'	<i>n'eseɣ^om-ta-</i>	'to change (TR)'
	<i>nūl-</i>	'to stop (INTR)'	<i>nūl^o-ta-</i>	'to stop (TR), to set up'
	<i>tərp^o-</i>	'go out, to exit'	<i>tərp^o-ra-</i>	'to take out'
	<i>temta-</i>	'to buy'	<i>temta-ra-</i>	'to sell'
	<i>xa-</i>	'to die'	<i>xa-da-</i>	'to kill'
	<i>səwum-</i>	'to improve (INTR)'	<i>səwum-ta-</i>	'to improve (TR)'
	<i>wom-</i>	'to get spoilt'	<i>wom-t^o-</i>	'to spoil'
	<i>yəŋkəm-</i>	'to separate (INTR)'	<i>yəŋk^om-la-</i>	'to separate (TR)'
	<i>yar-</i>	'to cry'	<i>yar^o-ta-</i>	'to cry about'
	<i>s'anako-</i>	'to play'	<i>s'anako-lta-</i>	'to make play'
	<i>ye^onə-</i>	'to hope'	<i>ye^onə-lta-</i>	'to give hope'
	<i>ləx^ona-</i>	'to speak'	<i>ləx^ona-bta-</i>	'to cause to speak'

The causativizing suffixes *-(p)t'e-*, are not easily distinguishable from the previous group in terms of meaning. They also cause transitivization and the causee argument always stands in the accusative and corresponds to the grammatical object.

(19)	<i>yil'e-</i>	'to live'	<i>yil'e-bt'e-</i>	'to revive'
	<i>ŋəd'im-</i>	'to appear'	<i>ŋəd'im-t'e-</i>	'to bring forth, to show'
	<i>yar-</i>	'to cry'	<i>yar^o-t'e-</i>	'to cause to cry'
	<i>t'ore-</i>	'to scream'	<i>t'or^o-d'e-</i>	'to call with a scream'
	<i>məy^ompə-</i>	'to get happy'	<i>məy^om-t'e-</i>	'to make happy'

Causatives are often derived from lexical passives, e.g. *xada-* 'to kill' > *xada-ra-* 'to get killed', to die' > *xada-ra-bta-* 'to allow to die, to cause to die'. Some causative verbs have two meanings, the causative and the applicative, e.g. *xinos-* 'to sing' > *xino-pta-* 'to sing about something or somebody' or 'to cause to sing'. The causative derivation is sometimes accompanied by the additional inchoative meaning, especially in the Western dialects, e.g. *pad^ona-* 'to be busy with writing' > *pad^ona-lta-* 'to cause to do writing' and 'to start writing'. The causative suffixes may also have a diminutive meaning indicating low intensity of the action, e.g. *sædorə-* 'to be busy with sewing' > *sædorə-bta-* 'to sew a little'.

Causatives are fairly productively derived from intransitive verbs. Still, they cannot be derived from all intransitives, for instance, the verbs *xan'e-* 'to hunt' and *m'in-* 'to go, to walk' do not form causatives. On the other hand, certain verbs derive two causatives with different meanings, e.g. *xona-* 'to go to sleep' > *xona-bta-* 'to put to sleep', *xona-btala-* 'to force to sleep.'

The causative derivation from transitive verbs is non-productive. For instance, it is impossible to derive a causative counterpart of the verbs *xəl^ota-* 'to wash', *p'ir'e-* 'to cook', *t'en'ewə-* 'to know' and many others. But some transitive verbs are combinable with causative affixes. The derived verbs remain transitive but do not take an extra argument; instead they acquire various idiosyncratic meanings remaining essentially two-place. Thus, the derivation 'X + causative', where X is the base

transitive verb, may produce the passive meaning ‘to let somebody/something be X-ed’ rather than ‘to cause somebody/something to X’, for instance, *ηædara-* ‘to send, to drop’ > *ηædara-bta-* ‘to let go, to miss somebody or something, to let fall (by accident)’. Second, causatives derived from transitives can have a diminutive meaning: *mæda-* ‘to cut’ > *mæda-pta-* ‘to cut a little’, *lad^o-* ‘to hit’ > *lad^o-pta-* ‘to hit a little’, *sæbka-* ‘to dig’ > *sæbka-bta-* ‘to dig a little’. Only a small group of causative verbs derived from transitives do add an extra argument; these are addressed in Section 3.1. Note that causativization may be used for applicative-like valence changing in order to allow relativization of lower grammatical functions by means of the primary relativization strategy, see Chapter 14, Section 1.

2.2 Oblique objects

An oblique object stands in one of the local cases, the dative, locative, ablative or prolativ, however, there are relatively few two-place verbs that take oblique objects.

Verbs that take the dative usually denote movement towards somebody or something (20a) or are verbs of emotion and managing information (20b).

- (20) a. *t’ebə-* ‘to touch’
 səne- ‘to jump at’
 ləbc’e- ‘to stick to’
 wəsade- ‘to turn to’
- b. *siər-* ‘to look at’
 məy^ompə- ‘to get happy about’
 ye^onə- ‘to hope for, to rely on’
 xərwa- ‘to want’
 punr’o- ‘to believe’
 n’ayə- ‘to be like a relative for someone’

The verb *yix^onor-* ‘to rub oneself against’ is combined with either the dative or the prolativ. Examples of derived (detransitivized) verbs that take the dative object are *səbc’^o-rə-* and *moyo-tə-*, cf. *wen’ako-m səbc’^o-* ‘to spit at the dog (ACC)’ vs. *wen’ako-n^oh səbc’^o-rə-* ‘to do spitting at the dog (DAT)’; *pe-m moyo-pa-* ‘to throw a stone (ACC)’ vs. *pe-x^oq moyo-tə-* ‘to throw stones (PL.DAT)’. Some movement verbs may also take oblique objects expressed by postpositional phrases with dative-marked postpositions, e.g. *to-h yer^o-h n’ah tæwə-* ‘to reach the middle of the lake (lake-GEN middle-GEN to reach)’, where *n’ah* is the dative form of the postpositional stem *n’a-* ‘at, by’. The verb *təra-* ‘to jump’ is an intransitive one-place verb, but with the meaning ‘to quickly jump in or out’ it requires a dative object or a dative adverb and takes object agreement (in the default singular form):

- (21) a. *m'at^oh t̄araə-w^o*
 tent.DAT jump-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I quickly jumped into the tent.'
- b. **m'at^oh t̄araə-d^om*
 tent.DAT jump-1SG
 ('I quickly jumped into the tent.')
- c. *s'aq pad^o-wi^o p'in^oh t̄ara^o-da*
 face paint-PERF.PART out jump-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'The Tungus (lit.: the one with a painted face) jumped outside.'
 (Labanauska 1995: 96)

It is not compatible with an overt accusative object and in this sense is rather exceptional.

The verbs *tara-* 'to be needed' and *xamc^oyalə-* 'to please' take the locative experiencer:

- (22) a. *ɲəworo-qm'id^o n'anan^o n'ĩ-q tara-q*
 eat-PERF.AN.PL.2SG LOC.1SG NEG-3PL needed-CONNEG
 'I don't need your leftovers.' (T 370)
- b. *t'iki^o ɲəmke-ko-r'i n'anan^o xamc^oyali*
 this what-DIM-LIM LOC.1SG please
 'Only this little thing pleases me.' (T 734)

Another example of a verb that takes the locative object is *pan^onə-* 'to get filled with'. In Western dialects the prolative plural may be used for generic objects of certain transitive verbs, e.g. the verbs *xan'e-* 'to hunt for' and *yo^or-* 'to fish with a seine-net'.

Some examples of two-place verbs which take the ablative are *wenolə-* 'to get frightened of (of animals)', *sira-* 'to be embarrassed about' and *xax^oγə-* 'to be close to', and *xan'e-* 'to hunt for'. The verb *p'inə-* 'to be afraid of (of people)' takes the ablative or dative, the latter usually being generic in meaning. Other verbs that take ablative objects usually denote operating information, such as the verbs *yīb'edor-* 'to think about', *lax^ona-* 'to tell about', *xon^ora-* 'to inform about', *pad^onə-* 'to write about', *tumtə-* 'to recognize by' and the complex expression consisting of the noun *yī* 'mind' in the possessive form and the verb *yader-* 'to walk' with the resulting meaning 'to think, to dream about'. Their object may be expressed either by the prolative case or by means of a postpositional phrase headed by the postposition *n'amna* 'about'.

2.3 Genitive objects

Genitive objects are altogether not typical of Tundra Nenets verbs. The only class of verbs that take the genitive object are verbs derived from postpositions, typically with the suffix *-m-*, e.g. *ɲil°*- ‘under’ > *ɲil°m-* ‘to get under’, *t’ax°*- ‘behind’ > *t’ax°m-* ‘to get behind, to hide behind’, but other suffixes are also possible in this derivation, e.g. *n’er°*- ‘in front of’ > *n’er°d’e-* ‘to be in front of’. Some sentence examples are presented below:

- (23) a. *ya-da* *sira-h* *ɲil°m-p’i*
 place-3SG snow-GEN under-V-DUR
 ‘The earth is getting covered with snow.’ (T 408)
- b. *ɲəno* *yabta* *səl’a-h* *t’ax°-ma*
 boat narrow cape-GEN behind-V
 ‘The boat disappeared behind a narrow cape.’ (T 822)

This property is obviously ‘inherited’ from the base postposition, since postpositions always take a genitive object in Tundra Nenets.

3 Three-place patterns

Three-place verbs typically take the accusative direct object and an indirect or oblique object which stands in one of the local cases.

3.1 Accusative and dative

Three-place verbs that take the accusative and dative denote change of location or change of possession, i.e. the transfer of an object or information. Some relevant verbs are *m’is-* ‘to give (away)’, *ta-* ‘to give’, *m’i°rdə-* ‘to sell’, *wad’e-* ‘to tell’, *temtara-* ‘to sell’, *masə-* ‘to smear onto’, *pen-* ‘to load’ and *wabta-* ‘to pour’. Most of these verbs allow an alternative pattern of valence (the so-called ‘spray-load alternation’), with the accusative and locative. Examples of these valence-changing processes are presented in Section 3.2.

Another group of relevant three-place verbs are verbs like *lad°-* ‘to hit’, *n’əqm°-* ‘to grab’ and some others, which can take an optional goal-like argument in the dative. The accusative object and the dative goal normally stand in a part-whole relationship, and the verb is marked for object agreement.

- (24) a. *Maša-m ηuda-xənta n'əqm°ə-da*
 Masha-ACC hand-DAT.3SG grab-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He took Masha by the hand.'
- b. *Maša-m ηəwə-n°h n'u°c'aə-da*
 Masha-ACC head-DAT kiss-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He kissed Masha on the head.'
- c. *n'e ηəc'eki°-m ηuda-xənta lad°ə-da*
 woman child-ACC hand-DAT.3SG hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He hit the girl on the hand.'

Some causatives derived from transitive verbs take a dative which corresponds to the causee argument. As mentioned above, this model is non-productive and only applies to a small group of verbs, for instance, *səḏora-* 'to sew' > *səḏora-bta-* 'to make somebody sew, to have something sewn by somebody', *s'erta-* 'to make' > *s'erta-bta-* 'to have something made by somebody', *mənes-* 'to see' > *məneq-labta-* 'to show', *temtara-* 'to sell' > *temtara-bta-* 'to sell to'. Some sentence examples are presented in (24).

- (25) a. *pənem'i Maša-n°h səḏora-btaə-w°*
 coat.ACC.1SG Masha-DAT sew-CAUS-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I asked Masha to make a coat for me.'
- b. *Wera-n°h wen'ako-mta temta-ra-bta°*
 Wera-DAT dog-ACC.3SG buy-PAS-CAUS
 'He sold his dog to Wera / He forced Wera to buy his dog.'

In Western dialects causative constructions with the dative argument are considerably more widespread, even though they are not still accepted by all speakers. Their meaning is normally permissive:

- (26) *xasawa ηəc'eki° wen'ako-mta Wera-n°h xada-ra-bta°*
 man child dog-ACC.3SG Wera-DAT kill-PAS-CAUS
 'The boy let his dog be killed by Wera.'

However, examples like (25) are considered strictly ungrammatical by the speakers of the dialects spoken on the Siberian side of the Urals.

The verb *man-* 'to say' takes two objects: the optional goal object expressed by the dative or the postpositional phrase headed by the postposition *n'ah*, and the dependent (finite) clause, see Chapter 13, Section 1.

3.2 Accusative and locative

This pattern is typical of verbs of change of location or change of possession, for instance, the verbs *yeqy°d'e-* 'to provide somebody with something' and *t'er°-d'empə-* 'to fill in something with something'.

- (27) *xal'a-xəna s'iqm'i yeqy°d'e°*
 fish-LOC I.ACC provide
 'He provided me with fish.'

A number of three-place verbs listed in the previous subsection exhibit two patterns of valence, first, with the accusative and dative, and second, with the accusative and locative. These alternations are exemplified below.

- (28) a. *t'uku° n'enec'ə-n°h mən'° kniga-m m'iqηa-d°m*
 this person-DAT I book-ACC give-1SG
 'I gave the book to this man.'
- b. *t'uku° n'enec'ə-m kniga-xəna m'iqηa-w°*
 this person-ACC book-LOC give-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I provided this man with the book.'
- c. **t'uku° n'enec'ə-m kniga-xəna m'iqηa-d°m*
 this person-ACC book-LOC give-1SG
 ('I provided this man with the book.')
- (29) a. *Wera-n°h xal'a-m ηəw°la°*
 Wera-DAT fish-ACC feed
 'He fed the fish to Wera.'
- b. *Wera-m xal'a-xəna ηəw°la°-da*
 Wera-ACC fish-LOC feed-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He fed Wera with fish.'
- (30) a. *n'ar°yana ηol'ep'a-m xarəd° yadə-n°q mas°ə-da*
 red paint-ACC house wall-DAT smear-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He smeared red paint onto the house wall.'
- b. *xarəd° yad°-m n'ar°yana ηol'ep'a-x°na mas°ə-da*
 house wall-ACC red paint-LOC smear-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He painted the house wall with red paint.'

Some verbs derived from transitives with causative affixes show the same alternations:

- (31) a. *Wera-m yad'empə-da s'ay°-xəna s'ay°-labtaə-da*
 Wera-ACC hot-IMPF.PART tea-LOC drink.tea-CAUS-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He made Wera drink the hot tea.'
- b. *Wera-n°h yad'empə-da s'ay°-m s'ay°-labta°*
 Wera-DAT hot-IMPF.PART tea-ACC drink.tea-CAUS
 'He gave hot tea to Wera to drink.'
- (32) a. *wen'ako-m ηəmca-xəna ηəw°la-btaə-da*
 dog-ACC meat-LOC feed-CAUS-SG > SG.OBJ
 'He fed his dog with the meat.'
- b. *wen'ako-n°h ηəmca-m ηəw°la-bta°*
 dog-DAT meat-ACC feed-CAUS
 'He fed meat to the dog.'

As shown by these examples, there is a certain meaning-related difference associated with the alternative patterns of valence: the accusative-locative pattern normally implies that the relevant event is completed. For instance, (32a) suggests that all the meat was fed to the dog, while (32b) does not contain this implicature. The constructions in which the theme argument corresponds to the locative while the goal stands in the accusative typically exhibit object agreement. The non-agreeing variant seems impossible in some examples, see (28c), and dispreferred in others. The pattern with the accusative theme and the dative goal favours non-agreeing objects, although this is only a tendency.

3.3 Accusative and other cases

A few verbs take the accusative object and a third argument which basically functions as a secondary predicate. It may be expressed by the essive form of the noun or the predestinative genitive, if it heads a possessive construction:

- (33) a. *yir'i-mta n'is'a-də-nta pæŋa-da*
 grandfather-ACC.3SG father-PRED-GEN.3SG treat-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He considers his grandfather as his father.'
- b. *xīb'a s'it° tal'ey°-ŋe° wad'eqna?*
 who you.ACC thief-ESS tell
 'Who calls you a thief?'
- c. *wen'ako-mtoh Yox°re-ŋe° n'um-t'e°-doh*
 dog-ACC.3PL Yoxre-ESS name-V3PL > SG.OBJ
 'They named their dog Yoxre.' (T 127)

- d. *Wera-m l'ekarə-ŋe° tas°la-mp'i-w°*
 Wera-ACC doctor-ESS decide-V-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I think that Wera is a doctor.'
- e. *Wera-m mən'° n'a-d°-n'i tola-b'i-w°*
 Wera-ACC I friend-PRED-GEN.1SG read-DUR-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I consider Wera my friend.'

The pattern with the accusative and the ablative object is typical of the verbs *xaŋa-* 'to ask', *n'aqm°-* 'to grab from', *yew°l'e-* 'to mix up with', *nəmtə-* 'to hear from', *temta-* 'to buy from', *xərwabta-* 'to prefer over', and *wik°ba-* 'to get something out of'. The ablative denotes the source of transfer or information.

- (34) a. *ŋəmke mən'° pad°ron'i pidər° pad°r-kət°*
 what I paper.PL.ACC.1SG you paper-PL.ABL
yew°l'e-s'əd°?
 mix.up-INTER.2SG > PL.OBJ
 'Why did you mix up your papers with mine?' (T 86)
- b. *Wera tu°n'i-m n'adən° yur yes'a-w°na temtaə-da*
 Wera gun-ACC.1SG ABL.1SG 100 metal-PROL buy-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera bought my gun from me for 100 roubles.'

Interestingly, for some verbs the third argument normally expressed by the independent ablative may be grammatically suppressed and correspond to the possessor of the object. For instance, the verbs *məŋa-* 'to take away' and *yaŋkəs-* 'to shake off' require ablatives when the source argument is not human, as in (35):

- (35) a. *sira-m p'a-xəd° yaŋkət°*
 snow-ACC tree-ABL shake.off.IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Shake off the snow from the tree.'
- b. **p'a-h sira-m-ta yaŋkət°*
 tree-GEN snow-ACC-3SG shake.off.IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('Shake off the snow from the tree.')
- c. *Wera te-xəd° n'an'°-m məŋa°*
 Wera reindeer-ABL bread-ACC take.away
 'Wera took away the bread from the reindeer.'

However, in (36), which involves the same verbs, the implied source argument is human ('yourself' in (36a) and 'Wera' in (36b)) and cannot correspond to the ablative. Instead the accusative object bears the possessive affix which cross-references

the human possessor, semantically equivalent to the ablative above. These examples illustrate some kind of argument demotion.

- (36) a. *sira-r°* *yaŋkəs°q*
 snow-2SG shake.off.IMP.2SG
 ‘Shake off the snow from yourself.’
- b. **sira* *n’adənt°* *yaŋkəs°q*
 snow ABL.2SG shake.off.IMP.2SG
 (‘Shake off the snow from yourself.’)
- c. *Wera-h* *s’anako-m-ta* *ŋəmke* *məŋa-r°?*
 Wera-GEN toy-ACC-3SG what take.away-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Why did you take Wera’s toy away?’
- d. **Wera-xad* *s’anako-m* *ŋamge* *məŋa-r°?*
 Wera-ABL toy-ACC what take.away-2SG > SG.OBJ
 (‘Why did you take Wera’s toy away?’)

Such possessive constructions would be impossible in (34).

Finally the verb *ŋok°mtə-* ‘to add to’ derived from *ŋoka* ‘many’ takes the accusative and genitive, e.g:

- (37) *t’uku°* *n’ax°r* *xal’a-ko-c’a* *xalet°* *ŋok°mtə-qma-ŋe°*
 this 3 fish-DIM-DIM fish.PL.GEN.2SG add-PERF.AN-ESS
xana-n°q
 take-IMP.2SG > PL.OBJ
 ‘Take these three fishes to add to your fish.’ (T 397)

This is the only verb with the accusative and genitive object I am aware of.

4 Passive

Passivization is fully productive: it applies to the whole class of transitive verbs. In passive constructions the verbs take a participial form.

4.1 The structure and meaning of the passive construction

The passive has several tense-related forms and their meaning is similar to the meaning of tenses in the active. Perfective verbs employ the perfective, future and negative participles to form the passive, but not the imperfective participles. These

participles can derive the past tense by means of regular past morphology, while the future and future-in-the-past are formed periphrastically with the help of the auxiliary *ηḗ-* ‘to be’. The resulting passive forms are shown below with approximate translations.

- (38) *xada-wi*^o (kill-PERF.PART) ‘was killed (recently)’
xada-wiəs^{’o} (kill-PERF.PART.PAST) ‘was killed (long ago)’
xada-wi^o *ηḗ-ηku* (kill-PERF.PART be-FUT) ‘will (have to) be killed’
xada-wi^o *ηḗ-ηku-s*^{’o} (kill-PERF.PART be-FUT-PAST) ‘had to be killed’

xada-wənta (kill-FUT.PART) ‘will be killed’
xada-wənta-s^{’o} (kill-FUT.PART.PAST) ‘was to be killed’
xada-wənta ηḗ-ηku (kill-FUT.PART be-FUT) ‘will be killed (in more distant future)’

xada-wədawey^o (kill-NEG.PART) ‘is not killed (yet)’
xada-wədawes^{’o} (kill-NEG.PART.PAST) ‘was not killed (yet)’
xada-wədawey^o *ηḗ-ηku* (kill-NEG.PART be-FUT) ‘will not have to be killed’

Imperfective verbs employ all types of participles in passive constructions: perfective participles, imperfective participles, future participles and negative participles. In (39) I present the list of possible temporal-aspectual forms, other combinations appear to be unacceptable:

- (39) *xada-ba-da* (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART) ‘is being killed’
xada-ba-da-s^{’o} (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART.PAST) ‘was being killed’
xada-ba-da ηḗ-ηku (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART be-FUT) ‘will be being killed’

xada-ba-wi^o (kill-DUR-PERF.PART) ‘was being killed (recently)’
xada-ba-wiə-s^{’o} (kill-DUR-PERF.PART.PAST) ‘was being killed (long ago)’

xada-ba-wənta (kill-DUR-FUT.PART) ‘will be possible to kill’
xada-ba-wənta-s^{’o} (kill-DUR-FUT.PART.PAST) ‘was possible to kill’

xada-ba-wədawey^o (kill-DUR-NEG.PART) ‘was not possible to kill’
xada-ba-wədawes^{’o} (kill-DUR-NEG.PART.PAST)
‘was not possible to kill (in the past)’

Passivization involves the realignment of grammatical functions and semantic roles: the second argument of the transitive verb (referred to hereafter simply as ‘patient’) assumes the nominative form and exhibits some properties of the subject (see 4.2), while the first agent-like argument (referred to hereafter as ‘agent’) is demoted to an optional role. The case marking of the agent is identical to the marking

of the possessor in possessive constructions: the genitive on lexical nouns and nominative on personal pronouns. In the Western varieties of Tundra Nenets the agent can sometimes stand in the locative, at least marginally, but this is probably the result of influence from Russian syntax. Examples below illustrate the contrast between the standard passive construction in (40a) and the construction with the locative agent recorded from the speakers of the dialect of Malaya Zemlya. Note that in the latter the participial form is derived with the suffix *-bey°* as opposed to *-wi°* (see Chapter 5, Section 4.1).

- (40) a. *t'uku° ηano Wera-h s'erta-wi°*
 this boat Wera-GEN do-PERF.PART
- b. *t'uku° ηano Wera-xəna s'erta-bey°*
 this boat Wera-LOC do-PERF.PART
 'This boat is made by Wera.'

In the Eastern dialects the locative in passives is only possible with an instrumental meaning, cf.:

- (41) a. *weba m'erc'a-h pūqlabta-wi°*
 leaf wind-GEN blow.away-PERF.PART
 'The leaf was blown away by the wind.'
- b. *weba m'erc'a-xəna pūqlabta-wi°*
 leaf wind-LOC blow.away-PERF.PART
 'The leaf was blown away by somebody using the wind.'

The agent argument remains unexpressed in (41b) but can actually be present in the genitive form, therefore impersonal passive constructions mentioned in Tereshchenko (1973: 111) are not really impersonal: the syntactic expression of the agent is possible, although not required. The true impersonal passive in Tundra Nenets has a modal meaning (see 4.3).

The participles that participate in passive constructions exhibit peculiar patterns of agreement with their core arguments. They cannot take object agreement selected from the objective paradigm of transitive verbs, and in this sense they differ from active modal forms, e.g. inferentials, which are also based on predicatively used participles (see Chapter 5, Section 4.8). For instance, (41a) shows an active clause with object agreement, while (42b) is its inferential variant where the inferential, historically based on the perfective participle used as the main predicate, also takes object agreement. But in (42c–d) we have a passive version of the same clause. The passive verb corresponds to the perfective participle, but object agreement is strictly ungrammatical.

- (42) a. *Wera t'uku° noxa-m xadaə-da*
 Wera this polar.fox-ACC kill-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera killed this polar fox.'
- b. *Wera t'uku° noxa-m xada-weda*
 Wera this polar.fox-ACC kill-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera has apparently killed this polar fox.'
- c. *t'uku° noxa Wera-h xada-wi°*
 this polar.fox Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 'This polar fox was killed by Wera.'
- d. **t'uku° noxa Wera-h xada-weda*
 this polar.fox Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART.3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('This polar fox was killed by Wera.')

Although the passive verb does not show the usual patterns of subject and object agreement, it agrees both with the agent and patient, albeit in different features. When the nominative patient stands in the 3rd person, the verb shows number agreement with this argument and person/number agreement with the optional pronominal agent. The number agreement suffixes are the same as those that indicate number on possessed nouns in the nominative (see Chapter 4, Sections 1.1 and 1.2), while person/number agreement is taken from the possessive paradigm. Recall that the pronominal agent, when present, also stands in the nominative, so both core arguments assume the nominative form and agreement is split between them, as shown in (43a). In this example the nominative patient 'reindeer' triggers either dual or plural agreement on the verb, while the person/number feature, namely, the 1st person singular, is determined by the agent 'I', also in the nominative. In (43b) I exemplify a 3rd person pronominal agent in the plural with a dual patient. The lexical genitive agent does not trigger agreement, just like the lexical possessor in possessive constructions. Thus, in (43c) we only have number agreement with the nominative patient. Agreement suffixes in this instance are identical to number markers on non-possessed nominative nouns, i.e. *-x°h* in the dual and *-q* in the plural.

- (43) a. *ti-q mən'° xada-win'i*
 reindeer-PL I kill-PERF.PART.PL.1SG
 'The reindeer are killed by me.'
- b. *wen'ako-x°h pidoh xada-wex°yudoh*
 dog-DU they kill-PERF.PART.DU.3PL
 '(Two) dogs are killed by them (many).'

- c. *t'uku°-q ti-q Wera-h xada-wi°-q*
 this-PL reindeer-PL Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART-PL
 'These reindeer were killed by Wera.'

When the nominative patient stands in the 1st or 2nd person, the agent can only be in the 3rd person and does not trigger agreement. The person/number agreement is with the nominative and is taken from the possessive paradigm.

- (44) a. *mən'aq Wera-h lador-mewaq*
 we Wera-GEN beat.up-PERF.PART.1PL
 'We (PL) are beaten up by Wera.'
- b. *n'eb'a-nt° xəl°ta-wen°*
 mother-GEN.2SG wash-PERF.PART.2SG
 'You are washed by your mother.'
- c. *pidar° pidoh xəl°ta-wen°*
 you they wash-PERF.PART.2SG
 'You are washed by them.'

A 1st or 2nd person agent is impossible in this instance, so examples (45) are ungrammatical.

- (45) a. **pidar° mən'° xəl°ta-wem'i*
 you I wash-PERF.PART.1SG
 ('You are washed by me.')
- b. **mən'° pidar° xəl°ta-wer°*
 I you wash-PERF.PART.2SG
 ('I am washed by you.')

In the future tense and non-indicative moods the passive is periphrastic and the expression of agreement features is split between two verbs: number agreement is hosted both by the auxiliary 'to be' and (optionally) the lexical verb, while person/number agreement may only be expressed by the participial form of the lexical verb. The examples in (46) illustrate this for the probabilative and the inferential mood.

- (46) a. *t'on'a pidar° xada-wer° ηæ-daki°*
 fox you kill-PERF.PART-2SG be-PROB
 'The fox is probably killed by you.'
- b. **t'on'a pidar° xada-wer° ηæ-daker°*
 fox you kill-PERF.PART-2SG be-PROB.2SG
 ('The fox is probably killed by you.')

- c. *t'ona-x^oh pidər^o xada-wexeyud^o ηæ-dakex^oh*
fox-DU you kill-PERF.PART.DU.2SG be-PROB.3DU
'The two foxes are probably killed by you.'
- d. *xada-wi^o ηæ-wi^o-q*
kill-PERF.PART be-INFR-3PL
'They were killed.'
- e. *xada-wi^o-q ηæ-wi^o-q*
kill-PERF.PART-PL be-INFR-3PL
'They were killed.'

The passive construction in Tundra Nenets is associated with the usual passive meanings, namely, it serves to make the patient/theme argument more pragmatically prominent/topical than the agent argument and/or to detopicalize the agent. It may also indicate that the identity of the agent participant is unknown or irrelevant, in which case it may remain unexpressed. The passive has an actional meaning; it does not denote the result of the event. This can be seen from the fact that it is only compatible with adverbs which specify the time of the event denoted by the verb, and not the time of its result, or the manner in which the action took place.

- (47) a. *t'uku^o xarəd^o n'is'a-n'i s'id'a yal'a-xəna s'erta-wi^o*
this house father-GEN.1SG 2 day-LOC do-PERF.PART
'This house was built by my father within two days.'
- b. *xarəd^o n'is'a-n'i yənampo-w^ona s'erta-wi^o*
house father-GEN.1SG slow-PROL do-PERF.PART
'The house was slowly built by my father.'
- c. *t'uku^o-q ti-q n'is'a-n'i n'itoh pūmna xada-wi^o-q*
this-PL reindeer-PL father-GEN.1SG REC.3PL after kill-PERF.PART-PL
'These reindeer were killed by my father one after another.'

All regular accusative objects undergo passivization. Passivization of subject control converbial clauses (48) and object control constructions (49) is also possible, cf.:

- (48) a. *n'isa-m'i [t'uku^o kniga-m tola-ba-^o] p'a^o*
father-1SG this book-ACC read-DUR-MOD start
'My father started reading this book.'
- b. *t'uku^o kniga n'is'a-n'i tola-ba-^o p'a-wi^o*
this book father-GEN.1SG read-DUR-MOD start-PERF.PART
'The book started being read by my father.'

- (49) a. *mən'° tay°kuy° n'enec'ə-nt°h ti-m xada-wənc'° tab'edaə-d°m*
 I that person-DAT reindeer-ACC kill-PURP order-1SG
 'I gave an order to that man to kill a reindeer.'
- b. *t'uku° ti tay°kuy° n'enec'ə-nt°h xada-wənc'° mən'°*
 this reindeer that person-DAT kill-PURP I
tab'eda-wem'i
 order-PERF.PART-1SG
 'This reindeer is such that I gave an order to that man to kill it
 (lit. this reindeer is ordered by me for that man to kill)'

However, it is not allowed to passivize objects of other types of embedded clause, as shown below for adverbial clauses:

- (50) a. *mən'° n'is'a-m'i ti-m xada-wənc'° xaŋa-w°*
 I father-ACC.1SG reindeer-ACC kill-PURP call-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I called my father to kill the reindeer.'
- b. **t'uku° ti n'is'a-m'i xada-wənc'° mən'° xamem'i*
 this reindeer father-ACC.1SG kill-PURP I call.PERF.PART.1SG
 ('This reindeer is such that I called my father to kill it.')

Predestinative accusative objects do not passivize either (see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.2).

4.2 Grammatical functions

As shown in the previous subsection, agreement in passive constructions is split between two elements, the nominative patient and the agent. The split is also observed in behavioural properties. Some properties predominantly target nominatives but there are variations, depending on the semantics and the linear order of elements.

Passives and actives are not much different in terms of reflexivization, since for most speakers a reflexive can be controlled by any preceding clause-level element. In passive clauses it is the nominative patient argument that normally controls the reflexive:

- (51) *t'uku° n'enec'° xər°-ta m'a-k°nanta Wera-h xada-wi°*
 this person REFL-3SG tent-LOC.3SG Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 'This man_i was killed by Wera_j in his_{i/j} tent.'

The constituent order in (51) is default. But the agent argument can be the antecedent of the reflexive, if both the subject and the agent follow it as in (52a) or precede it as in (52b). The interpretation then becomes ambiguous.

- (52) a. *xər°-ta m'a-k°nanta t'uku° n'enec'° Wera-h xada-wi°*
 REFL-3SG tent-LOC.3SG this person Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 'This man_i was killed by Wera_j in his_{i/j} tent.'
- b. *t'uku° n'enec'° Wera-h xər°-ta m'a-k°nanta xada-wi°*
 this person Wera-GEN REFL-3SG tent-LOC.3SG kill-PERF.PART
 'This man_i was killed by Wera_j in his_{i/j} tent.'

So this property indicates that both core arguments are prominent enough to be the antecedent of a reflexive. Non-reflexive pronouns in passives tend to refer to an entity not mentioned within the same clause, independently of their position:

- (53) *Maša pida m'a-k°nanta Wera-h n'u°c'a-wiə-s'°*
 Masha he tent-LOC.3SG Wera-GEN kiss-PERF.PART-PAST
 'Masha_i was kissed by Wera_j in his_{k/*i/*j} tent.'

In a similar vein, either the patient or the agent controls the referential null in same-subject dependent clauses. This in fact does not depend on position, but requires a plausible semantic interpretation. For instance, the verb *waqn°*- 'to lie (down)' only refers to animals, therefore (54a) cannot be interpreted as different-subject. But in (54b–c) the dependent clause can be controlled either by the agent or the patient.

- (54) a. [*waqn°-qma-x°dənta*] *noxa Wera-h xada-wi°*
 lie-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG polar.fox Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 'The polar fox was killed by Wera as soon as it lay down.'
- b. *ɲəc'eki° [mər°-kəna yil'e-wa-nta mal'°ɲkəna]*
 child city-LOC live-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG while
Wera-h xana-wiə-s'°
 Wera-GEN take-PERF.PART-PAST
 'The child_i was taken away by Wera_j when he_{i/j} lived in the city.'
- c. [*mər°kəna yil'ewanta mal'°ɲkəna*] *ɲəc'eki°*
 city-LOC live-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG while child
Wera-h xana-wiə-s'°
 Wera-GEN take-PERF.PART-PAST
 'The child_i was taken away by Wera_j when he_{i/j} lived in the city.'

As argued in Chapter 9, Section 1.1.2, in active clauses secondary predicates can target either the subject or the object, depending on their position. In passives both core arguments can control the secondary predicate and for some speakers at least this does not really depend on its position.

- (55) a. *Maša pidər° ηarka-ηe° wada-wer°*
 Masha you big-ESS grow-PERF.PART.2SG
 ‘Masha was brought up to be big by you’. Or: ‘Masha was brought up by you, being older.’
- b. *p’iwas’i Maša pidər° yad°bta-wer°*
 boots.CAR Masha you meet-PERF.PART.2SG
 ‘Barefoot Masha was met by you.’ Or: ‘Masha was met by you barefoot.’

Modal and purposive converbs functioning as adverbs typically indicate same-subject relations (Chapter 16, Section 2.3 and 2.4), but in passive constructions it is the agent argument that actually controls the converb:

- (56) a. *pidər° p’is’an-c° Wera-h n’u°c’a-wen°*
 you laugh-MOD Wera-GEN kiss-PERF.PART.2SG
 ‘You were kissed by Wera who was laughing (*while you were laughing).’
- b. *pad°r pad°nə-wənc° xamada-wi°*
 paper draw-PURP prepare-PERF.PART
 ‘The paper is prepared to write on.’

In (56) the converb is impossible because, as mentioned above, the verb *waqn°* only refers to animals and cannot be used about the human agent participant *Wera*. The action nominal adverbial clause has to be used instead.

- (57) a. *t’uku° noxa [waqn°-qma-x°dənta] Wera-h xada-wi°*
 this polar.fox lie-IMPF.AN-DAT.3SG Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 ‘This polar fox was killed by Wera while it was lying down.’
- b. **t’uku° noxa [waqnə-°] Wera-h xada-wi°*
 this polar.fox lie-MOD Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART
 (‘This polar fox was killed by Wera while it was lying down.’)

Similarly, the agent argument participates in control constructions and coordination by means of the grammaticalized converb *n’ac°*:

- (58) a. *Maša mən° n’u°c’a-mpa-° p’a-wem’i*
 Masha I kiss-DUR-MOD start-PERF.PART.1SG
 ‘Masha started being kissed by me.’

- b. *pidər° Maša-m n'ac'° Wera-h xo-wen°*
 you Masha-ACC with Wera-GEN find-PERF.PART.2SG
 'You were found by Wera with Masha.'

The agentive agreeing adverbs addressed in Chapter 8, Section 1.4.1 target agent arguments, therefore they agree with active subjects and passive (nominative or genitive) agents.

So the grammatical behaviour is split. Properties that are more sensitive to linear precedence, such as control of reflexivization, switch-reference and secondary predicates, can target either of the two core arguments. Properties that are sensitive to agenthood (control constructions, coordination and agreeing adverbs) pick out the agent. I will maintain throughout this grammar that the patient argument is the true subject because this better conforms with the typological data, and because it has regular properties of subjects: nominative case and control of agreement (although the latter is partial in this instance). The grammatical function of the agent argument is more difficult to establish: it is optional and therefore may be some kind of oblique, but it can control agreement (again, partially) and is quite active in syntax. So I will leave this question open and will not indicate grammatical functions in the glosses for passive verbs.

4.3 Impersonal passive

The modal passive typically indicates potentiality ('it is possible to') but may have other deontic meanings. It is formed by imperfective participles. Imperfective participles of perfective verbs (59a) are only possible in this modal function, since they do not form the regular passive. Imperfective participles of imperfective verbs with the modal reading (59b) have a very similar function to the imperfective participles of perfective verbs, but somehow emphasize continuity of the process. The participle can stand in the present, past or periphrastic future, but apparently not in the future-in-the-past.

- (59) a. *xada-na* (kill-IMPF.PART) 'is possible to kill'
xada-na-s'° (kill-IMPF.PART-PAST) 'was possible to kill'
xada-na ηæŋku (kill-IMPF.PART be-FUT) 'will be possible to kill'
 **xada-na-s'° ηæŋku* (kill-IMPF.PART-PAST be-FUT)
- b. *xada-ba-da* (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART) 'is possible to be being killed'
xada-ba-da-s'° (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART-PAST) 'was possible to be being killed'
xada-ba-da ηæŋku (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART be-FUT)
 'will be possible to be being killed'
 **xada-ba-da-s'° ηæŋku* (kill-DUR-IMPF.PART-PAST be-FUT)

Thus, for imperfective verbs, imperfective participles in the passive are ambiguous between the modal and non-modal reading. However, agreement patterns differ. In contrast to the personal passive described in the previous subsection, the modal passive agreement is always with the nominative patient argument and is taken from the subjective verbal paradigm, rather than the possessive paradigm. In fact, it is not possible to express the agent at all, so we are dealing with some kind of impersonal passive here.

- (60) *mən'°* (**Wera-h*) *xada-na-d°m*
 I Wera-GEN kill-IMPF.PART-1SG
 'It is possible (*for Wera) to kill me; I am destined to be killed.'

In the dialects spoken in the Malaya Zemlya, the agent can stand in the locative (but not in the nominative/genitive), as in (61), while in the Eastern dialects the locative can only have an instrumental meaning (62).

- (61) a. (*mən'°*) *n'anan'i t'uku° noxa xada-na*
 I LOC.1SG this polar.fox kill-IMPF.PART
 'It is possible for me to kill this polar fox.'
- b. **t'uku° noxa mən'° xada-na-m'i*
 this polar.fox I kill-IMPF.PART-1SG
 ('It is possible for me to kill this polar fox.')
- (62) a. *xəbarta ŋin°-xəna yaqmibə-da*
 moose bow-LOC not.overcome-IMPF.PART
 'It is not possible to catch a moose with a bow.' (T 857)
- b. *m'ūd°-waq səwa-r'i tex°qna pod'er-mi° ŋæ°-ya*
 caravan-1PL good-LIM reindeer.PL.LOC harness-PERF.PART be-JUS
 'Let our caravan be harnessed with the good reindeer only.'

Another type of passive which does not allow expression of the agent has a negative meaning. In passive constructions with negative participles the expression of the lexical agent is totally impossible and pronominal agents are highly questionable:

- (63) a. **ŋəno n'is'a-n'i s'erta-wədawey°*
 boat father-GEN.1SG do-NEG.PART
 ('The boat is not made by my father.')
- b. ?*t'uku° ti mən'° xada-wədawem'i*
 this reindeer I kill-NEG.PART.1SG
 'This reindeer is not killed by me.'

Thus, the impersonal passive in Tundra Nenets is restricted to modal and negative meanings.

Chapter 11

Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates include nouns, pronominals, adjectives, adverbs and non-finite verbal forms. When used as main predicates, some of these elements are combined with copular verbs, as described below. The resulting constructions have various existential, identificational or locational meanings.

1 Existential constructions

The existential copulas are *tən'a-* 'to exist' (affirmative) and *yəŋko-* 'there is no, there are no' (negative), which behave much like all other verbs. The examples in (1) illustrate that these copulas participate in predicative possessive constructions in the present tense. In the past and future tenses, the respective forms of the copulas are *tən'aə-s'o*, *yəŋku-s'o*, *tən'a-ŋku* and *yəŋku-ŋku*.

- (1) a. (*mən'o*) *wen'ako-m'i* (*mən'o*) *tən'a'o*
I dog-1SG I exist
'I have a dog.'
- b. *wen'ako-m'i* *yəŋku*
I dog-1SG no
'I don't have a dog.'

In these constructions the possessor is external to the NP headed by the possessed noun; as shown in (1a) it can be located after the possessed noun, as is typical of the external possessor described in Chapter 9, Chapter 3.3. In (2) the possessor is separated from the possessed noun by another clause-level constituent. This ensures that anaphoric possessive agreement is obligatory on the possessed noun not only when the possessor corresponds to a pronominal, but also when it is a lexical noun. Example (2b) shows that the external possessor may be non-referential and correspond to a wh-question focus word.

- (2) a. *Wera-h* *n'eboy'o* *po-h* *wen'ako-da* *tən'aə-s'o*
Wera-GEN last year-GEN dog-3SG exist-PAST
'Wera had a dog last year.'
- b. **Wera-h* *n'eboy'o* *po-h* *wen'ako* *tən'aə-s'o*
Wera-GEN last year-GEN dog exist-PAST
('Wera had a dog last year.')

- c. *xīb'a-h teda səwa?*
 who-GEN reindeer-3SG good
 'Whose reindeer is good?'

If the lexical possessor is located within the same NP as the possessed noun and does not trigger agreement on it, the clause cannot be interpreted as a predicative possessive construction, but rather indicates temporary location. For instance, *Werah wen'ako tən'a°* can only mean that Wera's dog is temporarily found in some specific location and will normally require a locational adverb. It should also be noted that speakers can occasionally produce constructions like the following:

- (3) *xər°-ta n'a°nta ηəm°nta-da yəŋku*
 REFL-3SG DAT.3SG eat.FUT.PART-3SG no
 'He himself has nothing to eat.' (T 751)

In (3) the possessor is additionally expressed by the dative case. This pattern was apparently influenced by Russian.

Examples in (4) illustrate non-possessive existential constructions:

- (4) a. *tas'exey°-q kos°ka-q tən'a-s'əti-q*
 yellow-PL cat-PL exist-HAB-3PL
 'There are yellow cats.'
- b. *tas'exey°-q kos°ka-q yəŋko-s'ətiq*
 yellow-PL cat-PL no-HAB.3PL
 'There are no yellow cats.'
- c. *pedara-x°na tudako-q tən'a°-q*
 forest-LOC mushroom-PL exist-3PL
 'There are mushrooms in the forest.'
- d. *yəx°-h war°-h n'in'a pidər° yəŋku-n°*
 river-GEN bank-GEN on you no-2SG
 'You are not on the river bank.'
- e. *komnata-x°na wen'ako yəŋku*
 room-LOC dog no
 'There is no dog in the room.'

Such examples normally contain an expression of location or stand in the habitual tense, as in (4a), in which instance they have a generic interpretation.

2 Identificational constructions

The identificational copula *ŋæ-* ‘to be’ is absent with nouns and adjectives in the present and past tense, but it is required in the future, future-in-the-past and habitual tenses, as well as in negations and all oblique (non-indicative) moods.

2.1 Attributive forms as predicates

The examples in (5) show that predicative adjectives do not require a copula in the present and past. The present remains unmarked, while the past is expressed on the adjective itself in the same way as it is expressed on finite verbs. Subject agreement is also indicated on the adjective. Agreement morphology is the same as for intransitive subjective verbs, for instance, in the 3rd person dual its exponence is *-xəh*, and in the 1st person singular it is *-dəm*.

- (5) a. *t'uku° wen'ako-x°h səwa-x°h*
 this dog-DU good-3DU
 ‘These two dogs are/were good.’
- b. *t'uku° wen'ako-x°h səwa-xən-c'°*
 this dog-DU good-3DU-PAST
 ‘These two dogs are/were good.’
- c. *(mən'°) wæwa-d°m*
 I bad-1SG
 ‘I am/was bad.’
- d. *(mən'°) wæwa-dəm-c'°*
 I bad-1SG-PAST
 ‘I am/was bad.’

The examples in (6) demonstrate that in the future tense and in oblique moods (in this instance, probabilative) the copula is required.

- (6) a. *wæwa-d°m / wæwa ŋæ-ŋku-d°m*
 bad-1SG / bad be-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will be bad.’
- b. *wæwa-d°m / wæwa ŋæ-daked°m*
 bad-1SG / bad be-PROB.1SG
 ‘I am probably bad.’

The copula takes subject agreement, but (6) shows that the adjective may host optional concord that expresses the same features by means of the same agreement affixes (in this example, the 1st person singular). This is indeed concord, as the presence of person/number morphology on the adjective crucially depends on its presence on the copula: the opposite distribution is ungrammatical, e.g. **wāwa-d°m ηā-daki°* (bad-1SG be-PROP).

Attributive forms of postpositions behave very much in the same way: they do not require a copula in the present and past. Their present tense forms are in fact very marginal. However, attributive postpositions do not host regular subject agreement, for instance, it is impossible to say **tol°-h ηile-d°m* (table-GEN under.ADJ-1SG) ‘I am under the table’. Instead, they bear possessive-like agreement morphology which targets the object of the postposition. In other words, the pattern of agreement in such constructions is similar to the pattern observed on predicative possessed nouns described in the next subsection.

- (7) a. *?t'uku° tol° mən°o ηile-m'i*
 that table I under.ADJ-1SG
 ‘This table is under me.’
- b. *t'uku° tol° mən°o ηile-m'inc°o*
 that table I under.ADJ-1SG.PAST
 ‘This table was under me.’
- c. *t'uku° tol° mən°o ηile-m'i ηā-ηku*
 that table I under.ADJ-1SG be-FUT
 ‘This table will be under me.’

The examples in (8) show constructions where the final predicate corresponds to a kind of reduced relative clause which relativizes the possessor and is headed by an adjective. Such clauses are described in Chapter 14, Section 5.1, where it is argued that their meaning is something like ‘the one whose head is/was big’. In the predicative function such adjectives behave in a regular way: they host subject agreement and past tense, while the future is periphrastic.

- (8) a. *ηāwa / *ηāwa-d°m ηarka-d°m*
 head / head-1SG big-1SG
 ‘I am big-headed (literally: I am/s the one whose head is big).’
- b. *ηāwa / *ηāwa-d°m ηarka-dām-c°o*
 head / head-1SG big-SG-PAST
 ‘I was big-headed (literally: I was the one whose head is big).’
- c. *piya n'ar°yana ηā-ηku-d°m*
 nose red be-FUT-1SG
 ‘I will be with a red nose.’

- d. *piya n'ar^oyana-d^om ηæ-ηku-d^om*
 nose red-1SG be-FUT-1SG
 'I will be with a red nose.'

Like regular adjectives, such adjectives exhibit optional person/number concord in periphrastic constructions (8b), but the subject of the reduced relative clause does not agree.

Examples (9) show regular relative clauses in the predicative function.

- (9) a. *t'uku^o ηano-r^o pidar^o s'erta-wer^o*
 this boat-2SG you do-PERF.PART.2SG
 'This boat of yours is the one you made.'
- b. **t'uku^o ηano-r^o pidar^o s'erta-wi^o*
 this boat-2SG you do-PERF.PART
 ('This boat of yours is the one you made.')
- c. *t'uku^o ηano Wera-h s'erta-wi^o*
 this boat Wera-GEN do-PERF.PART
 'This boat is the one made by Wera.'
- d. **t'uku^o ηano Wera-h s'erta-weda*
 this boat Wera-GEN do-PERF.PART.3SG
 ('This boat is the one made by Wera.')
- f. *t'uku^o ηano-r^o pidar^o s'erta-werə-s'^o*
 this boat-2SG you do-PERF.PART.2SG-PAST
 'This boat of yours is the one made by you (a long time ago).'

Such relative clauses obviously do not function as modifiers and show different patterns of agreement from regular relative clauses. In particular, subject agreement must be located on the participle when the subject is pronominal (9a), whereas the lexical subject never triggers agreement (9b). Example (9c) shows the synthetic past tense on the participle, while the future is periphrastic.

2.2 Nominative nouns as predicates

Predicative nouns behave in the same way as predicative adjectives: they take subject agreement and past tense morphology.

- (10) a. *pidar^o xan'ena-nə-s'^o*
 you hunter-2SG-PAST
 'You were a hunter.'

- b. *mən'° Toxol'i-dəm-c'°, t'edah Koren'eva-d°m*
 I Toxolya-1SG-PAST now Korenyeva-1SG
 'My name was Toxolya, but now I am Korenyeva.'

Like predicative adjectives, predicative nouns show optional concord in person/number with the copula:

- (11) a. *Wera-x°h Was'a-x°h toxolko-da-x°h ηḁ-ηku-x°h*
 Wera-DU Wasya-DU study-IMP.F.PART-DU be-FUT-3DU
 'Wera and Wasya will be students.'
- b. *mən'° toxolko-da-m°d ηḁ-ηku-d°m*
 I study-IMP.F.PART-1SG be-FUT-1SG
 'I will be a student.'
- c. *pidər° xan'ena-n° ηḁ-sa-n°?*
 you hunter-2SG be-INTER-2SG
 'Were you a hunter?'

In poetic or archaic language, the adjective modifying the predicative noun also shows optional concord in person/number if its head noun expresses person/number:

- (12) a. *səwa xan'ena-dəm-c'°*
 good hunter-1SG-PAST
 'I was a good hunter.'
- b. *səwa-dəm-c'° xan'ena-dəm-c'°*
 good-1SG-PAST hunter-1SG-PAST
 'I was a good hunter.'
- c. *səwa xan'ena ηḁηku-d°m*
 good hunter be-FUT-1SG
 'I will be a good hunter.'
- d. *səwa xan'ena-d°m ηḁηku-d°m*
 good hunter-1SG be-FUT-1SG
 'I will be a good hunter.'
- e. *səwa-d°m xan'ena-d°m ηḁ-ηku-d°m*
 good-1SG hunter-1SG be-FUT-1SG
 'I will be a good hunter.'

This pattern of concord represents NP-internal possessive concord described in Chapter 7, Sections 3.1 and 3.2.

Predicative possessed nouns do not show subject agreement; instead they bear agreement morphology which targets their possessor. This implies that the subject must be overtly expressed by a free-standing word, even when it is a pronoun which is normally dropped: in (13) the subject pronouns *pidər°* and *pida* cannot be omitted.

- (13) a. **(pidər°) *(mən°) n'a-w°*
 you I friend-1SG
 'You are my friend.'
- b. **(pida) *(mən°) xasawa-m'inc°*
 he I man-1SG.PAST
 'He used to be my husband.'

Example (14) demonstrates a predicative noun modified by a non-subject relative clause. As discussed in Chapter 14, normally in such clauses the relativized noun hosts (pronominal) person/number marking targeting the relative clause subject. However, when this noun serves as a predicate, subject marking appears on the verbal form, that is, the participle. Agreement on the head noun cross-references the main clause subject, in accordance with the general rule.

- (14) a. *mən° pidər° t'en'ani° yad°bta-wer° l'ekarə-d°m*
 I you yesterday.ADJ meet-PERF.PART.2SG doctor-1SG
 'I am the doctor whom you met yesterday.'
- b. **mən° pidər° t'en'ani° yad°bta-wi° l'ekarə-d°m*
 I you yesterday.ADJ meet-PERF.PART doctor-1SG
 ('I am the doctor whom you met yesterday.')

In (15) I present an example where the predicative role belongs to the noun expressing measure.

- (15) *t'uku° pad° səŋkom-ta s'id'a kilo*
 this bag weight-3SG 2 kilogramm
 'The weight of this bag is two kilogram.'

Other semantic types of modificational nouns do not function as predicates. For example, in *m'erc'a yal'a* 'windy day' the noun *m'erc'a* 'wind' stands in the nominative and functions as a kind of modifier (Chapter 7, Section 5.1), but it cannot be used predicatively: **yal'a m'erc'a* 'The day is windy.'

2.3 Pronouns and quantifiers as predicates

Personal pronouns and demonstratives rarely occur as predicates but are possible. They only partially behave like nouns and adjectives in this function: they take past tense marking but show no subject agreement, except for number agreement in the 3rd person, as shown in (16d).

- (16) a. *səwa l'ekar° mən'o*
 good doctor I
 'The good doctor is me.'
- b. **səwa l'ekar° mən'ə-d°m*
 good doctor I-1SG
 ('The good doctor is me.')
- c. *səwa l'ekar° mən'əs'o*
 good doctor I-PAST
 'The good doctor was me.'
- d. ?*səwa l'ekar° mən'əs'o*
 good doctor I-PAST
 'The good doctor was me.'
- e. *səwa l'ekar° t'uko-s'o*
 good doctor this-PAST
 'The good doctor was this one.'
- f. *səwa l'ekar°-q t'uku°-q*
 good doctor-PL this-PL
 'The good doctors are these ones.'

The demonstrative *t'əm* 'over there (3SG)' only occurs as a predicate. It has a defective paradigm, which only includes the 3rd person singular past tense *t'əm-c°* and the suppletive 3rd person plural form *t'ew°q*, but no other tense or agreement forms.

Possessive pronouns cannot function as predicates, cf. the ungrammatical **t'uku° səwa mən'o* 'This hat is mine'. Predicative question words take subject agreement and past tense and are combinable with the copular verb in other tenses and moods.

- (17) a. (*pidər°*) *xīb'a-n°?*
 you who-2SG
 'Who are you?'
- b. (*pidər°*) *xīb'a-nə-s'o?*
 you who-2SG-PAST
 'Who were you?'

- c. *t'uku° ηəmke ηæ-sa*
 this what be-INTER
 'What was that?'

But negative pronouns require a periphrastic construction with the verb 'to be' and the negative auxiliary even in the present and past, that is, they cannot host tense morphology: past tense is expressed on the auxiliary.

- (18) a. *t'uku° xib'axərt° n'ī ηa-q*
 this nobody NEG be-CONNEG
 'This is nobody.'
- b. *t'uku° xib'axərt° n'ī-s'° ηa-q*
 this nobody NEG-PAST be-CONNEG
 'This was nobody.'

Numerals and other quantifiers show subject agreement and take past tense in the predicative function:

- (19) a. *wen'ako-x°yu-n'ī s'id'a-xən-c'°*
 dog-DU-1SG 2-3DU-PAST
 'I had two dogs (literally: My dogs were two).'
- b. **wen'ako-x°yu-n'ī s'id'a-s'°*
 dog-DU-1SG 2-PAST
 ('I had two dogs (literally: My dogs were two).')
- c. *mən'aq n'ax°r-mac'°*
 we 3-1PL.PAST
 'There were three of us.'
- d. *wen'akun'ī ηoka-c'°*
 dog.PL.1SG many-3PL.PAST
 'My dogs were numerous.'

In this sense they are similar to adjectives and nouns.

2.4 Non-finite verbal forms as predicates

In Chapter 5, Section 4 I mentioned that some non-finite verbal forms can act as independent predicates without a finite copula: these are the conditional and the auditive. This section addresses the predicative use of participles, which formally behave very much like other non-verbal predicates in that a copula is required in

some tense/mood combinations. The participles that can be used in the predicative function are the imperfective and negative participles. Perfective and future participles have predicative usage too, but these constructions are analyzed here as the inferential and debitive mood, respectively (see Chapter 5). The crucial difference is that the inferential and debitive participial forms behave much like finite verbs in the sense that they express both subject and object agreement. Thus, they seem to have grammaticalized as finite predicates. In contrast, the predicative imperfective and negative participles discussed in this section rather follow the pattern of other non-verbal predicates: they take subject agreement, but no object agreement.

Imperfective participles used as main predicates denote habitual or repeating (iterative) events. The construction does not realign grammatical functions and in this it differs from passive constructions with imperfective participles (Chapter 10, Section 4). Like predicative nouns and adjectives, imperfective participles take subject agreement and the past tense, but not the future: the future is periphrastic.

- (20) a. *mən'° səwa-w°na mən°ra-na-d°m*
 I good-PROL work-IMPF.PART-1SG
 'I usually work well.'
- b. *mən'° m'er'°-h tūr-ta-dəm-c'°*
 I fast-GEN come-IMPF.PART-1SG-PAST
 'I always came quickly', Or: 'I frequently came and went'
- c. *mən'° uc'itel'-ηe° mən°ra-na ηæ-ηku-d°m*
 I teacher-ESS work-IMPF.PART be-FUT-1SG
 'I will work as a teacher.'

The progressive meaning does not seem to be possible in such instances so, for example, *pida mən°ra-na* (he work-IMPF.PART) can only mean 'He works' in the sense 'He is not jobless' but cannot be interpreted as 'He is working.' This point is also illustrated by the following contrast between the finite possessive verb *səb'eta* 'to have a hat' (derived from the noun 'hat') and the predicative participle of the same verb:

- (21) a. *yiba səb'eta-d°m*
 warm hat.V-1SG
 'I am wearing a warm hat.'
- b. *yiba səb'eta-na-d°m*
 warm hat.V-IMPF.PART-1SG
 'I have a warm hat.'

One of meanings of the finite present tense is progressive (21a), while the predicative imperfective participle in the present tense has a generic habitual reading (21b).

Examples in (20) and (21) illustrate intransitive verbs. Imperfective participles derived from transitive verbs usually require a plural object. In (22) I show the contrast in meaning between the finite present tense of the transitive verb ‘to do, to make’ and the imperfective participle in the predicative role.

- (22) a. *mən'°* *ɲənu* *s'erta-b'id°m*
 I boat.PL.ACC do-DUR.1SG
 ‘I am making boats.’
- b. *mən'°* *ɲənu* *s'erta-ba-da-d°m*
 I boat.PL.ACC do-DUR-IMP.F.AN-1SG
 ‘I am a boat maker.’

The verb *s'erta-ba-* is imperfective because it contains the imperfectivizing durative suffix *-ba-*; transitive constructions like (22b) are not freely formed from perfective transitive verbs.

Predicative negative participles convey some kind of perfective meaning such as ‘have not yet’ or ‘have never’.

- (23) a. *ɲəworma-w°dawedəm=n'uq*
 eat-NEG.PART.1SG-EXCL
 ‘I haven’t eaten indeed!’
- b. *pida məncara-w°dawey°*
 he work-NEG.PART
 ‘He has (never) worked.’

This contrasts with regular negation, e.g. *pida n'ī məncara-q* (he NEG work-CONNEG), which has a definite tense reading ‘He did not work (at some definite time in the past) / he is not working (now)’.

2.5 Oblique forms of nouns as predicates

When used as main predicates, oblique cases of nouns and postpositional phrases have locational meanings for the most part; this is discussed in Section 3. Non-locational constructions with oblique forms of nouns as predicates are rather infrequent. They require one of the two copular verbs, either *me-* or *ɲæ-*. The former is used when the subject participant is a human or sometimes an animate non-human entity, that is, an animal (but there are variations among speakers), while the latter is used with inanimate subjects. The copula is obligatory in such constructions and cannot be omitted even in the present tense.

- (24) a. *mən'° n'eb'a-xənan'i *(meə-d°m).*
 I mother-LOC.1SG be-1SG
 'I am with my mother.'
- b. *Wera n'e-nta n'a *(meŋa-x°h)*
 Wera woman-GEN.3SG with be-3DU
 'Wera is with his wife.'
- c. *t'iki° kniga say°norma-h n'amna *(ŋa)*
 that book war-GEN about be
 'That book is about war.'

Not all oblique cases and postpositional phrases seem to be acceptable as main predicates. For instance, **ŋəno mən'° yeq°mnan'i ŋa* (boat I for.1SG be) 'The boat is for me' was judged as ungrammatical. Equally ungrammatical in the predicative function are predestinative forms of nouns. However, in many instances the construction can be 'rescued' by combining the oblique nominal or postpositional form with the imperfective participle of the copular verb, as in (25):

- (25) a. *t'uku° n'enec° xib'a? Bank°-xəd° me-na*
 this person who bank-ABL be-IMPF.PART
 'Who is this person? He is from the bank.'
- b. *mən'° ŋarka xar°də-x°na me-na-d°m*
 I big city-LOC be-IMPF.PART.1SG
 'I live/*am in a big city.'

As discussed in 2.4, imperfective participles in the predicative use denote habitual events. So unlike the constructions discussed in Section 3 below, the examples in (25) do not have a locational meaning: for instance, (25a) can only mean that the relevant person generally works in the bank but not that he/she is in the bank at the moment of speech. Example (25b) can only mean that the subject participant habitually lives in the big city, not that he/she is currently in the city.

Another special construction consists of a noun or adjective in the essive or predestinative genitive form and a copula-like verb. The verbs that combine with the essive and predestinative are *tara-* 'to be needed, to serve as' (about humans), *ŋəd°-* 'to seem, to appear', *xə-* 'to become, to go' and a few others. They behave like regular finite verbs. In (26) I show the essive forms of nouns and in (27) the essive of adjectives. The essive here can be analyzed either as a part of the complex predicate or as some kind of verbal argument. The verb agrees with the subject.

- (26) a. *xurka / ŋəmke l'ekarə-ŋe° tara-sa?*
 which / what doctor-ESS needed-INTER
 'What kind of doctor did he work as?'

- b. *učit'el^o-ŋe^o tara-d^om*
 teacher-ESS needed-1SG
 'I work as a teacher.'
- c. *mən^o škola l'ekarə-ŋe^o xəya-d^om*
 I school doctor-ESS go-1SG
 'I became a doctor for the school'.
- d. **mən^o škola l'ekarə-d^o xəya-d^om*
 I school doctor-PRED go-1SG
 ('I became a doctor for the school'.)
- (27) a. *t'uku^o p'a ŋarka-ŋe^o ŋəd'i*
 this tree big-ESS appear
 'This tree seems big.'
- b. *ŋəc'eki^o wəwə-ŋe^o xəya*
 child bad-ESS go
 'The child became big.'
- c. *səwa-ŋe^o toli-nə-s^o*
 good-ESS count-2SG-PAST
 'You were considered good.'
- d. *səwa-ŋe^o tara-nə-s^o*
 good-ESS needed-2SG-PAST
 'You were considered good.'

The genitive predestinatives have the same meaning as the essive, but head possessive phrases with pronominal possessors cross-referenced by possessive morphology on the head:

- (28) a. *pidər^o l'ekarə-da-nt^o xəya-d^om*
 you doctor-PRED-GEN.2SG go-1SG
 'I became a doctor for you.'
- b. **pidər^o l'ekarə-ŋe^o xəya-d^om*
 you doctor-ESS go-1SG
 ('I became a doctor for you.')
- c. *n'ab'ako-m'i səwa n'a-d^o-n'i taraə-s^o*
 elder.sister-1SG good friend-PRED-GEN.1SG needed-PAST
 'My sister was a good friend for me.'
- d. **n'ab'ako-m'i səwa n'a-d^o-n'i ŋa-s^o*
 elder.sister-1SG good friend-PRED-GEN.1SG be-PAST
 ('My sister was a good friend for me.')

Essives are impossible in possessive phrases with pronominal possessors. But since predestinatives which head lexical nouns do not have a genitive form, the essive must be used instead, as in (26c) above.

3 Locational constructions

As with the previous type, locational constructions include an obligatory copular verb, either *me-* (with human and sometimes non-human animate subjects) or *ηæ-* (with inanimate subjects). The content part can be expressed by a noun in an oblique (local) case, a postpositional phrase or an adverbial.

- (29) a. *tol° komnata-x°na *(ηa)*
 table room-LOC be
 'The table is in the room.'
- b. *kniga tol°-h ηil°na *(ηa)*
 book table-GEN under be
 'The book is under the table.'
- (30) a. *wen'ako m'a-k°na me°*
 dog tent-LOC be
 'The dog is in the tent.'
- b. *mən' tol°-h ηil°na meə-d°m*
 I table-GEN under be-1SG
 'I am under the table.'

The obligatory presence of the copula makes this construction structurally different from basically synonymous constructions which employ the attributive forms of postpositions:

- (31) a. *taki° ya t'ax°nta n'a-ηi°*
 that place behind.3SG at-ADJ
 'This land is behind him.'
- b. **taki° ya t'ax°nta n'ana*
 that place behind.3SG at
 ('This land is behind him.')
- c. *taki° ya t'ax°nta n'ana ηa*
 that place behind.3SG at be
 'This land is behind him.'

- d. **taki*^o *ya* *t'ax*^o*nta* *n'a-ŋi*^o *ŋa*
 that place behind.3SG at-ADJ be
 ('This land is behind him.')

As shown in (31a), the attributive form of the compound postposition *t'ax*^o*nta n'aŋi*^o does not require a copula in the present tense in accordance with the general rule described in Section 2.1 for other attributive forms. On the other hand, the 'regular' non-attributive form of the postposition *t'ax*^o*nta n'ana* is impossible here (31b). Examples (31cd) demonstrate the opposite distribution: the attributive form is incompatible with the copula in the present tense.

Chapter 12

Non-declarative clause types and negation

The chapter describes the morphosyntax of major non-declarative clause types, namely, interrogatives, directives and exclamatives, as well as negative constructions.

1 Interrogatives

In interrogative sentences the verb stands in the regular indicative form, except when its reference is in the past, in which case it takes the interrogative mood described in Chapter 5, Section 3.10. On indirect questions and questions out of embedded clauses see Chapter 13, Section 3.

1.1 Wh-questions

The most important wh-words are listed below.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>xīb'a</i> | 'who' | <i>ηəmke</i> | 'what, what kind' |
| | <i>xurka</i> | 'what (kind of)' | <i>xən'ana</i> | 'where' |
| | <i>s'an°</i> | 'how many' | <i>s'ax°h</i> | 'when' |
| | <i>xənc'er°q</i> | 'how' | <i>xən'aŋi°</i> | 'which' |

The question words exhibit morphosyntactic properties of other parts of speech: the words 'who' and 'what' basically behave like nouns, the words 'which' and 'what kind of' are adjectives, while other question words are morphologically unchangeable like adverbs. Some of them can have a non-question reading, for instance, *xīb'a* can head a free relative clause, in which case it means something like 'person, somebody', while *ηəmke* can mean 'thing, something'; examples are cited in Chapter 14, Section 1.1. Tundra Nenets also has at least two question verbs: *xəqman-* 'to say what' historically formed from the interrogative stem *xə-* and the verb *man-* 'to say' and its 'emphatic' variant *xəqmäl'e-* 'to say what on earth'. These verbs have regular verbal morphology and can form a completed sentence, e.g. *xəqman-ca-n°* 'What did you say? (what.say-INTER-2SG)' and *xəqman-t°ə-n°* 'What will you say? (what.say-FUT-2SG)'.

The examples in (2) illustrate wh-questions in independent clauses, which target the subject and the other grammatical functions.

- (2) a. *n'er°c'u-naq xīb'a tæw°ra-ca?*
towards-1PL who reach-INTER
'Who reached us?' (T 304)

- b. *ɲəmke-h n'id° t'ey° yal'a-h n'i-s'a-n° tu-q?*
 what-GEN from that day-GEN NEG-INTER-2SG come-CONNEG
 'Why didn't you come yesterday?' (T 376)
- c. *tən'ana xīb'a-h n'ah ləx°nəə-n°?*
 there who-GEN with talk-2SG
 'With whom are you talking there?' (T 181)

Wh-words are marked by raising intonation rather than dedicated syntactic position. As discussed in Chapter 9, Section 3.1, narrow focus elements tend to be adjacent to the verb, but there is no designated focus position in Tundra Nenets, so wh-words can remain in-situ or be optionally fronted. In fact, their position is as free as the position of other non-verbal elements, so that all orders are equally possible. For example, all other orders are equally possible for (3): *xən'ana t'en'ana Wera t'uku° tim xadasada* or *t'en'ana xən'ana Wera t'uku° tim xadasada* or *Wera t'uku° tim xən'ana t'en'ana xadasada* or *xən'ana t'en'ana Wera t'uku° tim xadasada*.

- (3) *t'en'ana Wera t'uku° ti-m xən'ana xada-sa-da?*
 yesterday Wera this reindeer-ACC where kill-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Where did Wera kill this reindeer yesterday?'

Consequently, there are no asymmetries in multiple wh-questions:

- (4) *xīb'a ɲəmke-m xīb'a-n°h m'i-ca?*
 who what-ACC who-DAT give-INTER
 'Who gave what to whom?'

Again, (4) can be said using different orders: *ɲəmke-m xīb'a xīb'an°h m'ica* or *ɲəmke-m xīb'an°h xīb'a m'ica*.

On the patterns of object agreement in questions see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1. In short, object wh-words in the accusative such as *xīb'a-m* 'whom' and *ɲəmke-m* 'what' (as well as answers to them) never trigger agreement. Neither do questions to most subconstituents of an object NP, for instance, a possessor, modifier or quantifier.

Wh-questions can be answered with one word or with a combination of the targeted element and the verb. The fragment below is an answer to the question 'Where did he kill the reindeer?':

- (5) *pedara-x°na (xadaə-da-s°)*
 forest-LOC kill-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'In the forest.'

It is of course always possible to answer with a fully formed clause.

1.2 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions do not differ in their syntax from respective declaratives, e.g:

- (6) a. *n'a-r° n'anant° n'i-s'a tuq?*
 companion-2SG LOC.2SG NEG-INTER come.CONNEG
 'Didn't your friend come with you?' (T 335)
- b. *sac° tix°nə-° yer'em-ca-daq?*
 very have.troubles-MOD happen-INTER-2PL
 'Did you happen to have many troubles?' (T 683)
- c. *Wera n'i-s'a tuq?*
 Wera NEG-INTER come.CONNEG
 'Didn't Wera come?'

However, they are associated with particular intonation, namely, pitch raising on the penultimate and ultimate syllables, which may make the sentence-final vowel longer. Yes-no questions can be answered either with the verb alone or by repeating the whole sentence. When the answer is negative, it comprises the negative verb or the combination of the negative verb and the lexical verb in the connegative form.

1.3 Alternative and deliberative questions

When the whole content of the clause is presented with an alternative, the main predicate is 'doubled' by a negative auxiliary bearing the same agreement and tense/mood features. For instance, in (7a) both the verb 'to come' and the negative verb stand in the 3rd person singular interrogative mood indicating the past tense reference of the question. The answer to this question is either *n'i-s°* 'no, he didn't' or *to-s°* 'yes, he did'. In (7b) the main predicate is the adjective, which hosts the assertive clitic =*m°h*, and the negative verb stands in the uninflected 3rd person singular present tense form combined with the same clitic.

- (7) a. *Wera to-sa n'i-sa?*
 Wera come-INTER NEG-INTER
 'Did Wera come or not?'
- b. *t'uku yəxa yor'a=w°h n'i=w°h?*
 this river deep-DUB NEG-DUB
 'Is this river deep or not?'

It is also possible to use conditional forms of both verbs, often combined with the same clitic =*m°h*, in which case the question conveys more uncertainty and doubt.

- (8) a. *xada-wi°* *ηḁ-b°-ta* *n'i-b°-ta?*
kill-PERF.PART be-COND-3SG NEG-COND-3SG
'Did he kill it or not?'
- b. *ti-m* *xada-bḁ-ta=w°h* *n'i-b°-ta=w°h?*
reindeer-ACC kill-COND-3SG-DUB NEG-COND-3SG-DUB
'Did he kill it (recently) or not?'
- c. *ηob* *n'ed°ko-mt°* *səp°da-b°q-nḁ=w°h* *pūbta=b°q=nḁ=w°h?*
one daughter-ACC.3SG find.at.home-COND-1SG-DUB miss-COND-1SG-DUB
'Did I find your only daughter at home or did I miss her?' (a match-making formula) (T 532)

When only one element of the alternative question stands in disjunction, this is conveyed simply by naming the alternative with the raising intonation at the end of the second disjunct:

- (9) a. *noxa-m* *xada-sa-n°*, *t'on'a-m?*
polar.fox-ACC kill-INTER-2SG fox-ACC
'Did you kill a polar fox or a red fox?'
- b. *ti-m* *xada-sa-n°*, (*ηan'i*) *ηəmke-m?*
reindeer-ACC kill-PAST-2SG other what-ACC
'Did you kill a reindeer or something else?'

If the second disjunct is not expressed, the question is interpreted as deliberation, that is, a question to oneself. Such questions can include *wh*-words. The verb also takes the conditional form (10) or a regular finite form (11).

- (10) a. *n'abako-m'i* *tūt°-bḁ-ta(=w°h)?*
elder.sister-1SG come.FUT-COND-DUB
'(I wonder) Will my sister come or not?'
- b. *ηəmke* *to-b°-n'i / to-b°na-n'i?*
what come-COND-1SG / come-COND.EMPH-1SG
'Why on earth did I come?'
- c. *yadesump°-wənc'°* *xḁ-b°qna-naq* *xurka* *ηḁ-ηko-bḁ-ta?*
walk-PURP go-COND.EMPH-1PL which be-FUT-COND-3SG
'What if we go for a walk?' (T 830)
- (11) *s'axah* *tūt°ḁ=w°h?*
when come.FUT-DUB
'When on earth will he come?'

As shown by these examples, the clitic =*m^oh* frequently occurs in deliberative questions but is by no means obligatory.

2 Directives

Various directive meanings are expressed by directive moods, the imperative, hortative and jussive; they are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. All these moods are compatible with the precative suffix -*xər*- which is meant to soften the directive force. The sentence in (12) exemplifies the precative on the imperative, (13) shows the combination of the precative with the jussive, and in (14) I show the precative on the hortative. (13b) additionally demonstrates the semantic contrast between the simple jussive and its precative variant.

- (12) *xoba səwa-w^ona nə-kər-t^o*
 skin good-PROL scrape-PREC-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Scrape the skin well (let’s see how well you can do it)!’ (T 289)

- (13) a. *yeqm^on’a-ntoh mən^ora-^o mes^{’o} ηæ-x^oηa-ya*
 for-3PL work-MOD enough be-PREC-JUS
 ‘It’s enough for him to work for them!’ (T 116)

- b. *t’uku^o kniga-m temta^a-ya*
 this book-ACC buy-JUS
 ‘Let him buy this book.’

- c. *t’uku^o kniga-m temta-x^oηa-ya*
 this book-ACC buy-PREC-JUS
 ‘What if he buys this book.’

- (14) a. *mən^{’o} mən^otə-n^o yader-kər-c’u-d^om*
 I personally-1SG walk-PREC-NEC-1SG
 ‘It looks like I have to go personally.’ (T 226)

- b. *ηəmke-r’i nota ηod^oq s’id’a-ηe^o xæ-x^or-c’u-n’ih*
 what-LIM DP too 2-ESS go-PREC-NEC-1DU
 ‘Whatever happens, let’s go together.’ (T 377)

Double precatives usually has a stronger meaning. For instance, the single precative in (15) can be used when the request is mild and it is unknown where the brother is, while the double precative rather conveys an order (‘Do fetch my brother immediately!’).

- (15) a. *n'a-m'i* *xo-kə^o-q*
 companion-1SG fetch-PREC-IMP.2SG
 'Fetch my younger brother.'
- b. *n'a-m'i* *xo-k^or-xə^o-q*
 companion-1SG fetch-PREC-PREC-IMP.2SG
 'Fetch my younger brother.'

The precativ e is not compatible with non-directive moods or negation.

3 Exclamatives and addresses

Exclamatives are not always easily distinguished from non-exclamative speech acts and, in particular, from inferentials and miratives, but they are characterized by a special raising intonation in Tundra Nenets. This is indicated here by an exclamation mark. Moreover, they are often accompanied by various interjections, anaphoric elements, exclamative clitics and particles expressing various emotions such as, e.g., *t'idaq*, *n'ana*, *n'ene^o* and *n'ar^o*. Like in many languages, degree exclamatives often employ wh-words and degree adverbs. The latter function anaphorically, cf. (16a) and (16b).

- (16) a. *n'enaq* *səwa-w^ona* *tola-ŋku*
 very good-PROL read-INTR
 'He reads very well.'
- b. *n'enaq* *səwa-w^ona* *tola-ŋku=n'uq*
 very good-PROL read-INTR-EXCL
 'He reads so well!'

(16a) is a non-exclamative utterance, so *n'enaq* simply means 'very', while in (16b) it has the anaphoric meaning 'so very'. This conveys that the event described by the sentence exceeds the speaker's expectations in some sense. Note the clitic =*n'uq* in (16b); on the usage of exclamative clitics see Chapter 6, Section 1.

The verbal forms in exclamative utterances are usually the same as in questions. This means that the past tense reference is expressed by the interrogative mood rather than the indicative past:

- (17) *xənc'er^oq* *ŋæ-da* *ŋæwad'ar-c'^o-da* *ŋəc'eki^o* *ŋæ-sa!*
 how be-IMPF.PART rest-V-IMPF.PART child be-INTER
 'What a restless child he was!' (T 414)

The inferential (mirative) mood is also very common with the exclamative intonation:

- (18) a. *xurka səwa xīb'a ηǣ-wi°!*
 which good who be-INFR
 'He is such a good person!' (T 784)
- b. *xiy° t'ukoxəna me-wen°!*
 INTJ here be-INFR.2SG
 'Ah, you're here after all!' (T 790)
- c. *ηul'iq t'ib'a-s'ə-wen°!*
 completely tooth-V-INFR.2SG
 'It turns out you are completely toothless!' (T 656)

Exclamative utterances which convey wishes about something unrealized in the past contain independently used conditional converbs in the emphatic form:

- (19) *xax°yə-da ηesi-h ηesont°h tǣw°ra-wi° ηǣ-b°na-n'!*
 close-IMPF.PART village-GEN till carry-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-1SG
 'If only I could have taken him until the next village!'

In the Eastern dialects independent conditional converbs never refer to future wishes, although in the Western dialects they are possible with an apprehensive meaning too, cf.:

- (20) a. *yanolara-q n'i-b°na-n°*
 get.late-CONNEG NEG-COND.EMPH-1SG
 'I hope I won't be late!'
- b. *ηəc'ekew° n'i-b°na-nta yed'el°q*
 child.1SG NEG-COND.EMPH-3SG get.ill.CONNEG
 'I hope my child doesn't get ill!'

The subject of some exclamative-like utterances stands in the essive form, especially with non-verbal predicates. The essive is referential here and conveys additional emphasis.

- (21) a. *teηe° ηarka=n'uq*
 reindeer.ESS big-EXCL
 'But the reindeer is big!'
- b. *Wera-ηe° səwa=n'uq!*
 Wera-ESS good-EXCL
 'But Wera is so nice!'

Addresses can also be marked with the essive. In this function the essive serves for emphasis or contrast between the referent in question and the potential set of other relevant candidates.

- (22) a. *Wera-ŋe°*, *pidər°* *xan°oq!*
 Wera-ESS you go.IMP.2SG
 ‘And you, Wera, go!’
- b. *Wera-ŋe°*, *n’anant°* *ručka* *tara°?*
 Wera-ESS LOC.2SG pen needed
 ‘And you, Wera, do YOU need a pen?’
- c. *Wera-ŋe°*, *s’erta-wi°* *ŋəno-r°* *səwa*
 Wera-ESS do-PERF.PART boat-2SG good
 ‘Wera, the boat YOU made is good.’

Such essives are followed by an intonational pause, like other addresses. The focus clitic *=(ŋo)w°* / *=ey°* is also used in addresses (Chapter 6, Section 1.2).

4 Negation

On negation in non-finite clauses see Chapter 13, Section 2.5, on constituent order in negative constructions see Chapter 9, Section 3.2.

4.1 Negation of finite clauses

Like a number of other Uralic languages, Tundra Nenets has negative auxiliaries which, combined with a non-finite lexical verb, form periphrastic negation. The non-finite form used in negative constructions is the so-called connegative typically ending in *-q*, see Chapter 5, Section 4.6. The negative auxiliary stem is *n’i-*. The inflectional forms of this verb are irregular, see Chapter 2, section 3.1.3.

Negation in finite clauses is typified by (23). As can be seen here, the negative auxiliary takes subject and object agreement, past tense and mood.

- (23) a. *t’uku°* *ŋəno-m* *n’i-wə-s°* *s’erta-q*
 this boat-ACC NEG-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST do-CONNEX
 I didn’t make this boat.’
- b. *xūn’ana* *m’er°r’ih* *n’oyi-n°* *xan°oq*
 tomorrow quickly.LIM NEG.SUBJ-2SG go-CONNEX
 ‘Don’t leave early tomorrow.’

- c. *marka-m ləbc'e-° n'on° yur°-q*
 stamp-ACC stick-MOD NEG.IMP.2SG forget-CONNEG
 'Don't forget to stick on the stamp.' (T 165)
- d. *n'i-wewaq yuxu-q*
 NEG-INFR.1PL get.lost-CONNEG
 'Apparently we didn't get lost.' (T 624)
- e. *n'i-wəntar°xa tuq*
 NEG-FUT.APRX come-CONNEG
 'It looks like he will not come.'

The lexical verb, however, carries aspectual and valence changing morphology, for example the durative in (24a). Like aspect, the exponent of the future tense must be associated with the lexical verb producing future connegative forms (24b):

- (24) a. *n'on° wəql'ero-mp'uq*
 NEG.IMP.2SG be.capricious-DUR-CONNEG
 'Don't be capricious.' (T 54)
- b. *s'ax°xərt°h n'i-w° yur°-ŋku-q*
 never NEG-1SG > SG.OBJ forget-FUT-CONNEG
 'I will never forget it.'

Habitual negative constructions exhibit free variation: the habitual may be realized either by the auxiliary or the lexical verb.

- (25) a. *m'a-k°na n'i-s°ti yil'e°-q*
 tent-LOC NEG-HAB live-CONNEG
 'He doesn't usually live in a tent.'
- b. *m'a-k°na n'i yil'e°-s'ətuq*
 tent-LOC NEG live-HAB-CONNEG
 'He doesn't usually live in a tent.'

So, the exponents of tense features are distributed unevenly in negative constructions: the auxiliary expresses the value [past] and optionally [habitual], while the connegative expresses the values [future] and optionally [habitual]. Double exponence is impossible: the tense feature is only realized once even though its host varies.

The negative auxiliary is sensitive to the inflectional class of intransitive lexical verbs. As can be seen from the examples in (26), if the lexical verb belongs to the reflexive type, the negative auxiliary must choose agreement inflections from the reflexive paradigm in all relevant forms. Some speakers optionally allow the subject-

tive type inflections too, that is, *n'ɪd^om* in (26a), *n'ɪ* in (26b), and *n'ɪwaq* in (26c), but this is very marginal and possibly the result of the recent tendency for analogical levelling of the paradigm: reflexive verbs constitute a minority of intransitive verbs in the language. In the 3rd person plural the subjective inflection is impossible for all speakers (**n'ɪq* in (26d)), presumably because of the potential confusion with the 3rd person singular form.

- (26) a. *n'ɪ-w^oq* *təp^o-q*
 NEG-REFL.1SG go.out-CONN
 'I didn't go out.'
- b. *n'ɪ-q* *təp^o-q*
 NEG-REFL.3SG go.out-CONN
 'He didn't go out.'
- c. *n'ɪ-naq* *təp^o-q*
 NEG-REFL. go.out-CONN
 'We didn't go out.'
- d. *n'ɪ-d^oq* *təp^o-q*
 NEG-REFL.3PL go.out-CONN
 'They didn't go out.'

Thus, the negative auxiliary is not associated with an inflectional class of its own; it 'inherits' the class of the lexical verb.

4.2 Negation of non-verbal predicates

Negation of predicative nouns, adjectives and participles requires a complex construction which includes the negative auxiliary bearing inflectional information and *ɲaq*, the connegative form of the verb *ɲæ*- 'to be'. The contrast with finite verbs is exemplified below: (27a) illustrates negation of the finite verb *n'ar^oya*- 'to be red', whereas (27c) shows negation of its imperfective participle *n'ar^oyana* 'red' functioning as the main predicate.

- (27) a. *s'ata* *n'ɪ* *n'ar^oya-q*
 face.3SG NEG red-CONN
 'His face is not red.'
- b. **s'ata* *n'ɪ* *n'ar^oya-na*
 face.3SG NEG red-IMP.F.PART
 ('His face is not red.')

- c. *s'ata* *n'ar^oyana* *n'ĩ* *ηaq*
 face.3SG red-IMP.F.PART NEG be.CONNEG
 'His face is not red.'
- d. **s'ata* *n'ar^oya* *n'ĩ* *ηaq*
 face.3SG red NEG be.CONNEG
 ('His face is not red.')

The adjective or noun can optionally carry subject agreement which must double the agreement features of the negative auxiliary. For instance, in (27b) agreement must be in person and number (1DU), but cannot be in number only, that is, **wæwa-xah* (bad-DU).

- (28) a. *wæwa(-d^om)* *n'ĩ-d^om* *ηaq*
 bad-1SG NEG-1SG be.CONNEG
 'I am not bad.'
- b. *wæwa(-n^{ih})* *n'ĩ-n'ih* *ηaq*
 bad-1DU be-1DU be.CONNEG
 'We (DU) are not bad.'
- c. *səwa* *xan'ena(-d^om)* *n'ĩ-d^om* *ηaq*
 good hunter-1SG NEG-1SG be.CONNEG
 'I am not a good hunter.'
- d. *mən^o* *m'er^oh* *xanta(-d^om)* *n'ĩ-d^om* *ηaq*
 I quickly go.IMP.F.PART(-1SG) NEG-1SG be.CONNEG
 'I am not the one leaving early.'

Since such constructions have two potential agreement hosts, agreement patterns differ from affirmative clauses with possessed nouns in the predicative function. As discussed in Chapter 11, Section 2.2, there is no subject agreement in such constructions, but the subject must correspond to a free-standing word. In negative constructions with possessed nouns subject agreement is realized on the negative auxiliary, while the lexical noun carries possessive morphology, cf.:

- (29) a. *pidər^o* *mən^o* *n'a-w^o*
 you I friend-1SG
 'You are my friend.'
- b. *mən^o* *n'a-w^o* *n'ĩ-n^o* *ηaq*
 I companion-1SG NEG-2SG be.CONNEG
 'You are not my friend.'

The distribution of tense features is the same as in regular verbs, i.e. the past is realized on the negative auxiliary, the future on the connegative of the verb ‘to be’, and the host of the exponence of the habitual varies. Tense cannot be marked on the non-verbal predicate.

- (30) a. *səwa xan'ena-d^om n'ĩ-dəm-c^o'* *ŋaq*
 good hunter(-1SG) NEG-1SG-PAST be.CONNEG
 ‘I was not a good hunter.’
- b. **səwa xan'ena-dam-c^o n'ĩ-dəm-c^o'* *ŋaq*
 good hunter-1SG-PAST NEG-1SG-PAST be.CONNEG
 (‘I was not a good hunter.’)
- c. *t'uku^o wen'ako-x^oh səwa-x^oh n'ĩ-x^oh ŋæ-ŋku-q*
 this dog-DU good-3DU be-3SU be-FUT-CONNEG
 ‘These two dogs will not be good.’
- d. *koska-q tas'exey^o-q n'ĩ-s^oti-q* *ŋaq*
 cat-PL yellow-PL be-HAB-3PL be.CONNEG
 ‘Cats do not come in yellow.’

In negative passive constructions tense is realized both on the participle and the auxiliary in the following way:

- (31) a. *xada-wi^o n'ĩ ŋaq* ‘hasn’t been killed / wasn’t killed (recently)’
xada-wi^o n'ĩ-s^o ŋaq ‘wasn’t killed (long ago)’
xada-wi^o n'ĩ ŋæ-ŋku ‘will not be killed / cannot be killed’
xada-wi^o n'ĩ-s^o ŋæ-ŋku ‘didn’t have to be killed’
- b. *xada-wənta n'ĩ ŋaq* ‘will not be killed’
xada-wənta n'ĩ-s^o ŋaq ‘was not to be killed’
xada-wənta n'ĩ ŋæ-ŋku ‘will not be killed (in more distant future)’
- c. *xada-ba-da n'ĩ ŋaq* ‘is not being killed’
xada-ba-da n'ĩs^o ŋaq ‘was not being killed’
xada-ba-da n'ĩ ŋæ-ŋku ‘will not be being killed’
- d. *xada-ba-wi^o n'ĩ ŋaq* ‘was not being killed (recently)’
xada-ba-wi^o n'ĩ-s^o ŋaq ‘was not being killed (long ago)’
- e. *xada-ba-wənta n'ĩ ŋaq* ‘will not be possible to kill’
xada-ba-wənta n'ĩ-s^o ŋaq ‘was not possible to kill’

The mood feature is always expressed on the auxiliary.

Negative participles in the passive entail that the event took place in some moment in the past but did not reach its completion. For instance, (32a) indicates that the house has not been finished, although some building activity has taken place. On the other hand, a negated perfective participle denotes that the house has not been made and perhaps has never even been started (32b).

- (32) a. *xarəd° təmna s'erta-wədaŋwey°*
 house still do-NEG.PART
 'The house hasn't been finished.'
- b. *xarəd° s'erta-wi° n'ī ŋaq*
 house do-PERF.PART NEG be.CONNEG
 'The house is not built.'

One example of the negated modal passive is (33):

- (33) *xada-ba-da-d°m n'ī-d°m ŋaq*
 kill-DUR-IMP.F.PART-1SG NEG-1SG be.CONNEG
 'I am impossible to kill'

In this example the lexical predicate (the participle) shows person/number concord with the negative auxiliary.

4.3 Negative polarity items

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Section 2.2, negative polarity items are derived from most question words by means of the focus marker *-xərtə*, for example: *xīb'a-xərt°* 'anybody, nobody', *ŋəmke-xərt°* 'nothing', *xən'a-x°rtə-na* 'to nowhere', *xurka-xərt°* 'no, any', *s'ax°ŋ-kərt°h* or *s'ax°-xərt°h* 'never'. The focus affix precedes the residual case morphology, e.g. the dative case marker *-t°h* in the latter example. The use of the negative polarity items is illustrated below.

- (34) a. *xīb'axərtə-n°h wəwə-m n'ī s'erta-q*
 nobody-DAT bad-ACC NEG do-CONNEG
 'He didn't do anything bad to anybody.' (T 66)
- b. *xurkaxərt° ye°nə-lta-mpə-wa-xənt° n'ī-d°m pun°r'uq*
 any hope-CAUS-DUR-IMP.F.AN-DAT.2SG NEG-1SG believe.CONNEG
 'I don't believe any of your assurances.' (T 95)

Several negative polarity items can co-occur within one clause, as in (35):

- (35) a. *xib'axərt°* *ɲəmkeɣərt°-m* *n'an'i* *n'i-s'°* *wad'es°-q*
 nobody nothing-ACC DAT.1SG NEG-PAST tell-CONN
 'Nobody told me anything.'
- b. *s'ax°ɲkərt°h* *ɲəmkeɣərt°-m* *m'ip°-da* *n'i* *ɲaq*
 never anything-ACC give.away-IMPF.PART NEG be.CONNEG
 'He never gives anything away.' (T 363)

As shown by these examples, negative polarity items must be accompanied by the negation of the clausal predicate, so Tundra Nenets exhibits obligatory double negation (negative concord).

4.4 Constituent vs. clausal negation

In the absence of negative polarity items, clausal and constituent negation have identical expression. This entails that, for example, (36a) is ambiguous: it can be read either as clausal negation or as the negation that takes scope over the non-verbal part only ('tomorrow'). Example (36b) illustrates the same point for the passive clause.

- (36) a. *xūn'ana* *n'i* *tūt°-q*
 tomorrow NEG come.FUT-CONN
 'He will not come tomorrow' Or : 'It is not tomorrow that he will come.'
- b. *t'uku°* *ti* *pidər°* *xada-wer°* *n'i* *ɲaq*
 this reindeer you kill-PERF.PART.2SG NEG be.CONNEG
 'This reindeer wasn't killed by you' Or: 'It wasn't you who killed this reindeer.'

Apart from intonation, the disambiguation can be achieved by means of overt contrast, as in (37), which can only be read as constituent negation.

- (37) a. *Wera* *n'i* *tūt°-q*, *Maša* *tūt°*
 Wera NEG come.FUT-CONN Masha come.FUT
 'Wera will not come, but Masha will.'
- b. *t'uku°* *ɲəno* *n'is'a-n'i* *s'erta-wi°* *n'i* *ɲaq*,
 this boat father-GEN.1SG do-PERF.PART NEG be.CONNEG
Wera-h *s'erta-wi°*
 Wera-GEN do-PERF.PART
 'This boat wasn't made by my father, but by Wera.'
- c. *ɲəc'eki°* *tol°-h* *ɲil°na* *n'i* *ɲamt'u*, *tol°-h* *n'in'a* *ɲamti*
 child table-GEN under NEG sit.CONNEG table-GEN on sit
 'The child is not sitting under the table but on the table.'

- d. *n'is'a-xənanta n'ī tuq, n'eb'a-xənanta to°*
 father-LOC.3SG NEG come.CONNEG mother-LOC.3SG come
 'He didn't come with his father but with his mother.'
- e. *t'ukoxəna Pet'a yil'e°, Wera n'ī yil'e-q*
 here Petya live Wera NEG live-CONNEG
 'It is Petya who lives here, not Wera.'

Another strategy to emphasize constituent negation, especially under contrast, employs a construction which consists of a participle in the respective temporal-aspectual form (imperfective, perfective or future), the negative auxiliary and the connegative of the verb 'to be'.

- (38) a. *xūn'ana to-w°nta n'ī ηaq*
 tomorrow come-FUT.PART NEG be.CONNEG
 'He will not come tomorrow (but the day after tomorrow).'
- b. *tiki° ti-m xada-wi° n'is'a-m'i n'ī ηaq*
 this reindeer-ACC kill-PERF.PART father-1SG NEG be.CONNEG
 'It wasn't my father who killed this reindeer.'
- c. *texəh xada-wed°m n'ī-d°m ηaq*
 reindeer.DU.ACC kill-PERF.PART-1SG NEG-1SG be.CONNEG
 'It wasn't me who killed the (two) reindeer.'

As can be seen here, this construction is active: it does not realign grammatical functions. The negative verb (and optionally the participle) carry subject agreement.

Tundra Nenets also has a special construction which only involves transitive verbs and renders the meaning 'not at all, not even one', so that the patient/theme argument is perceived as generic: it denotes a class of entities. The construction is passive in nature in the sense that the patient/theme stands in the nominative, while the agent argument is expressed by possessive agreement on the imperfective or perfective participle of the lexical verb, in the same way as the passive agent. The participle is followed by the negative auxiliary *yəŋku* 'no' or *n'ī ηaq*. The examples in (39) show the semantic contrast between this construction and regular negation.

- (39) a. *ηəno-m n'ī-d°m xo-q*
 boat-ACC NEG-1SG find-CONNEG
 'I haven't found a/the boat.'
- b. *ηəno xo-na-m'i yəŋku*
 boat find-IMPF.PART-1SG no
 'I haven't even found a boat.' Or: 'I haven't found any boats.'

- c. *ηəno xo-wem'i yəŋku*
 boat find-PERF.PART.1SG no
 'I haven't even found a boat.' Or: 'I haven't found any boats.'

Since the nominative patient/theme argument is non-specific, it only occurs in the singular, or rather is undifferentiated with respect to number, hence **ηəno-q xo-na-m'i yəŋku-q* (boat-PL find-IMPF.PART.1SG no-3PL) is impossible. This contrasts with the regular passive negation described in Section 4.2 above. The imperfective and perfective participles in (39b) express the recent and remote past, respectively. For imperfective verbs this difference translates into opposition between the present and past, cf.:

- (40) a. *kniga tola-ba-da-m'i yəŋku*
 book read-DUR-IMPF.PART.1SG no
 'I am not reading any books.'
- b. *kniga tola-ba-wem'i yəŋku*
 book read-DUR-PERF.PART.1SG no
 'I was not reading any books.'

The patient/theme argument can be left unspecified and be absent altogether:

- (41) *mən'o xada-we-m'i n'i ηaq*
 I kill-PART.PF.1SG NEG be.CONNEG
 'I haven't killed anything (at all).'

Sub-clausal elements, such as attributive adjectives, are rarely negated, but at least in the Western dialects it is in principle possible to negate them by means of the imperfective participle of the verb 'to be' *n'in'a*, for example, *n'in'a ser ti* 'a reindeer which is not white', *n'in'a səwa ti* 'not a good reindeer'. Number concord is optional on the participle, while person/number concord is impossible: *n'in'a(-q) ηarka ηəno-q* 'the boats which are not big', *n'in'a* / **n'in'a-r° ηarka* / *ηarka-r° ηəno-r°* 'your boat which is not big'. However, speakers of the Eastern dialects normally find such constructions awkward. Possessors cannot be negated and neither can attributive forms of postpositions.

4.5 Marginal negative auxiliaries

There are four other negative auxiliaries that are combined with the connegative form of the lexical verb: *wun'i-*, *xəc'a-*, *xəc'ana-* and *xən'a-*. These verbs have defective paradigms and do not derive non-finite forms. The latter three are in fact

infrequent and show limited distribution in terms of tense and mood: they do not seem to occur in non-indicative moods and in the future, habitual and future-in-the-past tenses, whereas the use of the past tense is rather limited.

The negative auxiliary *wun'i-* (with the variant *wun'o-*) is historically a combination of the regular negative auxiliary *n'i-* and a certain emphatic element *wu-*. The latter is termed 'prefix' in Burkova (2010); however, it does not occur in any other words and therefore *wun'i-* is treated as synchronically non-segmentable in the present grammar. This negative auxiliary indicates emphatic negation:

- (42) *pida(=d'i) wun'i tuq*
 he-EMPH NEG.EMPH come.CONNEG
 'But he didn't come!'

This verb does not have the regular past tense: when referring to the past, it must stand in the interrogative mood, like questions.

- (43) a. *yī-sawey° n'enec'°h tər'em wun'o-s'a-da s'erta-ηku-q*
 mind-PROPR person so NEG.EMPH-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ do-FUT-CONNEG
 'An intelligent person won't do this.' (T 150)
- b. *ηar'iq ηaw°na-x°wa-nta wun'o-s'a-d°m n'a-s'uq*
 DP earlier-AFF-3SG NEG.EMPH-INTER-1SG companion-V.CONNEG
 'But I didn't have relatives in the past!' (T 385)

Otherwise, its inflection is identical to the inflection of the regular negative auxiliary *n'i-*.

The verb *xən'a-* has the negative interrogative meaning 'how not' and does not normally occur in non-present tenses and oblique moods. Some examples are shown below:

- (44) a. *p'i-sawey° yal'a-h mənç°ra-° xən'aə-n° n'unuq*
 night-PROPR day-GEN work-COND how.not-2SG get.tired.CONNEG
 'How won't you get tired working day and night?' (T 331)
- b. *xən'aə-d°m xan'o-q?*
 how.not-1SG go-CONNEG
 'How can I not go?' (T 743)
- c. *xən'aə-n° yaər°-q?*
 how.not-2SG cry-CONNEG
 'How can you not be crying?' (T 743)

The verb *xəc'a-* can be translated as 'to almost X', where X corresponds to the lexical verb in the connegative form, and is etymologically related to the unchange-

able particle *xəc'ah* 'a little bit, almost'. *Xəc'a-* behaves like the regular negative auxiliary in terms of the distribution of inflectional features. As shown below, it carries past tense, subject and object agreement, and the subject agreement exponence is sensitive to the inflectional class of the intransitive lexical verb. The lexical verb is typically perfective.

- (45) a. *xəc'eyə-w^oq* / *xəc'aə-d^om* *waxəl^o-q*
 almost.not-REFL.1SG / almost.not-1SG start.talking-CONN
 'I almost started talking.'
- b. *ti-m* *xəc'aə-w^o* *xada-q*
 reindeer-ACC almost.not-1SG > SG.OBJ kill-CONN
 'I almost killed the reindeer.'
- c. *mən^o* *xəcaə-dəm-c^o* *xan^oq*
 I almost.not-1SG-PAST go.CONN
 'I almost left (in the past).'

The main meaning of the verb *xəc'ana-* is 'good that not X'. *Xəc'ana-* probably originates as the imperfective participle of the verb *xəc'a-* which grammaticalized as a finite verb, and can also mean 'to almost X'. The past tense forms of this verb are either rare or non-existent.

- (46) *xəc'ana-d^om* / *xəc'ana-w^oq* *waxəl^o-q*
 good.that.not-1SG / good.that.not-REFL.1SG start.talking-CONN
 'Good that I didn't start talking.' Or: 'I almost started talking.'

In some instances *xəc'a-* can also mean 'good that not X', but this is probably a result of the interference with *xəc'ana-*, so the two verbs, *xəc'a-* and *xəc'ana-*, are largely interchangeable.

Chapter 13

Overview of dependent clauses

Three syntactico-semantic types of dependent clause, relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses, are addressed in more detail in Chapters 14, 15 and 16, respectively. This chapter provides an overview of their common features. A general property of embedded clauses is that they lack free-standing complementizers but make extensive use of non-finite verbal forms. However, the language recently acquired finite embedded clauses with overt complementizers, evidently under influence from Russian. In many (but not all) types of dependent clause non-finite verbs take case or postpositional marking indicating the syntactic role of the clause with respect to the matrix predicate. Person/number markers selected from the nominal possessive paradigm may appear to signal the features of the embedded subject. Their distribution depends on a number of syntactic and semantic conditions.

1 Finite dependent clauses

Finite dependent clauses will not be discussed in detail here because they represent a fairly recent innovation and are largely modelled after Russian. I will only cite a few illustrative examples.

Unlike non-finite relative clauses described in Chapter 14, finite relative clauses have the following properties: they are postnominal and include a *wh*-word which functions as a complementizer located on the left periphery of the clause, but otherwise the structure does not differ from the structure of a main/independent clause. In particular, the subject stands in the nominative. Basically all grammatical functions can be relativized with this strategy including objects of postpositions, which are not always relativizable using the non-finite strategy. However, it seems that relativization of objects of comparison is still impossible, just like in Russian.

- (1) a. *ɲac'eki° xīb'a-n°h xada ləx°nako-m me-c'°*
child who-DAT grandmother tale-ACC use-PAST
'the child to whom the grandmother told a tale'
- b. *ɲac'eki° xən'aɲen°h xada ləx°nako-m me-c'°*
child which.DAT grandmother tale-ACC use-PAST
'the child to which the grandmother told a tale'
- c. *ɲəno xən'ana wen'ako ɲamti*
boat where dog sit
'the boat where the dog is sitting'

- d. *tol° xən'ani° ŋil°na wen'ako ŋamti*
 table which under dog sit
 'the table under which the dog is sitting'

Free relatives also seem to be modelled after Russian and require a *wh*-word in the dependent clause and a coreferential anaphoric element in the main clause. One distinctive Tundra Nenets feature is that in the presence of the *wh*-word in dependent clauses, the dependent verb must stand in the interrogative mood when it has past tense reference:

- (2) a. *xən'ad° to-sa-n°, tən'ah xan'oq*
 from.where come-INTER-2SG there go.IMP.2SG
 'Go where you came from.' (T 743)
- b. *n'e n'ū-mt° xən'ana xayə-sa-r°, t'uku°*
 woman child-ACC.2SG where leave-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ this
ŋəwor'i t'iki° ya-n°h mal°h tæw°ra-n°q
 thing.PL.ACC that place-DAT all bring-IMP.2SG > PL.OBJ
 'Take these things to where you left your daughter.' (T 743)

Similarly, finite adverbial clauses can be introduced by *wh*-complementizers, but I do not have examples of finite complement clauses with the complementizer *ŋəmke* 'what'.

Nevertheless, it is probably wrong to say that there are no native finite strategies: they do seem to exist, in particular, in the domain of complementation. The verb *man-* 'to say, to think' invariably requires a finite complement that expresses dependent assertions. The dependent verb stands in the indicative mood if the degree of the speaker's certainty about the dependent event is high.

- (3) *Wera ma-s'°, (pida) səwa-w°na yil'e°*
 Wera say-PAST he good-PROL live
 'Wera said that he lived well.'

When the epistemic agent is not certain about the likelihood of the event denoted by the dependent clause, other epistemic moods occur, for instance, the probabilitive, approximative or inferential. The auditive form is also common.

- (4) a. *s'ir'o m'a-kənt° to°-dəm-c'°, ma-dəm-c'°*
 DP tent-DAT.2SG come-1SG-PAST say-1SG-PAST
xan'ena-r° to-waki°
 hunter-2SG come-PROB.PAST
 'I came to your tent on purpose, I thought your hunter had arrived.' (T 562)

- b. *mən^o ma-dəm-c^o, t'en'ewə-nakeda*
 I say-1SG-PAST think-PROB.3SG > SG.OBJ
 'I thought he knew this.' (T 649)
- c. *ma-q, xǣ-narəxa*
 say-3PL go-IMPF.APRX
 'They say he must have left.'
- d. *ma-q, xǣ-wanon-ta*
 say-3PL go-AUD-3SG
 'They say he must have left.'

The verb *man-* may also mean 'to tell somebody to do X', in which case it takes a finite complement headed by the verb in one of the directive moods, the imperative, subjunctive or jussive:

- (5) *Wera-n^oh ma-dəm-c^o, pida xər^o-ta xər^o-mta xanaə-ya*
 Wera-DAT say-1SG-PAST he REFL-3SG knife-ACC-3SG take-JUS
 'I told Wera to take his own knife.'

Some other matrix verbs that require finite directive moods on their complements are *xon^ora-* 'to ask, to inform', *xan-* 'to call, to ask', *t'or^od'e-* 'to call (by shouting)' and *tab'eda-* 'to order'. These verbs are transitive control verbs: they take a direct object in the matrix clause which the dependent subject must be coreferential with while remaining formally unexpressed:

- (6) a. *Wera-m xon^ora-raq, kniga-m temta-yi*
 Wera-ACC inform-IMP.2PL book-ACC buy-SUBJ
 'Tell Wera to buy the book.'
- b. *Wera xan-t^o, to-yi*
 Wera ask-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ come-SUBJ
 'Ask Wera to come.'

The verbs *wad'eq-* 'to tell', *t'en'ewə-* 'to know' and *yexara-* 'not to know, to ignore' can take either finite or non-finite complements, with no apparent difference in meaning. They typically introduce embedded questions, see Section 3.

2 Non-finite dependent clauses

Non-finite dependent clauses are headed by non-finite verbs, i.e. participles, action nominals and converbs. Some of these dependent constructions cannot take an overt

referentially independent subject: the identity of the missing subject is established from the main clause (see Chapter 15). These are control structures which represent a kind of clause-union construction. In non-controlled dependent clauses the subject can be overtly expressed and the construction is a fully-fledged clause.

2.1 The coding of the arguments

Most grammatical functions in non-controlled non-finite clauses are expressed in the same way as in main clauses except for the subject, which may exhibit the marking typical of possessors in possessive constructions.

In same-subject sentences the dependent subject stands in the nominative if it is overt and triggers person/number agreement of the possessive type (see Chapter 4, Section 3.1). As will be explained in more detail in the next few chapters, agreement morphology is located either on the dependent verb itself or on the relativized head noun of the relative clause. The examples in (7) show that subject agreement is obligatory in same-subject sentences and that the overt subject cannot take an oblique (genitive) form. In both (7a) and (7b) the dependent verb hosts obligatory 3rd person singular agreement with the dependent subject.

- (7) a. *[xūbta-xəna n'abako-m'i mənc^ora-qma-xəd^onta]*
 morning-LOC elder.sister-1SG work-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG
yal'a-h xoni
 day-GEN sleep.REFL.3SG
 'After my sister works in the morning, she sleeps in the day time.'
- b. *[pedara-x^ona n'is'a-m'i mənc^ora-b^o-ta]*
 forest-LOC father-1SG work-COND-3SG
ηəno-nta m'un'a s'ay^o-n-s'əti ηəno-nta
 boat-GEN.3SG inside tea-V-HAB boat-GEN.3SG
 'When my father works in the forest, he drinks tea in his boat.'
- c. **[xūbta-xəna n'abako-n'i mənc^ora-qma-xəd^onta]*
 morning-LOC elder.sister-GEN.1SG work-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG
yal'a-h xoni
 day-GEN sleep.REFL.3SG
 ('After my sister works in the morning, she sleeps in the day time.')
- d. **[pedara-x^ona n'is'a-m'i mənc^ora-b^oq] ηəno-nta m'un'a ts'ay^o-n-s'əti*
 forest-LOC father-1SG work-COND boat-GEN.3SG inside tea-V-HAB
 ('When my father works in the forest, he drinks tea in his boat.')

In different-subject sentences the pattern of case/agreement marking is similar to the patterns observed in possessive constructions. The pronominal subject is expressed by possessive markers, sometimes in combination with the nominative independent pronouns. These markers are either hosted by the non-finite verb in complement and adverbial clauses (8a) or by the nominal head of the relative clause (8b).

- (8) a. *[xarəd^o-h məxale-mta mənəq-ma-h yeqm^on'a*
 house-GEN roof-ACC.3SG see-IMP.F.AN-GEN for
n'ix^orə-bə-t^o] səwa-r^o xər^o-ta yekarə-ŋku
 move.up-COND-2SG hat-2SG REFL-3SG take.off-FUT
 'If you raise your head to see the roof of the house, your hat will fall by itself.' (T 92)
- b. *[(mən^o) xet^o-wənta] wada-w^o n'i-w^o*
 I say-FUT.PART word-ACC.1SG NEG-1SG > SG.OBJ
xet^o-q
 say-CONNEG
 'I didn't say the words I had to say.'

The lexical dependent subject takes the genitive, just like the lexical possessor:

- (9) a. *[n'abako-n'i xə-qm'a-xəd^o] xoneyə-w^oq*
 elder.sister-GEN.1SG go-PERF.AN-ABL go.to.sleep-REFL.1SG
 'When my sister left, I went to sleep.'
- b. **[n'abako-m'i xə-qm'a-xəd^o] xoneyə-w^oq*
 elder.sister-1SG go-PERF.AN-ABL go.to.sleep-REFL.1SG
 ('When my sister left, I went to sleep.')
- c. *[p'il'uq pə^or-t'a] ti tər'i pər^odorŋa*
 gadfly.GEN.PL treat-PART.IMP.F reindeer just shake
 'The reindeer bothered by gadflies is shaking.' (T 447)

There is a certain amount of variation in terms of agreement with the lexical subject. In most instances agreement is absent, as in (9), however it is not excluded, cf. (10) where the dependent lexical subject 'raven' triggers the 3rd person singular agreement on the relativized head noun 'bone'.

- (10) *xərŋe-h toxa-w^onta le-x^ortə-da yəŋku*
 raven-GEN gnaw-FUT.PART bone-FOC-3SG no
 'There is not even a bone that a raven could gnaw.' (T 195)

Just like an agreeing lexical possessor, the agreeing lexical subject is somehow emphasized and pragmatically prominent. This is usually conditioned by the status of the subject as human and topicalized. For instance, in (11a) agreement is absent because the human subject is not under discussion at the time of the utterance, while in (11c) there is agreement because the subject is topical.

- (11) a. [Why were you late?]
n'is'a-n'i *to-wa-h* *n'id°* *yanolareyā-w°q*
 father-GEN.1SG come-IMPF.AN-GEN because be.late-REFL.1SG
 'I was late because my father came.'
- b. [Why were you late?]
 **n'is'a-n'i* *to-wa-nta* *n'id°* *yanolareyā-w°q*
 father-GEN.1SG come-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG because be.late-REFL.1SG
 ('I was late because my father came.')
- c. [How is your father?]
t'en'ana *n'is'a-n'i* *to-wa-nta*
 yesterday father-GEN.1SG come-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG
n'id° *yanolareyā-w°q*
 because be.late-REFL.1SG
 'Since my father came yesterday, I was late.'
- d. [How is your father?]
 **t'en'ana* *n'is'a-n'i* *to-wa-h*
 yesterday father-GEN.1SG come-IMPF.AN-GEN
n'id° *yanolareyā-w°q*
 because be.late-REFL.1SG
 ('Since my father came yesterday, I was late.')

Sentence (12a) can be produced in a situation when the friend is mentioned for the first time in the discourse, while in (12b) 'my friend' is salient for the interlocutors and present in the situation of speech.

- (12) a. *n'a-n'i* *mānc°ra-wa-m* *man'īye-d°m*
 companion-GEN.1SG work-IMPF.AN-ACC see-1SG
 'I see my friend working.'
- b. *n'a-n'i* *mānc°ra-wa-mta* *man'īye-d°m*
 companion-GEN.1SG work-IMPF.AN-ACC.3SG see-1SG
 'I see my friend working.'

Agreeing lexical subjects may occasionally occur in the nominative rather than the genitive, although not all speakers recognize such constructions as grammatically

correct. Non-human animate and inanimate subjects do not normally trigger agreement on the dependent verb, cf. (13a–c):

- (13) a. *wen'ako-nta to-qma-xəd° Wera məyi°-q*
 dog-GEN.3SG come-IMPF.AN-ABL Wera get.happy.REFL.3SG
 'Wera cheered up when his dog came.'
- b. **wen'ako-nta to-qma-xədanta Wera məyi°-q*
 dog-GEN.3SG come-IMPF.AN-ABL.3SG Wera get.happy.REFL.3SG
 ('Wera cheered up when his dog came.')
- c. *n'is'a-nta to-qma-xədanta Wera məyi°-q*
 father-GEN.3SG come-IMPF.AN-ABL.3SG Wera get.happy.REFL.3SG
 'Wera cheered up when his father came.'

Dependent clauses headed by conditional forms show more variability in their patterns of subject marking. The dependent lexical subject can stand in the nominative and in this instance it always triggers 3rd person subject agreement on the converb (14). On the other hand, if the lexical subject stands in the genitive, agreement is very marginal although not totally impossible (15).

- (14) a. *xasawa-m'i xə-b°-ta mən'° ya°r-tə-d°m*
 man-1SG go-COND-3SG I cry-FUT-1SG
 'When my husband left, I cried.'
- b. **xasawa-m'i xə-b°q mən'° ya°r-tə-d°m*
 man-1SG go-COND I cry-FUT-1SG
 ('When my husband left, I cried.')
- c. *p'i-h n'is'a-m'i xan'e-bə-ta yal'a-h xon'o-s'əti-d°m*
 night-GEN father-1SG hunt-COND-3SG day-GEN sleep-HAB-1SG
 'When my father hunts at night, I sleep in the day time.'
- d. **p'i-h n'is'a-m'i xan'e-b°q yal'a-h xon'o-s'əti-d°m*
 night-GEN father-1SG hunt-COND day-GEN sleep-HAB-1SG
 ('When my father hunts at night, I sleep in the day time.')
- (15) a. *xasawa-n'i xə-b°q mən'° ya°r-tə-d°m*
 man-GEN.1SG go-COND I cry-FUT-1SG
 'If my husband leaves, I will cry.'
- b. ?*xasawa-n'i xə-b°-ta mən'° ya°r-tə-d°m*
 man-GEN.1SG go-COND-3SG I cry-FUT-1SG
 'If my husband leaves, I will cry.'

The nominative subject was actually preferred by my language consultants, while in Tereshchenko (1965) both the nominative and genitive subjects are equally available without apparent semantic difference.

Generic or unknown subjects do not receive overt expression either by a free-standing word or by agreement morphology:

- (16) a. *serako ya-xəd° yabc°-wi° n'an° bulka-m n'ub'eq̃̃a*
 white flour-ABL bake-PERF.PART bread roll-ACC be.called
 'Bread baked with white flour is called a 'roll'.' (T 28)
- b. *s'ita xet°ku-qma-m wol°tamp'ida-s'°*
 he.ACC tease-IMPF.INF-ACC dislike.3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'He didn't like it when they teased him.'

However, in dependent clauses denoting natural phenomena the verbal form may optionally take a default 3rd person singular marking:

- (17) a. *(num-ta) narey°-ma-nta s'er°h yəxa n'ə̃kəry°-q*
 sky-3SG come.spring-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG when river open-REFL.3SG
 'When the spring came, the river opened.'
- b. *(num-ta) narey°-ma-h s'er°h yəxa n'ə̃kəry°-q*
 sky-3SG come.spring-IMPF.AN-GEN when river open-REFL.3SG
 'When the spring came, the river opened.'

As shown by this example, such default agreement is independent of the presence of the expletive subject *numta*.

2.2 The clausal status

The clausal status of non-controlled non-finite structures is, first, evident from the fact that they express tense opposition and are syntactically opaque. Like finite verbs, non-finite forms are modified by manner adverbs, although imperfective participles heading relative clauses can be marginally modified by an adjective, cf.:

- (18) a. *səwa-w°na / *səwa s'erta-wi° ɲəno-r°*
 good-PROL / good do-PERF.PART boat-2SG
 'the boat that you made well'
- b. *səwa-w°na / ?səwa yil'e-na n'enec'°*
 good-PROL / good live-IMPF.PART person
 'the man who lives well'

Non-finite verbs are compatible with time and place adverbs which take scope over the dependent clause, but participles and action nominals can also be combined with temporal adjectives derived from adverbs:

- (19) a. *t'en'ana / t'en'anjio xada-wi° te-m'i*
 yesterday / yesterday.ADJ kill-PERF.PART reindeer.1SG
 'the reindeer I killed yesterday'
- b. *Wera tə°-h mənç°ra-qma-mta wad'enja-s'°*
 Wera summer-GEN work-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG tell-PAST
 'Wera said that he had worked in the summer.'
- c. *Wera tə-njio mənç°ra-qma-mta wad'enja-s'°*
 Wera summer-ADJ work-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG tell-PAST
 'Wera said that he had worked in the summer.'
- d. *n'is'a-n'i t'en'ana xə-qm'a-xəd° mən'° yar°ηa-dəm-c'°*
 father-1SG yesterday go-PERF.AN-ABL I cry-1SG
 'After my father left yesterday, I cried.'
- e. **n'is'a-n'i t'en'anji xə-qm'a-xəd° mən'° yar°ηa-dəm-c'°*
 father-1SG yesterday.ADJ go-PERF.AN-ABL I cry-1SG
 ('After my father left yesterday, I cried.')

Such adjectives do not seem to be acceptable in adverbial clauses, as shown in (19e).

Most importantly, although the dependent subjects in non-finite clauses bear the possessive marking, they have the typical cluster of subject properties identified in Chapter 9, Section 1.1.2. For instance, the dependent subject can control modal and purposive converbs, which are normally same-subject (Chapter 16, Sections 2.3 and 2.4). This is illustrated in (20) with adverbial clauses based on the imperfective infinitive and introduced by the postposition *s'er°h* 'when'.

- (20) a. *[ηəc'eki°-h t'ukow°na [s'ur°mpə-°] to-wa-h*
 child-GEN nearby run-MOD come-IMPF.AN-GEN
s'er°h] Wera nül'°-q
 when Wera stand.up-REFL.3SG
 'When the child ran closer, Wera stood up.'
- b. *[t'ukow°na [s'ur°mpə-°] to-wa-nta*
 nearby run-MOD come-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG
s'er°h] Wera nül'°-q
 when Wera stand.up-REFL.3SG
 'When he_i ran closer, Wera_j stood up.'

In (20a) the modal converb *s'ur°mpə°* 'running' is controlled by the genitive subject, i.e., *ŋəc'eki°h*, of the immediately superordinate clause headed by the action nominal of the verb 'to come'. In (20b) the dependent subject is expressed by the pronominal 3rd person singular marker on the action nominal and is coreferential with the missing subject argument of the modal converb. In neither sentence can the converb be controlled by the main clause subject which in the present instance is 'Wera'. Example (21) illustrates the purposive converb controlled by the dependent subject *Werah*.

- (21) *Maša [Wera-h [xan'e-wənc'°] wen'ako-m temta-qma-m] wad'enja*
 Masha Wera-GEN hunt-PURP dog-ACC buy-PERF.AN-ACC tell
 'Masha said that Wera had bought a dog in order to hunt.'

The same property is observed in relative clauses. Consider the following examples.

- (22) a. *[ŋan'i n'a-nta [ŋəwor-c'°] meq-mi°]*
 other companion-GEN.3SG eat-MOD use-PERF.PART
xid'a-m ŋəc'eki° nənc°da°-da
 mug-ACC child feel.revulsion-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'The mug from which another person had eaten revolted the child.'
- b. *[[mənc°ra°] n'ed°wə-mi°] yes'a-da ŋarka*
 work-MOD earn-PERF.PART metal-3SG big
 'The money he earned for his work is good.'

In (22a) the genitive subject of the relative clause *ŋan'i n'anta* 'the other person' does not trigger agreement on the head noun. It controls the modal converb *ŋəwor-c'°* 'eating' within the relative clause. In (22b) the missing subject of the converb *mənc°ra°* 'working' must be interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the participle in the relative clause, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. There is no free-standing subject; the subject is only represented by person/number morphology on the head of the relative, which must have pronominal force here. In (23) I show relativization of the complements of subject-control verbs 'to hope' and 'to want'.

- (23) a. *[[tola-wənc'°] ye°nə°-na] kniga-da*
 read-PURP hope-IMPF.PART book-3SG
 'the book he hopes to read'
- b. *[Wera-h [xada-wa-n°h] xərwa-na] ti*
 Wera-GEN kill-IMPF.AN-DAT want-IMPF.AN reindeer
 'the reindeer Wera wants to kill'

As is evident, the relativized object nominals ‘book’ and ‘reindeer’ correspond to the relative clause object gap. The 3rd person singular marker on the head noun ‘book’ in (23a) supplies the referent for and is associated with the pronominal subject argument of both the participle and the converb. This clearly implicates subject status for this marker, similarly to the subject status of the genitive noun ‘Wera’ in (23b).

The coordination test mentioned in Chapter 9, Section 1.1.2 also indicates the subject status of the free-standing element ‘Wera’ in (24a) and of the 2nd person singular pronominal marker in (24b).

- (24) a. [Wera-*h* Maša-*m* n’ac’^o xǣ-qm’a-xǣd^onta] nǣc’eki^o yaruma
 Wera-GEN Masha-ACC with go-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG child start.crying
 ‘When Wera left with Masha, the child started crying.’
- b. Wera-*m* n’ac’^o lad^o-wi^o wen’ako-*r*^o
 Wera-ACC with hit-PERF.PART dog-2SG
 ‘the dog you and Wera hit’
- c. *Wera-*m* n’ac’^o lad^o-wi^o wen’ako-*r*’ih
 Wera-ACC with hit-PERF.PART dog-2DU
 (‘the dog you and Wera hit’)

Subjects (or non-subject agents) can be coordinated using the *n’ac’^o* strategy, but possessors cannot.

Agentive agreeing adverbs addressed in Chapter 8, Section 1.4.1 do not agree with possessors. For instance, in (25) the agreeing adverb cannot target the 1st person singular possessor.

- (25) a. n’is’a-*m*’i mǣn’^o lǣbtey^o-*m* war’exǣ-*ta* nǣ^o-*da*
 father-1SG I box-ACC with.difficulty-3SG open-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘My father opened my box with difficulty.’
- b. *n’is’a-*m*’i mǣn’^o lǣbtey^o-*m* war’exǣ-*n*’i nǣ^o-*da*
 father-1SG I box-ACC with.difficulty-1SG open-3SG > SG.OBJ
 (‘My father opened my box with difficulty.’)

However, the examples in (26) clearly demonstrate that agentive adverbs can be controlled by the dependent subject argument, which corresponds either to a free-standing word or person/number pronominal morphology.

- (26) a. war’exǣ-*n*’i s’erta-*wi*^o nǣno-*m*’i
 with.difficulty-1SG do-PERF.PART boat-1SG
 ‘the boat which I made with difficulty’

- b. *xasawa-h war'exə-ta toləbə-wa-m] yexaraə-w^o*
 man-GEN with.difficulty-3SG read-IMP.F.AN-ACC ignore-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I didn't know that the man reads with difficulty.'
- c. **xasawa-h war'exə-n'i toləbə-wa-m] yexaraə-w^o*
 man-GEN with.difficulty-1SG read-IMP.F.AN-ACC ignore-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I didn't know that the man reads with difficulty.')
- d. *war'exə-n'i toləbə-wa-m'i yexara^o-da*
 with.difficulty-1SG read-IMP.F.AN-ACC.1SG ignore-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He didn't know that I read with difficulty.'

In most instances the dependent subject defines the minimal domain of reflexivization, with pronominal subject markers behaving just like lexical subjects with respect to syntactic opacity. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 17, Section 2.2.

Although none of the properties discussed here is ultimately decisive, these pieces of evidence taken together indicate that the genitive argument of a non-finite verb and the person/number markers with pronominal reference are true subjects. Consequently, the relevant syntactic domain must be clausal.

2.3 The position of non-finite clauses

As shown by examples from the previous subsections, non-finite complement and adverbial clauses are invariably located before the main clause, although occasional postposing is allowed as some kind of afterthought.

- (27) a. *xal'a-m p'ir'e-q [n'abako-mt^o*
 fish-ACC cook-IMP.2SG elder.sister-ACC.2SG
ŋəw^ola-wa-nt^o yeqm^on'a] / [xal'a-m
 feed-IMP.F.AN-GEN.2SG for / fish-ACC
p'ir'e-q n'abako-mt^o ŋəw^ola-wənc^o]
 cook-IMP.2SG elder.sister-ACC.2SG feed-PURP
 'Cook some fish in order to feed your sister.'
- b. *Wera səwa-rka-w^ona yaŋkerma^o [Wan'a-h*
 Wera good-COMP-PROL sing Wanya-GEN
tara-wa-h p'iruw^ona]
 dance-IMP.F.AN-GEN compared
 'Wera sings better than Wanya dances.'

This is especially common in purpose clauses, probably under influence from Russian. Like non-clausal objects, sentential objects do not have to be adjacent to the matrix verb:

- (28) a. *Wera mənç°ra-° yetr'iq p'ir°qha-da*
 Wera work-MOD always can-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera is always able to work.'
- b. *mənç°ra-° t'en'ana p'a°-da-s'°*
 work-MOD yesterday start-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'He started working yesterday.'

The examples in (28) demonstrate subject-control sentential object clauses headed by modal converbs, which are separated from the subordinating verb by the clause-level adverbs *yetr'iq* 'always' and *t'en'ana* 'yesterday'.

Relative clauses typically precede the head nominal. When the subject of the relative clause is a lexical NP and there is no subject agreement on the head, the determiner follows the relative clause; it cannot follow the dependent subject. For instance, in (29) if the head noun bears the 3rd person singular possessive affix, it can only be interpreted as non-coreferential with the relative clause subject and therefore does not participate in subject marking in the relative construction. Therefore (29b) and (29d) are in principle grammatical but only with the different meaning.

- (29) a. *Wera-h xada-wi° t'uku° ti*
 Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART this reindeer
 'this reindeer which Wera killed'
- b. *Wera-h xada-wi° t'uku° teda*
 Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART this reindeer.3SG
 'this reindeer of his_i/_{*j} which Wera_j killed'
- c. *Wera-h xo-wi° t'uku° tudako*
 Wera-GEN find-PERF.AN this mushroom
 'this mushroom which Wera found'
- d. *Wera-h xo-wi° t'uku° tudako-da*
 Wera-GEN find-PERF.AN this mushroom-3SG
 'this mushroom of his_i/_{*j} which Wera_j found'

But when the head noun bears 3rd person agreement cross-referencing the dependent subject, the determiner must follow the subject, cf.:

- (30) a. *Wera-h t'uku° xada-wi° teda*
 Wera-GEN this kill-PERF.PART reindeer.3SG
 'this reindeer which Wera killed'

- b. **Wera-h t'uku° xada-wi° ti*
 Wera-GEN this kill-PERF.PART reindeer
 ('this reindeer which Wera killed')

What seems to be absolutely impossible is to place the determiner of the relativized noun before the relative clause. In (31) the determiner *t'uku°* can only be interpreted as modifying the subject NP: 'the reindeer killed by this Wera', but it is ungrammatical with the intended reading.

- (31) a. **t'uku° Wera-h xada-wi° ti*
 this Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART reindeer
 ('this reindeer which Wera killed')
- b. **t'uku° Wera-h xada-wi° teda*
 this Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART reindeer.3SG
 ('this reindeer which Wera killed')

These distributions are partly similar to what we find in possessive constructions described in Chapter 7. Namely, the agreeing lexical subject of the relative clause behaves like the agreeing possessor in the sense that it precedes the determiner and is therefore located on the very left periphery of the larger NP. In the structure I am assuming for such relative clauses the subject is actually outside of the relative clause itself, but it is still located within the larger syntactic phrase headed by the relativized noun: [*Werah [t'uku° [[Ø xadawi°] teda]]*] 'this reindeer killed by Wera', cf. the possessive construction [*Werah [t'uku° [teda]]*] 'this reindeer of Wera'. So constituency is largely similar here. The difference between possessives and this kind of relative clause arises when there is no agreement on the head noun: in possessive constructions the determiner precedes the possessor, but the relative clause as a whole must precede the determiner, cf. [*Werah xadawi° [t'uku° [ti]]*] 'this reindeer killed by Wera' and [*t'uku° [Werah [ti]]*] 'this reindeer of Wera'. The subject is within the relative clause in this instance and the whole clause is probably located in the phrase-peripheral position, normally taken by agreeing subjects. This prevents the subject from showing agreement on the relativized head.

When the subject of the relative clause is pronominal, the determiner can either precede or follow it without affecting the distribution of agreement. But if the relative clause as a whole precedes the determiner, as in (32e) and (32f), pronominal subject marking becomes obligatory on the verb.

- (32) a. *t'uku° mən'° s'erta-wi° ηəno-m'i*
 this I do-PERF.PART boat-1SG
 'this boat made by me'

- b. *t'uku° mən'° s'erta-wem'i ηəno-m'i*
 this I do-PERF.PART.1SG boat-1SG
 'this boat made by me'
- c. *mən'° t'uku° s'erta-wi° ηəno-m'i*
 I this do-PERF.PART boat-1SG
 'this boat made by me'
- d. *mən'° t'uku° s'erta-wem'i ηəno-m'i*
 I this do-PERF.PART.1SG boat-1SG
 'this boat made by me'
- e. *mən'° s'erta-wem'i t'uku° ηəno-m'i*
 I do-PERF.PART.1SG this boat-1SG
 'this boat made by me'
- f. **[mən'° s'erta-wi°] t'uku° ηəno-m'i*
 I do-PERF.PART this boat-1SG
 ('this boat made by me')

This again is similar to the pattern found in possessive constructions.

When the relativized noun heads its own possessor in addition to the relative clause, this possessor must follow the relative (and the determiner, if there is one) and can never precede it. In this instance, the participle bears pronominal person/number marking of the dependent subject, that is, it behaves just like other non-finite verbs in dependent clauses.

- (33) a. *(pidər°) lad°-wer° t'uku° (mən'°) n'en'a-w°*
 you hit-PERF.PART.2SG this I elder.sister-1SG
 'this sister of mine whom you hit'
- b. *(mən'°) ηəw°la-wem'i (pidər°) wen'ako-r°*
 I feed-PERF.PART.1SG you dog-2SG
 'your dog which I fed'

As can be seen here in (33), it is possible to use independent personal pronouns referencing both the subject and the possessor in addition to person/number affixes, and this, in fact, seems to be preferred. However, in principle person/number affixes suffice to indicate the pronominal values for these grammatical functions. While the person/number marker on the relativized head noun signals the possessor, the person/number on the participle references the pronominal subject. It does not function as a concord marker and in this sense it contrasts with relatives in which the participle optionally bears person/number concord with the head noun. Example

(33) is the only way of expressing the relevant meaning in Tundra Nenets: the opposite distribution of person/number affixes would be ungrammatical with the intended interpretation, as indicated in (34), where the person/number on the modifier is construed as the possessor and the person/number on the modified noun as the subject.

- (34) **ŋəw°la-wer°* *wen'ako-m'i*
 feed-PERF.PART.2SG dog-1SG
 ('your dog which I fed')

Note that neither a lexical subject (35b) nor a lexical possessor (35d) can trigger 3rd person agreement in this instance:

- (35) a. *Wera-h* *xada-wi°* *tew°*
 Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART reindeer.1SG
 'my reindeer killed by Wera'
- b. **Wera-h* *xada-weda* *tew°*
 Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART.3SG reindeer.1SG
 ('my reindeer killed by Wera')
- c. (*pidər°*) *taxabta-wer°* *Wera-h* *ŋəno*
 you break-PERF.PART.2SG Wera-GEN boat
 'Wera's boat which you broke'
- d. *(*pidər°*) *taxabta-wer°* *Wera-h* *ŋəno-da*
 you break-PERF.PART.2SG Wera-GEN boat-3SG
 ('Wera's boat which you broke')

These data seem to suggest that the relative clause itself is located in the position of the peripheral possessor, just as in (29): the regular possessor cannot be located in that position and therefore does not trigger agreement.

In summary, there are two positions of the relative clause within the larger NP. First, the relative clause may be located after the determiner; in this instance its pronominal subject can remain internal to the relative clause (example (32a)), but the lexical subject must be extracted to the phrase-peripheral position which, as explained in Chapter 7, Section 2, also hosts prominent possessors (as in the examples in (30)). Second, the relative clause itself may be located in the phrase-peripheral position which precedes the determiner (examples (29), (32c), (33) and (35)).

Adjectives and quantifiers usually follow the relative clause, although occasionally speakers accept a construction where the quantifier precedes it.

- (36) a. (**serako*) *Wera-h* (**serako*) *xada-wi°* *serako* *ti*
 white Wera-GEN white kill-PERF.PART white reindeer
 'white reindeer killed by Wera'

- b. (**serako*) *Wera-h* (**serako*) *xada-wi°* *serako* *teda*
 white Wera-GEN white kill-PERF.PART white reindeer.3SG
 ‘white reindeer killed by Wera’
- c. *maneq-mid°* *n’ax°r* *nos’id°*
 see-PL.PERF.PART.2SG 3 polar.fox-PL.2SG
 ‘three polar foxes that you saw’
- d. ?*n’ax°r* *maneqmid°* *nos’id°*
 3 see-PL.PERF.PART.2SG polar.fox-PL.2SG
 ‘three polar foxes that you saw’

What is analysed in Chapter 14, Section 5 as truncated copular relative clauses precede adjectives, so in this sense copular relatives are similar to regular relatives, e.g. *ηileda ηarka tol°-da* (under.ADJ.3SG big table-3SG) ‘the big table under him’ and *piya (-da) n’ar°yana p’irc’a n’enec’°h* (nose-3SG red tall person) ‘a tall person with a red nose’ / **p’irc’a piya n’ar°yana n’enec’°h*. However, copular relative clauses must follow the possessor. This makes this type different from prototypical relative clauses exemplified above and suggests that copular relative clauses behave like simple adjectives in some respects:

- (37) a. *Maša-h* *ηāwa(-da)* *ser* *wāšako*
 Masha-GEN head-3SG white old.man
 ‘Masha’s white headed husband’
- b. **ηāwa* *ser* *Maša-h* *wāšako*
 head white Masha-GEN old.man
 (‘Masha’s white headed husband’)
- c. *pidar°* *ηāwa(-da)* *ser* *wāšako-r°*
 you head-3SG white old.man-2SG
 ‘your white headed husband’
- d. **ηāwa* *ser* *pidar°* *wāšako-r°*
 head white you old.man-2SG
 (‘your white headed husband’)

As mentioned in Chapter 9, Section 3.3, simple modifiers can be located discontinuously to the host NP. This is also observed with participial relative clauses, which can be postposed after the semantic head. Typically postposing occurs when the NP is somehow ‘heavy’, i.e. there are other dependents, and requires a pause before the relative.

- (38) a. *t'uku° n'ew°xi° ηano pidar° taxabta-we-r° sawa-s'°*
 this old boat you break-PERF.PART.2SG good-PAST
 'That old boat, the one you broke, was good.'
- b. *pidar° pad°-wi° kniga-r° mən'° tola-wem'i sawa-s'°*
 you write-PERF.PART book-2SG I read-PERF.PART.1SG good-PAST
 'The book that you wrote, the one I read, was good.'

The patterns of subject marking are peculiar in postposed relative clauses. Unlike in prenominal relative clauses, subject marking is on the participle when the subject is pronominal (39a). But the lexical subject cannot trigger 3rd person agreement in postnominal relatives (39b).

- (39) a. *t'uku° ηano (mən'°) s'erta-wem'i*
 this boat I do-PERF.PART.1SG
 'this boat made by me'
- b. **t'uku° ηano (mən'°) s'erta-wi°*
 this boat I do-PERF.PART
 ('this boat made by me')
- c. *t'uku° ηano(*-da) Wera-h s'erta-wi°*
 this boat-3SG Wera-GEN do-PERF.PART
 'this boat made by Wera'
- d. **t'uku° ηano(-da) Wera-h s'erta-weda*
 this boat-3SG Wera-GEN do-PERF.PART.3SG
 ('this boat made by Wera')

Non-participial relative clauses cannot be postposed. In (40) the verbal form corresponds to the action nominal and the modal converb. Although the prenominal variants of these examples are grammatical, postposing is impossible.

- (40) a. **n'e(-m'i) ηamted°-m m'is-oqma-m'i*
 woman-1SG flower-ACC give-PERF.AN-1SG
 ('the woman to whom I gave the flower')
- b. **xar°də-m'i yil'e-s'ə-m'i*
 house-1SG live-MOD-1SG
 ('the house in which I live')

Non-restrictive participial relatives cannot be postposed either.

2.4 Constituent order in non-finite clauses

Constituent order in dependent clauses is largely similar to the order in independent clauses (see Chapter 9, Section 3). In particular, the clause is strictly verb-final while the subject, if overtly present, tends to occupy the clause-initial position. Sentence adverbials are either located before the subject or follow it. For example, another possible variant of (41a) would be *kuxn'axəna s'ay° yed°h loxoqmanta s'er°h*, and another variant of (41b) would be *t'ey° yal'ah pidar° xadawi° ter°*.

- (41) a. *s'ay° yed°-h kuxn'a-xəna loxo-qma-nta s'er°h*
 tea bucket-GEN kitchen-LOC boil-PERF.AN-GEN.3SG when
 'when the kettle boiled in the kitchen'
- b. *pidar° t'ey° yal'a-h xada-wi° te-r°*
 you that day-GEN kill-PERF.PART reindeer-2SG
 'the reindeer you killed yesterday'

As argued in the previous subsection, the relative clause subject can be located in the structurally prominent position at the left periphery of the larger NP. This entails that it cannot be preceded by adverbials that take scope over the relative clause in this instance. For instance, in (42a) the relative clause subject is not extracted from the clause; it can be preceded or followed by the adverbial. However, in (42b) the subject is in the phrase-peripheral position, as follows from the fact that it triggers 3rd person agreement on the head noun. It cannot be preceded by the adverbial.

- (42) a. *[(t'en'ana) Wera-h (t'en'ana) xada-wi°] ti*
 yesterday Wera-GEN yesterday kill-PERF.PART reindeer
 'the reindeer which Wera killed yesterday'
- b. *(*t'en'ana) Wera-h [t'en'ana xada-wi°] teda*
 yesterday Wera-GEN yesterday kill-PERF.PART reindeer.3SG
 'the reindeer which Wera killed yesterday'

VP-adverbials normally follow the subject but can precede it too, although this is only marginally acceptable:

- (43) a. *pidar° səwa-w°na s'erta-wer° ηəno-r°*
 you good-PROL do-PERF.PART-2SG boat-2SG
 'the boat which you made well.'
- b. *?səwa-w°na pidar° s'erta-wer° ηəno-r°*
 good-PROL you do-PERF.PART-2SG boat-2SG
 'the boat which you made well.'

However, *səc'°* 'very much' and a number of other adverbial particles must be adjacent to the verb, just like in finite clauses (Chapter 9, Section 3.1):

- (44) (**səc'°*) *mən'* (**səc'°*) *sarm'ikə-xəd°* (*səc'°*)
 very I very wolf-ABL very
p'il-ma-n'i *s'er°h* *lin̩kareyā-w°q*
 get.frightened-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG when hide-REFL.1SG
 'When I got very frightened of the wolf, I hid.'

In contrast to independent clauses, dependent clauses do not tolerate dislocated constituents.

2.5 Negation in non-finite clauses

All non-finite verbal forms have periphrastic negation, even though the strategies differ from those employed in finite clauses. When participles are negated, the lexical verb does not stand in the connegative; instead, both the lexical verb and the negative auxiliary take the required participial form. For instance, in (45a) both verbs take the form of the imperfective participle, in (45b) the perfective participle, and in (45c) the future participle.

- (45) a. *t'ukoxəna* *n'i-na* *yil'e-na* *n'enec'°h*
 here NEG-IMPF.PART live-IMPF.PART person
 'the man who doesn't live here'
- b. *t'ukoxəna* *n'i-wi°* *yil'e-wi°* *n'enec'°h*
 here NEG-PERF.PART live-PERF.PART person
 'the man who didn't live here'
- c. *t'ukoxəna* *n'i-wənta* *yil'e-wənta* *n'enec'°h*
 here NEG-FUT.PART live-FUT.PART person
 'the man who will not live here'

It is also optionally possible to use the imperfective participle auxiliary with the future participle of the lexical verb:

- (46) *n'i-n'a* *mənc°ra-w°nta* *n'enec'°*
 NEG-IMPR.PART work-FUT.PART person
 'the man who will not work'

The negative auxiliary shows optional attributive concord with the lexical participle in number, person/number of the subject and sometimes case. For instance, in (47a) we can observe concord in person/number. As shown in (47b), these features cannot

be expressed on the auxiliary if they are not expressed on the lexical participle, so this is an instance of concord.

- (47) a. *n'i-wi / n'i-wem'i* *taxabta-wem'i* *ɲəno-m'i*
 NEG-PERF.PART / NEG-PERF.PART.1SG break-PERF.PART.1SG boat-1SG
- b. **n'i-wem'i* *taxabta-wi°* *ɲəno-m'i*
 NEG-PERF.PART.1SG break-PERF.PART boat-1SG
 ('the boat which I didn't break')

The negative participles in relative clauses indicate that the negated situation never occurred in the past, cf. *mənc°ra-w°dawey° n'enec°* 'the man who has never worked (work-NEG.PART man)' and *n'i-wi° mənc°ra-wi° n'enec°* 'the man who did not work (NEG-PERF.PART work-PERF.PART man)'. Negative participles cannot be negated because they already denote a negated event.

In non-participial relative clauses that employ perfective action nominals the negative verb takes the form of the perfective participle:

- (48) a. *n'i-wi°* *xæ-qm'a* *mər°q-m'i*
 NEG-PERF.PART go-PERF.AN city-1SG
 'the city where I didn't go'
- b. *n'i-wem'i* *xæ-qm'a-m'i* *mər°q-m'i*
 NEG-PERF.PART go-PERF.AN-1SG city-1SG
 'the city where I didn't go'

However, when the time of the relative clause is simultaneous with the time of the main clause or follows it, negation is expressed by a more complex construction: the lexical verb takes the form of the modal converb, there is one additional auxiliary verb *meq-* 'to use' in the form of an imperfective or future participle, while the negative auxiliary is used in the imperfective participial form:

- (49) a. *yil'e-°* *n'i-n'a* *me-ta* *m'aq-m'i*
 live-MOD NEG-IMPF.PART use-IMPF.PART tent-1SG
 'the tent which I don't live in'
- b. **n'i-n'a* *yil'e-s°* *m'aq-m'i*
 NEG-IMPF.PART live-MOD tent-1SG
 ('the tent which I don't live in')
- c. *yil'e-°* *n'i-n'a* *meq-manta* *m'aq-m'i*
 live-MOD NEG-IMPF.PART use-FUT.PART tent-1SG
 'the tent which I won't live in'

As shown in (49a) the participle of the verb *meq-* cannot be omitted.

‘Reduced’ relative clauses headed by postpositions are negated using the obligatory participle of the copular verb ‘to be’ even in the present tense, cf.:

- (50) a. *ɲil^ona-nta n’i-n’a ɲæ-da tol^o*
 under-3SG NEG-IMPF.PART be-IMPF.PART table
 ‘the table which is not under him’
- b. *ɲil^ona-nta n’i-n’a ɲæ-wi^o tol^o*
 under-3SG NEG-IMPF.PART be-PERF.PART table
 ‘the table which was not under him’
- c. *ɲil^ona-nta n’i-n’a ɲæ-wanta tol^o*
 under-3SG NEG-IMPF.PART be-FUT.PART table
 ‘the table which will not be under him’

A copular verb is also required in reduced relative clauses with predicative nouns, e.g. *n’ud’a n’ū-da yəŋko-da n’e* ‘woman without small children (small child-3SG no-IMPF.PART woman)’.

Action nominals are negated by means of the unchangeable negative form *n’iwa*. This form is actually the imperfective action nominal of the negative verb, however it does not copy the features of the lexical verb. As shown in Chapters 15 and 16, action nominals take various case forms which reflect the syntactic role of the dependent clause with respect to the main clause: for instance, it is in the accusative in (51a), in the dative in (51b) and in the ablative in (51c). In addition, they can host subject agreement, as in (51c), but neither case nor agreement are possible on the auxiliary: **n’i-wa-m* (NEG-IMPF.AN-ACC) is impossible in (51a), **n’i-wa-n^oh* (NEG-IMPF.AN-DAT) is impossible in (51b) and **n’i-wa-xəd^on’i* (NEG-IMPF.AN-ABL.1SG) is impossible in (51c).

- (51) a. *pida [xabey^o xib’ar’i wərk^o-h n’i-wa*
 he dead person.ACC.PL bear-GEN NEG-IMPF.AN
yayebtamp^o-wa-m] t’enc’ibt’e^o
 touch-IMPF.AN-ACC remember
 ‘He remembers that the bear doesn’t touch dead people.’ (T 831)
- b. *[n’i-wa mənç^ora-wa-n^oh] xərwa^o*
 NEG-IMPF.AN work-AN.IMPF-DAT want
 ‘He wants to not work.’
- c. *[n’i-wa to-wa-xəd^on’i] t’en’ewə^o*
 NEG-IMPF.AN come-AN.IMPF-ABL.1SG know
 ‘He knows that I will not come.’

The form *n’iwa* therefore serves as some kind of uninflecting particle in this case.

Finally, the modal, purposive and conditional converbs are negated in the manner of finite verbs: the lexical verb stands in the connegative, while the negative auxiliary takes the form of the respective converb: the modal converb in (52a) and the conditional converb in (52b). Modal and purposive converbs are unchangeable forms and do not normally express subject agreement. However, the conditional form may indicate agreement with the dependent subject. In negative constructions agreement is hosted by the auxiliary.

- (52) a. *wada-m* *n'i-s'°* *mes°-q* *xǎ-wi°*
 word-ACC NEG-MOD use-CONNEG leave-INFR
 'He left without saying a word.' (T 30)
- b. *xǎ-wa-n°h* *n'i-b°-ta* *xǎrwa-q* *xayo°-ya*
 leave-IMPF.AN-DAT NEG-COND-3SG want-CONNEG stay-JUS
 'If he doesn't want to leave, let him stay.'

So the distribution of agreement on conditional converbs is identical to what we observe with finite verbs. The evasive converb cannot be negated because negation is part of its basic meaning: it denotes the negation of purpose ('in order to not, lest'), and the auditive is not negated either.

It should be added that negation is not easily available in certain types of dependent clause. For instance, purposive converbs are rarely negated, so that, e.g., 'He promised not to leave' cannot be expressed in Tundra Nenets by a single sentence, no matter what form the negative auxiliary takes. The nearest semantic equivalent would be negation of the matrix verb, i.e. 'He didn't promise to leave.'

3 Questions in complex sentences

This section deals with finite and non-finite embedded questions and questions out of embedded clauses.

3.1 Embedded questions

Embedded questions are introduced by complement taking verbs, on which see Chapter 15, Section 2.3. The dependent non-finite verb takes the form of an action nominal in the accusative (53) or a conditional converb (54). This latter option is normally employed when the matrix verb contains some kind of negation in its meaning, so that the existence of the dependent event is not presupposed.

- (53) a. [t'ukoxəna xība-h yil'e-wa-m] mən'° t'en'ewaa-d°m
 here who-GEN live-PERF.AN-ACC I know-1SG
 'I know who lives here.'
- b. [t'ukoxəna xība-h yil'e-wa-m] mən'° t'en'ewaa-w°
 here who-GEN live-PERF.AN-ACC I know-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I know who lives here.'
- c. [Wera-h s'ax°h ηəno-m s'erta-qma-m]
 Wera-GEN when boat-ACC do-PERF.AN-ACC
 mane-ca-r° / mane-ca-n°?
 see-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ / see-INTER-2SG
 'Did you see when Wera made the boat?'
- d. ?[Wera-h s'ax°h ηəno-m s'erta-qma-m] mane-ca-n°?
 Wera-GEN when boat-ACC do-PERF.AN-ACC see-INTER-2SG
 'Did you see when Wera made the boat?'
- (54) a. [xən'ana xā-b°-ta] sāw°-h pūbtaə-w°
 where go-COND-3SG eye-GEN miss-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I didn't notice where he went.' (T 483)
- b. [xən'ana yil'e-bə-ta] mən'° yexaraə-d°m
 where live-COND-3SG I ignore-1SG
 'I don't know where he lives.'

As shown by these examples, the *wh*-word normally stands at the very beginning of the dependent clause, but this is not necessarily so: like in finite clauses, the position of the question word is free.

A dependent question may be expressed by a finite verb. When the existence of the dependent event is presupposed, the dependent verb may stand in the indicative present, but in the past tense it must be expressed by the interrogative mood.

- (55) a. wad'e-t°, ηəmke-m tola-mp'in°
 tell-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ what-ACC read-DUR.2SG
 'Say what you are reading.'
- b. n'anaq ma-s°, xən'ana Wera yil'e-sa
 DAT.1PL say-PAST where Wera live-INTER
 'He told us where Wera lived.'

With non-veridical matrix verbs such as 'to ignore, not to know' the indicative mood cannot be used, if the reference of the dependent question is in the present or past.

The verb must stand in the interrogative (in the past) or one of the epistemic moods expressing low level of certainty such as, for example, the probabilitive.

- (56) a. *mən'° yexaraə-d°m, xən'ana yil'e-naki°*
 I ignore-1SG where live-PROB
 'I don't know where he lives.'
- b. **?mən'° yexaraə-d°m, xən'ana yil'e°*
 I ignore-1SG where live
 ('I don't know where he lives.')
- c. *t'uku° n'enec'°-m xīb'a ta-wikeda,*
 this person-ACC who bring-PROB.PAST.3SG > SG.OBJ
mən'° yexaraə-d°m
 I ignore-1SG
 'I don't know who brought this man.'
- d. *mən'° yexaraə-d°m, xīb'a t'ukoxana yil'e-waki°*
 I ignore-1SG who here live-PROB.PAST
 'I don't know who lived here.'
- e. *mən'° yexaraə-d°m, xīb'a t'ukoxana yil'e-sa*
 I ignore-1SG who here live-INTER
 'I don't know who lived here.'

If the reference of the dependent question is in the future, both the future indicative and the oblique moods are possible even with verbs like 'to ignore'.

- (57) a. *mən'° yexaraə-d°m, s'ax°h tūt°-naki*
 I ignore-1SG when come.FUT-PROB
 'I don't know when he will come.'
- b. *mən'° yexaraə-d°m, s'ax°h tūt°*
 I ignore-1SG when come.FUT
 'I don't know when he will come.'

The question verbs mentioned in Chapter 12, Section 1.1 derive non-finite forms which head embedded questions:

- (58) *mən'° xəqman-oqma-xəd°nta t'en'ewaə-d°m*
 I say.what-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG know-1SG
 'I know what he told me.'

Alternative embedded questions are expressed in the same way as alternative questions in independent clauses (Chapter 12, Section 1.3), namely, either with finite forms (59) or conditional converbs (60), typically with the negative auxiliary copying the features of the lexical verb.

- (59) a. *tūtə°=w°h* *n'i=w°h* *mən'°* *yexaraə-d°m*
 come.FUT-DUB NEG-DUB I ignore-1SG
 'I don't know if he is coming or not.'
- b. **tūtə°=w°h* *n'i=w°h* *mən'°* *yexaraə-w°*
 come.FUT-DUB NEG-DUB I ignore-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I don't know if he is coming or not.')
- c. *tī-m* *xada-wer°*
 reindeer-ACC kill-INFR-2SG > SG.OBJ
n'i-wer° *yexaraə-d°m*
 NEG-INFR-2SG > SG.OBJ ignore-1SG
 'I don't know whether you killed a reindeer or not.'
- (60) a. *mən'°* *yexaraə-d°m* *tūt°-bə-ta=w°h* (*n'i-b°-ta=w°h*)
 I ignore-1SG come.FUT-COND-3SG-DUB NEG-COND-3SG-DUB
 'I don't know if he is coming or not.'
- b. *yexaraə-d°m* *s'erta-ŋko-b°-ta=w°h*
 ignore-1SG do-FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 'I don't know whether he will do it.' (T 95)
- c. *xə̌-b°na-n'i* *n'i-b°na-n'i* *pun°-da* *yəŋku*
 leave-COND.EMPH-1SG NEG-COND.EMPH-1SG belief-3SG no
 'It is unknown whether I'll leave or not.'

As shown by these examples, both verbal forms may be accompanied by the clitic =*m°h*.

3.2 Questions out of embedded clauses

Information questions are possible out of more or less all types of embedded clause. The question word remains in-situ within the dependent clause, but the whole clause counts as a focus domain. This is witnessed by the fact that in the past the main verb must stand in the interrogative mood, as if an immediate constituent of the main clause were questioned. The regular past tense is impossible on the main verb in the presence of the question word in the dependent clause. This distribution is shown in (61) for complement clauses.

- (61) a. *Wera [xib'a-h ηəno-m s'erta-ba-wa-m] mənə-ca(-da)?*
 Wera who-GEN boat-ACC do-DUR-IMPF.AN-ACC see-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Who did Wera see was making a boat?'
- b. **Wera [xib'a-h ηəno-m s'erta-ba-wa-m] mənəqηa-s'°?*
 Wera who-GEN boat-ACC do-DUR-IMPF.AN-ACC see-PAST
 ('Who did Wera see was making a boat?')
- c. *Wera [n'is'a-nta ηəmke-m s'erta-ba-wa-m]*
 Wera father-GEN.3SG what-ACC do-DUR-IMPF.AN-ACC
mənə-ca(-da)?
 see-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'What did Wera see his father was making?'

If the main verb is in the non-interrogative past, the sentence cannot be interpreted as a question, cf.:

- (62) a. *[Wera-h ηəmke-m s'erta-qma-m] wad'eηa-s'°*
 Wera-GEN what-ACC do-PERF.PART-ACC tell-PAST
 'He said what Wera had made.'
- b. *[Wera-h ηəmke-m s'erta-qma-m] wad'e-ca?*
 Wera-GEN what-ACC do-PERF.AN-ACC tell-INTER
 'What did he say that Wera had made?'

As can be seen in these examples, object agreement is 'optional' on the main verb. Notably, if object agreement is present on the main verb, the sentence can have the second interpretation: it can also be interpreted as a yes-no question. For example, (62b) can be understood either as questioning the identity of the object participant in the dependent clause or as a yes-no question where the word *ηəmke-m* has indefinite meaning: 'Did he say that Wera had made something?' Similar ambiguity is shown in (63).

- (63) a. *[xib'a-m Wasya-h ladə-ma-m] Wera xetə°-da*
 who-ACC Wasya-GEN hit-PERF.AN-ACC Wera say-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Whom did Wera say Wasya hit?' Or: 'Did Wera say that Wasya hit someone?'
- b. *[Masha-m xib'a-h ladə°-ma-m] Wera xetə°-da*
 Masha-ACC who-GEN hit-PERF.AN-ACC Wera say-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Who did Wera say hit Masha?' Or: 'Did Wera say that someone hit Masha?'

The yes-no interpretation is typically impossible or dispreferred in the absence of object agreement on the main verb. In control constructions object agreement on

the main verb is controlled by the lower object. The matrix verb cannot host object agreement if the lower object is questioned, as in (64).

- (64) a. *ɲəmke-m tola-ba-° məl'e-s'a-n°?*
 what-ACC read-DUR-MOD finish-INTER-2SG
 'What did you finish reading?'
 b. **ɲəmke-m tola-ba-° məl'e-s'a-r°?*
 what-ACC read-DUR-MOD finish-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('What did you finish reading?')

Questioning is possible not only out of complement clauses, but also out of relative and adverbial clauses in violation of usual island constraints. The only syntactic restriction is that in subject relative clauses the subject cannot be questioned. To put it differently, *wh*-words *xīb'a* 'who' and *ɲəmke* 'what' cannot be modified by a relative clause. Thus, examples (65) can only be yes-no questions: the answer to (65a) is 'Yes, it's here', and to (65b) is 'Yes, he did come.'

- (65) a. [*Wera-h xada-wi°*] *ɲəmke t'ukoxəna ɲa?*
 Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART what here be
 'Is the thing that Wera killed here?'
 b. [*ɲəno-m s'erta-wi°*] *xīb'a to-sa?*
 boat-ACC do-PERF.PART who come-INTER
 'Did the person who made the boat come? /
 *Who came who made the boat?'

But questioning is possible out of non-subject relative clauses, cf. (66):

- (66) a. [*Wera-h s'ax°h xo-wi°*] *noxa-m xada-sa-n°*
 Wera-GEN when find-PERF.PART polar.fox-ACC kill-INTER-2SG
 'You killed the polar fox which Wera found when?'
 b. **[Wera-h s'ax°h xo-wi°] noxa-m xada-sa-r°*
 Wera-GEN when find-PERF.PART polar.fox-ACC kill-INTER-2SG > OBJ.SG
 ('You killed the polar fox which Wera found when?')
 c. **[Wera-h s'ax°h xo-wi°] noxa-m xada-nə-s°*
 Wera-GEN when find-PERF.PART polar.fox-ACC kill-2SG-PAST
 ('You killed the polar fox which Wera found when?')
 d. *Wera [Maša-h s'axəh yil'e-qm'a] mərət° xəya*
 Wera Masha-GEN when live-PERF.AN city.DAT go
 'Wera went to the city where Masha lived when?'

- e. *[xən'ana yil'e-wi°] n'enec'° xəya*
 where live-PERF.PART man go
 'The man who lived where left?'

As shown in (66a), when a relative clause containing a question word modifies the object, the object cannot trigger agreement on the main verb. As was discussed in Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1, focus objects do not trigger agreement, so we can say that the focus feature of the question word in the relative clause somehow percolates to the whole clause. But although the whole dependent clause counts as a focus domain in terms of its syntax, the question only targets the identity of the *wh*-word. This can be seen from acceptable answers to the question. The answer to the question in (67a) is (67b).

- (67) a. *[xib'a-h xada-wi°] ti-m mənə-ca-n°?*
 who-GEN kill-PERF.PART reindeer-ACC see-INTER-2SG
 'You saw the reindeer killed by whom?'
 b. *Wera-h (xada-wi°-m)*
 Wera-GEN kill-PERF.PART-ACC
 '(Killed) by Wera.'

Occasionally sentences with a question word in the relative clause can be interpreted as yes-no questions, especially if accompanied by appropriate intonation. For instance, (67a) can sometimes be understood as 'Did you see the reindeer killed by somebody?', and the respective answer would be 'Yes, I did' or 'No, I didn't'.

The examples in (68) illustrate questioning out of copular relative clauses:

- (68) a. *ɲəmke(-da) ɲarka wəsako*
 what-3SG big old.man
 'the old man with a big what?'
 b. *xib'a-h ɲili° ɲamt'orc'°*
 who-GEN under.ADJ chair
 'the chair under whom?'

As discussed in Chapter 14, such constructions have a dual status: they are similar to regular relative clauses in certain respects, but do not seem to have a fully-fledged clausal structure and exhibit adjectival properties. With respect to questions, they do not differ from other relative clauses. Again, the focus is associated with the whole syntactic phrase as follows from the fact that the head noun in the object role does not trigger object agreement, cf.:

- (69) a. *xīb'a-h ηili° ηamt'orc'°-m mәне-ca-n°?*
 who-GEN under.ADJ chair-ACC see-INTER-2SG
 'The chair under whom did you see?'
 b. **xīb'a-h ηili° ηamt'orc'°-m mәне-ca-r°?*
 who-GEN under.ADJ chair-ACC see-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('The chair under whom did you see?')
 c. *Wera-h ηili° ηamt'orc'°-m mәне-ca-r°?*
 Wera-GEN under.ADJ chair-ACC see-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Did you see the chair under Wera?'

Adverbial dependent clauses with question words are also ambiguous between the question reading and the indefinite reading if the main verb is in the present tense, although intonation helps to disambiguate between the two readings.

- (70) a. *Maša [xīb'a-h ti-m xada-qma-xəd°] to°*
 Masha who-GEN reindeer-ACC kill-PERF.AN-ABL come
 'Masha came after someone killed the reindeer.' Or 'Masha came after who killed the reindeer?'
 b. *[ηəmke-m s'erta-wənc'°] s'iqm'i xaηa-n°*
 what-ACC do-PURP I.ACC call-2SG
 'You called me in order for me to make something.' Or: 'What did you call me in order that I make?'

If the main verb of the sentence stands in the interrogative form, the sentence must be interpreted as a question, either as a *wh*-question out of the adverbial clause or as a yes-no question. For instance, there are two possible answers to (71a): (a) *Moskwan°h* 'to Moscow (DAT)', and (b) 'Yes, she did'.

- (71) a. *Maša [wə̌sako-nta xən'ah*
 Masha husband-GEN.3SG where.to
xə̌-qm'a-xəd°] mə̌nc°ra-° pə̌-sa-q?
 go-PERF.PART-ABL work-MOD begin-PAST.REFL.3SG
 'Masha started working after her husband went where? Or: 'Did Masha start working after her husband went somewhere?'
 b. *Maša [Wera-h ηəmke-m xada-qma-xəd°] to-sa*
 Masha Wera-GEN what-ACC kill-PERF.AN-ABL come-INTER
 'Masha came after Wera killed what?' Or: 'Did Masha come after Wera killed something?'

However, the question word *ɲəmke* ‘what’ with the meaning ‘why’ exhibits a peculiar pattern: ‘why’ questions are impossible out of relative and adverbial clauses:

- (72) a. **[Wera-h ɲəmke xada-wi°] ti-m mane-ca-n°*
 Wera-GEN what kill-PERF.PART reindeer-ACC see-INTER-2SG
 (‘You saw the reindeer killed by Wera why?’)
- b. **[Wera-h ɲəmke xæ-qm’a-xəd°] pidər° xay-i-n°*
 Wera-GEN what go-PERF.AN-ABL you go-2SG
 (‘You stayed when Wera left why?’)

The examples in below illustrate further violations of syntactic islands. Questions are allowed out of sentential subjects: (73a) can only have interrogative force, it cannot mean ‘It is good for you to know something’. Similarly, the answer to (73b) may be something like *t’en’ana to-qma-r°* ‘that you came yesterday (yesterday come-PERF.AN-2SG)’.

- (73) a. *[ɲəmke-m t’en’ewə-bə-t°] səwa*
 what-ACC know-COND-2SG good
 ‘What is good for you to know?’
- b. *[pidər° s’ax°h to-qma-r°] s’iqm’i məy°bta°*
 you when come-PERF.AN-2SG I.ACC cheer.up
 ‘When was it that you came that cheered me up?’
- c. *[xib’a-h to-wa(-da)] ɲəd’i*
 who-GEN.1PL come-IMP.F.AN-3SG seen
 ‘Who is it that can be seen coming?’

In (74) I show questions out of the complex NP, that is, the complement of the noun ‘the news’:

- (74) a. *[Wera-h n’e-m me-wa-h] yun°-m ɲəmt°ə-dam-c°°*
 Wera-GEN woman-ACC take-IMP.F.AN-GEN news-ACC hear-1SG-PAST
 ‘I heard the news that Wera got married.’
- b. *[xib’a-h n’e-m me-wa-h] yun°-m ɲəmt°ə-n°?*
 who-GEN woman-ACC take-IMP.F.AN-GEN news-ACC hear-2SG
 ‘You heard the news that who got married?’
- c. *[Wera-h xib’a-m me-wa-h] yun°-m*
 Wera-GEN who-ACC take-IMP.F.AN-GEN news-ACC
ɲəmt°-sa-n° / ɲəmt°-sa-r°?
 hear-INTER-2SG / hear-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘You heard the news that Wera had married whom?’

- d. [Wera-*h* *xīb'a-m* *me-wa-h*] *yun^o-m*
 Wera-GEN who-ACC take-IMPF.AN-GEN news-ACC
ηəmt^o-sa-r^o?
 hear-INTER-2SG > SG.OBJ
 'You heard the news that Wera had married whom?'

These are indeed *wh*-questions that target a constituent of the complement clause: for instance, (74c) cannot be understood as a yes-no question 'Did you hear the news that Wera married someone?'. Both objective and subjective conjugations are acceptable on the matrix verb in this instance. Example (75b) shows questioning out of an indirect question:

- (75) a. *ti-m* *xada-wer^o* *n'i-wer^o* *yexaraə-d^om*
 reindeer-ACC kill-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ NEG-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ ignore-1SG
 'I don't know whether you killed a reindeer or not.'
- b. *ηəmke-m* *xada-wen^o* *n'i-wen^o* *yexaraə-d^om*
 what-ACC kill-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ NEG-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ ignore-1SG
 'I don't know whether you killed what or not?' Or: 'I don't know whether you killed something or not.'

However, like in most languages, questioning out of coordinate structures is still impossible.

Chapter 14

Relative clauses

Non-finite relative clauses are prenominal. There are three major relativization strategies employed for the relativization of different grammatical functions: the participial gapping strategy, the gapping strategy based on action nominals and converbs, and the strategy in which the relativized grammatical function is recovered by means of the resumptive pronoun.

1 The participial strategy

This is the primary relativization strategy based on participles. It is highly constrained by grammatical functions: in accordance with the well-known typological tendency, this strategy targets the highest positions on the hierarchy of grammatical functions, the subject and the direct object.

1.1 Structure

The strategy employs imperfective, perfective, future and negative participles. Participles show optional attributive concord with the head noun in case, the number of the head noun, and person/number expressing the dependent subject (on this see the next subsection).

- (1) a. *[xəna-ko-x°nan° pod'erpə-da-q] wenon°*
sledge-DIM-LOC.1SG tie-PERF.PART-PL dog.PL.ACC.1SG
'the dogs (ACC) I harness in my sledge.'
- b. *[narey°-h s'erta-wenaq] ηəw°rə-naq*
spring-GEN do-PERF.PART.PL.1PL food-PL.1PL
'the food (PL) which we prepared in spring'
- c. *[yada-wewaq] noxa-naq pūmna*
shoot-PERF.PART.1PL Arctic.fox-GEN.1PL behind
'behind the Arctic fox we shot'
- d. *[wol°tampə-wemt°] xoba-mt°*
dislike-PERF.PART.ACC.2SG skin-ACC.2SG
'the skin (ACC) that you disliked'

These concord options are largely identical to the options that exist for simple adjectives, but person/number concord on participles is considerably more frequent and,

unlike for adjectives, is not restricted to the language of folklore. There is also optional predestinative concord, but like for the case feature, both the person/number and the predestinative have to be copied onto the participle.

- (2) a. *tola-wənta(-d°-m'i)* *ŋəmke-də-m'i* *ta°*
 read-FUT.PART-PRED-1SG what-PRED-1SG bring
 'He brought me something to read.'
- b. **tola-wənta-m'i* *ŋəmke-də-m'i* *ta°*
 read-FUT.PART-1SG what-PRED-1SG bring
 ('He brought me something to read.')

As can be seen in (2) the participle (the future participle in this instance) can agree with the head both in person/number and the predestinative, but cannot agree only in the former.

As explained in Chapter 5, Section 4.1, participles have relative tense: imperfective participles express a situation which is simultaneous with the main clause event, while perfective and future participles denote that it is either preceding or subsequent to the main clause event, respectively. The dependent modal situations are usually rendered by periphrastic combinations of the purposive converb and the imperfective participle of the semantically light verb *me-* 'to take', cf. *xada-wənta tem'i* (kill-FUT.PART reindeer.1SG) 'the reindeer which I will kill' and *xada-wənc° me-na tem'i* (kill-PURP take-IMP.F.PART reindeer.1SG) 'the reindeer which I have to/would/should/must kill'.

Example (2) additionally demonstrates that participial relative clauses may modify semantically light nouns such as *ŋəmke* meaning 'something, thing' in this instance. Similar examples are cited in (3).

- (3) a. *tab'eda-wi°* *s'ero* *mal°-ŋe°* *səwa-w°na* *s'ertey°-nə-s'°*
 order-PERF.PART thing.PL.ACC all-ESS good-PROL do.PL.OBJ-1SG-PAST
 'I did all that was ordered well.' (Labanauskas 2001: 12)
- b. *s'en'ey°* *yil'e-qm'a* *ya-xənt°* *xan'°q*
 before live-PERF.AN place-DAT.2SG go.IMP.2SG
 'Go to where you lived before.'
- c. *ya-h* *s'ar°-h* *n'in'a* *yil'e-na* *n'enec'ə°q*
 earth-GEN surface-GEN on live-IMP.F.PART person.PL
xan'kur-c'° *p'a-ŋku-doh*
 be.ill-MOD start-FUT-3PL > SG.OBJ
 'Those living on the surface of the earth will start being ill.'
 (Labanauskas 1995: 26)

- d. *ɲano-m s'erta-wi° xīb'a to*
 boat-ACC do-PERF.PART who come
 'The one who made the boat came.'
- e. *Wera-h temta-wi° ɲəmke xana-d°*
 Wera-GEN buy-PERF.PART what take-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ
 'Take what/the thing Wera has bought.'

As illustrated in (3), the words *n'enec'°h* 'person', *ya* 'place' and *s'er* 'thing', *xība* 'who, person' and *ɲəmke* 'something, thing' serve as some kind of semantically empty nominalizers, so the resulting constructions may be interpreted as free relatives. However, the degree of grammaticalization of these words is not totally clear. For instance, it is probably possible to interpret (3a) as a 'true' relative clause with a semantically full head noun, e.g. as 'I did all the things that were ordered well.'

1.2 Accessibility to relativization

Firstly, the participial strategy is used for restrictive and non-restrictive relatives with relativized subjects. As shown below, relativized subjects do not trigger any agreement.

- (4) a. *ya°r-ta ɲəc'eki°*
 cry-IMP.F.PART child
 'crying child, the child who cries' (T 37)
- b. *wīŋ-kəd° to-wi° ɲəc'eki°*
 tundra-ABL come-PERF.PART child.ACC.PL
 'the children (ACC) who came from the tundra' (T 846)

The head noun of a non-restrictive relative can correspond to a lexical noun or a proper name, although personal pronouns cannot be modified by non-restrictive relatives.

- (5) a. *yet°r'ih wāwa-w°na toxolko-wi° Wera səwa mənco°ya-m xo°*
 always bad-PROL study-PERF.PART Wera good work-ACC find
 'Wera, who always studied badly, found a good job.'
- b. **yet°r'ih wāwa-w°na toxolko-wi° pidər°*
 always bad-PROL study-PERF.PART you
 ('you, who always studied badly')

When the relative clause with the relativized subject is based on the oblique form of a noun employed as a predicate (an oblique case, a postpositional phrase or the

essive form), it must contain an overt participle. The omission of such a participle is impossible, although this is not necessarily reflected in the English translations. It can be either the participle of a lexical verb with suitable semantic content (as in (6)), or the participle of the semantically ‘empty’ copular verb *ηḁ-* ‘to be’ (as in (7)).

- (6) a. *Moskva-xəna yil'e-n'a nəni-m xamc°ə-d°m*
 Moscow-LOC live-IMPF.PART guy-ACC love-1SG
 ‘I am in love with a guy from Moscow (the one who lives in Moscow).’
- b. *Moskva-xəd° to-wi° nəni-m xamc°ə-d°m*
 Moscow-ABL come-PERF.PART guy-ACC love-1SG
 ‘I am in love with a guy from Moscow (the one who came from Moscow).’
- (7) a. *mərəd°-h n'ah *(ηe-da) s'ixeri°*
 city-GEN to be-IMPF.PART road
 ‘road to the city’
- b. *tol°-h n'in'a *(ηḁ-da) xal'a*
 table-GEN on be-IMPF.PART fish
 ‘fish on the table.’
- c. *Wera-h n'amna *(ηḁ-da) ləx°nako*
 Wera-GEN about be-IMPF.PART tale
 ‘story about Wera’
- d. *wen'ako-h n'amna *(ηḁ-da) kniga-m temtaə-d°m*
 dog-GEN about be-IMPF.PART book-ACC buy-1SG
 ‘I bought a book about a dog.’

As shown in (7), in such relative clauses the lexical object of the postposition stands in the genitive, so the postpositional phrase is constructed in a regular manner. The pronominal object of the postposition is expressed by the obligatory possessive morphology on the postposition in combination with the optional nominative pronoun. The peculiarity of such constructions is that there may be optional agreement morphology cross-referencing the same element on the head noun. For example, in (8) the object of the postposition is the 3rd person singular pronoun and the relativized head noun ‘place’ hosts the 3rd person singular possessive affix which in this instance serves as optional agreement with the object of the postposition.

- (8) a. *(pida) ηil°nanta ηḁ-da ya(-da)*
 he under.3SG be-IMPF.PART place-3SG
 ‘the place under him’

- b. *ɲil^onanta* *ɲæ-wi^o* *ya(-da)*
 under.3SG be-PERF.PART place-3SG
 ‘the place that was under him’
- c. *ɲil^onanta* *ɲæ-wanta* *ya(-da)*
 under.3SG be-FUT.PART place-3SG
 ‘the place that will be under him’

Secondly, the participial strategy is used for the relativization of direct objects. When the object is relativized, it corresponds to a gap within the relative clause, but the clause contains a subject. The grammatical marking of the subject and the relativized noun (the object) is largely identical to the marking of the possessor and the possessed in the possessive construction respectively. In particular, just like the possessor, the lexical subject stands in the genitive and can trigger optional 3rd person agreement on the relativized noun (9). When the subject is pronominal, it may be optionally expressed by free-standing nominative pronouns, but the head noun must host possessive affixes which in this instance serve as subject markers (10). They have agentive rather than possessive interpretation: for example, in (10a) the dog does not have to belong to me; the 1st person possessive affix on ‘dog’ indicates that ‘I’ is the subject of the verb ‘feed’. On the resolution of the potential competition between possessive and agentive interpretation see Chapter 13, Section 2.3.

- (9) a. *p’il’uq* *pæ^or-t’a* *ti*
 gadfly.GEN.PL do-IMP.F.PART reindeer
 ‘the reindeer bothered by gadflies’(T 447)
- b. *Wera-h* *ɲaw^ola-w^odawey^o* *wen’ako-da*
 Wera-GEN feed-NEG.PART dog-3SG
 ‘the dog which Wera didn’t feed’
- (10) a. (*mən’^o*) *ɲaw^ola-w^odawey^o* *wen’ako-m’i*
 I feed-NEG.PART dog-1SG
 ‘the dog which I didn’t feed’
- b. (*pidər^o*) *tola-wanta* *ɲəmke-r^o*
 you read-FUT.PART what-2SG
 ‘something you should read’
- c. (*pidər^o*) *ɲamt’orc’ə-ɲe^o* *me-ta* *tolə-r^o*
 you seat-ESS use-IMP.F.PART table-2SG
 ‘the table for you to use as a seat’

Impersonal subjects remain unexpressed:

- (11) *m'a-t^oh t'ul'e-wi^o ηəmca*
 tent-DAT bring.in-PERF.PART meat
 'the meat brought into the tent' (T 134)

Predestinative objects cannot be relativized using this strategy and, in fact, they cannot be relativized at all (Chapter 9, Section 1.2.2). Some speakers of the Western dialects occasionally use the participial strategy for the relativization of locatives as in (12), but this is certainly a very marginal option. Locatives and other lower grammatical functions are usually relativized by means of non-participial verb forms (Section 2).

- (12) *sarm'ik^o-m xada-wi^o ya-r^o*
 wolf-ACC kill-PERF.PART place-2SG
 'the place where you killed the wolf'

However, lower grammatical functions can be relativized by means of participles if they are promoted to the object role. This can be achieved within the complex construction which consists of the participle of the 'light' transitive verb *meq*- 'to use', namely, *me-ta* (IMPF.PART), *meq-mi^o* (PERF.PART) and *meq-m^onta* (FUT.PART), and the modal or purposive converb of the lexical verb. The latter need not be transitive. The literal translation of, e.g., example (13a) would be 'the river which you use while/for fishing'.

- (13) a. *xal'a-da-^o me-ta(-r^o) yəxa-r^o*
 fish-V-MOD use-IMPF.PART-2SG river-2SG
 'the river in which you fish'
- b. *yil'e-^o me-ta xar^odə-m'i*
 live-MOD use-IMPR.PART house-1SG
 'the house where I live'
- c. *ηəmca-m məda-ba-^o meq-mer^o xərə-r^o*
 meat-ACC cut-DUR-MOD take-PERF.PART.2SG knife-2SG
 'the knife with which you had cut the meat'
- d. *ηəmca-m məda-ba-^o meq-mi^o xərə-r^o*
 meat-ACC cut-DUR-MOD take-PERF.PART knife-2SG
 'the knife with which you had cut the meat'
- e. *nū-s'^o meq-m^onta p'a-m'i*
 stand-MOD use-FUT.PART tree-1SG
 'the tree on which I will stand'

- f. *yil'e-s'° meq-m°nta(-m'i) m'aq-m'i*
 live-MOD use-FUT.PART-1SG tent-1SG
 'the tent in which I will live'
- g. *yil'e-s°-ηe° meq-m°nta(-m'i) m'aq-m'i*
 live-MOD-ESS use-FUT.PART-1SG tent-1SG
 'the tent in which I will live'

As shown in (13g), the modal converb can optionally stand in the essive form. Purposive converbs have purposive interpretation in such constructions and are often subjectless:

- (14) a. *yen'er-c'° / yen'er-mānc'° me-ta tu°n'i*
 shoot-MOD / shoot-PURP use-IMPR.PART gun
 'the gun for shooting'
- b. *xan'e-° / xan'e-wānc'° me-ta ηāno*
 hunt-MOD / hunt-PURP use-IMPR.PART boat
 'the boat for hunting'

Promotion to object status can also be achieved by means of transitivization. Intransitive verbs are transitivized by causative/applicative morphology which creates an object argument out of an oblique. For instance, in (15) the intransitive verb 'to want', which normally takes a dative object, is transitivized by means of the causative affix *-bta-*. The applied object is relativized with the participial strategy.

- (15) a. *mān'° t'uku° wen'ako-n°h xərwaā-d°m*
 I this dog-DAT want-1SG
 'I want this dog.'
- b. *?mān'° t'uku° wen'ako-n°h xərwa-btaā-d°m*
 I this dog-DAT want-CAUS-1SG
 'I want this dog.'
- c. *mān'° xərwa-bta-na(-m'i) wen'ako-m'i*
 I want-CAUS-IMPF.PART-1SG dog-1SG
 'the dog I want'
- d. **mān'° xərwa-na wen'ako-m'i*
 I want-IMPF.PART dog-1SG
 ('the dog I want')

Note that the causative verb *xərwa-bta-* in non-relative clauses does not normally mean 'to want'; its more regular meaning is 'to prefer'.

2 The non-participial strategy

This is the secondary relativization strategy used for relativizing lower grammatical functions.

2.1 Structure

The non-participial strategy employs the following verbal forms: the imperfective action nominal, the perfective action nominal and the modal converb. They are associated with different tense information: perfective action nominals indicate relative past, whereas imperfective action nominals and modal converbs are used interchangeably to denote relative present (the converb seems to be more frequent). This contrast can be seen in (16), where the relativized nominal is a locative adjunct. As suggested earlier, participles are impossible in such constructions.

- (16) a. *yil'e-s'° m'aq-m'i*
 live-MOD tent-1SG
 'the tent in which I live'
- b. *yil'e-m'a / *yil'e-wi° m'aq-m'i*
 live-PERF.AN / live-PERF-PART tent-1SG
 'the tent in which I lived'

The relative future cannot be expressed by the secondary relativization strategy; the relevant meaning is conveyed by the primary strategy using the periphrastic construction with the future participle of the verb *meq-* 'to use' and the modal converb of the lexical verb, see the examples in (13) above.

Like in the primary strategy, the relative clause subject stands in the genitive if it is a lexical noun or nominative if it is pronominal. Subject marking on the head noun is obligatory in the latter instance and optional in the former:

- (17) a. *(mən'aq) tī xada-qma yal'a-waq*
 we reindeer.ACC.PL kill-PERF.AN day-1PL
 'the day when we killed the reindeer'
- b. **(mən'aq) tī xada-qma yal'a*
 we reindeer.ACC.PL kill-PERF.AN day
 ('the day when we killed the reindeer')
- c. *[Wera-h kartink°-m məneq-ləbta-qma] p'ir'ibt'a(-da)*
 Wera-GEN picture-ACC see-CAUS-PERF.AN girl-3SG
 'the girl to whom Wera showed the picture'

There may be optional person/number concord on the verbal form, and case and number concord is also attested but is extremely rare. In general, action nominal relative clauses are much less likely to show concord than participles.

- (18) a. *kniga-m m'is-oqma(-m'i) xasawa ηac'ekem'i*
 book-ACC give-PERF.AN-1SG man child.1SG
 'the boy to whom I gave the book'
- b. *sarm'ik^o-m me-qma(-da) yax^o-nta*
 wolf-ACC take-PERF.AN(-3SG) place-DAT.3SG
 'at the place (DAT) where he was holding the wolf' (T 173)
- c. *?to-qma-mt^o yal'a-mt^o*
 come-PERF.AN-ACC.2SG day-ACC.2SG
 'the day (ACC) when you came'
- d. *yir'iy^oq yamp^oxəq m'ūs'er-oqm'inaq yonaq*
 month.PL.GEN during nomadize.PERF.AN.PL.1PL place.PL.ACC.1PL
 'the places where we nomadized during several months' (T 720)
- e. *yil'e-qm'a / yil'e-qm'a-m'i / yil'e-qm'in'i mərin'i*
 live-PERF.AN / live-PERF.AN-1SG / live-PERF.AN-PL.1SG city.PL.1SG
 'the cities where I lived'

However, unlike in the participial strategy, there is the second pattern of subject marking: subject marking may be hosted by the verbal form alone, without being indicated on the relativized noun.

- (19) *to-qma-m'i yal'a-r'i-x^ona*
 come-PERF.AN-1SG day-LIM-LOC
 'on the same day when I came' (T 673)

This pattern of subject marking is also typical of complement and adverbial clauses, where person/number affixes indicating the dependent subject are hosted by non-finite verbs. In summary, there are three patterns of subject marking in non-participial relatives: first, on the head noun alone; second, on the verbal form alone, and third, both on the head noun and, by concord, on the verb.

2.2 Accessibility to relativization

A large number of grammatical functions can be relativized by the non-participial strategy. The examples in (20) show relativization of an indirect or oblique object, whereas in (21) I illustrate relativization of various adverbial relations, typically

expressed by local cases, e.g. the locative (21a), the prolative (21b) and (21c), and the ablative (21d).

- (20) a. *n'el'e-qm'a(-da)* *n'e-da*
 marry-PERF.AN(-3SG) woman-3SG
 'the woman he married'
- b. *mən' ye°nə-s'°* *n'enec'ə-m'i*
 I hope-MOD person-1SG
 'the man on whom I rely'
- c. *yal'a-h* *t'ax°w-oqma* *pedara*
 sun-GEN get.behind-PERF.AN forest
 'the forest behind which the sun went'
- (21) a. *wad'odən°-qma* *ya-w°*
 grow-PERF.AN place-1SG
 'the place where I grew up' (T 34)
- b. *m'in-c'°* *s'exarewaq*
 go-MOD road.1PL
 'the road over which we are walking' (T 296)
- c. *səwa-w°na* *lax°na-qma* *wada-da*
 good-PROL speak-PERF.AN word-3SG
 'the language he spoke well'
- d. *n'e-h* *tərp°-qma* *m'aq*
 woman-GEN go.out-PERF.AN tent
 'the tent out of which the woman went'

It is also possible to relativize time, instrument and comitative adjuncts.

- (22) a. *toxodənə-°* *xə-s'°* *yal'a-doh*
 study-MOD go-MOD day-3PL
 'the day for them to go to study' (T 672)
- b. *ηuda-m'i* *məda-qma(-m'i)* *xər°-m'i*
 hand-ACC.1SG cut-PERF.AN-1SG knife-1SG
 'the knife with which I cut my hand'
- c. *yil'e-s'°* / *yil'es'ə-m'i* *n'enec'ə-m'i*
 live-MOD / live-MOD-1SG person-1SG
 'the person with whom I live'

It is important to emphasize that, since the grammatical role of the relativized noun is not explicitly expressed in the relative clause, ambiguity may arise with respect to the relativization of adjuncts, in particular, expressions of location:

- (23) *pida xæ-qm'a mər°-ta*
 he go-PERF.AN city-3SG
 'the city where he went / the city from which he left'

Normally the direction 'to' is expressed by the dative case and the direction 'from' by the ablative case, but the relation between the relative clause and the head can be understood in both ways in (23).

Turning now to the objects of postpositions, it seems that there are no syntactic constraints that would prohibit relativizing out the postpositional phrase, but relativization is heavily constrained semantically. Objects of rarely used postpositions with very specialized adverbial meanings do not normally relativize. For example, the object of the postposition *xaw°na* 'apart from' is not relativizable, so the Tundra Nenets equivalent of 'the girl apart from whom I didn't see anyone' is unacceptable. But the objects of frequent postpositions can be relativized, such as the postposition 'over' in (24) and the postposition 'onto' in (25).

- (24) a. *m'ūd°-waq soti°-h n'imn'a m'iŋa*
 caravan-1PL hill-GEN over move
 'Our caravan is moving over the hill.'
- b. *m'ūd°-naq m'i-ma soti°*
 caravan-GEN.1PL move-IMPF.AN hill
 'the hill over which our caravan is moving'
- (25) a. *toxontabco tol°-h n'ih mən°tey°q*
 fly table-GEN onto fall.REFL.3SG
 'The fly fell onto the table.'
- b. *toxontabco-h mən°teqma tol°*
 fly-GEN fall.PERF.AN table
 'the table onto which the fly fell'

Since the relation between the head noun and the relative clause is underspecified, accessibility to relativization seems to depend on how easy it is to reconstruct the relation between the verbal form and the relativized noun. Thus, the most typical interpretation of *Wera-h nū-qma p'a* (wera-GEN stand-PERF.AN tree) is 'the tree on which Wera was standing' (relativization of the object of the postposition *n'in'a* 'on'), but in principle it can mean 'the tree next to which', 'behind which', or 'under which', depending on the context. All these meanings are expressed by postposi-

tions. The semantics of the lexical items that are involved in the construction can give additional clues. The phrases below are provided with the most typical default interpretations which depend on the identity of the subject participant: cats typically sit on the table or under the table, but not at the table, while humans typically sit at the table. Alternative interpretations are dispreferred but not totally excluded.

- (26) a. *košk°-h ηamt'o-wa tol°*
 cat-GEN sit-IMP.F.AN table
 'the table on / ?at which the cat is sitting'
- b. *n'enec'ə°-h ηamt'o-wa tol°*
 man-GEN sit-IMP.F.AN table
 'the table at / ?on which the man is sitting'

The lexical semantics of the modifying verb also plays a role. It is possible to relativize the object of a postposition if the verb is frequently collocated with the respective postpositional phrase. For instance, both the complex expression *yi-yader-* 'to think about (literally: mind-walk)', on the one hand, and the verbs *xinoq-* 'to sing' and *tolano-* 'to read', on the other hand, are combined with the oblique object expressed by the postpositional phrase headed by the postposition *n'amna* 'about'. But in the former case the oblique object is virtually obligatory, while singing and reading about something or somebody is not mentioned with the same frequency in Tundra Nenets discourse; it is much more frequent just to refer to the process of singing or reading without specifying the content of the song or the reading material. As a result, relativization of the object of *n'amna* with the verb 'to think' is perfectly fine, while relativizing the object of *n'amna* when it is collocated with 'to sing' or 'to read' was judged as unacceptable or very marginal, see the following contrast in acceptability between (27) and (28):

- (27) a. *t'iki° p'ir'ibt'a-h n'amna yi-m'i yaderma*
 this girl-GEN about mind-1SG walk
 'I am thinking about this girl.'
- b. *yi-n'i yader-ma p'ir'ibt'a-m'i*
 mind-GEN.1SG walk-IMP.F.AN girl-1SG
 'the girl about whom I am thinking'
- (28) a. *t'iki° p'ir'ibt'a-h n'amna xinoqna-d°m*
 this girl-GEN about sing-1SG
 'I am singing about this girl.'
- b. **/?xinoq-ma p'ir'ibt'a-m'i*
 sing-IMP.F.AN girl-1SG
 ('the girl about whom I am singing')

So frequency is important here too. An additional factor that could make (28b) less acceptable is that the intransitive verb *xinoq-* ‘to sing’ can be transitivized by means of the causative/applicative suffix to derive the verb *xino-pta-* ‘to sing about’. The direct object it takes can easily be relativized by means of the primary participial strategy.

Finally, there is a group of examples where the nominative action nominals modify head nouns which are neither argument-taking nor can easily be reconstructed inside the dependent clause. There is some kind of loose relation between the head and the dependent, which is syntactically unspecified but determined on semantic and/or pragmatic grounds. The relation can be interpreted in many different ways, for example, as reason, cause, purpose or general manner.

- (29) a. *ɲarka n'ū-m yo-qma yed'a-da*
big child-ACC lose-PERF.AN pain-3SG
‘the pain from him losing a grown up child’
- b. *xal'a-m p'ir'e-qma ɲəw°rə-m'i*
fish-ACC boil-PERF.AN food-1SG
‘the meal I made by boiling fish’
- c. *n'aɲor-oqma ɲəw°rə-r°*
become.fat-PERF.AN food-2SG
‘the food you got fat from’
- d. *xarəd°-m s'erta-qma yes'a-r°*
house-ACC do-PERF.AN metal-2SG
‘the money you spent on building a house’

These examples cannot be understood as involving relativization of the object of a postposition, e.g. the postposition *yeqm°n'a* ‘because’, since such objects are not relativizable without resumptive pronouns (see Section 3), so it is in fact questionable whether we can speak of relativization at all in this instance.

The adjectival forms of nouns, including proprietives, are not relativizable, and neither are the essives. The latter point is illustrated below.

- (30) a. *mən° n'e n'ū-m'i Maša-ɲe° n'um-t'e-w°*
I woman child-ACC.1SG Masha-ESS name-V-1SG > SG.OBJ
‘I named my daughter Masha.’
- b. **mən° n'e n'ū-m'i n'um-t'e-qma n'um-m'i*
I woman child-ACC.1SG name-V-PERF.AN name-1SG
‘(the name by which I named my daughter)’

The object of comparison cannot be relativized either.

3 Resumptive strategy

This type of relative clause is also based on participles, action nominals and converbs, but involves a different recoverability strategy: resumption as opposed to gapping. It is used for the relativization of sub-clausal constituents, namely, possessors and the objects of some postpositions. If the relativized element is a possessor, then it is obligatorily expressed by the pronominal resumptive affix attached to the possessed noun. This affix is identical to the 3rd person singular possessive affix. For example, (31a) is the result of relativizing the possessor in the possessive NP *xasawa-h xər°* ‘man’s (GEN) knife’, whereas (31b) is the relativization of the possessor in the phrase *xasawa ηac’eki°-h wen’ako* ‘boy’s (GEN) dog’.

- (31) a. *xər°-da / xər°-nta / *xər° / *xər°-h* *məl°-wi°* *xasawa*
 knife-3SG / knife-GEN.3SG / knife / knife-GEN break-PERF.PART man
 ‘the man whose knife broke’
- b. *wen’ako-*(da) / wen’ako-nta* *xa-wi°* *xasawa ηac’eki°*
 dog-3SG / dog-GEN.3SG die-PART.PERF man child
 ‘the boy whose dog died’
- c. **wen’ako-(da) / wen’ako-nta* *xa-wi°* *xasawa ηac’ekeda*
 dog-3SG / dog-GEN.3SG die-PART.PERF man child.3SG
 (‘the boy whose dog died’)

The possessed noun in (31) functions as the subject of the relative clause. A certain degree of free variation is allowed here: such subjects stand either in the nominative or the genitive case, but in both instances they must bear a resumptive pronoun referring to the relativized possessor. The verbal form is the perfective participle.

When the possessed noun plays a non-subject role in the relative clause, the dependent verb takes the form of the action nominal to express the relative past, as in (32), or the modal converb, as in (33), to express the relative present. The future equivalents of these constructions are rare, and appear to require a complex structure with the participle of the auxiliary-like verb ‘to use’ and the modal converb of the lexical verb (34).

- (32) a. *yəxa-m-da* *mənes-oqma-m’i* *n’enec’ə-m’i*
 river-ACC-3SG see-PERF.AN-1SG person-1SG
 ‘the man whose river I saw’
- b. *n’e* *n’a-x°nta* *kniga-m* *m’is-oqma(-m’i)* *n’enec’ə-m’i*
 woman companion-DAT.3SG book-ACC give-PERF.AN-1SG person-1SG
 ‘the man to whose younger sister I gave book’

- c. *xər-x^onanta* *ɲuda-m'i* *māda-qma(-m'i)* *n'enec'ə-m'i*
 knife-LOC.3SG hand-ACC.1SG cut-PERF.AN-1SG person-1SG
 'the man with whose knife I cut my hand'

- (33) *m'a-k^onanta* *yil'e-s^o* *n'enec'ə-m'i*
 tent-LOC.3SG live-MOD person-1SG
 'the man in whose tent I live'

- (34) *?m'a-k^onanta* *yil'e-s^o* *meq-m^onta* *n'enec'ə-m'i*
 tent-LOC.3SG live-MOD use-FUT.PART person-1SG
 'the man in whose tent I will live'

The predestinative possessor can be relativized by means of either the participle or the action nominal. Note that the subject marking in (35b) is associated with the action nominal, just like in (19) above.

- (35) a. *xal'a-də-mta* *xaye-wi^o* *wen'ako-m'i*
 food-PRED-ACC.3SG leave-PERF.PART dog-1SG
 'the dog for whom I left fish'
- b. *xal'a-də-mta* *xayo-qm'a-m'i* *wen'ako*
 food-PRED-ACC.3SG leave-PERF.AN-1SG dog
 'the dog for whom I left fish'

Yet in all these examples the resumptive pronoun is required.

In some instances the dependent clause contains a resumptive element which disambiguates the type of adverbial relation that holds between the clause and its head. Such elements explicitly reflect the syntactic and semantic role of the relativized element. Thus, example (23) above can be disambiguated by the insertion of the anaphoric adverb *tən'ad^o* 'from there': *pida tən'ad^o xæqm'a mər^ota* can only mean 'the city from which he left'. Relativization of objects of postpositions that is difficult otherwise can be achieved by means of the resumption strategy too: the dependent clause contains a postposition with the 3rd person resumptive marker targeting the head noun. In this case the semantic relation between the dependent clause and the head noun is overtly expressed by the postpositional stem, so ambiguity does not arise. In (36) the postposition *yeqy^odə-nta* (instead-3SG) bears the resumptive pronoun.

- (36) *yeqy^odə-nta* *mənc^ora-wa* *p'ir'ibt'a-m'i*
 instead-3SG work-IMPF.AN girl-1SG
 'the girl instead of whom I work'

Without the resumptive postposition *yeqy°danta* this phrase can only be understood as expressing the most typical relation between the head and the dependent clause, namely, as ‘the girl by whom I work’, that is, as the relativized variant of (37).

- (37) *t'iki° p'ir'ibt'a-x°na mǝnc°ra-d°m*
 this girl-LOC work-1SG
 ‘I work by this girl.’

However, there is one additional consideration here. As mentioned in Chapter 8, Section 2.1, pronominal objects of postpositions are expressed by possessive morphology on the postposition. Free-standing object pronouns are optional, so possessive affixes on the postposition have pronominal force. Like free-standing personal pronouns, they only refer to humans (marginally, animals) and can never refer to inanimate entities. The same concerns 3rd person possessive morphology on postpositions with the resumptive function. This implies that resumption is not always possible; in fact, it is only possible if the relativized noun to which the resumptive pronoun refers denotes a human/animal, cf.:

- (38) a. *n'amna-nta tolaŋgo-wa p'ir'ibt'a-m'i*
 about-3SG read-IMPF.AN girl-1SG
 ‘the girl about whom I am reading’
 b. **n'amna-nta tolaŋgo-wa mar°q-m'i*
 about-3SG read-IMPF.AN city-1SG
 (‘the city about which I am reading’)

Example (38b) is ungrammatical because the resumptive pronoun on the postposition refers to the inanimate head noun ‘city’. Without the resumptive postposition the phrase in (38b) would be grammatical but only with the more easily construable meaning ‘the city in which I am reading’. Similarly, it is impossible to employ resumption to convey the following meanings: ‘the tree under which the girl is standing’, ‘the dog in front of which the reindeer is walking’, ‘the hill behind which there is a river’ and so on.

4 Relativization out of embedded clauses

Relativization is possible out of some types of embedded clause, but not all. The structure of the resulting relative clauses is the same as in short-distance relativization. Examples below illustrate relativization out of subject control constructions: the dative action nominal complement clause governed by the verb *xǝrwa-* ‘to want’ (39), the modal (40) and the purposive (41) converbial clauses. In these examples the

object of the lower clause is relativized and the head noun may bear person/number marking targeting the subject of the relative. The subject of the lower clause is coreferential with it.

- (39) *s'erta-wa-n^oh* *xərwa-na* *ηəno-w^o*
 make-IMPF.AN-DAT want-IMPF.PART boat-1SG
 'the boat I want to make'
- (40) a. *mən^o* *tola-ba-^o* *p'a-wi^o* *kniga-m'i*
 I read-DUR-MOD start-PERF.PART book-1SG
 'the book I started reading'
- b. *mən^o* *tola-ba-^o* *p'a-wem'i* *kniga-m'i*
 I read-DUR-MOD start-PERF.PART.1SG book-1SG
 'the book I started reading'
- c. *pida* *xada-^o* *yaqm^o-na(-da)* *teda*
 he kill-MOD cannot-IMPF.PART-3SG reindeer.3SG
 'the reindeer he cannot kill'
- (41) a. *tola-wənc^o* *ye^onə-da* *kniga-da*
 read-PURP hope-IMPF.PART book-3SG
 'the book he is hoping to read'
- b. *Wera-h* *s'erta-wənc^o* *pæ^or-ta* *ηəno*
 Wera-GEN make-PURP treat-IMPF.PART boat
 'the boat Wera is going to make'

If an oblique element of the lower clause is relativized, the non-participial strategy is employed, although it is always possible to use a periphrastic construction with the participle of the auxiliary verb *meq-*, as in (42c).

- (42) a. *kniga-m* *tola-ba-^o* *p'aq-ma* *kuxn'a-da*
 book-ACC read-DUR-MOD start-PERF.AN kitchen-3SG
 'the kitchen in which he started reading the book'
- b. *ti-m* *xada-^o* *tas^ola-qma* *yal'a-da*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD decide-PERF.AN day-3SG
 'the day when he started to kill the reindeer'
- c. *ti-m* *xada-^o* *yaqm^o-^o* *me-ta* *xə^o-da*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD cannot-MOD use-IMPF.PART knife-3SG
 'the knife with which he cannot kill a reindeer'

Tundra Nenets has a number of object control verbs. Relativization out of object control clauses is shown below for the verbs *tas^ola-* ‘to decide for someone, to charge with’, *p^ois^oid^oe-* ‘to feel sorry, to forbid’, *wol^otamp^o-* ‘to dislike, to forbid’ and *tab^oeda-* ‘to order, to force, to cause’.

- (43) a. *[[Wera-h xada-wənc^o] tas^ola-wi^o] tem^oi*
 Wera-GEN kill-PURP decide-PERF.PART reindeer.1SG
 ‘the reindeer which I decided Wera should kill’
- b. *[pida [mən^o s^oerta-wənc^o] tas^ola-wi^o] xar^odə-da*
 he I do-PURP decide-PERF.PART house-3SG
 ‘the house which he decided that I should build’
- c. *[pida [mən^o s^oerta-^o] tas^ola-wi^o] xar^odə-da*
 he I do-MOD decide-PERF.PART house-3SG
 ‘the house which he decided that I should build’
- (44) *[[Wera-h / Wera-n^oh s^oerta-wənc^o] p^ois^oid^oe-wem^oi] ɲəno-m^oi*
 Wera-GEN / Wera-DAT do-PURP feel.sorry-PERF.PART.1SG boat-1SG
 ‘the boat which I forbade Wera to make’
- (45) a. *[[n^oaənt^o xada-^o] wol^otamp^o-da] tem^oi*
 DAT.2SG kill-MOD dislike-IMPR.PART reindeer.1SG
 ‘the reindeer I forbade you to kill’
- b. *[[Wera-h xada-^o] wol^otamp^o-da] tem^oi*
 Wera-GEN kill-MOD dislike-IMPR.PART reindeer.1SG
 ‘the reindeer I forbade Wera to kill’
- (46) a. *[Wera-h [mən^o xada-wənc^o] tab^oeda-wi^o] teda*
 Wera-GEN I kill-PURP order-PERF.PART reindeer.3SG
 ‘the reindeer which Wera ordered me to kill’
- b. *[Wera-h [n^oan^oi xada-wənc^o] tab^oeda-wi^o] teda*
 Wera-GEN DAT.1SG kill-PURP order-PERF.PART reindeer.3SG
 ‘the reindeer which Wera ordered me to kill’
- c. *[[t^ouku^o n^oenec^oə-nt^oh xada-wənc^o] tab^oeda-wi^o] tem^oi*
 this person-DAT kill-PURP order-PERF.PART reindeer.1SG
 ‘the reindeer which I ordered this man to kill’

In these constructions, the higher verb (in the participial form) does not have an overt object but its understood object argument must be coreferential with the subject of the lower converbial clause, so we have some kind of backward control. As

discussed in Chapter 15, Section 2.2.2, there are two patterns of case marking in object control constructions: the controlling object of the matrix clause either stands in the accusative (direct object control) or the dative (indirect object control). This difference is reflected in the patterns of relativization, because the case of the lower subject correlates with the case of the original controlling object: if an element of the direct object control clause is relativized, the lower subject stands in the genitive/nominative, like regular dependent subjects (examples (43), (44), (45b) and (46a)), whereas if relativization occurs out of the dative control clause, the lower subject inherits the dative case (examples (44), (45a) and (46)). In (47) I present an example of the indirect object control verb *ta-* ‘to let (literally: to give)’.

- (47) *[[xæ-wa-də-m'i] ta-qma-da] mər'oq*
 go-IMPF.AN-PRED-1SG give-PERF.AN-3SG city
 ‘the city which he let me go to’

The relative clause in (47) exemplifies relativization of the locational adjunct out of the controlled converbial clause. As is typical when an adjunct is relativized, the modifying verb takes the action nominal form. In (48) I illustrate relativization out of several levels of embedding:

- (48) a. *mən'o [[ya-m p'ir'e-mpə-°] p'a-s'o] t'iki°*
 I soup-ACC cook-DUR-MOD start-MOD this
n'enec'ə-m tab'eda-w°
 person-ACC order-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I forced this man to start cooking soup.’
- b. *[[t'uku° n'enec'ə-h [p'ir'e-mpə-°] p'a-s'o]*
 this person-GEN cook-DUR-MOD start-MOD
tab'eda-wi°] ya-m'i
 order-PERF.PART soup-1SG
 ‘the soup which I ordered this man to start cooking’

However, relativization out of other embedded clauses appears to be impossible, no matter what kind of the non-finite verbal form is used. These include the following types:

(a) sentential subjects

- (49) a. *ηəno-m s'erta-bəq-n'i tara°*
 boat-ACC do-COND-1SG needed
 ‘I have to make a boat.’
- b. **s'erta-bəq-n'i tara-na ηəno-m'i*
 do-COND-1SG needed-IMPF.PART boat-1SG
 (‘the boat I have to make’)

- (50) a. *ɲəwar^o-m s'erta-b^oq səwa ɲæ-daki^o*
 food-ACC do-COND good be-PROB
 'It would be good to make some food.'

- b. **s'erta-b^oq səwa ɲæ-da ɲəwar^o*
 do-COND good be-IMPF.PART food
 ('the food which is good to make')

(b) non-controlled action nominal complement clauses

- (51) a. *Wera [ɲac'eki^o-h xər^o-mta yo-qma-m] wad'eqɲa-s^o*
 Wera child-GEN knife-ACC.3SG lose-PERF.AN-ACC tell-PAST
 'Wera said that the child lost his knife.'

- b. **[Wera-h [xər^o-mta yo-qma-m] wad'eq-mi^o] ɲac'eki^o*
 Wera-GEN knife-ACC.3SG lose-PERF.AN tell-PERF.AN child
 ('the child_i about whom Wera_j said that he_i lost his knife')

- c. **[Wera-h [ɲac'eki^o-h yo-qmam] wad'eq-mi^o] xər^o*
 Wera-GEN child-GEN lose-PERF.AN tell-PERF.AN knife
 ('the knife which Wera said that the child lost')

(c) complex NPs (noun complements)

- (52) a. *Wera-h n'e-m me-wa yun^o-m nəmt^o-wə-s^o*
 Wera-GEN woman take-IMPF.AN news-ACC hear-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'I heard the news that Wera got married.'

- b. **Wera-h me-wa yun^o-m nəmt^o-wi^o n'e-m'i*
 Wera-GEN take-IMPF.AN news-ACC hear-PERF.PART woman-1SG
 ('the woman about whom I heard the news that Wera married her')

(d) adverbial clauses headed by converbs

- (53) a. *mən^o noxa-m xada-wənc^o xəya-d^om*
 I polar.fox-ACC kill-PURP go-1SG
 'I went to hunt for the polar fox.'

- b. **xada-wənc^o xæ-wi^o noxa-m'i*
 kill-PURP go-PERF.PART polar.fox-1SG
 ('the polar fox for which I went hunting')

- (54) a. *mən^o Wera-m ti-m xada-wənc^o ɲət'eə-d^om*
 I Wera-ACC reindeer-ACC kill-PURP wait-1SG
 'I wait for Wera to kill the reindeer.'

- b. **Wera* / *Wera-h* / *Wera-m* *xada-wənc'°* *ŋət'e-na* *tem'i*
 Wera / Wera-GEN / Wera-ACC kill-PURP wait-IMPF.PART reindeer.1SG
 ('the reindeer which I wait for Wera to kill')
- (55) a. *kniga-m* *tola-ba-wənc'°* *s'iqm'i* *xaŋa*
 book-ACC read-DUR-PURP I.ACC call
 'he called me to read the book'
- b. **mən'°* / *s'iqm'i* *tola-ba-wənc'°* *xa-mi'°* *kniga-da*
 I / I.ACC read-DUR-PURP call-PERF.PART book-3SG
 ('the book he called me to read')
- (56) a. *xarəd°-m* *s'erta-°* *s'it°* *n'adaə-d°m*
 house-ACC do-MOD you.ACC help-1SG
 'I helped you to build a house.'
- b. **pidər°* / *s'it°* *s'erta-°* *n'ada-da* *xar°də-m'i*
 you / you.ACC do-MOD help-IMPF.PART house-1SG
 ('the house I am helping you to build')

(e) adverbial clauses with action nominals

- (57) a. *n'is'a-nta* *ti-m* *xada-qma-xəd°* *Wera* *xəya-s'°*
 father-GEN.3SG reindeer-ACC kill-PERF.AN-ABL Wera go-PAST
 'Wera left after his father killed a reindeer.'
- b. **n'is'a-nta* *xada-qma-xət°* *Wera-h* *xə-wi'°* *ti*
 father-GEN.3SG kill-PERF.AN-ABL Wera-GEN go-PERF.PART reindeer
 ('the reindeer such that Wera left after the father killed it')
- c. **n'is'a-nta* *xada-qma-xət°* *Wera-h* *xə-m'a* *ti*
 father-GEN.3SG kill-PERF.AN-ABL Wera-GEN go-PERF.AN reindeer
 ('the reindeer such that Wera left after the father killed it')

(f) indirect questions

- (58) a. *ti-m* *xada-wer°* *n'i-wer°*, *yexaraə-d°m*
 reindeer-ACC kill-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ NEG-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ ignore-1SG
 'I don't know whether you killed a reindeer or not.'
- b. **xada-wer°* *n'i-wer°*
 kill-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ NEG-INFR.2SG > SG.OBJ
yexara-na *tem'i*
 ignore-IMPF.PART reindeer.1SG
 ('the reindeer which I don't know if you killed or not')

These patterns largely follow the usual island constraints. It is usually possible to convey a very similar meaning by some kind of escape strategy, as in (59).

- (59) [Wera-h [n'is'a-nta s'erta-ba-b^oq] m^oneq-mi^o] η^ono-da
 Wera-GEN father-GEN.3SG do-DUR-COND see-PERF.PART boat-3SG
 'the boat which Wera saw when his father was making it'

As stated above, it would not be possible to relativize the object of the complement clause in 'Wera saw that his father was making a boat', but (59) is a semantically close non-relative adverbial construction.

5 Copular relative clauses

This section describes possibly truncated structures which have some properties of relative clauses and some properties of simple non-clausal attributive modifiers. Just like identificational copular constructions in main clauses addressed in Chapter 11, Section 2, they contain no verbal form in the present tense but have a copular verb in other tenses.

5.1 Proprietary relative constructions

A noun can be modified by a proprietary phrase meaning 'with X, having X'. The structure of the proprietary dependent in the present tense is as follows: 'the possessed noun which can optionally host the resumptive possessive suffix – the adjective'.

- (60) a. η^oxwa(-da) η^oarka n'enec'^oh
 head(-3SG) big man
 'man with a big head'
- b. piya(-da) n'ar^oyana n'enec'^oh
 nose(-3SG) red man
 'man with a red nose'

The adjectival component which characterizes the possessed noun is strictly obligatory and must follow the possessed noun. Therefore neither *η^oxwa n'enec'^oh nor *η^oarka η^oxwa(-da) n'enec'^oh are acceptable with the intended reading. The construction therefore involves a predicative rather than an attributive relationship between the possessed noun and the adjective and is essentially structured like a relative clause with the predicative adjective and the omitted copular verb. It represents possessor relativization: as shown in Section 3, possessor relativization involves a

resumptive pronoun, although in this instance it is optional. Thus, the literal translation of examples (60) is something like ‘the/a man whose head is big’ and ‘the/a man whose nose is red’.

There are certain restrictions on the semantics of this construction. Although grammaticality judgements differ, it generally requires an inalienable possessive relationship between the possessor and the possessed. If a possessed noun corresponds to an alienable entity, the relevant construction either cannot be used or is very marginal. The required meaning is expressed by means of the proprietive form in *-sawey°*, cf.:

- (61) a. *?pad°(-da) ηarka n'enec'oh*
 (bag(-3SG) big man
 ‘man with a big bag’
- b. *ηarka pad°-sawey° n'enec'oh*
 big bag-PROP man
 ‘man with a big bag’

In most instances the possessed noun denotes a body part or expresses other part/whole relations, e.g. *piyida mət°lpey° xən°* ‘a sledge with short front ends (nose. PL.3SG short sledge)’ (T 240). Moreover, in the constructions in question, the possessive relationship must be a permanent rather than temporary property of the head noun, cf. the following contrast:

- (62) a. *piya(-da) n'ar°yana n'enec'oh*
 nose(-3SG) red person
 ‘man with a red nose’
- b. *n'ar°yana piya-sawey°h n'enec'oh*
 red nose-COM person
 ‘man with a red nose’

The proprietive construction in (62a) refers to a man whose is in permanent possession of a red nose (for example, a drunkard), while the construction with the comitative adjective in (62b) denotes a man whose nose is temporarily red (for example, from cold weather). The past and future variants of the construction do not frequently occur but are in principle possible, cf.:

- (63) a. *piya(-da) n'ar°yana ηæ-wi° n'enec'oh*
 nose(-3SG) red be-IMPF.PART person
 ‘the man whose nose was red’
- b. *piya(-da) n'ar°yana ηæ-w°nta n'enec'oh*
 (nose(-3SG) red be-FUT.PART person
 ‘the man whose nose will be red’

Predicative adjectives in reduced relative clauses show optional number concord with the head noun (64a), while case and person/number concord is very marginal and only acceptable in the language of folklore.

- (64) a. *ηḗwa* / **ηḗwa-q* *ηarka-q* *wḗsako-q*
 head / head-PL big-PL old.man-PL
 ‘old men with big heads’
- b. ?*ηḗwa* *ηarka-m* *wḗsako-m* *mḗneqḡa-d°m*
 head big-ACC old.man-ACC see-1SG
 ‘I saw a big-headed old man.’
- c. ?**ηḗwa* *ηarka-m’i* *wḗsako-m’i* *mḗneqḡa-d°m*
 head big-ACC.1SG old.man-ACC.1SG see-1SG
 (‘I saw my big-headed old man.’)

These patterns of concord are similar to what is found on simple attributive adjectives.

5.2 Attributive forms as predicates

Attributive adjectives obviously require no copula in the present tense, but the copular verb must be present to express other relative tenses, the past and the future. The copula is represented either by the perfective participle or the future participle.

- (65) a. *ηarka* *ya*
 big place
 ‘the big place’
- b. **ηarka* *ηḗ-da* *ya*
 big be-IMPF.PART place
 (‘the big place’)
- c. *ηarka* *ηḗ-wi°* *ya*
 big be-PERF.PART place
 ‘the place that was big’
- d. *ηarka* *ηḗ-wḗnta* *ya*
 big be-FUT.PART place
 ‘the place that will be big’

In Chapter 3, section 6, I mentioned that postpositions have attributive forms. These forms show the basic distribution of simple adjectives. When they are used attributively, the copula is absent in the present tense (unlike in relative constructions with

regular postpositional phrases which express a roughly similar meaning but require a copula, see Section 1.1).

- (66) a. *t'iki° tol°-h ɲili° wen'ako-s'°*
 this table-GEN under.ADJ dog-PAST
 'This was the dog which was under the table.'
- b. *mərəd°-h n'a-ɲi° s'ixeri°*
 city-GEN to-ADJ road
 'road to the city'
- c. *yaw-h xǣw°-xi° mər°-kəna*
 sea-GEN near-ADJ city-LOC
 'in the city on the sea'
- d. **yaw-h xǣw°xəna mər°-kəna*
 sea-GEN near city-LOC
 ('in the city on the sea')

Like with simple adjectives, the copula appears in non-present tenses: *ɲili° ɲǣ-wi° ya-da* (under.ADJ be-PERF.PART place-3SG) 'the place that was under him', *ɲili° ɲǣ-wənta ya-da* (under.ADJ be-FUT.PART place-3SG) 'the place that will be under him'. But unlike on simple adjectives, concord in case and number seems impossible on attributive postpositions: *ɲili° / ɲilem'i / *ɲilexənan'i ya-x°nan'i* (under.ADJ / under.ADJ.1SG / under.ADJ.LOC.1SG place-LOC.1SG) 'at the place under me'.

These constructions also differ from simple adjectives in that the postpositional form takes an object. The pronominal object is expressed by possessive morphology on the head noun, just like the subject argument in participial relative clauses with relativized objects addressed above, and optionally, the object argument of the postpositional phrase with the modifying copula verb (Section 1.1.). For instance, in (67) the 1st and 3rd person singular possessive affixes on 'place' indicate the object of the attributive postpositional form. The postpositional form itself can host optional person/number concord with the head noun.

- (67) a. *ɲili° / ɲileda ya-da*
 under.ADJ / under.ADJ.3SG place-3SG
 'the place under him'
- b. *ɲili° / ɲilem'i ya-m'i*
 under.ADJ / under.ADJ.1SG place-1SG
 'the place under me'

However, there is an alternative pattern of object marking, similar to the pattern of subject marking in non-participial relative clauses (Section 2): the object marker may

be hosted only by the postpositional form, e.g. *ɲilem'i ya* (under.ADJ.1SG place) 'the place under me'. This is the only possible strategy in the situation of competition between the possessive and 'objective' functions of possessive affixes: the possessive marker on the nominal head must target the possessor, while the possessive marker on the postpositional form indicates the object of the postposition, e.g. *ɲileda mən'o ya-m'i* (under.ADJ.3SG I place-1SG) 'my place under him', *ɲilem'i ɲamtorc'ə-l'o* (under.ADJ.1SG chair-2SG) 'your chair under me'. The same three options of object marking are observed in compound postpositions: *pū n'a-ɲi'o ya-m'i* (after at-ADJ place-1SG) vs. *pū-n'i n'a-ɲi'o ya* (after-1SG at-ADJ place) vs. *pū-n'i n'a-ɲi'o ya-m'i* (after-1SG at-ADJ place-1SG) 'the place behind me'.

Chapter 15

Complement clauses

This chapter describes the semantic and syntactic types of non-finite complement clauses headed by action nominals and converbs. For more general information on the structure of dependent clauses see Chapter 13.

1 Sentential subjects

In (1) I present a (non-exhaustive) list of the matrix predicates, both verbs and predicative adjectives, which are compatible with sentential subjects.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>tara-</i> | ‘needed’ |
| | <i>p’ir^oq-</i> | ‘possible’ |
| | <i>səwa</i> | ‘good’ |
| | <i>wə̀wa</i> | ‘bad’ |
| | <i>n’un^obco</i> | ‘tiring’ |
| | <i>yiql’eka</i> | ‘interesting, funny, amusing’ |
| | <i>mas’^o</i> | ‘enough’ |
| | <i>sə̀nkowoqna</i> | ‘difficult’ |
| | <i>si^ona</i> | ‘ought’ |

However, basically any predicative noun may participate in a kind of identificational construction where the action nominal serves as subject, and many verbal expressions such as e.g. *yīx^onta xaqmi^oq* ‘come to mind’, *n’i naq* ‘is not’, *yə̀nku* ‘not to take place (at all)’, *n’i nəd’uq* ‘not seen’ introduce action nominals too. The clausal status of these constructions needs further investigation.

1.1 Impersonal constructions

Impersonal sentential subjects do not contain an overt expression of a subject, the subject argument being interpreted as indefinite or generic. The verb in the dependent clause takes the form of the conditional or modal converb illustrated in (2) and (3), respectively. Modal converbs are in fact more frequent in the modern language.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| (2) | <i>pida</i> | <i>t’en’ewə-bco-mta</i> | <i>gazeta-n^oh</i> | <i>padə-b^oq</i> | <i>səwa-rəxa</i> |
| | he | know-N-ACC.3SG | newspaper-DAT | write-COND | good-SIM |
| | ‘It would be good to describe his knowledge in a newspaper.’ (T 649) | | | | |

- (3) a. *xər'iq tən'akumna yader-c'° ηəmke wæwa?*
 self there walk-MOD what bad
 'Would it be bad to go there oneself?' (T 750)
- b. *n'anantoh s'ana-ko-° yiqł'eka*
 LOC.3PL play-MOD interesting
 'It's interesting to play with them.' (T 141)

The main clause can contain a subject-like experiencer element in the locative case, similar to simple sentences with the locative subjects described in Chapter 9, Section 1.1.3. But this may be a relatively recent innovation introduced under influence from Russian. As shown in (4), such locatives do not agree.

- (4) a. *n'an'°-m ηəwor-c'° n'anan° wæwa*
 bread-ACC eat-MOD I.LOC bad
 'It's bad for me to eat bread.'
- b. *(mən'°) n'anan° mən-c'°ra-b°q səηkowoqηa*
 I LOC.1SG work-COND difficult
 'It's difficult for me to work.'

An important property of impersonal constructions with modal converbs is that, unlike conditionals, modal converbs allow optional object-to-subject 'raising'. That is, the accusative object of the dependent verb may be promoted to the main clause subject, so that it stands in the nominative and triggers appropriate agreement on the main verb. In (5) the subject *xən°-q* 'sleds (PL)' triggers the 3rd person plural agreement on the verb *tara°q*.

- (5) *təmna ηoka-w°na xən°-q s'erta-° tara°-q*
 still many-PROL sled-PL do-MOD needed-3PL
 'One has to make many more sleds.' (T 397)

The 'raised' subject structurally belongs to the main clause, as follows not only from agreement but also from the fact that it may follow the dependent clause (6a). Example (6b) demonstrates that it controls switch-reference: in this sentence the 'raised' subject 'eyes' is represented by the referential null and 3rd person plural subject marking in the dependent clause headed by the evasive converb.

- (6) a. *xada-ba-° noxa-q wæwa-q*
 kill-DUR-MOD polar.fox-PL bad-PL
 'It is bad to kill the polar foxes.'

- b. *səw°-q* [*yes°-monk°də-ntoh*] *let°rampə°* *tara°-q*
 eye-PL hurt-EVAS-3PL take.care-MOD needed-PL
 'Eyes have to be taken care of so that they don't hurt.' (T 110)

The raising construction is associated with a particular meaning, namely, it serves to topicalize the lower object, as in (7b), or make it definite/specific (8b).

- (7) a. *t'uku°-q* *tudaku* *məq°la°* *tara°*
 this-PL mushroom.ACC.PL collect-MOD needed
 'One has to collect these mushrooms.'
- b. *t'uku°-q* *tudako-q* *məq°la°* *tara°-q*
 this-PL mushroom-PL collect-MOD needed-3PL
 'These mushrooms are to be collected.'
- (8) a. *nos'i* *xada-ba°* *wəwa*
 polar.fox.ACC.PL kill-DUR-MOD bad
 'It is bad to kill polar foxes (in general).'
- b. *noxa-q* *xada-ba°* *wəwa-q*
 polar.fox-PL kill-DUR-MOD bad-PL
 '(These) polar foxes are bad to kill.'

Impersonal constructions can also be headed by action nominals, normally with the same matrix predicates as those listed in (1) above. The meaning of impersonal action nominals is generally similar to the meaning of converbial constructions.

- (9) a. *nara* *sira-h* *n'imn'a* *ηoka-w°na* *ηədal'o-wa* *xən'ah* *yiql'eka*
 hard.snow snow-GEN along many-PROL travel-IMPF.AN very interesting
 'Travelling a lot on the hard snow is very interesting.'
- b. *yal'a-h* *xon'o-wa* *xancos'i*
 day-GEN sleep-IMPF.AN unsatisfying
 'Sleeping in the day time is unsatisfying.' (T 739)

Object-to-subject raising is not possible, unlike in converbial clauses:

- (10) a. *pidər°* *ηədara°* *taraə-n°*
 you send-MOD needed-2SG
 'One has to send you.'
- b. **pidər°* *ηədara-wa* *taraə-n°*
 you send-IMPF.AN needed-2SG
 ('One has to send you.')

This example shows that the object of the lower verb ‘to send’ can be promoted to the main subject which triggers agreement on the matrix verb only when the dependent verb ‘to send’ takes the form of the modal converb, but not when it is represented by the action nominal.

1.2 Personal constructions

Sentential subject constructions where the dependent subject argument is overtly expressed are referred to here as ‘personal’ constructions. The personal dependent clauses are usually headed by conditional forms. The pronominal subject is expressed by means of pronominal person/number affixes on the dependent verb and may be optionally represented by an independent nominative pronoun.

- (11) a. (*mən'ih*) *səwa-w^ona toxodənə-b^oqna-naq tara^o*
 we good-PROL study-COND.EMPH-1PL needed
 ‘We have to study well.’
 b. *t'uku^o-m t'en'ewə-bə-t^o si^oŋa*
 this-ACC know-COND-2SG ought
 ‘You ought to know this.’

As discussed in Chapter 13, Section 2.1, the dependent lexical subject of the conditional converb typically stands in the nominative and triggers the 3rd person agreement on the converb, although genitive subjects do occur in Tereshchenko (1965).

- (12) a. *Wera / *Wera-h t'uku^o ti-m xada-b^o-ta tara^o*
 Wera / Wera-GEN this reindeer-ACC kill-COND-3SG needed
 ‘Wera has to kill this reindeer.’
 b. *škola-xəna disciplina səwa ηæ-b^o-ta tara^o*
 school-LOC discipline good be-COND-3SG needed
 ‘There has to be good discipline at school.’ (T 83)
 (13) *xabc'anota n'enec^o-h yedya-s'ə-da-h n'ah me-b^o-ta wæwa*
 ill person-GEN pain-V-IMP.F.PART-GEN with be-COND-3SG bad
 ‘It's bad for an ill person to be together with healthy ones.’ (T 711)

In personal constructions with perfective or imperfective action nominals the lexical subject stands in the genitive and agreement is optional:

- (14) a. *s'enc^o n'enec^o-ə-h n'i-wa mən^ora-wa s'a-k^ona wæwa*
 healthy person-GEN NEG-IMP.F.AN work-IMP.F.AN face-LOC bad
 ‘It's shameful for a healthy person not to work.’ (T 608)

- b. *xæ°-h* *yəly°n'er-ma* *so°*
thunder-GEN rumble-IMPF.AN heard
'The rumbling of the thunder is heard.' (T 836)
- c. *n'is'a-naq* *to-wa(-da)* *ηəd'i*
father-GEN.1PL come-IMPF.AN-3SG seen
'It can be seen that our father is coming.'
- d. *tīqn'i* *səd°do-qma* *xubta*
reindeer.PL.GEN.1SG waste-PERF.AN long
'My reindeer were wasted long time ago.' (T 521)

The pronominal subject is expressed by the person/number marker on the action nominal:

- (15) a. *n'is'a-mt°* *pida-wa-r°* *wæwa* *wun'i* *ηaq*
father-ACC.2SG resemble-IMPF.AN-2SG bad NEG.EMPH be.CONNEG
'It's not bad that you look like your father.' (T 494)
- b. *s'ax°h* *xæ-wa-w°* *punoma*
when go-IMPF.AN-1SG turn.out
'It came out when I am to leave.' (T 489)
- c. *tə°-h* *yampən°h* *pad°nə-qma-m'i* *yəηku*
summer-GEN during write-PERF.AN-1SG no
'I didn't write in the summer.' (T 577)
- d. *n'an°-m* *ηəwor-ma-r°* *n'anan°* *wæwa*
bread-ACC eat-IMPF.AN-2SG I.LOC bad
'I don't like it when you eat bread.'

Modal converbs do not head sentential subjects with overt subjects.

2 Sentential objects

Sentential object clauses fall into two types: non-controlled and controlled clauses. In the latter the referential properties of an overt element of the matrix clause (typically, the subject or the object) determine the referential properties of a non-overt element of the dependent clause (the subject).

- (16) *pidər°* *[s'iqm'i* *[[Ø* *mənc°ra-°]* *Ø* *tab'eda-°]* *ηæwadala-n°*
you I.ACC work-MOD order-MOD stop-2SG
'You stopped forcing me to work.'

This sentence exemplifies both subject control and object control. The matrix verb ‘to stop’ governs the subject control complement clause headed by the verb ‘to force, to order’, where the actual subject is missing but interpreted as being coreferential with the matrix subject. The verb *tab’eda-* in its turn is an object control verb: its object *s’iqm’i* controls the missing subject of the embedded modal converb *mānc^ora^o*.

2.1 Subject control constructions

Semantically subject control constructions are fairly typical from a cross-linguistic point of view. One interesting formal feature is that subject control clauses headed by converbs exhibit cross-clausal agreement, which perhaps leads to some kind of clause-union analysis.

2.1.1 Action nominals

Some verbs that take subject control clauses headed by action nominals are listed in (17).

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (17) | <i>yolc’e-</i> | ‘to finish’ |
| | <i>māl’e-</i> | ‘to quit, to cease’ |
| | <i>ye^onā-</i> | ‘to hope’ |
| | <i>pūbta-</i> | ‘to miss narrowly’ |
| | <i>tāl’e-</i> | ‘to fulfil, to complete’ |
| | <i>sāb’axāl-</i> | ‘to learn’ |
| | <i>ḡāwada(la)-</i> | ‘to stop’ |
| | <i>xorpā-</i> | ‘to try’ |

All these verbs are transitive and the dependent clause acts as clausal object. The action nominal stands in the accusative, although it does not show any nominal properties in this instance: it is not compatible with determiners and adjectival modifiers, but can take manner and other adverbs. Typically only imperfective action nominals are employed in subject control constructions (18); perfective action nominals are only allowed with a few verbs (19).

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| (18) | a. | <i>tīnaq</i> | <i>n’awotā-wa-mtoḥ</i> | <i>yolc’e^o-doh</i> | |
| | | reindeer.PL.1PL | run-IMP.F.AN-ACC.3PL | stop-3PL > SG.OBJ | |
| | | ‘Our reindeer stopped running.’ (T 337) | | | |
| | b. | <i>mānc^oya-waq</i> | <i>sāwa-w^ona</i> | <i>yolc’e-wa-n^oh</i> | <i>ye^onā^o-waq</i> |
| | | work-ACC.1PL | good-PROL | finish-IMP.F.INF-DAT | hope-1PL |
| | | ‘We are hoping to finish our work well.’ (T 94) | | | |

- c. *ɲəno-m sulorɲə-wa-m xorɲ'i-d^om*
 boat-ACC mend-IMPF.AN-ACC try-1SG
 'I tried to mend the boat.'
- d. *ɲəno-m sulorɲə-wa-m'i xorɲ'i-d^om*
 boat-ACC mend-IMPF.AN-ACC.1SG try-1SG
 'I tried to mend the boat.'
- (19) *watorə-qma-m / watorə-qma-mta təl'e^o*
 promise-PERF.AN-ACC/ promise-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG fulfill
 'He fulfilled his promise.' (T 619)

As shown by examples (18a), (18d) and (19), the action nominal can host person/number subject marking taken from the possessive paradigm and targeting the subject, but it is highly optional and does not seem to add any extra meaning.

Since the action nominal clause functions as a sentential object, it determines object agreement on the main verb: agreement depends on the usual information structure related conditions described in Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1. That is, if the dependent clause is in focus, there is no object agreement on the main verb (20a), but when its content is somehow under discussion (that is, topicalized), agreement is present (20c).

- (20) a. [What did you stop doing?]
sɛ̃dorə-wa-m ɲɛ̃wadalaə-d^om
 sew-IMPF.AN-ACC stop-1SG
 'I stopped sewing.'
- b. [What did you stop doing?]
 **sɛ̃dorə-wa-m *ɲɛ̃wadalaə-w^o*
 sew-IMPF.AN-ACC stop-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I stopped sewing.')
- c. [Did you stop sewing?]
sɛ̃dorə-wa-m ɲɛ̃wadalaə-w^o
 sew-IMPF.AN-ACC stop-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'Yes, I stopped sewing.'
- d. [Did you stop sewing?]
 **sɛ̃dorə-wa-m ɲɛ̃wadalaə-d^om*
 sew-IMPF.AN-ACC stop-1SG
 ('Yes, I stopped sewing.')

The lower object does not trigger agreement, as evident in (21) where it stands in the dual.

- (21) a. *t'uku° kniga-x°h tola-ba-wa-m ηæwadalaa-da*
 this book-ACC.DU read-DUR-IMP.F.AN-ACC stop-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He stopped reading these two books.'
- b. **t'uku° kniga-x°h tola-ba-wa-m ηæwadalana-x°yu-da*
 this book-ACC.DU read-DUR-IMP.F.AN-ACC stop-DU.OBJ-3SG
 ('He stopped reading these two books.')

It should be added that there are speakers who consistently reject using action nominals in subject control clauses. For such speakers the relevant verbs must be combined with converbial dependents, as described in the next subsection.

2.1.2 Converbs

A large group of matrix verbs take subject control clauses headed by modal or purposive converbs. The purposive converb is usually more future-oriented. For some verbs this means that the choice between the modal and the purposive converb actually depends on the tense of the selecting verb. For example, the verb *yaqmə-* 'to be unable, cannot' combines with the modal converb when it stands in the present or past and with the purposive converb when it stands in the future.

- (22) a. *ti-m xada-° yaqmə°-da*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD cannot-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He cannot kill the reindeer.'
- b. **ti-m xada-wənc'° yaqmə°-da*
 reindeer-ACC kill-PURP cannot-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('He cannot kill the reindeer.')
- c. *ti-m xada-wənc'° yaqmə-ηku-da*
 reindeer-ACC kill-PURP cannot-FUT-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He will not be able to kill the reindeer.'

For other verbs this does not depend on tense but rather on the lexical semantics of the verb. In (23) I present a list of intransitive matrix verbs which take modal converbs only (23a), purposive converbs only (23b), and either modal or purposive converbs (23c).

- (23) a. *six°lə-* 'to get out of habit of'
læk°da- 'to be reluctant, to be lazy'
p'inə- 'to be afraid'
tar°ner- 'to try hard, to bustle about'
xas°lara- 'to get bored'

- b. *ye°nə-* 'to hope'
walanə- 'to agree'
leta- 'to prepare with fuss'
lenca- 'to engage unexpectedly'
xamadan°- 'to prepare'
- c. *toxə-* 'to learn'
wik°tə- 'to strive'
səŋk°bta- 'to start on whim'
yat°nə- 'to intend'

Since these verbs are intransitive, they belong to the subjective or reflexive class and never take object agreement:

- (24) a. *xən°-m pod'erpə-° lidakəl-i°q*
 sled-ACC harness-MOD hurry.INCH-REFL.3SG
 'He started harnessing the sled in a hurry.' (T 197)
- b. *t'uku° kniga-m tola-ba-° yat°nə°*
 this book-ACC read-DUR-MOD intend
 'He intends to read this book.'
- c. **t'uku° kniga-m tola-ba-° yat°nə°-da*
 this book-ACC read-DUR-MOD intend-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ('He intends to read this book.')

In contrast, the list in (25) presents transitive main verbs that can take object agreement and are combined with the modal converbs (25a), the purposive converbs (25b) or either of them (25c).

- (25) a. *p'a-* 'to start'
p'ir°s- 'can, to be able'
men'e- 'to like'
xərwabta- 'to like, to prefer'
ten'ewa- 'can, to be able'
yexara- 'to be unable, to ignore'
yolc'e- 'to finish'
- b. *pə°r-* 'to be busy with, to engage with, to be going to'
p'əŋkutə- 'to be going to, to be about'
me- 'to be going to, to take up'
watorə- 'to promise'

- c. *yaqm*^o- 'cannot, to be unable'
ηæwada- 'to stop'
tas^o*la*- 'to decide'

The patterns of object agreement on these verbs are quite peculiar. If the dependent verb is intransitive, it is the information structure role of the dependent clause that determines agreement: the focussed dependent clause does not agree (26a), while the topical dependent clause triggers default singular agreement, as in (26b).

- (26) a. [What can he do?]
to-s^o *p'ir*^o*qηa*
 come-MOD can
 'He can COME.'
- b. [Can he come?]
to-s^o *p'ir*^o*qηa-da*
 come-MOD can-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Yes, he CAN come.'

So the whole dependent clause functions as the agreeing object. The examples in (27) clearly show that object agreement is possible on the complement-taking verb even when it is not available on the lower verb. In particular, (27b) demonstrates that the verb *woworηa*- 'to worsen' is intransitive and cannot host object agreement.

- (27) a. *nuwoda mæl'e*^o *wowor-c*^o *p'a*^o*-doh*
 sky.PL.3SG already worsen-MOD start-3PL > SG.OBJ
 'The weather has already started getting worse.' (T 56)
- b. *nuwoda mæl'e*^o *woworηa-q*
 sky.PL.3SG already worsen-3PL
 'The weather has already got worse.'
- c. **nuwoda mæl'e*^o *woworηa-doh*
 sky.PL.3SG already worsen-3PL > SG.OBJ
 ('The weather has already got worse.')

The verb *tas*^o*la*- 'to decide' consistently requires object agreement when introducing a sentential complement, but this probably has a semantic or information structure related explanation, which is still unknown.

- (28) *xæ-s*^o / *xæ-wənc*^o *tas*^o*la*^{o*}*(-da)*
 go-MOD / go-PURP decide-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He decided to leave.'

So on the whole, this pattern of object agreement on the main verb is similar to the action nominal pattern described in Section 2.1.1. But there are differences too: unlike in subject control clauses headed by action nominals, when the dependent verb is transitive, it is the object of this lower verb that triggers agreement on the higher verb. This can be seen from several facts. First, with lexical objects agreement is ‘optional’, i.e. depends on the information structure role of the lower object (29a), but with pronominal objects agreement is ungrammatical (29b). This conforms with the general object agreement rule described in Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1. Second, when the lower object corresponds to a referential null, agreement (or, rather, pronominal marking) is obligatory, as is typical in the absence of a free-standing object (30). Third, agreement reflects the number feature of the object, for instance, the dual in (31).

- (29) a. *mən'° xal'a-m ηəm-c'° yaqm°ə-d°m*
 I fish-ACC eat-MOD cannot-1SG
 ‘I can’t eat (the) fish.’
- b. *mən'° xal'a-m ηəm-c'° yaqm°ə-w°*
 I fish-ACC eat-MOD cannot-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I can’t eat (the) fish.’
- c. *mən'° s'it° ηəm-c'° yaqm°ə-d°m*
 I you.ACC eat-MOD cannot-1SG
 ‘I can’t eat you.’
- d. **mən'° s'it° ηəm-c'° yaqm°ə-w°*
 I you.ACC eat-MOD cannot-1SG > SG.OBJ
 (‘I can’t eat you.’)
- (30) *ladorpə-° p'a°*(-da)*
 beat-MOD start-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘He started beating him.’
- (31) a. *Wera tex°h xada-° p'ir°qηa-x°yu-da*
 Wera reindeer.ACC.DU kill-MOD can-DU.OBJ-3SG
 ‘Wera can kill the two reindeer.’
- b. *t'uku° wen'ako-x°h xada-wənc'° pæ°rηa-x°yu-da*
 this dog-ACC.DU kill-PURP treat-DU.OBJ-3SG
 ‘He is going to kill these two dogs.’

Thus, if the dependent verb is transitive, object agreement on the main verb ‘looks’ inside this dependent clause: agreement is sensitive to the topicality and referential properties of the dependent object.

2.2 Object control constructions

In these constructions the object of the higher clause is coreferential with the non-overt subject of the dependent clause. Some object control verbs may show agreement with the lower object.

2.2.1 Action nominals and participles

These cases are not-numerous. The verbs *pæ°r*-‘to be busy with, to engage with, to be going to; to treat’ and *tas°la*- ‘to decide’ can have the meaning ‘to consider, to believe, to think as’ and take the accusative object which controls the dependent participle in the essive form.

- (32) a. *Wera n'is'a-mta t'en'ana to-weŋe° pæ°ŋa*
 Wera father-ACC.3SG yesterday come-PERF.PART.ESS treat
 ‘Wera believes that his father came yesterday.’
- b. *Wera-m xūn'ana to-w°nta-ŋe° tas°la-mp'iw°*
 Wera-ACC tomorrow come-FUT.PART.ESS decide-DUR.1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I think / believe that Wera will come tomorrow.’

The verb *ta*- ‘to let, to allow’ (literally: ‘to give’) takes the accusative action nominal controlled by the indirect dative object. The action nominal may stand in the predessive form as in (33c).

- (33) a. *n'a°n'i xon'o-wa-m ta-s'°*
 DAT.1SG sleep-IMPF.AN-ACC give-DUR
 ‘He let me sleep.’
- b. *xas'ena-wa-m / *xas'ena-wa-m'i n'a°n'i n'ī ta-mp'uq*
 rest-IMPF.AN-ACC / rest-IMPF.AN-ACC.1SG DAT.1SG NEG give-DUR.CONNEG
 ‘He doesn’t let me rest.’ (T 756)
- c. *pida mærat°h xæ-wa-də-m'i ta°*
 he city.DAT go-IMPF.AN-PRED-1SG give
 ‘He let me go to the city.’

This pattern probably represents structural copying of the equivalent Russian structure with the verb *dat'* ‘to give’ and the dative. The action nominal cannot take subject marking which cross-references the dative in the matrix clause.

2.2.2 Converbs

Most object control clauses are headed by modal or purposive converbs and exhibit no subject marking. The main verbs are transitive and represent either direct or indirect object control patterns. That is, the controlling argument either stands in the accusative or the dative, sometimes with a slight difference in meaning, although it is not excluded that the dative-control pattern has developed under the influence of Russian, where respective verbs take a dative object.

Some verbs show both options. For example, the verb *p'is'ed'e-* means 'to forbid, to feel sorry for, not to want' and takes the accusative object which controls the subject argument of the dependent converbial clause. Agreement on the main verb is determined by the higher object, as witnessed by the fact that in (34a) object agreement is impossible because the object is the 1st person pronoun.

- (34) a. *s'iqm'i xæ-s'° p'is'ed'eə-n°*
 I.ACC go-MOD forbid-2SG
 'You forbid me to leave.'
- b. **s'iqm'i xæ-s'° p'is'ed'eə-r°*
 I.ACC go-MOD forbid-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('You forbid me to leave.')
- c. *xasawa n'ū-m'i ti-m xada-° p'is'ed'eə-w°*
 man child-1SG reindeer-ACC kill-MOD forbid-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I forbid my son to kill the reindeer.'
- d. *xasawa n'ū-m'i ti-m xada-° p'is'ed'eə-d°m*
 man child-1SG reindeer-ACC kill-MOD forbid-1SG
 'I forbid my son to kill the reindeer.'

When the dependent clause is controlled by the main clause dative, the main verb agrees with the object of the dependent verb. In (35) agreement depends on the topicality of the lower object *tim*.

- (35) a. *n'aənt° ti-m xada-° p'is'ed'eə-w°*
 DAT.1SG reindeer-ACC kill-MOD forbid-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I forbid you to kill the reindeer.'
- b. *n'aənt° ti-m xada-° p'is'ed'eə-d°m*
 DAT.1SG reindeer-ACC kill-MOD forbid-1SG
 'I forbid you to kill the reindeer.'

Similarly, the verbs *wol^otamp^o*- ‘to forbid, to dislike, to blame, to criticise’ and *tas^ola-* ‘to charge with, to commission, to decide for’ take either the accusative or the dative object:

- (36) a. *Wera-m ti-m xada-^o wol^otamp^oi-w*
 Wera-ACC reindeer-ACC kill-MOD dislike.1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I forbade Wera to kill the reindeer.’
- b. *Wera-m ti-m xada-wənc^o tas^olaə-w^o*
 Wera-ACC reindeer.ACC kill-PURP decide-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I decided for Wera that he should kill the reindeer.’
- c. *Wera-m ti-m xada-wənc^o tas^olaə-d^om*
 Wera-ACC reindeer.ACC kill-PURP decide-1SG
 ‘I decided for Wera that he should kill the reindeer.’
- (37) a. *n’aənt^o ti-m xada-^o wol^otamp^oi-w^o*
 you.DAT reindeer-ACC kill-MOD dislike.1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I forbade you to kill this reindeer.’
- b. *Wera-n^oh te-x^oh xada-wənc^o tas^olaŋa-xəyu-n^o*
 Wera-DAT reindeer-DU kill-PURP decide-DU.OBJ-1SG
 ‘I decided for Wera that he should kill the (two) reindeer.’

The verb *tab’eda-* exhibits differences in meaning, although it is consistently glossed as ‘order’ throughout the grammar: in (38a–b) the dependent converb is controlled by the matrix direct object and the matrix verb has a coercive meaning, whereas in (38c–d) we have indirect object control and the meaning is rather permissive (‘I let/asked you to kill the reindeer’). The purposive converb *xada-wənc^o* is possible in all these examples instead of the modal converb *xada-^o*; this does not affect the meaning.

- (38) a. *ti-m xada-^o s’iqt^o tab’edaə-d^om*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD you.ACC order-1SG
 ‘I forced/ordered you to kill the reindeer.’
- b. **ti-m xada-^o s’iqt^o tab’edaə-w^o*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD you.ACC order-1SG > SG.OBJ
 (‘I forced/ordered you to kill the reindeer.’)
- c. *ti-m xada-^o n’aənt^o tab’edaə-w^o*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD DAT.2SG order-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I let/asked you to kill the reindeer.’

- d. *ti-m xada-° n'aənt° tab'edaə-d°m*
 reindeer-ACC kill-MOD DAT.2SG order-1SG
 'I let/asked you to kill the reindeer.'

Again the difference in agreement is observed: in (38a) object agreement is controlled by the main clause object: in this instance *s'iq̣t°* cannot trigger agreement (38b). In (38c) agreement is with the lower object. This can be more clearly seen when the lower object is in the dual:

- (39) *tex°h xada-° n'aənt° tab'edaŋa-xəyu-n°*
 reindeer.DU.ACC kill-MOD DAT.2SG order-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I asked you to kill the two reindeer.'

The verbs *m'iq̣-* and *ta-* 'to give' seem to exhibit indirect object control only when they introduce a sentential complement and mean 'to let, to allow', and so does the expression *soxam ta-* 'to give opportunity, to give possibility'.

- (40) a. *Wera-n°h pix°dəmta ladə-° m'iq̣ŋa-da*
 Wera-DAT REFL.ACC.3SG hit-MOD give-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He let Wera hit himself.'
- b. *Wera-n°h pix°dəmta lad°-wənc° m'iq̣ŋa-da*
 Wera-DAT REFL.ACC.3SG hit-PURP give-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He let Wera hit himself.'
- c. *pənem'i səd°-wənc° ŋan'i n'e-n°h m'iq̣ŋa-wə-s°*
 coat.ACC.1SG sew-PURP again woman-DAT give-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I let another woman make me a coat.' Or: 'I had a coat made by another woman.'
- d. *na°n'i xan'e-° soxa-m ta-mṗ'i*
 DAT.1SG hunt-MOD opportunity-ACC give-DUR
 'He gives me the opportunity to hunt.'
- e. *n'a°n'i tola-wənc° ta-wi° kniga-r°*
 DAT.1SG read-PURP give-PERF.PART book-2SG
 'the book you brought for me to read'

The verb *watoṛ-* typically means 'to promise', but is also available to exhibit dative object control if it means something like 'to commission', as in (41):

- (41) *Wera-n°h te-x°h xada-wənc° watoṛŋa-x°yu-da*
 Wera-DAT reindeer-DU kill-PURP promise-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'He commissioned Wera to kill the (two) reindeer.'

As can be seen here, indirect object control verbs show agreement with the object of the lower verb.

It should be noted that there are quite a few verbs that participate in a superficially very similar construction in which the dependent clause is headed by a converb and its subject argument is coreferential with a non-subject present in the main clause, but this dependent clause has adverbial status (see Chapter 16, Section 2.3).

2.3 Non-controlled clauses

On patterns of subject marking see Chapter 13, Section 2.1, on anaphoric nulls see Chapter 17.

2.3.1 Accusative action nominals

Many transitive verbs take propositional objects headed by accusative action nominals. Some of them are presented below:

- (42)
- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>nəmt</i> ^o - | ‘to hear, find out, to learn’ |
| <i>p’il’us</i> - | ‘to be afraid’ |
| <i>t’en’e</i> - | ‘to remember’ |
| <i>t’en’ewə</i> - | ‘to know’ |
| <i>xamc</i> ^o - | ‘to be glad; to look forward to’ |
| <i>mənes</i> - | ‘to see’ |
| <i>wad’es</i> - | ‘to tell, to say’ |
| <i>ɲət’e</i> - | ‘to wait’ |

Examples of same-subject and different-subject clauses are shown in (43):

- (43)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>to-wa-mta</i> | <i>wad’eqɲa</i> | |
| | come-IMPF.AN-ACC.3SG | tell | |
| | ‘He _i is telling about how he _i arrived.’ (T 34) | | |
| b. | <i>Wera-h</i> | <i>to-wa-m</i> | <i>wad’eqɲa</i> |
| | Wera-GEN | come-IMPF.AN-ACC | tell |
| | ‘He is telling about how Wera arrived.’ | | |

The tense of the dependent clause is fixed with respect to the tense of the main verb and is expressed as follows: the relative present is rendered by the imperfective action nominal (44a–b), the relative past by the perfective action nominal (44c), the relative future may be expressed by the marginal future action nominals mentioned

in Chapter 5, Section 4.2, but is most often expressed by a periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *meq-* ‘to use’ and the modal converb of the lexical verb (44d).

- (44) a. *t'uku° kniga-m tola-ba-wa-w° t'enewə°*
 this book-ACC read-DUR-IMPF.AN-ACC.1SG know
 ‘He knows that I am reading this book.’
- b. *t'uku° kniga-m tola-ba-wa-w° t'enewəə-s'°*
 this book-ACC read-DUR-IMPF.AN-ACC.1SG know-PAST
 ‘He knew that I was reading this book.’
- c. *t'uku° kniga-m tola-qma-w° t'enewə°*
 this book-ACC read-DUR-PERF.AN-ACC.1SG know
 ‘He knows that I have read this book.’
- d. *t'uku° kniga-m tola-ba-s'° me-wa-w° t'enewəə-s'°*
 this book-ACC read-DUR-MOD take-IMPF.AN-ACC.1SG know-PAST
 ‘He knew that I would read this book.’

The verb can be in the objective conjugation and the conditions on object agreement depend on the topicality of the dependent clause as a whole, just like for subject control verbs which head action nominals (Section 2.1.1): in (45a–b) the dependent clause is focussed and there is no agreement, whereas in (45c) agreement is possible.

- (45) a. [What are you afraid of?]
tu-m p'ata-wa-mt° p'il'uŋa-d°m
 fire-ACC lighten.up-IMPF.AN-ACC.2SG be.afraid-1SG
 ‘I am afraid that you’ll start a fire.’
- b. [What are you afraid of?]
**tu-m p'ata-wa-mt° p'il'uŋa-w°*
 fire-ACC lighten.up-IMPF.AN-ACC.2SG be.afraid-1SG > SG.OBJ
 (‘I am afraid that you’ll start a fire.’)
- c. [You are not afraid.]
tu-m p'ata-wa-mt° p'il'uŋa-w°
 fire-ACC lighten.up-IMPF.AN-ACC.2SG be.afraid-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘I AM afraid that you’ll start a fire.’

A similar contrast is shown in (46). In (46a) we have an example of the verb focus structure and, according to the general rule, the verb shows optional object agreement (the agreeing option is actually preferred). But in (46b) the focus is on the object dependent clause and agreement becomes ungrammatical.

- (46) a. *Wera Maša-h xǣ-wa-m mǎne-ca(-da)?*
 Wera Masha-GEN go-IMPF.AN-ACC see-INTER-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Did Wera see that Masha left?
- b. [What did Wera see?]
Maša-h xǣ-wa-m mǎneqηa(-da)?*
 Masha-GEN go-IMPF.AN-ACC see-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He saw that Masha left.'

Unlike in some control constructions, there is no agreement across clauses.

- (47) a. *Pet'a [Wera-h tex^oh xada-wa-m]*
 Petya Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC.DU kill-IMPF.PART-ACC
mǎneqηa(-da)-s'^o
 see-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Petya saw that Wera killed two reindeer.'
- b. **Pet'a [Wera-h tex^oh xada-wa-m]*
 Petya Wera-GEN reindeer-ACC.DU kill-IMPF.PART-ACC
mǎneqηa-x^oyu-da-s'^o
 see-DU.OBJ-3SG-PAST
 ('Petya saw that Wera killed two reindeer.')

In (47) the main verb cannot host dual object agreement with the dual object of the dependent verb 'to kill'.

2.3.2 Action nominals in oblique cases

In certain instances the propositional dependent clause is not a direct object, but some kind of oblique. Consequently, the main verb cannot agree with the dependent clause or any of its subconstituents, although it may agree with its own matrix object. The verbs that take complement clauses in the dative are *ye^onə-* 'to hope' (only in different-subject sentences), *pun^or'o-* 'to believe', *məy^ompa-* 'to be happy about' and *pisa-* 'to get surprised'.

- (48) a. *yunuy^o-h to-wa-n^oh məy^omp'i-waq*
 spring-GEN come-IMPF.AN-DAT be.happy-1PL
 'We are happy that the spring is coming.' (T 815)
- b. *to-wa-xənta piseyəw^oq*
 come-IMPF.AN-DAT.3SG get.surprised.REFL.1SG
 'I was surprised that he left.'

- c. *xurkaxərt° ye°nə-lta-mpə-wa-xənt° n'ĩ-d°m pun°r'uq*
 any hope-CAUS-DUR-IMPF.AN-DAT.2SG NEG-1SG believe.CONNEG
 'I don't believe what you make me hope for.' (T 95)

The verb *xərwa-* 'to want, to intend, to be going to' takes the dative action nominal. Same-subject constructions are very widespread.

- (49) a. *tu-waq siy°nə°, tabc°-wa-n°h n'ĩ xərwa-q*
 fire-1PL sizzle flare.up-IMPF.AN-DAT NEG want-CONNEG
 'Our fire is sizzling, it is not going to flare up.' (T 572)
- b. *xə-wa-n°h xərwaə-d°m*
 go-IMPF.AN-DAT want-1SG
 'I want to leave.'
- c. **xə-wa-n°h xərwaə-w°*
 go-IMPF.AN-DAT want-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I want to leave.')

As shown in (49b–c), the verb *xərwa-* functions as intransitive: it cannot host object agreement. However, this is only true if the dependent verb is intransitive too. If the dependent verb takes its own object, this object can actually trigger agreement on the verb *xərwa-*, so we have an instance of long-distance agreement here.

- (50) a. *t'uku° ηəno-x°h sulor-ma-n°h xun'ana xərwaŋa-x°yu-n°*
 this boat-ACC.DU mend-IMPF.AN-DAT tomorrow want-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I want to mend these two boats tomorrow.'
- b. *s'it° xada-wa-n°h xərwaə-d°m*
 you.ACC kill-IMPP.AN-DAT want-1SG
 'I want to kill you.'
- c. **s'it° xada-wa-n°h xərwaə-w°*
 you.ACC kill-IMPP.AN-DAT want-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I want to kill you.')

Example (50a) demonstrates that the dual object of the dependent verb 'to mend' triggers dual agreement on the verb 'to want'. In (50c) object agreement on the verb 'to want' is ungrammatical because the object of the verb 'to kill' is a 2nd person personal pronoun and such pronouns never trigger agreement in the object role (cf. (50b)). This may suggest that in (50) we have a monoclausal or clause-union structure, as is also confirmed by the position of the adverb 'tomorrow' outside the immediate syntactic domain defined by dependent verbs. The verb *xərwa-* rarely

functions in different-subject constructions, but if it does, object agreement across clauses appears to be impossible:

- (51) a. *Wera-h te-x^oh xada-wa-n^oh xərwaə-d^om*
 Wera-GEN reindeer-DU kill-IMP.F.AN-DAT want-1SG
 'I want Wera to kill the (two) reindeer.'
- b. **Wera-h te-x^oh xada-wa-n^oh xərwaŋa-x^oyu-n^o*
 Wera-GEN reindeer-DU kill-IMP.F.AN-DAT want-DU.OBJ-1SG
 ('I want Wera to kill the (two) reindeer.')

The verbs *yexara*- 'not to know, to ignore', *t'en'ewə*- 'to know about' and *p'in^o*- 'to be afraid of' take ablative action nominals as their clausal complements.

- (52) a. *n'a^omi-nta xənc'er^oq xə-wa-xəd^o xər^o-ta yexara^o*
 tongue-GEN.3SG how go-IMP.F.AN-ABL REFL-3SG ignore
 'He doesn't know himself what his tongue is saying.' (T 350)
- b. *Pet'a Wera-h mənc'ra-qma-xəd^o t'en'ewa^o*
 Pet'a Wera-GEN work-PERF.AN-ABL know
 'Pet'a knows that Wera has worked.'

The locative action nominal is required with the verb *ye^onə-lta*- 'to give hope, to assure (hope-CAUS)' and the expression *s'er- yəŋku* 'not to care about'. The latter includes the nominal stem *s'er* which means something like 'business, thing, matter' and in this case takes possessive affixes cross-referencing the subject.

- (53) a. *m'er^o-h to-wa-xənanta s'iqm'i ye^onə-lta^o*
 fast-GEN come-IMP.F.AN-LOC.3SG I.ACC hope-CAUS
 'He assured me that he would come soon.' (T 95)
- b. *mat^o-wa-x^ona s'erta yəŋko-^o p'in^oh*
 wash.oneself-IMP.F.AN-LOC thing-GEN.3SG no-MOD out
təpi^o-q
 go.out-REFL.3SG
 'He went out without caring for washing himself.' (T 240)

Finally, a number of verbs take complement clauses where the action nominal stands in the genitive and acts as the object of a postposition. The most common is the postposition *n'amna* 'about'. These are verbs that denote the transmission of information such as *man*- 'to speak about', *yib'edor*- 'to think about', *xinos*- 'to sing about' and the expression *yī*- (+possessive affixes) *yaderna* 'to day dream, to think about'.

- (54) a. *xǣ-wa-n'i* *n'amna* *yib'edorŋa*
 go-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG about think
 'He is thinking about me leaving (him).'
- b. *xǣ-wa-nta* *n'amna* *yī-da* *yaderŋa*
 go-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG about mind-3SG walk
 'He is dreaming about leaving.' (T 130)

The verb *nek'lara-* 'to strive persistently' governs the postpositional construction too: the dependent action nominal takes the genitive and functions as the object of the postposition *n'ah* 'to' or *n'ayu* 'towards'.

- (55) a. *tola-ŋko-wa-h* *pad'ona-wa-h* *n'ah* *nek'lari-dəm-c'o*
 read-INTR-IMPF.AN-GEN write-IMPF.AN-GEN to strive-1SG-PAST
 'I strived (to learn) to write and to read.' (T 325)
- b. *xasawa* *n'ū-n'i* *səwa-w'na* *toxolko-wa-h*
 man child-GEN.1SG good-PROL study-IMPF.AN-GEN
n'ayu *nek'lari-dəm-c'o*
 towards strive-1SG-PAST
 'I strived for my child to study well.'

All verbs mentioned in this section take non-clausal objects in respective grammatical cases (see Chapter 10).

3 Clausal complements of nouns

Some nouns take clausal complements expressed by action nominals in the genitive case. The patterns of subject marking are the same as in most dependent clauses: the lexical subject of the action nominal stands in the genitive and does not normally trigger agreement, while the pronominal subject is expressed by person/number possessive marking on the action nominal but may be additionally rendered by a free-standing pronoun. Lexical nouns taking sentential complements are not numerous in Tundra Nenets; speakers always prefer to use complement-taking verbs instead. Moreover, the relevant meanings are often rendered by non-finite verbal forms (that is, action nominals), possibly substantivized to various degrees. To cite just one example, Tundra Nenets seems to lack a general word meaning 'trace, mark', so there is no literal equivalent of the English phrase 'the trace of where you were lying'. Instead it employs the action nominal of the verb 'to lie': (*pidər°*) *yūs'eda-qma-r°* (you lie-PERF.AN-2SG) 'where you lay; the trace from your lying'. But the verb *yūs'eda-* is only used for humans and cannot describe animals. The action nominal of the verb *waqnə-* 'to lie (of animals)' has to be used instead: *wen'ako-h*

waqn°-qma (dog-GEN lie-PERF.AN) ‘where the dog lay; the trace from the dog’s lying’. Obviously, these constructions do not represent sentential complements. Since noun complementation is not generally widespread, it has not received much attention in the existing literature on Tundra Nenets.

However, a certain number of complement-taking nouns do exist and they fall into three semantic and formal classes. The first group includes nouns that denote content (e.g. *pad°r* ‘paper, letter, document’, *kniga* ‘book’ (borrowed from Russian), *s’id’anjk°* ‘photograph’), means of communication (e.g. *wada* ‘word, news, rumour’, *yun°* ‘news’, *lax°r’o* ‘conversation’), and the compound expression *yī(-ɲuq)* ‘thought’. The peculiarity of this group is that the sentential complement in the genitive is often introduced by the postposition *n’amna* ‘about’, sometimes in combination with the imperfective participle of the copular verb ‘to be’ *ɲæda* ‘being’. Thus, the literal translation of, e.g., (56b) in its full version is something like ‘the book being about how the girl went to the forest.’

- (56) a. *Wera-h n’e-m m’i-wa-h (n’anma) yun°*
 Wera-GEN woman-ACC make-IMPF.AN-GEN about news
 ‘the news that Wera got married.’
- b. *n’e ɲac’eki°-h pedara-n°h xæ-wa-h*
 woman child-GEN forest-DAT go-IMPF.AN-GEN
n’amna (ɲæ-da) kniga
 about be-IMPF.PART book
 ‘the book about how the girl went to the forest’
- c. *n’el’e-wa-n’i (n’amna) lax°r’o-doh*
 marry-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG about conversation-3PL
 ‘their conversation about how I got married’

The distribution of *n’amna* and *ɲæda* is difficult to generalize about: in some instances the consultants claimed that both of them are impossible to omit, in other instances only *n’amna* was required, and some phrases were accepted as grammatical without either *n’amna* or *ɲæda*. There seems to be a fair amount of variation here. What is clear, however, is that this pattern is at least superficially similar to non-clausal complementation. The postposition *n’amna* ‘about’ can introduce a non-clausal complement of content-denoting nouns, and the genitive is the usual case marking for objects of postpositions.

Second, there is a small group of abstract words such as *m’an°* ‘ability, able’, *p’ir°* ‘similarity, possibility, likelihood’ and the very common word *s’er* with the literal meaning ‘thing, business’ but often used to mean ‘possibility, way, tool, reason’. These are rather similar to ‘light’ nouns in languages like Japanese. In Tundra Nenets they behave formally as nouns (or perhaps, adjectives) but are mostly used

in the predicative function, in which instance they seem to be fully or partially grammaticalized to express various modalities:

- (57) a. *t'ukoxəna mənç^ora-wa-n'i p'ir^o n'i ŋaq*
 here work-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG similarity NEG be.CONNEG
 'It's not possible for me to work here.'
- b. *tola-wa-nt^o s'er ŋa*
 read-IMPF.AN-2SG thing be
 'You ought to read.'
- c. *Wera-h mənç^oya-m s'erta-wa-nta m'an^o*
 Wera-GEN work-ACC do-IMPF.AN-3SG able
 'Wera is able to do the work.'

As can be seen here, the dependent predicate stands in the genitive, as is normally the case with sentential complements of nouns, but it is not entirely clear whether we are dealing with monoclausal or biclausal structure in this instance.

Finally, Tundra Nenets has relational nouns that do not denote content and take action nominal sentential complements in the genitive form. These are mostly nouns expressing perceptions, senses, emotions and products of mental activity, exemplified in (58). More relational nouns are shown in (59).

- (58) a. *Wera-h xal'a-m tal^otamp^o-wa-h ŋəpt^o*
 Wera-GEN fish-ACC fry-IMPF.AN-GEN smell
 'the smell of Wera frying the fish.'
- b. *Wera-h xal'a-m tal^otamp^o-wa-nta ŋəpt^o*
 Wera-GEN fish-ACC fry-IMPF.AN-GEN-3SG smell
 'the smell of Wera frying the fish.'
- c. *pidər^o xal'a-m tal^otamp^o-wa-nt^o ŋəpt^o*
 you fish-ACC fry-IMPF.AN-2SG smell
 'the smell of you frying the fish'
- d. *pidər^o xino-qma-nt^o n'urc'əw^o*
 you sing-PERF.AN-2SG pleasure
 'the pleasure of your singing'
- (59) a. *s'enc'eləwa-xəna yil'e-wa-h m'ir*
 hotel-LOC live-IMPF.AN-GEN price
 'the price of staying in a hotel'
- b. *nos'iqməna xan'e-wa-h tenc^o-q ŋoka-q*
 polar.fox.PL.PROL hunt-IMPF.AN-GEN way-PL many-PL
 'There are many ways of hunting for polar foxes.' (T 690)

Some other relational or quasi-relational (that is, construable as relational in some but not all their meanings) nouns that belong to this group are *mesiq* ‘habit’, *n’ed°b’a* ‘payment’, *wato* ‘aim, goal, condition’, *taro* ‘use’, *xərwabco* ‘wish’, *soxa* ‘probability (of what can happen)’, *xəra* ‘reason’ and *wəncaxa* ‘sin’.

It is important to emphasize that the noun complement construction is clearly construed as the possessive construction. This can be seen from the fact that the head noun may host the 3rd person singular possessive affix. As discussed in Chapter 7, the genitive lexical possessor optionally triggers possessive agreement on the head. In the present instance the embedded clause headed by the genitive action nominal acts as some kind of ‘possessor’ in that the head noun can optionally be marked by the possessive affix.

- (60) a. *pūn’ah s’ur°xəl-ma-h s’er(-ta)*
 back return-IMPF.AN-GEN thing-3SG
 ‘the way of returning back’
- b. *s’enc’eləwa-xəna yil’e-wa-nt° m’ir(-ta)*
 hotel-LOC live-IMPF.AN-GEN.2SG price-3SG
 ‘the price of your stay in a hotel’

Example (60b) shows especially clearly that the 3rd person possessive affix of the head does not express agreement with the dependent subject, as in relative clauses: the dependent subject here is the 2nd person and is represented by the possessive morphology on the action nominal itself. The 3rd person possessive marker on the head targets the dependent clause as a whole. This in fact has parallels in the domain of clausal complementation: we have seen in Section 2.1.1 that sentential objects of complement taking verbs may be cross-referenced by 3rd person singular object agreement on the matrix verb.

There is another option to express a clausal complement of nouns. This construction is formally identical to the non-participial relativization strategy (Chapter 14, Section 2): the action nominal heading the dependent clause stands in the nominative, the head noun is not represented in the dependent clause, there is no explicit expression of the relation that holds between the head and the dependent clause, but the head noun hosts dependent subject marking. This means that sentential noun complements can be expressed in two ways, either with the nominative or genitive construction. Examples (61) clearly show the difference in the location of agreement in these constructions.

- (61) a. *ηuda yes’a-mt° yo-qma wada*(-r°)*
 hand metal-ACC.2SG lose-PERF.AN word-2SG
 ‘the news/rumour that you lost your ring’

- b. *ɲuda yes'a-mt° yo-qma-nt° wada(*-r°)*
 hand metal-ACC.2SG lose-PERF.AN-GEN.2SG word-2SG
 'the news/rumour that you lost your ring'
- c. *škola-m yolc'e-qm'a-nt° pad°r*
 school-ACC finish-PERF.AN-GEN.2SG paper
 'the document confirming that you finished school'
- d. *škola-m yolc'e-qm'a padəl°*
 school-ACC finish-PERF.AN paper.2SG
 'the document confirming that you finished school'

It is difficult to generalize as to what motivates the choice of one construction over the other. Speakers cannot clearly identify semantic differences, although there were also comments indicating that the genitive construction may have a more 'abstract' meaning. For instance, (62a) was claimed to be about the present need to kill the reindeer, while (62b) is rather perceived to be a general statement, not necessarily referring to the present situation.

- (62) a. *ti-m xada-wa yolc'ə-l° to°*
 reindeer-ACC kill-IMP.F.AN time-2SG come
 'Your turn came to kill the reindeer.'
- b. *ti-m xada-wa-nt° yolc'° to°*
 reindeer-ACC kill-IMP.F.AN-GEN.2SG time come
 'Your turn came to kill the reindeer.'

However, this issue needs further investigation. In fact, since subject marking in non-finite clauses is formally identical to possessive marking, there may be two alternative analyses for such constructions. First, we may be dealing with a relative clause containing a subject, where the relation between the relativized noun and the non-finite verb can loosely be described as some kind of causal or other adverbial relation. Second, we may have an instance of the regular possessive construction in which the possessed noun is modified by a formally impersonal relative clause whose subject is associated with the possessor by some kind of implicature. In other words, it is not entirely clear whether the literal translation of (62a) is 'Your turn came to kill the reindeer' or 'The turn came for you to kill the reindeer'.

Finally, a short note on variation. Speakers occasionally accept a variant of the construction with the nominative action nominal in which subject agreement is hosted by the action nominal rather than the head noun. This is observed in relativization structures, as mentioned in Chapter 14, and also occurs, albeit less frequently, when the dependent clause serves as a complement of the head noun:

- (63) *škola-m yolc'e-qm'a-r^o pad^{or}*
 school-ACC finish-PERF.AN-2SG paper
 'the document confirming that you finished school'

Agreement on the verbal form is probably secondary and results from the interfering influence of complement and adverbial clauses. In other words, variations in terms of the position of agreement have been facilitated by the influence of other constructions.

Chapter 16

Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are headed by action nominals, converbs and – rarely – participles. On the rules of subject marking in non-finite dependent clauses see Chapter 13, Section 2.1.

1 Action nominal clauses

Action nominal clauses have a wide range of adverbial meanings, the function of the clause being indicated by the case marking on the action nominal or the postposition it combines with.

1.1 Action nominals in oblique cases

The perfective action nominal in the ablative has the temporal meaning ‘after, since’, so it expresses temporal anteriority with respect to the main clause. The main clause can have present (1), past (2) or future (3) reference.

- (1) *xon'o-qma-x°dān'i səwən° wirmabərɲa-q*
sleep-PERF.AN-ABL.1SG eye.PL.1SG hardly.open-3PL
‘After I have slept, my eyes can hardly open.’ (T 63)
- (2) a. *xasawa-n'i xā-qm'a-xəd° m'aq-naq m'uy° wercory°-q*
man-GEN.1SG go-PERF.AN-ABL tent-GEN.1PL inside become.empty-REFL.3SG
‘After my husband left, it has become empty in our tent.’ (T 77)
b. *p'eb'a-nta yəŋkuwo-qma-xəd° ɲan'ih n'ud'im'a*
younger.brother-GEN.3SG die-PERF.AN-ABL more become.small
‘After his younger brother died, he became the youngest again.’ (T 329)
- (3) a. *n'id° xana-qma-x°dā-n'i s'it°*
companion.PL.ACC.2SG take-PERF.AN-ABL-1SG you.ACC
mādar°ta-wānc'° tū-t°ā-d°m
move.across-PURP come-FUT-1SG
‘After I take your friends, I'll come to move you across (the river).’ (T 215)
b. *sira-h xolka-qma-xəd° ya yil'e-ɲkə°*
snow-GEN melt-PERF.AN-ABL place live-FUT
‘After the snow melts, the earth will live.’ (T 142)

The limitative affix on the dependent verb adds the meaning ‘as soon as’, that is, it indicates that the event described in the main clause occurred immediately after the event of the dependent clause:

- (4) *to-qma-r'i-xəḏ^onta* *ŋəwor-mənc'^o* *ŋamti*
 come-PERF.AN-LIM-ABL.3SG eat-PURP sit
 ‘As soon as he arrived, he sat down to eat.’

The ablative has a secondary causal meaning, and in the causal function the imperfective action nominal can be employed too:

- (5) *ŋəḏda* *ŋud'ida* *wəḥsey^o-ma-x^odənta* *l'ed^or'e^o-q*
 leg.PL.3SG hand.PL.3SG be.old-IMPF.AN-ABL.3SG shake-3PL
 ‘His hands and legs are shaking from being old.’ (T 185)

The dative action nominals express simultaneous events which occur in the same time interval as the events denoted by the main clause (‘while’), or anteriority of the main clause in time (‘before, until’):

- (6) a. *n'is'a-naq* *yəŋko-wa-n^oh* *p'ix^on'a* *s'anakuwaq*
 father-GEN.1PL no-IMPF.AN-DAT outside play.1PL
 ‘We are playing outside while our father is away.’ (T 827)
- b. *n'eb'a-waq* *ŋət'e-wa-x^onaq* *s'anako-y^obt'e-x^o-waq*
 mother-ACC.1PL wait-IMPF.AN-DAT.1PL play-DIM-HORT.1PL
 ‘While we are waiting for our mother, let us play a little.’ (T 601)
- (7) *Ira-h* *to-wa-n^oh* *kniga-m* *tola-b^o-n'i* *tara^o*
 Ira-GEN come-IMPF.AN-DAT book-ACC read-COND.1SG needed
 ‘I have to read the book before Ira comes.’

The genitive action nominal expresses a temporal meaning which can be rendered as ‘once, since, after, when’:

- (8) a. *ŋob^oh* *to-wa-n'i* *tam'i-n'i* *xayi-d^om*
 once come-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG immediately-1SG stay-1SG
 ‘Once I came, I stayed immediately.’
- b. *t'iki^o* *ya-x^ona* *təd^o* *xan'e-l-ma-nt'ih* *s'am'an^o*
 this land-LOC then hunt-INCH-PERF.AN-3DU most
xən^o-mt'ih *mal^oh* *pan^ode-y^o-d'ih.*
 sledge-ACC.3DU all fill-PL.OBJ.3DU
 ‘After they started hunting on that land they filled all their sledges completely.’ (Labanauskas 1995: 96)

Tundra Nenets also has a special construction in which the finite verb combines with the cognate imperfective action nominal in the locative. The construction has some kind of aspectual experiential meaning and can roughly be translated as ‘it so happens that X’, where X is the main verb:

- (9) a. *xan'e-wa-x^onantoh* *xan'e-r'i-s'^oti-q*
 hunt-IMP.F.AN-LOC.3SG hunt-LIM-HAB-3PL
 ‘It so happens that they only hunt.’ (T 736)
- b. *xan'e-wa-x^onan'i* *xan'eə-d^om*
 hunt-IMP.F.AN-LOC.1SG hunt-1SG
 ‘It so happens that I hunt.’

This construction is same-subject only.

1.2 Action nominals with postpositions

When action nominals combine with postpositions they stand in the genitive. The most frequent postpositions used in adverbial constructions express temporal relations, for example, *s'er^oh* ‘when’ (general temporal meaning), *n'er^on'a(na)* ‘before, earlier’, *n'er^oc'una* ‘right before’, *mal'okəna* ‘during, at the time of’, *nesont^oh* ‘till, until’, *pūd^o* or *pūna* ‘after’, *yolc'okəna* ‘during’, *yampən^oh* ‘during (the whole period of time)’, *yolc'ənt^oh* ‘until’, *n'ana* ‘at’ (usually about the time of the day), *n'ayu^oh* ‘by the time, towards’, but there are more. Some examples are cited below:

- (10) a. *ɲəc'eki^o-h* *yaruma-nta* *s'er^oh* *s'a-ta* *wædəry^o-q*
 child-GEN cry.IMP.F.INF-GEN.3SG when face-3SG get.awry-REFL.3SG
 ‘When the child started crying, his face went awry.’ (T 68)
- b. *to-wa-nta* *s'er^oh* *lidabtareyəw^o-q*
 come-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG when start-REFL.1SG
 ‘When he came in, I started.’ (T 197)
- (11) *yo^or-t'iq* *to-wa-h* *nesont^oh*
 use.seine-PART.IMP.PL.GEN come-IMP.F.AN-GEN until
yūs'ibta-y^obt'e-ηku-w^oq
 nap-DIM-FUT-REFL.1SG
 ‘Until the people who use the seine come, I’ll take a little nap.’ (T 818)
- (12) *xanəkuroqma-nta* *pūd^o* *s'idortə^o*
 be.ill.PERF.AN-GEN.3SG after pale
 ‘He is pale after being ill.’ (T 557)

- (13) *nuw^o-h yib'ima-h yolc'ant^oh pānem'i*
 sky-GEN get.warm-IMP.F.AN-GEN until coat.ACC.1SG
sæd^o-bæ^o māl'e-ŋku-w^o
 sew-DUR-MOD finish-FUT-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I will finish making a coat before it gets warm.' (T 133)
- (14) *yil'e-wa-nta yampān^oh ŋoka wæwa-m pal'eā-s^o*
 live-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during many bad-ACC swallow-PAST
 'During his life he suffered many bad things.' (T 438)

The postposition *s'er^oh* can additionally mean 'the more ... the more':

- (15) a. *ŋar^oma-nta s'er^oh ŋoka-mpo-w^ona t'en'ewā^o*
 grow.IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG when big-MODER-PROL know
 'The more he grows, the more he knows.'
- b. *ŋakurkax^oq m'i-ma-naq s'er^oh tudako-q ŋok^o-mtānā^o-q*
 far.COMP walk-IMP.F.AN-GEN.1PL when mushroom-PL many-V3PL
 'The further we walk, the more mushrooms are there.'

Substitutional clauses are normally headed by evasive converbs (Section 2.2), but can also be expressed by the postpositional construction with the genitive action nominal and the postpositions *yek^owaw^ona* or *yeqy^oŋe^o* 'instead of'.

- (16) a. *n'is'a-n'i xan'e-wa-h yeqy^oŋe^o mən^o xər^o-n'i xan^otā-d^om*
 father-GEN.1SG hunt-IMP.F.AN-GEN instead I REFL-1SG go-FUT-1SG
 'Instead of my father's going hunting, I'll go myself.'
- b. *mānc^ora-wa-nta yek^owaw^ona pida xinoqna*
 work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG instead he sing
 'Instead of working he is singing.'
- c. *mayantola-wa-h yek^owaw^ona mayada-wi^o ŋæ^o-ya*
 start.torturing-IMP.F.AN-GEN instead murder-PERF.AN be-JUS
 'Instead of starting to torture (him), let him be killed.' (T 245)

Various additive meanings are conveyed by the postpositions *xaw^ona*, *t'ax^omna*, *yir^omn'a* 'besides, except, in addition to'.

- (17) a. *kolxoz-xāna mānc^ora-wa-n'i xaw^ona*
 collective.farm-LOC work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.1SG except
m'a-k^onan'i sædorā-d^om
 tent-LOC-1SG sew-1SG
 'Besides working on the collective farm, I do sewing at home.'

- b. *n'e°ka-n'i* *s'it°* *n'ada-wa-h* *t'ax°mna*
 elder.brother-GEN.1SG you.ACC help-IMPF.AN beside
mən'o *təmna* *tedə-mt°* *ta°-dəm-c'o*
 I still reindeer-PRED-ACC.2SG give-1SG-PAST
 'In addition to my brother helping you, I also gave you a reindeer.'
- c. *xino-ma-nta* *yir°mn'a* *tara°*
 sing-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG beside dance
 'In addition to singing, he also dances.'

The most important causal and purposive postpositions are *n'id°* 'because (of)' and *yeqm°n'a* 'for, in order to':

- (18) *mər°-kəna* *me-wa-nta* *n'id°* *n'a°ntaq* *n'i-s'°* *tu-q*
 city-LOC be-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG because DAT.2PL NEG-PAST come-CONNEG
 'Because he was in the city, he didn't come to you.' (T 311)
- (19) a. *tīn'i* *pæ°ro-qma-nta* *yeqm°n'a*
 reindeer.PL.ACC.1SG pasture-PERF.AN-GEN.3SG for
sūyu-ko-m'i *n'a°nta* *tayaxəqla-weda*
 calf-DIM-ACC.1SG DAT.3SG appropriate-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ
 'For pasturing my reindeer, he took a calf for himself.' (T 643)
- b. *sarm'ik°-h* *xa-wa-h* *yeqm°n'a* *ḡəw°ləd°-m* *ḡə°btəqla°-da*
 wolf-GEN die-IMPF.AN-GEN for food-ACC poison-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He poisoned the food in order for the wolf to die.' (T 367)
- c. *pidər°* *n'ah* *ləx°nako-wa-n'i* *yeqm°n'a* *to°-dəm-c'o*
 you with talk-IMPF.AN-GEN.1SG for come-1SG-PAST
 'I came to talk to you.' (T 495)

Comparative or manner clauses employ the postposition *p'iruw°na* 'how, like, compared to':

- (20) a. *toxodən°-wa-h* *mal'°ḡkəna* *yinc'el'e-qma-mta*
 study-IMPF.AN-GEN during hear-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG
t'an'o-mpow°na *t'enc'i-bt'e-wa-r'i-nta*
 little-MODER.PROL remember-DIM-IMPF.AN-LIM-GEN.3SG
p'iruw°na *tola-s'əti-da*
 compared read-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He only reads as much as needed to remember a little what he has heard during studies.' (T 144)

- b. *xamada-wa-h* *p'iruw^ona* *ma*
 understand-IMPF.AN-GEN compared say
 'He said as much as had to be understood.' (T 730)
- c. *mən^o* *n'anən^o* *ηəwər^o-m* *s'erta-wa-h* *p'iruw^ona*
 I LOC.1SG food-ACC do-IMPF.AN-GEN compared
xan'e-wa *səwa-rka*
 hunt-IMPF.AN good-COMP
 'It's better (for me) to hunt than to cook food.'
- d. *t'irt'a-q* *məl^onə-wa-h* *p'iruw^ona* *lax^onə^o-n'ih*
 bird-GEN.PL chirp-IMPF.AN-GEN compared talk-1DU
 'We talk like birds chirp.'

The equative postposition *tər'ew^oh* 'like' is obviously etymologically related to the equative adverbial form of nouns described in Chapter 3, Section 1.3.3. However, when it combines with action nominals, it is not phonologically bound to the preceding word and the action nominal stands in the genitive, so it behaves like other postpositions in this respect.

- (21) *ləxqmorō-ko-q* *munōq-ma-h* *tər'ew^oh* *lax^onə^o*
 small.bird-DIM-GEN sound-IMPF.AN-GEN like talk
 'He talks like a small bird making noises.'

It is therefore fair to say that the equative is partly lexicalized as a free standing word.

2 Converbial clauses

In most cases modal and purposive converbial clauses do not contain an overt subject; the missing subject is coreferential with an overt element of the main clause (most typically, its subject) or an element in the discourse. On subject marking on conditional and evasive converb-like forms see Chapter 13, Section 2.1.

2.1 Conditional converbs

Conditional forms head the protasis part of conditional sentences. The present and future conditional converbs express factual conditions which have the possibility of being realized. The main clause typically stands in the future or in one of the directive moods.

- (22) a. *ŋoba-xəqnan^o yəŋko-m ŋəbt'il'e-b^oq-nan^o noxa*
 glove-PL.LOC.1SG trap-ACC make.smell-COND-1SG polar.fox
n'i tūt^o-q
 NEG come.FUT-CONN
 'If I make the trap smell of my gloves, the polar fox won't come.' (T 367)
- b. *m'erc'^o-m-pə-ta p'il'o-q t'an'o-m-tə^o-q*
 wind-V-COND-3SG gadfly-PL little-V-FUT-3PL
 'If the wind starts, there will be fewer gadflies.' (T 250)
- c. *yerw^o-h s'it^o yut^obə^o p'a-b^oq n'a^on'i to-s'^otuq*
 master-GEN you.ACC beat-MOD start-COND to.1SG come-HAB.IMP.2SG
 'If your master starts beating you, come to me.' (T 818)
- d. *m'idi to-wənta ŋəx-x^owa-b^o-ta ŋət'e-xəwaqma*
 DP come-FUT.PART be-AFF-COND-3SG wait-HORT.1PL > SG.OBJ
 'If he is really coming, let's wait for him.' (T 251)

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Section 4.3, emphatic conditional forms express more certainty than non-emphatic forms. For example, when pronouncing (23a), the speaker does not know whether the referent of the dependent subject is supposed to come at all, while in (23b) the speaker is certain that (s)he will. In this instance the difference between the regular present and the emphatic present probably translates as the difference between 'if' and 'when'. However, in (24) we are dealing with the conditional 'if' in both examples; the difference is that (24a) indicates a determined intention to go home, while (24b) is perceived as a more general guess.

- (23) a. *pida to-b^o-ta s'it^o n'ada-ŋku*
 he come-COND-3SG you.ACC help-FUT
 'If he comes, he'll help you.'
- b. *pida to-b^oqnan-ta s'it^o n'ada-ŋku*
 he come-COND.EMPH-3SG you.ACC help-FUT
 'When he comes, he'll help you.'
- (24) a. *xūn'ana səwa num^o-h ŋəx-b^oqnan-ta m'a-k^ona xan^o-tə^o-waq*
 tomorrow good sky-GEN be-COND.EMPH-3SG tent-DAT go-FUT-1PL
 'If tomorrow is really good weather, we will certainly go home.'
- b. *xūn'ana səwa num^o-h ŋəx-b^o-ta m'a-k^ona xan^o-tə^o-waq*
 tomorrow good sky-GEN be-COND-3SG tent-DAT go-FUT-1PL
 'If tomorrow is good weather, we will go home.'

The past conditional verb indicates that it was theoretically possible to realize the condition which is given in the if-clause.

- (25) *xas^o-xəna to-wewaq ηḁ-b^oq-naq t'uku^o*
 low.tide-LOC come-PERF.PART.1PL be-COND-1PL this
yaw^o-h to-h m'uh n'i-wewaq t'unḁkuq
 sea-GEN lake-GEN into NEG-INFR.1PL enter.CONNEG
 'If we had come when the tide is low, we wouldn't have entered
 this bay.' (T 664)

The irrealis (hypothetical) condition is rendered by the conditional converb in the past, while the irrealis apodosis contains the verb in the future-in-the-past form or the future interrogative verb as in (26c). Examples (26d–e) additionally demonstrate the contrast in certainty on the part of the speaker between the emphatic and the non-emphatic past conditional.

- (26) a. *pida n'i-wi^o ηḁ-b^oqna-nta ηaq yoxo-də^o-wac'^o*
 he NEG-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-3SG be.CONNEG get.lost-FUT-1PL.PAST
 'If it hadn't been for him, we would have got lost.' (T 494)
- b. *nix^o-q-n'i p'ir^o ηḁ-wi^o ηḁ-b^oqna-nta*
 force-PL-GEN.1SG like be-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-3SG
t'iki^o mən^oya-m me-ηku-wə-s'^o
 this work-ACC do-FUT-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'If it had been possible for me, I would have done this work.' (T 323)
- c. *xə^oq-n'ih teko-c'i-n'ih ηəwor-ma-x^on'ih*
 REFL-1DU reindeer.DIM-PEJ-PL.ACC.1DU eat-IMP.F.AN-DAT.1DU
moqna-wi^o ηḁ-b^oqna-n'ih wəḁwa ηḁ-ηko-sa=wa
 fall-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-1DU bad be-FUT-INTER-ASS
 'If we had started eating our reindeer, it would have been bad.' (T 260)
- d. *to-wi^o ηḁ-b^o-ta mən^o xayə-da-dəm-s'^o*
 come-PERF.PART be-COND-3SG I stay-FUT-1SG-PAST
 'If he had come I would have stayed.'
- e. *to-wi^o ηḁ-b^oqna-nta mən^o xayə-da-dəm-s'^o*
 come-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-3SG I stay-FUT-1SG-PAST
 'It's certain that if he had come I would have stayed.'

The present conditional converb also expresses a general temporal relation between the two clauses, similar to the relation expressed by the postpositional constructions with the postposition *s'er^oh* 'when' (Section 1.2), although there may be an additional relation of cause or purpose. The main verb may stand in any tense:

- (27) a. *xad°-nta wəyarə-y°bt'e-b°q ηədala-ηku-naq*
 snowstorm-GEN.3SG stop-DIM-COND travel-FUT-REFL.1PL
 'We'll travel when the snowstorm stops for a while.' (T 36)
- b. *ləqmoroq məlar-p°q nuw°-q səwa-q ηə-s'°ti-q*
 bird.GEN.PL chirp-COND sky-PL good-PL be-HAB-3PL
 'When little birds chirp, the weather is good.' (T 221)
- c. *yəxa-m məda-b°b°qna-ntoh pənenta*
 river-ACC cut-DUR-COND.EMPH-3PL coat.GEN.3SG
wəs°-q səqn'e-wi°-q
 margin-PL become.wet-INFR-3PL
 'When they were crossing the river, the edges of her coat got wet.' (T 80)

In combination with the conjunction *ηo(d°)q* 'too, but' which in this case means 'although' the present or past conditional has the concessive meaning. The conjunction cannot be omitted:

- (28) a. *yetr'iq xan̄kur-pə-ta *(ηod°q) ηoka-w°na mən̄c°ra°*
 always ill-COND-3SG too many-PROL work
 'Although he is always ill, he works a lot.'
- b. **yetr'iq xan̄kur-pəqna-nta (ηod°q) ηoka-w°na mən̄c°ra°*
 always ill-COND.EMPH-3SG too many-PROL work
 ('Although he is always ill, he works a lot.')
- c. *xurka xər'iq tenc°-xəh ηə-b°-t'ih ηod°q*
 which self clan-DU be-COND-3DU too
ηəw°lampə° wato wun'i tən'a-q
 feed-MOD law NEG.EMPH exist-CONNEG
 'Although they are of the same clan as us, there is no law to feed them (literally: whichever self's clan they are ...).' (T 52)
- (29) a. *wəwa-w°na toxolko-wi° ηə-b°-ta ηod°q səwa-w°na mən̄c°ra°*
 bad-PROL study-PERF.PART be-COND-3SG too good-PROL work
 'He works well, although he studied badly.'
- b. *tərc'a s'er°-m mən'iyē-b°qna-n'i ηod°q*
 such thing-ACC see-COND.EMPH-1SG too
mama-h s'er-ta wun'i tən'a-q
 say-IMP.F.AN-GEN thing-3SG NEG.EMPH exit-CONNEG
 'Although I saw this, I can't tell.' (T 396)

In the following group of examples the conditional dependent clause has a free-choice reading ‘however/wherever/whenever etc’:

- (30) a. *t'iki° s'er°-m s'anəd°h yen°t'emp°-weda*
 this thing-ACC DP how.many postpone-PERF.PART.3SG
ηæ-b°qna-nta ηoq tər'em ηoq xæ-s'° tara-l'əc'°
 be-COND.EMPH-3SG too so too go-MOD needed-INCH.REFL.3SG
 ‘However he tried to postpone this matter, he had to go.’ (T 99)
- b. *xənc'el'iq t'on'a-ko tosa-bə-ta ηod°q*
 how.LIM fox-DIM be.careful-COND-3SG too
yet'a xamada-wi° yəηko-x°q yer'eb'erηa
 for.3SG prepare-PERF.PART trap-PL.DAT get
 ‘However the fox is careful, it gets into traps prepared for it.’ (T 114)
- c. *sarm'ik° xən'a-r'ih səna-bə-ta ηod°q n'amt°-r'i-x°q t'eb'erηa*
 wolf where-LIM jump-COND-3SG too antlers-LIM-PL.DAT reach
 ‘Wherever the wolf jumps, it gets to reindeer antlers.’ (T 743)

As can be seen here, the conjunction *ηo(d°)q* ‘too, but, although, even’ is required.

2.2 Evasive converbs

The two major meanings of the evasive converb are substitutional and negative purpose. The examples in (31) illustrate the substitutional meaning ‘instead’.

- (31) a. *toxolko-wonkəd°-nta arm'iya-n°h xəya*
 study-EVAS-3SG army-DAT go
 ‘Instead of studying, he went to the army.’
- b. *n'is'a-n'i xan'e-wonkəd° mən'° xər°-n'i xan°təə-d°m*
 father-GEN.1SG hunt-EVAS I REFL-1SG go.FUT-1SG
 ‘Instead of my father going hunting, I will go myself.’
- c. *n'is'a-n'i xan'e-wonk°də-nta mən'° xər°-n'i xan°təə-d°m*
 father-GEN.1SG hunt-EVAS-3SG I REFL-1SG go.FUT-1SG
 ‘Instead of my father going hunting, I will go myself.’

Negative purpose or ‘lest’ constructions (avertive constructions) are basically synonymous with action nominal adverbial clauses with the postposition *yeqm°n'a* ‘for’ and negation:

- (32) a. *t'ir-t'a* *ηəno-xəna* *n'i-wa*
 fly-IMPF.PART boat-LOC NEG-IMPF.AN
xə-wa-nta *yeqm^on'a* *mašina-x^ona* *xəya-s^o*
 go-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG for car-LOC go-PAST
 b. *t'ir-t'a* *ηəno-xəna* *xə-wonkəd^o-nta* *mašina-x^ona* *xəya-s^o*
 fly-IMPF.PART boat-LOC go-EVAS-3SG car-LOC go-PAST
 'He went by car in order not to fly on a plane.'

More examples of avertive evasive converbs are cited in (33):

- (33) a. *xəy^olata* *məneq-lara-wonkəd^o* *p'in^oh* *n'əlkarə^o*
 tear.PL.GEN.3SG see-PAS-EVAS out go.out.quietly-MOD
p'a^o-da
 start-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'She started going out quietly so that her tears were not noticeable.' (T 233)
 b. *sira-h* *m'at^oh* *pəd'ir-monkəd^o* *xen^oka-ηku-w^o*
 snow-GEN tent.DAT get-EVAS protect-FUT-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I will protect the tent so that the snow doesn't get into it.' (T 802)

The negative verb in the form *n'iwa* can optionally strengthen the negation of purpose, at least for some speakers:

- (34) (*n'i-wa*) *mənc^ora-wonkəd^o-nta* *xəya*
 NEG-IMPF.AN work-EVAS-3SG go
 'He left in order not to work.'

However, the evasive converb does not normally require the negative auxiliary.

2.3 Modal converbs

Modal converbs denote various types of manner clause simultaneous in time with the main clause, and may have additional temporal, conditional or causal meanings:

- (35) a. *wərk^o-m* *məne-c^o* *nid^o-me-w^oq*
 bear-ACC see-MOD quiver-INFR-REFL.1SG
 'I quivered from seeing a bear.' (T 320)
 b. *wen'ako* *yerw^o-nta* *ηoba-m* *s'ak^olpə^o* *ηəd'im'a*
 dog master-GEN.3SG glove-ACC bite-MOD appear
 'A dog appeared holding its master's gloves in its teeth.' (T 598)

- c. *ɲarka pæ-n^oh t'ebə-^o xən^o wabtarey^o-q*
 big stone-DAT bump.into-MOD sledge turn.over-REFL.3SG
 'The sledge turned over after/because it bumped into a big stone.' (T 29)

In the purposive function modal converbs compete with purposive converbs, but normally refer to past situations while purposive converbs are more future-oriented, cf.:

- (36) a. *ɲəmke-m xada-^o s'it^o n'ada-sa?*
 what-ACC kill-MOD you.ACC help-PAST
 'What did he help you to kill?'
- b. **ɲəmke-m xada-wənc'^o s'it^o n'ada-sa?*
 what-ACC kill-PURP you.ACC help-PAST
 ('What did he help you to kill?')
- c. *ɲəmke-m xada-wənc'^o s'it^o n'ada-ɲku?*
 what-ACC kill-PURP you.ACC help-FUT
 'What will he help you to kill?'

In the absolute majority of their occurrences modal converbs are same-subject and the dependent subject is not overt. A different-subject relation is normally impossible when there is a potential non-subject controller in the main clause. For instance, in (37a) the null subject of the dependent clause headed by the converb must be coreferential with the main clause subject 'father', but cannot be interpreted as being controlled by the main clause object or possessor. Examples (37b) and (37c) make the same point.

- (37) a. *[tol^o-h t'ax^ona ɲamt'o-^o] Wera-h n'is'a Pet'a-m mənəqɲa*
 table-GEN at sit-MOD Wera-GEN father Pet'a-ACC see
 'Wera's_i father_j saw Petya_k while Ø_{j/*i/*k} sitting at the table.'
- b. *məyə-^o Wera Maša-m n'u^oc'a^o-da*
 cheer.up-MOD Wera Masha-ACC kiss-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Ø_{i/*j} Having cheered up, Wera_i kissed Masha_j.'
- c. *n'eb'a-da [lat^o-q n'in'a ɲamt'o-^o] n'ū-mta*
 mother-3SG floor-PL.GEN on sit-MOD child-ACC.3SG
n'is'a-xənta m'ɲa-da
 father-DAT.3SG give-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'The mother_i passed the child to the father_j while Ø_{i/*j} sitting on the floor.'

This restriction does not depend on the position of the dependent clause: the alternative orders in (37b) are *Mašam məyə^o Wera n'u^oc'a^o-da* and *Wera Mašam məyə^o*

n'u°c'a°da, whereas the alternative orders in (37c) are *n'eb'ada n'ūmta [lat°q n'in'a ŋamt'o°]* *n'is'axənta m'ijada* and *n'eb'ada n'is'axənta [lat°q n'in'a ŋamt'o°]* *n'ūmta m'ijada*.

Yet, different-subject modal verbs are in principle possible if their subjects do not stand in a coreferential relation with any non-subject element of the main clause. For example, in (38) the subject of the main clause is not coreferential with the dependent subject. But a different-subject situation cannot arise when the dependent subject is coreferential with the main object.

- (38) a. *n'is'a-nta to-s'° tæ'r'i lidey°-q*
 father-GEN.3SG come-MOD DP get.confused-REFL.3SG
 'He got confused when his father came.' (T 196)
- b. *Maša-h maya-° Wera s'ita n'u°ca°*
 Masha-GEN rejoice-MOD Wera he.ACC kiss
 'When Masha_i rejoiced, Wera kissed him_{j/i}.'

In different-subject converbial clauses the non-generic subject must be overtly expressed by a full NP, namely, a nominative pronominal or a genitive lexical noun. There is no subject agreement on the dependent verb. This, in fact, is the only construction in the language in which free-standing personal pronouns in the subject function do not trigger person/number marking on another sentence element. In (39d) I present an example of an impersonal converbial clause in which the subject is interpreted as generic.

- (39) a. *[pidər° to-s'°] tæ'r'i lidey°-q*
 you come-MOD DP get.confused-REFL.3SG
 'He got confused when you came.'
- b. *[yexara-na n'enec'ə°-h m'at°h t'u-s'°]*
 ignore-IMPF.PART person-GEN tent.DAT enter-MOD
ŋəc'eki°-q ŋob-kərt° mūn°-m n'ī-q soya-q
 child-PL one-FOC sound-ACC NEG-3PL give.birth-CONNEG
 'When an unknown person entered the tent, the children didn't make any noise.' (T 264)
- c. *[xūpta-ŋe° xæ-s'°] mən'aq xəye-waq*
 morning-ESS go-MOD we go-1PL
 'When morning came, we left.'
- d. *Saw°l'o səc'° xan̄kuro-qma-xəd°-nta [māda-°] weya-s'i*
 Sawle very ill-PERF.AN-3SG cut-MOD blood-V
 'Since Savle has become very ill, if one cuts him he has no blood.' (T 214)

The dependent subject can in fact be controlled by a non-subject element of the main clause in three specific syntactic environments. They involve, first, the agreeing NP-internal possessor of the subject: such a possessor behaves as if it represents the whole subject NP in the sense that it can control the modal converb. In (40) the agreeing possessor of the main subject is coreferential with the non-overt dependent subject, but a non-agreeing possessor is ungrammatical in such sentences. An agreeing possessor of non-subject elements of the main clause cannot control the converb.

- (40) a. *yarum-c'° ηəc'eki°-h ηǣwa*(-da) yes'°m'a*
 cry-MOD child-GEN head-3SG start.hurting
 'When the child cried, his head started hurting.'
- b. *tol°-h t'ax°na ηamt'o-° ηəc'eki°-h kniga*(-da) mən°tey°-q*
 table-GEN at sit-MOD child-GEN book-3SG fall-REFL.3SG
 'When the child was sitting at the table, his book fell.'
- c. *tərc'a-m mənē-c'° Mos'eko-nt° s'ey°-da xəya*
 such-ACC see-MOD Moseko-GEN.2SG heart-3SG go
 'After seeing them, Moseko got frightened (lit.: Moseko's heart went).'
- (Labanauskas 1995: 40)

Second, when the converb expresses some kind of secondary predicate (possibly, non-clausal) it is normally subject-oriented (41a). In (41b) we can observe that the same semantic relation must be rendered by the action nominal dependent clause when the dependent subject is coreferential with a non-subject (object) element of the main clause.

- (41) a. *mən'° peda-° s'ita xo°-dəm-c'°*
 I tired-MOD he.ACC find-1SG-PAST
 'I, being tired, found him.'
- b. *mən'° s'ita peda-qma-x°də-nta xo°-dəm-c'°*
 I he.ACC tired-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG find-1SG-PAST
 'I found him tired.'

But judgements may vary, often depending on the position of the converb and the speaker's intonation. Occasionally speakers accept constructions in which the converb is coreferential with the object element, especially if it immediately follows it. If both the subject and the object precede the converb, the sentence may become ambiguous:

- (42) *Wera Maša-m yab'e-° pad°ta°-da-s'°*
 Wera Masha drunk-MOD draw-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Wera drew Masha drunk, or: Wera, being drunk, drew Masha.'

In (43b) I show that the converb may be controlled by the passive agent in the genitive, if it follows it:

- (43) a. *Maša yab'e-° Wera-h pad°tə-wi°*
 Masha drunk-MOD Wera-GEN draw-PERF.PART
 'Masha, being drunk, was drawn by Wera.'
- b. *Maša Wera-h yab'e-° pad°tə-wi*
 Masha Wera-GEN drunk-MOD draw-PERF.PART
 'Masha was drawn by drunk Wera.'

Third, Tundra Nenets exhibits constructions which superficially look very similar to the object control complement clauses described in Chapter 15, Section 2.2. They involve the verbs *xan-* 'to ask, to call', *toxola-* 'to teach', *n'ada-* 'to help', *wik°ba-* 'to beg, to entreat', and *ye-* 'to rely on'. The accusative object structurally belongs to the main clause and triggers agreement in it, but is coreferential with the missing subject of the converb.

- (44) a. *t'uku° p'i-h n'ū-m'i to-wənc°° yeə-w°*
 this night-GEN child-ACC.1SG come-PURP rely-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I rely on my son coming tonight.' (T 110)
- b. *pida xan'e-° siqm'i n'ada-b'i*
 he hunt-MOD I.ACC help-DUR
 'He is helping me to hunt.'
- c. *pida p'i-h s'iqm'i xan'e-° toxolaə-s°*
 he night-GEN I.ACC hunt-MOD teach-PAST
 'He taught me in the night how to hunt.'

Crucially, the converbs here actually head adverbial rather than complement clauses. The dependent clause is by no means obligatory with the relevant verbs: both (45a) and (45b) are completed sentences.

- (45) a. *s'iqm'i xaŋa*
 I.ACC call
 'He called me.'
- b. *mənc°ra-wənc°° s'iqm'i xaŋa*
 work-PURP I.ACC call
 'He called me to work.'

So the verbs listed above do not subcategorize for a converbial complement. In contrast, true object control verbs such as *p'is'ed'e-* 'to forbid, to feel sorry', *tab'eda-* 'to

force', to order, to cause' and others require a complement clause to be obligatorily present. The second syntactic difference is that whereas relativization out of an object control complement clause is grammatical, relativization out of dependent clauses in (44) is not, as is normally the case for adverbial clauses in Tundra Nenets (Chapter 14, Section 4).

2.4 Purposive converbs

Purposive converbs head purpose clauses which are normally same-subject. So they contrast with action nominal purpose clauses that have basically the same meaning but can be both same-subject and dependent-subject, as shown below:

- (46) a. *n'a-xənta* *xə-wənc'o* *ηəno-də-nta* *s'ertə-s'o*
 companion-DAT.3SG go-PURP boat-PRED-GEN.3SG do-PAST
 'He made a boat in order to visit his younger brother.'
- b. *mən'o* *n'a-xən'o* *xə-wa-n'o*
 I companion-DAT.1SG go-IMP.F.AN-GEN.1SG for
yeqm'o n'a ηəno-də-w'o *s'ertə-s'o*
 boat-PRED-GEN.1SG do-PAST
 'He made a boat for me to visit my younger brother.'

More examples of purpose clauses with purposive converbs are presented below:

- (47) a. *s'id'naq* *məneq-mənc'o* *tūrŋa-daq*
 we.ACC see-PURP come-IMP.2PL
 'Come to see us.' (T 232)
- b. *xəŋkurta* *n'a-waq* *wed'or-mənc'o* *yadərŋa-waq*
 ill companion-ACC.1PL visit-PURP walk-1PL
 'We go to visit our ill friend.' (T 68)
- c. *n'ū-n'o* *n'ah* *t'irt'o-mənc'o* *xəya-n'ih*
 child-GEN.1SG with hunt.for.birds-PURP go-1DU
 'We went to hunt for birds with my son.' (T 662)

But like for modal converbs, the different-subject relation can in principle hold if the dependent subject is controlled by the agreeing possessor of the main subject. This is clearly shown by the contrast in (48): (48a) is ambiguous, it can be interpreted both as same-subject and as different-subject, while (48b) cannot.

- (48) a. *Wera-h* *n'e'ka-da* [*ηəno-m* *xan'e-wənc'o*] *s'ertə*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother-3SG boat-ACC hunt-PURP do
 'Wera's brother made a boat to hunt / for Wera to hunt'

- b. *Wera-h n'e°ka ηano-m xan'e-wənc'° s'erta°*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother boat-ACC hunt-PURP do
 'Wera's brother made a boat to hunt / *Wera's brother made a boat for Wera to hunt.'

In (49a) the subject argument of the converb is most likely to be interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the main verb ('father'), but the possibility of interpreting it as coreferential with the main clause object ('Masha') appears not to be excluded. Similarly, (49b) is ambiguous.

- (49) a. *n'isa-da Maša-m škola-n°h xā-wənc'° s'id'e°*
 father-3SG Masha-ACC school-DAT go-PURP wake.up
 'The father woke Masha up in order for her/him to go to school.'
- b. *Wera-m ti-m xada-wənc'° ηət'eə-d°m*
 Wera-ACC reindeer-ACC kill-PURP wait-1SG
 'I am waiting for Wera to kill the reindeer' or 'I am waiting for Wera in order to kill the reindeer.'

Different-subject purposive converbs also occur in object control complement constructions (Chapter 15, Section 2.2.2).

3 Participial clauses

The adverbial function is generally not typical of participles; there are only a few constructions where they head adverbial clauses. The imperfective participles in the dative case denote temporal relations in which the time of the dependent event is simultaneous with the time of the main event ('while'):

- (50) a. *tər'em m'in-ta-xənaq yəxa lat°ma*
 so go-IMPF.PART-DAT.1PL river spread
 'While we were travelling so, the river spread.' (T 179)
- b. *n'a°nta si°r-ta-x°nta xusuwey° yil'eb'ad'e-l-ti°q*
 DAT.3SG look-IMPF.PART-DAT.3SG each be.happy-INCH-FUT.REFL.3SG
 'Each one will become happy while looking at her.' (T 141)

They may also have the causal meaning:

- (51) a. *ya°r-ta-x°nta s'onc'a-s'al°ma*
 cry-IMPF.PART-DAT.3SG content-V.INCH
 'He became tired from crying (lit. became without content).' (T 553)

- b. *puxac'a ηəc'eki°-m tedorpə-da-xənta*
 old.woman child-ACC scold-IMPF.PART-DAT.3SG
linc'elə-bta°-da
 start.hiding-CAUS-3SG > SG.OBJ

'The old woman made the child hide because of scolding him.' (T 199)

The participles in the equative form stand in the dative and express some kind of comparative clause, normally meaning 'as if':

- (52) a. *ηəmke-xərt°-m yexara-na-dər'ew°h nū°*
 what-FOC-ACC ignore-IMPF.PART-EQU.DAT stand
 'He is standing as if he doesn't know anything.' (T 377)
- b. *n'ün'a ya°r-ta-d°r'ew°h t'or'e-wonta*
 loon cry-IMPF.PART-EQU.DAT scream-AUD
 'A loon screamed as if it is crying.' (T 853)

As mentioned in Chapter 14, Section 1.2, pronouns cannot be modified by participles within non-restrictive relative clauses, but a participle with a roughly similar meaning must stand in the essive, see the contrast in (53): in (53a) the nominative participle modifies the head noun 'Masha' as an attributive modifier, while in (53b) the participle stands in the essive.

- (53) a. *Wera [tol°-h t'ax°na ηamt'o-da] Maša-m*
 Wera table-GEN at sit-IMPF.PART Masha-ACC
ləx°na-° n'aŋa
 talk-MOD have.as.companion
 'Wera is talking to Masha who is sitting at the table.'
- b. *Wera [tol°-h t'ax°na ηamt'o-da-ŋe°] s'iqm'i*
 Wera table-GEN at sit-IMPF.PART-ESS I.ACC
ləx°na-° n'aŋa
 talk-MOD have.as.companion
 'Wera is talking to me who is sitting at the table.'

Such a participle with its dependents either immediately precedes or follows the pronoun (in this case *s'iqm'i*), just like other NP-internal adjuncts in the essive, which either precede or follow their head. So the function of the construction corresponds either to an adverbial/complement clause or a relative clause, but syntactically the essive participle is an NP-internal adjunct. It cannot be separated from the head.

- (54) a. *(pidər°)* [*yet°r'ih* *wəwə-w°na* *toxolko-wenē°*] *(pidər°)*
 you always bad-PROL study-PERF.PART.ESS you
səwa mənç°ya-m xo-wen°
 good work-ACC find-INFR.2SG
 'You, who always studied badly, found a good job.'
- b. *(n'a°n'i)* [*xarəd°-m* *s'erta-ba-da-ηe°*] *(n'a°n'i)* *si°rηa*
 DAT.1SG house-ACC do-DUR-IMP.F.PART.ESS DAT.1SG look
 'He is looking at me building a house / He is looking at how I am building a house.'

Negative participles also function in adverbial constructions meaning 'without, having not' or the like.

- (55) a. *t'en'ana* *s'it°* *n'ada-wədawey°* *xəya-s'°*
 yesterday you.ACC help-NEG.PART go-PAST
 'He left yesterday without helping you.'
- b. *n'eb'a-nta* *m'a-t°h* *t'ū-w°dawey°-h* *ηəceki°* *ya°rηa-s'°*
 mother-GEN.3SG tent-DAT enter-NEG.PART-GEN child cry-PAST
 'When the mother didn't enter the tent, the child cried.'

As shown here, the negative participles in this function are either same-subject or different-subject. They do not take the essive: in the former instance they are in the nominative, whereas in the latter they stand in the genitive and the dependent subject also takes the genitive form.

Chapter 17

Anaphoric relations

This chapter provides information on anaphoric processes within the clause and clause-externally, namely, anaphoric deletion, pronominalization, reflexivization, and reciprocalization. Speakers' judgements on the acceptability of anaphora differ rather significantly, so the chapter only describes very general tendencies. The factors that may affect grammaticality judgements are syntactic functions, semantic well-formedness, linear proximity, and precedence. The latter, in its turn, is at least partly motivated by information structure (see Chapter 9, Section 3.1).

1 Anaphora in simple clauses

By 'simple clause' here I mean the syntactic domain defined by a finite verb.

1.1 Pronominals and anaphoric nulls in argument roles

Tundra Nenets is effectively a pro-drop language: independent pronouns are typically absent in core grammatical functions. This entails that subject and object markers on the verb often have pronominal force. For instance, a discourse-neutral way of saying 'You hit him' is (1a), in which person/number morphology on the verb does not function as grammatical agreement. Rather, it conveys the pronominal values of the subject and the object arguments, in this instance, cumulatively. The presence of a free-standing personal pronoun as a subject or object is typically conditioned by special considerations such as emphasis, contrast or focussing. In (1b) both the subject and the object are overt because they are interpreted as contrastive and presumably are the true arguments of the verb, so that the person/number marker $-r^o$ is indeed grammatical agreement. In (1c) only the object pronoun is overt because only the object is contrastive. Since pronominal objects do not trigger object agreement (Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1), the person/number marker on the verb only indicates the subject.

- (1) a. *lad^oə-r^o*
hit-2SG > SG.OBJ
'You hit him.'
- b. *pidər^o Wera-m lad^oə-r^o*
you Wera-ACC hit-2SG > SG.OBJ
'YOU hit WERA.'

- c. *s'ita lad°ə-n°*
 he.ACC hit-2SG
 'You hit HIM.'

Thus, subject and object markers on the verb play a dual role: they function either as pronominals or as grammatical agreement.

Personal pronouns may be overt to indicate disjoint reference, in contrast to referential nulls which indicate coreference. For example, this is observed in coordinate deletion structures: in (2a) the subject pronoun *pida* is impossible because the second subject is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the first clause, while in (2b) the overt pronoun signals the lack of such coreference.

- (2) a. *Maša Wera-m ladə° təd'ekaxət° (*pida) tərpi°-q*
 Masha Wera-ACC hit then he go.out-REFL.3SG
 'Masha hit Wera and went out.'
- b. *Maša Wera-m ladə° təd'ekaxət° pida tərpi°-q*
 Masha Wera-ACC hit then he go.out-REFL.3SG
 'Masha_i hit Wera_j and he_{j/k} went out.'

This point is further illustrated in (3). Both in (3a) and (3b) the second clause contains the overt subject pronoun *pida* because the subject argument is not coreferential with the subject of the first clause. If *pida* were absent, the subject of the second clause would have had to refer to the same entity as the subject of the first clause.

- (3) a. *n'is'a-mt° n'or° yayebtamp'uq, pida tet°nə°*
 father-ACC.2SG NEG.IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ disturb.CONNEG he busy
 'Don't disturb your father, he is busy.' (T 831)
- b. *n'eb'a-da s'ita yemp°-p'i, pida n'e-ma-xənta*
 mother-3SG he.ACC dress-DUR he sleep-IMP.F.AN-DAT.3SG
xərwa-° n'is'°ltə°
 want-MOD be.capricious
 'The mother_j is dressing him_i but he_{i/*j} is capricious because he_{i/*j} wants to sleep.' (T 315)

In non-coordinate structures, e.g. dependent finite clauses, subject pronouns can refer to the main clause subject. For instance, example (3) in Chapter 13, repeated below in (4), can contain the pronoun *pida* which in this case is interpreted in two ways: either as coreferential with the main clause subject (*Wera*) or not.

- (4) *Wera ma-s'°, (pida) səwa-w°na yil'e°*
 Wera say-PAST he good-PROL live
 'Wera_i said that he_{i/j} lived well.'

Object agreement and object pronouns can cross-reference a subject across the boundary of the finite clause:

- (5) a. *Wera m'a-t°h t'u°. mən'° s'ita lad°ə-d°m.*
 Wera tent-DAT enter I he.ACC hit-1SG
 'Wera_i entered the tent. I hit him_{i/j}.'
- b. *Wera m'a-t°h t'u°. mən'° lad°ə-w°*
 Wera tent-DAT enter I hit-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i entered the tent. I hit him_{i/j}.'
- c. *Wera ma-s'°, Maša s'ita xamcə°*
 Wera say-PAST Masha he.ACC love
 'Wera_i said that Masha_j loved him_{i/*j}.'
- d. *Wera ma-s'°, Maša xamc°ə-da*
 Wera say-PAST Masha love-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i said that Masha_j loved him_{i/*j}.'

Reflexives are impossible in this instance. Generally speaking, like in many languages, reflexives and personal pronouns are in complementary distribution (see Section 1.4). Thus, non-reflexive pronouns cannot have a subject antecedent, but non-subject clause-level constituents can be the antecedent of a non-reflexive pronoun within the same clause. As shown by the following examples, such pronouns can also refer to an element outside the clause, so the sentence has two interpretations.

- (6) a. *Wera Maša-n°h s'ita mənəq-ləpta°*
 Wera Masha-DAT he.ACC see-CAUS
 'Wera_i showed her_{i/k/*i} to Masha_j.'
- b. *Wera Maša-h n'ah pida n'amna-nta ləx°nakurŋa-xən-c'°*
 Wera Masha-GEN with he about-3SG talk-3DU-PAST
 'Wera_i talked to Masha_j about her_{i/k/*i}.'

Within the noun phrase non-reflexive pronouns cannot refer to their possessors, although they can cross-reference any sentence element outside the phrase:

- (7) *Maša [Wera-h pida n'amna-nta pad°-wi°] kniga-m tola°*
 Masha Wera-GEN he about-3SG write-PERF.PART book-ACC read
 'Masha_i read Wera_j's book about him/her_{i/k/*j}.'

In (7) *pida* can have any antecedent except the possessor *Wera*, so the possessor behaves like the subject in this sense.

There is a certain difference between agreeing and non-agreeing possessors with respect to non-reflexive pronouns: agreeing possessors can be the antecedent of a non-reflexive pronoun in an argument position, while non-agreeing possessors cannot. See the contrast between (8a) and (8b): only in (8a) can the pronoun *s'ita* refer to the possessor of the subject.

- (8) a. *Wera-h n'a-da s'ita ladə°*
 Wera-GEN companion-3SG he.ACC hit
 'Wera_i's friend hit him_{i/j}.'
- b. *Wera-h n'a s'ita ladə°*
 Wera-GEN companion he.ACC hit
 'Wera_i's friend hit him_{j/*i}.'

The examples in (9) contain no overt free-standing possessors; the possessor is represented by the person/number pronominal affix on the head noun. The essive in (9b) is an NP-internal adjunct. Both in (9a) and (9b) the pronominal possessive affix must be interpreted as having the same referent as the pronoun *s'ita*.

- (9) a. *n'is'a-da s'ita to-h warə-n°h yader-c° yid'axəl'e°*
 father-3SG he.ACC lake-GEN edge-DAT walk-MOD wean.off
 'His_i father weaned him_i off going to the lake shore.' (T 47)
- b. *Wera-ŋe° wen'ako-da s'ita n'ancə°*
 Wera-ESS dog-3SG he.ACC lick
 'Wera_i's dog licked him_i.'

So in this sense agreeing possessors behave like clause-level non-subject elements, even though they remain NP-internal.

In oblique functions, which do not receive any marking on the verb, pronouns must be overt under all conditions; anaphoric nulls are impossible.

1.2 Possessive pronominals

Pronominals are typically omitted in the possessive function too. In the absence of an overt possessor, the 3rd person possessive marker is interpreted pronominally and may be ambiguous in three ways: it can refer to the subject, non-subject clausal constituent or an element outside the clause.

- (10) a. *Wera Maša-m ŋəno-nta m'uh ŋab°ta°-da*
 Wera Masha-ACC boat-GEN.3SG into seat-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i seated Masha_j in his/her_{i/j/k} boat.'

- b. *Wera Maša-xəd° xər°-mta mərɣa*
 Wera Masha-ABL knife-ACC.3SG take.away
 ‘Wera_i took his/her_{i/j/k} knife from Masha_j.’

In a similar manner, a 3rd person possessive marker in the dependent clause may cross-reference an element within its own clause, an element of the main clause, or in discourse.

- (11) a. [*Maša-h n’a-mta lad°-qma-m Wera t’en’ewə°-da*
 Masha-GEN companion-ACC.3SG hit-PERF.AN-ACC Wera know-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera_i knows that Masha_j hit his/her_{i/j/k} friend.’
- b. [*Wera-h pad°-nta m’uh me-wi°*
 Wera-GEN bag-GEN.3SG into take-PERF.PART
kniga-m Pet’a mənəqɣa-s’o
 book-ACC Petya see-PAST
 ‘Petya_i saw the book Wera_j put in his_{i/j/k} bag.’

Possessive morphology on subjects can target a clause-internal element only if the antecedent precedes the subject, like the element *Wera* in (12).

- (12) a. *Wera-m n’e°ka-da ladə°*
 Wera-ACC elder.brother-3SG hit
 ‘Wera_i was hit by his_{i/j} brother.’
- b. *Wera-h wen’ako-m n’a-da ɣəwla°*
 Wera-GEN dog-ACC companion-3SG feed
 ‘Wera_i’s dog was fed by his_{i/j} friend.’

On the other hand, if the subject precedes the potential controller, the possessive marker on the subject cannot be interpreted as referring to an element of the same clause. For example, in (13) the 3rd person pronominal possessive marker on *n’a-da* cannot cross-reference the object because the latter follows it.

- (13) a. *n’a-da p’ir’ebt’a-m n’u°c’a°*
 companion-3SG girl-ACC kiss
 ‘His_{j/*i} friend kissed the girl_i.’
- b. *n’a-da Wera-m ladə°*
 companion-3SG Wera-ACC hit
 ‘His_{j/*i} friend hit Wera_i.’

But two 3rd person possessive markers within the same clause may cross-reference each other’s hosts independently of their position. For instance, one interpretation

of (14) is that the 3rd person possessive on ‘mother’ refers to the child, while the 3rd person on ‘child’ refers to the mother.

- (14) a. *n'eb'a-da n'ū-mta n'u°c'a°*
 mother-3SG child-ACC.3SG kiss
 ‘The mother kissed her child.’
- b. *n'ūmta n'eb'ada n'uc'a°*
 child-ACC.3SG mother-3SG kiss
 ‘The mother kissed her child.’

Like subject and object pronouns, free-standing possessive pronominals are only used in addition to possessive affixes for the purpose of focus/contrast or for disambiguation. The latter function is especially evident for 3rd person possessors. Disambiguation may be achieved either by a full lexical NP in the essive form (see Chapter 3, Section 1.3.3) or by means of a pronoun, as below.

- (15) a. *xasawa pida wen'ako-mta ladə°*
 man he dog-ACC.3SG hit
 ‘The man_i hit his_{j/*i} dog.’
- b. *Wera Maša-n°h ma, pida xər°-mta yoqŋa*
 Wera Masha-DAT say he knife-ACC.3SG lose
 ‘Wera_i said to Masha_j that he_i had lost her_{j/*i} knife.’

The pronoun *pidā* in (15) indicates that the possessor is not coreferential with the subject; for highlighting coreference with the subject a reflexive possessor is required. As discussed in 1.4, non-subject arguments cannot normally bind reflexives and antecedent non-reflexive personal pronouns. The following examples demonstrate that the possessive pronoun can be interpreted as coreferential with a non-subject clausal element:

- (16) a. *Wera Maša-m pida m'a-k°nanta lad°ə-da*
 Wera Masha-ACC he tent-LOC.3SG hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera_i hit Masha_j in her_{j/k/*i} house.’
- b. *Wera Maša-n°h pida kniga-mta mənəq-ləpta°*
 Wera Masha-DAT he book-ACC.3SG see-CAUS
 ‘Wera_i showed Masha_j her_{j/k/*i} book.’

Sub-clausal elements do not normally control 3rd person possessive morphology in the absence of the overt possessor. For example, the possessor *Werah* in (17a)

cannot be coreferential with the possessive marker on the object *wen'akomta*. However, the agreeing possessor behaves like an immediate constituent of the clause in this respect, even when it remains NP-internal. Example (17b) shows that it can be interpreted as controlling the possessive morphology on the object. (17c) additionally demonstrates that this possessor structurally belongs to the host NP, as it cannot be separated from the possessed noun by another clausal constituent.

- (17) a. *Wera-h n'e°ka wen'ako-mta ηəwla°*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother dog-ACC.3SG feed
 'Wera_i's brother_j fed his_{i/k/*i} dog.'
- b. *Wera-h n'e°ka-da wen'ako-mta ηəwla°*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother-3SG dog-ACC.3SG feed
 'Wera_i's brother_j fed his_{i/j/k} dog.'
- c. **Wera-h t'en'ana n'e°ka-da wen'ako-mta ηəwlaə-s'°*
 Wera-GEN yesterday elder.brother-3SG dog-ACC.3SG feed-PAST
 ('Yesterday Wera's brother fed his dog.')

In a similar manner, the free standing possessive pronominal can target an agreeing possessor represented below by the lexical noun *Werah*:

- (18) a. *Wera-h n'abako-da pida m'a-k°nanta yil'e°*
 Wera-GEN elder.sister-3SG he tent-LOC.3SG live
 'Wera_i's sister_j lives in his_{i/*j/k} tent.'
- b. *Wera-h n'e°ka-da pida ηəno-nta m'un'a ηamti*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother-3SG he boat-GEN.3SG inside sit
 'Wera_i's brother_j is sitting in his_{i/*j/k} boat.'

This contrasts with (19), where we can see that the non-agreeing lexical possessor (*Werah* and *Mašah*) cannot be interpreted as coreferential with the possessive pronoun.

- (19) a. *Wera-h n'is'a Maša-n°h pida temta m'iqnga*
 Wera-GEN father Masha-DAT he reindeer.ACC.3SG give
 'Wera_i's father_j gave Masha_k his/her_{*i/*j/k} reindeer.'
- b. *Maša-h wəšako pida xər°-mta xana°*
 Masha-GEN old.man he knife-ACC.3SG take
 'Masha_i's husband_j took his_{k/*j/*i} knife.'

This confirms that, unlike the non-agreeing lexical possessor, the agreeing lexical possessor shows at least some properties of a clause-level element.

1.3 Null-headed NPs

As a general rule, NPs with empty semantic heads are dispreferred. Even when a respective referent is mentioned in the nearest context to the left of the occurrence in question, speakers usually choose to repeat the head noun.

- (20) a. *pidər° xar°də-x°nant° s'id'a xīb'ar'i yil'e°*,
 you house-LOC.2SG 2 person live
mən'° xar°də-x°nan° n'ax°r
 we house-LOC.1PL 3
 'Two people live in your house and three live in mine.'
- b. *pidər° mən'° m'a-k°nan'i yil'eə-n°*, *mən'° pidər° m'a-k°nant°*
 you I tent-LOC.1SG live-2SG I you tent-LOC.2SG
 'You live in my tent and I live in yours.'

However, it is in principle possible to elide the head noun under coreference with a previously mentioned element. The adjective then assumes the head role and becomes the morphosyntactic locus of the phrase, i.e. it can bear case, number and person/number inflection.

- (21) a. *pidər° ηarka m'a-k°na yil'eə-n°*, *mən'° n'ud'a-xəna*
 you big tent-LOC live-2SG I small-LOC
 'You live in a big house, and I live in a small one.'
- b. *səwa-də-mt° me-yi-n°*
 good-PRED-ACC.2SG take-SUBJ-2SG
 'Take the good one.'

The same is true of quantifiers, which are actually quite common without a semantic head (22), and of relative clauses headed by participles and action nominals (23).

- (22) *pida ηoka-m xada°*
 he many-ACC kill
 'He killed many things.'
- (23) a. *n'e ηəc'eki° pad°-wemta yenaxəɬa*
 woman child write-PERF.PART.ACC.3SG cross.out
 'The girl crossed out what she wrote.' (T 96)
- b. *wad'eq-mənta-w° s'id'a yūq po-h t'exa ηæ-wi° s'er*
 tell-FUT.PART-1SG 2 10 year-GEN that be-PERF.PART thing
 'What I will tell happened 20 years ago.' (T 652)

- c. *xəql^o-m mənəs-oqma-nta n'ayu^oh xəya*
 steam-ACC see-PERF.AN-GEN.3SG to go
 'He went to (the place) where he saw steam.' (T 232)

However, converbial relative clauses do not tolerate the omission of the head noun, cf.:

- (24) a. *mənc^ora-s'^o ya-m'i səwa*
 work-MOD place-1SG good
 'The place where I work is good.'
- b. **mən'^o mənc^ora-s'^o-m'i səwa*
 I work-MOD-1SG good
 ('The place where I work is good.')

In the Western Tundra Nenets dialects the word *yeqy^o* meaning something like 'part, share, property' can function as a semantically empty head, roughly corresponding to the English nominalizer *one*.

- (25) a. *t'uku^o mən'aq yeqy^o-waq*
 this we part-1PL
 'This is ours.'
- b. *mən'^o pidar^o yimpitəq-mt^o s'er^oə-d^om, pidar^o mən'^o yeqy^o-w^o*
 I you dress-ACC.2SG put.on-1SG you I part-1SG
 'I put on your dress and you put on mine.'

However, the noun *yeqy^o* is not generally used in this function by the speakers of the Eastern dialects.

1.4 Reflexivization

The morphology of reflexive elements is described in Chapter 3, Section 4, while this section discusses the conditions on their usage, that is, the syntactic relation between reflexives and their antecedents.

Reflexive elements are not acceptable as subjects but their antecedents are frequently subjects. The subject does not have to precede the reflexive linearly; for instance, in (26) it follows the reflexive but is still coreferential with it.

- (26) a. *xər^o-ta pix^odə-mta Wera ladə^o*
 REFL.3SG REFL-ACC.3SG Wera hit
 'Wera hit himself.'

- b. *xər^o-ta xal'a-mta Wera Maša-n^oh m'iqηa*
 REFL-3SG fish-ACC.3SG Wera Masha-DAT give
 'Wera_i gave Masha_j his_{i/*j} fish.'
- c. *xər^ota xal'a-mta Maša-n^oh Wera m'iqηa*
 REFL-3SG fish-ACC.3SG Masha-DAT Wera give
 'Wera_i gave Masha_j his_{i/*j} fish.'
- d. *xər^ota wen'ako-mta xasawa ladə^o*
 REFL-3SG dog-ACC.3SG man hit
 'The man_i hit his_{i/*j} dog.'

In Sections 1.1 and 1.2 above I showed that non-subject clause-level elements are typically the antecedents of non-reflexive anaphoric relations. But at least for some speakers they can control a reflexive too, especially if they precede it and are linearly close to it. For such speakers non-subjects compete with the subject and ambiguity is possible. Since judgements differ, this option is indicated here with question marks.

- (27) a. *Wera Maša-n^oh xər^o-ta s'ita mənəq læpta^o*
 Wera Masha-DAT REFL-3SG he.ACC show
 'Wera_i showed her_{i/?j/*k} to Masha_j.'
- b. *Wera Maša-h n'ah pix^odə-nta n'amna læx^onakurηa-xən-c'^o*
 Wera Masha-GEN with REFL-GEN.3SG about talk-3DU-PAST
 'Wera_i talked to Masha_j about himself/herself_{i/?j/*k}.'
- c. *Wera Maša-n^oh xər^o-ta xal'a-mta m'iqηa*
 Wera Masha-DAT REFL-3SG fish-ACC.3SG give
 'Wera_i gave Masha_j his/her_{i/?j} fish.'

Non-clause-level elements such as possessors do not control reflexives even when preceding them:

- (28) a. *Wera-h n'e^oka(-da) xər^o-ta s'ita ladə^o*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother-3SG REFL.3SG he.ACC hit
 'Wera_i's brother hit himself_i / *him_i.'
- b. *Wera-h n'e^oka(-da) pix^odə-mta ladə^o*
 Wera-GEN elder.brother-3SG REFL.ACC.3SG hit
 'Wera_i's brother hit himself_i / *him_i.'
- c. *Wera-h n'a-m xər^o-ta ηəno-nta m'un'a ladə^oə-w^o*
 Wera-GEN companion-ACC REFL-3SG boat-GEN.3SG inside hit-1SG > SG.OBJ
 'I hit Wera_i's friend_i in his_{i/*j} boat.'

- d. *Maša-h wə̃sako-da xər^o-ta xər^o-mta xana^o*
 Masha-GEN old.man REFL-3SG knife-ACC.3SG take
 ‘Masha_i’s husband_j took his_{j/*i} knife.’
- e. *Wera-h n’abako-da xər^o-ta wen’ako-mta ladə^o*
 Wera-GEN elder.sister-3SG REFL-3SG dog-ACC.3SG hit
 ‘Wera_i’s sister_j hit her_{j/*i} dog.’

As shown here, this equally applies to agreeing and non-agreeing possessors, which additionally confirms that the agreeing possessor is NP-internal.

A postpositional phrase within an NP may contain either a reflexive or a non-reflexive pronoun bound by the subject. This is perhaps the only syntactic environment where they are interchangeable.

- (29) a. *(xər^oq-n^o / mən’^o) n’amna-n’i (η̃æ-da) kniga-m padə^o-d^om*
 REFL-SG / I about-1SG be-IMPF.PART book-ACC write-1SG
 ‘I wrote a book about myself.’
- b. *Wera (pida / xər^o-ta) n’amna-nta η̃æ-da]*
 Wera he / REFL-3SG about-3SG be-IMPF.PART
lax^onako-h yiqł’eka η̃æ-wa-m t’en’ewə^o
 tale-GEN interesting be-IMPF.AN-ACC know
 ‘Wera_i knows that the story about himself_i is interesting.’

When the NP additionally contains a possessor, it can be the antecedent of the reflexive. This produces ambiguity: as (30) shows, the reflexive may be interpreted as coreferential with either the clausal subject or the possessor of the same NP.

- (30) *Wera Maša-h [xər^o-ta n’amna-nta η̃æ-da] s’o-mta nəmtə^o*
 Wera Masha-GEN REFL-3SG about-3SG be-IMFP.PART song-ACC.3SG hear
 ‘Wera_i heard Masha_j’s song about him/her_{i/j}.’

Disambiguation is usually possible by means of the essive (see examples in Chapter 3, Section 1.3.3).

1.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocal pronouns are dual or plural; their morphology is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 4. Examples in (31) illustrate the accusative reciprocals, by far the most frequent in discourse.

- (31) a. *walakəda n'in'ih wun'i-n'ih xo-ŋku-q*
 only REC.ACC.1DU NEG.EMPH.1DU find-FUT-CONN
 'Only we will not find each other.' (T 335)
- b. *Wera n'a-nta n'ah n'id'ih xamc^oŋa-x^oh*
 Wera companion-GEN.3SG with REC.ACC.3DU love-3DU
 'Wera and his friend love each other.'

In (32) I show reciprocals in the dative, prolate and genitive.

- (32) a. *n'ax^ot'ih məy^o-mp'i-x^oh*
 REC.DAT.3DU get.happy-DUR-3DU
 'They are happy with each other.' (T 335)
- b. *n'aqm^onant'ih yīb'edor-mex^oh*
 REC.PROL.3DU think-INTR.3DU
 'They think about each other.' (T 335)
- c. *n'it'ih pūmna yad^oŋa-x^oh*
 REC.GEN.3DU behind walk-3DU
 'They walk after each other.' (T 335)

Oblique reciprocal forms are in fact ambiguous as they can be interpreted as non-grammaticalized case forms of the common noun meaning 'companion, friend, relative, sibling'. Thus, (32a) has the additional meaning 'They are happy with their relatives/friends' and (32b) can also be understood as 'They think about their relatives'. The frozen prolate forms of the postposition *pom^ona* 'between' help to disambiguate:

- (33) *pomnantoh n'ax^oqnatoh yil'e^o-q*
 between.3PL REC.LOC.3PL live-PL
 'They stay with each other.'

Example (33) has only one (reflexive) meaning, but without *pomnantoh* it can be interpreted as 'They stay with their relatives/friends.'

In the examples cited above the antecedent of the reciprocal is the dual or the plural subject. But non-subject elements can also control reciprocals, as shown below.

- (34) a. *n'eb'a-doh ŋac'ekex^otoh n'itoh kniga mənəq-ləbta-mp'i*
 mother-3PL child.PL.DAT.3PL REC.GEN.3PL book.ACC.PL see-CAUS-DUR
 'The mother is showing the children_i their_i (each other's) books.'

- b. *mən'° Wera-x°h Maša-x°h n'ah n'it'ih*
 I Wera-GEN.DU Masha-GEN.DU to REC.GEN.3DU
xəɾə-x°h m'iqɲa-d°m
 knife-ACC.PL give-1SG
 'I gave [Wera and Masha]_i their_i (each other's) knives.'
- c. *n'it'ih xəɾə-x°h Wera-x°h Maša-x°h*
 REC.GEN.3DU knife-ACC.PL Wera-GEN.DU Masha-GEN.DU
n'ah m'iqɲa-d°m
 to give-1SG
 'I gave [Wera and Masha]_i their_i (each other's) knives.'

However, such examples are infrequent and speakers normally have difficulty interpreting them.

Standard reciprocals are not normally used to reciprocalize adjuncts or arguments expressed by postpositional phrases. However, the personal forms of *pom°na* 'between' can be used in this function:

- (35) a. *Maša-x°h Wera-x°h pom°nant'ih tedorɲa-x°h*
 Masha-DU Wera-DU between.3DU argue-3DU
 'Masha and Wera argue between themselves.'
- b. *pomnant'ih səwa-w°na yil'eɲa-x°h*
 between.3DU good-PROL live-3DU
 'They (DU) live well between themselves.'

The verb *yil'e-* 'to live' is one-place and the verb *tedor-* 'to argue' takes an optional oblique object expressed by the postpositional phrase headed by the postposition 'with'. As can be seen here, the expression *pom°nant'ih* adds the reflexive meaning 'between themselves.'

2 Anaphora in complex sentences

This section describes anaphoric deletion and pronominalization across the boundaries of non-finite dependent clauses.

2.1 Null anaphora in dependent clauses

Control constructions are described in Chapter 15 and will not be addressed here. In non-control dependent clauses headed by action nominals, participles, the subordinate and evasive, the dependent subject may be null if it is coreferential with an

appropriate controller in the main clause. By ‘null’ here and hereafter I mean ‘not expressed by a free-standing word’, although even in this instance the dependent subject is overtly expressed by a person/number marker on the dependent verb (see Chapter 13, Section 2.1). The rules defining what elements of the main clause can control the null dependent subject are rather similar to the reflexivization rules described in Section 1.4.

The main clause typically follows the dependent clause. The main clause subject can always control the null dependent subject, even though it normally follows it:

- (36) *[klub°-xəna mənɕ°ra-wa-nta mal°°ηkəna]*
 club-LOC work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during
Maša Wera-m yad°bta-weda-s°°
 Masha Wera-ACC meet-INTR.3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘Masha_i met Wera_j when she_i/*?he_j worked in the club.’

The same is true of the left-dislocated external possessor, which is located at the left periphery of the entire sentence and therefore precedes the dependent clause:

- (37) a. *n°is°a-n°i [p°i-h xan°e-b°qna-nta]*
 father-GEN.1SG night-GEN hunt-COND-3SG
xūbta-xəna ηæwa-da ye-s°°ti
 morning-LOC head-3SG hurt-HAB
 ‘When my father_i hunts during the night, his_i head hurts in the morning.’
- b. **p°i-h n°is°a-n°i xan°e-b°qna-nta*
 night-GEN father-GEN.1SG hunt-COND-3SG
xūbta-xəna ηæwa-da ye-s°°ti
 morning-LOC head-3SG hurt-HAB
 (‘When my father_i hunts during the night, his_i head hurts in the morning.’)
- c. *n°awa-ko-h [n°awotə-qma-xəd°nta]*
 hare-DIM-GEN run-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG
sæw°-kə-r°ida m°ernor°ə-d°q
 eye-DIM-LIM.PL.3SG open.wide-REFL.3PL
 ‘The little hare’s eyes opened wide after running.’ (T 249)
- d. **[n°awa-ko-h n°awotə-qma-xəd°nta]*
 hare-DIM-GEN run-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG
sæw°-kə-r°ida m°ernor°ə-d°q
 eye-DIM-LIM.PL.3SG open.wide-REFL.3PL
 (‘His_{i/j} eyes opened wide after the little hare_j ran.’)

Constituency in (37) is shown by square brackets. In (37a) the genitive *n'is'an'i* is not part of the dependent clause because the clause-internal adverb *p'ih* cannot precede it (37b). (37c–d) shows that if *n'awakoh* structurally belonged to the dependent clause, the sentence could not convey the intended meaning, although it is in principle grammatical.

The direct object of the main clause can control the dependent null subject if it precedes the embedded clause. This typically applies to agreeing objects. Recall from Chapter 9, Section 3.1 that object agreement does not uniquely correlate with the position of the object, but there is a strong tendency for the non-agreeing object to be located immediately before the verb, while the agreeing object tends to be separated from the verb by obliques. In (38) the agreeing object precedes the adverbial dependent clause and cannot be represented by a free-standing subject in it.

- (38) a. *temta* [nūl-ma-nta s'er°h] Wera lad°ə-da
 reindeer.ACC.3SG stop-PERF.AN-GEN.3SG when Wera hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'When the reindeer_i stopped, Wera hit it_i.'
- b. **temta* [nūl-ma-nta s'er°h] Wera lad°
 reindeer.ACC.3SG stop-PERF.AN-GEN.3SG when Wera hit
 ('When the reindeer_i stopped, Wera hit it_i.)
- c. *Wera-m* [klub°-xəna mənc°ra-wa-nta
 Wera-ACC club-LOC work-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG
mal'°ηkəna] Maša yad°pta°-da-s'°
 during Masha meet-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Masha_i met Wera_j when he_{j/°i} worked in the club.'

If both the subject and the agreeing object precede the dependent clause, both can in principle control it, so the sentence is ambiguous, although – all other things being equal – the subject is a more likely controller (39a). This is especially true with the 'object – subject' order. (39b) is awkward because it strongly suggests that the person called Wera is the subject of the dependent clause, but the verb *waqn°*- is only used for animals.

- (39) a. *Maša Wera-m* [klub°-xəna mənc°ra-wa-nta
 Masha Wera-ACC club-LOC work-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG
mal'°ηkəna] yad°pta°-da-s'°
 during meet-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Masha_i met Wera_j when she_i/° he_j worked in the club.'
- b. ?*noxə-m* Wera [waqn°-wa-nta mal'°ηkəna] yədā-da
 polar.fox-ACC Wera lie-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG during shoot-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera shot at the polar fox when it was lying down.'

The subject is also more likely to be interpreted as controlling the coreferential null in the dependent clause if it triggers a possessive person/number marker with ‘non-possessive’ meaning on one of the elements of the main clause (on non-possessive usage of possessive morphology see Chapter 4, Section 3.2). This is shown by the following contrast. In (40a) the dependent subject may be interpreted as coreferential either with the main subject or the main object. But in (40b) the second interpretation is precluded because the main subject triggers the possessive marker on its object.

- (40) a. *Maša Wera-m [klub°-xəna mənç°ra-wa-nta*
 Masha Wera-ACC club-LOC work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG
mal°əŋkəna] yad°pta°-da-s°
 during meet-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘Masha_i met Wera_j when she_i/he_j worked in the club.’
- b. *Maša Wera-mta [klub°-xəna mənç°ra-wa-nta*
 Masha Wera-ACC.3SG club-LOC work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG
mal°əŋkəna] yad°pta°-da-s°
 during meet-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘Masha_i met Wera_j (literally: her_i Wera) when she_i/he_j worked in the club.’

This may suggest that the presence of the possessive marker highlights the topical status of the main subject and that null anaphora in the dependent clause is ultimately sensitive to topicality. In the situation of a potential conflict, semantics may give additional clues: in (41) the conflict is disambiguated because the alternative interpretation would be nonsensical.

- (41) a. *Wera Maša-m [xon°o-wa-nta mal°əŋkəna] n°u°c°a°(-da)*
 Wera Masha-ACC sleep-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during kiss-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera_i kissed Masha_j when she_j/he_j was sleeping.’
- b. *Wera wen°ako-m [mad°lə-wa-nta s°er°h] lad°ə-da*
 Wera dog-ACC bark-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG when hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Wera hit the dog when it barked.’

The data are rather controversial with respect to the agreeing object that follows the dependent clause. For some speakers (42) is ambiguous, but other speakers insist that the second interpretation is precluded.

- (42) *[klub°-xəna mənç°ra-wa-nta mal°əŋkəna]*
 club-LOC work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during
Maša-h n°is°a-mta yad°bta°-wə-s°
 Masha-GEN father-ACC.3SG meet-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘I met Masha_i’s father_j when she_i/he_j worked in the club.’

The possessor that triggers agreement on the main subject can control the null dependent subject, whether it precedes (43) or follows it (44). But if *mašina* in (44b) does not host the possessive suffix its possessor, *Wera*, cannot be understood as the subject of the dependent clause: the sentence can only mean ‘When he_{i/*j} came, Wera’s_j car broke down.’

- (43) *Wera-h sãw°-da [to-qma-xəd°nta] yes°m’a-q*
 Wera-GEN eye-PL.3SG come-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG start.hurting-PL
 ‘When Wera_i came, his_i eyes started hurting.’

- (44) a. *[n’awotə-qma-xəd°nta] n’awa-ko-h*
 run-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG hare-DIM-GEN
sãw°-kə-r’i-da m’ernoryə-d°q
 eye-DIM-LIM-PL.3SG open.wide-REFL.3PL
 ‘Little hare’s eyes got opened wide from running.’

- b. *[to-wa-nta mal’°ηkəna] Wera-h*
 come-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during Wera-GEN
mašina(-da) taxarə°-s’°*
 car-3SG break.down-3SG
 ‘When Wera_i came, his_i car broke down.’

When the possessor triggers agreement on the agreeing object, the latter must precede the dependent clause for the possessor to be able to control the dependent null. This is shown by the contrast in (45): (45a) allows two interpretations, while (45b) is only grammatical if the dependent subject is not interpreted as coreferential with any of the main clause elements.

- (45) a. *Maša-h n’is’a-mta [klub°-xəna]*
 Masha-GEN father-ACC.3SG club-LOC
mənc°ra-wa-nta mal’°ηkəna] yad°bta°-wə-s’°
 work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during meet-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘I met Masha_i’s father_j when she_i/he_j worked in the club.’
- b. *[klub°-xəna mənc°ra-wa-nta mal’°ηkəna]*
 club-LOC work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during
Maša-h n’is’a-mta yad°pta°-wə-s’°
 Masha-GEN f ather-ACC.3SG meet-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘I met Masha_i’s father_j when he_{k/*i/*j} worked in the club.’

So in this sense the agreeing possessor of the main subject and the main agreeing object behaves like the subject or the object itself. However it remains NP-internal:

the example below shows that the agreeing possessor cannot be separated from the possessed by clause-level elements.

- (46) a. *t'en'ana Wera-h sǽw°-da*
 yesterday Wera-GEN eye-PL.3SG
[to-qma-xǽd°nta] yes'o m'a-c'o
 come-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG start.hurting-3PL.PAST
 'When Wera_i came, his_i eyes started hurting yesterday.'
- b. **Wera-h t'en'ana sew°-da*
 Wera-GEN yesterday eye-PL.3SG
[to-qma-xǽd°nta] yes'o m'ac'o
 come-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG start.hurting-3PL.PAST
 ('When Wera_i came, his_i eyes started hurting yesterday.')

Non-agreeing objects and other clause-level elements of the main clause (obliques and adjuncts) do not typically control the anaphoric null as dependent subject.

- (47) a. *[Maša-m lad°-qma-x°dǽnta] Wera-n°h*
 Masha-ACC hit-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG Wera-DAT
n'eb'a-da konfeta-m m'iq̃̃a
 mother-3SG candy-ACC give
 'Mother_i gave Wera_j a candy after she_i/*he_j hit Masha.'
- b. *[xǽ-b°-ta] n'eb'a-da Wera-n°h si°r̃̃a-s'o*
 go-COND-3SG mother-3SG Wera-DAT look
 'After he_j/_i left, the mother looked at Wera_i.'
- c. *[mǽr°-kǽna yil'e-wa-nta mal'õ̃kǽna]*
 city-LOC live-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG during
Wera ̃̃ǽc'eki°-m xana-wi°
 Wera child-ACC take-INFR
 'Wera_i took the child_j away when he_i/_j lived in the city.'

However, for some speakers this is marginally acceptable under the condition that the controller precedes the dependent clause:

- (48) a. *?wen'ako-m [mad°lǽ-wa-nta s'er°h] Wera ladǽ°*
 dog-ACC bark-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG when Wera hit
 'When the dog barked, Wera hit it.'

- b. *Wera Maša-n^oh [mər^o-kəna yil'e-wa-nta*
 Wera Masha-DAT city-LOC live-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG
mal'°ηkəna] pis'mo-m padə-s'°
 during letter-ACC write-PAST
 'Wera_i wrote Masha_j a letter when he_i/° she_j lived in the city.'
- c. *Wera-n^oh [Maša-m lad°-qma-x°dənta] n'eb'a-da*
 Wera-DAT Masha-ACC hit-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG mother-3SG
konfeta-m m'iqηa
 candy-ACC give
 'Mother gave Wera_i a candy after he_i hit Masha.'

Non-clause level elements other than agreeing possessors of subjects and (some) agreeing objects never control the null subject independently of their position. This is shown in (49a) for the non-agreeing possessor and in (49b) for the object of the postposition.

- (49) a. *Wera-h sēw°-q [to-qma-xəd°nda] yes'°m'a-q*
 Wera-GEN eye-PL come-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG start.hurting-PL
 'When he_j/° came, Wera_i's eyes started hurting.'
- b. *Wera Maša-h n'amna [mər°-t°h xē-wa-nta*
 Wera Masha-GEN about city-DAT go-IMPF.AN-GEN.3SG
mal'°ηkəna] yī-da yaderna
 during mind-3SG walk
 'Wera_i thinks about Masha_j when he_i/° travels to the city.'

In sum, the null dependent subject may be coreferential with: (i) the main subject or the agreeing possessor of the main subject independently of its position with respect to the dependent clause; (ii) the clause-external topic; (iii) the agreeing object or the possessor of the agreeing object if they precede the dependent clause, and (iv) for some speakers only, other clause-level elements if they precede the dependent clause. Zero subjects can never be controlled by non-clause-level constituents except for the agreeing possessors, as specified in (i) and (iii).

Rather similar rules govern the distribution of null objects in the dependent clause. Examples (50) show that the null dependent object can be controlled by the main subject or object.

- (50) a. *[n'u°c'a-qma-xəd°nta] yaruma*
 kiss-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG start.crying
 'After he_i was kissed, he_i started crying.'

- b. [s'erta-qma-x°danta] ηano(-da) taxarə°
do-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG boat(-3SG) get.broken
'The boat got broken after he made it.'
- c. [s'erta-qma-x°danta] Wera ηano-mta temta-ra°
do-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG Wera boat-ACC.3SG buy-PAS
'Wera sold the boat after he made it.'

Other main clause elements cannot normally control the null dependent object:

- (51) n'eb'a-m'i Wera-n°h si°rηa-s'° [lad°-wa-n'i mal'°ηkəna]
mother-1SG Wera-DAT look-PAST hit-IMP.F.AN-GEN.1SG during
'My mother_i was looking at Wera_j when I hit her_i/*him_j.'

Like in main clauses, oblique functions in the dependent clause must be overtly expressed by free-standing words.

2.2 Reflexives in dependent clauses

The main clause subject cannot serve as the antecedent of reflexives in non-finite embedded clauses, in the same way as it cannot control reflexives across the boundaries of the finite clause. Reflexives in the dependent clause are bound by the dependent subject, cf.:

- (52) a. [Maša-h xər°-ta pix°də-mta
Masha-GEN REFL-3SG REFL-ACC.3SG
xərwa-bta-wa-xəd°] Wera t'en'ewə°
want-CAUS-IMP.F.AN-ABL Wera know
'Wera_i knows that Masha_j loves herself_i/*i.'
- b. [Maša-h s'ita xərwa-bta-wa-mta] Wera t'en'ewə°
Masha-GEN he.ACC want-CAUS-IMP.F.AN-ABL Wera know
'Wera_i knows that Masha_j loves him_i/*j.'

The examples below demonstrate reflexive possessors in dependent complement and relative clauses.

- (53) a. [Maša-h xər°-ta n'a-mta
Masha-GEN REFL-3SG companion-ACC.3SG
lad°-qma-m] Wera t'en'ewə°-da
hit-PERF.AN-ACC Wera know-3SG > SG.OBJ
'Wera_i knows that Masha_j hit her_j/*i friend.'

- b. *Pet'a Maša-n^oh [Wera-h xər^o-ta*
 Petya Masha-DAT Wera-GEN REFL.3SG
wen'ako-mta n'u^oc'a-wa-m] wəd'eŋa-s^o
 dog-ACC.3SG kiss-IMPF.AN-ACC tell-PAST
 'Petya_i told Masha_j that Wera_k kissed his_k dog.'
- c. *xan'ena [n'is'a-n'i xər^o-ta m'a-k^onanta*
 hunter father-GEN.1SG REFL-3SG tent-LOC.3SG
s'erta-wi^o] ηəno-h m'un'a ηamti
 do-PERF.PART boat-GEN inside sit
 'The hunter_i is sitting in the boat which my father_j made in his_{j/*i} tent.'

However, the reflexive possessor of the dependent subject is bound by the main subject:

- (54) *Wera [xər^o-ta n'abako-nta təra-wa-m] mənəqŋa*
 Wera REFL-3SG elder.sister-GEN.3SG dance-IMPF.AN-ACC see
 'Wera_i saw how his_i sister was dancing.'

In relative clauses the dependent subject may be descriptively outside the relative clause itself: when the subject is relativized, it corresponds to a gap within the relative. Still it can control a reflexive element within it.

- (55) a. *Wera [xər^o-ta n'a^onta si^or-ta] p'ir'ibt'a-m men'e^o*
 Wera REFL-3SG DAT.3SG look-IMPF.PART girl-ACC love
 'Wera loves the girl who is looking at herself (in the mirror).'
- b. *[xər^o-ta wen'ako-mta xada-wi^o] xasawa*
 REFL-3SG dog-ACC.3SG kill-PERF.PART man
ηəc'eki^o-m Wera t'en'ewə^o-da
 child-ACC Wera know-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i knows the boy_j who killed his_{j/*i} dog.'

The main subject cannot normally be the antecedent of the reflexive on a non-subject element in the dependent clause. But some speakers accept sentences in which the main subject bounds a non-subject reflexive within the relative clause, especially if it precedes the latter.

- (56) a. *Wera [xər^o-ta ηəno-xənanta ηamt'o-da] xib'ar'i-m mənəqŋa*
 Wera REFL-3SG boat-LOC.3SG sit-IMPF.PART person-ACC see
 'Wera_i saw a man_j sitting in his_{j/?i} boat.'

- b. *Maša* [*Wera-h xər°-ta m'a-k°nanta lador-mi°*]
 Masha Wera-GEN REFL-3SG tent-LOC.3SG beat.up-PERF.PART
n'enec'°-mta t'en'ewə°-da-s'°
 person-ACC.3SG know-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 'Masha_i knew the person_j whom Wera had beaten up in his/her_{i/2i} tent.'
- c. *Pet'a Wera-m [xər°-ta s'erta-wi°] xər°-xənanta lad°ə-da*
 Petya Wera-ACC REFL-3SG do-PERF.PART knife-LOC.3SG hit-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Petya_i hit Wera_j with the knife which he_{i/*j} had made.'
- d. *Maša-m [xər°-ta kniga-mta tola-ba-wa-mta]*
 Masha-ACC REFL-3SG book-ACC.3SG read-DUR-IMPF.AN-ACC.3SG
Wera mənəqəda-da
 Wera see-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i saw Masha_j was reading her_{i/2i} book.'

So the examples in (56) are marginally ambiguous, but not all speakers accept ambiguity in such constructions, therefore the second option is indicated with the question mark here.

In object-control constructions both the main subject and the main object can be the antecedent of reflexives within the dependent complement clause:

- (57) a. *Wera Maša-m [xər°-ta pix°də-mta lad°-wənc'°] tab'eda°-da*
 Wera Masha-ACC REFL-3SG REFL.ACC.3SG hit-PURP order-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i forced Masha_j to hit him/herself_{i/j}.'
- b. [*xər°-ta temta xada-wənc'°*] *Wera Maša-m tab'eda°*
 REFL-3SG reindeer.ACC.3SG kill-PURP Wera Masha-ACC order
 'Wera_i forced Masha_j to kill his/her_{i/j} reindeer.'

Apparently this does not depend on the position of the dependent clause with respect to the main clause.

2.3 Non-reflexive anaphoric elements in dependent clauses

In Section 2.1 I described the conditions on zero anaphora in the dependent clause. When these conditions hold, an overt pronominal element cannot normally replace the referential null in the subject or object role. But a free-standing personal pronoun may be present in the dependent clause if it has no antecedent in the main clause. For instance, examples (58) are only grammatical if the dependent subject *pida* is not interpreted as coreferential with the main clause subject or object.

- (58) a. *Wera [pida wen'ako-mta ηəmke-xəna*
 Wera he dog-ACC.3SG what-LOC
ηəw^ola-qma-xəd^onta] yur^o-wi^o
 feed-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG forget-INTR
 'Wera_i forgot what he fed his_j/_{*i} dog with.'
- b. *Wera Maša-m [pida mən^ora-wa-xənta] mənəqηa-da*
 Wera Masha-ACC he work-IMP.F.AN-DAT.3SG see-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Wera_i saw Masha_j when he_k/_{*i}/_{*j} was working.'
- c. *[pida yader-oqma-mta] wəd'eqηa-s'^o*
 he walk-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG tell-PAST
 'He_i told about his_j/_{*i} travels.'

Thus, the overt subject pronoun indicates disjoint reference, just like in finite co-ordinate structures (Section 1.1). But an object pronoun in the dependent clause can be interpreted as coreferential with the main clause subject or object:

- (59) a. *Wera [Maša-h (s'ita) men'e-wa-n^oh] məy^o-mp'i*
 Wera Masha-GEN he.ACC love-IMP.F.AN-DAT get.happy-DUR
 'Wera_i is happy while Masha loves him_i/_j/_k.'
- b. **Wera [Maša-h Wera-m men'e-wa-n^oh] məy^o-mp'i*
 Wera Masha-GEN Wera-ACC love-IMP.F.AN-DAT get.happy-DUR
 ('Wera_i is happy while Masha loves him_i/_j/_k')
- c. *Maša-m [Wera-h s'ita n'u^oc'a-qma-xəd^o]*
 Masha-ACC Wera-GEN he.ACC kiss-PERF.AN-ABL
n'eb'a-da tedoηa-da
 mother-3SG scold-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'Mother_j scolded Masha_i because Wera had kissed her_i/_j/_k.'
- d. *n'eb'a-m'i Wera-n^oh si^oηa-s'^o [s'ita*
 mother-1SG Wera-DAT look-PAST he.ACC
lad^o-wa-n'i mal'^oηkəna]
 hit-IMP.F.AN-GEN.1SG during
 'Mother_i was looking at Wera_j when I hit him / her_i/_j/_k.'

The sentence in (60) is a corpus example in which the dependent object pronoun is coreferential with the agreeing possessor of the main subject.

- (60) *[s'ita yadela-na-da] n'ū-nta n'ū ηə̃-darəxa*
 he.ACC accompany-IMP.F.PART-3SG child-GEN.3SG child be-IMP.F.APRX
 'The one who accompanies him_i seems to be his_i grandson.' (T 414)

Non-reflexive non-subject non-object pronouns in the dependent clause may be coreferential with any element of the main clause. These judgements are uniform for all speakers, as shown in (61) for argument pronouns and in (62) for possessive pronouns.

- (61) [*Wera-h n'a°nta pis'mo-m ηædara-qma-xəd°*] *Maša mæyi*
 Wera-GEN DAT.3SG letter-ACC send-PERF.AN-ABL Masha get.happy
 'When Wera_i sent Masha_j a letter, she_{j/*i} cheered up.'
- (62) a. *Wera [pida wen'ako-nta xa-qma-xəd°] t'en'ewə°*
 Wera he dog-GEN.3SG go-PERF.AN-ABL know
 'Wera_i knows that his_{j/*i} dog had died.'
- b. *Wera [Maša-h pida wen'ako-mta lad°-qma-xəd°] t'en'ewə°*
 Wera Masha-GEN he dog-ACC.3SG hit-PERF.AN-ABL know
 'Wera_i knows that Masha_j hit his_{i/k/*j} dog.'

But the relation between a non-reflexive pronoun and its antecedent cannot cross more than one clause boundary, possibly for processing reasons.

- (63) *Pet'a [Wera-h [Maša-h s'ita xamc°-wa-xəd°]*
 Petya Wera-GEN Masha-GEN he.ACC love-IMPF.AN-ABL
t'en'ewə-wa-h n'amna] yib'edornə
 know-IMPF.AN-GEN about hink
 'Petya_i thinks that Wera_j knows that Masha loves him_{j/*i}.'

In order to express the meaning 'Masha loves Petya' the full lexical NP in the essive form must accompany the personal pronoun: *s'ita Pet'a-ηe°*.

2.4 Anaphoric elements in main clauses

Reflexives in the main clause are obviously bound by the clause's own subject. Embedded subjects cannot bind non-subject reflexives in the main clause:

- (64) [*Wera-h to-qma-xəd°*] *Pet'a (xər°-ta) temta xada°*
 Wera-GEN come-PERF.AN-ABL Petya REFL-3SG reindeer-ACC.3SG kill
 'When Wera_i came, Petya_j killed his_{j/*i} reindeer.'

But the embedded subject binds the reflexive possessor on the main subject when it precedes the latter:

- (65) a. [*Wera-h Maša-m lad°-wa-h mal'°ηkāna*] *xər°-ta*
 Wera-GEN Masha-ACC hit-IMP.F.AN-GEN during REFL-3SG
n'eb'a-da n'en°s'um'a-s'°
 mother-1SG get.angry-PAST
 'When Wera_i hit Masha_j, his_{i/*j} mother got angry.'
- b. [*Wera-h ηāno-m s'erta-wa-nta yeqm°n'a*] *xər°-ta*
 Wera-GEN boat-ACC do-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG for REFL-3SG
n'a-da p'a-m mada-s'°
 companion-3SG tree-ACC cut-PAST
 'In order for Wera_i to make a boat, his_i friend cut down a tree.'

The lexical dependent subject cannot be cross-referenced by non-reflexive pronominals functioning as main subject. The following examples can only be interpreted as different-subject, that is, *pida* indicates disjoint reference in the main clause.

- (66) a. [*Wera-h Maša-m lad°-qma-xəd°*] *pida xuni°-q*
 Wera-GEN Masha-ACC hit-PERF.AN-ABL he escape-REFL.3SG
 'After Wera_i hit Masha, he_{i/*i} escaped.'
- b. [*n'abako-n'i sedorə-b°q*] *pida xino-c'əti*
 elder.sister-GEN.1SG sew-COND he sing-HAB
 'When my sister_i sews, he_{i/*i} sings.'

But the dependent lexical subject may and, in fact, must be cross-referenced by non-subject non-reflexive pronominals in the main clause. In (67) pronominals in the main clause are coreferential either with the dependent subject or an element from outside the sentence.

- (67) a. [*Wera-h xə̃-b°-ta*] *n'eb'a-da n'a°nta si°rŋa-s'°*
 Wera-GEN go-COND-3SG mother-3SG DAT.3SG look-PAST
 'When Wera_i left, his_{i/j} mother was looking at him_{i/j}.'
- b. [*Moskva-xəna Maša-h mənç°ra-wa-h mal'°ηkāna*] *Wera*
 Moscow-LOC Masha-GEN work-IMP.F.AN-GEN during Wera
s'ita ηət'eə-s'°
 he.ACC wait-PAST
 'When Masha_i worked in Moscow, Wera waited for her_{i/j}.'

Lexical NPs within the dependent clause other than the clause's subject cannot normally be the antecedent of a pronominal element in the main clause. For

instance, (68a) cannot mean ‘The mother gave a candy to Masha’. In order to express this meaning, (68b) must be used, in which ‘Masha’ is located in the main clause.

- (68) a. *[Wera-h Maša-m lad°-qma-xəd°] n'eb'a-da n'a°nta*
 Wera-GEN Masha-ACC hit-PERF.AN-ABL mother-3SG DAT.3SG
konfeta-m m'iqηa
 candy-ACC give
 ‘After Wera_i hit Masha_j, mother gave him_{k/i/*j} a candy.’
- b. *Maša-n°h [Wera-h s'ita lad°-qma-xəd°] n'eb'a-da*
 Masha-DAT Wera-GEN he.ACC hit-PERF.AN-ABL mother-3SG
konfeta-m m'iqηa
 candy-ACC give
 ‘Mother gave Masha_j a candy, after Wera_i hit her_{j/*i}.’

Zero anaphora in the main clause cannot refer to any element of the dependent clause. In (69) the subject and object marking on the main verb can only be interpreted as referring to an entity known from discourse but not mentioned in the relevant sentence.

- (69) a. *[Wera-h Maša-n°h siər-p°q] n'armorηa*
 Wera-GEN Masha-DAT look-COND blush
 ‘When Wera_i looks at Masha_j, he_{k/*i/*j} blushes.’
- b. *[Maša-h xon'o-da-n°h] Wera n'u°c'a°-da-s°*
 Masha-GEN sleep-IMPF.PART-DAT Wera kiss-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 ‘When Masha_i was sleeping, Wera kissed him/her_{j/*i}.’
- c. *[Wera-h n'is'a-nta yəηku-ma-h mal'°ηkəna] yarηa-s°*
 Wera-GEN father-GEN.3SG no-PERF.AN-GEN during cry-PAST
 ‘When Wera_i’s father_j died, he_{k/*i/*j} cried.’

But at least some conditional clauses seem to be exceptional in this respect:

- (70) a. *[Maša-h xunə-b°q] Wera xo-ηku-da*
 Masha-GEN escape-COND Wera find-FUT-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘If Masha_i escapes, Wera will find her_{i/j}.’
- b. *[Maša xun°-bə-ta] xunə-b°q] Wera s'ita xo-ηku*
 Masha-GEN escape-COND-3SG escape-COND Wera he.ACC find-FUT
 ‘If Masha_i escapes, Wera will find her_{i/*j}.’

- c. [Maša-h xunə-b°q] Wera s'ita xo-ηku
 Masha-GEN escape-COND Wera he.ACC find-FUT
 'If Masha_i escapes, Wera will find her_{i/*j}.'

The examples in (70) show that the lexical subject *Maša* of the conditional clause may be cross-referenced by either the personal object pronoun in the main clause or the anaphoric object agreement with pronominal force. These judgements were pretty robust. It may well be the case that linear precedence or semantic appropriateness play a role here too, but the special pattern observed in conditional sentences needs more investigation. In particular, the contrast between (69a) and (70) is unclear.

2.5 Reciprocals in complex sentences

The subject of the dependent finite clause cannot be reciprocal, even if it is co-referential with the main clause subject. A regular personal pronoun must be used instead, so the sentence is ambiguous between reciprocal and non-reciprocal readings. For instance, in (71) the subject of the second clause is *pid'ih* 'they (DU)' and can be taken to refer either to the subject of the preceding clause ('Wera and Masha') or any other dual entity. (71b) shows that a reciprocal can be present in a non-subject role.

- (71) a. *Wera-x°h Maša-x°h t'en'ewəŋa-x°h, [pid'ih səwa-w°na mənç°raŋa-x°h]*
 Wera-DU Masha-DU know-3DU they good-PROL work-3DU
 '[Wera and Masha]_i know that they_{i/j} work well.'
- b. **Wera-x°h Maša-x°h t'en'ewəŋa-x°h, [n'it'ih*
 Wera-DU Masha-DU know-3DU REC.GEN.3DU
səwa-w°na mənç°raŋa-x°h]
 good-PROL work-3DU
 ('[Wera and Masha]_i know that they_{i/j} work well.')
- c. *Wera-x°h Maša-x°h t'en'ewəŋa-x°h [pid'ih*
 Wera-DU Masha-DU know-3DU they.DU
n'id'ih xamc°ŋa-x°h]
 REC.ACC.3DU love-3DU
 '[Wera and Masha]_i know that they_i love each other.'

However, the dependent subject of a non-finite clause takes the reciprocal form if its antecedent is the main subject:

- (72) a. *[n'it'ih səwa-w^ona mən^ora-wa-m] t'en'ewəŋa-x^oh*
 REC.GEN.3DU good-PROL work-IMPF.AN-ACC know-3DU
 'They_i (two) know that they_i work well.'
- b. *Wera-x^oh Maša-x^oh [n'it'ih xə-wa-m] ɲət'enə-x^oh*
 Wera-DU Masha-DU REC.GEN.3DU go-IMPF.AN-ACC wait-3DU
 'Wera and Masha are both waiting for the other to leave.'

Reciprocals in the non-subject dependent role are bound by the main subject in same-subject structures, including control constructions (73), or by the dependent subject in different-subject sentences (74). The latter prevents the main subject from acting as the antecedent of the reciprocal within the dependent clause. Note that in (74b) the dependent subject is actually an anaphoric null coreferential with a non-subject element of the main clause.

- (73) *Wera-x^oh Maša-x^oh [n'id'ih yad^obta-wənc^o] ye^onəŋa-x^oh*
 Wera-DU Masha-DU REC.ACC.3DU meet-PURP hope-3DU
 'Wera and Masha are hoping to meet each other.'
- (74) a. *mən^o n'e^oka-x^oyu-n'i [Maša-x^oh Wera-x^oh*
 I elder.brother-DU-1SG Masha-GEN.DU Wera-GEN.DU
n'id'ih xamc^o-wa-m] t'en'ewə^o-dih
 REC.ACC.3DU love-IMPF.AN-ACC know-3DU
 'My (two) brothers know that Wera and Masha love each other/*them.'
- b. *n'eb'a-d'ih Wera-x^oh Maša-x^oh n'ah*
 mother-3DU Wera-GEN.DU Masha-GEN.3DU to
[n'id'ih xamc^o-wa-mt'ih] ma-s^o
 REC.ACC.3DU love-IMPF.AN-ACC.3DU say-PAST
 'Mother told [Wera and Masha]_i that they_i love each other.'

In (75) I present an example of the object control construction.

- (75) *m'adonc'in'i [n'itoh s'ayə-d^o wabta-wənc^o] tab'edeyə-n^o*
 guest.PL.ACC.1SG REC.GEN.3PL tea-PRED pour-PURP order.PL.OBJ-1SG
 'I asked my guests to pour tea for each other.'

In this sentence the reference of the dependent subject is established from the main clause: it must be coreferential with the main object. The example shows that the dependent subject does not receive an overt expression in the dependent clause but it is still able to serve as the antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun *n'itoh*. Reciprocals in such constructions cannot be coreferential with the main subject.

Chapter 18

Coordination

The chapter addresses conjunction and disjunction of NPs and other phrasal categories.

1 NP coordination

Tundra Nenets has several coordination strategies described below. The first three strategies are ‘symmetrical’ in the sense that both conjuncts have equal syntactic status, while in the oblique and converbial strategies one of the conjuncts is syntactically demoted.

1.1 Juxtaposition

The two most natural ways to achieve NP coordination are by simple juxtaposition:

- (1) a. *Wera ηəno-m xə^o-m xanaŋa-xəyu-da*
Wera boat-ACC knife-ACC take-DU.OBJ-3SG
‘Wera took the boat and the knife.’
- b. *Wera-h Pet’a-h ηəno*(-d’ih)*
Wera-GEN Petya-GEN boat-3DU
‘Wera and Petya’s boat’

Juxtaposed NPs trigger dual agreement, e.g., subject agreement (2a) or possessive agreement (2b). The possessive agreement is required with coordinated possessors even if both conjuncts are lexical nouns: a non-agreeing possessed object would be ungrammatical in this instance. However, object agreement is impossible if one of the conjoint objects is a personal pronoun, since pronominal objects do not agree (Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1):

- (2) a. *mən’^o s’it’^o Wera-m mənəŋa-d’^om*
I you.ACC Wera-ACC see-1SG
‘I saw you and Wera’
- b. **mən’^o s’it’^o Wera-m mənəŋa-x’^oyu-w’^o*
I you.ACC Wera-ACC see-DU.OBJ-1SG
(‘I saw you and Wera.’)

There is a certain amount of inter-speaker variation as far as coordination of obliques is concerned: some speakers disallow coordination of obliques within the same syntactic phrase defined by the verb (conventionally speaking, a VP) and prefer coordinating VPs instead (see Section 2), while for other speakers coordination of obliques within a single VP is achieved by means of juxtaposition.

- (3) *ɲəno-n^oh wen'ako-n^oh məy^omp'i-d^om*
 boat-DAT dog-DAT be.happy-1SG
 'I am happy with the boat and the dog.'

But for both groups of speakers it is acceptable to coordinate a singular (or plural) noun in a local case with the postpositional construction expressing the case value by means of the periphrastic strategy (see Chapter 8, Section 2.2). For instance, in (4) the synthetic and the periphrastic datives are juxtaposed within the same VP.

- (4) *ɲəno-n^oh wen'ako-x^oh n'ah məy^omp'i-d^om*
 boat-DAT dog-GEN.DU to be.happy-1SG
 'I am happy with the boat and two dogs.'

This shows that postpositional constructions serve the same grammatical role as synthetic local cases.

Juxtaposition must be used in the so-called Boolean coordination targeting the same entity. Conjunctions or other coordination strategies are impossible in this instance.

- (5) *n'a-m'i toxolkoda-m'i to^o*
 companion-1SG teacher-1SG come
 'My friend_i and teacher_i arrived.'

As can be seen in (5), the larger NP triggers singular agreement on the verb in this instance.

1.2 Conjunctions

Two words can act as coordinating conjunctions in Tundra Nenets, *n'ab'i* and *təd'ekəxət^o*, but their distribution differs. The latter literally means 'then' and is used fairly freely, while there are certain restrictions on the use of the former. The lexeme *n'ab'i* will be glossed here as 'and', but its literal meaning is 'the other, the second' and with this meaning it is used in a non-coordinating function, e.g. *n'ab'i xīb'a?* 'Who is the second? (lit.: and who)'. The word *təd'ekəxət^o* is obviously impossible here. This ensures that, unlike *təd'ekəxət^o*, *n'ab'i* does not go together with pronouns (6b) and cannot be used to coordinate three conjuncts (6d).

- (6) a. *mən'° təd'ekəxət° pidər°*
 I then you
 'me and you'
- b. **mən'° n'ab'i pidər°*
 I and you
 ('me and you')
- c. *Maša Wera təd'ekəxət° Pet'a to°-q*
 Masha Wera then Petya come-3PL
 'Masha, Wera and Petya came.'
- d. **Maša Wera n'ab'i Pet'a to°-q*
 Masha Wera and Petya come-3PL
 ('Masha, Wera and Petya came.')

When two conjuncts are coordinated by means of a conjunction, the complex NP always triggers dual agreement. Examples in (7) demonstrate subject agreement, object agreement, and possessive agreement.

- (7) a. *Maša n'ab'i Wera toŋa-x°h*
 Masha and Wera come-3DU
 'Masha and Wera came.'
- b. *xasawa ŋəno-m təd'ekəxət° xər°-m xanaŋa-x°yu-da*
 man boat-ACC then knife-ACC take-DU.OBJ-3SG
 'The man took the boat and the knife.'
- c. *Wera-h n'ab'i Pet'a-h ŋəno-d'ih*
 Wera-GEN and Petya-GEN boat-3DU
 'Wera and Petya's boat'

So number resolution is more or less semantic here: the number feature on the agreement target reflects the actual number of coordinated entities. Person resolution obeys the hierarchy $1 > 2 > 3$. That is, the person feature on the agreement target corresponds to the higher (most left) position on the hierarchy. For example, when the 1st and 3rd person conjuncts are coordinated, the resolved feature is 1st person (8a), when the 1st and 2nd person are coordinated, the resolved feature is 1st person too (8b–c), and when the 2nd and 3rd person are coordinated, the resolved feature is 2nd person (8d).

- (8) a. *mən'° təd'ekəxət° pidoh ŋəno-waq*
 I then they boat-1PL
 'my and their (PL) boat'

- b. *mən'° təd'ekəxət° pidər° to-n'ih*
 I then you come-1DU
 'Me and you came.'
- c. *mən'° təd'ekəxət° pid°raq ηəno-waq*
 I then you.PL boat-1PL
 'mine and your (PL) boat'
- d. *pidər° təd'ekəxət° pida to-d'ih*
 you then he come-2DU
 'You and him came.'

Closest conjunct agreement (agreement with the closest conjunct to the verb) is overall not typical of Tundra Nenets, although may occur.

Objects of postpositional phrases are not easily coordinated by means of coordinating conjunctions or by juxtaposition. Thus, **tol°h (n'ib'a) ηamt'orc'ə°h ηil°na* (table-GEN and chair-GEN under) 'under the table and the chair' is ungrammatical. Instead, the postpositional phrase has to be repeated or the double dual construction (Section 1.3) can be used.

1.3 Double duals

In the double dual construction both coordinate NPs take the dual form and are juxtaposed to each other. The insertion of a conjunction between the two conjuncts is impossible and so is the omission of the dual on either of the conjuncts. Pronouns do not participate in this construction; only lexical nouns can be coordinated as double duals. The resulting coordinated NP is 3rd person dual and must trigger 3rd person dual agreement: for instance, both *to°* (come) and *to°-q* (come-3PL) are impossible in (9a). In fact, double duals always trigger the dual agreement.

- (9) a. *Maša-x°h (*n'ab'i) Wera-x°h toŋa-x°h*
 Masha-DU and Wera-DU come-3SG/
 'Masha and Wera came.'
- b. *Wera-x°h Pet'a-x°h ladorŋa-x°yu-n°*
 Wera-ACC.3DU Petya-ACC.3SG beat.up-DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I beat up Wera and Petya.'

One of the conjuncts can be omitted altogether or expressed by a postpositional phrase (see 1.4) which either follows or precedes the dual. In the former instance the meaning of the omitted conjunct remains underspecified, but the referent must be somehow pragmatically associated with the referent of the first conjunct.

- (10) a. *Wera-x^oh toŋa-x^oh*
 Wera-DU come-3DU
 ‘Wera and somebody associated with him came.’
- b. (*n’a-nta* *n’ah*) *Wera-x^oh* (*n’a-nta* *n’ah*) *toŋa-x^oh*
 companion-GEN.3SG with Wera-DU companion-GEN.3SG with come-3DU
 ‘Wera came with his younger sibling.’

Strictly two conjuncts can be coordinated with this strategy so that, for instance, the sequence of three conjuncts in the dual *Wera-x^oh Maša-x^oh Pet’a-x^oh* can only mean ‘two Weras, two Mashas and two Petyas’ and not ‘Wera, Masha and Petya’. Most typically the double dual construction is used on nominative subjects, sometimes on accusative objects or possessors, but it is very rare or impossible on other grammatical functions.

- (11) a. *yir’i-xəyu-n^o* *xadake-x^oyu-n^o* *m’adoncey^o-m* *xana-q*
 grandfather-DU-1SG grandmother-DU-1SG present-ACC take-IMP
 ‘Take the present to my grandfather and grandmother.’
- b. *Wera-x^oh* *Pet’a-x^oh* *ŋəno(-d’ih)*
 Wera-DU Petya-DU boat-3DU
 ‘Wera and Petya’s boat’

The double dual coordinating construction is associated with a meaning of its own: it denotes the so-called ‘natural coordination’, that is, close semantic or pragmatic association of the two conjuncts, which are expected to co-occur in the mind of the interlocutors. For example, in (12a) where the double dual construction is used, Wera and Masha are known to be together, in contrast to (12b) where there is no implication that they are together.

- (12) a. *Wera-x^oh* *Maša-x^oh* *məneqŋa-dəm-c^o*
 Wera-ACC.DU Masha-ACC.DU see-1SG-PAST
 ‘I saw Wera and Masha.’
- b. *Wera-m* *n’ab’i* *Maša-m* *məneqŋa-dəm-c^o*
 Wera-ACC and Masha-ACC see-1SG-PAST
 ‘I saw Wera and Masha.’

Similarly, in (13a) Petya and Wera are most likely to have come together or at least at the same time, while in (13b) and (13c) this is not necessarily so.

- (13) a. *Pet’a-x^oh* *Wera-x^oh* *toŋa-x^oh*
 Petya-DU Wera-DU come-3DU
 ‘Petya and Wera came.’

- b. *Pet'a təd'ekəxət° Wera toŋa-x°h*
 Petya then Wera come-3DU
 'Petya and Wera came.'
- c. *Pet'a n'ab'i Wera toŋa-x°h*
 Petya and Wera come-3DU
 'Petya and Wera came.'

Moreover, the conjuncts coordinated by double duals are associated with a certain level of pragmatic prominence as shown in (14). The sentence in (14a) is ungrammatical because the conjuncts are indefinite, whereas in (14b) they are definite and possibly topical.

- (14) a. **xabtə-x°h yax°d'eyə-x°h temtaə-d°m*
 bull-ACC.DU doe-ACC.DU buy-1SG
 ('I bought a reindeer bull and a reindeer doe.')
- b. *xabtə-x°h yax°d'eyə-x°h t'ukoxəna xədirŋa-x°h*
 bull-DU doe-DU here graze-3DU
 'The reindeer bull and the reindeer doe are grazing here.'

In a similar manner, example (15a) is not easily acceptable with the double dual because the conjuncts are indefinite, as opposed to the well-formed (15b). But in (15c) the double dual is possible even though the conjuncts are indefinite. The reason is that they are under discussion (topical) because of the immediate right context.

- (15) a. *?t'uku° komnata-x°na tolə-x°h ŋamt'orc'əŋ-k°h tən'aŋa-x°h*
 this room-LOC table-DU chair-DU exist-3SU
 'There is a table and a chair in this room.'
- b. *tolə-x°h ŋamt'orc'əŋ-k°h t'ikan°h naqwola-x°yu-n°q*
 table-DU chair-DU to.here move-DU.OBJ-IMP.2SG
 'Move the table and the chair here.'
- c. *tolə-x°h ŋamt'orc'əŋ-k°h temtaə-d°m, m'ir-t'ih yon°r yes'a-q*
 table-ACC.DU chair-ACC.DU buy-1SG price-3DU 1000 money-PL
 'I bought a table and a chair (together), their price was 1000 roubles'

So the double dual construction serves to coordinate the entities that are naturally associated with each other in the mind of the interlocutors (natural coordination), are clearly identifiable (definite), and/or under discussion (topical) at the time of the utterance.

Some double duals have lexicalized (partly or fully) and function as some kind of paired compounds, e.g. *n'eb'a-xəyu-n'i n'is'a-xəyu-n'i* (mother-DU-1SG father-DU-1SG) 'my parents'.

1.4 Postpositional strategy

NPs can be coordinated by means of the postposition *n'ah* 'with' (literally, the dative form of the postpositional form *n'a-* 'at'). The postpositional phrase either follows or precedes the other conjunct:

- (16) a. *Wera n'a-nta n'ah toŋa-x°h*
 Wera companion-GEN.3SG with come-3DU
 'Wera came with a friend.'
- b. *n'a-nta n'ah Wera toŋa-x°h*
 companion-GEN.3SG with Wera come-3DU
 'Wera came with a friend.'

One conjunct may in fact be absent, as in (17), and in some instances you additionally find a dual phrase which refers to the aggregate of both conjuncts, like *mən'ih* 'we (DU)' in (18).

- (17) a. *papa-ko-n° n'ah s'id'a-ŋe° yil'e°-n'in-c'°*
 younger.sibling-DIM-GEN.1SG with two-ESS live-1DU-PAST
 'We lived together with my younger brother.' (T 362)
- b. *n'is'a-nta n'ah ŋəno-d'ih*
 father-GEN.3SG with boat-3DU
 'father and son's boat'
- (18) a. *(mən'ih) Wera-h n'ah ŋəno-m s'ertaa-n'ih*
 we.DU Wera-GEN with boat-ACC do-1DU
 'We made a boat with Wera.'
- b. *mən'i' s'it° n'ah ŋil°na-n'i*
 we.DU you.GEN with under-1DU
 'under you and me'

When the coordinate construction corresponds to the subject, two patterns of agreement are possible: the verb can stand in the singular or dual if both conjuncts are singular (19a–b), or plural and singular if one of the conjuncts is dual/plural, respectively (19d–e).

- (19) a. *Wera n'a-nta n'ah to°*
 Wera companion-GEN.3SG with come
 'Wera came with his brother.'
- b. *Wera n'a-nta n'ah toŋa-x°h*
 Wera companion-GEN.3SG with come-3DU
 'Wera came with his brother.'
- c. *Wera xasawa ŋəc'eki°-q n'ah to°*
 Wera man child-PL.GEN with come
 'Wera came with the boys.'
- d. *Wera xasawa ŋəc'eki°-q n'ah to°-q*
 Wera man child-PL.GEN with come-3PL
 'Wera came with the boys.'

The same is observed in object-to-subject raising constructions (20) and with dependent subjects (21).

- (20) a. *Wera wen'ako-nta n'ah lador-c'° tara°*
 Wera dog-GEN.3SG with beat.up-MOD needed
 'One should beat up Wera and his dog.'
- b. *Wera wen'ako-nta n'ah lador-c'° tarəŋa-x°h*
 Wera dog-GEN.3SG with beat.up-MOD needed-3DU
 'One should beat up Wera and his dog.'
- (21) a. *pidər° Wera-h n'ah pix°dəmt° xad'ol'e-m'a-mt°*
 you Wera-GEN with REFL.ACC.2SG cut-PERF.PART-ACC.2SG
ya-mt°
 place-ACC.3SG
 'the place (ACC) where you and Wera cut yourselves'
- b. *pidər° Wera-h n'ah pix°də-mt'i xad'ol'em'a-mt'ih*
 you Wera-GEN with REFL.ACC.2DU cut-PERF.PART-ACC.2DU
ya-mt'ih
 place-ACC.2DU
 'the place (ACC) where you and Wera cut yourselves'
- c. *Wera-h n'a-nta n'ah s'erta-wed'ih ŋəno-d'ih*
 Wera-GEN companion-GEN.3SG with do-PERF.PART.3DU boat-3DU
 'the boat made by Wera and his friend'
- d. *Wera-h n'a-nta n'ah s'erta-weda ŋəno-da*
 Wera-GEN companion-GEN.3SG with do-PERF.PART.3SG boat-3SG
 'the boat made by Wera and his friend'

This duality seems to reflect the difference in constituency. In particular, when agreement is dual/plural as in (22a), the postpositional phrase forms a larger NP with the other conjunct and cannot be separated from it by other constituents. When agreement is in the singular, the postpositional phrase does not have to be adjacent to another NP.

- (22) a. *ɲac'eki° (*xər°də-x°nt'ih) n'is'a-nta n'ah (xər°də-x°nt'ih) toŋa-x°h*
 child house-DAT.3DU father-GEN.3SG with house-DAT.3DU come-3DU
 'The child and his father came home.'
- b. *ɲac'eki° (xər°də-x°nta) n'is'a-nta n'ah xər°də-x°nta to°*
 child house-DAT.3SG father-GEN.3SG with house-DAT.3DU come
 'The child came home with his father.'

So we are not really dealing with syntactic coordination in the latter instance: rather, the postpositional phrase functions as a clause-level adjunct. This ensures that the subject is actually singular. There is no such difference when other grammatical functions are coordinated:

- (23) a. *Wera-m Pet'a-nta n'ah ladorŋa-*(x°yu)-da-s'°*
 Wera-ACC Petya-GEN.3SG with beat.up-DU.OBJ-3SG-PAST
 'He beat up Wera with Petya.'
- b. *pidər° Wera-h n'ah ɲəno-r'ih*
 you Wera-GEN with boat-2DU
 'your and Wera's boat'
- c. **pidər° Wera-h n'ah ɲəno-r°*
 you Wera-GEN with boat-2SG
 ('your and Wera's boat')

As shown in (23), object agreement and possessive agreement with the postpositional coordination construction must always be non-singular.

Examples (24) illustrate various number and person agreement options on various syntactic types of targets: the possessed noun, the finite verb and the head of the relative clause which hosts agreement with the dependent subject.

- (24) a. *mən'° pidoh n'ah ɲəno-waq*
 I they with boat-1PL
 'my and their (PL) boat'
- b. **mən'° pidoh n'ah ɲəno-m'i*
 I they with boat-1SG
 ('my and their (PL) boat')

- c. *Wera-x^oh n'ah ηəno-raq*
 Wera-DU with boat-2PL
 'your and two Weras' boat'
- d. *pidər^o Wera-h n'ah ηəno-m s'ertaa-d'ih*
 you Wera-GEN with boat-ACC do-2DU
 'You and Wera made a boat.'
- e. *pida s'it^o n'ah ηəno-r'ih*
 he you.GEN with boat-2DU
 'his and your boat'
- f. *Wera-h n'ah lad^o-wi^o wen'ako-m'ih*
 Wera-GEN with hit-PERF.PART dog-1DU
 'the dog that Wera and I hit'
- g. *Wera-h n'ah lad^o-wi^o wen'ako-r'ih*
 Wera-GEN with hit-PERF.PART dog-2DU
 'the dog that you and Wera hit'

As can be seen in (24), person resolution in the postpositional coordination structure follows the same principle as with conjunctions: it obeys the person hierarchy $1 > 2 > 3$.

1.5 Converbial strategy

Some coordinating constructions involve converbs. They are subject orientated: only subjects or sometimes non-subject agents can be coordinated using this strategy (see Chapter 9, Section 1.1.2). Like coordination with postpositions, this is asymmetrical coordination and typically presupposes that the participant controlling the converb (the subject) is associated with more empathy than the second conjunct.

The first sub-strategy employs the form *n'ac^o* glossed here as 'with'. But this form actually represents the grammaticalized modal converb of the transitive verb *n'aq-* 'to have as a companion' accompanied by the second conjunct, which takes the form of the accusative object. Examples in (25) demonstrate this strategy. Note that the translation of (25b) indicates subject coordination; it cannot be understood as object coordination. Example (25c) shows that the *n'ac^o* strategy cannot be used for the coordination of possessors.

- (25) a. *Wera n'a-mta n'ac^o to^o*
 Wera companion-ACC.3SG with come
 'Wera came with a friend.'

- b. **Wera n'a-mta n'ac'° toŋa-x°h*
 Wera companion-ACC.3SG with come-3DU
 ('Wera came with a friend.')
- c. *Wera-m Pet'a-mta n'ac'° ladorn̄a-da*
 Wera-ACC Petya-ACC.3SG with beat.up-3SG > SG.OBJ
 'He beat Wera up with the help of Petya / *He beat Wera and Petya up.'
- d. **Maša-h Wera-m n'ac'° n'abako-m men'eə-d°m*
 Masha-GEN Wera-ACC with elder.sister-ACC love-1SG
 ('I love [Masha and Wera]'s sister.')

Agreement on the verb is always singular if the subject stands in the singular. This implies that agreement patterns contrast with patterns found in postpositional constructions, cf.:

- (26) a. *Maša(-x°h) n'abako-nta n'ah səb'i sãd°-b'i*
 Masha-DU elder.sister-GEN.3SG with hat.PL.ACC sew-DUR
 'Masha makes hats with her sister.'
- b. *Maša(-x°h) n'abako-nta n'ah səb'i sãd°-b'ix°h*
 Masha-DU elder.sister-GEN.3SG with hat.PL.ACC sew-DUR.3DU
 'Masha makes hats with her sister.'
- c. *Masha n'abako-mta n'ac'° səb'i sãd°-b'i*
 Masha elder.sister-ACC.3SG with hat.PL.ACC sew-DUR
 'Masha makes hats with her sister.'
- d. **Masha n'abako-mta n'ac'° səb'i sãd°-b'ix°h*
 Masha elder.sister-ACC.3SG with hat.PL.ACC sew-DUR.3DU
 ('Masha makes hats with her sister.')

In the second sub-strategy the verbs *n'aq-* 'to have as companion' or *n'at°-* 'to be in a certain relation with someone; to help someone (companion-V)' stand in a finite form which takes the accusative object, and is accompanied by the modal converb of the lexical verb. The verbs *n'aq-* and *n'at°-* always agree with their own object and never with the object of the lexical verb. For instance, in (27a) object agreement on the verb *n'aq-* is impossible because its object *s'it°* is a 2nd person pronoun, and in (27b) it is impossible because the object is focussed. This superficially resembles object control constructions of the kind described in Chapter 15, Section 2.2.2.

- (27) a. *s'it° ti-m xada° n'aq̄na-d°m*
 you.ACC reindeer-ACC kill-MOD have.as.companion-1SG
 'I killed a/the reindeer with you / your help.'

- b. **s'it°* *ti-m* *xada-°* *n'aqŋa-w°*
 you.ACC reindeer.ACC kill-MOD have.as.companion-1SG > SG.OBJ
 ('I killed a/the reindeer with you / your help.')
- c. *ti-m* *xada-°* *xīb'a-m* *n'a-t°ə-n°*
 reindeer.ACC kill-MOD who.ACC companion-V-2SG
 'With whom will you kill the reindeer?'
- d. **ti-m* *xada-°* *xīb'a-m* *n'a-t°ə-r°* ?
 reindeer.ACC kill-MOD who.ACC companion-V-2SG > SG.OBJ
 ('With whom will you kill the reindeer?')

However, there is a certain syntactic and semantic difference between coordination constructions in (27), on the one hand, and true object control constructions on the other hand. Unlike object control sentences, semantically the two verbs in examples (27) behave like a single unit. They denote the same event and probably instantiate a kind of serial verb construction in which the two verbs share the subject but not the object – although this would be the only instance of serialization in the language. The functional purpose of this construction is to add an extra comitative argument which corresponds to the object of the verb *n'aq-* / *n'at°* (the same is actually true of the first sub-strategy which uses *n'ac°*). As for syntactic properties, as explained in Chapter 14, Section 4, it is possible to relativize the object of the lower verb in the control construction. But the object *tim* of the lexical verb 'to kill' in (27) is resistant to relativization. This may suggest that we are dealing with a sub-clause level element, which are not easily relativizable in Tundra Nenets.

2 Coordination of other categories

Coordination of two nouns modified by a shared adjective or numeral is available with the double dual construction but impossible otherwise. For instance, (28) shows that modification that takes scope over both conjuncts is ungrammatical in the juxtaposition and conjunction strategies.

- (28) a. **səwa(-x°h)* [*l'ekarə* *toxolkoda*] *toŋa-x°h*
 good-DU doctor teacher come-3DU
 ('The good doctor and teacher arrived.')
- b. **yīql'eka(-x°h)* [*ŋəc'eki°* *n'is'a-nta* *n'ah*] *xəya-x°h*
 cheerful-DU child father-GEN.3SG with go-3DU
 ('The cheerful father and child left.')

Example (29) can only be understood as the coordinated phrase where solely the first conjunct is modified; it cannot mean 'twenty [men and women]'.

- (29) *s'id'a yūq n'e xasawa to°-q*
 two 10 woman man come-3PL
 '20 men and the woman came.'

To express the meaning intended in (28) one has to use the double dual construction, as in (30a), where the dual adjective takes scope over the coordinated phrase and hosts dual agreement. Alternatively, each conjunct is modified and the resulting phrases are juxtaposed (30b).

- (30) a. *səwa*(-x°h) l'ekarə-x°h toxolkoda-x°h toŋa-x°h*
 good-DU doctor-DU teacher-DU come-3DU
 'The good doctor and teacher arrived.'
- b. *səwa l'ekar° səwa toxolkoda toŋa-x°h*
 good doctor good teacher come-3DU
 'The good doctor and teacher arrived.'

Nouns can be coordinated under the same possessor, although it is not entirely clear whether the second conjunct is located within the same NP. It must host possessive agreement even if the possessor is lexical as in (31a).

- (31) a. *Pet'a-h teda (n'ab'i) wen'ako-da*
 Petya-GEN reindeer.3SG and dog-3SG
 'Petya's reindeer and dog'
- b. **Pet'a-h ti (n'ab'i) wen'ako*
 Petya-GEN reindeer and dog
 ('Petya's reindeer and dog')
- c. *mən° pida s'aq-mta n'ab'i s'o-mta xərwa-bta-(xəyu)-d°m*
 I he face-3SG and voice-ACC.3SG want-CAUS- DU.OBJ-1SG
 'I love his face and voice.'

Attributive adjectives can always be coordinated by means of repetition of the noun phrase with the same adjective, yet in some instances the conjunction strategy is acceptable too.

- (32) a. *mən° n'ar°yana (təd'ekəxət°) tas'exey° toxoso temtaə-d°m*
 I red then yellow fabric.ACC.PL buy-1SG
 'I bought red and yellow fabrics.'
- b. *?mən° n'ar°yana n'ab'i tas'exey° toxoso temtaə-d°m*
 I red and yellow fabric.ACC.PL buy-1SG
 'I bought red and yellow fabrics.'

- c. *t'ukoxəna n'ar^oyana n'ab'i pəd'arəxa yimpit^ot ɲaq*
 here red and green dress.PL be.3PL
 'There are red and green dresses here.'

In (32) the two adjectives modify two different subsets of fabric/dresses included in the relevant set of entities. When both adjectives characterize the same referent(s), coordination by conjunction is not allowed: neither *n'ab'i* nor *təd'kəxət^o* are possible here.

- (33) a. *mən^o ɲarka pas^okoy^o ɲəno-m temtaə-d^om*
 I big beautiful boat-ACC buy-1SG
 'I bought a big and beautiful boat.'
- b. *t'ukoxəna n'ar^oyana pas^okoy^o yimpit^ot ɲaq*
 here red beautiful dress.PL be.3PL
 'There are beautiful red dresses here.'

Postpositions can only be coordinated by repeating the whole phrase as in *tol^o-h n'in'a tol^oh ɲil^ona* (table-GEN under table-GEN above) 'under and above the table', but not by juxtaposition: **tol^oh n'in'a ɲil^ona*. Coordination of two postpositional phrases is required instead of coordinating two objects of one postposition, e.g. *tol^o-h ɲil^ona ɲamt'orc'əɲ-k^oh ɲil^ona* (table-GEN under chair-DU under) 'under the table and the chair'.

Coordination of VPs is easily allowed by means of juxtaposition, the conjunction *təd'ekəxət^o* or the adverb *pūna* 'later, after'. Note that *n'ab'i* 'and' is not applicable here.

- (34) a. *mən'aq ɲamti-waq təd'ekəxət^o xinoŋa-waq*
 we sit-1PL then sing-1PL
 'We are sitting and singing.'
- b. *Wera yewey^o-m p'ir'e^o pūna ɲəmaə-da*
 Wera soup-ACC cook after eat-3S > SG.OBJ
 'Wera cooked the soup and ate it.'
- c. *Wera yewey^o-m p'ir'e^o təd'ikəxət^o ɲəmaə-da*
 Wera soup-ACC cook then eat-3S > SG.OBJ
 'Wera cooked the soup and ate it.'

Some speakers prefer the repetition of juxtaposed VPs in order to coordinate objects, as in (35), or – more frequently – obliques, as in (36). Example (36b) shows that we also have juxtaposed coordination of two VPs where the first conjunct stands in the dative and the second is periphrastic, so this is exactly parallel to (36a).

- (35) *Wera ŋəno-m xana^o, xər^o-m xana^o*
 Wera boat-ACC take knife-ACC take
 ‘Wera took the boat and a knife.’
- (36) a. *ŋəno-n^oh məy^omp’i-d^om wen’ako-n^oh məy^omp’i-d^om*
 boat-DAT happy-1SG dog-DAT be.happy-1SG
 ‘I am happy with the boat and the dog.’
- b. *ŋəno-n^oh məy^omp’i-d^om wen’ako-x^oh n’ah məy^omp’i-d^om*
 boat-DAT happy-1SG dog-GEN.DU to be.happy-1SG
 ‘I am happy with the boat and two dogs.’

Clause coordination is typically expressed by means of juxtaposition as in (37a), although a few coordinating conjunctions (Chapter 3, Section 8) and adverbs (Chapter 8, Section 1.4) are also available. The adverb *təd^o* ‘then’ can sometimes be used to connect two clauses (37b).

- (37) a. *N’eko xə-wa-n^oh xərwa^o, Lisa n’a-mta*
 Nyeko go-IMPF.AN-DAT want Lisa companion-ACC.3SG
məd^ot’e-mp’ida
 hold.back-3SG > SG.OBJ
 ‘Nyeko wants to leave, but Lisa holds her friend back.’ (T 217)
- b. *təmna ŋob yal’a-h yo^or-tə-d^om, təd^o t’ika-xəd^o*
 again one day-GEN fish-FUT-1SG then this-ABL
yamta-ŋku-n’ih
 move.on-FUT-REFL.1DU
 ‘I will be fishing for one more day, and then we will move on from here.’
 (Labanauskas 1995: 29)

Various subordinating constructions are often used to render the semantic equivalents of clausal coordination in European languages, see Chapter 16 on adverbial subordination.

3 Disjunction

Clausal disjunction or the disjunction of VPs is expressed by juxtaposition of finite clauses (38) or the conditional converbs (39). In the former instance one can additionally use the discourse particle *məs’iq* which means something like ‘perhaps, maybe’, while in the latter the converb functions as an independent verb and is typically accompanied by the dubitative clitic *=m^oh*.

- (38) *n'an^o-m mas'iq t'ukoxəna temta-ηku-n^o, mas'iq mən^o*
 bread-ACC DP here buy-FUT-2SG DP I
mər^okə-x^ona temta-ηku-d^om
 city-LOC buy-FUT-1SG
 'Either you buy some bread here or I will buy bread in the city.'
- (39) a. *ya^or-pə-ta=w^oh pīs^on-pə-ta=w^oh*
 cry-COND-3SG-DUB laugh-COND-3SG-DUB
 'He is either crying or laughing.'
- b. *sira ηḁ-b^ota=w^oh sar'o ηḁ-b^o-ta=w^oh*
 snow be-COND-3SG-DUB rain be-COND-3SG-DUB
 'It's either raining or snowing.'
- c. *mən^o Moskwa-n^oh xḁ-b^o-n'i n'a-m'i t'ukon^oh*
 I Moscow-DAT go-COND-1SG companion-1SG to.here
tūt^o-bə-ta(=w^oh)
 come.FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 'Either I go to Moscow or my friend will come here.'
- d. *mən^o Moskwa-n^oh xan^otə-bə-n^o n'a-m'i*
 I Moscow-DAT go.FUT-COND-1SG companion-1SG
t'ukon^oh tūtə(=w^oh)
 to.here come.FUT-DUB
 'Either I go to Moscow or my friend will come here.'
- e. *sira ηḁ-b^oqna-nta sar'o ηḁ-b^oqna-nta*
 snow be-COND.EMPH-3SG rain be-COND.EMPH-3SG
s'it^o ηət'e-ηku-d^om
 you.ACC wait-FUT-3SG
 'I will wait for you (even) if it is snowing or raining.'

The conditional construction conveys more uncertainty, but even stronger doubts about the likelihood of the denoted events may be expressed if the second disjunct corresponds to the negative auxiliary verb. Again, both verbs may be in the finite form and host a clitic (40) or they may be represented by conditional forms (41).

- (40) *pida t'uku^o-m s'erta-ηku-da=w^oh n'i-da=w^oh*
 he this-ACC do-FUT-3SG > SG.OBJ-DUB NEG-3SG > SG.OBJ-DUB
 'He will either do it or not / It's unlikely that he'll do it.'

- (41) a. *pidər° s'erta-ηku-b°-ta=w°h n'i-b°-ta=w°h*
 you do-FUT-COND-2SG-DUB NEG-COND-2SG-DUB
 'You will either do it or not / It's unlikely that you'll do it.'
- b. *ya°r-pə-ta=w°h n'i-b°-ta=w°h*
 cry-COND-3SG-DUB NEG-COND-3SG-DUB
 'He is either crying or not.'
- c. *yekar°q tūt°-bə-ta=w° (yekar°q n'i=w°)*
 DP come.FUT-COND-3SG-DUB DP NEG-DUB
 'He will either come or not, it's unknown.'
- d. *to-w°nta-d°m ηæ-b°q-nə=w° n'i-b°q-nə=w° yexaraə-d°m*
 come-FUT.PART-1SG be-COND-1SG-DUB NEG-COND-1SG-DUB ignore-1SG
 'Either I have to come or I don't, I don't know.'

On alternative questions see Chapter 12, Section 1.3, and Chapter 13, Section 3.1.

The semantic disjunction of non-verbal clausal elements involves the same formal strategies, that is, clausal or VP disjunction by means of converbs. In (42) I illustrate the disjunction of subjects and in (43) the disjunction of non-subject arguments.

- (42) a. *sarm'ik° n'awotə-b°-ta=w°h, wen'ako n'awotə-b°-ta=w°h*
 wolf run-COND-3SG-DUB dog run-COND-3SG-DUB
 'Either a wolf or a dog is running.'
- b. *mən° tūt°-bəq-nə=w° pida tut°-bə-tə=w°*
 I come.FUT-COND-1SG-DUB he come.FUT-COND-3SG-DUB
 'Either I will come or he will.'
- (43) a. *pidər° Moskwa-n°h xæ-b-ta=w° Peterburgə-n°h xæ-b°-ta=w°*
 you Moscow-DAT go-COND-2SG-CL St.Petersburg-DAT go-COND-2SG-DUB
 'He went to either Moscow or St. Petersburg.'
- b. *ηəmca-m ta-b°-ta=w° xal'a-m ta-b°-ta=w°*
 meat-ACC bring-COND-3SG-DUB fish-ACC bring-COND-3SG-DUB
 'He brought either meat or fish.'

In other words, just like for negation, there is no structural difference between clausal and non-clausal disjunction.

The components of complex conjunctions *ηoq ... ηoq* and *ηod° ... ηod°* are glossed here as 'too' but in disjunction they rather mean 'either ... or'.

- (44) a. *pida* *ηḁ-b°-ta* *ηoq* *mən'°* *ηḁ-b°q-n'i* *ηoq*
 he be-COND-3SG too I be-COND-1SG too
 'Let it be either him or me.' (T 412)
- b. *mən'°* *xḁ-b°-n'i* *ηod°* *pidar°* *xḁ-bə-t°* *ηod°*
 I go-COND-1SG too you go-COND-2SG too
 'Either I leave or you will.'

As shown here, the conjunctions must follow the converb.

Chapter 19

Texts

The two texts presented here were recorded by Kazimir Labanauskas in the early 1990s and published in Labanauskas (1995) in the Cyrillic-based Nenets orthography. The texts reflect the Taimyr dialect of Tundra Nenets. However, they were checked and in some places modified by Galina Koreneva, a native speaker of the Ural and Yamal dialects. The texts are presented in several tiers. The first represents the original Cyrillic orthography as written down by Labanauskas, including possible typos. The second line is the standard phonological transcription as adopted in this grammar. There may be more than transcriptional differences between the first and the second tier, as the second tier incorporates changes suggested by Galina Koreneva, and therefore it rather reflects the Ural or Yamal variety of Nenets. This concerns, in particular, the separation of words, and in some instances the number of words in the orthography line and the transcription line may not be the same. The third line provides glossing for the second tier and the last line is a free translation. The division into sentences follows the original, while the punctuation conventions employed in the transcription line are the same as elsewhere in this grammar.

1 Text 1: published in Labanauskas (1995: 96–106), recorded from Vasilij Jar

Нгвнанта хунананта сидя Вай таниявэхэ'.
ŋaw^ona-nta xunana-nta s'id'a Way^o tən'a-wex^oh.
in.the.past-3SG long.ago-3SG 2 W. exist-INFR.3DU
Long ago there lived two Wayas.

Сидя Вай яха' вархана илевэхэ'.
S'id'a Way^o yəxa-h war^o-xəna yil'e-wex^oh.
2 W. river-GEN bank-LOC live-INFR.3DU
The two Wayas lived on the river bank.

Ича нгабченя ямд' ха"морта яха'
Yi-t'a ŋəbt'e-n'a yam-t^oh xaqmor-ta yəxa-h
water-3SG stink-IMPF.PART sea-DAT fall-IMPF.PART river-GEN

лата юр" чибя, тарча яха' хэвхана илевэхэ', яха' малхана.
lata yur t'ib'a, tərç'a yəxa-h xəw^oxəna yil'e-wex^oh, yəxa-h mal^o-xəna.
broad 100 foot such river-GEN near live-INFR.3DU river-GEN end-LOC

The width of the river which flows in the Northern Sea (lit. sea with stinking water) is a hundred fathoms. They lived near such a river, by the rivermouth.

Яхади' сидя таркавна хэвы, мячи' тарка саляна нгэвы.
Yəxa-d'ih s'id'a tarka-w^ona xə-wi^o, m'a-t'ih tarka səl'a-xəna ɲə-wi^o.
 river-3DU 2 fork-PROL go-INFR tent-3DU fork cape-LOC be-INFR
 Their river split into two channels. Their tent stood on the cape of the split.

Чики сидя Ваянт нгока тыди' юнггу", тыди'
T'iki^o s'id'a Wayə-nt^o ɲoka ted'ih yəŋku-q, ted'ih
 this 2 W.-GEN.2SG many reindeer.PL.3DU no-3PL reindeer.PL.3DU
 няхар" юр".
n'ax^or yur.
 3 100

These two Wayas didn't have many reindeer, only 300.

Няхар" юр" текочамчи малламбада нгарка
N'ax^or yur teko-c'a-mt'ih məq^olampə-da-ɲe^o ɲarka
 3 100 reindeer.DIM-DIM-ACC.3DU gather-IMP.F.PART-ESS big

Вай' самбляннг нгачеке тая.
Way^o-h səmp^ol'aŋk^o ɲəc'eki^o tən'a^o.
 W.-GEN 5 child exist

Five children of the older Waya were busy looking after their 300 reindeer
 (lit. gathering their 300 reindeer).

Нгарка Ваяр несавей, нюдя Ваянт неда тамна юнггу.
Ųarka Wayə-r^o n'e-sawey^o, n'ud'a Wayə-nt^o n'e-da təmna yəŋku.
 big W.-2SG woman-PROPR little W.-GEN.2SG woman-3SG still no
 The older Waya was married, but the younger Waya didn't have a wife yet.

Нянта мякана иле.
N'a-nta m'a-k^ona yil'e^o.
 companion-GEN.3SG tent-LOC live
 He lived in his brother's tent.

Сяны нгэбту' нго" нгарка Ваяр нив" ман":
S'a^oqni^o ɲə-b^o-ta ɲoq ɲarka Wayə-r^o n'ĩ=w^oq man^o-q:
 after.a.while be-COND-3SG too big W.-2SG not-DUB say-CONNEG

- Нюдя Бае", нумта чедав' нгэрёйма.
"N'ud'a Wayeq, num-ta t'edaxəw^oh ɲer'oy^o-ma.
 little W.FOC sky-3SG now.AFF autumn-V

Once, the older Waya said: "Little Waya, autumn has arrived.

Тэми' няхар" юр".
Təm'ih n'ax^or yur.
 reindeer.1DU 3 100
 We have 300 reindeer.

Илебчам' хадаванчъ хэхэва".
Yil'ebc'ə-m xada-wənc'ə xə-x'ə-waq.
 wild.reindeer-ACC kill-PUPR go-HORT-1PL
 Let's go hunting for wild reindeer.

Тэсавей хантани'.
Tesawey'ə xan'tə-n'ih.
 reindeer-PROPR go.FUT-1DU
 We will travel on reindeer.

Нюкчини мякана хаёя" мядм' лэтрамба.
N'ük'c'i-n'i m'a-k'ona xayoya-q m'ad'ə-m let'rampə-ə.
 child.PL-1DU tent-LOC remain.JUS-3PL tent-ACC protect-MOD
 My children will stay at home to protect the tent."

Нюдя Ваяр манома: - Нгэява.
N'ud'a Wayə-r'ə ma-s'ey'ə "ηə'ə-ya=wa.
 little W.-2SG say-PAST.FOC be-JUS-ASS
 The little Waya said: "Ok.

Тарем' мамбат нгамгэда вэва?
Tər'em tam-pə-t'ə ηəmke-da wəwə?"
 so say-COND-2SG what-3SG bad
 If you say so, what could go wrong?"

Хуняна юркыд" нгорнга".
Xūn'ana yurkiə-d'əq, ηə'əŋa-q.
 tomorrow wake.up-REFL.3SG eat-3PL
 The next morning they got up and ate.

Там мядикодамту' серта".
Tə-h m'ad'i-ko-də-mtoh s'erta-q.
 summer-GEN tent-DIM-PRED-ACC.3PL do-3PL
 Then they made a small summer tent.

Нгамгэри' толаха мядикоча нгэбта нго",
ηəmke-r'i-h toql'əxə m'ad'i-ko-c'a ηə-b'ə-ta ηəq,
 what-LIM-GEN like tent-DIM-DIM be-COND-3SG too

нгамгэ нгарка мя" нгэвна, мяпой мядикоча.
ηəmke ŋarka m'aq ηə-w'əna, m'əpoy'ə m'ad'i-ko-c'a.
 what big tent be-REP small.sledge tent-DIM-DIM

Why have a big tent when you can have a small one? A small tent to carry on a small sledge.

Нгарка Ваяр самблянгт юд мян хан нгэрха.
Ṅarka Wayə-nt° səmp°l'aŋk° yūd° m'an° хэн° ṇḗ-darəxa.
 big W.-GEN.2SG 5 10 about sledge be-IMPF.APRX
 The older Waya seemed to have about 50 sledges.

Ханянгы черсавэй нгэдякы", ханянгыду' черсяда
Хэн'аṇi° t'er°-sawey° ṇḗ-daki°-q, хэн'аṇidoh t'er°s'ə-da
 which content-PROPR be-PROB.IMPF-3PL which.3PL empty-IMPF.PART
 нгэдякы".
ṇḗ-daki°-q.
 be-PROB.IMPF-3PL

Some of them were loaded, and some were empty.

Нгарка Вай' не ю" ханм' сода.
Ṅarka Way°-h n'e yūq хэн°-m soda°.
 big W.-GEN woman 10 sledge-ACC take.along
 Older Waya's wife took ten sledges.

Хуняна ямдэйд".
Xūn'ana yamteyə-d°q.
 tomorrow move.on-REFL.3PL
 The next day they left.

Нгрэп' ёльчанггана, мар" ирыхана,
Ṅḗr°o-h yolc°ṇkəna mər°-q yiri°-хəna
 autumn-GEN during wild.reindeer.bull-GEN.PL month-LOC
 ямдаванту' нгарка пэвдэ ирым' няхарнгэ мэнга".
yamta-wa-ntoh ṇarka pḗw°d'a-h yiri°-m n'ax°r-ṇe° meṇa-q.
 move-IMPF.AN-GEN.3PL big darkness-GEN month-ACC 3-ESS be-3PL
 The three of them set off travelling in the month of great darkness, in autumn,
 in October (lit.: the month of wild reindeer bulls).

Нгарка пэвдя' ёльчемахад хача хаерта нгадимя.
Ṅarka pḗw°d'a-h yolc°-qma-xəd° хэс'ah хayer-ta ṇəd'im'a.
 big darkness-GEN finish-PERF.AN-ABL little.bit sun-3SG appear
 When the great darkness had finished, the sun started to appear little by little.

Чедав' ильча" нгоканю".
T'edaxəw° yil°bc'ə-q ṇoka=n'uq.
 now.AFF wild.reindeer-PL many-EXCL
 There were many wild reindeer at that time.

Нгарка Вай маном: - Тюкон' нгэсохава"!
Ṅarka Way° ma-s'ey° "T'ukon°h ṇeso-xə-waq!"
 big W. say-PAST.FOC to.here camp-HORT-1PL
 The older Waya said: 'Let's camp here!'

Мяту' та' мэду'.
M'a-toh tə-h me^o-doh.
 tent-ACC.3PL then-GEN put.up-3PL > SG.OBJ
 They set up a tent there.

Тэкочиду' мат" ю" нгэдакы.
Teko-c'i-doh mət^oq yūq ηḁ-daki^o.
 reindeer.DIM-DIM.PL-3PL 6 10 be-PROB
 They had about 60 reindeer.

Нюдя Вай сырнга: нерняна неро варта яха нгэвы.
N'ud'a Way^o si^oŋa, n'er^on'ana n'ero war^o-da yəxa ηḁ-wi^o.
 little W. look before willow.bush bank-3SG river be-INFR

The younger Waya saw that there was a river with willow bushes on the bank in front of them.

Тяха нянгы хэвхад илебча" нгади".
T'ax^o n'a-ŋi^o xəw^o-xəna yil'ebc'a-q ηəd'i-q.
 back at-ADJ side-LOC wild.reindeer-PL visible-3PL
 Wild reindeer could be seen on the other side of the river.

Нгарка Вай мякад нгадимя, ма: -Ебтов", нгамгэм' маненганэй"?
Ŋarka Way^o m'a-kəd^o ηəd'i-m'a, ma "Yebtow^oq, ηəmkə-m təneqŋa-ney^oq?"
 big W. tent-ABL visible-INCH say darling.FOC what-ACC see-2SG.FOC
 The older Waya went out of the tent and said: "Dear, what can you see?"

- Тайна ханъеда нгэрха.
"Tay^ona xan'eda ηḁ-dar^oxa."
 there prey be-IMPF.APRX
 "It seems there is prey there."

Чикы яхана тад ханелманчи' сямян ханамчи' малнгэ
T'iki^o ya-x^ona təd^o xan'e-l-ma-nt'ih s'am'an^o xən^o-mt'ih mal^oh
 this place-LOC then hunt-INCH-PERF.AN-3DU most sledge-ACC.3DU all
 пандейди'.
pan^ode-y^o-d'ih.
 fill-PL.OBJ-3DU

After they started hunting on that land, they filled all their sledges to the top.

Нгарка Ваяр манома: -Чебта' ямдангтуначь,
Ŋarka Wayə-r^o ma-s'ey^o "T'ebta-h yamta-ŋku-nac^o,
 big Waay-2SG say-PAST.FOC tomorrow-GEN move.on-FUT-REFL.1PL.PAST
 нгоб" сябуни чер юнггу.
ŋob s'abu-n'i t'er^o yəŋku."
 one cargo.sledge-GEN.1SG content no

The older Waya said: "We could leave tomorrow, but one of my big sledges is empty."

Нюдя Вай ма: - Сябур черсяява.
N'ud'a Way^o ma: "S'abu-r^o t'er^os'a-ya=wa.
 little W. say cargo.sledge-2SG empty-JUS-ASS
 The younger Waya said: "Leave it empty.

Тад ямдавани' ёльчанггана маси" нгоб' - сидя
Təd^o yamta-wa-n'ih yolc^oηkəna məs'iq ηob s'id'a
 then move.on-IMPF.AN-GEN.1DU during DP one 2
 ильчам' тамна хадангуни'.
yl'bc'a-m təmna xada-ηku-n'ih."
 wild.reindeer-ACC still kill-FUT.1DU

Later when we travel, maybe we will kill one or two more wild reindeer."

- Юнггов", сябуни чер юнггуню".
"Yəηko=w^oq, s'abu-n'i t'er^o yəηku=n'uq.
 no-DUB cargo.sledge-GEN.1SG content no-EXCL
 "No, my big sledge is empty.

Тарем' вева.
Tər'em wəwə."
 so bad
 That's very bad."

Нгарка Вай чет парисем' подернга, нгэдалэй".
Ŋarka Way^o t'et^o pər'is'eq^o-m pod'erŋa, ηǣdaley^o-q.
 big W. 4 very.black-ACC harness start.travel-REFL.3SG
 The older Waya harnessed four very black reindeer and took off.

Нюдя Ваяр мякана хаи, ханода хуняна
N'ud'a Wayə-r^o m'a-k^ona xayī, xənoda xūn'ana
 little W.-2SG tent-LOC stay sledge.PL.ACC.PL.3SG tomorrow
 ямдаванчъ хамидамбады, сода паклембады.
yamta-wənc^o xamadamp^o-daki^o, soda pək^ol'empə-daki^o.
 move.on-PUPR prepare-PROB.IMPF harness.PL.ACC.3SG put.on-PROB

The younger Waya stayed at home, he prepared the sledges for travelling on the following day and prepared the harnesses.

Яла' ямбан' нгарка Ваянт сынгрёда юнгу.
Yal'a-h yampə-n^oh ŋarka Wayə-nt^o sinḡr'o-da yəηku.
 day-GEN long-DAT big W.-GEN.2SG news-3SG no
 All day long there were no news of older Waya.

Хуркан' нумта пэвсюмя, нгарка Вай юнгу.
Xurka-n^oh num-ta pəw^os'um'a, ŋarka Way^o yəηku.
 how-DAT sky-3SG evening big W. no
 Evening came but still no older Waya.

Нграмгеда хадкей”?

Nəmke-da xəd°ke=y°q?

what-3SG happen-FOC

What on earth happened to him?

Нгани’ яля то, нумта ялэма.

Nan’i yal’a to°, num-ta yalema.

other day come sky-3SG get.bright

The next day came, it got light.

Нгарка Вай тамна юнгу.

Narka Way° təmna yəŋku.

big W. still no

Still no older Waya.

Пухучада манма: - Нграпей”, вэсакоми тован’

Puxuc’a-da ma-s’ey° “Nar’ey°q, wə̌sako-m’i to-wa-n°h

old.woman-3SG say-PAST.FOC INTJ old.man-1SG come-IMP.F.AN-DAT

ни харва”, маси” нгока илебчам’ хадавакы.

n’i xərwa-q, mas’iq ŋoka yil’ebc’ə-m xada-weki°.

NEG want-CONN. DP many wild.reindeer-ACC kill-PROB.PAST

His wife said: “Hey, my husband isn’t coming back, maybe he’s killed many wild reindeer.

Ёходакы?

Yoxo-daki°?

get.lost-PROB.IMP.F.3SG

Or got lost?

Падар хань”, пюлсур.

Pidər° xan°-q, p’ū-l°-yi-r°.”

you go-IMP.2SG search-INCH-SUBJ-2SG > SG.OBJ

You go, you have to start searching for him.”

Нюдя Вай ма: - Пюванчъ хэб” нани нгод” чедав’

N’ud’a Way° ma: “P’ū-wə̌nc° xə̌-b°qna-n’i ŋod°q t’edaxəw°h

little W. say search-PUPR go-COND.EMPH-1SG too now.AFF

мьял хавра”!

m’aq-l° xaqw°ra°-q!

tent-2SG bundle-IMP.2SG

The younger Waya said: “If I am to go to start searching for him, you pull down the tent.

Мюдми’ подерками’.

M’ūd°-m’ih pod’er-kə-m’ih.

caravan-ACC.1DU harness-HORT-1DU > SG.OBJ

And let’s harness a reindeer caravan.

Сеней неда' мюмня пырдарй' ямдад".
S'en'ey° n'eda-h m'umn'a pir°dər'ih yamta-d°q.
 before.ADJ old.road-GEN through.inside backwards.LIM move.on-IMP.REFL.2SG
 You travel back over the old road.

Мань нгани нями пюванчъ хантадм'.
Mən° ŋan'ih n'a-m'i p'ū-wənc° xan°-təə-d°m.
 I more companion-ACC.1SG search-PUPR go-FUT-1SG
 And I will go and search for my brother."

Нюдя Вай нябанта мюдм' подернгада.
N'ud'a Way° n'aba-nta m'ūd°-m pod'erŋa-da.
 little W. elder.brother's.wife-GEN.3SG caravan-ACC harness-3SG > SG.OBJ
 The younger Waya harnessed his sister-in-law's caravan.

Мята хавра, ханода хура.
M'a-ta xaqw°ra°, xənoda xura°.
 tent-ACC.3SG bundle sledge-ACC.PL.3SG tie
 She took down the tent and prepared the sledges.

Нябада пырдарй' ямдэй".
N'aba-da pir°dər'ih yamtey°-q.
 elder.brother's.wife-3SG backwards.LIM move.on-REFL.3SG
 His sister-in-law went back.

Нгани ханда си" нгахат мэтада
ŋan'i xən°-da s'i-q ŋaxət° me-ta-da
 other sledge-3SG harnessed.reindeer-PL from.before use-IMP.F.PART-3SG
 нгэдакы", сидя нямд пай.
ŋə-daki°-q, s'id'a n'amt° pay°.
 be-PROB.IMP.F-3PL 2 horn crooked

Younger Waya had been using harnessed reindeer for his sledge for a long time,
 the ones that have two crooked horns.

Чикаюда подернга.
T'ika-xəyu-da pod'erŋa.
 this-ACC.DU-3SG harness
 He harnessed then.

Нграмдюрта нгыл', хан' вэня' хэвувна
Naro-nta ŋil°h xən°-h wə n'a-ŋi° xəwuw°na
 skin.for.sitting-GEN.3SG to.under sledge-GEN right at-ADJ side.PROL
 сидя еся нгын пакле.
s'id'a yes'a ŋin° pək°l'e°.
 2 iron bow-ACC.PL put

He put two iron bows under the skin used for sitting on the sledge, on the right hand side.

Нюдя Бай нянта хэ”мя’ мюмня хая.
N’ud’a Way° n’a-nta xə-qm’a-h m’umn’a xəya.
 little W. companion-GEN.3SG go-PERF.AN-GEN through.inside go
 Then the younger Waya went back over his brother’s tracks.

Нгэдалёвада сававна нгади.
Ŋədal’o-wa-da səwa-w°na ŋəd’i.
 travel-IMPF.AN-3SG good-PROL visible
 His tracks could be seen very well.

Хуркари илебча хадабасътавы, яхасътавы, тамна
Xurka-r’i yil’ebc’əye xada-bə-s°tə-wi°, yax°-s’ət°-wi°, təmna
 which-LIM wild.reindeer.PL.ACC kill-IMPF-HAB-INFR skin-HAB-INFR still
 нерня’ хэсьтавы.
n’er°n’ah xə-s°tə-wi°.
 forth go-HAB-INFR

It seemed the elder brother had been killing and skinning all sorts of wild reindeer, and then moving on even further.

Нгамгэ’ ёльчанггана нерняна нгоб” яхаку нгадимя.
Ŋəmkə-h yolc°ŋkəna n’er°n’ana ŋob yəxa-ko ŋəd’i-m’a.
 what-GEN during before one river-DIM visible-INCH
 After a while, a river appeared in front of younger Waya.

Нюдя Ваяр тяханя’ тэвы”.
N’ud’a Wayə-r° t’ax° n’ah təwi°-q.
 little W.-2SG back to arrive-REFL.3SG
 He reached the other side of the river.

Ов, такэми нгамгэ?
Ow°, takem’i ŋəmkə?
 INTJ that.1SG what
 “Oh, what’s that?”

Тад манэнгада: нгарка Бай хабэйнгэ лясы ханта
Təd° тəneŋga-da, ŋarka Way° xabey°-ŋe° l’asi° xən°-ta
 then see-3SG > SG.OBJ big W. dead-ESS lie.on.back sledge-GEN.3SG
 ниня.
n’in’a.
 on

Then he saw the older Waya lying dead on his back on top of his sledge.

Нгэвада мынггхана ядаравы.
Ŋəwa-da muŋk°xəna yədara-wi°.
 head-3SG arrow-LOC pierce-INFR
 His head was pierced by an arrow.

Нюдя Вай ихинянта ма: “Ов, некаеми мале
N'ud'a Way° yī-x°nanta ma: “Ow°, n'e°ka-ye-m'i māl'e°
 little W. mind-LOC.3SG say INTJ elder.brother-PEJ-1SG already

хадаравы”.

xada-ra-wi°-q.

kill-PASS-INFR-3SG

The younger Waya thought: “Oh, my poor older brother has been murdered.

Хумбачи” сябумта черсядангэ пэрмэда,
Xumpa°nc'ih s'abu-mta t'er°s'ə-da-ŋe° pæ°r-meda,
 in.vain cargo.sledge-ACC.3SG empty-IMPf.PART-ESS treat-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ

тамна сян илебчам' хадаван' харкавакы.
təmna s'an° yil'ebc'ə-m xada-wa-n°h xərwa-waki°.
 still some wild.reindeer-ACC kill-IMPf.AN-DAT want-PROB.PAST

What a shame he thought his cargo sledge was so empty, it seems like he just wanted to kill more wild reindeer.

Хаваримта ховэда”.
Ha-wa-r'i-mta xo-weda.”
 die-IMPf.AN-LIM-ACC.3SG find-INFR.3SG > SG.OBJ
 But he only found death.”

Нюдя Ваяр нерня' нгэдалэй” неро
N'ud'a Wayə-r° n'er°n'ah ŋædaley°-q n'ero
 little W.-2SG forth start.travelling-REFL.3SG willow.bush

яхаку' варувна.
yəxa-ko-h waruwəna.
 river-DIM-GEN bank.PROL

Younger Waya went further along the bank of the river where willow bushes grew.

Яхаку' няавхана сидя сырасавэй лангг таниявы.
Yəxa-ko-h n'aqwo-xəna s'id'a sira-sawey° ləŋk° tən'a-wex°h.
 river-DIM-GEN river's.entry-LOC 2 snow-PROPR steep.hill exist-INFR.3DU
 At the rivermouth there were two steep hills covered with snow.

Тэвмахаданта манэнгада: сидя сяд падвы
Təw°-qma-xəd°nta mənəqŋa-da, s'id'a s'aq pad°-wi°
 arrive-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG see-3SG > SG.OBJ 2 face paint-PERF.PART
 ядермэхэ'.
yad'er-mex°h.
 walk-INFR.3DU

When he arrived, he saw two Tunguses (lit.: two with painted faces) walking.

Екар", хаманчъ ядермы нгэб"нанчи", маси"
Yekar^oq, хэqтан-с^o yad'er-mi^o ηḗ-b^oqna-nt'ih, mäs'iq
 DP how.say-MOD walk-PERF.PART be-COND.EMPH-3DU DP

ханевакэхэ'?

xan'e-wakex^oh?

hunt-PROB.PAST.3DU

It wasn't clear why they were walking; maybe they were hunting?

Тадхав' сидя сяд падвы нюдя Ваям' манэчъ
Täd^oxəw^oh s'id'a s'aq pad^o-wi^o n'ud'a Way^o-m mäne-c^o
 then.AFF 2 face paint-PERF.PART little W.-ACC see-MOD

нгынчи' нярхалади'.

ηin^o-t'ih n'ar^oxəlaŋa-x^oh.

bow-DU.ACC.3DU make.ready-3DU

As soon as the two Tunguses saw the younger Waya, they readied their bows.

Нюдя Бай чикавахана нгамгэн' нгаченанггу?

N'ud'a Way^o t'ikawaxəna ηəmke-n^oh ηət'enə-ηku?

little W. here.AFF what-DAT wait-FUT

What was younger Waya to do then?

Нгынамта нгобчики нэкалнгада, сидя еся мынгтм' нэкалнга.
Ŋin^o-mta ηobt'iki^o nek^olŋa-da, s'id'a yes'a muŋk^o-m nek^olŋa.
 bow-ACC.3SG also pull.out-3SG > SG.OBJ 2 iron arrow-ACC pull.out
 He also pulled out his bow and two iron arrows.

Сидя еся мынгт малди' халэв нялха.
S'id'a yes'a muŋk^o mal^o-d'ih xələw^o-h piya-rəxa-x^oh.
 2 iron arrow end-PL.GEN.3DU seagull-GEN nose-SIM-3DU
 The ends of the two iron arrows were like seagull's beaks.

Сидя мынгтм' нгэдтангаюда.
S'id'a muŋk^o-m ηḗd^otəŋa-xəyu-da.
 2 arrow-ACC send-DU.OBJ-3SG
 He shot two arrows.

Сюдсавэй хаяха'.
S'ud^o-sawey^o xəya-x^oh.
 whistle-PROPR go-3DU
 They went whistling.

Сяд падвэхэ' ханя' хантнгаха'?
S'aq pad^o-wex^oh xən'ah xan^otəŋa-x^oh?
 face paint-PERF.PART.DU to.where go.FUT-3DU
 Where could the Tunguses go?

Хась лясэйха'.
Ha-s'° l'aseyә-x'°h.
 die-MOD fall.on.back-REFL.3DU
 The fell on their backs dead.

Нюдя Ваяр тяха' нгэдалэй".
N'ud'a Wayә-r'° t'ax'°h ηædaley'°-q.
 little W.-2SG backwards start.travelling-REFL.3SG
 The younger Waya went back.

Сянат хунат мимбата нгод" пэдара' ёркан' тэвы".
S'anәd'°h xunәd'°h m'im-pә-ta ηod'°q pedara-h yorka-n'°h tæwi'°-q.
 how.much how.far walk-COND-3SG too forest-GEN curve-DAT arrive-REFL.3SG
 After travelling for a while, he arrived in a sloping land surrounded by a forest.

Пэдара' ёркахана ю" нгарка мя".
Pedara-h york'°-xәna yūq ηarka m'aq.
 forest-GEN curve-LOC 10 big tent
 There were ten big tents in that sloping forested land.

Ерѣи мяд' сингганя нгоб" нгамчѣда.
Yer-ki'° m'ad'°-h s'īη-k'°n'a ηob ηamt'o-da.
 middle-ADJ tent-GEN side.against.entrance-LOC one sit-IMPF.PART
 Somebody was sitting in front of the entrance of the middle tent.

Сяд падвы ерв нгдакы, сята малнгэ падарцавэй.
S'aq pad'°-wi'° yerw'° ηæ-daki'°, s'a-ta mal'°h pad'°r-cawey'°.
 face paint-PERF.PART master be-PROB face-3SG all stripe-PROPR
 It seemed to be the Tungus chief; his whole face was covered with tattoos.

Нюдя Ваяр сырчъ ихинянта ма: "Чедахав' хачер' мэсь сава?
N'ud'a Wayә-r'° siәr-c'° yī-x'°n'anta ma "T'edaxәwah хәс'er'°q me-s'° sәwa?
 little W.-2SG look-MOD mind-LOC.3SG say now.AFF how be-MOD good
 Younger Waya looked and thought: "What would be best to do now?

Сяд падвы ервм' нгынхана пяб"нани
S'aq pad'°-wi'° yerw'°-m ηin'°-xәna p'a-b'°qna-n'i
 face paint-PERF.PART master-ACC bow-LOC start-COND.EMPH-1SG
 пирдаленггув?"
p'ir'°dәql'e-ηku-w'°?"
 defeat-FUT-1SG > SG.OBJ

If I start using my bow against the Tungus chief, will I defeat him?"

Тад нгынамта няхалада.
Təd° ηin°-mta n'ar°xəla°-da.
 then bow-ACC.3SG make.ready-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Then he prepared his bow.

Мынггда матпой.
Muŋk°-da mət°-poɣ°.
 arrow-3SG 6-MODER
 He only had six arrows.

Нгоб" мынггхана сяд падвы ерв хадабада ни нга".
Ŋob muŋk°-xəna s'aq pad°-wi° yerw° xada-bə-da n'ī ŋaq.
 one arrow-LOC face paint-PERF.PART master kill-IMPf-IMPf.PART NEG be.CONNEG
 The Tungus chief couldn't be killed with a single arrow.

Мат" мынггхана енерпата маси" хадабсуда.
Mət°q muŋk°-xəna yen'er-pə-ta məs'iq xada-bcu-da.
 6 arrow-LOC shoot-COND-3SG DP kill-NEC-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Maybe he could kill him if he shot all six arrows.

Чедахав нюдя Вай тыда сярэ, тад нгынамта, мынггда
T'edaxəw°h n'ud'a Way° tida s'arə°, təd° ηin°-mta muŋk°-da
 now.AFF little W. reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG tie then bow-ACC.3SG arrow-3SG
 нгобкана нямыда, мядо" ня' лыннгара хая.
ŋobk°na n'aqm°-wida, m'adoq n'ah liŋkara-° xəya.
 also grab-INFR.3SG > PL.OBJ tent.PL.GEN to hide-MOD go
 Younger Waya tied up his reindeer, took his bow and arrows and went and hid
 amongst the tents.

Нгули" янамбоковна минга, сесарёмтв
Ŋul'iq yana-mpo-ko-w°na m'ŋa, siŋk°r'o-mta
 very quiet-MODER-DIM-PROL move noise-ACC.2SG
 ниичь намд".
n'ī-yi-c° nəmt°-q.
 NEG-SUBJ-PAST.3PL hear-CONNEG

He moved very quietly so that nobody could hear any noise.

Та' ёльчанггана сяд падвы ерв хан' ниня
Tə-h yolc°ŋkəna s'aq pad°-wi° yerw° xən°-h n'in'a
 this-GEN during face paint-PERF.PART master sledge-GEN on
 нгамты, яндавна сысумби.
ŋamti°, yan°da-qm°na si°sump'i.
 sit every.direction-PL.PROL look.around

The Tungus chief sat up on his sledge and looked around.

Нграмгэрт манэтада юнггорха.
N̄gm̄kexərt° m̄əne-ta-da yəŋko-dar°xa.
 nothing see-IMPF.PART-3SG no-IMPF.APRX
 He didn't seem to notice anything.

Тад сокамта екада, мят' тю.
Təd° so°kə-mta yeka°-da, m'at°-h t'u°.
 then overcoat-ACC.3SG take.off-3SG > SG.OBJ tent-DAT enter
 Then he took off his overcoat and went inside the tent.

Пихиня адертаду' нгули" юнггу, нгобкарт вэнеку, нгавэй
P'ix°n'a yad'er-ta-doh ŋul'iq yəŋku, ŋob-kərt° wen'ako ŋawey°
 outside walk-IMPF.PART-3PL very no one-FOC dog even
 нгачекеы ядэрчъ.
ŋəc'eki° yad'er-c°.
 child walk-MOD

There was absolutely no one walking around outside; not a dog, not even a child.

Нюдя Ваяр хано" помна лынггара ерѣи мят'
N'ud'a Wayə-r° хənoq pom°na liŋkar'o-° yer-ki° m'at°-h
 little W.-2SG sledge.PL.GEN between hide-MOD middle-ADJ tent-DAT
 тэвы'.
təwi°-q.
 arrive-REFL.3SG

Younger Waya reached the middle tent, he hid amongst the sledges.

Чёрей": - Сяд парвы нрвэ", мяканант хась
T'or'ey°-q "S'aq pad°-wi° yerweq, m'a-k°nant° xa-s°
 shout-REFL.3SG face paint-PERF.PART master.FOC tent-LOC.2SG die-MOD
 пянггур, пин' тарпнггун?
p'a-ŋku-r°, p'in°h tərp°-ŋku-n°?"
 start-FUT-2SG > SG.OBJ out exit-FUT-2SG

He shouted: "Tungus chief, will you die in your tent or will you come out?"

Мяд' мюня чёр совононта: - Хибя то?
M'ad°-h m'un'a t'or° so-wono-nta: "Xib'a to°?"
 tent-GEN inside shouting heard-AUD-3SG who come
 He heard shouting inside the tent: "Who's there?"

Нет' пихиня хибярт юнггусь!
N'er°q p'ix°na xib'axərt° yəŋku-s'°!"
 before outside nobody no-PAST
 There was nobody outside before!"

- Хибя тута?

Xīb'a tūtə°?

who come.FUT

“Who’s there?

Нюдя Ваяр то!

N'ud'a Wayə-r° to°.

little W.-2SG come

Younger Waya is there!

Неками

Хадавахана

падар, сяд падвы

N'e°ka-m'i

xada-wa-xəna

pidər°, s'aq pad°-wi°

elder.brother-ACC.2SG kill-IMP.F.AN-LOC you face paint-PERF.PART

нрвнгэ, нграмгэрханась.

yerw°-je°, ɣəmke-r°xa-nə-s°.

master-ESS what-SIM-2SG-PAST

What were you doing, Tungus chief, when you killed my older brother?

Чедав'

манэт"

нявам"

хуркан

T'edaxəw°h mənə-t°-q

n'i-wə=m°h

xurka-n°

now.AFF see-FUT-CONNEG NEG-1SG > SG.OBJ-DUB what.kind-2SG

нгэнггобат.

ɣə-ɣko-bə-t°."

be-FUT-COND-2SG

Now I'll find out what kind of person you are."

Сяд падвы

пин' тарада.

S'aq pad°-wi°

p'in°h tərə°-da.

face paint-PERF.PART out jump-3SG > SG.OBJ

The Tungus jumped out.

Сюдобя нгынамта

нэкалнгада

енерманда

еэмна.

S'udob'a ɣin°-mta

nek°lɣa-da

yen'er-ma-n-ta

yeqm°n'a.

giant bow-ACC.3SG pull.out-3SG > SG.OBJ shoot-IMP.F.AN-GEN-3SG for

He pulled out his giant bow to shoot.

Мале

нгоб"

мынгм

нгэдтанггусь,

нгынта

ен

ныклы.

Məl'e° ɣob

munj°-m

ɣədara-ɣku-s°,

ɣin°ta

yen°

nik°li.

already one arrow-ACC send-FUT-PAST bow.GEN.3SG string break

He was about to loose an arrow, but the string of his bow broke.

Та'

ёльчанггана

нюдя

Ваяр

нись

ламгарю"

еся

Tə-h

yolc°ɣkəna

n'ud'a

Wayə-r° n'i-s°

yaholara-q

yes'a

this-GEN during

little

W.-2SG

NEG-PAST

late-CONNEG

metal

мынггахана ядада.

muŋk^o-xəna yada^o-da.

arrow-LOC shoot-3SG > SG.OBJ

Younger Waya shot a metal arrow without delay.

Мынггда нгани' сюдсавэй хая.

Muŋk^o-da ŋan'ih s'ud^o-sawey^o xəya.

arrow-3SG more whistle-PROPR go

And his arrow went whistling off.

Сяд падвы ервъя тари лясэй" м аханта ни'.

S'aq pad^o-wi^o yerw^oq-ya tər'i l'asey^o-q məxa-nta n'ih.

face paint-PERF.PART master-AUG just fall.back-REFL.3SG back-GEN.3SG onto

The Tungus chief fell on his back.

Хаванта нерня ма: - Хумбачи" сит

Ha-wa-nta n'er^on'a ma: "Xumpa^onc'iq s'it^o

die-INF.IMPV-GEN.3SG before say in.vain you.ACC

нгэдаарадамчъ.

ŋəɖara-dəm-c^o.

send-1SG-PAST

He said before dying: "A shame I let you go.

Некант хадавани мальнггана сит

N'e^oka-m^o xada-wa-n'i mal^oŋkəna s'it^o

elder.brother-ACC.2SG kill-IMPV-AN-GEN.1SG during you.ACC

нгобтарем' хада тарась.

ŋobtər'em xada-^o taraə-s^o.

so kill-MOD need-PAST

I should have killed you too, when I killed your elder brother.

Чедахав' хавнтархадм'.

T'edaxəw^oh xa-w^ontar^oxa-d^om.

now.AFF die-FUT.APRX-1SG

It looks like I'm about to die."

Чи́кы вади́да мэсомаданта сяд падвы ерв ха.

T'iki^o wad'ida me-soma-x^odənta s'aq pad^o-wi^o yerw^o xa^o.

this word.PL.ACC.3SG use-PERF-AN-ABL.3SG face paint-PERF.PART master die

Having said these words, the Tungus chief died.

Ню́дя Вай чё́р нгэ́дара: - Ю" мя́д' че́р",

N'ud'a Way^o t'or^o-m ŋəɖara^o: "Yūq m'ad^o-h t'er^o-q,

little W. shout-ACC send 10 tent-GEN content-PL

пин' тарпыда"!
p'in^oh tərpi^o-daq!
 out exit-IMP.2PL

The younger Waya shouted: "Everyone in these ten tents, come out!

Чедахав' ервра" мале юнггума.
T'edaxəwah yerw^o-raq māl'e^o yəŋkuma.
 now.AFF master-2PL already no.INCH
 Your chief is no more.

Тюку яхад мер' ямдаида"!
T'uku^o ya-xəd^o m'er^o-h yamta-yi-daq!
 this place-ABL fast-GEN move.on-CONJ-REFL.2SG
 Move away from this land, quickly!

Тюку я нгахат вай я нгахат вай я нгэдакы.
T'uku^o ya ŋaxət^o way^o ya ŋæ-daki^o.
 this place from.before W. place be-PROB
 This is probably the Wayas' ancient land.

Нябта" ямда" мал' нгысы' чер хаданггун.
N'i-b^o-ta yamta-q mal^oh ŋisi-h t'er^o xada-ŋku-n^o."
 NEG-COND-3SG move.on-CONNEX all camp-GEN content die-FUT-2SG
 If you don't leave, everybody in the camp will die."

Тадхав' нюдя Вай вары мят' хая.
Təd^oxəw^oh n'ud'a Way^o wari^o m'at^o-h xəya.
 now.AFF little W. outermost tent-DAT go
 Then the younger Waya went to the outermost tent.

Вары мякана пухучаку мя, сята падарчи.
Wari^o m'a-k^ona puxuc'a-ko=n'uq, s'a-ta pad^or-c'i.
 outermost tent-LOC old.woman-DIM-EXCL face-3SG ornament-V
 There was an old woman in this outermost tent whose face was unadorned with tattoos.

Едм пиревы.
Yed^o-m p'ir'e-wi^o.
 kettle-ACC cook-INFR
 She seemed to be cooking.

Вавхана нгоб" хонёда юсида, илхы хасава
Waqw^o-xəna ŋob xon'o-da yūs'idaə-s^o, yil^oŋi^o xasawa.
 bed-LOC one sleep-IMP.F.PART lie-PAST young man
 нгэрханю".
ŋæ-dar^oxa=n'uq
 be-IMP.F.APRX-EXCL

Somebody was lying on the bed, it seemed like a young man.

Нюдя Вай мят' тюмахад пухучакор хонёдамта
N'ud'a Way° t'u-ma-xəd° puxuc'a-ko-r° xon'o-da-mta
 little W. enter-PERF.AN-ABL old.woman-DIM-2SG sleep-IMPF.PART-ACC.3SG

юркабта пядя: - Юркад", ехэрана
yurk°bta-° p'a°-da: "Yurkə-d°q, yexara-na
 wake.up-MOD start-3SG > SG.OBJ wake.up-IMP.REFL.2SG ignore-IMPF.PART

ненэчъ' то!
n'enec'°h to°!
 person come

When the younger Waya entered the tent, the old woman started waking up man who was asleep: "Wake up, there's a stranger here!"

Хонювы хасавар нгамчё хамы".
Xon'o-wi° xasawa-r° ŋamt'o-° xaqmi°-q.
 sleep-PERF.PART man-2SG sit-MOD fall-REFL.3SG
 The man who had been sleeping sat up.

Сяд падвы нгобтарем' нявы нга".
S'aq pad°-wi° ŋobtər'em n'i-wi° ŋaq.
 face paint-PERF.PART so not-INFR be.CONNEG
 He didn't seem to have any tattoos either.

Нюдя Ваяр ваван' нгамты".
N'ud'a Wayə-r° waqwə-n°h ŋamti°-q.
 little W.-2SG bed-DAT sit-REFL.3SG
 Younger Waya sat on the bed.

Илхы хасавар ма: - Нгамгэ ненэчант?
Yil°ŋi° xasawa-r° ma: "Ŋəmke n'enec'ant°?"
 young man-2SG say what person.2SG
 The young man said: "What tribe are you?"

- Мань нюдя Ваядм' нгэ" нидам".
"Mən° n'ud'a Wayə-d°m ŋə-d°q n'i-dəm°q.
 I little W.-1SG be-CONNEG NEG-1SG.FOC
 "I am younger Waya.

Падар нгани нгамгэ неннэчант?
Pidar° ŋan'ih ŋəmke n'enec'ant°?"
 you more what person.2SG
 And who are you?"

- Чехэ панггами вай нгэдякы.
"T'exə paŋk°-m'i Way° ŋə-daki°.
 that tribe-1SG W. be-PROB
 "My old tribe was probably Waya.

Нюми Лобеку.
N'u-m'i Lobeku.
 name-1SG L.
 My name is Lobeku."

- Бай нгэб"нант хачер' Еремян тюку нгысын',
"Wayo ŋæ-b°qna-nt° хэс'er°q yer'em'a-n° t'uku° ŋisi-n°h,
 W. be-COND.EMPH-2SG how happen-2SG this camp-DAT
 сяд падвы' нгысын?
s'aq pad°-wi°-h ŋisi-n°h?"
 face paint-PERF.PART-GEN camp-DAT
 "If you are Waya, how did you end up in this camp, the Tungus camp?"

- Нгавнанта сидя Бай неками танявась.
"Ŋaw°na-nta s'id'a Wayo n'e°ka-m'i tən'a-wes°.
 long.ago-3SG 2 W. elder.brother-1SG exist-INFR.PAST
 "Long ago I had two elder brothers, both Wayas.

Илебчи" нямна ханеванчъ хаяханчъ.
Yil'ebc'äye n'am°na хан'e-wənc° хəуа-хэн-с'°.
 wild.reindeer.PL.GEN about hunt-PUPR go-3DU-PAST
 They went to hunt for wild reindeer.

Тад хэб"нанчи' пырдари' нихинчъ ту".
Тэд° хə-b°qnan-t'ih pir°dər'ih n'i-хэн-с'° tuq.
 then go-COND.EMPH-3DU back.LIM NEG-3DU-PAST come.CONNEG
 When they left, they never came back.

Ханявахана юнгтүмэхэ'.
Хэн'ах°wana үəŋku-mex°h.
 somewhere perish-INFR.3DU
 They must have died somewhere.

Тад чикахад сяд падвы ерв тось, сидни' ханась.
Тэд° t'ikaxəd° s'aq pad°-wi° yerw° to-s° s'id°-n'ih ханаə-s'°.
 then this.ABL face paint-PERF.PART master come-PAST we.DU.ACC take-PAST
 after that the Tungus chief came and took us in.

Нгадьбяни чедә' небяни ня' тюку нгусуна иледм'.
Ŋəd°b'a-n'i t'edah n'eb'a-n'i n'ah t'uku° ŋisi-x°na yil'e-d°m."
 therefore-1SG now mother-GEN.1SG with this camp-LOC live-1SG
 That's why we live in this camp now, my mother and I.

Нюдә Бай манма: - Чедахав' сяд падвыни
N'ud'a Wayo ma-q n'i=w°h: "T'edahəw°h s'aq pad°-wi°-n'i
 little W. say-CONNEG NEG-DUB now.AFF face paint-PERF.PART-PL.1SG

мал' хадэнась.

mal^oh xadeɣə-nə-s^o.

all kill.PL.OBJ-1SG-PAST

Younger Waya said: “I have killed all the Tungus now.

Падар нгани мял хаврад, ямдахава”!

Pidar^o ɲan'ih m'a-l^o xaqw^ora-d^o, yamta-x^o-waq!

you more tent-2SG take.apart-IMP.OBJ.2SG move.on-HORT-1PL

You take down your tent and let's move on.”

Пухучаку едамта нгамдакы, нянякы, тад мята хавра.

Puxuc'a-ko yed^o-mta ɲəm-taki^o, n'i-n'aki^o, təd^o m'a-ta xaqw^ora^o.

old.woman-DIM kettle-ACC.3SG eat-PROB NEG-PROB then tent-ACC.3SG take.apart

The old woman ate some food or maybe not, but she took down the tent.

Нюдя Вай табедада: - Лобэку, сава ты” табяб”

N'ud'a Way^o tab'eda^o-da: “Lobeku, səwa tīt^o tən^oa-b^oq

little W. order-3SG > SG.OBJ L. good reindeer.PL.GEN exist-COND

мюдва” савари тэхэ” на подермы нгэя.

m'ūd^o-waq səwa-r'i tex^oqna pod'er-mi^o ɲə^o-ya.

caravan-1PL good-LIM reindeer.PL.LOC harness-PERF.PART be-JUS

Younger Waya ordered: “Lobeku, if you have good reindeer, only good reindeer should be harnessed in our caravan.

Тайкуй сава хан” таян”.

Tay^okuna səwa xən^o-q tən'a^o-q.

there good sledge-PL exist-3PL

There are some good sledges over there.

Чикы ханхат хандар сода”!

T'iki^o xən^o-xət^o xən^o-dər^o soda-q!

this sledge-PL.ABL sledge-PRED-2SG take-IMP.2SG

Choose a sledge for yourself from among them.”

Лобэку ю” ханм’ сода, ю” тунггус’ ханм’.

Lobeku yūq xən^o-m soda^o, yūq tunɣos^o-h xən^o-m.

L. 10 sledge-ACC take 10 Tungus-GEN sledge-ACC

Lobeku took ten Tungus sledges.

Тыда подерьяда.

Tida pod'er-ɣə-da.

reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG harness-PL.OBJ-3SG

He harnessed the reindeer.

Нюдя Бай ма: - Сяд падвыни ты” сянгок
N'ud'a Way° ma: "S'aq pad°-win'i ti-q s'anok°
 little Waay say face paint-PERF.PART.GEN.1SG reindeer-PL how.many

нгэса, тангок мюдна” пумна танавы нгэя”.
ηæ-sa, tənok° m'ūd°-naq pūmna tana-wi° ηæ°-ya-q.
 be-INTER this.many caravan-GEN.1PL behind walk-PERF.PART be-JUS-3PL

Younger Waya said: “No matter how many reindeer the Tungus had, let them walk behind our caravan.

Сяд падвы” тыду’ нгока нгэсьты”.
S'aq pad°-wi°-q tīdoh ŋoka ηæ-s'°ti-q.
 face paint-PERF.PART.GEN.PL reindeer.PL.3PL many be-HAB-3PL
 The Tungus usually have many reindeer.

Тюку ты” малнгэ талевы нгэдакы”.
T'uku° ti-q mal°h tal'e-wi° ηæ-daki°-q.
 this reindeer-PL all steal-PERF.PART be-PROB-3PL
 But all these reindeer were probably stolen.

Нгадьбяни мадм', мал' ханаб” сава.
Ŋəd°b'a-n'i ma-d°m, mal°h xana-b°q səwa.”
 therefore-1SG say-1SG all take.away-COND good
 That's why I say that it would be best to take them all away.”

Тад ямдэйд”.
Təd° yamteyə-d°q.
 then move.on-REFL.3PL
 Then they moved on.

Нюдя Бай хадавы некаханта тэвы”.
N'ud'a Way° xada-wi° n'e°ka-xənta tæwi°-q.
 little W. kill-PERF.PART elder.brother-DAT.3SG arrive-REFL.3SG
 Younger Waya reached the place where his murdered brother lay.

Тыда нгэда, хальмерамта хан' ни' пэнгада.
Tīda ηæda°, xalm'er°-mta xən°-h n'ih peŋa-da.
 reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG unharness dead.body-ACC.3SG sledge-GEN onto put-3SG > SG.OBJ
 He unharnessed his reindeer and put the dead body on the sledge.

Тад чикахад нгэмгэ' ёльченггана нгарка Бай' нгысын' тэвыд”.
Təd° t'ika-xəd° ηəmke-h yolc°ηkəna ŋarka Way°-h ŋisi-n°h tæwiə-d°q.
 then this-ABL what-GEN during big W.-GEN camp-DAT arrive-REFL.3PL
 After a while they reached older Waya's camp.

Хальмерамту' сидя хоба' ни' пэнгаду'.
Xalm'erə-mtoh s'id'a xoba-h n'ih peŋa-doh.
 dead.body-ACC.3PL 2 skin-GEN onto put-3PL > SG.OBJ
 They put the dead body onto two skins.

Лобэку' небя манма: - Нгамчида тамна сава".
Lobeku-h n'eb'a ma: "Ŋəmc'ida təmna səwa-q.
 L.-GEN mother say flesh.PL.3SG still good-3PL
 Lobeku's mother said: "His muscles are still good.

Хадри' илебче хортанакэв.
Xəd°r'ih yil'e-bt'e-° xorta-nakew°.
 of.course.LIM live-CAUS-MOD try-PROB.1SG > SG.OBJ
 I might try and revive him.

Чедав' нгарка тура" пятада"!
T'edaxəw°h ŋarka tu-d°-mdaq p'ata°-daq!"
 now.AFF big fire-PRED-2PL ignite-IMP.2PL
 Make a big fire now!"

Нгарка тумту' пята".
Ŋarka tu-mtoh p'ata°-q.
 big fire-ACC.3PL ignite-3PL
 They made a big fire.

Чикавахана Лобэку' Небя хальмерта ни' пындерий",
T'ikawaxəna Lobeku-h n'eb'a xalm'er-nta n'ih pint'ery°-q,
 this.AFF L.-GEN mother dead.body-GEN.3SG onto lay.down-REFL.3SG
 тад хэвхэда нямна сухубтада.
təd° xəw°xe-ta n'amna suxubta°-da.
 then being.aside-3SG about kick-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Then mother Lobeku lay on the dead body and kicked its flanks.

Хавы ненэч' нхудида, нгэда
Ha-wi° n'enec°h ŋud'ida ŋə-da
 die-PERF.PART person arm.PL.ACC.3SG leg.PL.ACC.3SG
 мансабтэйда, сэвда нянггарнга.
məncabte-y°-da səw°da n'aŋk°ŋa.
 move-PL.OBJ-3SG eye.PL.ACC.3SG open
 The dead man moved his arms and legs and opened his eyes.

Лобэку' небя ма: - Тамнарка.
Lobeku-h n'eb'a ma: "Təmna-rka.
 L.-GEN mother say still-COMP
 Lobeku's mother said: "It's not over yet.

Нгарка ту' ядѣхана юсида.
Ŋarka tu-h yad'o-xəna yūs'ida°-ya.
 big fire-GEN heat-LOC lie-JUS
 Let him lie in the heat of the big fire.

Пуна харта нгамчѣ хамсу".
Pūna xə°-ta ŋamt'o-° xaqm°-cu-q."
 after REFL-3SG sit-MOD fall-NEC-REFL.3SG
 Later he will sit up himself."

Нгамгѣ' ёльчангана нгарка Вай нгамчѣ хамы".
Ŋəmkə-h yolc°ŋkəna ŋarka Way° ŋamt'o-° xaqm'i-q.
 what-GEN during big W. sit-MOD fall-REFL.3SG
 After a while older Waya sat up.

Илена ненэч' толхангэ хая.
Yil'e-na n'enec°h toql°xa-ŋe° xəya.
 live-IMPF.PART person-GEN like-ESS go
 He came back to life.

Лобэку' неба ма: - Нгарка Ваями илебчевась.
Lobeku-h n'eb'a ma: "Ŋarka Way°-m'i yil'e-bt'e°-wə-s°.
 L.-GEN mother say big W.-ACC.1SG live-CAUS-1SG > SG.OBJ-PAST
 Lobeku's mother said: "I have brought older Waya back to life.

Нготанго" харни понку' илевндадм' вунидм' нга".
Ŋotaŋoq xə°q-n° pon°ku-h yil'e-wənta-d°m wun'i-d°m ŋaq.
 anyway REFL-1SG long-DAT live-FUT.PART-1SG NEG.EMPH-1SG be.CONNEG
 But in any case I myself won't live long.

Хадри' хавнтархадм'.
Xəd°r'ih xa-w°ntar°xa-d°m.
 of.course.LIM-DAT die-FUT.APRX-1SG
 I will probably die.

Хаб"нани тайкуй мями мярондани
Xa-b°qna-n'i tay°ku-y m'aq-m'i m'aron-tə-n'i
 die-COND.EMPH-1SG that tent-ACC.1SG dying.tent-PRED-GEN.1SG
 мэцакэв.
me-bcakew°.
 use-POT.1SG > SG.OBJ
 When I die, that tent over there will be used as my death bed.

Мань ха"махадни мяни нёхона нгоб" суляком'
Mən° ха-qma-xəd°n'i m'aq-n'i n'o-x°na ɲob su°ql'a-ko-m
 I die-PERF.AN-ABL.1SG tent-GEN.1SG door-LOC one calf-DIM-ACC

хадаида", си' няна нгоб" хорам' хадаида".
xada-yi-daɣ, s'i°-h n'ana ɲob xora-m xada-yi-daɣ.
 kill-SUBJ-2PL side.against.entrance-GEN at one bull-ACC kill-SUBJ-2PL
 After I die, kill a reindeer calf by the door of my tent and kill a reindeer bull at the side on entrance.

Чиканта мась нгэнггу.
T'ika-nta mas° ɲæ-ɲku.
 this-GEN.3SG enough be-FUT
 That will be enough.

Мань нгани яминя пухучангэ хатадм'.
Mən° ɲan'ih yam'in'a puxuc'a-ɲe° xan°tə-d°m."
 I more female.spirit old.woman-ESS go.FUT-1SG
 I will become a spirit protector for women."

Чи, тарем' сертаду'.
T'i tər'em s'erta°-doh.
 then so do-3PL > SG.OBJ
 That's what they did.

Тарем' сертамахаданту' нгарка Вай ма: - Харди' ямданггуна".
Tər'em s'erta-ma-x°dəntoh ɲarka Way° ma: "Xəd°r'ih yamta-ɲku-naɣ.
 so do-PERF.AN-ABL.3PL big W. say of.course.LIM move.on-FUT-REFL.1PL
 After that, older Waya said: "We'll definitely move on.

Чедав' тына" нгоканю", несяй ян' ямдаб" сава.
T'edaxəw°h tinaɣ ɲoka=n'uɣ, n'esey° ya-n°h yamta-b°q səwa.
 now.AFF reindeer.PL.1PL many=CL new place-DAT move.on-COND good
 We have many reindeer now, it would be best to move on."

Тад ямдэйд".
Təd° yamteyə-d°q.
 then move.on-REFL.3PL
 So they moved on.

Нгарка лабта' ерня мяту' мяра'.
ɲarka ləbta-h yer-n'a m'a-toh m'arə°-q.
 big plain-GEN middle-LOC tent-ACC.3PL build-3PL
 They put up their tents in the middle of a big plain.

Сидя Вай нгани' ханеванчъ хэсетыни', Лобэку нгобтарем'.
S'id'a Way° ŋan'ih xan'e-wənc° xə-s'oti-x°h, Lobeku ŋobtar'em.
 2 W. more hunt-PUPR go-HAB-3DU L. so
 Both Wayas were hunting again and Lobeku too.

Ёрпату' ёрчеты".
Yo°r-pə-toh yo°r-c'əti°-q.
 fish-COND-3PL fish-HAB-3PL
 They went fishing as well.

Вэнуй нувода паяйда.
Wəqnuu° nuwoda p'ay°-da.
 spring sky.PL.ACC.3SG start-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Spring came.

Нгаву" пиркана Лобэку хасава сидя Вайхаюта ня ма:
Ŋəwoq p'ir°-kəqna Lobeku xasawa s'id'a Way°-xəyu-ta n'ah ma:
 once likeliness-PL.LOC L. man 2 W.-DU-GEN.3SG to say
 - Юдэми тая.
"Yude-m'i tən'a°.
 dream-1SG exist

One day, Lobeku said to the two Wayas: "I had a dream.

Юдэрпанни сеней сяд падвым' хада"махад
Yuder-pəqna-n'i s'eneu° s'aq pad°-wi°-m xada-qma-xəd°
 dream-COND.EMPH-1SG old face paint-PERF.PART-ACC kill-PERF.AN-ABL
 тальян' нгэдалёда минга, миндяха.
təql°n'ah ŋədəl'o-da m'inja, m'in-tar°xa.
 to.here travel-IMPF.PART walk walk-IMPF.APRX

In my dream a traveller came here from the place where that Tungus was killed.

Сеней хадавы сяд падвы ерв иленарха,
S'eneu° xada-wi° s'aq pad°-wi° yerw° yil'e-nar°xa,
 old kill-PERF.PART face paint-PERF.PART master live-IMPF.APRX
 тальян миндяха, торха.
təql°n'ah m'in-tar°xa, to-nar°xa.
 to.here walk-IMPF.APRX come-IMPF.APRX

It seems that that murdered Tungus chief is alive and is coming here.

Няхавы ха".
N'i-r°xawi° xa-q.
 NEG-REP die-CONNEG
 It seems he didn't die."

Сяньри яла хэнякы.

S'an°-r'i yal'a xə-naki°.

some-LIM day go-PROB

A few days passed.

Нгвмгэ' ёльчанггана чи нгэ" нив", нгоб" нэдалёда

Ŋəmke-h yolc°ŋkəna t'i ŋə-q n'i=w°q ŋob ŋədal'o-da

what-GEN during then be-CONN NEG-DUB one travel-IMPF.PART

ненэсяри нго" нгадимя.

n'enes'a-r'i ŋoq ŋəd'i-m'a.

truth-LIM too visible-INCH

After a while a traveller did indeed appear.

Сиив хабтаркам' мэнга.

S'iqw° xabt°rka-m meŋŋa.

seven reindeer.doe-ACC use

He came riding seven reindeer does.

Нгарка Вай Лобэку хасаван' ма: - Юдэна манэмэр чии?

Ŋarka Way° Lobeku xasawa-n°h ma: "Yude-na mənəq-me-r° t'i?"

big W. L. man-DAT say.3SG dream-LOC see-PERF.PART-2SG this

Older Waya said to Lobeku: "Is this the one you dreamt about?"

Нгаа, чикар нгэрханю".

"Ŋa°q, t'ika-r° ŋə-dar°xa=n'uq.

yes this-2SG be-IMPF.APRX=CL

"Yes, it seems to be him.

Сиеками юнгу.

S'iyek°-m'i yəŋku."

lie-1SG no

I don't lie."

- Та нгэя, нгэя, тоява!

"Tə ŋə°-ya, ŋə°-ya, to-ya=wa!"

then be-JUS be-JUS come-JUS=CL

"Ok, let him come."

Ненэся нго" сяд падвы ерв минга, сиив хабтаркам'

N'enes'a ŋoq s'aq pad°-wi° yerw° m'iŋa, s'iqw° xabt°rka-m

truth too face paint-PERF.PART master walk 7 reindeer.doe-ACC

мэчь нгэдалы.

me-c° ŋədal°.

use-MOD start.travelling

The Tungus chief was indeed coming, he travelled on seven reindeer does.

Мале тальня' то.
Məl'e° təql'°n'ah to°.
 already to.here come
 He was already close by.

Неро яхам' маданггудась, сиив хабтаркада лэркабт'
N'ero yəxa-m məda-ŋku-da-s'°, *s'iqw° xabt'°rka-da ler°kəbt'°h*
 bush river-ACC cut-FUT-3SG > SG.OBJ-PAST 7 reindeer.doe-3SG suddenly
 варчадтеду'.
wərc'ad'°t'e°-doh.
 pull-3PL > SG.OBJ

He was about to cross the river with bushes, but his seven reindeer does suddenly jerked.

Пада нгани ханхад лясё хамы", ит' сзя.
Pida ŋan'ih хəп°-хəд° l'as'o-° хаqmī°-q, yit'°-h seyə°.
 he more sledge-ABL lie.on.back-MOD fall-REFL.3SG water-DAT sink
 He fell from the sledge and sank into the water.

Сян ни нгадив".
S'an° n'ī ŋəd'i=w°q.
 some NEG visible-DUB
 He couldn't be seen any longer.

Ит' сзянакы.
Yit'°-h seyə-naki°.
 water-DAT drown-PROB
 He probably drowned.

Чи, тарча сер' нгэсь Лобеку хасава тынчамта
T'i tərç'a s'er°-h ŋæ-s'° Lobeku xasawa tīnc'a-mta
 then such thing-GEN be-MOD L. man lasso-ACC.3SG
 нямада, тэмгам' яркада хабтаркыда
n'əqmə°-da, tæmk°-m yarkə°-da xabt'°rkita
 grab-3SG > SG.OBJ good.reindeer-ACC catch-3SG > SG.OBJ reindeer.doe.PL.GEN.3SG
 яха' варувна танданан'.
yəxa-h waruwəna tən°da-na-n°h.
 river-GEN bank.PROL climb-IMPF.PART-DAT

When this happened, Lobeku grabbed his lasso and caught the Tungus chief's best reindeer, while the does were climbing up to the riverbank.

Тад тыда нгэдэйда.
Təd° tida ŋæde-y°-da.
 then reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG unharness-PL.OBJ-3SG
 Then he unharnessed his reindeer.

Нарка Бай манма: - Тарем' нгэя.
Ŋarka Way° ma-q n'i=w°h: "Tər'em ŋæ°-ya.
 big W. say-CONNeg NEG-DUB so be-JUS
 Older Waya said: "Let it be so.

Сиив хабтаркамта маня" мэтнакэва".
S'iqw° xabt°rka-mta mən'aq me-t°-nakewaq.
 7 reindeer.doe-ACC.3SG we use-FUT-PROB.1PL
 We will harness his seven reindeer does.

Чедахав' сяд падвы ерв ит' сэя"махад
T'edaxəwah s'aq pad°-wi° yerw° yit°-h seyə-qma-xəd°
 now.AFF face paint-PERF.PART master water-DAT drown-PERF.AN-ABL
 пили" хангу, сян ни тут".
p'il'iq xa-ŋku, s'an° n'i tū-t°-q.
 always die-FUT some NEG come-FUT-CONNeg

Now that the Tungus chief has drowned in the river, he will surely die and won't come back.

Хуркаси" хараси" иленггоданакэва".
Xurka-s'iq xəra-s'iq yil'e-ŋko-dakewaq.
 which-CAR trouble-CAR live-FUT-PROB.1PL
 We will probably live without any troubles."

Чи, лаханакони та валакада.
T'i ləx°nako-n'i tə walakə-da.
 then tale-GEN.1SG then end-3SG
 This is the end of my tale.

Сидя Вай, Лобэку хасава нгоб" нгысына иле пяду'.
S'id'a Way° Lobeku xasawa ŋob ŋisi-xəna yil'e-° p'a°-doh.
 2 W. L. man one camp-LOC live-MOD start-3PL > SG.OBJ
 The two Wayas started living with Lobeku in the same camp.

Лобэку хасава нгарка Бай' не нюм' неданта
Lobeku xasawa ŋarka Way°-h n'e n'ū-m n'e-d°-nta
 L. man big W.-GEN woman child-ACC woman-PRED-GEN.3SG
 мэда.
me°-da.
 take-3SG > SG.OBJ

Lobeku married older Waya's daughter.

Сававна илелий".
Səwa-w°na yil'e-ly°-q.
 good-PROL live-INCH-REFL.3SG
 He started to live well.

Сидя Вай нгани' илебчь' нямна ханедетыхи',
S'id'a Way°-h ŋan'ih yil'ebc'ə-h n'amna xan'e-s'əti-x°h,
 2 W.-GEN more wild.reindeer-GEN about hunt-HAB-3DU
 халям' хадабасетыхи'.
xal'a-m xadabə-s°ti-x°h.
 fish-ACC catch-HAB-3DU

And the two Wayas kept hunting wild reindeer and catching fish.

Лаханакони пирда.
Ləx°nako-n'i p'ir°-da.
 tale-GEN.1SG likeliness-3SG
 That's the end of my tale.

2 Text 2, published in Labanauskas (1995: 112–123), recorded from Ochavka Japtune

Ямгад танана яха' тарка саля.
Ya-h xəw°xəna yəxa-h tarka səl'a tən'a°.
 sea-GEN near river-GEN fork cape exist
 There is a river cape in the form of a fork near the sea.

Яха сидя явна хэвы.
Yəxa s'id'a ya-w°na xə-wi°.
 river 2 place-PROL go-INFR
 The river is split into two.

Яха' талмо" ниня балагангкоча.
Yəxa-h t'uq°n'a bəlagan-ko-c'a.
 river-GEN above wooden.hut-DIM-DIM
 There was a wooden hut in the upper stretch of the river.

Чикахана не иле.
T'ika-xəna n'e yil'e°.
 this-LOC woman live
 A woman lived there.

Нюмча Таб ЕД Хэвко.
N'um-ta Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko.
 name-3SG T. Y. X.
 Her name was Tab Ed Xewko.

Вэнекочада таявась сеянта няна.
Wen'ako-c'a-da tən'a-wes'° s'eya-nta n'ana.
 dog-DIM-3SG exist-INFR.PAST women's.side-GEN.3SG at
 There was a little dog who lived on the women's side of the hut.

Яланчи' сидямбохо'.
Yaql°-nt'ih s'id'a-mpo-x°h.
 alone-3DU 2-MODER-3DU
 There were just the two of them.

Сяны нгэбта нгод" вэнекочада Чёрей".
S'a°qni° ηæ-b°-ta ηod°q wen'ako-c'a-da t'or'ey°-q.
 of.when be-COND-3SG too dog-DIM-3SG start.barking-REFL.3SG
 Once the dog started barking.

Вэнекочанта пыя' нгылмна сырнга, манэтада юнгу.
Wen'ako-c'a-nta piya-h ηil°mna° si°rŋa, mənē-ta-da yəŋku.
 dog-DIM-GEN.3SG nose-GEN through.under look see-IMP.F.PART-3SG no
 The woman looked in the direction that the dog's nose was pointing but she didn't see anything.

Вэнекочамта хахаюта понггад нямада,
Wen'ako-c'a-mta xa-x°yu-ta poŋkəd° n'əqmtə°-da,
 dog-DIM-ACC.3SG ear-DU-GEN.3SG from.between grab-3SG > SG.OBJ

вэнекочанта хаха' помна сылы".
wen'ako-c'a-nta xa-x°h pot°na si°liə-q.
 dog-DIM-GEN.3SG ear-DU-GEN between start.looking-REFL.3SG
 Then she grabbed the dog by its ears and looked between them.

Нгэсодана мяк' маниевы.
Ŋesodənə-° m'a-k°h mən'iyē-wi°.
 set.up.tent-MOD tent-DU-ACC see-INFR
 She saw that two tents were being set up.

Таб Ед Хэвкор вэнекочамта мят' сярата.
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° wen'ako-c'a-mta m'at°-h s'arə°-da.
 T. Y. X.2SG dog-DIM-ACC.3SG tent-DAT tie-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Tab Ed Xewko tied the dog to the tent.

Ниры маниевыда нгэсодана мядо" ед' ху'
N'eri° mən'iyē-wi°-da ŋesodənə-° m'adoq yet°h xuh
 before see-PERF.PART-3SG set.up.tent-MOD tent.PL-GEN towards to.where

ванталабтада, та' вантабтада.
wəntalapt°-da, təh wəntalapt°-da.
 mince.along-3SG > SG.OBJ to.here mince.along-3SG > SG.OBJ
 She went towards the tents which she saw being set up before.

Сянат чедә' мимбата нгод" нгэсодана мя"
S'anəd°h t'edah m'im-pə-ta ɲod°q ɲesodənə-°
 how.much now move-COND-3SG too set.up.tent-MOD

мядичи пой хубтамбой нгэвы.
m'adot'ih xubta-mɲoy° ɲæ-wi°.
 distance far-MODER be-INTR

She walked for a while, but the tents that had been set up were far away from each other.

Няби мя туда юнгорха.
N'ab'i m'aq tu-da yəŋko-dar°xa.
 and tent fire-3SG no-IMPF.APRX
 It seemed like there was no fire in one of the tents.

Тамна нгэсмаданчи тумдавэй нгэрха.
Təmna ɲeso-qma-x°dənt'i tumta-wədawey° ɲæ-dar°xa.
 still set.up.tent-PERF.AN-ABL.3DU make.fire-PART.NEG be-IMPF.APRX
 It seemed they hadn't made a fire yet after having set up the tent.

Няби мякана палнаку со.
N'ab'i m'a-k°na pəl°na-ko so°.
 and tent-LOC chat-DIM heard
 Talking could be heard in one of the tents.

Та мядха' понт' Таб Ед Хэвко тэвы",
Tə m'adə-x°h pont°h Təb° Yed° Xæw°ko tæwi°-q.
 then tent-DU.GEN to.between T. Y. X arrive-REFL.3SG
 сянпой мыхымий".
s'an°-ɲoy° miχ°mɲy°-q.
 some-MODER move.on-REFL.3SG
 Tab Ed Xewko reached the two tents and went a little further.

Тандая мивы хурумэнгэ хармыдэй".
Təntayah m'i-wi° xurume-ɲe° xarmidey°-q.
 at.once make-PERF.PART cargo.sledge-ESS turn.into-REFL.3SG
 Then suddenly she turned into a cargo sledge.

Таб Ед Хэвкор та' нгачена.
Təb° Yed° Xæw°ko-r° təh ɲət'e-nə°.
 T. Y. X.-2SG then wait-IMPF
 Then Tab Ed Xewko waited.

Няби мякана палнаду' со.
N'ab'i m'a-k°na pəl°na-doh so°.
 and tent-LOC chat-3PL heard
 Talking could be heard in one of the tents.

Нгэсомаданту' яберха".
Neso-qma-x°dəntoh yab'e-nar°xa-q.
 set.up.tent-PERF.AN-ABL.3PL drunk-IMP.F.APRX-3PL
 It seemed they had set up the tent and were now drinking.

Няби мяту туда юнгорха.
N'ab'i m'ad°-h tu-da yəŋko-dar°xa.
 and tent-GEN fire-3SG no-IMP.F.APRX
 There was no fire in the other tent.

Та' ёльчемахаданту' нгысуту' нгысуту' ерв
Tə-h yolc°-qma-x°dəntoh ŋisintoh yerw°
 then-GEN finish-PERF.AN-ABL.3PL camp.GEN.3PL master
 мамоонта: - Мякнта" ятнада"!
ma-mono-nta: "M'a-k°ntaq yat°nə-daq!
 say-AUD-3SG tent-DAT.2PL prepare-IMP.2PL
 After a while they finished drinking and the tent's owner said: "Go to your tent!

Хуняна нгани' ямданггуна".
Xün'ana ŋan'ih yamta-ŋku-naq.
 tomorrow more move.on-FUT-REFL.1PL
 Tomorrow we will set off again.

Хуняна нгэсомадана" сяркаду' нгани'
Xün'ana neso-qma-x°dənaq s'arka-də-waq ŋan'ih
 tomorrow set.up.tent-PERF.AN-ABL-1PL vodka-PRED-1PL more
 нивам" нгамд".
n'i-waq=m°q ŋam°-q.
 NEG-1PL-DUB eat-CONNEG
 When we set up tents tomorrow, we will drink more.

Чеда' мяканта" ятнада"!
T'edah m'a-k°ntaq yat°nə-daq!"
 now tent-DAT.2PL prepare-IMP.2PL
 Now go to your tent!"

Сидяри нея нгудад хасавамчи сидя нгкдад минреди.
S'id'a-r'i n'e-ye ŋuda-xəd° xasawa-mt'ih s'id'a ŋuda-xəd° m'in°r'e°-d'ih.
 2-LIM woman-PEJ hand-ABL man-ACC.3DU 2 hand-ABL bring-3DU > SG.OBJ
 Two women carried a man by his arms.

Нгобт' сулмасетыд".
Ŋob-t°h sulmə-s'əti-d°q.
 one-DAT fall.on.face-HAB-REFL.3PL
 They fell all the time.

Мядха' понд' тэва тандая' мивы
M'adə-x^oh pont^oh tæwə-^o tənt^oyah m'i-wi^o
 tent-DU.GEN to.between arrive-MOD at.once make-PERF.PART

хурумым' хо".
xurumi^o-m xo^o-q.
 cargo.sledge-ACC find-3PL

Before reaching their tent, they found a newly made cargo sledge.

Нгоб" не ма" нив": - Мяканта тэвравани' сеп'
ŋob n'e ma-q n'i=w^oq: "M'a-k^onta tæw^ora-wa-n'ih s'er^o
 one woman say-CONNEG NEG=CL tent-DAT.3SG bring-IMPF.AN-GEN.1DU thing
 ни нга".
n'i ŋaq.
 NEG be.CONNEG

One of the women said: "We can't get him inside the tent.

Чеда' чикы пода хэхэрнгая, ябебчёда хэхэрнгая.
T'edah t'ikimpo-da xæ-x^oŋa-ya, yab'ebco-da xæ-x^oŋa-ya.
 now state-3SG go-HORT-JUS drunkenness-3SG go-HORT-JUS
 He has to sober up first.

Туми' пятавндавэй нив" нга".
Tu-m'ih p'ata-w^odawey^o n'i=w^oq ŋaq.
 fire-1DU ignite-PART.NEG NEG=CL be.CONNEG
 We haven't made a fire yet.

Пуна туми' пятамадани' нимим"
Pūna tu-m'ih p'ata-qma-x^odən'ih n'i-m'i=m^oq
 after fire-ACC.1DU ignite-PERF.AN-ABL.1DU NEG-1DU > SG.OBJ-DUB
 хосаянгу".
xosaya-ŋku-q."
 collect-FUT-CONNEG

We'll pick him up when we've made a fire."

Нехэ' хасавамчи' тандая' мивы хурумы' ни'
N'e-x^oh xasawa-mt'ih tənt^oyah m'i-wi^o xurumi^o-h n'ih
 woman-DU man-ACC.3DU at.once make-PERF.PART cargo.sledge-GEN onto
 юсибталади'.
yūs'ibtala^o-d'ih.
 lay.down-3DU > SG.OBJ

The women laid their man onto the newly made cargo sledge.

Мячи' няна хаяха, тумчи' пятангаха'.
M'a-t'ih n'ana хәүа-х°h, tu-mt'ih p'ataŋa-x°h.
 tent-GEN.3DU at go-3DU fire-ACC.3DU ignite-3DU
 They went to the tent and made a fire.

Нердена тумчи' парраха.
N'erd'ena tu-nt'ih p'a-q pəra-nar°ха.
 first fire-GEN.3DU tree-PL burn-IMP.F.APRX
 The first piece of wood had already burned on their fire.

Таб Ед Хэвкор ибидулы': "Нёрвадм' янолара".
Təb° Yed° Хәw°ko-r° yib'iduli°-q: "N'or°wa-d°m yanolara-q."
 T. Y. X.-2SG start.thinking-REFL.3SG NEG.APPR-1SG late-CONN
 Tab Ed Xewko started thinking: "I hope I'm not too late."

Таб Ед Хэвкор няби тумамчи' ерча
Təb° Yed° Хәw°ko-r° n'ab'i tu-ma-nt'ih yer-ta
 T. Y. X.-2SG and inflame-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3DU middle-3SG
 тэвхава ма: "Хасавамчи' хосая хадно" тутнгахә".
təw°-хәва-° та: "Хасawa-mt'ih хосaya-° ηоq tūt°ηа-х°h."
 arrive-AFF-MOD say man-ACC.3DU collect-MOD too come.FUT-3DU
 When the second load of wood started burning, Tab Ed Xewko thought: "Now they will come to collect their man."

Таб Ед Хэвкор нгопой мыхывтэй", явна хэ'мяда
Təb° Yed° Хәw°ko-r° ηорой° mixiwtey°-q, ya-w°na хә-qm'a-da
 T. Y. X.-2SG 1 change-REFL.3SG place-PROL go-PERF.AN-3SG
 ни нгадю".
n'i ηəd'uq.
 NEG seen.CONNEG

Tab Ed Xewko turned into a sledge and moved over the road without leaving any tracks.

Хан ханзад явна миёма юнггу, нгамгэрт юнггу.
Хән° ха°ncэд°-h ya-w°na m'iyogta уәηku, ηәmkexərt° уәηku.
 sledge feet.of.sledge-GEN place-PROL track no nothing no
 There were no tracks on the road from the feet of the sledge, nothing.

Танянанта балагангконта нё' син' ха" мы нгани,
Tən'ana-nta balaŋko-nta n'o-h s'i-n°h хаqm°-q ηan'ih,
 there-3SG wooden.hut-GEN.3SG door-GEN hole-DAT fall-REFL.3SG more

Таб Ед Хэвкор нгопой мыхывтэй".
Təb° Yed° Хәw°ko-r° ηорой° mixiwtey°-q.
 T. Y. X.-2SG 1 change-REFL.3SG

Tab Ed Xawko reached the door of her wooden hut and turned into a human again.

Хасава сыра' ниня хаи.
Xasawa sira-h n'in'a xayī.
 man snow-GEN on stay
 The man was still on the snow.

Таб Ед Хэвкор ваванта юсибтэй", хонэй".
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° waqw°xənta yūs'ibtey°-q, xoney°-q.
 T. Y. X.-2SG bed-DAT.3SG lay-REFL.3SG sleep-REFL.3SG
 Tab Ed Xewko lay down on the bed and fell asleep.

Ялэма' няна немада хая.
Yale-ma-h n'ana n'ema-da хəуа.
 dawn-IMPF.AN-GEN at sleeping-3SG go
 In the morning she woke up.

Ялума' нерчу' нгэвы.
Yale-ma-h n'er°cuу° ηə-wi°.
 dawn-IMPF.AN-GEN before.ADJ be-INFR
 It was before dawn.

Хасаванта немада хэрха, ябебчёда хэвакы.
Xasawa-nta n'ema-da хə-nar°ха, yab'ebt'o-da хə-weki°.
 man-GEN.3SG sleeping-3SG go-IMPF.APRX drunkenness-3SG go-PROB.PAST
 It seemed that the man woke up too and had sobered up.

Балагангком' сян сюрхалевонта.
Balaganḡko-m s'an° s'ur°xəl'e-won-ta.
 wooden.hut-ACC some go.around-AUD-3SG
 He could be heard walking around the wooden hut.

Вадананта то"мамта пюнакы?
Wad°-na-x°qtoḡ to-qma-mta p'ū-naki°.
 bring-IMPF.PART-DAT.3PL come-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG search-PROB
 He was searching for the place where he came from when they brought him there.

Сян сюрхалевонта.
S'an° s'ur°xəl'e-won-ta.
 some go.around-AUD-3SG
 He went around several times.

То"мамта нись ху" нём' чадэжа, мят' тю.
To-qma-mta n'ī-s° хuḡ n'o-m t'adedā°, m'a-t°h t'u°.
 come-PERF.AN-ACC.3SG NEG-MOD find.CONNEG door-ACC open.widely tent-DAT enter
 He didn't find the place where he came from, so he opened the door and entered the house.

Таб Ед Хэвкор санэй”.

Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° səney°-q.

T. Y. X.-2SG jump.up-REFL.3SG

Tab Ed Xevko jumped up.

Тумта пята, чай едм’ пире.

Tu-mta p’ata°, s’ay° yed°-m p’ir’e°.

fire-ACC.3SG ignite tea kettle-ACC boil

She started the fire and made tea.

Толамта та.

Tol°-mta ta°.

table-ACC.3SG bring

She brought in the table.

Нгоб” толхана нгорнга хасава’ ня’.

Nob tol°-xəna ŋo°ŋa xasawa-h n’ah.

one table-LOC eat man-GEN with

She ate together with the man at the same table.

Нгамгэ нгоромамчи’ ёльчемахаданчи’ хасава пин’

Nəmke ŋo°ro-qma-mt’ih yolc’e-qma-x°dant’ih xasawa p’in°h

what eat-PERF.AN-ACC.3DU finish-PERF.AN-ABL.3DU man out

хантамта ханнакы.

xan°-na-mta xan°-naki°.

go-IMPF.PART-ACC.3SG go-PROB

When they finished eating, the man went out to do his business.

Таб Ед Хэвкор синянгы хэвхана харта

Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° s’i° n’a-ŋi° xəw°xəna xəro°-ta

T. Y. X.-2SG side.against.entrance at-ADJ near REFL-3SG

Нулюдаком’, хунерку лехэбта, харта

nul’oda-ko-m xūqn’er-ko-m l’exabta°, xəro°-ta

fur.bed-DIM-ACC twig.mattress-DIM-ACC make.bed REFL-3SG

нулюдаку’ ни’ хонабтада хасавамта.

nul’oda-ko-h n’ih xonabta°-da xasawa-mta.

fur.bed-DIM-GEN to put.asleep-3SG > SG.OBJ man-ACC.3SG

Tab Ed Xewko made a fur bed with a twig mattress near the entrance and put the man to sleep there.

Хонёмахаданчи’ тандая’ сававна ялума, тандая’ юркъяха’.

Xon°o-ma-xədant’ih tənt°yah səwa-w°na yalema, tənt°yah yurk°yə-x°h.

sleep-PERF.AN-ABL.3DU at.once good-PROL dawn.INCH at.once get.up-REFL.3DU

They slept, and then got up well after dawn.

Таб Ед Хэвкор чайнда пире.
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° s'ay°-mta p'ir'e°.
 T. Y. X.-2SG tea-ACC.3SG boil
 Tab Ed Xewko made tea.

Нгорнгахә.
ŋo°ŋa-x°h.
 eat-3DU
 They ate.

Хасава ханъебта сава хасава нгэвы.
Xasawa xan'e-b°-ta səwa xasawa ŋə-wi°.
 man hunt-COND-3SG good man be-INFR
 Apparently the man was a good hunter.

Мирводи' таниявакы".
M'irwod'ih tən'a-weki°-q.
 weapon.PL.3DU exist-PERF.PROB-3PL
 They had weapons.

Хасава ханеванчъ хая.
Xasawa xan'e-wənc°o xəya.
 man hunt-PUPR go
 The man went hunting.

Пэвсюмняна то, сидя илебчам' хадавы.
Pəw°s'um'a-h n'ana to°, s'id'a yil'ebc'ə°-m xada-wi°.
 evening-GEN at come 2 wild.reindeer-ACC kill-INFR
 In the evening he came back; he had killed two wild reindeer.

Хобадид' тавы, ед черко тавы марчанта нирина.
Xoba-d'ih ta-wi°, yed° t'er°-ko ta-wi° mərç°-nta n'ir'ina.
 skin-3DU bring-INFR kettle content-DIM bring-INFR shoulder-GEN.3SG on.LIM
 He brought their skins and meat on his shoulders.

Чикавахад хасава пилипон' хане.
T'ikawaxəd° xasawa p'il'iq pon°h xan'e°.
 from.then.AFF man always long hunt
 After that he went hunting all the time.

Сяри' хунат мэнакэхэ' нгани, нара' нянгы нувода
S'ar'ih xunat° me-nakex°h ŋan'i, nara-h n'a-ŋi nuwoda
 how.much.LIM some.quantity be-PROB.3DU more spring-GEN at-ADJ sky.PL.3SG
 пявы".
p'a-wi°.
 start-INFR
 They lived for a while and then spring came.

Хасавада яда ядеромаданта никадасьтадакы.
Xasawa-da yadə-° yad'ero-qma-xəd°nta n'ikada-s°ti-daki°.
 man-3SG walk-MOD walk-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG get.tired-HAB-PROB
 The man would get tired after walking.

Хасава ма” нив”: - Ханяд товами ехэрадм’.
Xasawa ma-q n'ī=w°q: “Xən'ad° to-wa-m'i yexaraə-d°m.
 man say-CONNEG NEG-DUB from.where come-IMP.F.AN-ACC.1SG ignore-1SG
 He said: “I don’t know where I came from.

Ханя’ хэбчатами ханяд хонггудм’.
Xən'ah xə-bc°-də-m'i xən'ad° xo-ŋku-d°m?”
 to.where go-N-PRED-ACC.1SG from.where find-FUT-1SG
 How can I find out where I should go?”

Твб Ед Хэвкор манма: - Та ханяд
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° ma-q n'ī=w°q: “Tə xən'ah
 T. Y. X.-2SG say-CONNEG NEG-DUB then to.where
 хэбчант юнггоб” вавми’ нгобт’ сертахами’.
xə-bc°-ə-nt° yəŋko-b°q waqw°-m'ih ŋob-t°h s'erta-x°-m'ih.”
 go-N-GEN.2SG no-COND bed-ACC.1DU one-DAT do-HORT-1DU > SG.OBJ
 Tab Ed Xewko said: “If you don’t have anywhere to go, let’s make one bed.”

Чи, нгоб” вав’ ниня хонёсетыхи’.
T'i ŋob waqw°-h n'in'a xon'o-s'əti-x°h.
 then one bed-GEN on sleep-HAB-3DU
 So they slept in one bed.

Сяны нгэбту’ нгод” пэвсюменяна хасавада ядерчъ
S'a°qni° xə-b°-ta ŋod°q pəw°s'um'a-h n'ana xasawa-da
 when be-COND-3SG too evening-GEN at man-3SG
 томаданта пэвсюмчъ то.
to-qma-xəd°nta to°.
 come-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG come
 Every evening the man came home.

Сидя илебчам’ пилибт” таднга.
S'id'a yil'ebc°-ə-m p'il'ibt°q tad°ŋa.
 2 wild.reindeer-ACC always bring
 He always brought two wild reindeer.

Таб Ед Хэвкор нгани сыра’ тырабтамбида, та’
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° ŋan'ih sira-h tirabtamp'i-da, tə°-h
 T. Y. X.-2SG more winter-GEN dry.OBJ.PL-3SG summer-GEN

тырабтамбида.

tirabtamp'i-da.

dry.OBJ.PL-3SG

Tab Ed Xewko dried skins in the winter and in the summer.

Хасаванта ханесэй минханта мээдасьтыда.

Xasawa-nta xan'esey° m'in°xə-nta meyada-s°ti-da.

man-GEN.3SG prey immediately-3SG process-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ

She immediately processed the man's catch.

Тырабтасьтыда, мээдасьтыда.

Tirabta-s°ti-da, meyada-s°ti-da.

dry-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ process-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ

She dried and processed them.

Та' тангэв пывахад тырабтасьтыда тангы

Tə°-h tən̄i° p̄iw°-xəd° tirabta-s°ti-da tən̄i°

summer-GEN summer.ADJ fresh.air-ABL dry-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ summer.ADJ

илебчаита хоба.

yl'ebc'əyita xoba.

wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.3SG skin

In the summer she dried wild reindeer skins in the fresh summer air.

Нгани' мэсьтыда, тырабтасьтыда, начетыда.

Ŋan'ih me-s°ti-da, tirabta-s°ti-da, nə-c'eti-da.

more take-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ dry-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ process.fur-HAB-3SG > SG.OBJ

Then she dried and processed them again.

Напхая сюрпида.

Napa-xəya° s'ürp'i-da.

process-INTENS-MOD store.PL.OBJ-3SG

She processed and stored them.

Сяны нгэбта нгод" нара' нувода пявы".

S'a°qni° ŋə-b°-ta ŋod°q nara-h nuwoda p'a-wi°.

when be-COND-3SG too spring-GEN sky.PL.3SG start-INFR

After a while spring came again.

Таб Ед Хэвконт вэнекочада пихиня нгани' чёревонта.

Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-nt° wen'ako-c'a-da p'ix°na ŋan'ih t'or'e-won-ta.

T. Y. X.-GEN.2SG dog-DIM-3SG outside more bark-AUD-3SG

Tab Ed Xewko's little dog could be heard barking outside again.

Таб Ед Хэвкор чеда' ченев" нив".

Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° t'edah t'en'ew°-q n'ĩ=w°q.

T. Y. X.-2SG now know-CONN NEG=CL

Now Tab Ed Xewko knew.

Вэнекочанта хахаюта палкад нямада,
Wen'ako-c'a-mta xa-x^oyu-ta pəl^o-kəd^o n'əqmə^o-da,
 dog-DIM-ACC.3SG ear-DU-GEN.3SG flock-ABL grab-3SG > SG.OBJ

хахаюта помна сылы".
xa-x^oyu-ta pom^ona si^oliə-q.
 ear-DU-GEN.3SG between look.INCH-REFL.3SG

She grabbed the dog by the flock on its ears and looked between its ears.

Ов, нгокая юрмян мяд".
Ow^o, ŋoka-ya yur^o m'an^o m'ad^o-q.
 INTJ many-AUG 100 about tent-3PL
 Oh, there were many tents, about a hundred.

Тыду' хача ю" ёнар" нгэбгу', екар".
Tīdoh xac'ah yūq yon^or ŋæ-b^o-toh yekar^oq.
 reindeer.PL.3PL little.bit 10 1000 be-COND-3PL DP
 There were almost ten thousand reindeer.

Таб Ед Хэвконт хасавада хуны.
Təb^o Yed^o Xəw^oko-nt^o xasawa-da xoni.
 T. Y. X.-GEN.2SG man-3SG sleep
 Tab Ed Xewko's husband was sleeping.

Таб Ед Хэвкор вэнекочамта вадарчъ ниры
Təb^o Yed^o Xəw^oko-r^o wen'ako-c'a-mta wadər-c^o n'iri^o
 T. Y. X.-2SG dog-DIM-ACC.3SG take.along-MOD before
 ниры маниевыда нгэсодана мядо" ед'
mən'īye-wi^oda ŋesodənə-^o m'adoq yed^oh
 see-PERF.PART.PL.3SG set.up.tent-MOD tent.PL.GEN towards
 пята.
p'a^o-da.
 start-3SG > SG.OBJ

Tab Ed Xewko took the dog and went in the direction where she saw the tents set up.

Мяд" нгока нгэвы".
M'ad^o-q ŋoka ŋæ-wi^o.
 tent-PL many be-INFR
 There were many tents.

Хача юрмян мя".
Xac'ah yur^o m'an^o m'aq.
 little.bit 10 about tent
 About a hundred.

Тыду' ю" ёнар" нгэрха.
Tidoh yūq yon^or ηæ-dar^oxa.
 reindeer.PL.3PL 10 1000 be-IMPF.APRX
 It seemed there were ten thousand reindeer.

Таб Ед Хэвкор вэнекочамта вадарчь минга,
Təb^o Yed^o Xəw^oko-r^o wen'ako-c'a-mta wadər-c^o m'ija,
 T. Y. X.-2SG dog-DIM-ACC.3SG take.along-MOD move
 мядо" хэван' нго" тювы".
m'adoq xəwə-n^oh ηoq tæwi^o-q.
 tent.GEN.PL side-DAT too arrive-REFL.3SG

Tab Ed Xewko went taking the dog along; at last she reached the tents.

Тад вэдисей нгудамта ялента пырдарь няхар' нэкалнгада.
Təd^o wad'is'ey^o ηuda-mta yal'enta pir^odər'ih n'ax^or nek^olŋa-da.
 then left hand-ACC.3SG day.GEN.3SG back.LIM 3 pull-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Then she moved her left hand three times against the sun.

Ибанта няд хаднгэ нялпадылада.
Yiba-nta n'ad^o xad^o-m n'əlpada-laə-da.
 south-GEN.3SG from storm-ACC elicit-INCH-3SG > SG.OBJ
 She started calling a storm from the south.

Мяд' маханя' сапченан" ты" ю" ёнар" нгока нгэвы".
M'ad^o-h məxa n'ah tīq yūq yon^or ηoka ηæ-wi^o-q.
 tent-GEN back to reindeer.PL 10 1000 many be-INFR-3PL
 There were ten thousand reindeer behind the tents.

Тэхэ" тэвы" нгани, та' вэнекочамта
Tex^oq tæwi^o-q ŋan'ih, tə-h wen'ako-c'a-mta
 reindeer.PL.DAT arrive-REFL.3SG more then-GEN dog-DIM-ACC.3SG
 табида: - Мяд' ед' нердеин!
tab'eda^o: "M'ad^o-h yed^oh n'erd'e-yi-n^o!"
 order tent-GEN towards lead-SUBJ-2SG

She got to the reindeer and ordered the dog: "Lead them back to the tent!"

Тадхав' юрмян ты ныкалнга.
Təd^oxəw^oh yur^o m'an^o tī nikəlŋa.
 now.AFF 100 about reindeer.PL.ACC set.apart
 It split about a hundred reindeer from the herd.

Вэнекочада няби нгэмта тибтесеты, няби нгэмта тибтесеты.
Wen'ako-c'a-da n'ab'i ηæ-mta t'ibt'e-s'əti, n'ab'i ηæ-mta t'ibt'e-s'əti.
 dog-DIM-3SG and foot-ACC.3SG lift-HAB and foot-ACC.3SG lift-HAB
 The dog lifted one leg after another.

Мяенггад хабче” вэнекоча’ пумна лямполы”.
M’aqyɛŋkad° xabt’eq° wen’ako-c’a-h pūmna l’amp°li-q.
 near.tent bull dog-DIM-GEN behind run.decently-3PL
 The reindeer which usually graze near the tents ran after the dog.

Таб Ед Хэвкор нгани неновай нгудамта яля’
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° ŋan’ih n’enoway° ŋuda-mta yal’a-h
 T. Y. X.-2SG more right hand-ACC.3SG day-GEN
 сер’ няхар’ нэкалнгада.
s’er°-h n’ax°r nek°lŋa-da.
 thing-DAT 3 pull-3SG > SG.OBJ

Tab Ed Xewko moved her right hand in the direction of the sun.

Нгэрмта няд хаморе чир танэйда.
Ŋerm°-ta n’ad° xaqmor-c° t’ir° taneyə-d°q.
 north-GEN.PL.3SG from fall-MOD cloud chase-REFL.3SG
 The clouds came from the north and fell.

Хаднгэ яхана сырам’ ни хае”.
Xad°-ŋe° ya-x°na sira-m n’i xaye-q.
 snow.storm-ESS place-LOC snow-ACC NEG leave-CONNEX
 The snowstorm didn’t leave any snow on the ground.

Ниры минревы ты танта ёльчмана нангада.
N’iri° m’in°r’e-wi° tī tan°ta-° yolc°-məna nəŋkad’a.
 before drive-PERF.PART reindeer.PL.ACC ram-MOD end-PROL full
 The reindeer driven away earlier were all covered with snow.

Сяри’ хункана хэбта нгод” нгудам’ вэнггала нгуда
S’ar’ih xunk°na xə-b°-ta ŋod°q ŋuda-m wɛŋkala-° ŋuda
 when.LIM where go-COND-3SG too hand-ACC stretch.out-MOD hand
 ни нгадю”.
n’i ŋəd’uq.
 NEG seen.CONNEG

Wherever you went, if you stretched out your hand, you couldn’t see it.

Чикы мерчада.
T’iki° m’erc’a-da.
 this wind-3SG
 Such was the wind.

Танабада тыдя сидя ян’ лекэй”.
Tanabə-da tīd’a s’id’a ya-n°h l’ekey°-q.
 drive-IMP.F.PART reindeer.PL.3SG 2 place-DAT go.apart-REFL.3SG
 The reindeer driven apart from the herd split into two.

Таб Ед Хэвкор мяканта тэвы”.
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° m'a-k°nta təwi°-q.
 T. Y. X.-2SG tent-DAT.3SG arrive-REFL.3SG
 Tab Ed Xewko arrived back at home.

Вэнекочада нёнта паханггана мале чёклавы.
Wen'ako-c'a-da n'o-nta pəx°ŋ-kəna məl'e° t'ok°la-wi°.
 dog-DIM-3SG door-GEN.3SG base-LOC already crouch-INFR
 Her dog was already sitting near the door.

Не сырида янггтакты, вэнекочамта
N'e sir'ida yaŋk°-taki°, wen'ako-c'a-nta
 woman snow.PL.ACC.3SG wipe.away-PROB dog-DIM-ACC.3SG
 сеянта пахант' мэ.
s'eya-nta pəxən-t°h me°.
 place.near.door-GEN.3SG base-DAT take
 She wiped away the snow and put the dog near the door.

Хасаванта мамана хая.
Xasawa-nta ma°q-məna xəya.
 man-GEN.3SG bosom-PROL go
 She snuggled up to the man.

Хасавада сенянта хуны.
Xasawa-da s'en'a-nta xuni.
 man-3SG before-3SG sleep
 Her man was sleeping as before.

Ялума' няна хая.
Yale-ma-h n'ana xəya.
 dawn-IMP.F.AN-GEN at go
 It was already dawn.

Хасава' немада хэнякы.
Xasawa-h n'ema-da xə-n'aki°.
 man-GEN sleeping-3SG go-PROB
 It seemed that the man woke up then.

М” нив”: - Нявэ”, балагангкони хэвхана тарча
Ma-q n'i=w°q: “N'a-w=eq, balaŋko-n'i xəw°xəna tərç'a
 say-CONNEX NEG-DUB companion-1SG-FOC wooden.hut-GEN.1SG near such

сыврырта юнггусеты.
s'əw°rir-ta yəŋku-s'əti.
 scamper-IMP.F.PART no-HAB

He said: “Listen, there has never been such noise near the hut.

Тыбне”мяна хуркари тыбнана” нгэвононту’.
Tib^on’e-qm’a-x^ona xurka-r’i tib^on’e-na-q ηḁ-wono-ntoh.
 dig-PERF.AN-LOC which-LIM dig-IMPF.PART-PL be-AUD-3PL
 You can hear that many reindeer are digging the snow.”

Таб Ед Хэвкор манма: - Маси” сармик’ лабадавы
Təb^o Yed^o Xəw^oko-r^o ma: “Məs’iq sarm’ik^o-h ləbada-wi^o
 T. Y. X. 2SG say DP wolf-GEN drive.apart-PERF.PART
 ты” нгэдакы”.
tī-q ηḁ-daki^o-q.”
 reindeer-PL be-PROB-3PL

Tab Ed Xewko said: “These are probably the reindeer driven apart from the herd by the wolf.”

Хасавада пихид то, манма: - Хача юрмян ты нгэрха.
Xasawa-da p’i-xəd^o to^o, ma: “Xəc’ah yur^o m’an^o ti ηḁ-dar^oxa.
 man-3SG out-ABL come.3SG say little.bit 100 about reindeer be-IMPF.APRX
 The man looked out and said: “There seems to be about 100 reindeer.

Хадхав нгамгэрт хад юнггу.
Xad^o-xəw^o ηəmkexərt^o xad^o yəŋku.”
 snow.storm-AFF nothing snow.storm no
 And no snowstorm.”

Таб Ед Хэвко ма: - Ханячей’ сава.
Təb^o Yed^o Xəw^oko ma: “Xən’ac’ey^oh səwa.
 T. Y. X. say on.the.contrary good
 Tab Ed Xewko said: “Even better.

Падар яда ядерчетынаню”, нин никадасьту”.
Pidar^o yadə-^o yad’er-c’əti-nə=n’uq, n’i-n^o n’ikada-s^otuq.
 you walk-MOD walk-HAB-2SG-EXCL NEG-2SG get.tired-HAB.CONNEG
 You always walk around, don’t you get tired?

Ханячей’ чедав’ нгэдалё нинув” ханенггу”.
Xən’ac’ey^oh t’eda=w^oh ηḁdal’o-^o n’i-nə=w^oq xan’e-ŋku-q.”
 on.the.contrary now-DUB travel-MOD NEG-2SG-DUB hunt-FUT-CONNEG
 But now you can go hunting on reindeer back.”

Таминчи’ юррѣяха’.
Təm’in^o-d’ih yurk^oyə-x^oh.
 immediately-3DU wake.up-3DU
 They woke up quickly.

Таб Ед Хэвкор тумта пята, чай едм' пире.
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° tu-mta p'ata°, s'ay° yed°-m p'ir'e°.
 T. Y. X.-2SG fire-ACC.3SG ignite tea kettle-ACC boil
 Tab Ed Xewko made a fire and boiled the kettle for tea.

Тюку яляхад хасавада хане ни хань", мась нгэдакы.
T'uku° yal'a-xəd° xasawa-da han'e-° n'ī han'°-q, mas'° nǵə-daki°.
 this day-ABL man-3SG hunt-MOD NEG hunt-CONNENEG enough be-PROB
 From that day on the man stopped hunting, apparently it was enough.

Чедав, тыда таня".
T'edaxəw°h tida tən'a°-q.
 now.AFF reindeer.PL.3SG exist-3PL
 Now they had reindeer.

Ханда юнггуню".
Xən°-da yəŋku=n'uq.
 sledge-3SG no-EXCL
 But he didn't have a sledge.

Пэдара' няд ханкодамта пинта.
Pedara-h n'a-d° xən°-ko-də-mta p'intă°.
 forest-GEN from sledge-DIM-PRED-ACC.3SG prepare.wood
 He brought pieces of wood for the sledge from the forest.

Сидя яля' мирчакы, няхар" яля' мирчакы.
S'id'a yal'a-h m'ir-t'aki°, n'ax°r yal'a-h m'ir-taki°.
 2 day-GEN build-PROB 3 day-GEN build-PROB
 He spend two or three days making it.

Хандамта серта.
Xən°-də-mta s'erta°.
 sledge-PRED-ACC.3SG do
 He made a sledge for himself.

Мяенггад хабчеду' нгэводу' манэнга, ханянгэду'
M'aqyənkad° xabt'eq°-doh nǵəwodoh tənəŋŋa, xən'aŋədoh
 near.tent bull-3PL head.PL.ACC.3PL see which.3PL
 тэмг".
təmk°-q.
 leading.reindeer-PL

He inspected the heads of the reindeer that were grazing near the hut: which of them would be the leading reindeer.

Тэмг тэдамта мэ, нгэдалё ханелы".
Tæmk° te-d°-mta me°, ηædal'o-° xan'e-li°-q.
 leading.reindeer reindeer-PRED-ACC.3SG take travel-MOD hunt-INCH-REFL.3SG
 He choose one reindeer as his leading reindeer and started hunting on reindeer back.

Сяри' хунат мэнакэхэ'.
S'ar'ih xunæt°h me-nakex°h.
 when.LIM long be-PROB.3DU
 Some time passed.

Чедав' илебчаита нгэмса яляна ханесеида нгэхат
T'edaxəw°h yil'ebc'əyita ηəmtsa yal'a-xəna xan'esey°-da ηaxət°
 now.AFF wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.3SG meat day-LOC prey-3SG from.before
 сидя илебчъ' нгэсьты.
s'id'a yil'ebc°h ηæ-s°ti.
 2 wild.reindeer be-HAB

Now, as before, the man killed two wild reindeer a day for food.

Чеда' нгамсасавэй мал' тадъеда, нгэдалё хане" нив".
T'edah ηəmtsa-sawey° mal°h tad°-yə-da, ηædal'o-° xan'e-q n'ĩ=w°q.
 now meat-PROPR all bring-PL.OBJ-3SG travel-MOD hunt-CONNEX NEG-DUB
 He always came with meat because he travelled on reindeer.

Пилибт" хане.
P'il'ibt°q xan'e°.
 always hunt
 He always hunted.

Та' ханесеты, сыра' ханесеты.
Tə°-h xan'e-s'əti, sira-h xan'e-s'əti.
 summer-GEN hunt-HAB winter-GEN hunt-HAB
 He hunted in the summer and in the winter.

Нгэрё' нянгы сырида пия".
Ŋær'o-h n'a-ŋi° sir'ida p'a°-q.
 autumn-GEN at-ADJ snow.PL.3SG start-3PL
 In the autumn the first snow fell.

Тангы илебчаичи' нгмса тырабтамбиди.
Tə-ŋi° yil'ebc'əyit'ih ηəmtsa tirabtamp'i-d'ih.
 summer-ADJ wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.3DU meat dry.PL.OBJ-3DU
 They dried the meat of the wild reindeer killed in the summer.

Тырабтахая сюрпиди'.
Tirabta-xəya-° s'ūrṗ'i-d'ih.
 dry-INTENS-MOD store.PL.OBJ-3DU
 They stored it to dry.

Таб Ед Хэвкор тангы илебчайта хоба
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° tə-ŋi° yil'ebc'əyita xob°
 T. Y. X.-2SG summer-ADJ wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.3SG skin.PL.ACC
 хаеркад тырабтасьтыда, сырэй илебчайта хоба
xayer-kəd° tirabta-s°ti-da, sirey° yil'ebc'əyita xob°
 sun-ABL dry-HAB.PL.OBJ-3SG winter.ADJ wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.3SG skin.PL.ACC
 нгобчикы тырабтасьтыда, мэяда сюрпида.
ŋobṭ'iki° tirabta-s°ti-da, meyada-° s'ūrṗ'i-da.
 also dry-HAB.PL.OBJ-3SG process-MOD store.PL.OBJ-3SG

Tab Ed Xewko also dried in the sun the skins of wild reindeer killed in the summer and winter; she processed and stored them.

Хасавада хув' малко хэб" нанта
Xasawa-da xūw°-h məq°lko-° xə-b° qna-nta
 man-3SG morning-GEN herd.reindeer-MOD go-COND.EMPH-3SG
 илебяди' нгыдри вады.
yil'eb'a-d'ih ŋil°r'ih wadi.
 herd-3DU down.LIM grow

When her husband went out in the morning to herd reindeer, he saw that the herd had grown.

Сэв' мал' ёльмана малнгэ илебянгэ хая".
Səw°-h mal°h yolc°-qməna mal°h yil'eb'a-ŋe° xəya-q.
 eye-GEN all end-PL.PROL all herd-ESS go-3PL
 The herd had become so big that you couldn't see the end of it.

Тянё нинякэхэ' мэ", нгока пом' мэтакэхэ'.
T'an'o n'i-n'akex°h me-q, ŋoka po-m me-takex°h.
 few NEG-PROB.3DU take-CONNeg many year-ACC take-PROB.3DU
 They spent many years rather than few.

Хасава манма: - Хадоми ходо варъявангэ ни хань".
Xasawa ma: "Xədo-m'i xədo wəryə-wa-ŋe° n'i xan°-q."
 man say pasture-1SG pasture stink.of.mud-IMPf.AN-ESS NEG go-CONNeg
 The man thought: "My pasture will have turned into mud."

Хув' хэб"нанта хача яля' ернгэ ханнга,
Xūw°-h xə-b°qna-nta xəc'ah yal'a-h yer°-ŋe° xan°qna,
 morning-GEN go-COND.EMPH-3SG little.bit day-GEN middle-ESS go.away

пуданахананта яля' ерѣи пунынгэнгэ ханлы.
pūda-na-xənananta yal'a-h yery° pūn'anene° xan°q-li.
 after-IMPF.PART-LOC.3SG day-GEN middle after.ADJ.ESS go.away-INCH

When he left in the morning, he would be out almost until midday; if it was after midday, he would travel after midday.

Таю Ед Хэвконт хасавада манма: - Тангы илебчает
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-nt° xasawa-da ma: "Tə-ŋi° yil'ebc'əyet°
 T. Y. X.-GEN.2SG man-3SG say summer-ADJ wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.2SG
 хобат сидя мюйкодар сэд"!
xoba-xət° s'id'a m'uy°ko-də-r° səd°-q.
 skin-PL.ABL 2 lower.tent.cover-PRED-2SG sew-IMP.2SG

Tab Ed Xewko's husband said: "Make two lower tent covers from the skins of the wild reindeer killed in the summer.

Сырэй илебчает хобат содя таричейдар
Sirey° yil'ebc'əyet° xoba-xət° s'id'a tər'ic'ey°-də-r°
 winter.ADJ wild.reindeer.PL.GEN.2SG skin-PL.ABL 2 upper.tent.cover-PRED-2SG
 сэд"!
səd°-q.
 sew-IMP.2SG

Make two outer tent covers from the skins of the wild reindeer killed in the winter.

Мань ханедами мась нив" нга".
Mən° xan'eda-m'i mas° n'i=w°q ŋaq.
 I prey-1SG enough NEG-DUB be.CONNEG
 My hunting catch should be enough.

Мань хандами пинданггудм, ямб
Mən° хən°-də-m'i p'int°-ŋku-d°m, yamp°
 I sledge-PRED-ACC.1SG prepare.wood-FUT-1SG long

хандами, юхунадами,
хən°-də-m'i, yux°na-d°-m'i,
 sledge-PRED-ACC.1SG sledge.for.poles-PRED-ACC.1SG

вандакодами, сябудами, хандамт.
wantako-d°-m'i, s'abu-də-m'i, хən°-də-mt.
 sledge.for.food-PRED-ACC.1SG cargo.sledge-PRED-ACC.1SG sledge-PRED-ACC.2SG

I will prepare wood for my sledge, for your sledge, for the long sledge, for the cargo sledge, for the food sledge and the poles sledge.

Падар нгани сидяха' мюйкодар сэд", сидяха'
Pidar° ŋan'i-h s'id'a-x°h m'uy°ko-də-r° səd°-q, s'id'a-x°h
 you other-GEN 2-DU lower.tent.cover-PRED-2SG sew-IMP.2SG, 2-DU

тарицейдар сэд”.
tər'ic'ey°-də-r° sæd°-q.
 upper.tent.cover-PRED-2SG sew-IMP.2SG

And you make two tent covers, the upper one and the lower one.”

Хасава пили” пиндасеты, пилибт” мирнга.
Xasawa p'il'iq p'int°-s'əti, p'il'ibt°q m'irŋa.
 man always prepare.wood-HAB always build
 The man was always busy preparing wood and making sledges.

Тянё нинякы мир”, ханода ёльче.
T'an'o n'i-naki° m'ir°-q, xənoda yolc'e°.
 few NEG-PROB build-CONNEG sledge.PL.ACC.3SG finish
 Soon he finished making the sledges.

Таб Ед Хэвкор мале сэдунчида сидя
Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-r° məl'e° sædu-w°nt'ida s'id'a
 T. Y. X.-2SG already sew-PART.FUT.PL.3SG 2

тарицейм' сэдвы, сидя мюйком' сэдвы.
tər'ic'ey°-m sæd°-wi°, s'id'a m'uy°ko-m sæd°-wi°.
 upper.tent.cover-ACC sew-INF 2 lower.tent.cover-ACC sew-INF

Tab Ed Xewko had already made the two tent covers, the upper one and the lower one that she was supposed to make.

Хасавада манма: - Та нгурими хай”.
Xasawa-da ma: “Tə ŋu-r'i-m'i xay.
 man-3SG say then pole-LIM-1SG remain
 Her husband said: “Only the tent pole remains to be made.

Нгурими юнгу, нгудми пинтаванчъ хантадм’.
ŋu-r'i-m'i yəŋku, ŋu-d°-m'i p'intə-wənc° xan°-tə-d°m.
 pole-LIM-1SG no pole-PRED-1SG prepare-PUPR go-FUT-1SG
 There is no pole, I'll go and prepare wood for it.”

Чи, нгугода пинта, сян яля’ мирчакаы,
T'i ŋu-d°-mta p'intə°, s'an° yal'a-h m'ir-t'aki°,
 then pole-PRED-ACC.3SG prepare some day-GEN build-PROB

нгудода ми.
ŋu-d°-mta m'ir°.
 pole-PRED-ACC.3SG make

He prepared wood for it and made the pole in a few days.

Та ёльчанггана хандада мал’ ёльче” гив”.
Tə yolc°ŋ-kəna xən°-də-da mal°h yolc'e-q n'i=w°q.
 then time-LOC sledge-PRED-3SG all finish-CONNEG NEG-DUB
 The sledges were already finished.

Хасава Таб Ед Хэвконта вахалий”: - Мань
Xasawa Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-nt° wəxəly°-q: “Mən°
 man T. Y. X.-DAT.2SG start.talking-REFL.3SG I

тыни сачь нгыхы сачь нгыхы яхана ханнга”.
tī-n’i sə-c° ŋixi° ya-x°na xan°qŋa-q.
 reindeer-PL.1SG strong-MOD far place-LOC go-3PL

The man said to Tab Ed Xewko: “My reindeer walk very far.

Тыни маламбвами хубта нив” нга”.
Tīqn’i məq°lamp°-wa-m’i xubta n’i=w°q ŋaq.
 reindeer.PL.GEN.1SG gather-IMP.F.AN.1SG far NEG-DUB be.CONNEG
 But the place where I gather my reindeer is not far.

Ханод хураид.
Xənod° xura-yi-d°.
 sledge.PL.ACC.2SG tie.package-SUBJ.2SG > PL.OBJ
 Load your sledges.

Ямб ханар чи, юхунар чи.
Yamp° xəpə-r° t’i, yux°na-r° t’i.
 long sledge-2SG then pole.sledge-2SG then
 Here is the long sledge and the sledge for poles.

Вандакуд чер нгамсакуд, тырабтавы нгамсакуд
Wantako-d° t’er° ŋəmsa-ko-d° tirabta-wi° ŋəmsa-ko-d°
 food.sledge-PRED content meat-DIM-PRED dry-PERF.PART meat-DIM-PRED
 вандаконт мя’ хурангту” нядав”.
wantako-nt° m’uh xura-ŋku-q n’i-da=w°q.
 food.sledge-GEN.2SG to.inside tie.to.sledge-FUT-CONNEG NEG-2PL-DUB
 Load the food sledge with dried meat.

Сябунт черхав пуна томадани
S’abu-nt° t’er°-xəw° pūna to-qma-xəd°n’i
 cargo.sledge-GEN.2SG content-AFF after come-PERF.AN-ABL.1SG
 хонггсакэдм’ балангкони латад.
xoŋk°r-taked°m balanŋko-n’i lata-xəd°.”
 break.apart-PROB.1SG wooden.hut-GEN.1SG balk-ABL
 As soon as I return, I will break away some wood for the cargo sledge from the wooden hut.”

Хасава малко хоя.
Xasawa məq°lko-° xəya.
 man herd.reindeer-MOD go
 He went to herd reindeer.

Ялянта еркад хэ”мяданта то.
Yal'a-nta yer-ŋe° хэ-qm'a-хэд°nta to°.
 day-GEN.3SG middle-ESS go-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG come
 He returned after midday.

Танабадида тыда чехэда ни нгадю”.
Tanabə-d'ida tita t'exedoh n'ī ŋəd'uq.
 drive.together-IMPF.PART.PL.3SG reindeer.PL.3SG that.PL.3SG NEG seen.CONNEG
 The reindeer he drove with him were very numerous.

Ты вынихи' нгор”.
Tī wun'i-x°h ŋor°-q.
 reindeer.PL.ACC NEG.EMPH.3DU eat-CONNEG
 They didn't eat domestic reindeer.

Ханггнади' нгобтарем' юнгу.
Ханк°-wa-doh ŋobtar'em yəŋku.
 slaughter-IMPF.AN.3PL so no
 They didn't slaughter them.

Ты тэврамаданта чаямчи' нгамтакэхэ'.
Tī təw°ra-qma-хэд°nta s'ay°-mt'ih ŋəm-takex°h.
 reindeer.PL.ACC bring-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG tea-ACC.3DU drink-PROB.3DU
 After he had brought the reindeer, they had some tea.

Сябунчи' черад латакодамчи' хонггтакэхэ'.
S'abu-nt'ih t'erə-d° latako-d°-mt'ih хонк°r-takex°h
 cargo.sledge-GEN.3DU content-PRED balk-PRED-ACC.3DU break.apart-PROB.3DU
 балагангкоданчи'.
balagan-ko-хэд°nt'ih.
 wooden.hut-DIM-ABL.3DU

They broke away the balks from the wooden hut to made a cargo sledge.

Хабту ёркалнгаха', мюдади' пуйдангаха'.
Xabto yorkəlŋa-x°h, m'ūdə-mt'ih pūy°danŋa-x°h.
 bull.PL.ACC drive.into.enclosure-3DU caravan-ACC.3DU harness-3DU
 They drove the reindeer bulls into an enclosure and harnessed them.

Таб Ед Хэвков хасаваханта нгэвада ярэй”: - Балгангкоми
Təb° Yed° Хəw°ko-хəw° хасawa-x°nta ŋəwa-da yarey°-q: “Balagan-ko-m'i
 T. Y. X.-AFF man-DAT.3SG head-3SG turn-REFL.3SG wooden.hut-DIM-1SG

тяхад няд мэмыни нив” нга”.
t'axəd° n'ad° me-mi°-n'i n'ī=w°q ŋaq.
 from.behind from be-PERF.PART.PL-1SG NEG-DUB be.CONNEG

Tab Ed Xewko turned her head to her husband: “I lived in this wooden hut before.

Падар нго” тюкон’ тэв” нисянав”.
Pidar° ŋoq t’ukon°h tæw°-q n’i-sa-nə=w°q.
 you too to.here arrive-CONNEG NEG-INTER-2SG-DUB
 Then you came here too.

Балаганко’ мю’ сулякодар ням”!
Balagaŋ-ko-h m’uh su°ql’a-ko-də-r° n’əqm°-q!”
 wooden.hut-DIM-GEN to.inside calf-DIM-PRED-2SG grab-IMP.2SG
 Grab a reindeer calf to sacrifice to the wooden hut!”

Хасава нгоб” суляком’ няма.
Xasawa ŋob su°ql’a-ko-m n’əqmtə°.
 man one calf-DIM-ACC grab
 The man caught a reindeer calf.

Таб Ед Хэвкор нгани’ ма: - Тюнянгы хэвамта
Təb° Yed° Xæw°ko-r° ŋan’ih ma: “T’uq° n’a-ŋi° xæw°-mta
 T. Y. X.-2SG more say up at-ADJ side-ACC.3SG
 хабарками’.
xəbər-k°-m’ih.
 clean-HORT-1DU > SG.OBJ

Tab Ed Xewko also said: “Let’s clean the upper side of its body.

Тюнянгы хэвда мани’ ейми’.
T’uq° n’a-ŋi° xæw°-da mən’ih yeqy°-m’ih.
 up at-ADJ side-3SG we.DU part-1DU
 This upper side is our share.

Нгылнянгы хэвамта нёр хабар”, чикана
Ŋil° n’a-ŋi° xæw°-mta n’or° xəbər°-q, t’ikaxəna
 under at-ADJ side-ACC.3SG NEG.2SG > SG.OBJ clean-CONNEG here
 хаёя.
xaɣo-ya.
 stay-JUS

Let’s not clean the lower side, let it stay here.

Нёнт си, сидеринт си вар пи’ няд малнгэ
N’o-nt° s’i s’id’er’i-nt° s’i war° p’i-h n’ad° mal°-ŋe°
 door-GEN.2SG hole window-GEN.2SG hole edge out-GEN from all-ESS
 хэвотан” всякона.
xewota-n°q weya-ko-x°na.
 smear.with.blood-IMP.2SG > PL.OBJ blood-DIM-LOC

Smear all the door and window frames with blood from the outside.

Тяхант няд нидам' мы" тюкона.
T'axə-nt° n'ad° n'ī-dəm°q me-q t'ukoxəna.
 back-GEN.2SG from NEG-1SG.FOC be-CONNeg here
 I lived here before.

Падар нго" чикан' тэв" нянав".
Pidər° ɲoq t'ikan°h tæw°-q n'ī-nə=w°q.
 you too to.here arrive-CONNeg NEG-2SG-DUB
 And you came here too.

Хэвотахая хаехами', тюнянгы
Xəwota-xəya° xayə-x°-m'ih, t'uq° n'a-ɲi°
 smear.with.blood-INTENS-MOD leave-HORT-1DU > SG.OBJ up at-ADJ
 хэвковада мани' ейми' нгэ" нив".
xæw°-ko-x°wa-da mən'ih yeqy°-m'ih ɲaq n'ī=w°q.
 side-DIM-AFF-3SG we.DU part-1DU be.CONNEG NEG-DUB

After we smear it with blood, let's leave it, and the upper part will be ours."

Ненэся нго" тарем' сергади'.
N'enes'a ɲoq tər'em s'erta-d'ih.
 truth too so do-3DU
 And indeed they did it.

Суляком' хабарнгади'.
Su°ql'a-ko-m xəbərɲa-d'ih.
 calf-DIM-ACC skin-3DU
 They skinned the reindeer calf.

Тюнянгы хэвамта яхади', сидеринчи' си, нёнчи'
T'uq° n'a-ɲi° xæw°-mta yaxə°-d'ih, s'īd'er'ī-nt'ih s'ī n'o-nt'ih
 up at-ADJ part-ACC.3SG skin-3DU window-GEN.3DU hole door-GEN.3DU
 си малнгэ хэвотайди'.
s'ī mal°h xəwota-y°-d'ih.
 hole all smear.with.blood-PL.OBJ-3DU

They cleaned its upper part and smeared the door and window frames with blood.

Нгылнянгы хэвда чикан' хаи вэсавэй.
ɲil° n'a-ɲi° xæw°-da t'ika-xəna xayī weya-sawey°.
 under at-ADJ part-3SG here stay blood-PROPR
 The lower part stayed there all bloody.

Та мансхалъяха'.
Ta mən°xəlyə-x°h.
 then move-REFL.3DU
 Then they left.

Ненэся нго” хадо’ мал хубта нгэвы.
N’enes’a ŋoq xədo-h mal° xubta ŋæ-wi°.
 truth too herd-GEN end far be-INFR
 And indeed there was no end to this herd.

Нгудунта нгэдалёбчеди’, хадончи’ малм’ тамна
ŋudontə-° ŋædal’o-bt’e-d’ih, xədo-nt’ih mal°-m təmna
 travel.in.front-MOD travel-CAUS-3DU herd-GEN.3DU end-ACC still
 ниди’ тэв”.
n’i-d’ih tæw°-q.
 NEG-3DU arrive-CONNEG

Even when they travelled in the front, they couldn’t reach the end of the herd.

Нябимчей нгудунта нгэдалавананчи’ тандая’ тэвади’.
N’ab’imt’ey° ŋudontə-° ŋædala-wa-xənant’ih tənt°yah tæw°-d’ih.
 second travel.in.front-MOD travel-IMPF.AN-LOC.3DU at.once arrive-3DU
 Only when they travelled for the second time did they reach it.

Надо’ варм’ хае хасава нултада
Nədo-h war°-m xaye° xasawa nūl°ta°-da
 steep.bank-GEN edge-ACC leave-MOD man stop-3SG > SG.OBJ

тыда нганчибче.
tīda, ŋant’ibc’e.
 reindeer.PL.ACC.3SG stop

When they left the edge of a steep bank, the man stopped the reindeer.

Тыди’ нганчибченгаха’.
Tīd’ih ŋant’ibc’eŋa-x°h.
 reindeer.PL.ACC.3DU stop-3DU
 They stopped the reindeer.

Хасава нерняку’ мансхалада.
Xasawa n’er°n’akuh mənc°xəlaə-da.
 man forth move-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Then the man moved forward.

Ма” нив”: - Тыни пуняю’ ядерп”
Ma-q n’i=w°q: “Tīn’i pū n’ayu°h yader-p°q
 say-CONNEG NEG reindeer.PL.1SG back to walk-COND

хадони малхад несэй ян’ хэрабтыртани’.
xədoqn’i mal°-xəd° n’esey° ya-n°h xerabtir-t°-n’ih.”
 herd.PL.GEN.1SG end-ABL new place-DAT go.around.FREQ-FUT-1DU

He said: “If my reindeer go back, we will go to the new place from the end of our herd.”

Нгоб' мюсенгаха'.
Nob°-h m'ūs'enja-x°h.
 one-GEN travel.with.caravan-3DU
 They travelled further.

Таб Ед Хэвкор хаюбтаревы.
Təb° Yed° Xæw°-ko-r° xaqyabtar'o-wi°.
 T. Y. X.-2SG fall.behind-INFR
 Tab Ed Xewko remained behind.

Тад хасавада нултада.
Təd° xasawa-da nūl°ta°-da.
 then man-3SG stop-3SG > SG.OBJ
 Then the man stopped his reindeer.

Мята мюд пюла.
M'a-ta m'ud° p'ülə°.
 tent-GEN.3SG from.inside search.INCH
 He started looking for a place for a tent.

Тюрамта палнга, ма: - Тюкод мяд' мюнге сава,
T'ur°-mta pə°ŋa, ma: "T'ukoxəd° m'ad°-h m'u-ŋe° səwa,
 driving.rod-ACC.3SG stick.up say from.here tent-GEN inside-ESS good
 мюдар чикавна сюрхалед!
m'ūdā-r° t'ikaw°na s'ur°xəl'e-d°!"
 caravan-2SG through.here turn-IMP.2SG > SG.OBJ

He stuck up his driving rod and said: "This would be a good place for a tent, turn your caravan here!"

Не мюдамта сюрхале нгани, мяти' палнгаха'.
N'e m'ūdā-mta s'ur°xəl'e° ŋan'ih, m'a-t'ih pə°ŋa-x°h.
 woman caravan-ACC.3SG turn more tent-ACC.3DU stick.up-3DU
 The woman brought the caravan and they set up a tent.

Хасавада тахаюда мэ.
Xasawa-da təx°yoda me°.
 man-3SG snow.wall.PL.ACC.3SG take
 The man made snow walls.

Не вавда чер тюленакы.
N'e waqw°-da t'er° t'ul'e-naki°.
 woman bed-3SG content bring.in-PROB
 The woman brought in the beds.

Бавда лехэбтанақы.
Waqw^oda *l'exabta-naki^o*.
 bed.PL.ACC.3SG make.bed-PROB
 She made beds.

Латада лехэбтанақы.
Lat^oda *l'exabta-naki^o*.
 floor.plank.PL.ACC.3SG spread-PROB
 He laid the floor planks.

Латада лехэбтамаданта хасава пиня
Lat^oda *l'exabta-qma-xad^onta* *hasawa* *p'ix^ona*
 floor.plank.PL.ACC.3SG spread-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG man outside
 манзаямта пэрнга.
məncaya-mta *pæ^oŋa*.
 work-ACC.3SG treat

After he laid the floor planks, he started working outside.

Тахаёда сюрхалё такалъяда.
Təx^oyoda *s'ur^oxəl'o-^o* *tək^ol-yə-da*.
 snow.wall.PL.ACC.3SG encircle-MOD hide-PL.OBJ-3SG
 He covered the snow walls with something.

Ханота со сюрнга, мят' тю.
Xənota *so* *s'ŋŋa*, *m'at^o-h* *t'u^o*.
 sledge.PL.GEN.3SG harness.PL.ACC put.away tent-DAT enter
 He put away the harnesses of the sledges and entered the tent.

Едди' мале пивы.
Yed^o-d'ih *məl'e^o* *p'i-wi^o*.
 kettle-3DU already boil-INFR
 The food was already ready.

Евэй нгормахаданчи' хонэйха'.
Yewey^o-m *ŋo^or-ma-x^odənt'ih* *xoneyə-x^oh*.
 fish.soup-ACC eat-IMP.F.AN-ABL.3DU go.to.sleep-3DU
 They ate some fish soup and went to sleep.

Хасава нгахат ханебтаса, чедав' нгэдалё хане" нив".
Hasawa *ŋaxət^o* *xan'e-bt'e-sa*, *t'edaxəw^oh* *ŋædal'o-^o* *xan'e-q* *n'i=w^oq*.
 man from.before hunt-CAUS-INTER now.AFF travel-MOD hunt-CONNEG NEG-DUB
 The man hunted as before; now he went on reindeer back.

Хуняна тэдда няма, нгэдалё хая.
Xūn'ana te-d°-mta n'əqta°, ɲædal'o-° хая.
 tomorrow reindeer-PRED-ACC.3SG grab travel-MOD go
 The next day he took some reindeer and left.

Нгани' сидя илебчам' хада.
Ŋan'ih s'id'a yil'ebc'a-m xada°.
 more 2 wild.reindeer-ACC kill
 He killed two more wild reindeer.

Пиллипон' сидя ханонга.
P'il'iq po-n°h s'id'a-m xada-ɲko°.
 always long-DAT 2-ACC kill-IMPF
 He always killed two reindeer.

Пилибт" хане.
P'il'ibt°q xan'e°.
 always hunt
 He hunted all the time.

Хадоди' пунянгы хадочи' малан'
Xədod'ih pū n'a-ɲi° xədot'ih malə-n°h
 herd.PL.3DU behind at-ADJ herd.PL.GEN.3DU end-DAT
 тыди' тэван' харбилад".
tīd'ih tæwo-wa-n°h xərb'iliə-d°q.
 reindeer.PL.3DU arrive-IMPF.AN-DAT want.INCH-REFL.3PL

And their own reindeer were about to reach the end of their pasture.

Нгани' несай ян' хэрабтэйд'.
Ŋan'ih n'esey° ya-n°h xerabte-y°-d'ih.
 more new place-DAT go.around-PL.OBJ-3DU
 Then they drove the reindeer to a new place.

Нгани' несай ян' нгысыхы', тари нинякэхэ' мэ".
Ŋan'ih n'esey° ya-n°h ɲisi-x°h, tær'i n'i-nakex°h me-q.
 more new place-DAT camp-3DU DP NEG-PROB.3DU be-CONN
 Then they made a camp in the new place, but they didn't stay there long.

Таб Ед Хэвкор хасава нюкчам' хо.
Təb° Yed° Xæw°ko-r° xasawa n'ūk°c'a-m xo°.
 T. Y. X.-2SG man child-ACC find
 Tab Ed Xewko gave birth to a son.

Лаханако ню нгамгэ пон' нгарамтанггу?

Ləx°nako n'ū ŋəmke pon°h ŋar°mtə-ŋku?

tale child what long grow-FUT

Why wouldn't the fairy tale child grow fast?

Тянё нянякэхэ' мэ", нюди' нгарма.

T'an'o n'i-nakex°h me-q, n'ū-d'ih ŋar°ma.

few NEG-PROB.3DU be-CONNeg child-3DU grow

After a short while their son grew big.

Мале пивня харта ярколанангэ хая.

Məl'e° p'iw°n'a xər°-ta yarkolə-na-ŋe° xəya.

already along.outside REFL-3SG catch.with.lasso-IMPf.PART-ESS go

He could already walk and catch reindeer with a lasso on his own.

Тарем' харптыртаханчи' нюди' хасава ёльчнганта

Tər'em xarp°tir-ta-xənt'ih n'ū-d'ih xasawa yolc°ŋ-kənta

so nomadize-IMPf.PART-DAT.3DU child-3DU man age-DAT.3SG

тэвы'.

təwi°-q.

arrive-REFL.3SG

While his parents lived as nomads like that, their son reached maturity.

Нгани' несйэй ян' нгэсосеты", нгэсосеты", тянё

Ŋan'ih n'esey° ya-n°h ŋeso-s'əti-q, ŋeso-s'əti-q, t'an'o

more new place-DAT camp-HAB-3PL camp-HAB-3PL few

вунихи' мэ".

wun'i-x°h me-q.

NEG.EMPH-3DU be-CONNeg

They always camped in a new place and didn't stay long.

Сяри" хунат ненадо суты' ядан' нгысы'.

S'ar'ih xunə-t°h n'enado soti°-h yada-n°h ŋisi-x°h.

when.LIM long protruded flatheaded.hill-GEN slope-DAT camp-3DU

Once they made a camp on a slope of a protruded flatheaded hill.

Пирчькая суты нгэвы.

P'irc°-kəya soti° ŋə-wi°.

high-INTENS flatheaded.hill be-INFR

The hill was quite high.

Таб Ед Хэвконт хасава ню харта ню харта

Təb° Yed° Xəw°ko-nt° xasawa n'ū xər°-ta n'ū xər°-ta

T. Y. X.-GEN.2SG man child REFL-3SG child REFL-3SG

нгэдалёрта хасавангэ хая.
ṇḁdal'o-r-ta xasawa-ṇe° хәуа.
 travel-FREQ-IMPF.PART man-ESS go

Tab Ed Xewko's son became a man who could travel on his own.

Хасава нюхунча нгэвада ярэй": -Хасава нгачекеы,
Xasawa n'ü-x°nta ṇḁwa-da yarey°-q: "Xasawa ṇḁc'eki°,
 man child-DAT.3SG head-3SG turn-REFL.3SG man child

нгарка ненчангэ нянав" хань".
ṇarka n'enec'ḁ-ṇe° n'ĩ-nḁ=w°q хан°-q.
 big human-ESS NEG-2SG-DUB go-CONNEG

She turned to her son: "Boy, you have grown up.

Чеда' тэр сэв' мал' ёльчанггана мядм' сюрхалё
T'edah ter° sḁw°-h mal°h yolc'°ṇ-kḁna m'ad°-m s'ur°xal'o-°
 now reindeer.2SG eye-GEN all end-LOC tent-ACC encircle-MOD
 малнгэ тэнгэ хая".
mal°h te-ṇe° хәуа-q.
 all reindeer-ESS go-3PL

Now there are reindeer around the tent wherever you look.

Илевам' пэрчангэ нгэнггу" нянав".
Yil'e-wa-m pḁr°-t'a-ṇe° ṇḁ-ṇku-q n'ĩ-nḁ=w°q.
 live-IMPF.AN-ACC treat-IMPF.PART-ESS be-FUT-CONNEG NEG-2SG-DUB
 You will continue to live.

Вэва янд чер" мят хэвувна турп"
Wḁwa ya-nt° t'er°-q m'a-t° xḁwuw°na tur-p°q
 bad place-GEN.2SG content-PL tent-GEN.2SG side.PROL come-COND
 мангтбада ненча" танянггу".
maṇk°bḁ-da n'enec'ḁ°-q tḁn'a-ṇku-q.
 poor-IMPF.PART people-PL exist-FUT-3PL

Poor people from bad countries will come to the sides of your tent.

Нгоб" - сидя сулякона чердембан".
Ṇob s'id'a su°ql'a-ko-xḁna t'er°d'emṇḁ-n°q.
 one 2 calf-DIM-LOC fill.up-IMP.2SG > PL.OBJ
 Give them one or two reindeer calves.

Тында тонав" чикав сер" ни нга".
Tĩntḁ-° to-na-xḁw° t'ika-xḁw° s'er n'ĩ ṇaq.
 ask.for.reindeer-MOD come-IMPF.PART-AFF this-AFF thing NEG be.CONNEG
 If those who come ask for reindeer, let it be so.

Чердембан”.

T'er°d'empə-n°q.

fill.up-IMP.2SG > PL.OBJ

Give them some.

Ейдамту' нгани' нгобчики хомбнггу' нянав”.

Yeqy°-də-mtoh ɲan'ih ɲobt'iki° xomp°-ŋku-q n'ĩ-nə=w°q.

part-PRED-ACC.3PL more also find-FUT-CONNEG NEG-2SG-DUB

You will also get your share.

Манггабада ненчаи ненэйвавна черси”

Manɣ°bə-da n'enec°yi n'eneɣ-xəwa-w°na t'er°-s'iq

poor-IMPF.PART people.PL.ACC truth-AFF-PROL content-CAR

нён нгэдтамбю”.

n'on° ɲæda-bta-mɣ'uq.

NEG.IMP.2SG send-CAUS-DUR.CONNEG

Do not really send poor people away without a gift.

Мани' нисянт ня' нямтар

Mən'ih n'is'a-nt° n'ah n'aq-ma-də-r°

we.DU father-GEN.2SG with have.as.companion-IMPF.AN-PRED-2SG

нини' нга”.

n'ĩ-n'ih ɲaq.

NEG-1DU be.CONNEG

You won't have your father and myself with you.

Мани' мале таймна ядерчь хантани'.

Mən'ih məl'e° tay°mna yader-c°° xan°-tə-n'ih.

we.DU already through.there walk-MOD go-FUT-1DU

We will go to another world.

Суты' нгэва' ни' мядикомди' сертанггу”

Soti°-h ɲæwa-h n'ih m'ad'i-ko-d°-m'ih s'erta-ŋku-q

flatheaded.hill-GEN head-GEN onto tent-DIM-PRED-ACC.1DU do-FUT-CONNEG

нянав”.

n'ĩ-nə=w°q.

NEG-2SG-DUB

You will make us a little tent on the top of the flatheaded hill.

Чикы мяд' мю' сидни' хаенггу” нянав”.

T'iki° m'ad°-h m'uh s'id°n'ih xaye-ŋku-q n'ĩ-nə=w°q.

this tent-GEN to.inside we.DU.ACC leave-FUT-CONNEG NEG-2SG-DUB

You will leave us in this tent.

Мят хэвувна мяд” турт” ним”
M'a-t° хэвuw°na m'ad°-q tūr-t°-q n'ī-q=m°q
 tent-GEN.2SG side.PROL tent-PL come-FUT-CONN EG-3PL-DUB
 нгани, тэр харта мась.
ḡan'ih, ter° хэр-ta mas°.
 more reindeer.2SG REFL-3SG enough

Other families will pass your tent, you will have enough reindeer of your own.

Недамт миртамна ёльче тэвна
N'e-d°-mt m'ir°da-qm°na yolc'e-° tew°na
 woman-PRED-ACC.2SG price-PL.PROL finish-MOD reindeer.PROL
 мунггу” нянав”.
me-ḡku-q n'ī-nə=w°q.
 take-FUT-CONN EG-2SG-DUB

After you pay the bride price in reindeer, you will take a wife for yourself.

Мят хэвувна мюсена” харту’ тута”.
M'a-t° хэвuw°na m'ūs'e-na-q хэр°-toh tūtā°-q.
 tent-GEN.2SG side.PROL travel.with.caravan-IMP.F.PART-PL REFL-3PL come.FUT-3PL
 Travelling people will come to your tent.”

Ненэся небяюда нисяюда суты’ нгэва’ ни’
N'enes'a n'eb'a-xəyu-da n'is'a-xəyu-da soti°-h ḡəwa-h n'ih
 truth mother-DU-3SG father-DU-3SG flatheaded.hill-GEN head-GEN onto
 валнгаюда, таирим’ ейчъ мядиком’ серта.
wəqlaḡa-x°yu-da, tay°-r'i-m yeyə-c° m'ad'i-ko-m s'erta°.
 put.away-DU.OBJ-3SG face.fur-LIM-ACC cover.with.skins-MOD tent-DIM-ACC do
 Indeed the son put his parents on top of the flatheaded hill and made a little tent
 covered with fur from reindeer heads.

Мяд’ ию’ харчи’ пакалъяха’.
M'ad°-h m'uh хэр°-t'ih pək°lyə-x°h.
 tent-GEN to.inside REFL-3DU hide-REFL.3DU
 The parents entered it themselves.

Мангаха': - Чедав’ ервнгэ хаян, хань”!
Maḡa-x°h: “T'edaхəw°h yerw°-ḡe° хəya-n°, хан°-q!”
 say-3DU now.AFF master-ESS go-2SG go-IMP.2SG
 They said: “You have become a master now, go!”

Мяканта хая.
M'a-k°nta хəya.
 tent-DAT.3SG go
 He went to his tent.

Пэвсюмняна нгамгэ тарчаком' пэртаккы, чикаривана
Pæw's'um'a-h n'ana nəmke tərç'a-ko-m pæ°r-taki°, t'iki-r'i-w°na
 evening-GEN at what such-DIM-ACC treat-PROB this-LIM-PROL

мядикочам' маниеда.
m'ad'i-ko-c'a-m mən'iyē°-da.
 tent-DIM-DIM-ACC see-3SG > SG.OBJ

He was doing something in the evening and saw that the little tent was in its place.

Хуняна юркы".
Xūn'ana yurki°-q.
 tomorrow wake.up-REFL.3SG
 In the morning he woke up.

Мядикочам' ни манэс".
M'ad'i-ko-c'a-m n'i mænes°-q.
 tent-DIM-DIM-ACC NEG see-CONNNEG
 But saw no tent.

Нграмгэрт мя" юнгу.
Nəmkexərt° m'aq yəŋku.
 nothing tent no
 There was no tent.

Сидя тынчъ хабчеда тыбнемяна
S'id'a tīn-c° xabt°-da tib°n'e-qma-xəna
 2 catch.with.lasso-MOD castrated.bull-3SG dig.holes-PERF.AN-LOC

мяевы.
m'aqye-wi°.
 be.near.tent-INFR

Two castrated bulls used for catching other reindeer were digging holes near the tent.

Хабчехэюда няма, подернгахаюда.
Xabt°-xəyu-da n'əqtmə°, pod'erŋa-xəyu-da.
 castrated.bull-DU-ACC.3SG grab harness-DU.OBJ-3SG
 He caught these bulls and harnessed them.

Манэманчъ хая.
Məneq-mənc° xəya.
 see-PUPR go
 He went to have a look.

Мядико' нго"ма ханяна хэвы нгэбта?
M'ad'i-ko-h ŋoqma xən'ana xə-wi° ŋæ-b°-ta ?
 tent-DIM-GEN former.place where go-PERF.PART be-COND-3SG
 Where had the little tent gone?

Ихинянта ма: “Суты’ ядан’ тэвмахавами
Yi-x°n’anta ma: “Soti°-h yada-n°h tæw°-qma-x°wa-m’i
 mind-LOC.3SG say flatheaded.hill-GEN slope-DAT arrive-PERF.AN-AFF-1SG
 чиню’.
t’i=n’uq.
 this-EXCL

He thought: “This is the spot where I arrived at the slope of the flatheaded hill.

Суты’ ни’ тандамами, нгэдалёвартами юнггу”.
Soti°-h n’ih tən°tə-qma-m’i ηædal’o-wa-xərt°-m’i yəŋku-q.
 flatheaded.hill-GEN onto ascend-PERF.AN-1SG travel-IMPF.AN-FOC-1SG no-3PL
 But there is no trace of how I went up the hill.”

Июй мядм’ паламан’ тэвы” нгани,
T’uqəy° m’ad°-m pə°l-ma-n°h tæwi°-q ηan’ih,
 up.ADJ tent-ACC stick.up-IMPF.AN-DAT arrive-REFL.3SG more
 нгамгэрт мяд’ паламарт юнггу.
ηəmkəxərt° m’ad°-h pə°l-ma-xərt° yəŋku.
 nothing tent-GEN stick.up-IMPF.AN-FOC no

He reached the place where the tent used to stand, but there was nothing sticking up.

Яда черсявы.
Ya-da t’er°s’ə-wi°.
 place-3SG empty-INFR
 The place was empty.

Сяри’ хунат Таб Ед Хэвконт хасава ню мэбта,
S’ar’ih xunəth Təb° Yed° Xæw°ko-nt° xasawa n’ū me-b°-ta
 when.LIM long T. Y. X.-GEN.2SG man child be-COND-3SG
 мюсена” то”.
m’ūs’e-na-q to°-q.
 travel.with.caravan-IMPF.PART-PL come-3PL

Tab Ed Xewko’s son was on his own for a while, and then travellers came.

Мяк” нгэдалэй”, нинта чеба.
M’a-k°q ηædaley°-q, n’an°doh t’ebə-q.
 tent-DAT.PL travel-REFL.3SG DAT.3PL touch
 Travellers came, and he caught up with them.

Нгэвакуида вуни тане”.
Ŋæw°-ko-ye-da wun’i tən’a-q.
 messenger-DIM-PEJ-3SG NEG.EMPH exist-CONNEG
 He had no match maker.

Харту' няхатату' нгэвакодамта хонакы.
Хэр^о-toh n'a-x^оtətoh ŋæw^о-ko-də-mta xo-naki^о.
 REFL-3PL companion-PL.ABL.3PL messenger-DIM-PRED-ACC.3SG find-PROB
 He found a match maker among those very people.

Мирдамта ёльче недамта мэ.
M'ir^оdə-mta yolc'e-^о n'e-d^о-mta me^о.
 price-ACC.3SG finish-MOD woman-PRED-ACC.3SG take
 He paid a price and took a wife for himself.

Тэвна недамта мэ.
Tew^оna n'e-də-mta me^о.
 reindeer.PROL woman-PRED-ACC.3SG take
 He took a wife in exchange for a reindeer.

Таб Ед Хэвконт хасава ню недамта
Təb^о Yed^о Xæw^оko-nt^о xasawa n'ū n'e-də-mta
 T. Y. X.-GEN.2SG man child woman-PRED-ACC.3SG
 хомаданта сававна илел" нив".
xo-qma-xəd^оnta səwa-w^оna yil'e-l^о-q n'i=w^оq.
 find-PERF.AN-ABL.3SG good-PROL live-INCH-CONNNEG NEG-DUB
 After Tab Yed Xewko's son found a wife, he started living well.

Илебям' пэрчангэ хая.
Yil'eb'a-m pæ^оr-t'a-ŋe^о хәүа.
 wealth-ACC treat-IMP.F.PART-ESS go
 He became the master of life.

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