A Syntax of the
Nivkh Language

The Amur dialect

Vladimir P. Nedjalkov
Galina A. Otaina

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Editors

Volume 139

A Syntax of the Nivkh Language. The Amur dialect
by Vladimir P. Nedjalkov and Galina A. Otaina

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The Amur dialect

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Galina A. Otaina (1930–1995)

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Foreword

This publication is a translation from Russian of the *Syntaksis nivxskogo jazyka (The Amur dialect)* (Syntax of the Nivkh Language (Amurskij dialekt). (In Nedjalkov, V.P. & Otaina, G.A. 2012. *Ocherki po sintaksisu nivkhskogo jazyka.* Edited by E. Geniušienė. 18–237. Moscow: Znak). The latter is in its turn a posthumous edition of a pre-final unpublished draft under the same title found in the linguistic archives of Vladimir P. Nedjalkov. The typescript dated 1988–1990 needed the authors' editing and they certainly planned it, but the events in Russia in the early 1990s and the untimely death of Galina A. Otaina in 1995 prevented this as well as the publication.

Shortage of works on Nivkh grammar available in English gave us an idea of translating this book into English. This publication on the syntax of the Nivkh language may fill in an existing gap to a certain degree. Werner Abraham (University of Vienna) supported this idea and thus encouraged us to undertake this project.

It should be stressed that the original manuscript is an unedited draft, with occasional inconsistencies, vague statements and faulty typing. The Russian publication required thorough checking of the Nivkh material (often misspelt), renumbering the examples and sections, adding the *Table of Contents* and *References*, and a number of other editorial corrections.

This foreword is followed by the *Foreword* from the Russian edition of the book which the reader is advised to read first as it contains the basic information about the work. This foreword is meant to supplement the latter one and inform the prospective reader of the additional editorial changes made in the English version.

In this version, the authors' text is preserved intact, the translation being as close to the Russian original as possible. In the course of translating from Russian, the translator had to curb her impulses to sometimes edit the style, when the text begged for improvement, and, occasionally, complete some statements for clarity (in her belief that the authors would have done so if they had had a chance to write and edit the final draft). Finally the editors checked the entire translation carefully with the purpose of weeding out the changes that might have slipped in when the translator had lost vigilance. The authors' terminology is preserved without updating.

The English translations of the Nivkh sentential examples are in fact translations of the authors' Russian translations, (only sometimes slightly changed with regard to the glossing. Hence the occasional differences between the translations and morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.

The reader may as well be warned that sometimes the spelling of some Nivkh words varies, e.g. the verb 'look' may be spelt as *j-ajma-*, *j-ama-*, *j-añma-*; the verb 'enter house' is spelt in the manuscript in three different ways: *təvə-*, *təvu-* and *təvɣ-*. This variation, probably caused by the differences in the idiolects of the informants and absence of codified orthography, is retained in each case (generally, the authors' orthorgraphy is preserved, though in Latin transliteration, with the exceptions mentioned below).

If a word has several meanings, e.g. *ţīr* 'tree', 'forest', 'firewood', it is glossed according to the first (main) meaning and translated according to the context.

With regard to the Nivkh material, we have deemed it necessary to do the following:

1. We have added the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing (the draft was written at a time when glossing was not as yet required in Russian publications).
2. We have also added attribution to the examples borrowed from the works by V.Z. Panfilov and E.A. Krejnovich, which were missing in most cases. In V.Z. Panfilov's and L.Ja. Shternberg's examples we have chosen to preserve their spelling and translations.
3. The list of *Abbreviations* with grammatical morphemes has also been added.
4. Also added are the *Subject*, *Name* and *Language indexes*.
5. We have added editorial notes and comments as footnotes. The authors' notes are entered in the text, as they are in the manuscript.

We have also appended a list of publications on Nivkh grammar authored by V.P. Nedjalkov and G.A. Otaina.

Despite its shortcomings, the work has certain value due to some original unorthodox interpretations different from those suggested by other nivkhologists, also due to the problems raised and experimental and quantitative data provided by the authors. The native intuitions of Galina A. Otaina and typological expertise and insights of Vladimir P. Nedjalkov are doubtless a precious contribution to the investigation of the Nivkh language.

The editors wish to express their gratitude to those who helped during the work on this version of the *Syntax of the Nivkh Language*: the native speakers of Nivkh Zoja Ljutova and Alexandra Khuryun who helped to clarify the meaning of some Nivkh words and sentences, and also I.V. Nedjalkov for checking the orthography of the Nivkh material at the initial stage. We are particularly grateful to Johanna Mattissen (University of Cologne) for carefully reading the final draft of this volume and making some useful suggestions, and also pointing out a considerable number of misprints.

Emma Geniušienė
Ekaterina Gruzdeva

Foreword

to the Russian edition of *Essays in Nivkh Syntax*
(V.P. Nedjalkov, G.A. Otaina. 2012. Ocherki po sintaksisu
nivkhskogo jazyka. Moscow: Znak. Edited by E. Geniušienė)

This collection of papers contains four works on the Nivkh language co-authored by the eminent typologist Vladimir P. Nedjalkov (1928–2009) and Galina A. Otaina (1930–1995), a talented linguist and ethnographer, a native speaker of Nivkh who had a perfect knowledge of her language. The papers were written during the period of nearly thirty years of their joint work on Nivkh grammar. The papers are prefaced by short articles about Vladimir Nedjalkov and Galina Otaina and also by a brief note on the Nivkh language (from V.P. Nedjalkov's linguistic archive).

The basis of this collection are two papers published posthumously: *Sintaksis nivkhskogo jazyka (amurskij dialekt)* (Syntax of the Nivkh Language (the Amur dialect), pp. 18–237) and *Vyrazhenie mul'tiplikativnosti, distributivnosti, iterativnosti i uzitativnosti v nivkhskom jazyke* (Expression of mulitplicativity, distributivity, iterativity and usitativity in the Nivkh language, pp. 238–286) found in the linguistic archives of the late V.P Nedjalkov. Included in this collection are two short papers printed in 1969 and 1978 in practically unavailable editions, because they may be of considerable interest to typologists and also linguists interested in the underinvestigated endangered languages of Siberia and the Far East of Russia.

The manuscript of the *Syntax of the Nivkh language* (over 300 typewritten pages), dated 1988–1990, is a pre-final unedited draft of the book. There is no doubt that the authors intended to complete the work and edit it properly (I'd like to note that V.P. Nedjalkov used to write a countless number of drafts of each paper and was especially particular and careful about the editing of his works). There is also no doubt that the authors would have never published this unfinished version of the book. Unfortunately, for a number of extralinguistic factors and failing health of Galina Otaina they could not complete it.

In content, the *Syntax* is a short grammar (rather than a book on syntax) centered on some problems of the syntax of Nivkh and containing some issues of morphology essential for understanding the peculiarities of the unique syntactic structure of Nivkh, a language isolate. It also contains sections concerned with the authors' experiments with the language material, and some quantitative data they obtained.

In the process of editing this work for publication it was decided to make minimally necessary and inevitable editorial changes, such as correcting minor stylistic faults, errors in the numbering of the examples and sections, misprints in the language material, and the like. Numerous cross-references to examples and sections as well as references to publications have been checked and corrected. The authors' terminology has been retained entirely. The language material, imperfectly typed, required a lot of work. In this respect Hidetoshi Shiraishi (Sapporo Gakuin University, Japan) has been of great help. Aleksandr M. Pevnov (Institute for Lingiustic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg) has read the entire text and checked the Nivkh examples with extreme care and made a number of valuable suggestions concerning the meaning of some vague statements and spelling mistakes overlooked by the authors, for which I am extremely grateful to him. Marina A. Tehmina, a native speaker and teacher of Nivkh (Teacher-training College, Nikolaevsk-na-Amure) has contributed by checking the translation of Nivkh examples whenever necessary. Taisia G. Bugaeva helped to correct the mistakes in the numbering of the language examples. Invaluable help during my work on the manuscript came from Ekaterina Gruzdeva (University of Helsinki), the leading specialist in Nivkh grammar. Without exagerration, she has done the main bulk of work at the final stage of editing the manuscript. She has done it with extreme care and thoroughness, in particular, when correcting inconsistencies in the morphemic division of Nivkh words and mispellings in the examples.

Despite the period that has passed since the draft of the *Syntax of the Nivkh language* was written and inevitable changes in the terminology and trends, this work has not become obsolete, due to its descriptive nature and new information. In this book the reader will find a concise presentation of some problematic issues of the syntax of Nivkh and an abundance of language data. The new material is in itself a precious contribution to the documenting of an underinvestigated endangered language of an indigenous minority.

It may be presumed that both Galina A. Otaina, with her intimate language intuition, herself (in some cases when the opinion of unnamed informants was presented) and other native speakers acted as informants (in the vast correspondence between the authors, which covers many years, Galina often refers to the informants she consulted while collecting the language material during her field trips and experimenting with the data, but she mentions no names). The authors also used the Nivkh material from the works of E.A. Krejnovich and V.Z. Panfilov, often, regretfully, without indicating the source.

It seems that this book was written from the viewpoint of a typologist and it was meant in the first place for specialists in typology, general linguistics, theory of grammar, etc., which explains some peculiarities in the composition and choice of problems dealt with. Nevertheless, specialists in Nivkh grammar will also find new information and interpretations.

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This volume is concluded by a list of the authors' publications in Nivkh grammar.

The editor is certain that this volume, being a tribute to the memory of both authors and to the amount of hard work this book required, will be a significant contribution to the investigation of the Nivkh language.

In conclusion I wish to express my gratitude to Nikolaj N. Kazansky for the idea of publishing this volume and for his constant interest in its preparation. I am also grateful to Zoja L. Ronik (Juzhno-Sakhalinsk), Galina Otaina's sister, for her readiness to help and for the materials she made available to me. Thanks are due to Tjeerd de Graaf (Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning) for his interest in the project and his encouragement. I owe a lot to my friend Taisia G. Bugaeva (a specialist in Korean) who was always ready to give me advice and moral support. Sergej Ju. Dmitrenko took care of the project and was of invaluable help as advisor on various problems that often arose, and all I can say to him is thank you. The help of all those named here and above was essential in preparing the volume for publication: without them I would be unable to complete it. I am very grateful and say thank you to all the colleagues and friends who helped me to edit the Russian version of this volume in one way or another: with advice, checking the Nivkh material, consulting, moral support, etc. during my work on it.

But I am particularly indebted to Ekaterina Gruzdeva, the leading nivkhologist, for her exceptional conscientiousness and thoroughness, her respect for the authors' opinions, her responsible attitude to the archival materials, her goodwill and stoic patience with my endless questions, and generous consultations and advice whenever I needed her help, and for all the time she spared for this project. And, which I particularly appreciate, for teaching me how to work with the archival materials. Her contribution to checking the Nivkh data was of utmost importance. Without her help I would never have coped with the task. Katja, THANK YOU!

All the remaining editorial shortcomings and faults are my responsibility.

Emma Geniušienė

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative		IMPERC	imperceptive
ACC	accusative		INCH	inchoative
ADD	additive		INCL	inclusive
ADV	adverb(ial)		IND	indicative
ADVERS	adversative		INDEF	indefinite
ANT	anterior		INST	instantaneous
ASS	assumptive		INSTR	instrumental
AUG	augmentative		INTS	intensifying
CATEG	categorical		HAB	habitual
CAUS	causative		LOC	locative
COM	comitative		MIR	mirative
COMP	comparative		MOD	modal
COMPL	completive		MULT	multiplicative
CONC	concessive		NAR	narrative
COND	conditional		NEG	negative
CONJ	conjunctive particle		NFUT	non-future
CONT	continuative		NML	nominaliser
CONV	converb(al)		NOM	nominative
COORD	coordinating		OPT	optative
DAT	dative		PERM	permanent quality
DES	desiderative		PERMS	permissive
DEST	destinative		PFV	perfective
DIMN	diminutive		PL	plural
DST	distant		POSS	possessive suffix
DISTR	distributive		PREV	preventive
DU	dual		PROGR	progressive
DUBIT	dubitative		PROH	prohibitive suffix
DUR	durative		PTC	participle
EMPH	emphatic		PURP	purposive
EP	epenthetic vowel		Q	question particle
EXCL	exclusive		RC	relative clause
FOC	focus		REC	reciprocal
FUT	future		REFL	reflexive
IMP	imperative		REP	reportative

RES	resultative	STH	something
RNOM	reported nominative	SUBJ	subjunctive
SB	somebody	SUP	supine
SBJ	subject	TR	transitiviser
SG	singular	USIT	usitative
SIM	simultaneous	VOC	vocative
SMWH	somewhere	WO	word order
SS	simple sentence		

Introductory notes

The structure of this book is concentric. This chapter contains the most essential basic information on Nivkh grammar which the reader will need first and foremost for understanding the language material in the immediately following sections. This basic information is further amplified in the subsequent chapters.

1.1 Grammatical markers. Word classes

Nivkh is an agglutinating synthetic language. As a rule, words are easily divisible into root and grammatical morphemes. The latter are almost exclusively suffixes. There is only one prefix, and even this one is unproductive (the prefix *u-/v-* with the reciprocal meaning forms a closed set of no more than 30 reciprocal verbs). Extremely productive are particles (there are over 20 items) which can be attached, with certain exceptions, to various parts of speech (in this respect they are similar to the Russian particle *by*). There are no prepositions and conjunctions in Nivkh. Spatial relations are often expressed by means of postpositions (at least 20 items). The verb displays a highly developed system of converbs (over 20 forms).

There are no adjectives in Nivkh. Meanings like 'be strong', 'be gray' are expressed by qualitative verbs. Possessive meanings, as in 'father's knife', 'our house', are expressed by pre-posed nouns (personal pronouns) in the nominative case, in the attributive position (see (1b), (1d)).

1.2 Syntax

The neutral word order is "subject (often omitted) – direct object – predicate"; "attribute – head word". A typical Nivkh sentence contains one finite predicate which may be preceded by one or several (rarely more than five) converbs. The sequence of verbal forms iconically reflects, as a rule, the chronological sequence of the events, which they denote, in reality.

1.3   Morphology of the verb

The marker of the finite predicate is usually the suffix -*ḍ* (-*ṭ* after voiceless conso-nants). The finite and non-finite verb forms are not marked for person and number. An exception is the imperative, which has a full person-number paradigm, and also some of the converbs (and one or two other forms), which have two markers (one for the 1SG and 1-3PL, and another for the 2SG and 3SG). The 3PL marker -*ku/-γu/-gu/-xu* is optional on the finite predicate in the indicative mood if the context implies a plural subject.

Only two tense forms are distinguished – non-future (the zero marker Ø) and future (the marker -*nə-*). (In this work the non-future is mostly translated by means of the past tense, according to grammatical tradition). For instance, the non-future finite form *lu-ḍ* combines with adverbials meaning 'a long time', 'still', 'yet', 'since a long time ago', 'already' and depending on the context may be translated as 'began to sing', 'sang', 'has sung', 'sings', 'is singing.'

There is a number of aspectual suffixes but they are rather seldom used to express a completed action.

The future tense is sometimes expressed by the desiderative-inchoative suffix -*inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* (cf. *lu-jnə-ḍ* 'will sing', 'will start singing', but *kevkevz-ḍ* 'twines, twists', *kevkevz-inə-ḍ* 'begins to twine, twist').

There are causative verbs marked with the suffix -*ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-* (the slant line here and further on indicates that these are morphonological variants of a sin-gle marker) and resultatives with the suffix -*kəta-/-γəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-*. Reflexivity is marked by the reflexive pronoun *p'i* (prefixed form *p'-*) in the direct object position (this is the position of the reciprocal prefix as well). Anticausatives are not developed (there are two or three verbs with the suffix -*r*).

1.4   Morphology of the noun

Nouns have the categories of case and number. The plural suffix -*ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-* is optional. There are eight cases. The nominative (absolutive) is zero-marked; formally it is identical with the noun stem. It is the case form of the subject and direct object. The other cases are agentive, (dative/accusative), dative/additive, instrumental, loca-tive, locative/ablative, destinative and comparative. Sometimes, the prolative case is distinguished.

1.5　Phonetics

There are six vowels in Nivkh (*i, e, a, ə, o, u*). Long vowels occur due to compensatory lengthening and are not regarded as separate phonemes. Besides, vowel length is used to add emphasis to words with emotive colouring. There are no diphthongs.

There are 32 consonants in the Amur dialect:

1. Plosives: (a) voiceless unaspirated: *p, t,* ṭ (palatal), *k, q* (uvular);
   (b) voiceless aspirated: *p', t', ṭ'* (palatal), *k', q'* (uvular);
   (c) voiced; *b, d, ḍ* (palatal), *g,* ɢ (uvular).
2. Fricatives: (a) voiceless: *f, ř, s, x, χ* (uvular), *h*;
   (b) voiced: *v, r, z, γ,* ʁ (uvular).
3. Sonorants: (a) nasals: *m, n, ñ* (palatal), *ŋ*;
   (b) lateral *l*;
   (c) approximant *j*.

The consonant *γ* is pronounced as Southern-Russian *г* before vowels, the consonant *ŋ* as [ŋ], *h* as German [h], the consonant *ř* approximately as Czech *ř*, but it is voiceless.

1.6　Morphonology

Consonant alternations are the most characteristic feature of Nivkh (Krejnovich 1937:26). We shall illustrate these alternations by means of the words *qan* 'dog', *eʁa* 'cow', *ṭ'i* 'you (SG), your', *ṭus* 'meat', *i-ñ-/-ñi-* 'eat', *pil-* 'be big' (qualitative verb):

(1)　a.　*hə+gan　pil-ḍ*.[1]
　　　　that+dog　be.big-IND
　　　　'This dog is big.'

　　b.　*Qan　i-ñ-ḍ*.
　　　　dog　3SG-eat-IND
　　　　'The dog eats/is eating.'

1.　The demonstrative pronoun *hə-* means 'that, close to the speaker' and is glossed by the editors correspondingly (cf. its explanation as 'already known, but not necessarily present' in Saveljeva, Taksami (1970:436)). Note that it is often translated by the authors as 'this'.

c. *Pila+ɢan   ʈuz+ñi-ḍ.*
    be.big+dog meat+eat-IND
    'The big dog eats meat.'

d. *Ṭʻ-vila+gan   eʙa+ḍuz+ñi-ḍ.*
    2SG-be.big+dog cow+meat+eat-IND
    'Your big dog eats cow meat.'   (see Krejnovich 1934: 194)

In these examples and henceforth the symbol "+" (plus) signifies junction of those words (including particles and auxiliary words) whose syntactic relations require certain morphonological changes of the contacting sounds. The same symbol joins the respective words in the morphemic line (this symbol is also used in the respective positions of Russian translations of examples without glosses unless the changed word order prevents it). The symbol "−" (hyphen) divides Nivkh words into morphemes.[2]

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2. In this version, the symbols in question are not used in the English translations of examples as redundant, because all of the examples are glossed. The use of the symbol "+" in the morphemic lines is simplified because its use in the manuscript is rather inconsistent and sometimes contradictory. For this reason the use of "+" is limited to bound attributive and object complexes between full personal (plural) pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, nouns and verbs, as well as numerals and some particles in the extended morphological complexes (see Sections 4 and 5).

Bound and free complexes

Under certain conditions, rather complicated morphonological changes of initial plosive and fricative consonants take place at morpheme junction: their alternation is determined by the final sound of the preceding root or grammatical morpheme (for details see Chapter 7 below). Example (1) shows the dative/additive case forms of the nouns *ŋa* 'animal, beast', *hemar* 'old man' and *qan* 'dog.' The suffix of the dative/additive case has four variants: *-roχ/-toχ/-doχ-rχ*. Similar alternations also take place at the junction of words in the syntactic complexes "direct object + predicate", "attribute + head word". Example (2) illustrates alternations for the noun *təf* 'house' as a head word with an attribute and (3) shows alternations of the initial consonant in the transitive verb *ro-/-to-/-do-* 'help' preceded by a direct object. (All the nouns are in the nominative case).

(2)   a.   *ŋa-**roχ***   [animal-DAT/ADD]   'to/for an animal'
       b.   *hemar-**toχ***   [old.man-DAT/ADD]   'to/for an old man'
       c.   *qan-**doχ***   [dog-DAT/ADD]   'to/for a dog'

(3)   a.   *ŋa+**rəf***   [animal+house]   'the house of the animal'
       b.   *hemar+**təf***   [old.man+house]   'the house of the old man'
       c.   *qan+**dəf***   [dog+house]   'the house of the dog'

(4)   a.   *Imŋ   ŋa+**ro**-ḍ.*
          they   animal+help-IND
          'They helped the animal.'

       b.   *Imŋ   hemar+**to**-ḍ.*
          they   old.man+help-IND
          'They helped the old man.'

       c.   *Imŋ   qan+**do**-ḍ.*
          they   dog+help-IND
          'They helped the dog.'

The complexes with these and other morphonological alternations are termed here *bound complexes* (henceforth the term *complex*, when used without specification, refers as a rule to a bound complex).

The term *free complexes* is applied to word combinations with other types of syntactic relations: "subject – predicate", "adverbial – predicate", "adverbial – attribute"; if a direct object and predicate or an attribute and its head word are not in immediate contact (these cases are often stylistically marked) they are regarded as free complexes as well. In free complexes alternation does not take place.

(5) *Hə+hemar   imŋ maŋ-gut   ro-ḑ.*
     that+old.man   they be.strong-ADV:3PL   help-IND
     'They helped this old man very much' (cf. (2b); the adverb *maŋ-gu-t* is
     derived from the qualitative verb *maŋg-* 'be strong, powerful' by means of
     the suffix *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* of converbal origin; see 18.2.1).[1]

In the alternations illustrated by Examples (1)–(3), 25 consonants are involved; the sonorants *n, ñ, ŋ, l* and *m* do not take part in these alternations, neither do *j* and *h*. A consonant may undergo alternation in some complexes and in some it may be retained. But the matter is not only in alternations. In any case a complex is a phonetic word within which a pause is not possible. Thus, if (3a)–(3c) are uttered without a pause after the subject the meaning of these sentences changes: the pronoun *imŋ* 'they' becomes an attribute of the direct object, the subject being implied by the prior context. In (5b) *ʁan* is a variant of the word *qan*; cf.:

(6) a.   … *imŋ+ŋa+ro-ḑ.*
          …they+animal+help-IND
          '… helped their animal.'

     b.   … *imŋ+ʁan+do-ḑ.*
          … they+dog+help-IND
          '… helped their dog.'

Free and bound word variants

As is shown in Example (3), the verb *ro-* 'help' has variants *ro-/-to-/-do-*. Of these three variants, the native speakers understand only the first one if it is used without an object. Therefore it is viewed here as a *free variant*. The other, *bound variants,* are either incomprehensible when presented separately or they are homonymous with some other verbs. Thus, the bound variant *-to-* coincides with the intransitive verb 'cry', and variant *-do-* is meaningless out of context (in Nivkh, there are no words, except some personal names and intensifying markers, with the initial voiced plosive **d**).

As a rule, a free variant of a transitive verb begins with a fricative, while that of a noun usually has an initial plosive. Thus, in Example (3) the free variant of the noun with the meaning 'house, dwelling' is **təf**, *-rəf* and *-dəf* being bound variants.

In the case of grammatical morphemes, there is no problem of similar distinction, since they are "bound" by definition, as they never occur without root morphemes. But this issue is not quite clear yet.

Morphological and syntactic complexes

Attributive and object complexes

Complexes with the alternation of the initial consonant of a grammatical morpheme are termed here *morphological complexes* (see (2)). Complexes with the alternation of the initial consonant of a notional word are termed *syntactic complexes*. The latter are subdivided into *object* (direct object + predicate) (see (4)) and *attributive* (attribute + head noun) *complexes* (see (3)). An attributive complex may function in its "pure" form, when, for instance, it takes the subject position (cf. *hə+hemar* 'this old man' in (5)) or that of an oblique object (see (9)), or it may occur within an object complex in the position of a direct object (cf. *imŋ+ŋa* 'their animal' and *imŋ+ʁan* 'their dog' in (6)). This mixed type may be termed an *attributive-object complex*.

   Above, we have cited cases of entirely analogous alternations of consonants in morphological, object and attributive complexes. However, the matter is not as simple as that. In certain cases alternation in an attributive complex does not occur; cf. the verb *χa-/-qˤa-* 'shoot' and the noun *χaj* 'pigeon' in (7):

(7) a. *ətək+χa-ḍ*
         father+shoot-IND
         'shot at father'

    a'. *ətək+χaj*
         father+pigeon
         'father's pigeon'

     b. *imŋ+qˤa-ḍ*
         they+shoot-IND
         'shot at them'

    b'. *imŋ+χaj*
         they+pigeon
         'their pigeon'

Extended morphological complexes

A morphological complex may attach a limited number of root and auxiliary morphemes on the right – numerals (from 'one' to 'five' only), postpositions and particles. An extended morphological complex functions as a single sentence constituent. The initial consonant in the extending components alternates in accordance with the general rules, and the final consonant of these components determines the initial consonant of the following morpheme (if there is one and if it is part of a complex); cf.:

(8) a. *If   e-v-ḍ.*
       s/he   3SG-take-IND
       (*e-* is the prefixed 3SG marker of direct object; see Chapters 6 and 10.3)
       'He took this.'

   b. *If   tavʁaj+vo-ḍ.*
       s/he   crab+take-IND
       'He took a crab.'

   c. *If   tavʁaj+ñən+bo-ḍ.*
       s/he   crab+one:non.human+take-IND
       'He took one crab.'[1]

   d. *If   tavʁaj+ñən+vark+po-ḍ.*
       s/he   crab+one:non.human+only+take-IND
       'He took only one crab.'

   e. *If   tavʁaj+ñən+vark+uvr+bo-ḍ.*
       s/he   crab+one:non.human+only+at.least+take-IND
       'He took only one crab at least.'

Sentence (8b) is consecutively extended by the numeral *ñəñ* 'one' (count word for animals and fishes; see 16.7), limiting particle *-park/-vark/-bark* 'only' (its initial consonant alternates, and its final consonant determines the initial consonant of the transitive verb), and the concessive particle *-uvr* 'at least'; the transitive verb meaning 'take' has four variants – free variant *e-v-* and three bound variants *-vo-/-bo-/-po-*.

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1.   The numerals are glossed according to Gruzdeva (2004).

An extended nominal morphological complex may occur in different syntactic functions in a sentence. (9) is an example of an oblique object in the dative/additive case:

(9) *If*   *tavʁaj+ñən+vark-roχ*   *um-ḍ.*
     s/he   crab+one:non.human+only-DAT/ADD   be.angry-IND
     'He got angry with only one crab.'

There are also other types of extended morphological complexes. Here is an example with an adverbial complex which does not enter into an object complex (cf. (10b)):

(10) a. *If*   *ñəñaq i-ñ-ḍ.*[2]
          s/he   a.little 3SG-eat-IND
          'He ate a little.'

      b. *If*   *ñəñaq+vark i-ñ-ḍ.*
          s/he   a.little+only 3SG-eat-IND
          'He ate only a little.'

      c. *If*   *ṭʼo+ñi-ḍ.*
          s/he   fish+eat-IND
          'He ate fish.'

Particles also change their initial consonant:

(11) a. *ŋa-ri*   [animal-even]   'even an animal'
      b. *hemar-ti*   [old.man-even]   'even an old man'
      c. *qan-di*   [dog-even]   'even a dog'
      d. *qan-doχ-ti*   [dog-DAT/ADD-even]   'even to a dog'

Here is an example with the postposition -*mi* 'inside' (on postpositions see 16.6):

(12) a. *If*   *ṭus   vəñ-mi+si-ḍ.*
          s/he   meat   kettle-inside+put-IND
          'He put the meat into the kettle' (a verb with two objects).

      b. *If*   *vəñ-mi-x*   *ṭus+heṭ-ṭ.*
          s/he   kettle-inside-LOC/ABL   meat+take.out-IND
          'He took the meat oWut of the pot.'

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2.   In Saveljeva, Taksami (1970: 208) the word *ñəñaq* 'a little' is spelt as *ñəñik*. Here the authors' spelling is preserved.

Personal and reflexive pronouns

Here is a list of the personal and reflexive pronouns in the nominative (absolute) case which is the case of the subject and direct object:

(13) *ñi*   'I'   *ñəŋ*   'we without you'   *mer* 'we and you:PL'
                                                           megi 'we and you:SG'

      ţ'i 'you:SG'   *ţ'əŋ* 'you:PL'
      if   's/he, it'   *imŋ*   'they'
      p'i 'self, oneself'

1SG and 2SG pronouns lose the final vowel when used in the direct object position (see Krejnovich 1966:41) and are prefixed on the verb (unless it has two initial consonants). This applies to the reflexive pronoun *p'i* 'self' as well. The latter is always coreferential with the subject. The 3SG pronoun is not used as a direct object: instead, the demonstrative pronoun *haḍ* 'that one' is used, but more commonly it is omitted and the free variant of a transitive verb is used. However, the free variant of about 130 transitives contains the initial component *j-/i-/e-* (cf. (8a)) which is descended from the 3SG pronoun *if* 's/he', 'his/her' and serves as a pronominal object marker. Other transitives may occur with the initial *u-* (cf. Krejnovich 1937:61). In (14), the personal pronouns and the reflexive are used as direct objects with the transitive *za-/-ţa-/-ḍa-* 'strike', 'beat':

(14) *ñ-za-ḍ*   [1SG-strike-IND]   'beat me'
      ţ'-sa-ḍ   [you:SG-strike-IND]   'beat you'

      Ø-za-ḍ   [Ø-strike-IND]   'beat him/her'
      p'-sa-ḍ   [REFL-strike-IND]   'beat himself'

      ñəŋ+ḍa-ḍ   [we:EXCL+strike-IND]   'beat us'
      ţ'əŋ+ḍa-ḍ   [you:PL+strike-IND]   'beat you'
      imŋ+ḍa-ḍ   [they+strike-IND]   'beat them'

Instead of the form Ø-*za-ḍ* 'beat him/her', sometimes, though rarely, the form *i-ḍa-ḍ* with the prefixed 3SG object marker is used; cf.:

(15) *Ki   mrolv-ɣət-ŋan   ñəŋ*
      footwear be.old-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:ANT/SIM we:EXCL
      i-vəkz-nə-ḍ.
      3SG-throw.away-FUT-IND

      'When the footwear becomes worn we shall throw it away.'

                                                      (Panfilov 1965: 70)

As noted above, personal pronouns used as attributes acquire a possessive meaning. They are used in the same form as in (14) and (15), but variants *v-* and *vi-* may occur instead of the 3SG *i-*:

(16) *ñ-zaqo* 'my knife'   *ñəŋ+ ḍaqo* 'our:EXCL knife'
      ṭ'-saqo 'your:SG knife'   *ṭ'əŋ+ ḍaqo* 'your:PL knife'
      i-ḍaqo 'his/her knife'   *imŋ+ ḍaqo* 'their knife'
      p'-saqo 'one's own knife'

There is, it seems, only one intransitive verb which may take prefixed personal pronouns and thereby change its meaning. The new meaning is possible if one of only three pronouns is prefixed. The result is a curious distribution: the verb *it-* 'say' may be used to express the sense 'tell about me', but not 'tell about us', we can use it to say 'tell about you:SG', but not 'tell about you:PL'; instead, the verb *fur-/-p'ur-* should be used; cf.:

(17) a.   *ñe-rχ it-ṭ*   'told (said to) me'
      a'. *ñ-it-ṭ*   'told about me'
      b.   *ñəŋ+doχ it-ṭ*   'told us:EXCL'
      b'. **ñəŋ+it-ṭ*   'told about us:EXCL'
      b''. *ñəŋ+p'ur-ḍ*   'told about us:EXCL'
      c.   *ṭ'-it-ṭ*   'told about you:SG'
      c'. *ṭ'-fur-ḍ*   'told about you:SG'
      d.   *p'-it-ṭ*   'told about himself/herself'

Basic rules of alternation of plosives and fricatives

As mentioned above, alternations concern the initial consonants of words, suffixes and particles. Initial plosives are characteristic of free variants of nouns and intransitives, and initial fricatives are characteristic of free variants of transitives. The initial consonant of intransitives in predicate position does not undergo any change, but in the position of an attribute preceded by another attribute the initial consonant of these verbs changes according to the general rules (see (43)).

In order to present the system of alternations in a compact way, each class of consonants is designated with a capital letter:

A_1 are voiceless fricatives,
A are aspirated voiceless plosives,
B are unaspirated voiceless plosives,
B_1 are voiced fricatives,
C are voiced plosives.

Class **C** consonants do not occur in the initial position of free variants. In the schema of alternations (18) the arrows show the direction of phonetic changes: for transitives, on the left hand side and for nouns, on the right.

(18)

	(A_1)	f	$\check{r}$	s	x	χ
	(A)	p^ς	t^ς	$\underline{t}^\varsigma$	k^ς	q^ς
	(B)	p	t	$\underline{t}$	k	q
	(B_1)	v	r	z	γ	$ʁ$
	(C)	b	d	$\dot{d}$	g	$ɢ$

The basic rules of alternation follow. They are valid in the cases described, when alternation is obligatory, but not in the cases when no alternation takes place and the free variant is retained.

Rules for transitive verbs

Condition of alternation	Type of alternation
1. If an initial fricative of classes A_1 or B_1 is preceded by a fricative of class A_1 (except words that have lost **n or ñ**):	$A_1 \rightarrow A$ $B_1 \rightarrow B$
2. If an initial fricative of classes A_1 or B_1 is preceded by sonorants **n, ñ, ŋ, m** or **l**, the fricative may be retained or alternate (the regularities are not yet found; cf. Krejnovich 1937: 50).	$A_1 \rightarrow A_1$ or A $B_1 \rightarrow B_1$ or C

Rules for head words

If an initial plosive of classes **A** and **B** is preceded by a plosive of class **B** or the plosive **d** of class **C**, then

1. After vowels	$A \rightarrow A_1$
2. After **j**	$B \rightarrow B_1$
3. After the sonorants **n, ñ, ŋ, m, l**	$B \rightarrow B_1$ or C
4. After **n** and **ŋ**	$A \rightarrow A$ or A_1

(see Krejnovich 1937: 44).

An interesting differentiation of nouns and verbs with regard to the alternation of initial consonants is summed up in Table 1 (Krejnovich 1937: 51):

Table 1. Alternation of initial consonants in nouns and verbs

	Subject to alternation	*No alternation*
Noun	Plosive	*Fricative*
Verb	*Fricative*	Plosive

   Note. There are only four transitives with an initial plosive undergoing alternation: *t'xərp-/-řxərp-* 'forget', *k'erqo-/-xerqo-* 'angle, catch fish', *kiur-/-yiur-* 'put grass into footwear', *pota-/-vota-/-bota-* 'catch, lay in a stock of fish' (cf. *ñi t'o+xerqo-ḍ* 'I catch fish' and *ñi k'erqo-ḍ* 'I angle'). There are also two or three transitive verbs with an initial plosive which does not undergo alternation; cf.: *p'əi-* 'leave sb/sth behind (when going away)'.

Additional rules and exceptions

1.   No alternation takes place in the converbal suffixes *-r, -t; -ror, -tot* and *-ra, -ta* (these variants are agreement markers) and also *-ke* (see Chapter 14 below).
2.   The final *-u* in the nouns *utku* 'husband', 'man' and *umgu* 'wife', 'woman' for some reason requires an initial plosive in the word that follows:

(19) a. *umgu+do-ḍ*
      woman+help-IND
      'helped the woman' (cf. (4))

   b. *umgu+dəf*
      woman+house
      'the woman's house'

3. Similarly, the prefixed *i-* [3SG] on verbs requires that the root has an initial plosive (cf. the finite predicate in (15)).[1]

4. Words and suffixes with omitted *n* and *ŋ* require respective alternation for each of these sonorants (these consonants are preserved in the East-Sakhalin dialect), i.e. they require a plosive.

   (20) *hə+zus*   [that+meat] 'this meat',
   but: *eʁa+ḍus* [cow+meat] 'cow meat' (cf. East-Sakhalin *eʁaŋ* 'cow').

5. The particle *-park/-vark/-bark* requires a subsequent plosive instead of a fricative (see (8d)).

6. The final *-r* requires a subsequent plosive. However, in numerals for counting animals *mor* 'two' and *ʈor* 'three' it is followed by a fricative; cf.:

   (21) …*mor+xu-ta*   (Krejnovich 1937: 33)
         …two:non.human+kill-COORD:3PL
         '…killed two (animals)' (on the suffix *-ra, -ta* see 14.1 and 14.1.3).

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1. Generally, this statement is rather problematic: an illustration of this assertion might be the form *i-ḍa-ḍ* beneath Example (14); whereas the verbal form *i-vəkz-nə-ḍ* in (15) refutes it.

Special types of alternations

8.1 Devoicing of class B_1 consonants into class A_1 after voiceless consonants

This change occurs only after prefixed aspirated consonants ṭ'- and *p*'- (see (14)). Under these conditions, the converbal suffixes -*ge* and -*ba* are also devoiced into -*ke* and -*pa* respectively.

8.2 Devoicing of class B_1 consonants into class A_1 before voiceless consonants

This alternation takes place in the following case:

(22) a. *If   məγ-ḍ.*
          s/he   descend-IND
          'S/he descended.'

      b. … *məx-ke*
          … descend-CONV:DUR/INST
          '… while descending'

8.3 Voicing of class A_1 consonants before vowels or sonorants

Example (23) illustrates this case:

(23)   *təf* 'house' → *təv-ux* [house-LOC/ABL] 'in (the) house'

This alternation may be a phonetic feature of a bound word group in cases when the initial element of its second component is a non-alternating sound:

(24) a. *als* 'berry'
      b. *Ñi alz+ŋa-t   vi-ḍ.*
          I   berry+go.for-CONV:NAR:1SG go-IND
          'I went to gather berries.'

(25) a. *liɣs* 'wolf'
      b. *liɣz+ñən*

          wolf+one:non.human
          'one wolf'

8.4   Vowel drop in three pronouns in direct object and attribute positions

This case is illustrated in (14) (cf. (13)). However, if the following word has two initial consonants the vowel drop does not occur:

(26) a. *qlaj* 'trap'
      b. *pʼe+ʁlaj*

          REFL+trap
          'one's own trap'

In some positions, the vowel *i* changes into *e*, as in (26). In the dative/additive case this is a regular change. Here, the vowel *o* in the case marker is dropped:

(27) a. *ñi* 'I'   → *ñe-rχ* [I-DAT/ADD] (< *ñi-roχ*) 'to me'
      6. *tʼi* [you:SG] 'you' → *tʼe-rχ* [you:SG-DAT/ABL] 'to you'
      B. *if* 's/he'   → *e-rχ* [s/he-DAT/ABL] 'to him/her' (note
                                               the consonant drop).

The vowel of the case marker may also drop out in nouns with a stem vowel:

(28) a. *vo* 'village'
      b. *vo-rχ*

          village-DAT/ADD
          'to a village'

8.5   Unclear cases

The cause of the following consonant changes in (29) and (30) is not quite clear:

(29) a. *If   məɣ-ḍ.*
          s/he   descend-IND
          'S/he descended.'

      b. *If   məx-qazo* (< **məɣ-ʁazo*).
          s/he   descend-IMP:3SG/PL
          'Let him/her descend.'

Here two voiced fricatives have undergone dissimilation, viz. a change into voiceless consonants – a fricative and a plosive respectively.

The choice of a variant of the rhematic marker *-ra/-ta/-da* is usually determined by the final vowel of the preceding morpheme, but in the case of the pronoun *if* 's/he' the variant *-da* is used for some reason, the final *-f* changing into the voiced consonant *-v*; cf.:[1]

(30)   a.   *nəmr-ta*   'yesterday (and not today)'

            b.   *enan-da*   'another (and not this one)'

            c.   *tuki-ra*   'sturgeon (and not a pike, etc.)'

but: d.   *iv-da*   's/he (and not you, etc.)'

---

1.   In this function this marker is glossed as FOC (focus); cf. Mattissen (2003:22).

The problem of incorporation

There is a point of view that word groups termed here syntactic complexes are in fact cases of incorporation, i.e. two or more words are combined into a single word. This issue was discussed at length in the works on Nivkh (see Krejnovich 1958, 1966; Panfilov 1954, 1960b, 1963). The following factors are in favour of incorporation: (1) relative identity of consonant alternations at morpheme junction and at word junction; (2) the phonetic word status of syntactic complexes.

The following arguments may be cited against incorporation:

1. Word complexes in question may include the demonstrative pronouns *haḍ* 'that one', *taḍ* 'this one', etc. (in languages with generally recognized incorporation, e.g. in Chukchi, this is impossible).

   (31) a. *If   i-ñ-ḍ.*
       s/he 3sg-eat-ind
       'He ate (has eaten).'

      6. *Hoвo-ŋan   if*
       be.so-conv:ant/sim s/he
       sək+haḍ-ɣu+ñi-ɣət-ṭ.[1]
       all+that.one-pl+eat-distr/ints/compl-ind
       'Then he ate all this (food).'

2. Possibility of establishing syntactic relations between words, clearly not constituting one syntactic complex, and as an assumed part of an incorporative formation, which is intuitively unlikely. Thus, in (32) there is such a connection between the words *i-vo+heqrŋa-in* lit. 'above his village' and the verb *hum-* 'be' which,

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1.   Henceforth, conjunctive words with the bases **hoвo-**, **ho-**, **hoвa-**, **hoŋ-** formed by means of converbal suffixes, like **Hoвo-ŋan** in (31b), are not hyphenated and glossed; instead, to make it reader-friendly, they are translated in the morphemic line as 'then', 'after that', 'next', etc., according to their meaning. For their glossing see (206) in Section 18.2.2 and also (852) in Section 35.2.2.

in accordance with the theory of incorporation, is an attribute and thus forms a single word with its head word *ñivx* 'man':

(32) *I-vo+heqrŋa-in*
      3SG-village+place.in.direction.from.shore.toward.inland-LOC
      hum+ñivx-doχ   həḍ+xim-ḍ.[2]
      be+man-DAT/ADD that.one+give-IND
      '(He) gave her to the man living in the place (located) above his village.'

In sentences with two direct objects coordinated by the suffix *-ke/-γe/-ge/-xe*, even E.A. Krejnovich (1966: 42–43) who supports the theory of incorporation considers only one of the direct objects, viz. the one in contact pre-position to the predicate, as incorporated in the verb. In this case, in Example (33b) the separate noun *ṭaqo-γe* lit. 'knife and' and part of the incorporating verb *q'aχ-ke* lit. 'spear and' are coordinated, and this interpretation is also intuitively unacceptable:

(33) a. *If   řəpr-ḍ* (free variant of a transitive)
          s/he bring-IND
          'He brought (that).'

      b. *If   ṭaqo-γe   q'aχ-ke+t'əpr-ḍ.* (bound variant of a transitive)
          s/he knife-COM:DU spear-COM:DU+bring-IND
          'He brought a knife and a spear.'

Whether we decide to consider syntactic complexes in question as incorporation or not, this will not change the essence of grammatical generalizations. The issue of the status of these complexes depends on the features we choose to view as the most important and characteristic of incorporation.

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2. Locational words like *heqrŋa* are glossed as in Gruzdeva (2008).

The direct object + verb complex

Alternation of initial consonants in transitives

Alternation of the initial consonants of transitive verbs is determined by the following factors: (a) the initial consonant of the free variant, (b) the final sound of the preceding morpheme, and (c) a number of historical changes which remain unclear yet.

10.1 Two-member variants: Voiceless fricative → voiceless aspirated plosive

In schema (18) this is a change of class A_1 consonants into the respective consonants of class A: $f \rightarrow p$', $\check{r} \rightarrow t$', $s \rightarrow t$', $x \rightarrow k$', $\chi \rightarrow q$.' These alternations are illustrated in (7a) and (7b), (34a) and (34b).

10.2 Three-member variants: Voiced fricative → voiceless unaspirated plosive or voiced plosive

This type of alternations is shown in (18) as a change of class B_1 consonants into those of class B or C: $v \rightarrow p$ or b, $r \rightarrow t$ or d, $z \rightarrow t$ or d, $\gamma \rightarrow k$ or g, $\text{\textsc{ʁ}} \rightarrow q$ or $\text{\textsc{g}}$; cf. Example (4). In Example (8) this type of alternations is complicated by other changes. The fourth variant of the stem may take place in case of devoicing (see Section 8.1).

10.3 Variants with the initial components *j-/i-/e-* (over 140 transitives)

These transitives fall into five subtypes.

10.3.1 Two-member variants: *j-/i-/e-* alternate with Ø or *-h-*

This type covers most of the transitives with the initial *j-* (about 70 verbs) and several transitives with the initial *i-* and *e-*:

(34)   a.   *If*   *j-aγaγ-ḍ.*
               s/he   3SG-disturb-IND
               'He disturbs sth/sb.'

    b.   *If*   *pʼ-ətək+aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
        s/he REFL-father+disturb-IND
        'He disturbs his father.'

More than 10 transitives alternate *j*- with -*h*-; e.g.:

(35) a.   *If*   *j-e-ḍ.*
        s/he 3SG-cook-IND
        'He cooks sth.'

      b.   *If*   *ṭus+he-ḍ.*[1]
        s/he meat+cook-IND
        'He cooks meat.'

A number of transitives acquire a vowel in the bound variants; cf: *i-ñ*- and -*ñi*- 'eat' in (10) and also *e-mq*- and -*moq*- 'break sth in half.'

10.3.2   Two-member variants with consonant alternation

In this instance, the alternation considered in case 1 is complicated by the prefixed *i*- or *e*- in the free variant. It seems to concern transitives with free variants in which the initial plosive is voiced; cf.: *i-vrə-* (< *i-frə-)/-*pʼrə*- 'take away', *i-z*- (< *i-s-)/-*ṭʼi*- 'skin', 'flay.' There are a number of such verbs. Compare also the variants of the verb *i-rmə-/-řmə-/-tʼmə*- 'get/cross over a hilltop', 'cross a river', where both the voiced and the voiceless variants are retained.

10.3.3   Three-member variants with consonant alternation

In this case the alternation considered in 10.2 is also complicated by the presence of *i*- or *e*- in the free variant. Moreover, the alternation is further complicated by (a) the appearance in bound variants of the vowels dropped in the free variant, and (b) voicing (in the free variants) or devoicing of alternating consonants (sometimes, for unclear reasons); cf.:

(36) a.   *If*   *e-ɣna-ḍ.*
        s/he 3SG-grease-IND
        'He greased sth.'

      b.   *If*   *ki+xna-ḍ.*
        s/he shoe+grease-IND
        'He greased the shoe(s).'

---

1. This change is probably not quite correctly interpreted: more likely, *h* in (35b) is part of the stem and not a result of prefix alternation.

  c. *If*   *ki-ɣu+kʼna-ḍ.*
    s/he shoe-PL+grease-IND
    'He greased the shoes.'

(37) a. *If*   *i-ɣlu-ḍ.*
    s/he 3SG-be.afraid-IND
    'He is afraid of that/him.'

  b. *If*   *pʼ-ətək+xlu-ḍ.*
    s/he REFL-father+be.afraid-IND
    'He is afraid of his father.'

  c. *If*   *pʼ-umgu+kʼlu-ḍ.*
    s/he REFL-woman+be.afraid-IND
    'He is afraid of his wife.'

10.3.4 Four-member variants with consonant alternation

This case is illustrated by (8) with the alternation *e-v-/-vo-/-bo-/-po-* 'take', 'hold.'

10.3.5 Individual variants

This type is represented by the verbs *i-ɣ-/-kʼu-/-xu-* 'kill', *i-də-/-ñřə-* 'see', *i-rlə-/-tlə-/-kʼlə-/-xlə-* 'carry', 'drag', 'pull.'

10.4 Transitives with the initial consonant *v-*

Some of these transitives alternate the initial *v-* in accordance with the rules cited in Section 10.2; cf.: *ţʼolŋi+vez-ḍ* 'pounced at the reindeer', *həjk+pez-ḍ* 'pounced at the hare', *qan+bez-ḍ* 'pounced at the dog.' Transitives with the initial *v-* descended from *w-* which is preserved in the Sakhalin dialect have no variants, though they do form a bound complex; cf.: *ţʼolŋi/həjk/qan+vuvu-ḍ* 'called the reindeer/hare/dog' (see Krejnovich 1979: 299).

10.5 Exceptions

A few transitives taking a direct object in the nominative case do not change their initial consonant: *jiv-* 'have', 'be available', *pʼəi-* 'leave sth behind' (the latter with the initial plosive).

10.6   Verbs with the component *hur-*

Some transitive verbs denoting movement of the subject or its part (some of them also occur with the markers *i-* and *e-*) combine with the component *hur-* 'there' which also functions as a noun, but its concrete spatial meaning seems to have weakened within verbs of motion; it is used when a particular place of motion is not named (see Panfilov 1965: 47); cf.:

(38)   a.   *e-rvaj-/-t'vaj-/-řvaj-*   'spit at sth'
       b.   ***hur+t'vaj-***   'spit smwh'

(39)   a.   *If   ŋas+k'er-ḍ.*
             s/he   wall+lean-IND
             'He leaned against the wall.'

       b.   *If   **hur**+xer-ḍ*
             s/he   there+lean-IND
             'He leaned against sth.'

(40)   a.   *If   ŋas+ṭa-ḍ*
             s/he   wall+strike-IND
             'He struck (sth) against the wall.'

       b.   *If   **hur**+ṭa-ḍ*
             s/he   there+strike-IND
             'He struck (himself, his body part) against sth.'

The attribute + noun complex

Alternation of initial consonants of nouns and verbs in attributive position

The word in attributive position is not marked for case, the head word alone undergoing changes.

11.1 Pronouns and nouns used as attributes

This usage is illustrated above; see Examples (6), (7) and (16). If a pronoun functions as an attribute it is "final", i.e. another attribute cannot be added and the complex cannot be extended. Nouns in the position of an attribute can express all kinds of relations, depending on the head word and the context. Generally, they correspond in meaning to Russian relative adjectives; cf.:

(41)   a.   *lumr+ţif*   [sable+trail]   'trail of a sable'
       b.   *lumr+ţus*   [sable+meat]   'sable meat'
       c.   *lumr+hontq*   [sable+sack]   'a sack of sables'

Attributive complexes containing as many as three to four chained attributes are not uncommon; cf.:

(42)   *Ţoŋr+meqr+hemar+ŋojaq*   *hum-ra …*
       head+two:generic+old.man+egg   be-COORD:3SG
       'The egg of the old man with two heads was there ….'   (Panfilov 1965:224)

The sequence of chaining the attributes here is as follows:

   a.   *hemar* 'old man' + *ŋojaq* 'egg'   *hemar+ŋojaq* 'the old man's egg'
   b.   *ţoŋr* 'head' + *meqr* 'two'   *ţoŋr+meqr* 'two heads'
   c.   this step combines (a) and (b); the Nivkh quantitative numerals are substantives.

As has been mentioned above, consonant alternations in attributive and object complexes are not necessarily identical under the same phonetic conditions. Compare the identity of alternation in (3) and (4) and different alternations in (7). This is due to the fact that in nouns with an initial fricative the latter does not undergo alternation.

11.2 Intransitive verbs of action used as attributes

The head word denotes the subject of the action. As with nouns, the stem of an intransitive verb functions as an attribute. Its initial consonant may undergo alternation if it acquires an attribute of its own; cf.:

(43) a. *Paχ   ṭosq-ṭ.*
          stone break-IND
          'The stone broke.'

      b. *Ṭosq+vaχ   kut-ṭ.*
          break+stone   fall-IND
          'The broken stone fell.'

      c. *Hə+zosq+vaχ   kut-ṭ.*
          that+break+stone fall-IND
          'This broken stone fell.'

There is a number of vague exceptions presented in Panfilov (1954: 19–23) that have found no explanation so far.

11.3 Qualitative verbs used as attributes

As mentioned above, there are no adjectives in Nivkh. Meanings like 'white', 'tasty', 'fat', 'greasy', 'good', 'tight', 'timid', etc. are expressed by qualitative verbs which are used both as predicates and attributes. Their number approaches 400 items. When used as attributes, these verbs fall into three groups: (1) verbs obligatorily taking the suffix -*la*-; (2) verbs never taking the suffix -*la*-; (3) verbs that can be used attributively either with the suffix -*la*- or without it. In the latter case -*la*- may stress a permanent property (cf. 'a light boat' and 'a light bag').

An attribute with the suffix -*la*- cannot be regarded as an adjective because it retains (practically all) the characteristics of a verb and can be used as a predicate (Panfilov 1965: 87). In Example (44) the attribute *ur-la* (< *ur*- 'be good, healthy') is a qualitative verb of group (1), and the attribute *luk*- 'fluffy' is a group (2) verb; cf.:

(44) a. *Hə+lumr   lili   ur-ḍ.*
          that+sable very be.good-IND
          'This sable is very good.'

  b. *Hə+lumr   luk-ṭ.*
      that+sable be.fluffy-IND
      'This sable is fluffy.'

  c. *Añṭəj lili   ur-la+luk+lumr-ku+kuz-r*
      again   very be.good-PERM+be.fluffy+sable-PL+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG

      j-eski-ḍ.
      3SG-sell-IND

      'Having taken out very good fluffy sables, (he) sells them again.'

Here is an example with consonant alternation in an intransitive verb when it is used with an attribute:

(45) a. *Hə+eri-ux   ṭʼo   tam-ḍ.*
          that+river-LOC/ABL fish be.numerous-IND
          'There is a lot of fish in this river'; lit. 'In this river fish is abundant.'

  b. *Hə+eri   ṭʼo+ram-ḍ.*
      that+river fish+be.numerous-IND
      'This river is rich in fish'; lit. 'This river is fish-rich';

compare:

  c. *… laŋr+tam-ḍ*
      … seal+be.numerous-IND
      '… rich in seals'

11.4   Transitive verbs used as attributes

According to the nature of the head word, two main cases are distinguished.

11.4.1   The head word of an attributive complex is a subject

This case is basically similar to attributive complexes "derived" from intransitive actional and qualitative verbs decribed in Sections 11.2 and 11.3; cf.:

(46) a. *Umgu   ṭus+tʼa-ḍ.*
          woman meat+fry-IND
          'The woman has fried the meat.'

    b.   *Ñi ţus+t'a+umgu+ñřə-ḍ.*
        I   meat+fry+woman+see-IND
        'I saw the woman (who) had fried the meat' (or: '… woman frying the
        meat').

11.4.2   The head word of an attributive complex is an object

The initial consonant of a transitive verb used as an attribute either undergoes alternation or it does not. Accordingly, two formal subtypes are distinguished. In both subtypes expression of the subject is obligatory.

11.4.2.1   *A transitive verb changes its initial consonant*
In this case the free form of the transitive is used:

(46)   c.   *Umgu   řa+ḍus   kut-ţ.*
           woman fry+meat fall-IND
           'The meat fried by the woman fell down.'

11.4.2.2   *A transitive verb does not change its initial consonant*
Here belong transitives with the initial sonorants *n, ñ, ŋ, l* and *m*, consonant *p* and some verbs with the initial *v* (see 10.4). If the subject and object are both animate nouns they cannot be formally distinguished. In such cases the head word denoting the object is indicated by the initial component *i-* on the verb (cf. (15)); cf. also:

(47)   a.   *Umgu   laŋr+meny-ḍ.*
           woman seal+turn.into-IND
           'The woman turned into a seal.'

       a.   *Umgu   i-meny+laŋr   q'auta-ḍ.*
           woman 3SG-turn.into+seal disappear-IND
           'The seal the woman turned into (into which the woman turned)
           disappeared.'

In such cases (only?) the contacting plosive consonants may be retained, while in the case of attributive nouns this does not occur; cf. (48) and (49):

(48)   a.   *Ñi təf+lət-ţ.*
           I   house+make-IND
           'I built/have built a house.'

       b.   *Ñi lət+təf…*
           I   make+house
           'The house (which) I have built…'

(49)   a.   *təkñ* 'claw', *tutut* 'turtle-dove'
       b.   *tutut+rəkñ*   'turtle-dove claws'

11.5   The head word corresponds to an oblique object or an adverbial

In the previous cases the head words do not differ formally from the words they ascend to, but in this case we observe a difference; cf. (50b) where the head word of the attributive complex drops its case suffix:

(50)   a.   *Imŋ   hə+vo-rχ*   *q'o-ḍ.*
            they   that+village-DAT/ADD   sleep-IND
            'They slept (= spent a night) in this village.'

       b.   *Imŋ   p'i   q'o+vo+ñřə-ḍ.*
            they   self   sleep+village+see-IND
            'They saw the village (in which) they had spent a night.'

There are also attributive complexes with head words for which it is hardly possible to find a corresponding non-attributive construction with the same lexical content:

(51)   *Ñi   it+ ţif …*
       I   say+word
       'The word (which) I said …'

The verbal finite predicate

As has been noted above, in a sentence containing two or more verb forms only one of them takes as a rule one of about 20 markers of the finite predicate, i.e. the marker of a verb form which may serve as the only predicate of a simple sentence. The other verb forms usually precede the finite verb and they are mostly converbs, less commonly nominalisations. The most common marker of the finite verb form in the indicative is, as has been mentioned, the suffix *-ḍ* (*-ṭ* after voiceless consonants). The finite form has only one agreement marker (with the subject), viz. the 3PL suffix *-ku/-ɣu/-gu/-xu*. This morpheme is optional both on predicates and on nouns. Otherwise, the finite predicate is not marked for person.

In dialogue, the suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ* is usually, and in the future tense form practically always, followed by the particle *-ra/-ta* (*-da* after the plural suffix *-ku/-ɣu/-gu/-xu*). In narration this particle is rather rare on finite predicates. When used on words of other classes this particle seems to have a rhematic function (cf. (30), (53b), (54b)). Its function on verbs is not quite clear.

See, for instance, Examples (52c), (54b), (76), (95), (103), (133), (141).

The nominal predicate

Since there are no adjectives in Nivkh, the problem of nominal predicates mostly concerns nouns and pronouns. When used as predicates, i.e. in the final sentence position, nominals are in the nominative case, i.e. they are zero-marked. This form may sometimes take optionally or obligatorily (the conditions need further study) the rhematic particle *-ra/-ta/-da* (the choice is determined by the final consonant of the preceding morpheme; see (30); cf. alternations of the particle *-ri/-ti/-di* in (11)). In order to express the meaning 'not be sth/sb' in phrases like 'It was not he', the (analytical) negative form of the verb-substitute *ha-* 'be so', 'happen so', etc. (on negative forms see 20.2.1 and 20.3) is used; cf.:

(52)   a.   *Təḍ təf*   (possible, but (52b) is better)
             this   house
             'This is a house.'

       b.   *Təḍ təf-ta.*
             this   house-FOC
             'This is a house.'

       c.   *Təḍ təf   ha-doχ   qʻau-ḍ-ra.*
             this house be.so-SUP not.be-IND-FOC
             'This is not a house.'

Here are examples of similar cases from dialogues, though with a different marking of the predicates:

(53)   a.   *Hə, ṭʻi   ñ-utku.*
             yes, you:SG 1SG-man
             'Yes, you are my husband.'

       b.   *Ñi ṭʻo+əz-da.*
             I   fish+owner-FOC
             'I am the owner of the fish.'

In replies to questions and also in counterstatements the use of the rhematic particle is obligatory; cf.:

(54)   a.   *Təḍ Rum-la?*
             this Rum-Q
             'Is this Rum?' (on the interrogative particle *-la* see 23.5).

b. *Təḍ Rum ha-doχ   qʻau-ḍ-ra.   Təḍ ñi-ra.*
    this Rum be.so-SUP not.be-IND-FOC this I-FOC
    'This is not Rum. This is I.'

There are possessive pronouns derived from personal and reflexive pronouns by means of the suffix *-nə* (cf. the noun *nə* 'thing') which are used exclusively as predicates without a copula (Krejnovich 1934: 204; Panfilov 1962: 252):

(55) a. *Hə+dəf   ñi-nə[-ra].*
          that+house I-POSS-FOC
          'This house is mine.'

A more common version is

b. *Hə+dəf   ñ-rəf.*
    that+house 1SG-house
    'This house is my house.'

Nouns (usually denoting objects perceived by a human subject) may take the final position in a sentence and thus complete it:

(56) *Hə+ñivx   oz-r   j-añma-ŋan   –   tʻolf.*
      that+man get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-look-CONV:ANT/SIM summer
      'When getting up that man looked – (it was) summer.'

Converbs

The term *converbs* is used to refer to non-finite verbal forms which cannot function as a single predicate of a simple sentence. Another way of defining them: a converb is a verbal form which is syntactically dependent on another verbal form without being its syntactic actant, i.e. it does not fill in a semantic valency of the latter.[1] Converbs can be subclassified as follows according to the features named:

1. Converbs marked for agreement with the subject (see (14.1) and those that are not.
2. Same-subject, different-subject and same/different-subject (variable-subject) converbs (according to the ±coreference of the subjects of the converbal and independent actions; see 14.2).[2]
3. Converbs that possess the category of tense (see 14.3) and those that do not.
4. Converbs expressing purely temporal (taxis) relations and non-temporal relations (see 14.4).
5. Converbs used as a part of analytical verbal forms (see 20.1) and those that are not.

Converbs usually serve as adverbials in simple sentences (see (59a)), or they function as secondary or homogeneous subordinate predicates (see (59b)) and, finally, they function as predicates of subordinate clauses (see (65)). In Nivkh, there are about 20 converbs, which compensates for the non-existence of conjunctions.

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1. Compare the following definition suggested by Nedjalkov (1995: 97): "As a first approximation, we can define a converb as a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e. does not realize its semantic valencies. Thus, a *canonical* (i.e. noncombined) converb can occupy (1) the position of an adjunct, i.e. an adverbial, but cannot occupy the positions: (2) of the only predicate of a simple sentence (without additional auxiliary elements); (3) of nominal attributes: (4) of a clausal actant (i.e. it cannot depend of verbs such as *begin*, *order*, etc); (5) of a nominal actant (i.e. it does not occur in subject and object position)".

2. The term *same-subject* is used to translate the authors' Russian terms *odnosubjektnyj* (lit. 'one-subject' borrowed from Avrorin (1961: 148)) and *ravnosubjektnyj* lit. 'equal-subject.'

14.1   Converbs marked for subject agreement

These converbs have two forms. All of their markers contain the consonants *r* or *t*. The first converb in the list below may be a component of a number of other converbs. Here are the forms of three converbs marked for subject agreement (they are the most frequent in texts). As we see, the system of agreement is the same for all these three converbs (this same system based on the opposition of the consonants *r* and *t* occurs – entirely or partially – in two more verb forms which are not converbs; see -*rla* and -*tla* in 22.11 and -*jra* and -*itla* in 22.18 and 22.19). See Table 2.

Table 2.   Subject marking on converbs

	(a)		(b)		(c)	
	SG	**PL**	**SG**	**PL**	**SG**	**PL**
1st person	*-t*	*-t*	*-tot*	*-tot*	*-ta*	*-ta*
2nd person	*-r*	*-t*	*-ror**	*-tot*	*-ra*	*-ta*
3rd person	*-r*	*-t*	*-ror*	*-tot*	*-ra*	*-ta*

*The suffix -*rot* sometimes occurs instead of -*ror*.

14.1.1   The converb in -*r*, -*t*[3]

This converb denotes, most commonly, either (1) an action simultaneous with that of the finite predicate, in which case it functions as an adverbial of manner, or (2) a completed action, its result being present at the time of the main action. It also occurs as a part of analytical verb forms (see 20.1) and the first component of serial constructions (see 20.8); cf.:

(57)   a.   *If   p'rə-r*   *it-ţ...*
              s/he   come-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
              'Having come, he said…'

         b.   *Imŋ   p'rə-t*   *it-ţ[-γu]...*
              they   come-CONV:NAR:3PL   say-IND[-PL]
              'Having come, they said…'

         c.   *Ñi   p'rə-t*   *it-ţ...*
              I   come-CONV:NAR:1SG   say-IND
              'Having come, I said…'

---

3.   This converb is glossed as CONV:NAR (converb:narrative), cf. Section 36.1.3.2.

14.1.2   The converb in *-ror, -tot*[4]

This converb denotes a completed action after which another action takes place. We should remind the reader that there are no regular finite forms with the meaning of a completed action.

(58) a. *If   p'rə-**ror**   it-ṭ…*
         s/he come-CONV:DST:3SG say-IND
         'He came, then said…'

Compare the converbs in *-r, -t* and those in *-ror, -tot* of non-terminative or neutral verbs:

(59) a. *If   hurt'iv-**r**   q'o-ḍ.*
         s/he sit-CONV:NAR:3SG sleep-IND
         'He fell asleep/slept/sleeps sitting.'

     b. *If   hurt'iv-**ror**   q'o-ḍ.*
         s/he sit-CONV:DST:3SG sleep-IND
         'He sat (for a while), then fell asleep.'

14.1.3   The converb in *-ra, -ta*

These converbs are used at least in pairs. After two or more of these converbs sometimes, and in some dialects obligatorily, the auxiliary verb ***ha-*** 'be so', 'happen', 'occur', 'do so', etc. is used. Sometimes, a lexical verb is used as a finite predicate. The converbs are homogeneous predicates with the same communicative status (cf. 35.1.1). In the literature this converbal form is usually regarded as finite (cf. Krejnovich 1934:213ff.; Panfilov 1965:138–139).[5] Compare:

(60) a. *If   p'rə-**ra**   it-**ra**   ha-ḍ.*
         s/he come-COORD:3SG say-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
         'He came and said, (that's) how it was.'

---

4. This converb is glossed as CONV:DST (converb: distant), cf. Section 36.1.2.1.

5. Throughout this book the authors regard these converbs as predicates without specifying whether they are finite or secondary (dependent) predicates. In Section 22.3.1 the function of these converbs is defined as that of coordinating verbs. This seems rather contradictory and ambiguous and arouses difficulties with regard to glossing these forms as converbs or finite verb forms (cf. their glossing as INTCONV (= internal converbs in Nivkh Example (9) in Nedjalkov (1995:101; 131) without any explanation). A compromise may be glossing *-ra*, *-ta* in this coordinating function as COORD without marking it as CONV; cf. Gruzdeva (2001:363).

b. *If   p'rə-**ra**   imŋ añvara p'rə-**ta**   ha-ḏ-yu.*
    s/he come-COORD:3SG they also   come-COORD:3SG be.so-IND-PL
    'He came and they also came, (it) happened.'

(61) *If   hurt'iv-**ra**   q'o-**ra**   ha-ḏ*
      s/he sit-COORD:3SG sleep-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
      'He sat down and (at once) fell asleep, (it) was so.'

14.2   Same-subject, different-subject and variable-subject converbs

As is clear from the term, the subject of same-subject converbs coincides with that of the main, independent verb. Here belong converbs in *-r, -t* and in *-ror, -tot* (see (57)–(59)). The subject of variable-subject converbs may coincide with that of the main verb or it may not (cf. (60a) and (60b)). Most of Nivkh converbs are of this type (they are exemplified by (64), (67)–(73)). The subject of a different-subject converb is obligatorily different from that of the main action by definition, unless the subject of the converbal action is expressed by the reflexive pronoun *p'i*. Nearly all different-subject converbs contain the desemanticized suffix *-ku/-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* related to the causative suffix (see case 2 in 16.2.2 and 24.4). These converbs are used on condition that there is a tight logical connection between the actions of both the converb and the main verb: in a way, the "same situation" is described despite two actions and two different subjects, often with shared semantic actants of both actions. This finds formal expression in the obligatory agreement of the converb with the subject of the main verb and not with its own subject; cf.:

(62) *Eri   veu-**gu-t**   ñəŋ   toz-ijki-ḏ.*
      river be.deep-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1PL we:EXCL cross-be.unable-IND
      'The river being deep we cannot cross (it)' (the converb *veu-gu-t* is in agreement with the subject *ñəŋ* instead of its own subject *eri*).

(63) a. *If   p'rə-**r**   e-zmu-ḏ.*
          s/he come-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-rejoice-IND
          'Having come, he is glad.'

      b. *Ñi if   p'rə-**gu-t**   e-zmu-ḏ.*
          I   s/he come-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG 3SG-rejoice-IND
          'He has come, I am glad' (the converb *p'rə-gu-t* agrees with *Ñi* instead of *if*).

(64) a. *Ṭ'-ətək   liɣs+q'a-**ror**   p'rə-ḏ.*
          2SG-father wolf+shoot-CONV:DST:3SG come-IND
          'Your father came after (he) had shot at the wolf.'

      b. *Ṭ'-ətək   ña-ʁan liɣs+q'a-**gu-ror**   nan p'rə-ḏ.*
          2SG-father I-RNOM wolf+shoot-CAUS-CONV:DST:3SG only come-IND
          'Your father came only after I had shot at the wolf' (on the form *ña-ʁan* see 16.2.2.1).

14.3   Converbs marked for tense

There are only two converbs taking tense marking, i.e. the future tense marker *-nə-*, and this is the only feature they share.

Converbs in *-ʁar/-qar* with the meaning of an action which could but did not take place (due to an obstacle) are most frequently used with the future tense marker *-nə-*.[6] The difference between forms with and without this suffix is not clear yet. As often as not *-nə-* cannot be omitted at all (cf. the homonym in *-ʁar* in 22.7).

(65)   *K'it-t*   *vi-nə-ʁar,*   *lar   vil-ra*
       run.away-CONV:NAR:3PL go-FUT-CONV:SUBJ wave be.big-COORD:3SG

       lur   malɣo-ra.
       ice   be.much/many-COORD:3SG

       'They would have run away, (but) there was a (great) storm, much ice'
                                                                              (see Panfilov 1965: 127).

Another converb marked for (future) tense in combination with the verb *it-* 'say' forms a grammaticalized device for rendering reported speech. This is a different-subject converb; cf.:

(66)   *Imŋ   if/j-aχ   p'rə-vu-t*
       they   s/he-DAT/ACC   come-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL

       (→ *p'rə-nə-vu-t*)   *it-ţ.*
       come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL   say-IND

       'They said (that) he came (→ would come)' (the converb agrees with *Imŋ*, subject of the main predicate instead of its own subject *if/j-aχ*; cf. (62); on the form *j-aχ* see 16.2.2, and also 17.3.2).

14.4   Converbs expressing purely temporal (taxis) relations and converbs with other meanings

14.4.1   Converbs expressing purely temporal relations

Examples (67)–(71) illustrate the use of the most common converbs. Their meanings of simultaneity, anteriority or posteriority are clear from their translations; cf.

(67)   a.   *P'rə-ŋan*   *if   it-ţ …*
            come-CONV:ANT/SIM   s/he   say-IND
            'When (he) came he said …'

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6.   These converbs are glossed as CONV:SUBJ (converb:subjunctive).

    b.   *Imŋ p'rə-**ŋan**   if   it-ţ …*
        they come-CONV:ANT/SIM s/he say-IND
        'When they came he said …'

(68)   *P'rə-**ivo**   if   it-ţ …*
       come-CONV:PROGR s/he say-IND
       'While approaching he said…'

(69)   *Vi-**ke**   if   it-ţ …*
       go-CONV:DUR/INST s/he say-IND
       'When walking and walking he said …'

(70)   *If   p'rə-**fke**   tut'χa   ţ'o+ŋəŋ-ḑ.*
       s/he come-CONV:COMPL now-DEST fish+look.for-IND
       'Since (the time) he came (he) is still fishing.'

(71)   *If   p'rə-**ba**/p'rə-**ge**   it-ţ …*
       s/he come-CONV:INST/come-CONV:DUR/INST say-IND
       'As soon as he came (he) at once said …' (see also Examples (57)–(59)).

14.4.2   Converbs expressing non-temporal relations

Among non-temporal converbs are, among others, converbs in -*ʁar/-qar* (see 14.3), in -*gin/-kin*, in -*ga(j)/-ɢa(j)* (see (76)), and those in -*guin*; cf.:[7]

(72)   *If   p'rə-**gin**   ţ'omsomu-ḑ.*
       s/he come-CONV:CONC be.silent-IND
       lit. 'He, though (he) has come, keeps silent.'

(73)   *Hoʁat   ñəŋ   ţ'əŋ   ŋəŋ-ḑ-ra*
       then:1PL we:EXCL you:PL look.for-IND-FOC

       *ţ'əŋ-aχ   p'-ro-**guin**.*
       you:PL-DAT/ACC REFL-help-CONV:PURP

       'Then we looked for you, so that you (could) help us.'

14.5   Syntactic relations of converbs

In examples above (see (57)–(59), (62)–(73)) converbs are subordinated to the finite predicate. But this kind of subordination is not obligatory. There are sentences in which a converb may be subordinated to another converb. We shall illustrate this case by showing the process of generating a typical Nivkh sentence.

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7.   The converbs in -*ʁar/-qar* are subjunctive in meaning, those in -*gin/-kin* are concessive, those in -*ga(j)/-ɢa(j)* are conditional, and those in -*guin* denote purpose (cf. Gruzdeva 1998:35).

If we complicate a Nivkh sentence gradually by adding verbs denoting sequential actions each new verb takes the position of a finite predicate and the previous finite predicate becomes a converb; cf.:

(74)   a.   *If*   *ṭark-ṭ.*
             s/he jump-IND
             'He jumped.'

          b.   *If*   *ṭark-**r***   *təvə-ḍ.*
             s/he jump-CONV:NAR:3SG enter.house-IND
             'He jumped into the house', lit. '…entered jumping…'

          c.   *If*   *ṭark-**r***   *təvə-**ŋan***   *j-ama-ḍ…*
             s/he jump-CONV:NAR:3SG enter.house-CONV:ANT/SIM 3SG-look-IND
             'He, having entered the house with a jump, looked …'

          d.   *If*   *ṭark-**r*** (*I*)   *təvə-**ror*** (*II*)
             s/he jump-CONV:NAR:3SG enter.house-CONV:DST:3SG

             *j-ama-**ke*** (*III*)   *umgu+ñin+ñřə-ḍ* (*IV*).
             3SG-look-CONV:DUR/INST woman+one:human+see-IND

             lit. 'He having jumped (I) entered and then (II) looked for a long time and (III) saw one woman (IV).'

In (74d) the converb *təvə-**ŋan*** 'when entered the house' (see (74c)) is replaced by the converbal form *təvə-**ror*** 'entered and then' because in this context it is stylistically better in combination with the converb *j-ama-**ke*** 'looked for a long time and.' Converb (I) is subordinated to converb (II), and converb (II) is in its turn subordinated to (III) which in its own turn is subordinated to the finite predicate (IV).

Coordination of homogeneous predicates

As has been mentioned above, there are no conjunctions in Nivkh.

15.1 The finite verb form as a homogeneous predicate

This form can be paired with another finite predicate in special cases only, usually to specify the meaning:

(75) Ŋir-doχ   ʁov-ḍ.   Luvr+meqr+qov-ḍ.
     bowl-DAT/ADD ladle-IND   spoon+two:generic+ladle-IND
     '(She) ladled into the bowl. (She) ladled in two spoons.' (Panfilov 1965:226)

(76) Ñi ñ-imə-ker-ʁa   ñi tə+muřki-γir
     I   1SG-give-refuse-CONV:COND   I   this+horn-INSTR

     tə+ ḍir+ʁev-nə-ḍ-ra   vol-u-nə-ḍ-ra.
     this+tree+pierce-FUT-IND-FOC   fall-TR-FUT-IND-FOC

     'If (you) refuse to give me (it) with these horns I will pierce this tree and
     bring (it) down.'

15.2 The converb in -r, -t (see 14.1.1)

These converbs express related actions which in a way anticipate one another and continue the previous one:

(77) Vi-r   umgu+ŋəŋk+va-r
     go-CONV:NAR:3SG woman+hair+grasp-CONV:NAR:3SG

     i-rlə-r   t'ena-doχ
     3SG-pull-CONV:NAR:3SG   be.on.back-DAT/ADD

     vol-u-ror   j-ot-ţ ...
     fall-TR-CONV:DST:3SG   3SG-ask-IND

     'Having approached and grasped the woman (by) the hair, having pulled
     her and thrown (her) on (her) back (he) asked her....'   (Panfilov 1965:224)

15.3   The converb in *-ra*, *-ta* (see 14.1.3)

These converbs join together subsequent actions which do not presuppose any obliga-
tory tight denotational link between them:

(78)   *Нокоŋan hemar*
        then   old.man

   təmk+xiţi-r   *t'əx+qarp-ra*
   hand+raise-CONV:NAR:3SG   forehead+scratch-COORD:3SG

   en-v-erq-toχ   *pəlŋə-ra.*
   be.another-NML:LOC-side-DAT/ADD   turn-COORD:3SG

   'Then the old man, raising (his) hand, scratched (his) forehead and turned
   on the other side.'   (Panfilov 1965: 224)

The suffix *-ra*, *-ta* cannot be used if verbs denote overlapping actions; cf.:

(79)   a.   *If   ţark-r   təvə-ḍ.*
               s/he jump-CONV:NAR:3SG enter.house-IND
               'He jumped into the house', lit. '…entered jumping…',

but not: b.   **If   ţark-ra   təvə-ra   ha-ḍ.*
                s/he jump-COORD:3SG   enter.house-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
                'He jumped and entered the house.'

In (79) the auxiliary verb *ha-ḍ* contains the group finite marker which covers the forms
in *-ra*, *-ta*. This auxiliary can also contain other verbal markers, e.g. those of the imper-
ative mood (and causativity) which in fact concern the forms in *-ra*, *-ta*; cf.:

(80)   a.   *Oz-ra   vi-ra   ha-ja!*
               get.up-COORD:2SG go-COORD:2SG be.so-IMP:2SG
               'Get up and go!'

        b.   *Imŋ oz-ta   vi-ta   ha-ḍ-la?*
               they get.up-COORD:3SG go-COORD:3SG be.so-IND-Q
               'Did they get up and go away?'

The noun

16.1   Plural marking

The plural marker on nouns is the same as on verbs: it is the suffix *-ku/-ɣu/-gu/-xu.*
As has been mentioned, plural marking on nouns is mostly optional. It is particularly
rare in the case forms other than the nominative. Sometimes, however, native speak-
ers insist on plural marking (for instance, when reciprocal actions are expressed; see
21.1.1). Expression of the plural marking on the nominal subject is not connected with
plural marking of the verbal predicate. If the subject referent is plural there are four
logically possible ways of marking it, the choice being to some extent determined by
the context (see Panfilov 1962: 92):

(81)   a.   *Ñivɣ-**gu** p'rə-ḍ-**ɣu**.*
            man-PL   come-IND-PL
            'The people came/have come.'

       b.   *Ñivɣ-**gu** p'rə-ḍ.*
            man-PL   come-IND
            lit. 'The people came/has come.'

       c.   *Ñivx p'rə-ḍ-**ɣu**.*
            man   come-IND-PL
            lit. 'The man came/have come.'

       d.   *Ñivx p'rə-ḍ.*
            man   come-IND
            'lit. 'The man came/has come.'

The plural form of mass and collective nouns has specific meanings; cf.:

(82)   *kis* 'dirt'   →   *kis-**ku*** 'much dirt'
       ţ'aχ 'water' →   *ţ'aχ-**ku*** 'water in different places'

The plural form of personal names and kinship terms denotes representative plural-
ity; cf.:

(83)   *Xevgun* (personal name)   →   *Xevgun-**gu*** 'Xevgun and his comrades'
       ətək 'father'   →   *ətək-**xu*** 'father and mother'

The plural number of a noun can be expressed by reduplication of the attribute:

(84) a. *Imŋ pila+eri-ux ţʻo+ŋəŋ-ḍ.*
they be.big+river-LOC/ABL fish+look.for-IND
'They fished in a big river.'

b. *Imŋ pila-pila+eri-ux ţʻo+ŋəŋ-ḍ.*
they be.big-be.big+river-LOC/ABL fish+look.for-IND
'They fished in big rivers.'

Reduplication of the noun stem expresses a plural distributive meaning:

(85) a. *Imŋ pʻ-naχ+tʻiv-ta …*
they REFL-bunk-sit-COORD:3PL
'They took seat(s) on their bunks…'

b. *I-ñ-tot erk oz-ta*
3SG-eat-CONV:DST:3SG already get.up-COORD:3PL

pʻ-naχ+pʻ-naχ+tʻiv-ta …
REFL-bunk+REFL-bunk+sit-COORD:3PL

'Having eaten, (they) already stood up, sat down on their bunks…'
(= 'each sat down on his/her own bunk').

The plural number on nouns may be marked by some suffixes connecting homogeneous subjects or objects (see 16.5.2).

The category of plurality can be briefly characterized as follows: (1) the singular form (zero marking) may be interpreted as both singular and plural in meaning; (2) abstract nouns (cf. *ţʻolaḍ* 'poverty') do not have the plural number; (3) mass and collective nouns take the plural marker, but it does not have the meaning of plurality; (4) the plural form of personal names and kinship terms denotes representative plurality.

16.2   Case inflection

Nouns and personal pronouns have the same case forms. Therefore the information in this chapter concerns both of these word classes.

16.2.1   The nominative

This case is zero marked; it is the case of subjects and direct objects. A noun in the attributive position is also used in the nominative (cf. *umgu+ŋəŋk* 'woman's hair' in (77), *tutut+rəkñ* 'turtle-dove's claws' in (49b), *eʙa+ḍuz* 'cow meat' in (1d)), and so is the noun in predicative position (see Section 13). With the exception of a few personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun (see (14) and (15)), the nominative case of nominals is identical with the stem.

16.2.2 The agentive (dative/accusative)

The marker of this case if the suffix *-aχ/-χ*. In the literature this (probably unique) case is termed accusative causative (Krejnovich 1979: 302), accusative case of the causative verb form (Krejnovich 1934: 209), dative-accusative (Panfilov 1962: 131), the case of the second subject (Jakobson 1971: 88). This case is used almost exclusively to mark optionally (competing with the nominative) animate nouns (the exceptions found so far are the names of the sun (*kʻeŋ*) and a shining cauldron (*vəñ*)) in the following cases:

1. If the predicate contains the causative suffix *-ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-*:

    (86) a. *Ōla   vi-ḍ.*
              child   go-IND
              'The child went (away).'

          b. *Ətək   pʻ-ōla/pʻ-ōla-aχ   vi-**gu**-ḍ.*
              father REFL-child/REFL-child-DAT/ACC   go-CAUS-IND
              'Father sent his son' (see 24.4).

2. With a number of different-subject converbs containing the suffix *-ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-* (which has lost its causative meaning in these converbs), most commonly with converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* (adverbs with this suffix do not affect the case form of nominals; cf. the adverb *maŋ-gut* 'very (much)' in Example (5)).

    (87) *Ñoñi-γu-**aχ**   eri+fi-gu-r   if*
          goose-PL-DAT/ACC   river+be.smwh-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he
          i-γ-ḍ.
          3SG-kill-IND
          'Geese being on the river, he killed them' (cf. (62), (63)).

3. With reported speech converbs in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t* followed by the main verb *it-* 'say'; see *j-aχ* in (66).[1] The suffix *-vu-* is probably descended from the causative suffix *-ku/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-*.

4. With finite verbs in *-ḍ/-ṭ* forming the explanatory part of the construction of reported speech, when this verb form is immediately followed by the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'be so', 'happen' suffixed with *-vu-r*, *-vu-t* or with *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* which in its turn is followed by the verb *it-* 'say' (or by one of two or three other verbs of speech with the suffix *-gu-r*, *-gu-t*, or the verb *mə-* 'hear'):

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1. The marker of reported speech converbs consists of two parts and is glossed here as REP-CONV:NAR (= reportative-converb:narrative).

(88)   *If   imŋ-aχ   əki-gur   orbot-ţ*
        s/he   they-DAT/ACC   be.bad-ADV:3SG   work-IND

        ha-vu-r   it-ţ.
        be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

        'He said (that) they worked badly' (*əki-**gur*** agrees with *If*).

If the object is in the nominative instead of the dative/accusative case and if it is in contact pre-position to the predicate it does not affect the initial consonants of the verb. Thus, in (89) we observe a combination of two plosives:

(89)   *If   kʼeq   pʼrə-gu-ḍ.*
        s/he   fox   come-CAUS-IND
        'He let the fox come (near him).'

16.2.2.1   *The form in -ʁan.*

Instead of the form *j-aχ* (< **i-f-aχ* 'him/her') in instances (3) and (4) only (? – V.N., G.O.) the case forms *ja-ʁan* (< *j-aχ-an*, where -*an* is an emphatic particle which has lost its meaning) and *if-ʁan* are not infrequently used and sometimes even preferred. Instead of the form *pʼ-aχ* (< *pʼi* 'self'), *pʼe-ʁan* is used. According to Krejnovich (1979: 302), these forms are relics of the case (almost extinct in the Amur dialect) marking the subject of a predicate denoting a hearsay action. The term he suggested is *reported nominative* (Krejnovich 1973: 63). In the East-Sakhalin dialect this case, probably unique typologically, is preserved. It is marked by the suffix -*qan/-ʁan/-ɢan/-χan*; cf.:

(90)   *Tu+tulf   Muzgun-χan   mirn+vo-roχ*
        this+winter   Muzgun-RNOM   we:INCL+village-DAT/ADD

        laγi-nə-vu-r   it-nt.
        visit-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

        'They say (that) this winter Muzgun will visit our village.'

According to our observations, forms like *ja-ʁan*, are not entirely lost in the Amur dialect; they are used not only in phrases with forms in -*vu-r*, -*vu-t* (i.e. of evidential or reported action), but also with causatives in -*ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-*, cf. *ña-ʁan irə-gu-ve* … 'take me with you …'

16.2.3   The dative/additive

This case is marked with the suffix -*roχ/-toχ/-doχ*, and -*rχ/-tχ* on stems with the final vowel. With a limited list of verbs, it marks oblique objects denoting a person or thing the action is directed at, an addressee, etc., and also adverbials of place indicating the final point or purpose of motion; e.g.:

(91)   *If   hə+ñivx-toχ   qala-ḍ.*
        s/he   that+man-DAT/ADD   hate-IND
        'He hates this man.'

(92)   *If*   *ena+kʻnək-**roχ***   *vi-ḍ.*
       s/he   be.another+promontory-DAT/ADD   go-IND
       'He went to another promontory.'

Note. The suffixes of a number of postpositions, adverbs, of a converb of purpose and also the suffixes marking the lexical verb in a number of analytical forms and grammaticalized combinations have developed from the dative/additive case marker; see (52b), (54b), (135) and Section 20.2.

16.2.4   The instrumental

The marker of this case is the suffix *-kir/-γir/-gir/-xir*. In some subdialects the final consonant *t* may be used instead of *r*. Nominals in the instrumental case function as oblique objects denoting an instrument or material and as adverbials of cause or manner; cf.:

(93)   *If*   *qʻax-**kir***   *qʻotr+kʻu-ḍ.*
       s/he   spear-INSTR   bear+kill-IND
       'He killed a bear with a spear' (cf. also (76)).

It has been suggested that in some subdialects the alternation *-ki-r*, *-ki-t* is determined by the same factors as the alternation of *-r* and *-t* in converbs. This is probably due to the origin of the instrumental marker which developed from the converb of the verb *i-γr-/-kʻir-/-xir-* 'to use sth' (Panfilov 1962: 146); cf.:

(94)   a.   *If*   *mu-**γir***   *vi-ḍ.*
            s/he   boat-INSTR   go-IND
            'He went by boat.'

       b.   *Imŋ*   *mu-**γit***   *vi-ḍ-γu.*
            they   boat-INSTR   go-IND-PL
            'They went by boat.'

16.2.5   The locative

The marker of this case is the suffix *-uin/-in/-n* (the variant *-n* is used after the vowel *i*, and *-in* after the other vowels). Nominals in this case denote place or, rarely, time of action; cf.:

(95)   *Ñəŋ*   *hə+dəv-**uin***   *qʻo-ḍ-ra.*
       we:EXCL   that+house-LOC   sleep-IND-FOC
       'We spent a night in this house.'

(96)   Ñ-ətək   1890 añ-**uin**   pañ-ḍ.²
        1SG-father 1890 year-LOC   grow-IND
        'My father was born in 1890.'

16.2.6   The locative/ablative

The marker is the suffix -*ux*/-*x*. It marks nouns-objects or adverbials answering the questions 'from where?', 'from whom?', 'since when?', 'where?', 'in what place?' It overlaps in meaning with the locative case:

(97)   *If*   *ño-x*   *hum-ḍ.*
        s/he   barn-LOC/ABL be-IND
        'He is in the barn.'

(98)   *If*   *ño-x*   *pʻu-ḍ.*
        s/he   barn-LOC/ABL go.out-IND
        'He went out of the barn.'

(99)   *If*   *hə+ṭʻrə-x*   *vi-ḍ.*
        s/he   that+bank-LOC/ABL go-IND
        'He went along this bank.'

(100)   *Qan hə+kʻutə-x*   *pʻu-ḍ.*
        dog   that+hole-LOC/ABL go.out-IND
        'The dog went out through this hole.'

(101)   *Imŋ   ñəñbin+ṭʻas-ux*   *qʻo-ḍ-ɣu.*
        they nine+hour-LOC/ABL sleep-IND-PL
        'They are sleeping since nine o'clock.'

(102)   *If*   *pʻ-ətək-ux*   *j-ot-ṭ.*
        s/he   REFL-father-LOC/ABL 3SG-ask-IND
        'He asked his father.'

The suffix -*uye* (see (123)) which occurs in some dialects is considered by some authors as a marker of the prolative case and as a variant of the suffix -*ux* by others.

16.2.7   The destinative

This case has three markers the differences between which are not established yet: -*ṭʻəkə*/-*řəkə, -*ṭʻχa*/-*řχa*/-*rɢa* and -*toʁo*/-*roʁo*/-*doʁo*. It denotes a limit in space or in time:

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2.   In the manuscript, two forms *pañ-* and *pañd-* of the verbal root are used. The latter form obviously correlates with the form *pañḍi-* cited in Otaina (1978:51). It should also be noted that this is a so-called ingressive-processive verb which denotes the beginning of the process 'be born' and also the process 'grow'. We gloss it as 'grow' in all cases.

(103) *Ñi   hə+vo-řəkə/vo-roʁo/vo-řχa   vi-nə-ḍ-ra.*
       I   that+village-DEST   go-FUT-IND-FOC
       'I will go only as far as this village.'

(104) *Ṭʻi   mχoqr+añ-tʻəkə /+añ-toʁo /+añ-tʻχa   tu-in   hum-nə-ḍ.*
       you:SG   ten:generic+year-DEST   here-LOC be-FUT-IND
       'You will be here as long as ten years.'

16.2.8 The comparative

The marker is the suffix *-ək/-k*. It is used on nouns denoting an object with which another one is compared. The latter is denoted by a noun in the nominative case in subject position; cf.:

(105) *Tolf   ṭʻaχ   eri-n   kerq+saχ-ək-ri   qʻav-ḍ.*
       summer   water   river-LOC   sea+water-COMP-even be.warm-IND
       'In summer the water in the river is even warmer than (= in comparison with) the sea water.'

(106) *Pʻirŋər teŋi-ək   ŋar-ḍ.*
       sazan   salmon-COMP be.fat-IND
       'The sazan (= freshwater fish) is fatter than salmon.'

16.3 The vocative form

Nouns ending in a consonant take the vocative suffix *-a*. The vocative form of nouns with the final vowel is marked by lengthening the vowel, and sometimes by its change into a more open vowel.

(107) a. *Ətək* 'Father'
       b. *Ətək-a!   Pʻrə-ja!*
           father-VOC come-IMP:2SG
           'Father! Come (over here)!'

(108) a. *Ōla-gu* 'Children'
       b. *Ōla-gū/Ōla-gō!   Pʻrə-ve!*
           child-PL /child-PL come-IMP:2PL
           'Children! Come (over here)!'

16.4 The group case marker

If a sentence contains two or more entirely homogeneous sentence constituents, even if there is no coordinating marker (see 16.5), the case marker is used on the last noun of the chain only; cf.:

(109)   *Mañḍu+əs   sək   p'-umgu-gu   p'-ōla-gu-**kir***
        Chinese+owner   all   REFL-woman-PL   REFL-child-PL-INSTR

        lumr+uski-γət-ṭ.
        sable+pay-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

        'The owner of the Chinese with all his wives and his children paid
        for the sables.'

If one of the objects specifies another a group case marker cannot be used; cf.:

(110)   *P'-rəf-toχ   p'-ōla-doχ   řəpr-ḍ.*
        REFL-house-DAT/ADD   REFL-child-DAT/ADD   bring-IND
        '(She) brought (it) into her house for her son.'

16.4.1   Note

In examples like (109) the morpheme *-**kir*** is without any doubt a part of the word form
*p'-ōla-gu-**kir***, and at the same time it covers the word form *p'-umgu-gu*, an object of the
same status as the former one. In this kind of unity only of the second object with the
transitive verb Krejnovich (1966) sees a parallel to direct object + predicate complexes
which he regards as incorporation (see Chapter 9 above); cf.:

(111)   a.   *Ṭ'o-γo   laŋr-ko+k'u+ñivx.*
             fish-COM:PL   seal-COM:PL+kill+man
             'The man who has killed the fish and seals.'

        b.   *Ñi   ṭ'o-γo   laŋr-ko-**gir**   jeski-ḍ.*
             I   fish-COM:PL   seal-COM:PL-INSTR   sell-IND
             'I sold the fish and seals.'

If we regard *laŋr-ko-**gir*** (on *-**ko/-γo/-go/-xo*** see 16.5.2) as a single word despite the fact
that *-**gir*** relates to the first object as well, it may be argued by analogy that the presence
of the homogeneous object *ṭ'o-γo* 'fishes' should not prevent interpreting *laŋr-ko+k'u*
'kill seals' as a single word (see Krejnovich 1966: 42).

16.5   Conjoining of homogeneous nouns

There are a number of devices for noun conjoining if we take into account the follow-
ing features: (1) the number (two or more) of coordinated nouns; (2) the number (one
or more) of participants named by each of the nouns, in which case the dual or plural
comitative suffixes are used respectively (see Krejnovich 1979: 302–303).

16.5.1 Conjoining of nouns each referring to a single entity (dual number of the comitative)

In this case the dual comitative suffix *-ke/-ɣe/-ge/-xe* is used. This suffix marks conjoining of homogeneous subjects, direct and oblique objects, adverbials and attributes. If the referents of conjoined subjects are equally active the suffix is used on both nouns. The last component of a comitative group in direct object position enters into a complex with the transitive predicate (see (115)); cf.:

(112) *Pʻ-ōla-**ge***   *pʻ-ŋafq-**xe***   *vi-ḍ-ɣu.*
REFL-child-COM:DU   REFL-friend-COM:DU   go-IND-PL
'The child and his friend went away' (both nouns are prefixed with the reflexive marker; see also (116)).

If the referent of the first conjoined subject noun is more active the comitative suffix is used on the second one only; cf.:

(113) *Ōla*   *pʻ-ŋafq-**xe***   *vi-ḍ-ɣu.*
child   REFL-friend-COM:DU   go-IND-PL
'The child went away with his friend'; lit. 'The child with his friend went away.'

The case markers usually follow the conjoining suffix, less commonly they precede it; cf.:

(114) a. *Ñi*   *pʻ-əmək-**xe**-**ux***
     I   REFL-mother-COM:DU-LOC/ABL

     *pʻ-ətək-**xe**-**ux***   *ʈʻχa+eq-ʈ.*
     REFL-father-COM:DU-LOC/ABL   money+ask-IND

     'I asked my mother and my father for money.'

    b. *Ñi*   *pʻ-əmək-**ux**-**xe***
     I   REFL-mother-LOC/ABL-COM:DU

     *pʻ-ətək-**ux**-**xe***   *ʈʻχa+eq-ʈ.*
     REFL-father-LOC/ABL-COM:DU   money+ask-IND

     (same translation).

16.5.2 Conjoining of nouns each referring to two or more entities (plural number of the comitative)

In this case the suffix *-ko/-ɣo/-go/-xo* is used, sometimes *-kon/-ɣon/-gon/-xon*; cf.:

(115) a. *Ñi*   *həjk-**xe***   *kʻeq-**xe**+ḍif-ku+ñřə-ḍ.*
     I   hare-COM:DU   fox-COM:DU+footprint-PL+see-IND
     'I saw tracks of a hare and a fox.' (Panfilov 1962: 167–168.)

b.   *Ñi   həjk-**xo***   *k'eq-**xo**+ḍif-ku+ñřə-ḍ.*
     I   hare-COM:PL   fox-COM:PL+footprint-PL+see-IND
     'I saw tracks of hares and foxes.'

The suffix -***kon/-ɣon/-gon/-xon*** may denote representative multitude; as in (116):

(116)   *P'-aṭik-**xon***   *p'-nanak-**xon***
        REFL-younger.sibling-COM:PL   REFL-elder.sister-COM:PL

        hə+vo-in   *hum-ḍ-ɣu.*
        that+village-LOC   be-IND-PL

        'The younger brother (with his wife) and his elder sister (with her husband)
        lived in this village.'

In (117) borrowed from a text the general rule of the use of the plural and singular
comitative markers is violated: (1) three subjects are conjoined and (2) according to
the broader context, the first two subjects have singular referents:

(117)   *Hoŋgur*   *if*   *it-ŋan*   *pəx-**xo***   *topin-**ɣo***
        in.that.way:3SG   s/he   say-CONV:ANT/SIM   cuckoo-COM:PL   jay-COM:PL

        *ṭevrq-**xo***   *sək   k'it-ṭ-ɣu.*
        little.bird-COM:PL   all   run.away-IND-PL

        'After he had said so the cuckoo, the jay and the little birds all flew away.'
                                                            (Panfilov 1965: 229)

16.5.3   Conjoining of more than two homogeneous nouns

In this case the suffixes -***toɣo/-roɣo/-doɣo*** (for direct objects only) and -***ə***, -***e*** (for direct
and oblique objects) and also the particle -***hara*** 'and' are used. The suffix -***ə***, -***e*** also car-
ries an emotive colouring, it expresses a feeling of satisfaction, pleasure; cf.:

(118)   *Ma+mevsq-**hara***   *tamɣ+merax-**hara***
        dried.fish+two:pair.object-CONJ   tobacco+two:two.dimensional.object-CONJ

        *t'om+paʁ+ñakr-**hara**+rəkz-ḍ.*
        fat+be.red+one:generic-CONJ+barter-IND

        'I bartered two dried fish and two leaves of tobacco and one red cup of fat.'

(119)   *Antx-ku   mur-gir-ə*   *qaŋ-gir-ə*   *p'rə-ḍ-ɣu.*
        guest-PL   horse-INSTR-CONJ   dog-INSTR-CONJ   come-IND-PL
        'Guests arrived on horses and dogs.'

16.5.4   Conjoining of homogeneous nouns dependent on the
           negative verb form

In this case the intensifying particle -***ri/-ti/-di*** is used; cf.:

(120)   *Ñi   həjk-**ri**   kʼeq-**ri**+ṭif-ku+ñřə-doχ   qʼau-ḍ.*
        I   hare-even   fox-even+footprint-PL+see-SUP   not.be-IND
        'I did not see any tracks of a hare or fox.'

16.6   Postpositions

This class of auxiliary (or semi-auxiliary) words is used, with few exceptions, to express spatial and, to a much lesser degree, temporal relations, thus compensating for the absence of prepositions. Alongside case forms, postpositions serve to express syntactic relations between the verbal predicate and other sentence parts.

According to their origin, which to a considerable degree determines their usage, postpositions fall into two types, declinable (they are descended from nouns with spatial meanings) and non-declinable (these are descended from verbs). Each of the types is represented by more than ten postpositions. The greater part of postpositions has homonyms – nouns or verbs respectively, practically with the same meaning. The borderline between the nominal or verbal and auxiliary use of homonymous units is not always clearcut.

16.6.1   Denominal (declinable) postpositions

Here belong the following postpositions: *-vəj* 'under', *-tʼxə/-řxə* 'on', *-qʼomi/-χomi* 'at the side', *-laʁa(j)* '(close) by', 'next to', 'near', *-le* 'next to', 'near', '(close) by', *-mi* 'in', 'inside', *-tʼayr/-řayr* 'between', 'among', *-(h)erq* 'side', *-ətə* 'in front of', 'ahead', *-tʼara/-řara* 'against', 'opposite', *-alv-erq* 'after', 'behind'. Out of these words, *-tʼxə/-řxə, -tʼayr/-řayr, -ətə* and *-tʼara/-řara* seldom occur as nouns. Example (121) containing the postposition *-mi* 'in','inside' illustrates the use of denominal postpositions:

(121)   a.   *If   j-ama-ḍ.*
             s/he   3SG-look-IND
             'He looked at sth.'

        b.   *If   təv-**mi**+ama-ḍ.*
             s/he   house-inside+look-IND
             'He looked inside (= into) the house.'

In (121b) the postposition in the nominative case takes the direct object position together with the noun *təf* 'house' (the free variant of the verb-predicate is *j-ama-* used in (121a)). Both components comprise a bound complex, which is indicated by the voicing of the final consonant of the noun (see 8.3). The segment *təv-mi* can also be interpreted either as an extended morphological complex comprised of the direct object *təf* and the postposition *-mi* (see Chapter 5) or as an attributive complex comprised of the attribute *təf* 'house' and the head noun *mi* 'inside.' In any case, these two

words occupy together the direct object position. Examples (122)–(125) illustrate the use of postpositions in oblique case forms:

(122) *If*   *ţīr-**mi**-rχ*   *vi-ḍ*.[3]
       s/he tree-inside-DAT/ADD go-IND
       'He went into the forest.'

(123) *If*   *ţīr-**mi**-uye*   *vi-ḍ*.
       s/he tree-inside-LOC/ABL go-IND
       'He walked in (= through) the forest.'

(124) *If*   *vaqa-**mi**-n*   *pitɣə+huñḍi-ḍ*.
       s/he box-inside-LOC   written.paper+put-IND
       'He put the book into the box.'

(125) *If*   *ţīr-**mi**-řəkə*   *vi-ŋan,*   *kər-ḍ*.
       s/he tree-inside-DEST go-CONV:ANT/SIM stay-IND
       'Having gone to the middle of the forest, he stopped.'

As mentioned, the word *mi* can be used alone, without a preceding noun. Moreover, it can combine with a postposition (in (127) and (128) the postposition *-erq* is used); cf.:

(126) *Təv-**mi***   *otaj-ḍ*.
       house-inside be.cramped-IND
       'There is little room inside the house'; lit. 'The house inside is small.'

(127) ***Mi-erq**-toχ*   *j-ama-ŋan,*   *həḍ+añ*
       inside-side-DAT/ADD 3SG-look-CONV:ANT/SIM that.one+also

       hekəla+umgu.
       be.beautiful+woman

       'Having looked into the house, (he saw) this is also a beautiful woman.'

(128) *Hə+ñivɣ+nəu-**mi**-erq-ux* ...
       that+man+body-inside-side-LOC/ABL
       'Out of the body of this man (fire appeared).'

When combined with postpositions, personal pronouns (singular) and the reflexive pronoun are also prefixed, the final vowel of the pronoun being deleted (see Chapter 6); cf.:

(129) *Imŋ* *təf-erq-toχ/j-erq-toχ*   *pʻrə-jvu-ḍ*.
       they house-side-DAT/ADD/s/he-side-DAT/ADD come-INCH/PROGR-IND
       'They were approaching the house/him' (on the suffix *-jvu-/-ivu-* see 24.9).

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3.   The word *ţīr* means 'tree, forest, firewood'; it is glossed as [tree] in all the examples.

(130)   ***I-laʁa-in***   ***umgu+ñin***   ***por-ra …***
        s/he-next.to-LOC   woman+one:human   lie-COORD:3SG
        'A woman was lying next to him …'

Combinations with postpositions (? – V.N., G.O) can be used in attributive position; cf.:

(131)   ***If   pal-erq+ƫᵊg-ux   j-e-ḍ.***
        s/he   hill-side+fire-LOC/ABL   3SG-cook-IND
        'He cooked on the fire on the hill side.'

A subclass of nouns of spatial orientation (the term used in Krejnovich 1986: 157–167) can also function as postpositions. Here is an example with the word *aqr* '(in the direction of the) lower side, down the river, or end of sth.'[4]

16.6.2   Deverbal (non-declinable) postpositions

Most of these postpositions are formed by deleting the converbal suffix *-r*, *-t* (see 14.1.1); a number of them contain suffixes. Nouns with these postpositions cannot be used in direct object position. Here is a list of these postpositions (132):

(132)   *-ənk(i)*   'in front of', 'earlier'
        -əri   'behind'
        -ləs   'past', 'by'
        -kʼrə(r), -kʼrə(t)   'together', 'with'
        -kʼrərə/-xrərə   'for the sake of', 'for', 'because of'
        -tulku/-rulku   'along', 'through', 'over', 'across'
        -tʼməsk/-řməsk   'across', 'over sth'
        -tomsk/-romsk   'together', 'with', 'to(wards)'
        -lax   'about'
        -or-doχ   'towards'
        -osq-toχ   'opposite', 'across'
        -uvu-doχ   'instead (of)'

(The suffix *-doχ/-toχ* comes back to the dative/additive suffix; see 16.2.3).

Sentence (133) contains the transitive verb *j-ənki-/-ənki-* 'be', 'walk in front of sb' in the converbal form in *-r*, *-t* (it can be replaced by the postposition *-ənki* 'in front of') and the postposition *-əri* 'behind' (it can be replaced by the converb in *-r*, *-t* of the base transitive *j-əri-/-əri-* 'be', 'walk behind sb'):

(133)   *Ñi   ƫ-ənki-t*   (→ *ƫ-ənki*)
        I   2SG-be.in.front.of-CONV:NAR:1SG   2SG-in.front.of

        pʼu-nə-ḍ-ra.   *Ƭᶜi   ñ-əri*
        go.out-FUT-IND-FOC   you:SG   I-behind

---

4.   The example is missing in the manuscript.

$(\rightarrow$ *ñ-əri-r*)   *p'u-ja!*
I-be.behind-CONV:NAR:3SG   go.out-IMP:2SG
'I shall go out in front of you. You go out behind me!'

(134) shows that the extended morphological complex *t'o-romsk* 'together with fish' does not form a bound object complex with the transitive predicate, though it is in contact pre-position to the latter; the transitive predicate is represented by the free variant *i-ñ-* instead of the bound variant *-ñi-*:

(134)   *Imŋ   ŋoχ   t'o-romsk   i-ñ-ta …*
        they   fat   fish-together   3SG-eat-COORD:3PL
        'They ate fat together with fish…'

(135)   *If   j-or-doχ   vi-ḍ.*
        s/he   s/he-towards-DAT/ADD   go-IND
        'He walked towards him'; cf.:

        If   j-or-ḍ.
        s/he   3SG-meet-IND
        'He met him.'

(136)   *If   orbot-toχ   q'au-ʁa   enaḍ*
        s/he   work-SUP   not.be-CONV:COND   another.one

        j-uvudoχ   orbot-ijŋana.
        s/he-instead   work-probably

        'If he did not work, someone (else) probably worked instead of him.'

16.7   Cardinal numerals

As has been mentioned above, cardinal numerals are a subclass of nouns. They are marked for case and can perform various syntactic functions in a sentence. There are no ordinal numerals in Nivkh. With respect to the nature of its numerals the Nivkh language differs significantly from the neighbouring languages. The Nivkh numerals are count words which classify all Nivkh nouns into 27 classes. The choice of a numeral is determined by the class the respective noun belongs to; in other words, each class of numerals is used for counting objects of a certain class. Therefore the head noun itself (? – V.N., G.O.) may sometimes be absent in a sentence, (cf. (21), (141); see Krejnovich 1932; Panfilov 1962: 192). The numerals up to 'five' are usually post-posed to the noun they define (see (139)–(140)); numerals denoting more than five objects are usually pre-posed to the noun (see (101), (104); cf., however, (142)). The numerals are comprised of two components. The first component of the numerals up to 'five' and the

numeral 'ten' coincides in all the classes. Thus, the numerals with the meaning 'one' begin with *ñ-*, 'two' with *m-*, 'three' with *ţ-*, 'four' with *n-*, 'five' with *t'-*, and 'ten' with *mxo-*. The numerals from 'six' to 'nine' coincide in all the classes. A numeral and the noun make up an attributive complex. In (137), some of the numerals with the meaning 'two' are listed:

(137) *men* 'two men' (also used with the nouns meaning 'god',
                 'deceased', 'water-sprite')
     mor 'two animals' (see (143))
     meqr 'two objects of irregular shape' (see (75), (140))
     mevsq 'two paired objects' (see (118))
     mim 'two boats'
     mer 'two bunches of dried fish'
     mevor 'two long objects'
     merax 'two thin flat objects'
     mik 'two small round objects' (also *tux* 'axe')

Here are a few numerals with the meaning 'one':

(138) *ñin/ñen* 'one person' (see (74d))
     ñəñ 'one animal' (see (8c), (25))
     ñaqr 'one object of irregular form' (see (118), (139)).

The numerals of each class from 'eleven' up are formed in the same way by adding the numeral 'one', 'two', etc. to the numeral with the meaning 'ten' followed by the component -**urk**; cf.: *mxo mim-urk* 'twelve boats', *mxo men-urk* 'twelve persons', etc.; cf.:

(139) *Raq+hontq+ñaqr+ke-ḍ.*
     cereal+sack-one:generic+buy-IND
     '(He) bought one sack of cereal.'

(140) *Hontq+meqr*   *ţ'ar-ḍ.*
     sack+two:generic   be.full-IND
     'Two sacks are full.'

(141) *J-ar-ʁar*   *ţəj*   *ek-r*
     3SG-feed-CONV:SUBJ again ask-CONV:NAR:3SG

     mer   *ñřak-ñřak* *i-ñ-ḍ-ra.*
     two:bunches.of.dried.fish once-once 3SG-eat-IND-FOC

     'Though having been fed, (he) having asked for two more bunches of dried fish, ate them at once.'

(142) *Hə+umgu-in*   *nər+ñivx*   *mu-ḍ-ra.*
     that+woman-LOC four:human+man   die-IND-FOC
     'Four men died on this woman' (or: 'This woman lost four men').

(143)   *Ǝk-ili+lumr+mor+ɣe-r*
be.bad-PERM+sable+two:non.humans+take-CONV:NAR:3SG

řo-ra …
carry-COORD:3SG

'Taking two worst sables, (he) carried (them) …'. (Panfilov 1965: 249)[5]

16.8   Means of nominalisation

There are four main types of nominalisation, i.e. derivation of deverbals which can take the syntactic positions of actants and circonstants characteristic of nouns in general. These types are termed here according to their main or only function. Nominalised verbs retain the verbal properties of tense, aspect and their valencies. Illustrations follow.

1.   Predicate-actant nominalisation (suffix -*ḍ*/-*ṭ*).

(144)   a.   *Ǝtǝk   nǝmr   seta+ɣe-ḍ.*
father   yesterday   sugar+take-IND
'Father bought sugar yesterday.'

b.   *Ñi   ǝtǝk+fur-ḍ.*
I   father+tell-IND
'I told about father.'

c.   *Ñi   p'-ǝtǝk   nǝmr   seta+ɣe-ḍ+fur-ḍ.*
I   REFL-father   yesterday   sugar+take-NML+tell-IND
'I said (that) my father had bought sugar yesterday', or:
'I told about my father's purchase of sugar yesterday.'

2.   Subject nominalisation (the form with the suffix -*k*).

(145)   a.   *Ñi   nǝmr   seta+ɣe+ǝtǝk-roχ   vi-ḍ.*
I   yesterday   sugar+take+father-DAT/ADD   go-IND
'I went (= came up) to (my) father (who) had bought sugar the day before.'

b.   *Ñi   nǝmr   seta+ɣe-k-roχ   vi-ḍ.*
I   yesterday   sugar+take-NML-DAT/ADD   go-IND
'I went (= came up) to the person (who) had bought sugar the day before.'

3.   Adverbial nominalisation (zero marking, pure stem).

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5.   In Panfilov (1965: 249), in the same phrase the converb 'taking' has another initial consonant, cf. -*ke* in *Ǝk-ili+lumr+mor+ke-r* …

(146) a. *Ñi ətək-xrərə   tazaf-ţ*
           I   father-because.of be.late-IND
           'I was late because of (my) father.'

    b. *Ñi ətək   nəmr   **seta+ye-xrərə**   tazaf-ţ.*
        I   father yesterday sugar+take-because.of be.late-IND
        'I was late because of (my) father's purchase of sugar yesterday.'

4. Locative nominalisation (suffix *-f/-v*).

(147) *Ñi ətək   nəmr   **seta+ye-f-toχ**   vi-ḍ.*
       I   father yesterday sugar+take-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   go-IND
       'I went to the place (where my) father had bought sugar the day before.'
       We will consider these cases in more detail.

16.8.1 Predicate-actant nominalisation (suffix *-ḍ/-ţ*)

This form is the most polyfunctional. It should be noted with respect to the issue in question that there is a group of pronouns with the suffix *-ḍ/-ţ* used in the position of actants and in predicate position. In the attributive position, this component is omitted on pronouns, as well as on verbs (cf. *tə-ḍ* 'this one', *hə-ḍ* 'that one', etc.). This fact led Krejnovich (1934:212) to claim that Nivkh verbs in *-ḍ/-ţ* have nominal features even in predicate position. There are three main subtypes of nominalisation distinguished among forms in *-ḍ/-ţ*.

16.8.1.1 *Predicate-actant nominalisation proper. Nouns of action*
Three cases are distinguished according to the syntactic position of the form.

16.8.1.1.1 *Subject position.*   In this case the form in *-ḍ/-ţ*, placed in subject position with all its dependent words, combines with a verbal predicate from a limited list of verbs (including qualitative verbs).

(148) a. *Maţkə+ōla-gu   huŋrəḍ+vo-ḍ.*
           be.little+child-PL like.that.one+take-IND
           'Little children took/take this.'

    b. *Ōla! Maţkə+ōla-gu   **huŋrəḍ+vo-ḍ**   uiγ-ḍ-ra.*
        child be.little+child-PL like.that.one+take-NML be.sinful-IND-FOC
        'Sonnie! It is sinful for little children to take a thing like that'; or:
        'Taking a thing like that is sinful for little children.' (Panfilov 1965:225)

16.8.1.1.2 *Direct object position.*   The nominative case of the nouns of action in question is used as an expounding sentence constituent with verbal predicates meaning 'tell', 'look', 'hear', 'see' and the like, and also with verbs meaning 'be in the way', 'disturb', 'imitate', etc.

(149)   a.   *Әtək*   *pityə+daju-ḍ.*
          father   written.paper+write-IND
          'Father is writing a letter.'

       b.   *Ñi*   *j-ama-ḍ.*
          I   3SG-look-IND
          'I am looking.'

       c.   *Ñi*   *pʻ-ətək*   *pityə+daju-ḍ+ama-ḍ.*
          I   REFL-father   written.paper+write-NML+look-IND
          'I am looking at (how) father is writing a letter.'

16.8.1.1.3   *Oblique object and adverbial positions.*   In these positions the instrumental case forms are prevalent:

(150)   a.   *Ñi*   *ṭʻəŋ+ñřə-nə-ḍ-ra.*
          I   you:PL+see-FUT-IND-FOC
          'I shall see you.'

       b.   *Ñi*   *ṭʻəŋ+ñřə-nə-ḍ-yir*   *ṭʻajsa-t*   *pʻrə-ḍ.*
          I   you:PL+see-FUT-NML-INSTR   wish-CONV:NAR:1SG   come-IND
          'I have come wishing to see you.'

(151)   a.   *If*   *j-aŋr-ḍ.*
          s/he   3SG-be.surprised-IND
          'He is surprised.'

       b.   *If*   *j-aŋr-ḍ-yir*   *hurtʻiv-ḍ.*
          s/he   3SG-be.surprised-NML-INSTR   sit-IND
          'He sat down out of surprise.'

Combinations with postpositions also occur sometimes:

(152)   *If*   *pʻ-ətək*   *nəmr*   *mu-jnə-ḍ-xrərə*
       s/he   REFL-father   yesterday   die-DES/INCH-NML-because.of

       imŋ-doχ   *pʻrə-doχ*   *qʻau-ḍ.*
       they-DAT/ADD   come-SUP   not.be-IND

       'He did not come to their place (lit. 'to them') because of his father's having fallen ill the day before.'

16.8.1.2   *Substitutional nominalisation*

In the case of substitutional nominalisation the verb form becomes a substitute either for "its own" subject or "its own" direct object. Subject and object nominalisation are distinguished respectively.

16.8.1.2.1 *Subject nominalisation.* In this case the meaning of the form in *-ḍ/-ṭ* roughly corresponds to that of Russian active participles. The verb form in *-ḍ/-ṭ* serves as a substitute for the name of a person or thing performing the action denoted by this verb form. Therefore the nominal denoting this person or thing cannot be used as the head word of these *-ḍ/-ṭ* forms (see Panfilov 1962: 64–68). This kind of substitution seems to be more characteristic of intransitives (including qualitative verbs; see, however, (155)). Nominalised verbs occur as subjects, objects and attributes.

(153) a. *Hə+umgu   ñik   nuγi təvə-ḍ.*
           that+woman recently first enter.house-IND
           'This woman was the first to enter the house recently.'

     b. *Ñik   nuγi   **təvə-ḍ-ək**   ur-jo+umgu*
           recently first enter.house-NML-COMP be.good-DIMN+woman

          mer+hemar   j-ama-ḍ.
           we:INCL+old.man 3SG-see-IND

          'Our old man sees (that) in comparison with (the one who was) the first one to enter the house (this) woman is more beautiful.'

(Panfilov 1965: 112)

(154) a. *Hə+xe-gu   ṭeka-ḍ-γu.*
           that+net-PL be.strong-IND-PL
           'These fishing nets are strong.'

     b. *If   **ṭeka-ḍ-γu**+bark+po-ḍ.*
           s/he be.strong-NML-PL+only+take-IND
           'He took only the strong (fishing nets).'

In (155) a non-subject is the head word:

(155) a. *Hə+ñivγ-gu   pā-la-ḍ-γu.*
           that+man-PL be.red-PERM-IND-PL
           'These men are the Reds.'

     b. ***Pā-la-ḍ-γu**+va+ər-ux   ṭ'am   k'it-ṭ.*
           be.red-PERM-NML-PL+fight+time-LOC/ABL shaman run.away-IND
           'During fighting with the Reds the shaman ran away.'

(156) and (157) are the only examples of transitive verbs used as substitutes for their subjects. These are probably idiomatic phrases.

(156) a. *Umgu   i-ḍoŋr+varvar-ḍ.*
           woman 3SG-head+comb-IND
           'The woman combed his hair' (it was her duty).

b. *"Ṭʻi   pʻ-soŋr+varvar-nə-ḍ+ŋəŋ-ke*
you:SG   REFL-head+comb-FUT-NML+look.for-CONV:DUR/INST

pʻrə-ḍ-la?"
come-IND-Q

'Have you come looking for a wife? (for a woman who will comb
your hair?).'

(157) a. *Imŋ   pʻ-rəf+pʻi-ḍ-yu.*
they   REFL-house+be.smwh-IND-PL
'They were in their house.'

b. ***Pʻ-rəf+pʻi-ḍ-yu***   *sək morqa-ḍ-yu.*
REFL-house+be.smwh-NML-PL   all   be.alive-IND-PL
'Those (who) were in their house are all alive.'

16.8.1.2.2   *Object nominalisation.*   By definition, this applies to transitive verbs
only. The nominalised verb substitutes for the object which is most commonly
implied by the verbal meaning and is specified in the situation described. In (158b)
the only object implied is 'food'. Nominalised transitives can be used in subject and
direct object positions. In the latter case the objects usually occur with the same
verb (cf. (160); see Panfilov 1965: 112).

(158) a. *Imŋ   i-ñ-nə-ḍ-yu.*
they   3SG-eat-FUT-IND-PL
'They will eat.'

b. *Imŋ   **i-ñ-nə-ḍ-yu***+ama-ḍ.*
they   3SG-eat-FUT-NML-PL+look.at-IND
'They are looking at the food' (the plural number indicates large
quantities of various food; lit. '(what) they will eat').

(159) a. *Ñi   lumr+təkz-ḍ.*
I   sable+barter-IND
'I bartered sables.'

b. *Ñi   **rəkz-ḍ***   *sək ha-ḍ-ra.*
I   barter-NML   all   be.so-IND-FOC
'What I barter (i.e. sables) has all ended', lit '…all was so'.

c. *Ñi   **rəkz-nə-ḍ***   *sək ha-ḍ-ra.*
I   barter-FUT-NML   all   be.so-IND-FOC
'What I will (= probably could) barter has all ended' (same situation as
in (159b), but presented from a different angle).

(160) *Vi-nanak*   *ezmu-r*   *imŋ-doχ*   *pʻu-ḍ.*
3SG-elder.sister   rejoice-CONV:NAR:3SG   they-DAT/ADD   go.out-IND

Imŋ+nə-yo+urku-ḍ.   *Ño-rχ*   **j-urku-ḍ**
they+belonging-COM.PL+bring.in-IND   barn-DAT/ADD   3SG-bring.in-NML

> *j-urku-ra   haʙa-ra.*[6]
> 3sg-bring.in-COORD:3sg laugh-COORD:3sg
>
> 'His elder sister, rejoicing, went out to (meet) them. (She) brought in their belongings. What should be put into the storehouse (she) put in (there) and laughed.'

16.8.1.3 *Full substantivisation*

These words are nouns entered in dictionaries, and they have homonymous verbs. Their distinctive feature is prefixation of personal pronouns used as attributes (see (16)); cf.:

(161) a. *If   ṭʻola-ḍ.*
           s/he be.poor-IND
           'He is poor.'

     b. *If   pʻ-sola-ḍ̣+fur-ḍ.*
           s/he REFL-be.poor-NML+tell-IND
           'He told (sb) about his poverty.'

Nouns of this kind are relatively few in number. Full substantivisations are more frequently marked by other nominalising suffixes. Thus, for instance, nouns denoting instruments from verbs of action are more commonly derived by means of the suffix *-s* (see Panfilov 1962: 41–42).

(162) a. *If   nəmr   ŋarʙo-ḍ.*
           s/he yesterday set.trap-IND
           'Yesterday he set traps [for sables].'

     b. *If   pʻ-ŋarʙo-ḍ+vo-ḍ.*
           s/he REFL-set.trap-NML+take-IND
           'He took his trap' (cf. *ŋarʙo-s* 'trap').

16.8.2 Subject nominalisation (suffix *-k*)

This type of nominalisation approximately corresponds to Russian substantivised active participles, i.e. it is functionally close to one of the functions of nominalisations in *-ḍ/-ṭ* (see 16.8.1.2.1). The difference between them is not quite clear. True, the form in *-k*, unlike that in *-ḍ/-ṭ*, is monosemous. Both suffixes manifest different selectivity in their combinability with particular verb stems. Thus, out of nearly 400 qualitative verbs only 20 stems combine with the suffix *-k* (Otaina 1978: 74). These derivations have all the case forms and are used in all syntactic positions.

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6. It should probably be *Ño-rχ **j-urku-ḍ+j-urku-ra*** [store.house-DAT/ADD 3SG-bring.in-NML+bring.in-COORD:SG]. In Saveljeva, Taksami (1970: 416) the verb 'laugh' is spelt with the velar *χ* as *χaʙa-*.

(163) a. *If   ler-ḍ.*
           s/he play-IND
           'He played.'

       b. *If   ler-ij-ger-ḍ.*
           s/he play-EP-refuse-IND
           'He refused to play.'

       c. *Ku   **ler-ij-ger-k**   ərk   vi-ḍ.*
           that play-EP-refuse-NML:SBJ   already go-IND
           'That (one who) refused to play has already gone away.'

(164) a. *If   nəmr   p'rə-ḍ.*
           s/he yesterday come-IND
           'He came (= arrived) yesterday.'

       b. *Nəmr   **p'rə-k**-hara   atak-hara   p'u-ḍ-ɣu.*
           yesterday come-NML:SBJ-CONJ   grandfather-CONJ   go.out-IND-PL
           '(Both) the one (who) came yesterday and grandfather went out.'

(165) a. *If   həḍ+hijm-ḍ.*
           s/he that.one+know-IND
           'He knows that one.'

       b. *I-ñin+bark   **həḍ+hijm-k**   if+park*
           3SG-one:human+only   that.one+know-NML:SBJ   s/he+only

           ha-jqana.
           be.so-probably

           'The only one (who) knew that one was he himself.'

(166) a. *If   seta+ɣe-ḍ.*
           s/he sugar+take-IND
           'He bought (some) sugar.'

       b. ***Seta+ɣe-k***   ñe-rχ   p'rə-ḍ.*
           sugar+take-NML:SBJ   I-DAT/ADD come-IND
           'The one (who) had bought (some) sugar came to (see) me.'

       c. *Ñi   **seta+ɣe-k**+ñřə-ḍ.*
           I   sugar+take-NML:SBJ+see-IND
           'I saw the one (who) had bought (some) sugar' (see also (145b).

       d. *Ṭ'i-la   **seta+ɣe-nə-k**   (→ seta+ɣe-nə-ḍ)?*
           you:SG-Q sugar+take-FUT-NML:SBJ   sugar+take-FUT-IND
           'Is that you (who) will buy the sugar?'

As (166d) shows, this form is also used in predicate position as well; cf. also:

(167) *Ñik   p'rə-r   ṭ'-aṭik+ɣe-k*
       recently come-CONV:NAR:3SG   2SG-younger.sibling+take-NML:SBJ

    həḍ   *ñ-ətək-ra.*
    that.one   1SG-father-FOC

    'The one (who) has recently come (lit. 'having come') and taken your younger brother is my father.'

(168)   *Ñəŋ+rəu+ñivx*   **q'oʁamaŋg-la-k**/*q'oʁamaŋg-la-ḍ.*
       we:EXCL+teach+man be.clever-PERM-NML:SBJ/be.clever-PERM-IND
       'Our teacher is very clever.'

16.8.3 Adverbial nominalisation (the form is identical with the verb stem)

This case of nominalisation is represented by formations with case suffixes and/or postpositions, and also with the adverbial suffix -***skir*** descended from the instrumental case marker. This form is not used in the nominative case. This is probably due to the fact that the verb stem (or stem with "infixed elements") is employed to derive a variety of compound verbs, i.e. this morphological pattern is employed in a different function (see 20.3, 20.4).

16.8.3.1 *Case suffixes and/or postpositions*
In this instance mostly destinative case forms occur which indicate an action that follows the main action:

(169) a. *Ñi* *p'rə-nə-ḍ.*
          I   come-FUT-IND
          'I will come.'

      b. *Ñi* ***p'rə-nə-t'əkə***   *tu-jn*   *hum-ja.*
          I   come-FUT-DEST here-LOC be-IMP:2SG
          'Stay here until I come.'

(170) a. *If*   *ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-r*   *vi-nə-ḍ.*
          s/he fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG go-FUT-IND
          'He will go fishing.'

      b. ***Ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-r***   ***vi-nə+uvudoχ***   *if*
          fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG go-FUT+instead.of s/he

          təv-ux   *kər-ḍ.*
          house-LOC/ABL stay-IND
          'Instead of going fishing he stayed at home.'

(171) a. *If*   *eri-rχ*   *məy-ivu-ḍ.*
          s/he river-DAT/ADD descend-INCH/PROGR-IND
          'He was/is descending down to the river.'

    b.   *If   eri-rχ   məy-ivu+tʻār-ux*
         s/he river-DAT/ADD descend-INCH/PROGR+between-LOC/ABL

         v-ətək   j-ama-r   hum-bar.
         3SG-father 3SG-look-CONV:NAR:3SG be-ADVERS

         'While he was descending to the river water his father followed him with his eyes' (-*tʻār-ux* is a postposition with the meaning 'between', 'among', 'during' in the locative/ablative case; on the suffix -***bar*** see 22.6).

16.8.3.2   *The adverbial suffix -skir*

This suffix is used to derive adverbs of manner (Panfilov 1962: 145). Adverbs of this type are not numerous, judging by the lists of adverbs in Nivkh grammars. In meaning, these forms correspond to the instrumental case (see 16.2.4).

(172) a. *Imŋ qan+əu-ḍ.*
         they dog+feed.with.liquid.food-IND
         'They feed dogs with liquid (= boiled) food.'

      b. *Qan **j-əu-skir**+park   e-rʁop-ṭ.*
         dog 3SG-feed.with.liquid.food-ADV+only 3SG-touch-IND
         '(They) fed dogs with liquid (= boiled) food only' (i.e. took good care of them).

(173) a. *Hemañaχ   e-zmu-ḍ.*
         old.woman   3SG-rejoice-IND
         'The old woman is/was glad.'

      b. *Hemañaχ   **e-zmu-skir**   to-ḍ.*
         old.woman 3SG-rejoice-ADV cry-IND
         'The old woman cried out of joy.'

(174) a. *If   tʻəŋ+ñřə-jnə-ḍ.*
         s/he you:PL+see-DES/INCH-IND
         'He is going to see you.'

      b. *If   pʻrə-ḍ   tʻəŋ+ñřə-jnə-skir.*
         s/he come-IND you:PL+see-DES/INCH-ADV
         'He came in order to see you.'

Compare also *j-ot-**skir*** 'asking (about sth)' (← *j-ot-/-ot-* 'ask'), *mɣe-**skir*** 'rowing' (← *mɣe-* 'row'), *to-**skir*** 'crying' (← *to-* 'cry').

16.8.4   Locative nominalisation (suffix -*f*/-*v*)

The typical meaning of deverbal derivatives with this suffix is that of a place where the action denoted by the base verb (usually) takes place; cf.: *kʻez-* 'set up fishing nets' – *kʻez-f* 'the place where fishing nets are put up', *qʻo-* 'sleep' – *qʻo-f* 'the place where sb

sleeps/slept', *q'o-nə-f* 'the place where sb will sleep', etc. Less commonly derivatives in
-f/-v denote a place characterized by the result of the action: *p'ət-* 'crack' – *p'ət-f* 'a
crack', *kesqo-* 'get burnt' – *kesqo-f* 'a burn', *j-az-/-az-* 'bite', 'take between teeth' – *j-az-f*
'a bite (= bitten spot)', etc. This type of nominalisation is highly productive and nouns
in *-f/-v* easily derive practically from any verb, including qualitative verbs; cf.: *nama-*
'be good' – *nama-f* 'a good place'. Some combinations of these derivatives used with
an object are in fact set phrases; cf.: *If als+p'e-ḍ* 'He picks/picked berries' – *als+p'e–f*
'place where berries grow'. Constructions of this type may be locative proper and non-
locative (or figurative-locative).

16.8.4.1 *Locative constructions. They fall into two subtypes*
16.8.4.1.1 *The suffix -f/-v substitutes for the direct object of the base construction.*
These derivations are relatively rare; cf.:

(175) a. *Ñi nəmr hə+hī-f+t'iv-ḍ.*
 I yesterday that+place-NML:LOC+sit-IND
 'Yesterday I sat at this place.'

 b. *Ñi nəmr hurt'iv-f-toχ utku+ñin p'rə-ḍ.*
 I yesterday sit-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD man+one:human come-IND
 'A man came to the place (where) I had sat yesterday' (on verbs with
 the component *hur-* see 10.6).

(176) a. *Ţ'əŋ hə+hī-f+him-ḍ.*
 you:PL that+have-NML:LOC+know-IND
 'You know this place.'

 b. *Ñi ţ'əŋ j-im-f-toχ vi-jvu-ḍ.*
 I you:PL 3SG-know-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD go-PROGR-IND
 'I am going to the place (which) you know.'

16.8.4.1.2 *The suffix -f/-v does not substitute for the direct object of the base con-
struction.* These forms in *-f/-v* may perform any syntactic function in a sentence.
They have case forms and combine with various postpositions:

(177) *If imŋ t'ūr+p'u–f+k'əz-ror nəñf-ku sək*
 s/he they fire+kindle-NML:LOC+dig-CONV:DST:3SG bone-PL all

 hur-me-rχ j-uţi-ḍ.
 there-inside-DAT 3SG-put.in-IND

 'Having dug up (that) place (where) they made a fire, he put all the
 bones inside there' (*hur* 'there' is a noun; on the root vowel change in the
 postposition *-mi/-me* 'inside' before the suffix *-rχ* see 16.2.3).

(178) a. *K'eŋ j-u-ḍ.* (transitive in absolute use)
           sun   3SG-set-IND
           'The sun set.'

       b. *K'eŋ j-u-f.*
           sun   3SG-set-NML:LOC
           'The place of the sunset.'

       c. *Hoʁoŋan k'eŋ j-u-f-erq-ux*   *la*
           then   sun   3SG-set-NML:LOC-side-LOC/ABL   wind

           teya-r   *p'rə-jvu-ḍ.*
           blow-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-INCH/PROGR-IND

           'At that time the wind blowing began to approach from the direction
           (lit. 'place') of the sunset.'

The following instances illustrate the category of tense of the derivative:

(179) a. *Ṭ'i*   *hə+hī-v-ux*   *ť'o+ŋəŋ-ḍ.*
           you:SG   that+have-NML:LOC-LOC/ABL   fish+look.for-IND
           'You go/went fishing in that place.'

       b. *Ṭ'i*   *ť'o+ŋəŋ-f-toχ*   *ñi p'rə-nə-ḍ-ra.*
           you:SG   fish+look.for-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   I   come-FUT-IND-FOC
           'I'll come to the place (where) you fish.'

       c. *Ṭ'i*   *ť'o+ŋəŋ-nə-f-toχ*   *ñi*
           you:SG   fish+look.for-FUT-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   I

           p'rə-nə-ḍ-ra.
           come-FUT-IND-FOC

           'I'll come to the place (where) you will fish.'

16.8.4.1.3   *Same-subject constructions.*   In the examples above the subjects of the
actions denoted by locative nouns and predicates do not coincide. If they do the
subject of the locative noun is usually duplicated by the reflexive pronoun *p'i*. This
is probably due to the fact that the subject is often omitted in Nivkh sentences and
there is a tendency to interpret the only pronoun in this kind of constructions as the
subject of the action denoted by the locative noun. Thus, for instance, the pronoun
If 'he' (without *p'i* 'self') in (180) may be interpreted as the subject of the locative
noun (i.e. someone else is eating where the referent of the subject *If* 'he' is working):

(180)   *If*   *p'i*   *orbot-v-ux*   *i-ñ-ḍ.*
        s/he self work-NML:LOC-LOC/ABL   3SG-eat-IND
        'He eats (where) he (= himself) works.'

16.8.4.2   *Non-locative constructions*

Among these constructions the most prominent are adverbial and object constructions. The former are not semantic actants of the main predicate and the latter are.

16.8.4.2.1 *Adverbial constructions.* In this case two subtypes can be distinguished according to meaning. In both subtypes the nominalised form in *-f/-v* is interchangeable with the stem proper. Thus, in (169b) above both *p'rə-nə-t'əkə* and *p'rə-nə-f-t'əkə* can be used without any particular difference in meaning.

1. Expression of an action whose beginning terminates the action denoted by the main predicate:

(181) a. *If   q'o-nə-ḍ.*
          s/hesleep-FUT-IND
          'He will sleep'; 'He will fall asleep.'

   b. *If   q'o-nə-f-t'əkə   j-uru-ḍ.*
       s/he sleep-FUT-NML:LOC-DEST 3SG-read-IND
       'He read until he fell asleep.'

2. Expression of a (possible) result of the action denoted by the predicate:

(182) a. *Imŋ   təf-mi-rχ   təvə-jki-nə-ḍ.*
          they house-inside-DAT/ADD enter.house-be.unable-FUT-IND
          'They will not be able to enter the house.'

   b. *Hu-jn   tam-la+ñivx   p'rə-rla   imŋ*
       there:LOC be.numerous-PERM+man come-NEG:Q they

       təv-mi-rχ   təvə-jki-nə-f-toʁo?
       house-inside-DAT/ADD enter.house-be.unable-FUT-NML:LOC-DEST
       'Did there really come so many people (that) they could not (all) enter the house?' (On the component *-jki-* see 20.3; on the suffix *-rla. -tla* see 22.11).

16.8.4.2.2 *Object constructions.* In this case an *-f* formation appears in the position of an object. Thus, in (183) the object is dependent on the verb *pəxt-* '(try to) avoid sth', 'insure oneself against sth.' These nominalisations in *-f* are also interchangeable with the respective nouns of action formally identical with the verb stem (see 16.8.3).

(183)   *Ñi   ţ'-ətək+or-nə-f-toχ*   (→ *or-nə-doχ*)
        I   2sg-father+meet-FUT-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   meet-FUT-SUP

   pəxt-t   *ex-t*
   avoid-CONV:NAR:1SG go.home-CONV:NAR:1SG

   vi-jnə-t   *hum-ḑ.*
   go-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG   be-IND

   'I am returning home in order to avoid meeting your father' (on the
   continuative form -*t hum*- see 20.1.1).

Future tense markers in verbal forms

In this chapter the absolute and relative use of verbal forms with the future tense marker *-nə-* and the desiderative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* are considered as well as the tendency of their fusion with the markers that follow them. Besides, the perfective converbs of the East Sakhalin dialect syncretically expressing the meanings of (a) anteriority, (b) person or number, and (c) future tense are also dealt with.

17.1 Absolute use of future tense markers

We include here cases when the speaker relates the actions described to the real time of performance, i.e. when in principle there is a choice between the future or non-future tense forms. There are five variants.

17.1.1 The finite predicate in *-ḍ/-ṭ*

Here also belong a few other suffixes that can be used in place of this suffix. In narration, the future tense is rarely used and it is very frequent in dialogue. The future tense marker is obligatory if a predicate in *-ḍ/-ṭ* refers to a future event, i.e. a non-future tense form is ungrammatical in this case. Examples:

(184) a. *Pət   ñi ṭʼe-rχ   pʼrə-**nə**-ḍ-ra.*
           tomorrow I   you:SG-DAT/ADD come-FUT-IND-FOC
           'I'll come to you tomorrow.'

       b. **Pət   ñi ṭʼe-rχ   pʼrə-ḍ-ra.*
            tomorrow I   you:SG-DAT/ADD come-IND-FOC
           lit. 'I come to you tomorrow.'

The future tense form does not combine with the auxiliary word *χauli* 'however', 'nevertheless (sth took place)'.

17.1.2   The finite predicate in *-rla*, *-tla*

This verbal form is interrogative-negative in meaning and it is used in rhetorical questions. The meaning of the future tense is expressed here by the desiderative suffix *-inə-*/*-jnə-*/*-ijnə-*, never *-nə-*:

(185)   a.   *If   p'rə-rla?*
                s/he   come-NEG:Q
                '(Is it possible that) he has come?' (= 'He hasn't come.')

         b.   *If   p'rə-jnə-rla?*
                s/he   come-DES-NEG:Q
                '(Is it possible that) he will come?' (= 'He won't come.')

                                                    (see Panfilov 1965: 164, 94)

17.1.3   The converb in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*

This converb is used in grammaticalised constructions serving to express reported speech. It combines with the matrix verb *it-* 'say' only.

(186)   *If   p'-ŋafq-xu   p'rə-vu-r*
          s/he   REFL-friend-PL   come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG

          (→ *p'rə-nə-vu-r*)   *it-t̢.*
              come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

          'He said (that) his friends had come (would come).'   (cf. also (66))

17.1.4   Nouns of action

The choice of a tense form for nouns of action when they are used as dependent predicates is allowed only by a limited list of verbs in the main position:

(187)   *If   p'-ətək   p'rə-d̢   (→ p'rə-nə-d̢)+fur-d̢.*
          s/he   REFL-father   come-NML   come-FUT-NML+tell-IND
          'He told (sb) about the arrival (→ future arrival) of his father.'

                                                    (cf. also (179))

17.1.5   The attributive form

Here is an example:

(188)   *If   p'i   p'rə   (→ p'rə-nə)+ətək+fur-d̢.*
          s/he   self come   come-FUT+father+tell-IND
          'He told about his father (who) had (→ would) come.'

17.2   Relative use of future tense markers

In this case the future tense form is automatically predicted by another verb form of the same sentence and also by certain postpositions or case forms of deverbal nouns of action. There are five distinct cases.

17.2.1   The finite verb form in -*ḍ*/-*ṭ* in sentences with conditional converbs

Since the action denoted by the finite predicate follows the action denoted by a converb of condition, the finite predicate obligatorily contains the future tense marker. The imperative form is also possible here since it relates the action of the dependent converb to the future.

(189)   *Ṭʻi*   *ñe-rχ*   *p'rə-ʙa*   *megi*
          you:SG   I-DAT/ADD   come-CONV:COND   we:DU

          hə+vo-rχ   *vi-nə-ḍ-ra.*
          that+village-DAT/ADD   go-FUT-IND-FOC

          'If you come to (see) me you and I will go to that village'
          (compare also (65) and 17.3.2).

17.2.2   A noun of action (or a verb stem) dependent on the main verb with a modal meaning

Compare the instances in (190):

(190)   a.   *Ñi   j-an-ḍ.*
                I   3SG-want-IND
                'I want/wanted that.'

         b.   *Ñi   həḍ+ñřə-ḍ.*
                I   that.one+see-IND
                'I saw that.'

         c.   *Ñi   həḍ+ñřə-nə-ḍ.*
                I   that.one+see-FUT-IND
                'I shall see that.'

         d.   *Ñi   həḍ+ñřə-nə-ḍ+an-ḍ.*
                I   that.one+see-FUT-NML+want-IND
                'I want/wanted to see that' (compare also (150), (183)).

Constructions with semi-auxiliary verbs may also be mentioned here (see 20.2.3, 20.2.4 and 20.2.5).

Note. When combined with a verb stem, a group of modal-negative verbs requires a kind of "infix", viz. the component *-i-/-j-/-ji-* which is most likely genetically related to the future tense marker preserved in the East Sakhalin dialect; cf.:

(191)   *Ñi həd̦+ñř̀ə-j-molo-d̦.*
         I   that.one+see-EP-not.want-IND
         'I don't want to see that' (see 20.3).

17.2.3   A noun of action in the destinative case or in combination with the postpositions *-ənke* 'before' and *-uvudoχ* 'instead of'

Compare the following examples:

(192)   a.   *Utkuōla vi-nə-d̦.*
               boy   go-FUT-IND
               'The boy will go (away).'

         b.   *Utkuōla p'i   vi-nə-ənke   ŋajqnonq+ŋəŋ-ə.*
               boy   self   go-FUT-before   puppy+look.for-IND
               'Before his departure the boy looked for the puppy.'

(193)   *Ñi tu-in   p'-ətək   p'rə-nə-f-toʁo   hum-d̦-ra.*
         I   here-LOC   REFL-father   come-FUT-NML:LOC-DEST   be-IND-FOC
         'I was here before my father's arrival' (compare also (169), (170)).

As it seems, in a similar case, but with a different marking of the noun of action, viz. with the dative/additive case marker, an opposition of the tense forms, with a very slight difference in meaning, is possible; cf.:

(194)   a.   *Ōla-gu   ŋə-nə-f-toχ   k'lə-x*
               child-PL   be.dark-FUT-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   street-LOC:ABL
               ler-d̦.
               play-IND
               'Children played outside until it grew dark.'

         b.   *Ōla-gu   ŋə-f-toχ   k'lə-x   ler-d̦.*
               child-PL   be.dark-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   street-LOC/ABL   play-IND
               'Children played outside before it was dark'   (see Otaina 1978: 96).

17.2.4   Converbs in *-r, -n* and in *-ror, -non* with future tense predicates

In this section we shall go outside the Amur dialect, in order to show unique forms found in the Sakhalin dialect. Above, we mentioned a group of converbs with unclear agreement (see (58) in 14.1.2). Now the situation becomes even more difficult to understand because in the Sakhalin dialect a number of forms, namely converbs in *-t*, have also forms in *-n* (!) used with predicates in the future tense; cf.:

(195) a. *Ñi ţʼo+xu-**tot***   *pʼ-vo-roχ*   *vi-ḍ.*
          I   fish+kill-CONV:DST:1SG:NFUT REFL-village-DAT/ADD go-IND
          'Having caught (enough) fish, I went to my village.'

   b. *Ñi ţʼo+xu-**non***   *pʼ-vo-roχ*
       I   fish+kill-CONV:DST:1SG:FUT REFL-village-DAT/ADD

       *vi-**j**-ḍ.*
       go-FUT-IND

       'Having caught (enough) fish, I shall go to my village.'
                          (Otaina 1978: 102; Krejnovich 1979: 318, 321)

Table 3 shows future tense forms for these converbs, and also for converbs in *-ra*, *-ta*, *-na*, though we do not know the rules of the use for the latter forms.

Table 3. Future tense forms of converbs in *-r, -t, -n* and *-ror,-tot, -non*, and *-ra,-ta, -na*

	(a)		(b)		(c)	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st person	*-n*	*-n*	*-non*	*-non*	*-na*	*-na*
2nd person	*-r*	*-n*	*-ror*	*-non*	*-ra*	*-na*
3rd person	*-r*	*-n*	*-ror*	*-non*	*-ra*	*-na*

(see Otaina 1978: 100, 102; Krejnovich 1978: 318, 321).

17.2.5   Converbs in *-inə-r/-jnə-r/-ijnə-r, -inə-t/-jnə-t/-ijnə-t* with verbs of speech

This case is entered in Section 17.2 provisionally, because the future tense marking in the verbal predicate is not rigidly determined. The obligatory use of the desiderative-inchoative suffix *-inə-r/-jnə-r/-ijnə-r, -inə-t/-jnə-t/-ijnə-t* which serves here to express the future tense (cf. 17.1.2) is necessitated by the meaning of the entire construction. Depending on the lexical content of the sentence, deletion of *-inə-r/-jnə-r/-ijnə-r, -inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-r* either changes the meaning of the sentence drastically or makes it meaningless; cf.:

(196) a. *If   pʼrə-**jnə**-ḍ.*
          s/he come-DES/INCH-IND
          'He is going to come.'

   b. *If   pʼrə-**jnə**-r*   *it-ţ.*
       s/he come-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
       'He said (he) would come.'

   c. *If   pʼrə-r*   *it-ţ.*
       s/he come-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
       'Having come, he said.'

(197) a. *If   ñ-aχ   p'rə-gu-jnə-d̦.*
           s/he I-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-DES-IND
           'He is going to make me come.'

       b. *If   ñ-aχ   p'rə-gu-jnə-r   it-ț.*
           s/he I-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
           'He told me to come.' lit. 'He said intending to make me come.'

       c. *ʔIf ñ-aχ   p'rə-gu-r   it-ț.*
           he I-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

Since the action denoted by the converb follows that of the verbal predicate it seems reasonable to regard this case as an instance of relative use of the future tense marker.

17.3   Unclear cases

There remain two forms which at first glance cannot be attributed to the two main cases, viz. the absolute and relative use of the future tense forms. In these cases deletion of the future tense marker makes a sentence either difficult to understand or changes its meaning considerably, depending on the lexical content of the sentence.

17.3.1   The form in *-nə-d̦-for* denoting a wish or mild obligation

Consider the following:

(198) a. *Ñi   naf   q'o-nə-d̦-for.*
           I   now   sleep-FUT-IND-OPT/COND
           'I'd like to have a nap now.'

       b. *Ñi   naf   q'o-d̦-for.*
           I   now   sleep-IND-OPT/COND
           'I would be asleep now' (see also (23.9)).

Omission of the future tense marker may also change the meaning of a verb into conditional or concessive, which may result in a meaningless sentence.

17.3.2   The converb in *-nə-ʁar* denoting an unfinished action

Instead of the future tense suffix *-nə-* the desiderative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* or one of the negative markers are also possible here.

(199) a. *K'it-t   vi-nə-ʁar   lar*
           run.away-CONV:NAR:1PL go-FUT-CONV:SUBJ wave

<div style="margin-left: 2em">

    vil-ra   *lur malɣo-ra.*
    be.big-COORD:3SG ice be.much/many-COORD:3SG

    '(We) would have gone away running, but there was a great storm, a lot of ice' (see 14.3, (65)).

b.   *K'it-t*   *vi-ʁar*   *lar*
    run.away-CONV:NAR:1PL go-CONV:SUBJ wave

    vil-ra   *lur malɣo-ra.*
    be.big-COORD:3SG ice be.much/many-COORD:3SG

    lit. 'If we were running away there was a storm, a lot of ice.'

                                                (see Panfilov 1965: 127)

</div>

CHAPTER 18

The adverb

Words of this class never enter into attributive or object complexes, but they may form extended morphological complexes by way of attaching particles on the right (see *ñeñaq+**vark*** 'a little only' in (10b)). According to morphological structure, and partly their meaning, adverbs fall into two groups: the first group is comprised of underived adverbs and also derived adverbs of low productivity, and the second group consists of adverbs derived in the same way as converbs.

18.1 Underived adverbs. Adverbs derived by unproductive means

Underived adverbs are *pət* 'tomorrow', *posk* 'the day after tomorrow', *kru* lit. 'the day after the day after tomorrow', *nəmr* 'yesterday', *naf* 'now', *nana* 'just', 'just now', *napa* 'still', *ṭək* 'for a long time', 'long', *ərk* 'already', *ñik* 'recently', *ərkə* 'very nearly', *añ* 'again', *ṭəj* 'again', *ara* 'almost', *ñeñaq* 'little', *lele* 'very', 'quite', *vəɣdr* 'on the fly', *toru* 'hardly', 'barely', *eryali* 'much', 'many', etc. (see (200), (198), (175), (167), (153b), etc.); e.g.:

(200) *Añṭəj lili   q'o-jnə-ḍ.*
       again very sleep-DES/INCH-IND
       '(He) again wants to sleep.'

Among derived, unproductive adverbs the most prominent are units containing the instrumental and dative/additive case markers: *p'xə-**doχ*** 'back', 'backwards' (< *p'xə-* 'go back'), *ork-**toχ*** 'back', 'backwards', *məks-**kir*** 'truthfully' (< *məks* 'truth'), *k'es-**kir*** 'by hearsay' (< *k'es* 'news', 'rumour'), *nəmr-**ənk*** 'the day before yesterday' (*-ənk* – postposition 'earlier', 'before'). A number of adverbs have two or three variants; cf.: *plaqr*, *plaqr-**toχ***, *plaqr-**kir*** 'suddenly'. There are a few items with the adverbial suffix *-**skir*** (see 16.8.3.2).

18.2 Adverbs derived by means of converbal suffixes

According to the converbal marker and syntactic function adverbs of this group fall into two subgroups.

18.2.1   Adverbs with the suffix *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* not used as conjunctive words

These adverbs can be derived from practically any qualitative verb. Some of them have same root synonyms among underived adverbs; cf.: *ena-* 'be different', 'be another' → *ena-doχ*, *ena-gu-r*, *ena-gu-t* 'otherwise', 'differently'. Adverbs of this type agree with the subject even if they are not related to it semantically, in the same way as different-subject converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* considered above (see 14.2, Examples (62), (63); also (87)). In both cases the component *-gu-* has lost its causative meaning and it is perceived as an inseparable part of the suffix *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* (this is also witnessed by the existence of adverbs derived from nouns, cf.: *men* 'two (persons)' → *men-men-gu-t* 'in twos'); in fact, this adverb may be viewed, though less convincingly, as a derivative from the *verb* *men-men-gu-* 'make two (of each)'. Consider the use of this type of adverbs in sentences:

(201) a. *If   ur-ḍ.*
           s/he   be.good-IND
           'He is good (= healthy).'

    b. *If   ur-**gur**   hum-ḍ.*
           s/he   be.good-ADV:3SG be-IND
           'He lives well.'

    c. *Ñi   ur-**gut**   hum-ḍ.*
           I   be.good-ADV:1SG be-IND
           'I live well.'

(202) a. *If   kʻrəz-ḍ.*
           s/he   be.full-IND
           'He is full', 'He has eaten his fill.'

    b. *Eryali   i-ñ-ḍ,   kʻrəz-**gur**   i-ñ-ḍ.*
           much/many   3SG-eat-IND be.full-ADV:3SG 3SG-eat-IND
           '(He) ate much, ate his fill.'

In the following examples the verb *malyo-* 'be much/many' occurs in three functions, predicative, adverbial and attributive; cf.:

(203) a. *Siḍ-siḍ+i-ñ-nə-ḍ   malyo-ḍ.*
           what-what+3SG-eat-FUT-NML be.much/many-IND
           'There is a lot of all kinds of food.'

    b. *"Əmək,   malyo-**gur**   i-ñ-ja."*
           mother be.much/many-ADV:2SG 3SG-eat-IMP:2SG
           'Mother, eat much.'

    c. *Ñi   malyo-**gut**   mar-kir   pəiz-ŋan*
           I   be.much/many-ADV:1SG fish.scales-INSTR throw-CONV:ANT/SIM

        ţʻəŋ-doχ   malyo-la+ţʻo   vi-řa-ḍ-ra
           you:PL-DAT/ADD be.much/many-PERM+fish go-USIT:3SG-IND-FOC
           'When I throw a lot of fish scales much fish usually comes to you.'

Among adverbs, only those with the suffix *-gur, -gut* have a degree of comparison which is marked by the suffix *-jo-* (see 24.13) and a form with stem reduplication (without the suffix *-r, -t*) expressing a very high degree or intensification of action:[1]

(204) a. *If   eʁ-gur   vi-ḍ.*
           s/he be.fast-ADV:3SG go-IND
           'He walks fast.'

       b. *If   eʁ-jo-gur   vi-ḍ.*
           s/he be.fast-DIMN-ADV:3SG go-IND
           'He (started) walking faster.'

       c. *If   eʁ-gu-eʁ-gur   vi-ḍ.*
           s/he be.fast-CAUS-be.fast-ADV:3SG go-IND
           'He walked very fast.'

18.2.1.1 *Note*

Adverbs may characterize either the subject or the object. In both cases the state described by an adverb may "accompany" the characterized person or thing while the action denoted by the predicate is performed (cf. (201b) *If ur-gur hum-ḍ* 'He lives well') or it may appear as a result of this action (cf. (202b) *If k'rəz-gur i-ñ-ḍ* 'He ate his fill', i.e. 'became full after eating'; cf. *If ʈ'o malɣo-gu-r i-ñ-ḍ* 'He ate much fish' where the adverb indicates the quantity of fish).

18.2.2 Adverbs with converbal suffixes used as conjunctive words

These adverbs are derived from a number of demonstrative stems. They usually take the initial position in a sentence and serve as sentence connectives with the preceding sentences, less commonly they are used between clauses in a compound sentence, and they cannot occur in the opening sentence of narration. These conjunctive adverbs occur in 40 per cent of sentences in narration and in 10 per cent of sentences in dialogue, expressing most frequently temporal, less commonly causal, concessive and other relations. The choice of a conjunctive adverb by the speaker is mostly a subjective act, therefore in tests requesting to point out which conjunctive word was used in the original text native speakers cannot usually point out the original adverb when offered several conjunctive words. These adverbs are derived from the stems of auxiliary verbs like *ho[ʁa]-, ho[ʁo]-* 'be like that', 'do thus.' As we see, this stem has three variants, abbreviated *ho-* and two full forms *hoʁa-* and *hoʁo-*. Moreover, sometimes (in some dialects?) the consonant *-ŋ* is added; also used are adverbs derived from the auxiliary

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1. The reduplicated form is usually considered as the superlative degree; see Panfilov (1965:182); Gruzdeva (1998:37).

verb **ha-** 'be so', 'be like that'. First the independent use of the verb *hoʁa-* in predicate position is illustrated:

(205)   *"Ərţi   p'rə-r   ñi-nə-ḍ   t'ana   ñi-nə-ḍ*
        always   come-CONV:NAR:2SG   I-POSS-NML   give:IMP:2SG   I-POSS-NML

        *t'ana   ţ'-nos-xu-mi-rχ   **hoʁa-nə-ḍ-ra**".*
        give:IMP:2SG   2SG-ear-PL-inside-DAT/ADD   be.like.that-FUT-IND-FOC

        'Always when coming give (me) back (what is) mine, give back (what is) mine – it will be so in your ears' (*t'ana* is an unchangeable imperative word meaning 'return, give back').

Here is a list of conjunctive words (cf. the converbal suffixes in Chapter 14):

(206)   *hoʁa-**ŋan***   [be.like.that-CONV:ANT/SIM]   'then' ('at that time')
        *hoʁa-**ror**, hoʁa-**tot***   [be.like.that-CONV:DST]   'then' ('after that')
        *ho-**ke***   [be.like.that-CONV:DUR/INST]   'then' ('not at once',
                                                               'some time later'), 'or else'
        *hoʁa-**r**, hoʁa-**t***   [be.like.that-CONV:NAR]   'then', 'therefore'
        *hoʁa-**ba***   [be.like.that-CONV:INST]   'then' ('immediately after that')
        *hoʁa-**gin***   [be.like.that-CONV:CONC]   'however', 'but', 'despite that'
        *hoʁo-**ʁaj***   [be.so-CONV:COND]   'then', 'in that case'
        *ho-**gur**, ho-**gut***   [be.like.that-ADV]   'thus', 'in that way'

Moreover, there are also variants like *hoŋ-**gur**, hoŋ-**ke**, ho-**ŋan**, ha-**gur**, ha-**gut**, hoʁa-**gur**, hoʁa-**gut***, etc.

    Due to the frequent omission of the subject and optional marking of agreement on the predicate, in narration, usually describing the actions of a 3SG or 3PL subject, sentence connectives are often the only device pointing to the subject; cf.:

(207)   a.   *Hoŋgut   hum-ḍ-ra.*
             in.that.way:3PL   be-IND-FOC
             'This way (they) lived'; 'That's how (they) lived.'

        b.   *Hoŋgur   hum-ḍ-ra.*
             in.that.way:3SG   be-IND-FOC
             'This way (s/he) lived'; 'That's how (s/he) lived.'

(208)   *Hogut   lele   parf-toχ   ŋəŋ-ḍ-ra.*
        in that.way:3PL   very   evening-DAT/ADD   look.for-IND-FOC
        'This way (they) were hunting until evening.'

(Cf. also (178c), (253), (297), (411), (415a), (417), (421), (434), (435), (439), (442); see also Panfilov 1965: 220–221).

Ideophones (imitative words)

Ideophones are emotional, expressive denotations of actions or qualities; ideophones are unchangeable and underived, though some of them are similar phonetically and semantically. There is an analogous class of words in Turkic and Manchu Tungus languages. These words manifest a striving to signify an event or property in an expressive, graphic or visual way. To some degree, these words correspond to Russian onomatopoeic words like *khlop* 'bang!', *trakh* 'bang!', *shljop* 'slap!', *bukh* 'bang!', *stuk-stuk* 'tap-tap', *bul'* 'plop', etc. In Nivkh, there are over 100 ideophones (see Panfilov 1965: 197–205). Characteristically, a tendency towards imitative nomination in Nivkh is not limited to sound imitation where a degree of similarity can be achieved, it is also extended to visual images, where onomatopoeic imitation is not possible, and to other actions and rather complex situations and even abstract qualitites. Ideophones fall into a number of groups.

(209) (1) Onomatopoeic words:
      kear   'imitation of snow crunching, door creaking, etc.'
      keŋ-keŋ   'imitation of mosquito buzzing'
      keχ-keχ   'imitation of animal squealing'
      k'edr-k'edr   'imitation of clothes rustling'
      t'ezr   'ice cracking under feet'
      t'es   'crackle of a twig'
      t'eχ   'crackle of many twigs in a bonfire', etc.
      (Krejnovich 1979: 326)

      (2) Visual perceptions:
      matχ-matχ   'being shaggy'
      kmə   'swirming, teeming (of insects, fish, etc.)'
      kulkrā   'goggling (one's) eyes'

      (3) Physical sensations, evaluation of mental abilities, and the like:
      q'ma q'ma   'sensation of an insect crawling on bare body'
      q'orx q'orx   'being stupid'

Ideophones serve as a derivational base for verbs; the means employed are the suffix -*ju*- and also suffixation of the auxiliary verb **ha**- 'be so' which loses its initial consonant; cf.:

(210) a. *k'of*   'knock'
      b. *k'of ha-ḍ*   'knock was like that'
      c. *k'ov-**ju**-ḍ*   'knocked, was knocking'
      d. *k'of k'of ha-ḍ*   'was knocking'
      e. *k'of-kov-**a**-ḍ*   'was knocking.'

In a sentence, ideophones may function both as predicates and also as adverbials and they may be extended by converbs and adverbs. Most frequently they appear with the auxiliary verb **ha**- 'be so'; cf.:

(211) a. *Q'o-jnə-r*   *ŋəa   ŋəa   [ha-ḍ].*
         sleep-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG doze doze be.so-IND
         'Feeling sleepy, (he) is dozing.'

      b. *Ŋəa   ŋəa   [ha-r]*   *q'o-ḍ.*
         doze doze   be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG sleep-IND
         'Dozing, (he) fell asleep.'

(212) *Ṭ'o   malɣo-gur*   *kmə   ha-r*   *vi-ḍ.*
      fish be.much/many-ADV:3SG swarm be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG go-IND
      'A lot of fish swarming went by.'

Some verbs can be used as stems without a final suffix thus becoming similar to ideophones; in other words, they are kind of entered into the category of ideophones, and in this way the speaker achieves a high degree of expressivity; cf.:

(213) *If   vi-r*   ***pəks***   (< *pəkz-ḍ*).
      s/he go-CONV:NAR:3SG disappear (< disappear-IND)
      'He went and disappeared' (cf. also (235), (236)).

In combination with converbs in -***ba/-pa*** (see (71)) ideophones enter into a special construction denoting an action and the sound accompanying it; cf.:

(214) *Qlaj i–q'os+paṭna-**ba***   *t'ef*   *ha-ḍ.*
      trap 3SG-neck+jam-CONV:INST loud.snap be.so-IND
      'The trap closed on his neck with a loud snap.'

(215) *P'laqr-toχ*   *lar   maʁ-**ba***
      suddenly-DAT/ADD wave move.towards.shore-CONV:INST
      k'vai k'vai ha-ḍ.
      thud thud   be.so-IND
      'Suddenly the wave hit with a great thud.'

Sentence (216) is particularly rich in ideophones: it contains three ideophones (*pʼər vər* 'throwing sth with great energy', *kʼəf* 'imitation of a sound when sth hits a tree', *kur kur* 'getting stiff, turning suddenly into a stone with arms and legs spread wide') and one verb without the final suffix used as an ideophone (*pʼirk* instead of *pʼirk-ṭ*). It is next to impossible to render the expressive force of this sentence in translation.

(216) *Añ*   *kʼem+pʼonaχ-doχ*   *tu-ge*   *qʼaχ-kir*
       again   be.near.back.wall+bunk-DAT/ADD   here-LOC/ABL   spear-INSTR

       pʼər vər,   *mer+qatak*   ***pʼirk***   *añ*   *ŋās-toχ*
       throw throw   we.INCL+Katak   turn.around   again   wall-DAT/ADD

       *vi-**ba***   *kʼəf*   *kur kur.*
       go-CONV:INST   bang   turn.to.stone

       'Again, having hardly jumped up to the bunk at the back wall, our Katak just
       hurls a spear with all his might, again (he) turns at once to the wall as soon
       as (it) reaches (the aim) and stops dead with a thud.'

Analytical and grammaticalized verbal constructions with auxiliary and semi-auxiliary words

Compound verbs

The constructions discussed in this chapter are subdivided according to the following features: (1) existence of a related synthetic form; (2) final or non-final position of the notional and auxiliary components; (3) obligatory presence of non-verbal components in the construction, (4) the character of the marking of the construction-initial component:

(a) the suffix of the converb;
(b) the marker of the dative/additive case;
(c) the component *-i-/-j-/-ij-* (former future tense marker);
(d) the intensifying particle *-ri/-ti/-di* (which has lost its meaning here);
(e) zero marker of the groups;
(f) the future tense suffix *-nə*;
(g) the suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ*.

Let us consider the eight formal groups of constructions distinguished according to these features.

20.1   Analytical constructions with the notional verb used as a converb in -r, -t

Here belong two aspectual analytical verb forms, the continuative and the usitative. Both forms have contracted synthetic variants.

20.1.1   The continuative

The analytical form "converb in *-r, t* + auxiliary verb **hum**- 'be', 'exist' " expresses an action in progress or a state, often at the moment of utterance or during another action (see Panfilov 1965:72–73). This form is not derived from verbs of momentary

actions (like *kut-* 'fall down', *ṭark-* 'jump'. etc.) neither from qualitative verbs. The continuative form of neutral verbs brings out the meaning of state. This form may express a resultative meaning; cf.:

(217) a.   *If   por-ḍ.*
            s/he lie-IND
            'He lay down/lies/is lying.'

     b.   *If   por-r   hum-ḍ.*
            s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
            'He was/is lying.'

     c.   *Imŋ por-t   hum-ḍ.*
            they lie-CONV:NAR:3PL be-IND
            'They were/are lying.'

The respective synthetic form which is a result of contraction of the consonants at word junction is less frequently used; e.g.:

(218) a.   *If   po-řum-ḍ (< por-r **hum**-)*
            s/he lie-be-IND
            'He was/is lying.'

     b.   *Imŋ   po-t'um-ḍ (< por-t **hum**-)*
            they lie-be:3PL-IND
            'They were/are lying.'

(219) *If   p'rə-ŋan   həḍ*
        s/he come-CONV:ANT/SIM   that.one

      pityə+uru-r   hum-ḍ.
        written.paper+read-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

      'When he came that one was reading a book.'

(See also these forms in (203c), (338b), (396), (397d), etc.)

20.1.2   The usitative

In contrast to the above continuative form, the auxiliary verb **ha-** 'be so', 'be like that', 'happen' is employed in this form. The usitative is mostly used in its synthetic form. It denotes a repeated regularly performed action; cf.:

(220) a.   *T'ət+ñaqr-ñaqr   if   tu-in*
            morning+one:generic-one:generic s/he here-LOC

      por-r   ha-ḍ/por-řa-ḍ.
            lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be.so-IND/lie-USIT:3SG-IND

      'Every morning he usually lies here.'

    b.   *T'ət+ñaqr-ñaqr*   *imŋ*   *tu-in*
           morning+one:generic-one:generic they here:LOC

           por-t   *ha-ḍ/por-t'a-ḍ.*
           lie-CONV:NAR:3PL be.so-IND/lie-USIT:3PL-IND

           'Every morning they usually lie here' (see also (203c), (339)).

The imperative form of the usitative of a number of verbs may denote a single action but it is less categorical than the imperative of the respective non-usitative form; cf.:

(221)   a.   *Tolf*   *if*   *vi-řa-ḍ.*
           summer he go-USIT:3SG-IND
           'In summer he usually goes (to that village).'

       b.   *"Tongur*   *vi-řa-ja"*   *hemar*   *it-ṭ.*
           in this.way:3SG go-USIT:2SG-IMP:2SG old.man say-IND
           'Be going like this', said the old man.'

20.1.3   Forms like *p'rə-ra ha-ḍ, p'rə-ta ha-ḍ*

This combination has no respective synthetic form and is placed here provisionally due to the use of the auxiliary verb. In specialist literature it is not mentioned and its meaning is not quite clear. A comparison of the following instances gives some idea of it:

(222)   a.   *If*   *hurt'iv-ror*   *q'o-ḍ.*
           s/he sit-CONV:DST:3SG sleep-IND
           'Having sat down he then fell asleep.'

       b.   *If*   *hurt'iv-ra*   *q'o-ra*   *ha-ḍ.*
           s/he sit-COORD:3SG sleep-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
           'He sat down and (at once) fell asleep' (see 15.3).[1]

       c.   *If*   *hurt'iv-ror*   *q'o-ra*   *ha-ḍ.*
           s/he sit-CONV:DST:3SG sleep-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
           'Having sat down he slept (for a while).'

This verbal complex form is characterized by (1) a certain degree of uncertainty, absence of categorical connotation, (2) the attendant nature of the action occurring at the same time (of the type 'and at the same time was …') which also entails, probably, (3) a kind of understatement; cf.:

(223)   a.   *Nanak*   *t'əfk*   *ma*   *ñ-ōz-ḍ.*
           elder.sister long.ago dried.fish 1SG-send-IND
           'Long ago (my) elder sister sent me (some) dried fish.'

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1.   In (222b, c), *q'o-ra* 'slept' is conventionally glossed as a coordinated form. Its real status is unclear. The same glossing is used for other single forms in *-ra, -ta* below.

b. *Nanak   t'əfk   ma   ñ-ōz-ra   ha-ḍ.*
elder.sister long.ago dried.fish 1SG-send-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
'Long ago (my) elder sister sent me (a little) dried fish.'

(224) a. *If   nəmr   ñe-rχ   p'rə-ḍ.*
s/he yesterday I-DAT/ADD come-IND
'Yesterday he came to me (= to my place).'

b. *If   nəmr   ñe-rχ   p'rə-ra   ha-ḍ.*
s/he yesterday I-DAT/ADD come-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
'Yesterday he dropped in at my place', or 'And besides he came to see me'(some other events taking place are implied).

(225) *Əri+məy+mulk+zər-gu   ṭosq-zosq-ra*
behind+descend+basket+edge-PL break-break-COORD:3SG

ha-nə-ḍ-ra …
be.so-FUT-IND-FOC

'The edges of the basket that lowered later will be broken.'

20.2 Constructions with notional verbs with the suffix *-roχ/-toχ/-doχ*

At least five verbs take part in the formation of these constructions.[2]

20.2.1 The verb *q'au-* 'not be', 'be absent'

When combined with a lexical verb in *-roχ/-toχ/-doχ*, this auxiliary verb (also used independently; see (226)) is a regular means of expressing negation (there are at least six more ways of expressing negation in Nivkh; see Sections 20.3, 22.11, 22.18); cf.:

(226) *Ñ-uin hə+bitɣə   q'au-ḍ.*
I-LOC that+written.paper not.be-IND
'I don't have this book.'

(227) a. *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
s/he come-IND
'He came.'

---

2. Shternberg (1900:422) notes that "the main verb" with this case suffix turns, in a way, into a noun. This is reminiscent of the definition of a deverbal noun used in a function close to that of an infinitive in combination with an auxiliary verb, i.e. supine. The authors do not use this term, but we have decided to provisionally gloss it as supine (SUP) for simplicity.

    b.   *If*   *pʿrə-**doχ**   q'au-ḍ.*
        s/he come-SUP not.be-IND
        'He did not come.'

    c.   *If*   *pʿrə-nə-**doχ**   q'au-ḍ.*
        s/he come-FUT-SUP not.be-IND
        'He will not come.'

Between the components of this construction only one of three intensifying particles *-ti-ri/-di, -ār* and *-hagin* – can be inserted (see (11), (228), (410), (453)); cf.:

    d.   *If*   *pʿrə-**doχ**-ti*   *q'au-ḍ.*
        s/he come-SUP-even not.be-IND
        'He did not even come.'

(228)   *If*   *lerler-**doχ**-hagin*   *q'au-ḍ.*
        s/he lose.one's.way-SUP-even not.be-IND
        'He did not even lose his way.'

20.2.2 The verb *hum-* 'be smwh', 'be present', 'live'

Constructions with this auxiliary verb denote the impending beginning or entire completion of an action, or a tendency of the subject to perform the action expressed by the lexical verb, a habit, etc.

(229)   a.   *Hə+von-gu*   *mu-ḍ.*
        that+villager-PL die-IND
        'The inhabitants of that village died.'

    b.   *Hə+von-gu*   *mu-**doχ** hum-ḍ-ra.*
        that+villager-PL die-SUP be-IND-FOC
        'The inhabitants of that village will die', lit. 'are on the way to death.'

(230)   *Kʿeŋ ərk*   *ŋəu-**doχ***   *hum-ḍ.*
        sun already grow.dark-SUP be-IND
        'The sun is already close to setting', lit. '… is in darkness.'

This construction has a different meaning with qualitative verbs:

(231)   a.   *If*   *haʁa-ḍ.*
        s/he laugh-IND
        'He laughs.'

    b.   *If*   *haʁa-la-ḍ.*
        s/he laugh-PERM-IND
        'He is funny.'

c. *Inəja, valţ-maŋg-ḍ-a,*   *haʁa-la-**doχ***   *hum-ḍ.*
    oh   deceive-be.strong-IND-EMPH laugh-PERM-SUP be-IND
    'Oh, (he is) good at telling lies, always being funny.'

20.2.3   The verb *təŋz-* 'be getting ready', 'get ready'

When used without a verbal form in *-roχ/-toχ/-doχ* this verb has a different meaning. The stem of the main verb contains the future tense suffix.

(232) *Ţʻxəv+ləi-t*   *řo-t*   *məγ-ŋan,*
       bear+kill-CONV:NAR:3PL carry-CONV:NAR:3PL bring.down-CONV:ANT/SIM

       *i-ñ-nə-**doχ***   *təŋz-ḍ-γu.*
       3SG-eat-FUT-SUP   get.ready-IND-PL

       'When having killed a bear (they) carried it down, (they began) getting ready to eat.'

20.2.4   The verb *pəxţ-* 'avoid', 'take precautions against sth'

The verbal stem also contains the future tense suffix.

(233) a. *Ñi   ţʻ-ətək+or-**nə**-ḍ-ra.*
           I   2SG-father+meet-FUT-IND-FOC
           'I will meet your father.'

      b. *Ñi   ţʻ-ətək+or-**nə-doχ***   *pəxţ-t*
           I   2SG-father+meet-FUT-SUP avoid-CONV:NAR:1SG

         ex-t   *vi-jvu-ḍ.*
         go.home-CONV:NAR:1SG go-INCH/PROGR-IND

         'I am going home (in order) to avoid meeting your father.'

20.2.5   The verb *ojvu-* 'do sth often'

This verb is used as a bound stem, most commonly in combination with verbs denoting "negative" actions. The stem contains the future tense suffix.

(234) a. *Mujnək   tʻxərp-nə-ḍ.*
           sick.person forget-FUT-IND
           'The patient will forget (it).'

      b. *Mujnək   tʻxərp-**nə-doχ**   ojvu-ḍ.*
           sick.person forget-FUT-SUP do.often-IND
           'The patient often forgets.'

20.2.6   Ideophones *t'əř* and *hurʒ* denoting the beginning of movement[3]

Compare:

(235)   *If   vi-doχ   t'əř.*
      s/he go-SUP   start
      'He began his journey', 'He started on his way.'

(236)   *J-əri   ravi-doχ   sək   hurʒ.*
      s/he-behind move-SUP   all   off.and.go
      'All (the people) followed after him in a crowd.'

20.3   Compound words with negative verbs and bound stems

These are verbs -***molo***- 'not want', ***ker***- 'refuse', -***iki***-/-***əki***- 'be physically unable', -***rut'ez***- 'not achieve', -***ləyə***- 'not have', -***qavr***- 'not have.' These components, when attached to a verbal stem, require four types of "padding" components: epenthetic *i-/-j-/-ji-* (with -***molo***-, ***ker***-, -***iki***-/-***ə***ki, -***rut'ez***-), or -***ri/-ti/-di*** 'even' (with -***ləyə***-), -***nə***- (with -***qavr***-) or *j-di-* (with -***iki***-/-***əki***-).

    In the case of some verbs the particle -*di*- can be used alongside -*j*-, with the meaning 'even' added (cf. *k'rəu-gu-j-di-ger-ḍ* 'didn't even let (sb) have a rest').

(237)   a.   *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
            s/he come-IND
            'He came.'

       b.   *If   ker-ḍ.*
            s/he refuse-IND
            'He refused.'

       c.   *If   p'rə-j-ger-ḍ.*
            s/he come-EP-refuse-IND
            'He refused to come.'

The verb -***ləyə***- 'not have' is one of the regular means of expressing negation, the intensifying particle -***ri/-ti/-di*** 'even' being used automaticaly with it. It has no future tense form.

(238)   a.   *If   umgu-di-ləyə-ḍ-ra.*
            s/he woman-even-not.have-IND-FOC
            'He has no wife.'

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3.   *Hurʒ* is an ideophone denoting a situation "when many people leave at the same time and with a lot of noise, when a crowd suddenly moves somewhere" (Panfilov 1965: 257).

b. *If* *p'rə-**di-ləyə**-ḑ.*
s/he come-even-not.have-IND
'He did not come.'

The components *-**iki**-/-**əki**-*, *-**molo**-* and *-**rut'ez**-* are bound stems; the component *-**iki**-/-**əki**-* has a slightly different meaning when used as a free stem; cf.:

(239) a. *V-ətək* *ərk* *əki-ḑ.*
3SG-father already be.bad-IND
'His father is already (very) unwell.'

b. *I-ñaχ-ku* *qo-ḑ.* *If* *j-uru-**j-di-əki**-ḑ.*
3SG-eye-PL be.sick-IND s/he 3SG-read-EP-even-be.unable-IND
'He has sore eyes. He cannot even read.'

(240) a. *If* *ŋarma-ḑ.*
s/he wait-IND
'He waited/waits.'

b. *If* *ŋarma-**j-rut'ez**-ḑ.*
s/he wait-EP-not.achieve-IND
'He waited and3 waited, and all in vain.'

The verb *qavr-* 'not have' is used as a regular marker of negative forms in the future tense; cf.:

(241) a. *If* *lums+**qavr**-ḑ.*
s/he food+not.have-IND
'He has no food.'

b. *If* *p'rə-**nə-ʁavr**-ḑ.*
s/he come-FUT-not.have-IND
'He will not come.'

20.4 Compound verbs with the first component as a pure stem

There are at least two subtypes in this group of compound verbs. The first subtype are formations with qualitative verbs. A compound verb denotes the quality of an action and it does not combine with adverbials denoting concrete time; cf.:

(242) a. *Qan ve-ḑ.*
dog run-IND
'The dog started running/is running.'

b. *Qan ur-ḍ.*
dog be.good-IND
'The dog is good/healthy.'

c. *Nəmr   qan ur-gur   ve-ḍ.*
yesterday dog be.good-ADV:3SG run-IND
'Yesterday the dog ran well.'

d. *Qan (*nəmr)   ve-ur-ḍ.*
dog   yesterday run-be.good-IND
'The dog (which) was running fast (*yesterday).'
(see Panfilov 1962: 70–71; Otaina 1978: 38)

Compounds of this type may contain verbs like *arki-* 'do sth slowly' (cf. *ve-arki-ḍ* '(is) running slowly'), *eʁ-* 'do sth fast', *elv-* 'do sth badly', etc. Bound stems also occur here, for instance, *-para-/-vara-/-bara-* 'be similar, alike'; cf.:

(243) a. *If   tʼəla+bal+ñu-ḍ.*
s/he be.blue+mountain+look-IND
'He looks at blue mountains.'

b. *Hə+bos   tʼəla+bal+ñu-**bara**-ḍ.*
that+cloth be.blue+mountain+look-be.like-IND
'That cloth is blue', lit. '… is like looking at blue mounains.'

The second subtype is represented by the bound stem *-park-/-vark-/-bark-* 'only' (= 'not more'):

(244) a. *If   i-ndə-ḍ.*
s/he 3SG-see-IND
'He saw that.'

b. *"Atak-a!   Ṭʼi   ṭʼolŋi+noŋk+řəpr-lo?"* – *"Qʼau-k-ra,*
grandfather-VOC you:SG deer+calf+bring-Q   not.be-NML-FOC

*ñi i-ndə-**bark**-ḍ-ra."*
I   3SG-see-only-IND-FOC

'Grandfather! Have you brought the young deer?' – 'No, I only saw it.'

20.5   Formations with the first component marked with -ḍ/-ṭ

This type of formations is contiguous to the type discussed in 16.8.1. An example:

(245) a. *Ōla   to-ḍ.*
child cry-IND
'The child cries/is crying.'

b.   *Ōla   muli-gur   to-ḍ.*
child do.often-ADV:3SG cry-IND
'The child often cries.'

c.   *Ōla   to-ḍ+muli-ḍ.*
child cry-NML+do.often-IND
'The child is a cry-baby.'

20.6   Formations with a desiderative converb in *-inə-r/-jnə-r/-ijnə-r*, *-inə-t/-jnə-t/-ijnə-t* as the first component

When used independently the registered verbs change their meaning.

(246)   a.   *If   ñu-ḍ.*
s/he look-IND
'He took a look/looked.'

b.   *If   pʼrə-jnə-ḍ.*
s/he come-DES/INCH-IND
'He is going to come.'

c.   *If   pʼrə-jnə-r   ñu-ḍ.*
s/he come-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG look-IND
'He tried (= made an effort) to come.'

(247)   a.   *Ōla   e-rχ   kevara-ḍ.*
child s/he-DAT/ADD be.attached-IND
'The child is attached to him.'

b.   *Ōla   to-jnə-ḍ.*
child cry-DES/INCH-IND
'The child is about to cry.'

c.   *Ōla   to-jnə-r   kevara-ḍ.*
child cry-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG be.attached-IND
'The child often cries.'

Note. It seems that a desiderative converb is used, to a large degree tautologically, with the verb *ūmu-* 'try', 'try to get/obtain/achieve', 'aim at', 'strive for' (when used independently the verb means 'fight', 'compete') and its synonyms and verbs close in meaning *oryəta-* 'try', 'do one's best', 'take care of', *puzit-* 'try', 'do one's best', *pʼsuxtə-* 'take care of', 'try to be cheerful' (with ironic connotations), *ţʼajsan-* 'want very much'; cf.: *If nə vesqar-inə-r ūmu-ḍ* 'He wants to be strong by all means'; *hə+ñivx marqa-jnə-r puzit-ţ* 'That man tries to survive'; *Umgu-ōla tov-inə-r ţʼajsan-ḍ* 'The girl wants very much to be white' (by using cosmetics).

20.7 Formations with the first component marked with -ḍ/-ṭ or -f and used with a particle

The types distinguished are illustrated below.

20.7.1 The type with the intensifying particles -*erq* and -*ār* and the verb *ur*- 'be good'

The meaning is that of desirability of action.

(248) a. *Ñi als+pʿe-ḍ.*
       I   berry+pick-IND
       'I pick/picked berries.'

   b. *Als+pʿe-ḍ-erq*   *ur-ḍ.*
       berry+pick-NML-even be.good-IND
       'It would be good to gather the berries.'

   c. *Als+pʿe-ḍ-ār*   *ur-ra.*
       berry+pick-NML-even be.good-FOC
       'It would be good to gather the berries.'

20.7.2 The type with the particle -*park*/-*vark*/-*bark* 'only' and (optional) auxiliary verb *ha*-'be so'

The construction has the meaning 'the action is about to take place'.

(249) a. *Hemar   mu-nə-ḍ.*
       old.man   die-FUT-IND
       'The old man will die.'

   b. *Hemar   ərk   mu-nə-f+park   ha-ḍ-ra.*
       old.man   already die-FUT-NML:LOC+only be.so-IND-FOC
       'The old man is already just on the point of dying.'

20.7.3 The type with the particle -*park*/-*vark*/-*bark* 'only' and the verb *j-ijm*-/-*hijm*- 'know'

Example (250c) illustrates the meaning of this construction:

(250) a. *If   j-ijm-ḍ.*
       s/he3SG-know-IND
       'He knows this/him.'

   b. *Hə+hemar   urk-ri   mūf-ti   qʿo-ḍ+vark+hijm-ḍ.*
       that+old.man night-even day-even sleep-NML+only+know-IND
       'Be it night or day, the only thing that old man knew (what to do was) sleep.'

20.8   Serial verbs. Constructions with a converb in *-r, -t* as the first component

Certain combinations of two verbs display a particular semantic cohesion: they describe the same situation, but from different angles; cf. combinations of the verb *pəi-* 'fly' with the converbal suffix *-r, -t* and various verbs of motion in (251):

(251)   a.   *pəi-r*   *vi-ḍ*
             fly-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND
             'flew away', lit. 'went away flying'

        b.   *pəi-r*   *p'rə-ḍ*
             fly-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-IND
             'came flying'

        c.   *pəi-r*   *təvə-ḍ*
             fly-CONV:NAR:3SG   enter.house-IND
             'flew in', lit. 'entered the house flying'

        d.   *pəi-r*   *p'u-ḍ*
             fly-CONV:NAR:3SG   go.out-IND
             'flew out', lit. 'went out flying'

        e.   *pəi-r*   *mər-ḍ*
             fly-CONV:NAR:3SG   ascend-IND
             'flew up', lit. 'went up flying', etc.

Other verbs used as the first component relate motion to a certain reference point, cf. the transitive verb *j-ur-/-ur-* 'move along some spatially stretched object', 'follow sth/sb closely':

(252)   a.   *If   ṭiv+ur-r*   *p'rə-ḍ.*
             s/he   road+go.along-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-IND
             'He came by the road.'

        b.   *If   eri+ur-r*   *p'rə-ḍ.*
             s/he   river+go.along-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-IND
             'He came by the river.'

        c.   *If   ṭiv+ur-r*   *vi-ḍ.*
             s/he   road+go.along-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND
             'He moved/walked along the road.'

(253)   *Hor   hə+ñivx+ət-r*   *vi-ḍ.*
        so:3SG   that+man+go.to-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND
        'And then (he) went to that man', lit. '… went making his way to that man.'
        (the verb *j-ət-/-ət-* 'make one's way towards sb/sth' is transitive).

There are even more concrete spatial meanings expressed by verbs which are seldom if ever used in the final predicate position, e.g. *lǝr-* 'move along a coast, bank', *ey-* 'move towards one's home', and the like. Not infrequently, the verb *řo-/-tʼo-* 'carry' when combined with various verbs of motion (cf. *řo-**r** vi-ḍ* 'took away', lit. 'went away carrying', *řo-**r** pʼrǝ-ḍ* 'brought', lit. 'came carrying') either does not agree with the subject and is used in the form *řo-**r*** or it loses the converbal marker entirely and has the form *řo-* as part of a compound verb; cf.: *řo-vi-* 'took away', *řo-pʼrǝ-ḍ* 'brought', etc.

The main classes of verbal grammatical morphemes

In the first place, these morphemes fall into two groups with regard to their position: (1) those used in pre-position to the verb and (2) those used in post-position.

21.1   Grammatical morphemes pre-posed to the verb stem. Reciprocals. Reflexives

21.1.1   Reciprocals[1]

Reciprocal verbs are unproductive in modern Nivkh. There are about 30 relic verbs with the reciprocal prefix *v-*, fewer verbs with its variant *u-* and one or two verbs with the marker *o-*. The free variant of the stem of nearly all of these verbs takes the prefixed pronominal marker *j-/i-* (see Section 10.3; Panfilov 1965: 54).

(254)   a.   *i-ɣ-*   'kill sb'   →   *u-ɣ-*   'kill each other'
         b.   *j-aɣaɣ-*   'disturb sb'   →   *v-aɣaɣ-*   'disturb each other'
         c.   *ŋala-*   'resemble sb' →   *u-ŋala-*   'resemble each other'

On a few verbs the reciprocal marker has two other meanings, viz. the anticausative and sociative; cf.:

(255)   a.   *j-opu-*   'prepare sth/sb'   →   *v-opu-*   'prepare oneself' (anticausative)
         b.   *i-ñ-*   'eat sth'   →   *u-ñ-*   eat from the same bowl' (sociative)

Examples:

(256)   a.   *If   i-və-ḍ.*
             s/he   3sg-live.with.sb-IND
             'He lives at his place.'

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1.   See also the later paper on reciprocals in the Nivkh language: Otaina, Nedjalkov (2007: 1715–1747).

b. *Hoʁ ot   v-əf-ta*
then:3PL   REC-live.with.sb-COORD:3PL

ex-t   vi-ta.
go.home-CONV:NAR:3PL   go-COORD:3PL

'Then (they) got married (lit. 'began to live at each other's place'), and went home.'

(257) a. *If   p'-ətək+ŋala-ḍ.*
s/he   REFL-father+resemble-IND
'He resembles his father.'

b. *Imŋ   u-ŋala-ḍ-ɣu* (the plural marker is obligatory here).
they   REC-resemble-IND-PL
'They resemble each other.'

The reciprocal meaning is most commonly expressed by the word *p'-ŋafq-ŋafq* [REFL-friend-friend] 'each other' (see Panfilov 1965: 54; Otaina 1978: 120–121).

The reciprocal prefix may also be added to some postpositions and to a number of nouns denoting body parts:

(258) a. *j-erq* 'facing him' → *v-erq* 'facing each other'
b. *təmk* 'hand'
– *Imŋ   u-təmk-rəmk+zap-t   ler-ḍ-ɣu.*
they   REC-hand-hand+hold-CONV:NAR:3PL   play-IND-PL
'They play holding each other's hands.'

21.1.2   Reflexives[2]

The reciprocal marker is a regular prefix which, though taking a direct object position of the verb, thus intransitivising a transitive verb, does not occur separately. But the status of the reflexive marker *p'i/p'-* 'self' is not that simple. The variant *p'-* is prefixed if a verb does not have two initial consonants, and as this variant does not occur as a separate unit, it may be regarded as a case of prefixation and formations like *p'-iɣ-* 'kill oneself' may be viewed as intransitives. However, two more pronouns, viz. 1SG and 2SG, behave in the same way; cf. *ñ-iɣ-* [I-kill] 'kill me' and *t'-iɣ-* [you:SG-kill] 'kill you', and these combinations can hardly be viewed as intransitivisations. But on the other hand, the component *p'i/p'-* forms very tight units with transitives changing their meaning in the same way as reflexive markers in other languages. In these units *p'-* cannot be replaced by *ñ-* or *t'-*, and this seems to be an argument in favour of

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2. On reflexives in Nivkh see also Nedjalkov, Otaina (1981: 185–220).

placing verbs with the reflexive marker *pʻ-*, though with reservations, next to recipro-
cal verbs; cf.:

(259) a. *ǰ-amχta-ḍ*   'praised him'
           v-amχta-ḍ   'praised each other'
           pʻ-amχta-ḍ   'praised himself, boasted'
           ñ-amχta-ḍ   'praised me'
   b. *χov-ḍ* 'rolled sth up' → *pʻ-χov-ḍ* 'rolled himself up (into a ball)'
      but: **ñ-ʙov-ḍ* 'rolled me up.'   (see Nedjalkov, Otaina 1981: 185–220)

21.2 Grammatical morphemes post-posed to the verb stem. Three main positional groups

This concerns three types of morphemes: suffixes, particles and auxiliary words.

21.2.1 Group *A*

This group comprises suffixes marking final (finite) verb forms, i.e. forms that may
complete a sentence (see Chapter 12). In other words, here belongs the suffix *-ḍ*
(*-ṭ* after voiceless consonants) and those suffixes that can take its position. Group **A**
includes at least 20 suffixes. They cannot co-occur within the same verb form. Of all
these suffixes *-ḍ/-ṭ* alone also appears within nouns (see 16.8.1).

21.2.2 Group *B*

This is a group of particles and auxiliary words which take the final position immedi-
ately after the finite suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ*, which means that they cannot mark finite verb forms
on their own. The morphemes of Group **B**, like those of Group **A**, do not appear
simultaneously within the same verb form, but, in contrast to Group **A** morphemes,
nearly all of them are used, to a greater or lesser degree (sometimes with a slightly
changed meaning) on words of other classes. This group contains over 10 particles and
auxiliary words.

21.2.3 Group *C*

This group comprises over 20 suffixes preceding the final (finite) suffixes, i.e. the suf-
fixes of Group **A**. Bound verbal stems considered above (see Sections 20.3 and 20.4)
can be provisionally included here as well. Morphemes of this group may combine
with one another to a certain degree.

By way of summing up, we shall briefly characterize the three groups distinguished here.

Group A: the finite suffix -*ḍ/-ṭ* and all the morphemes that may take its slot (cf. *If p'rə-ḍ* 'He came').

Group B: the morphemes which can only be post-posed to the finite suffix -*ḍ/-ṭ* (*If p'rə-ḍ-la?* 'Did he come?').

Group C: the morphemes which can only be pre-posed to the finite suffix -*ḍ/-ṭ* (*If j-aχ p'rə-gu-jnə-ḍ-la?* 'Is he going (-*jnə*-) to make (-*gu*-) him come?').

Let us now consider these groups in more detail.

Group A. Verbal suffixes taking the same position in the morphological verb structure as the finite suffix -ḍ/-ṭ

In the list of suffixes below grouped according to the semantic principle (see (260)), those in the second column marked as (a) co-occur with the future tense markers (not all of these suffixes occur in both tense forms, i.e. in the non-future and future tense forms). The plural number in the forms listed is expressed: (1) by the suffix -*γu* after -*ḍ*/-*ṭ* only; (2) by suppletive means – for the 1st and 2nd person imperative forms (in the 1st person there is a dual number) and forms in -*rla*, -*tla* and -*jra*, -*itla*. In the rest of the cases plurality is not marked. For better readability, only one variant of each suffix (if it has several) is entered in the lists. The parenthesised numbers preceding the suffixes indicate the subsection in which the suffix named is described. Among the suffixes regarded as indicative (the subgroup "Affirmative") V.Z. Panfilov distinguishes -*itli*, -*bara* and -*ʁar* as markers of the categorical mood (Panfilov 1965: 120–122). Since the suffixes of different groups mark predicates used in different communicative types of sentences, they are mutually incompatible in the same verbal form.

(260)   1. Affirmative
(22.1)	-*ḍ*[-*γu*]	–	a.	-*nə*-*ḍ*[-*γu*]
(22.2)	-*qana*	–	a.	-*nə*-*qana*
(22.3)	-*ra*	–	a.	-*nə*-*ra*
(22.4)	Ø			?
(22.5)	-*γitli*	–	a.	-*nə*-*γitli*
(22.6)	-*bara*	–	a.	-*nə*-*bara*
(22.7)	-*ʁar*	–	a.	-*nə*-*ʁar*

       2. Interrogative
(22.8)	-*lo*	–	a.	-*nə*-*lo*
(22.9)	-*di*	–	a.	?
(22.10)	?	–	a.	-*jlu*
(22.11)	-*rla, -tla*	–	a.	-*inə*-*rla, -inə*-*tla*

       3. Imperative (order, invitation, permission)
(22.12)	-*nəxta*	(1sɢ)
(22.13)	-*da*	(1ᴘʟ)
(22.14)	-*nəte*	(1ᴅᴜ)

(22.15) *-ja*   (2sɢ)
(22.16) *-ve*   (2ᴘʟ)
(22.17) *-ʁazo*   (3sɢ and 3ᴘʟ)

      4. Warning
(22.18) *-jra*   (2sɢ)
(22.19) *-itla*   (2ᴘʟ)

      5. Well wishing (Optative)
(22.20) *-ʁa(j)/-qa(j)/-χa(j)*

22.1   The suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ*

In contrast to the other suffixes, the indicative *-ḍ/-ṭ* (1) is the most common finite marker, (2) takes the optional plural marker *-ɣu* (see (81)), (3) allows Group **B** markers in post-position to it (an exception is possible, it seems, for some emotive markers), (4) also functions as a nominal suffix (see 16.8.1), (5) is semantically neutral – it only signals the finite predicate (the other suffixes are semantically loaded; true, the difference between some of them is not yet quite clear). This suffix is present in most of the sentential examples cited in this work. In the Amur dialect, only one, though very frequent, negative verb *q'au-* 'not be' often occurs with the final marker *-k* in place of *-ḍ/-ṭ* (cf. (244b)).

22.2   The suffix *-qan(a)/-ʁan(a)/-χan(a)*[1]

In some texts this suffix is preceded by the component *-ij-*. Unlike the finite suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ*, this one sometimes expresses a degree of the speaker's certainty or confidence that the action named really did or will take place (see Panfilov 1965: 115). Sometimes, however, the difference is almost imperceptible. And sometimes it is perceived as implying a meaning similar to the Russian *navernoe* 'most likely' with its two variants 'undoubtedly' or 'probably'. For some reason, the finite form in *-ḍ* in (261) below sounds somewhat incomplete. The form in *-nə-qana* (and also in *-ḍ-ra*; see 23.1 below) eliminates this incompleteness:

(261) "*Ṭ'i*   *nama-gur*   *orbot-ʁa,*   *ñivɣ-gu*
      you:SG   be.good-ADV:2SG work-CONV:COND   man-PL

      ṭ'e-rχ   *kinŋu-nə-ḍ*   (→ *kinŋu-nə-qana,*
      you:SG-DAT/ADD   treat.well-FUT-IND   treat.well-FUT-DUBIT

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1.   The suffix *-qan(a)/-ʁan(a)/-χan(a)* is glossed as DUBIT (dubitative).

kiṇŋu-nə-ḍ-ra)".
treat.well-FUT-IND-FOC
'If you will work well, people will treat you well.'

22.3   The suffix *-ra*

For expressivity (? – V.N., G.O.), the components *-u-* or *-γ-* are sometimes inserted before this suffix, probably for emphasis. Since these components do not occur with other suffixes, they are not entered in the list of Group **B** markers. The non-future tense form of a verb with this suffix is used by the speaker in direct speech in order to attract the interlocutor's attention to the present or past action. In translation this may be rendered by the imperative 'look!' and the like (Otaina 1978: 109):

(262)   a.   *Ōla   pol-ḍ.*
child   fall-IND
'The child fell down.'

b.   *"Ōla   pol-u-ra!"*
child   fall-EMPH-FOC
'(Look,) the child fell down.'

The imperative form of the verb with the same meaning may be used instead of the pre-posed emphatic component *-u-* or *-γ-* (Panfilov 1965: 117–118):

(263)   a.   *Ōla-gu   pˈrə-jvu-ḍ.*
child-PL   come-INCH/PROGR-IND
'The children are coming.'

b.   **J-ama-ve!**   *Ōla-gu   pˈrə-jvu-ra!*
3SG-look-IMP:2PL   child-PL   come-INCH/PROGR-FOC
'Look! The children are coming!'

In the future tense form a verb with the suffix *-ra* usually attracts attention to a possible undesired action; cf.:

(264)   *"Ōla   pol-nə-ra!"*
child   fall-FUT-FOC
'(Look out!) The child will fall!'

22.3.1   Note on the homonymy of the suffix *-ra*

We wish the reader to pay attention to the homonymy of the suffix *-ra*.

1.   The suffix *-ra* discussed in Section 22.3 – this suffix has no phonetic variants.
2.   The converbal marker considered in Sections 14.1.3 and 15.3 agrees with the subject (see (60)); it and has two agreement variants, *-ra* and *-ta*; (see Table 2 in 14.1).

3. The suffix considered in Chapters 12 and 13; it has three phonetic allomorphs *-ra/-ta/-da*, their choice being determined by the final consonant of the preceding word.

Besides, the form in *-ra* is used as part of an analytical verbal compound in which it alternates with *-ta* according to the rules for case 2.[2]

Since this triple (at least) homonymy is rather complicated, we will compare the meaning of these cases:

(265)   a.   *-ra* – the function is 'attracting attention' (see 22.3);
        b.   *-ra, -ta* – the function of coordinating verbs (see 14.1.3, 15.3);
        c.   *-ra/-ta/-da* – the function of marking the focus
             (see Chapters 12 and 13).

Note. Cases when the forms in *-ra*, *-ta* mark the finite predicate not paired with the same form require additional study. This occurs, in particular, after subordinate predicates in *-ʁar*:

(266)   *Ñi hu-tχ   vi-nə-ʁar   kʼlu-ta.*
        I   there-DAT/ADD   go-FUT-CONV:SUBJ   be.afraid-FOC
        'I would go there but I am afraid.'

22.4   The zero suffix

The verbal form coinciding with its stem is used for expressivity. In this case the verb becomes similar to an ideophone (see Chapter 19); cf.:

(267)   a.   *Qan ṭarq-ṭ.*
             dog   jump-IND
             'The dog jumped.'

        b.   *Qan ṭarq-Ø.*
             dog   jump-Ø
             'The dog – (made a) jump!'

(268)   *Ṭʼilə lili   vukvuku-Ø.*
        fog   very   be.dark-Ø
        'The fog is very-very thick.'

This unmarked form also occurs in attributive position; cf.:

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2.   It may be useful to stress that in case 1 the suffix *-ra* is glossed as EMPH; in case 2, as a converbal marker it has a coordinating function and is glossed as COORD; in case 3 it is glossed as FOC.

(267)   c.   *ṭarq+χan*
            jump+dog
            'the dog which jumped'

22.5   The suffix *-γitli/-kitli/-γitle/-kitle*

The meaning of this suffix is 'of course.' The variants with the more open final variant are more expressive.

(269)   a.   *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
            s/he   come-IND
            'He came.'

        b.   *If   p'rə-γitli.*
            s/he   come-CATEG
            'He came, of course.'

22.6   The suffix *-bar(a)/-par(a)*[3]

The choice of a finite verb form with this suffix is usually related to an explicit or pre-supposed statement to the contrary. Its meaning approximately corresponds to the meaning of the Russian particles *ved'* 'you see', 'you know', 'after all', *zhe* 'but'.

(270)   *If   p'rə-bara.*
        s/he   come-ADVERS
        'But he has come, you know.' or: 'He has come, after all' (implying that the interlocutor does not believe it, etc.).

22.7   The suffix *-qar/-ʁar*

The difference between this suffix and *-bar(a)/-par(a)* is not quite clear. The form in *-qar/-ʁar* is used in replies to questions with a tinge of distrust, disbelief. This form is common in replies to questions containing a predicate in *-rla, -tla*; (see 22.11) (Otaina 1978:77).

(271)   *"If   p'rə-rla?"*   –   *"If   p'rə-ʁar."*
        s/he   come-Q:NEG:ASS:3SG   s/he   come-ADVERS
        'Has he really come? – But he has come.'

This suffix has a homonym, viz. a converbal suffix (see 14.3).

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3.   The suffixes *-bar(a)/-par(a)* and *-qar/-ʁar* (cf. 22.7) are glossed as ADVERS (adversative).

22.8   The suffix *-lo/-l*

This suffix is a marker of the interrogative verb form if there is no interrogative word in the question. The variant *-lo* sounds more polite, the form *-l* having an unceremonious colouring. This suffix corresponds to *-la* of Group **B** with the same meaning (see 23.5):

(272)   *If   pʼrə-**lo**/pʼrə-**l**?*
      s/he   come-Q/come-Q
      'Did he come?'

22.9   The suffix *-di*

Its meaning is interrogative with the purpose of obtaining agreement or permission to perform an action:

(273)   *Ñi   ţʼe-rχ   pʼrə-**di**?*
      I   you:SG-DAT/ADD   come-Q:PERMS
      'May I come to see you, please?'

22.10   The suffix *-ilu/-jlu*

The meaning is a rhetorical question which is in fact a negation. A reply is not necessary here. In any case, it cannot begin with "yes" or "no".

(274)   *If   pʼrə-**jlu**?*
      he   come-NEG
      'Will he really come?' (= He will not come, he is that kind of man).

22.11   The suffix *-rla, -tla*[4]

The distribution of these variants is analogous to that of converbal forms in *-r* and *-t* (see Table 2 in 14.1 and (57)). The desiderative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* in predicates with this suffix has the meaning of the future tense. The meaning of *-rla*, *-tla* is that of a rhetorical question implying negation:

(275)   a.   *If   pʼrə-**rla**?*
            s/he   come-Q:NEG.ASS:3SG
            'Did he really come?' (= he did not come).

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4.   The suffix *-rla, -tla* is glossed as Q:NEG.ASS (question:negative.assumptive); on negative assumption see Mattissen (2003:21).

   b.   *Ñi p'rə-tla?*
        I   come-Q:NEG:ASS:1SG
        'Did I really come?' (= I did not come).

   c.   *If   p'rə-jnə-rla?*
        s/he   come-DES/INCH-Q:NEG.ASS:3SG
        'Will he really come?' (= he won't come).

22.12   The suffix -*nəxta*

It is a marker of the 1SG imperative form:

(276)   *Ñi vi-nəxta!*
        I   go-IMP:1SG
        'Let me go!','I must, should go!', 'I'd rather go!'

22.13   The suffix -*da*/-*ta*

It marks the 1PL imperative form (for the inclusive pronoun *mer* 'we (with you:PL)').
There is no imperative marker for the 1PL exclusive pronoun *ñəŋ* 'we (without you)'.

(277)   (*Mer*)   *vi-da!*
        we:INCL go-IMP:1PL
        'Let's go!'

22.14   The suffix -*nəte*

This is a marker of the 1DU imperative form (for the pronoun *megi* 'we' = 'we (with you:SG)'):

(278)   (*Megi*)   *vi-nəte!*
        you:DU go-IMP:1DU
        'Let's go, you and I!'

22.15   The suffix -*ja*

It marks the 2SG imperative verb form:

(279)   a.   *Vi-ja!*
           go-IMP:2SG
           'Go (away)!'

    b.   *Vi-j!*   (somewhat ruder than (279a))
         go-IMP:2SG
         'Go (away)!'

    c.   *Vi-jej!*   (with annoyance)
         go-IMP:2SG
         'Go (away)!'

22.16   The suffix *-ve/-pe/-be*

It marks the 2PL imperative verb form:

(280)   *Vi-ve!*
      go-IMP:2PL
      'Go (away)!'

22.17   The suffix *-qazo/-ʁazo/-χazo*

It marks the 3SG and 3PL imperative forms:

(281)   a.   *If*   *vi-ʁazo!*
          s/he   go-IMP:3SG/PL
          'Let him go!'

      b.   *Imŋ*   *vi-ʁazo!*
          they   go-IMP:3SG/PL
          'Let them go!'

22.18   The suffix *-(ə)jra*

It marks the 2SG verb form with the meaning of warning (preventive):

(282)   *Vi-jra!*
      go-PREV:2SG
      '(Be careful,) don't go!' (see also (436)).
      Or: 'You'd better not go!'

22.19   The suffix *-itla/-jtla*

It marks the 2PL verb form with the meaning of warning. These forms of some verbs coincide with the non-future tense forms in *-tla* (see 22.11):

(283)   *Vi-jtla!*
        go-PREV:2PL
        '(Be careful,) don't go!'

The verb forms in *-(ə)jra* and *-itla/-jtla* are not a means of marking the prohibitive: the latter is marked by the auxiliary word *t'a* preceding (immediately or sentence-initially) imperative verb forms; cf.:

(284)   **T'a**   *vi-ja*!
        NEG   go-IMP:2SG
        'Don't go!'

22.20   The suffix *-qa(j)/-ʁa(j)/-χa(j)*

This suffix serves to mark one of the forms with an optative meaning: the speaker expresses a wish that the action named should take place.

(285)   *Ṭ'o+ñən+uvr+k'u-ʁa!*
        fish+one:non.human+at.least+kill-OPT
        'I wish I could catch at least one fish!'; 'It would be nice to catch
        at least one fish.'

This suffix also forms converbs with the meaning of condition (see (76)), which to a certain degree corresponds to the polysemy of Russian constructions with the conjunction *esli* 'if'; cf.: *Esli by on tol'ko prishel!* 'If only he came!' and *Esli by on tol'ko priexal, vse by uladilos'* 'If only he arrived everything would be settled'.

Group B. Verbal suffixes, particles and auxiliary words post-posed to the finite suffix -*ḍ*/-*ṭ*

In contrast to the suffixes of Group **A**, a large number of grammatical morphemes of Group **B** can be used both on finite verbs and nouns (cf. (293), (295), (298), (304), (305), (307), (308), etc.; see Panfilov 1965: 213) and some even on converbs. The morphemes of Group **B** never co-occur in the same grammatical form, in which respect they are similar to Group **A** suffixes. (In general, there are some grounds, it seems, to consider Groups **A** and **B** as one and oppose them to Group **C**.) Due to the differences in their functioning, the grammatical morphemes considered here fall into three types:

1. The suffixes -*ñi*, -*rei*, -*a* (these morphemes do not combine with nouns).
2. The particles -*ra*/-*ta*/-*d*a, -*la*, -*ŋ*a, -*hata*, -*lu*, -*fora*, -*furu*/-*pʿuru*/-*vuru*, -*uvr*/-*avr*/-*əvr* (these morphemes do combine with nouns, see (293)).
3. The auxiliary words *hanəḍ, hajqana, jaɣalo, hajra, hari* (they also combine with nouns, and they may be used on their own, for instance, in replies to a question; see (312)).

All in all, 15 grammatical morphemes are considered below: 4 suffixes, 6 particles and 5 auxiliary words.

As well as in the description of Group **A** suffixes (Chapter 22), we will first list all the morphemes of Group **B**, by subgrouping them according to shared meaning, and then each will be considered in detail. It should be kept in mind that the parenthesised number on the left refers to the subsection in which the morpheme indicated is considered. In the list, the morphemes in question are cited in combination with the preceding finite suffix -*ḍ*/-*ṭ* in the singular, because the latter suffix may always be supplemented by the plural marker -*ku*/-*ɣu*/-*gu*/-*xu*; cf. an example for (23.1): *vi-ḍ-ra* '(he) went', *vi-ḍ-ɣu-da* '(they) went'. Below, not all possible variants of the morphemes are listed, with the exception of one (23.1). It goes without saying that all the morphemes in question can be used in either tense form of the predicate, both non-future and future. For easier recognition of these morphemes in texts, they are listed below with the finite suffix -*ḍ*/-*ṭ*.

(286)   1. Assertion
(23.1)   *-ḍ-ra*
(23.2)   *-ḍ-ñi*
(23.3)   *-ḍ-rej*
(23.4)   *-ḍ-a*

2. Question, uncertainty
(23.5)   *-ḍ-la*
(23.6)   *-ḍ-ŋa*
(23.7)   *-ḍ-hat*a
(23.8)   *-ḍ-lu*

3. Obligation, optative meaning
(23.9)   *-ḍ-fora*

4. Unexpectedness
(23.10)   *-ḍ-hari*

5. Reported information
(23.11)   *-ḍ-furu*

6. Uncertainty, indecision
(23.12)   *-ḍ+uvr-hajra*, *-ḍ+uvr-hanəḍ*, *-ḍ+uvr-hajqan*, *-ḍ+uvr-jayalo*[1]
(23.13)   *-ḍ-hajra*, *-ḍ-hanəḍ*, *-ḍ-hajqan*, *-ḍ-jayalo*.

23.1   The particle *-ra/-ta/-da*

The choice of a phonetic variant is determined by the preceding word-final consonant. In dialogue, this particle occurs in 90 per cent of all the finite verb forms in *-ḍ/-ţ*, and it occurs practically in all the future tense forms. In narration, it is not frequent, occurring in about 1 per cent of all the finite forms in *-ḍ/-ţ*. In dialogue, this particle serves most likely as a marker of focus (= rheme), often in related utterances (see Chapter 12; on its use on nouns see Chapter 13). When used on nouns, it seems to have a meaning somewhat different from that on verbs, on which it is used in dialogue mostly as a final marker in combination with the marker *-ḍ/-ţ* (see also Saveljeva 1966: 124–125). On nouns, emphasis seems to be more prominent, sometimes it marks particular stress on the noun. But the meaning of this particle is not yet thoroughly investigated (see also 23.5; see Panfilov 1965: 113–114).

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1.   By way of exception, the symbol "plus" is used before *-uvr*, in agreement with the description of this particle above.

23.2 The suffix -*ñi*

It serves to add emphasis and emotional underscoring, stressing the action (i.e. it approaches the function of the suffix -*ra* discussed in 22.3), in order to attract the interlocutor's attention to the action:

(287) J-ama-ja!   Ətək   p'rə-ḍ-*ñi*.
       3SG-look-IMP:2SG father   come-IND-EMPH
       'Look! Father has come.'

(288) V-ətək   p'rə-gu-j-ger-ḍ,   if   xauli   p'rə-ḍ-*ñi*.
       3SG-father come-CAUS-EP-refuse-IND   s/he   however come-IND-EMPH
       'His father did not allow (him) to come, he, however, did come.'

                                                        (see Panfilov 1965:115)

23.3 The suffix -*rej*/-*dej*

It usually expresses a negative emotion (annoyance, displeasure, irony) of the speaker with regard to the event named, undesirability of this fact:

(289) a.   Ṭ'aj tuz-ɣət-ṭ.
            tea   be.cold-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
            'The tea got completely cold.'

       b.   Ṭ'aj tuz-ɣət-ṭ-*rej*.
            tea   be.cold-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND-EMPH
            '(Oh, but) the tea is completely cold.'

(290) If   p'rə-ḍ-*rej*!
       s/he   come-IND-EMPH
       '(But) he has already come!'

23.4 The suffix -*ā*/-*a*/-*aj*/-*āj*

The use of a more open or long vowel instead of the main one is the principal device of achieving an expressive colouring. Unlike the suffix -*rej*/-*dej*, this one expresses mostly positive emotions, such as pleasure, admiration, etc. The suffix -*a* may be augmented by the suffix -*vus* expressing the highest degree of positive emotions:

(291) If   p'rə-ḍ-*a*[-*vus*]!
       s/he   come-IND-EMPH-EMPH
       '(How great,) he has already come!'

The peculiarities of the use of the suffix *-vus* need further study. Therefore it is not included in the list of Group **B** yet.

23.5   The particle *-la*

This is an interrogative particle used in questions without an interrogative word (i.e. it is synonymous to the suffix *-lo/-l* of Group **A** (see Section 22.8):

(292)   *"Ətək   p'rə-ḍ-la?"*   –   *"Hə, ətək   p'rə-ḍ-ra"*.
         father come-IND-Q   yes father come-IND-FOC
         'Has father come? – Yes, father has come.'
         (In replies, the particle *-ra* is usually obligatory.)

Compare the use of this particle on a noun:

(293)   *"Ətək-la   p'rə-ḍ?"*   –   *"Ətək-ra   p'rə-ḍ".*
         father-Q come-IND   father-FOC come-IND
         'Is it father (who) has come? – Father has come.'

23.6   The particle *-ŋa*

It is used optionally in questions with an interrogative word; cf.:

(294)   *"Ətək   ə⁻r   p'rə-ḍ-ŋa?"*
         father when come-IND-Q
         'When did father come?'

It may also be used on a noun:

(295)   *"Siḍ   ñivɣ-ŋa jiv-ḍ?"*
         what man-Q   have-IND
         'What (kind of) man is (here)?'

23.7   The particle *-hata*

It differs from *-ŋa* in that it carries and additional connotation of displeasure or disapproval, etc.:

(296)   *"Ətək   ə⁻r   p'rə-ḍ-hata?"*
         father when come-IND-Q:exactly
         'When did father come?'

23.8   The particle -*lu*

The allomorph -*lo* is also used sometimes. It denotes uncertainty of the speaker whether the action named really took place rather than some other similar action (the meaning of doubt, indefiniteness). Besides, it is automatically used with the predicate if a sentence contains words with meanings like 'several', 'some', 'something', 'somewhere', etc. It often occurs in sentences with two neighbouring verbs denoting alternative actions; cf.:

(297)   *Hot*   *hur-ju-ta*   *vər*
        so:3PL   make.noise-MULT-COORD:3PL   spearhead

        p'-erq+ʈχa-gu-ḍ-lu.[2]
        self-side+turn-CAUS-IND-INDEF

        'So (they) made noise, turned the spearhead in their own direction
        (or did sth else).'

The particle -*lu* is the only one that occurs (though very rarely) in a position before affixes. This is observed in its use on nouns; cf.:

(298)   a.   *Vi-ḍ.*   *ɦutə-rχ*   *p'u-ḍ.*
             go-IND   middle-DAT/ADD   go.out-IND
             '(He) went. (He) came to the middle.'

        b.   *Vi-ḍ.*   *ɦutə-lo-rχ*   *p'u-ḍ.*
             go-IND   middle-INDEF-DAT/ADD   go.out-IND
             '(He) went. (He) came approximately to the middle.'

                                                    (see Panfilov 1965: 213)

23.9   The particle -*for(a)*

In the future tense form this particle expresses two meanings: (1) optative or mild compulsion (cf. -*ʁa* in 22.20) or (2) irreal consequence when used on converbs in -*ʁa* (see (300)).

(299)   a.   *Ñi*   *naf*   *q'o-nə-ḍ-for.*
             I   now   sleep-FUT-IND-OPT/COND
             'I'd like to have a nap now.'

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2.   The word *ʈχa* is unknown to the editors and not entered in the dictionaries; it is glossed here according to its translation.

b.   *Ţ'i   naf   q'o-nə-ḍ-for*.
     you:SG now   sleep-FUT-IND-OPT/COND
     'You'd better have a nap now.'

(300)   *Ţ'i   ñ-oz-u-di-ləyə-ʁa*   *ñi napa*
        you:SG 1SG-get.up-TR-even-not.have-CONV:COND I   still

        q'o-nə-ḍ-for.
        sleep-FUT-IND-OPT/COND
        'If you had not wakened me up I'd be still sleeping yet.'

(301)   *Ñi vi-nə-ḍ-for*.
        I   go-FUT-IND-OPT/COND
        'I probably ought to have come.'

In the non-future tense form the meaning of *-for(a)* is different. It may express an attendant action or an action preformed in vain. But in general its semantic range is not quite clear yet:

(302)   *If   nəmr   ñe-rχ   p'rə-ḍ-fora*.
        s/he yesterday I-DAT/ADD   come-IND-OPT/COND
        'As it happens, he dropped in at my place yesterday.'

In (302) the listener should know from the previous context that, for instance, until then the subject had not visited the speaker for a long time, that the speaker had expected him for a long time, or it may follow from the subsequent context that the visit did not meet the speaker's expectations (see also 17.3.1).

When used on nouns, the particle *-for(a)* may point to the features or properties of the referent someone does not notice, or pays no attention to it, etc.

23.10   The particle *-hari*

It expresses unexpectedness of the event.

(303)   *Ţ'i   p'rə-ḍ-hari*.
        you:SG come-IND-MIR
        '(Oh,) you have come, it turns out.'

The particle *-hari* has the same mirative meaning when used with nouns:

(304)   *Hoʁar   if   j-ama-ḍ   vi-nanak-hari*.
        then:3SG s/he 3SG-look-IND   3SG-elder.sister-MIR
        'Then he takes a look – (and sees it is) his elder sister, it turns out.'

(305)   *"Ənəje, ənəje, ñəŋ+vo-hari"*.
         oh, oh,   we:EXCL+village-MIR
        'Oh, oh, as it turns out, (this is) our village.'   (cf. Panfilov 1965: 216)

23.11 The particle *-furu/-pʻuru/-vuru*[3]

It marks sentences containing hearsay information. It shows that the speaker does not vouch for the truth of this information. Sometimes this particle expresses an objective or subjective attitude of the speaker; cf.:

(306)   *Ətək   pʻrə-ḍ-furu.*
        father come-IND-IMPERC
        'Father has come, they say.'

In combination with nouns, the particle *-furu/-pʻuru/-vuru* may acquire a somewhat broader meaning; cf.:

(307)   *Təf-pʻuru.*
        house-IMPERC
        'And they (you) call it a house?!' (i.e. the object does not correspond
        to some standards from the speaker's point of view).

23.12 The particle *-uvr/-avr/-əvr*

These allomorphs probably reflect dialectal differences. This particle is used with verbs mostly in combination with one of the auxiliary words listed in 23.13. It expresses uncertainty, indecision of the speaker as to whether the event really took or will take place, and even doubt about the probability of the event.

This complex of the particle and an auxiliary word has a similar meaning in combination with nouns:

(308)   a.   *Aḍ   ətək+uvr-jaɣalo.*
              that.one   father+at.least-probably
              'This (is) father, probably.'

        b.   *Ətək+uvr-jaɣalo   pʻrə-nə-ḍ-ra.*
              father+at.least-probably come-FUT-IND-FOC
              'Father will come maybe.'

When used without an auxiliary word the particle *-uvr/-avr/-əvr* in combination with nouns is concessive in meaning:

        c.   *Ətək+uvr   pʻrə-ʁazo!*
              father+at.least   come-IMP:3PL/SG
              'Let father come at least!'

---

3.   Further on, the authors seem to regard this particle as imperceptive; it is glossed respectively.

23.13   Auxiliary words *hajra, hanəḍ, hajqan, jayalo*

These words, both when used alone and in combination with the particle *-uvr/-avr/-əvr*, express meanings like 'probably', 'possibly', 'maybe', etc.

(309)   *Ətək   p'rə-ḍ-hanəḍ.*
father   come-IND-probably
'Father has probably come.'

The auxiliary word ***hajra***, less frequently the other words of this group, seems to be rather often used in some folklore texts without any special semantic load, or just to remind the listener that the narrator did not witness the event and tells about it from hearsay. Hence a kind of uncertainty in his narration:

(310)   *Tu-r   hum-ke,   kikun*
go.upstream-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-CONV:DUR/INST   eagle-owl

məy-r   t'e-ḍ-hajra.
descend-CONV:NAR:3SG   hoot-IND-probably

'Going upstream, (there) was (also) an eagle-owl, descending (it) hooted, it seemed.'

In this kind of contexts the finite form of the verb ***ha-*** 'be so', 'be like that' has also occurred after ***hajra***; its function here is rather vague:

(311)   *Er-yəta-ḍ-hajra   ha-ḍ*
be.calm-RES-IND-probably   be.so-IND
'The sea was very calm, probably, (it) was like that.'

Here is an instance of independent use of the auxiliaries in question:

(312)   *"Ṭ'i   pət   hə+vo-rχ   vi-nə-ḍ-la?"*
you:SG   tomorrow   that+village-DAT/ADD   go-FUT-IND-Q
– *"Hanəḍ/Hajqan/Jayalo/Hajra".*
'Will you go to that village tomorrow?' – 'Probably.'

23.14   Auxiliary words

A special device of stressing the meaning of a suffix is its attachment to the auxiliary verb ***ha-*** 'be so', 'be like that' rather than to the notional verb, and the auxiliary verb is then added to the finite suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ*; cf.:

(313)   a.   *Ətək   p'rə-ḍ.*
father   come-IND
'Father came.'

b.   *Ətək   pʻrə-**bar**.*
     father come-ADVERS
     'But father really came.'

c.   *Ətək   pʻrə-ḍ   ha-**bar***
     father come-IND be.so-ADVERS
     'But father did come, really' (on the suffix -***bar*** see 22.6).

Similar use of auxiliary words occurs with nominal predicates as well (see Chapter 13), both supplemented by the particle -*ra/-ta/-da* and without it. In the former instance the content of the predicate is emphasized:

(314)   *"Təḍ   siḍ-ŋa?"* – *"Təḍ   qʻaχ-ta   [**ha-bar**]"*.
        this.one what-Q   this.one spear-FOC be.so-ADVERS
        'What is this?' – 'This is a spear [of course].'

(315)   *Təḍ   utku **ha-bar**.*
        this.one man   be.so-ADVERS
        'This is a man, of course.'

These words cannot be used after other particles; cf.:

(316)   a.   *Ñi vi-nə-ḍ-ra.*
             I   go-FUT-IND-FOC
             'I will go.'

        b.   **Ñi vi-nə-ḍ-ra-**hanəḍ**.*
             I   go-FUT-IND-FOC-probably

        c.   *Ñi vi-nə-ḍ-**hanəḍ**-ra.*
             I   go-FUT-IND-probably-FOC
             'I will probably go.'

Some of these words are used as separate utterances; e.g:

(317)   – *"Ṭʻi   ñe-rχ   pʻrə-ḍ-la?"*
            you:SG I-DAT/ADD come-IND-Q
        'Will you come to me?'
        – (a) *"**Ha-yitli**"*   'Of course';
          (b) *"**Hanəd**"*   'Probably'.
          (c) *"**Hajqana**"*   'Very likely, probably'.

Group C. Verbal suffixes pre-posed to Group A suffixes

Unlike the grammatical morphemes of Groups **A** and **B**, those of Group **C** allow in principle co-occurrence of two, less commonly three morphemes in the same verb form. Possible restrictions on their co-occurrence require further study. The suffixes included in Group **C** express meanings characteristic of the verbal morphology in the first place, viz. tense, aspect, voice (voice in the broad sense of the term, i.e. as a category finding expression in valency changes; cf. Panfilov (1960a)). This group includes 15 suffixes all in all. They are grouped according to meaning and listed below in (318). In contrast to the grammatical morphemes considered above polysemy is much more common in Group **C**, therefore not all the meanings are mentioned in the list offered below. As in the above two lists of grammatical morphemes (see Chapters 22 and 23), the parenthesised numbers on the left indicate the subsection in which the suffix in question is briefly considered or illustrated.

(318)	1. Tense		
(24.1)	*-nə-*	–	future
(24.2)	*-Ø-*	–	non-future
	2. Valency change		
(24.3)	*-u-*	–	causativisation of intransitives
(24.4)	*-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-*	–	causativisation of any kind of verbs
(24.5)	*-r-*	–	anticausativisation
(24.6)	*-kəta-/-ɣəta-/-gəta-/-xəta*	–	resultative, etc.
	3. Aspectuality. Modes of action		
(24.7)	*-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-*	–	desiderative, inceptive, inchoative
(24.8)	*kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət-*	–	distributive, intensive, completive
(24.9)	*-ivu-/-jvu-*	–	progressive, inchoative
(24.10)	*-řa-, -tʼ*a-	–	positive usitative, etc.
(24.11)	*-ɣsu-*	–	negative usitative
(24.12)	*-xə-*	–	qualitative usitative (= habitual (eds))
(24.13)	*-jo-*	–	diminutive (of action or quality; 'a little')
(24.14)	*-la-*	–	permanent quality, intensity, etc.
(24.15)	*-kar-*	–	intensive meaning (= augmentative (eds))

4. Uncertainty, probability

(24.16) *-bǝñevo-.*

24.1 The suffix *-nǝ-*

This suffix is the main marker of the future tense. In two verb forms the future is expressed by the desiderative suffix *-inǝ-/jnǝ-/-ijnǝ-* (see 17.1.2, 17.2.5). As has been mentioned above, the future tense marking is obligatory in the Nivkh language (see 17.1.1). In the case of relativisation or nominalisation of clauses with the predicate in the future tense form the suffix *-nǝ-* is retained (cf. (150b), (156b), (158b), (159c), (169b), (170b), (179c), (181b), (183)); cf. also:

(319) a. *Ṭ'i   liɣs+k'u-nǝ-ḍ-ra.*
          you:SG   wolf+kill-FUT-IND-FOC
          'You will kill a wolf.'

   b. *Ṭ'i   hu-in   p'i   i-ɣ-nǝ+liɣz+nřǝ-nǝ-ḍ-ra.*
       you:SG   there-LOC   self 3SG-kill-FUT+wolf+see-FUT-IND-FOC
       'There you will find the wolf (which) you (lit. yourself) will kill.'

With two exceptions, the suffix *-nǝ-* is incompatible with converbal suffixes (see 14.3). In subordinate predication, the use of the suffix *-nǝ-* is obligatory under certain conditions (see 17.2.2 and 17.2.3).

24.2 The suffix Ø of the non-future tense

The non-future tense is the main tense form in narration. The future tense does not practically occur here (unless we count the obligatory use of the suffix *-nǝ-* in subordinate predicates dependent on certain verbs; see 17.2.2). In cases when other languages resort to the present tense to describe an action in progress at the moment of utterance, the Nivkh language may employ: (1) devices meant to stress or focus the listener's attention on the action in progress (see 22.3, 23.2); (2) the continuative (see 20.1.1); (3) the forms in *-ivu-/-jvu-* (see 24.9); and occasionally some other means.

24.3 The suffix *-u-*

The suffix *-u-* alone is used to change over 15 intransitive verbs into transitives with the meaning of contact causation. All these intransitives have word-initial sonorants *l-*, *m-*, *n-*, *ŋ-*, or *v-* (i.e. the sounds which do not alternate with any other sounds; in the case of *v-* alternation is limited; see 10.4).

(320) a.   *vaxṭ-* 'get torn'   – *vaxṭ-u-* 'tear (sth)'
     b.   *veta-* 'get dressed' – *veta-u-* 'dress (sb)'

In over 40 intransitives with initial plosives, when they are transitivised by means of the suffix *-u-*, the initial plosive changes into the respective fricative (in the free variant), according to the alternation rules described above (see Chapter 7):

(321) a.   *kēsk-* 'get burnt', 'burn oneself' – *γēsk-u-* 'burn (sth)'
     b.   *pil-*   'be big'   – *vil-u-*   'make big'

Over 20 intransitives are transitivised by substitution of the word-initial plosive with a fricative. Most of them have a stem with a final vowel, in particular the vowel *-u-* (two verbs have stems ending in *-e-*, one in *-ñ-* and one in *-q-*).

(322) a.   *kuγu-* 'stand'   – *γuγu-* 'stand (sth/sb), set upright'
     b.   *kez-*   'flow, trickle down' – *γez-/-kez-/-gez-* 'strain, make trickle down'
     c.   *pəkz-* 'get lost', 'disappear' – *vəkz-/-pəkz-/-bəkz* 'lose'

Transitives of this type, as well as underived transitives, form object complexes with their direct objects (see Chapter 10).

There are at least five more formal intransitive vs. transitive oppositions. They account for about 15 pairs of verbs; cf.:

(323) a.   *oz-*   'get up'   – *j-oz-u-/-oz-u-*   'wake (sb) up'
     b.   *hamam-* 'be soft'   – *j-amam-u-/-hamam-u-* 'make soft'
     c.   *ərp-*   'choke'   – *j-ərp-/-ərp-*   'plug (sth)'
     d.   *he-*   'get cooked'   – *j-e-/-he-*   'cook (sth)'
     e.   *k'rəu-* '(have a) rest' – *jə-γrəu-/-k'rəu-/-xrəu-* 'let rest'

24.4 The suffix *-ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-*

By means of this suffix all verbs acquire an additional valency for an object in the nominative case (an exception are some impersonal intransitives). If this object denotes an animate being it may optionally be marked by the agentive (dative/accusative) case suffix *-aχ/-χ* (see 16.2.2). The suffix *-gu-* is used not only as a causative marker (see (87), (88) in 16.2.2). Example (324) shows causative derivatives from intransitives and from a derived transitive:

(324)   *təmz-*   'fall out of (one's) hands'   → *rəmz-u-*   'drop' (cf. (321)
         ↓   ↓
     təmz-gu- 'make sth fall out of hands' → *rəmz-u-gu-* 'order/let sb drop sth'
          (for details see Nedjalkov, Otaina & Kholodovich 1969: 179–199)

24.5   The suffix -r-

So far, only three cases of anticausative derivation marked by this suffix have been registered:

(325)   a.   *e-mq-/-moq-*   'break sth in two'   –   *moq-r-*   'get broken in two'

      b.   *roq-/-toq-/-*doq-   'rip up/off', 'undo' –   *toq-r-*   'get ripped up/off'

      (cf. the opposition *toq-r-* 'get ripped/torn off' – *roq-r-u-* 'tear sth off').

24.6   The suffix -kəta-/-yəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-

This suffix derives resultatives. It decreases the valency of transitive verbs of action by one and the derivatives acquire the meaning of state as a result of the respective prior action. This meaning is allowed only by a certain class of verbs. Forms in *-kəta-/-yəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-* do not combine with most of other verbal suffixes.

(326)   a.   *Əmək   ŋir+ḍosq-ṭ.*
         mother   cup+break-IND
         'Mother broke the cup.'

      b.   *Ŋir   zosq-**xəta**-ḍ.*
         cup   break-RES-IND
         'The cup is broken' (by someone, but the agent cannot be named).

Intransitive verbs of action change their meaning into that of state.

(327)   a.   *Ŋir   ṭosq-ṭ.*
         cup   break-IND
         'The cup broke.'

      b.   *Ŋir   ṭosq-**xəta**-ḍ.*
         cup   break-RES-IND
         'The cup is broken' (stating an observable state).

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(See Nedjalkov, Otaina, Kholodovich 1974: 232–251;
Nedjalkov, Otaina 1983: 80–89)

</div>

When used with this suffix, a group of qualitative verbs acquire either the meaning of retaining the quality (the sense 'still', 'yet' – about 60 verbs) or that of intensifying or emphasizing it (about 20 verbs).

(328)   a.   *Pəñx   qʼav-ḍ.*
         soup   be.warm-IND
         'The soup is warm.'

      b.   *Pəñx   qʼavu-**yəta**-ḍ.*
         soup   be.warm-RES-IND
         'The soup is still warm' (= 'remains warm').

(329) a. *Ŋajq   ţʻaŋ-ḍ.*
           puppy   be.white-IND
           'The puppy is white.'

       b. *Ŋajq   ţʻaŋ-gəta-ḍ.*
           puppy   be.white-RES-IND
           'The puppy is white' (this feature is emphasized).
                        (Cf. also (311) and (403); see Otaina 1978: 47–48)

24.7 The suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-*

On verbs of controlled deliberate active action this suffix denotes intention, a desire to perform the action, while on verbs of spontaneous action or on qualitative verbs it denotes the initial phase (i.e. intention or desire is interpreted by the language as the initial stage of a deliberate action; cf. 24.9); cf.:

(330) a. *If   pʻrə-ḍ.*
           s/he come-IND
           'He came.'

       b. *If   pʻrə-jnə-ḍ.*
           s/he come-DES/INCH-IND
           'He is going (intending) to come.'

(331) a. *Ţʻaqo   məjməj-ḍ.*
           knife   be.blunt-IND
           'The knife is blunt.'

       b. *Ţʻaqo   məjməj-inə-ḍ.*
           knife   be.blunt-DES/INCH-IND
           'The knife began growing blunt.'

The suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* does not co-occur with the future tense suffix *-nə-* (see Panfilov 1965: 105; Otaina 1978: 87, 107).

24.8 The suffix *-kət-/-γət-/-gət-/-xət-*

Due to the lexical meaning of the verb and sometimes context, this suffix may express the following closely related meanings: (1) distributivity ('all (things/persons)', 'each of a number'), (2) intensity ('everything', 'entirely', 'quite', 'finally'), and (3) completeness, finality ('stop', 'finish'). The distributive and the intensive meanings are indicated by the incompatibility of the forms with this suffix with a singular subject and with the words meaning 'still', 'yet' respectively.

(332)   a.   *If   mər-ḍ.*
            s/he ascend-IND
            'He went up (the forest).'

       b.   **If   mər-γət-ṭ.*
            s/he ascend-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
            lit. '*He went up entirely.'

       c.   *Imŋ sək mər-γət-ṭ-γu.*
            they all ascend-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND-PL
            'They all (= each of them) went up.'

(333)   a.   *Hə+vo   u-ḍ.*
            that+village burn-IND
            'That village burnt/burnt down/burns.'

       b.   *Hə+vo   napa u-ḍ.*
            that+village still burn-IND
            'That village still burnt/burns.'

       c.   *Hə+vo   u-γət-ṭ.*
            that+village burn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
            'That village burnt down entirely.' ('All of that village burnt down').

       d.   **Hə+vo   napa u-γət-ṭ.*
            that+village still burn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
            lit. 'That village has still burnt down, all of it.'

(334)   a.   *Als   qala-ḍ.*
            berry be.unripe-IND
            'The berries are not ripe.'

       b.   *Als   qala-γət-ḍ.*
            berry be.unripe-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
            'The berries are quite unripe.'

(335)   a.   *Ətək   keχṭ-ṭ.*
            father be.grey-IND
            'Father turned grey/is grey.'

       b.   *Ətək   keχṭ-γət-ṭ.*
            father be.grey-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
            'Father turned quite grey' (cf. (329)).

(336)   a.   *If   ṭarq-ṭ.*
            s/he jump-IND
            'He jumped.'

       b.   *If   ṭək   ṭarq-ṭ.*
            s/he a.long.time jump-IND
            'He jumped for a long time.'

c. *If   ṭarq-xət-ṭ.*
s/he jump-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
'He finished jumping.'   (see Panfilov 1965: 69–73; Otaina 1978: 53–54)

24.9   The suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-*

The polysemy of this suffix is to a certain degree analogous to that of the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* (see 24.7). When combined with intransitive and transitive verbs of motion, the suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-* describes an action in the process of its performance, in particular at the moment of utterance (the difference between this and continuative forms is not quite clear; see 20.1.1). In combination with qualitative verbs this suffix expresses inchoativity, formation of a quality. In the latter case co-occurrence with the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* is possible. Examples (337)–(338) illustrate combinability of the suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-* with other formations:

(337) a. *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
s/he come-IND
'He came.'

b. *If   p'rə-**jvu**-ḍ.*
s/he come-INCH/PROGR-IND
'He is coming (approaching).'

c. **If   p'rə-**r**   hum-ḍ.*
s/he come-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
(the continuative form is ungrammatical)

(338) a. *Ṭīr   ṭ'e-ḍ.*
tree be.dry-IND
'The tree dried/dries.'

b. *Ṭīr   ṭ'e–**r**   hum-ḍ.*
tree be.dry-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
'The tree is drying up' (continuative).

c. *Ṭīr   ṭ'e-**jnə**-ḍ.*
tree be.dry-DES/INCH-IND
'The tree began drying up' (inceptive).[1]

d. *Ṭīr   ṭ'e-**ɣət**-ṭ.*
tree be.dry-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
'The tree has all dried up' (intensive).

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1.   The authors use the term *inceptive* here, in contrast to (338e), where it is *inchoative*; the general term is *inchoative*; cf. 24.7.

e. *Ṭīr ṭ'e-jvu-ḍ.*
    tree be.dry-INCH/PROGR-IND
    'The tree was/is drying up' (inchoative).

f. *Ṭīr ṭ'e-γət-ivu-ḍ.*
    tree be.dry-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-INCH/PROGR-IND
    'The tree has (nearly) dried up' (the final stage is observed; this is an
    inchoative derived from the intensive form).

g. *Ṭīr ṭ'e-jvu-jnə-ḍ* (inceptive derived from inchoative).
    tree be.dry-INCH/PROGR-DES/INCH-IND
    'The tree began to dry up.'

24.10 The suffix *-řa-, -t'a-*

This suffix denotes regular resumption of an action or a continuous uninterrupted
action. Indications of time and place of action are characteristic of it and sometimes
obligatory in sentences with predicates in *-řa-, -t'a-*. In contrast to the suffix *-su-/-ksu-/
-γsu-/-jsu-/-ijsu-* (see 24.11) this meaning may be regarded as positive usitative. This
synthetic verb form has a parallel equivalent though less commonly used analytical
form with the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'be so', 'be like that', 'happen' (see 20.1.2). An example:

(339) *Tə+ər-ux   ləx   ə⁻rti   əki-řa-ḍ.*
       this+time-LOC/ABL weather usually be.bad-USIT:3SG-IND
       'During this season the weather is usually bad' (repeated situation).

As has been mentioned above (see (221) in 20.1.2), the meaning of repeated action
may be absent in the imperative (not in all the verbs): instead, the suffix serves to
soften down the order, make it less categorical:

(340) a. *Ōla-gu! Eʁ-gut   q'o-ve!*
           child-PL be.fast-ADV:2PL sleep-IMP:2PL
           'Children! Go to sleep fast!'

       b. *Ōla-gu! Eʁ-gut   q'o–t'a-ve!*
           child-PL be.fast-ADV:2PL sleep-USIT:2PL-IMP:2PL
           'Children! Go to sleep fast!'

24.11 The suffix *-su-/-ksu-/-γsu-/-jsu-/-ijsu-*

Verb forms with the suffix *-řa-, -t'a-* do not have negative forms. Instead, forms with
the suffix *-su-/-ksu-/-γsu-/-jsu-/-ijsu-* are used. Therefore the latter forms may be

termed negative usitatives. They denote actions that have not been taking place for a long time or not at all.

(341)   *Mer+vo+k'ekrək+k'rə-ləz*   *ñivɣ-gu   nəŋ-**ijsu**-ḍ.*
        we:INCL+village+upper.part+cape-past man-PL walk-NEG:USIT-IND
        'People do not walk past the cape in the upper part of our village.'

24.12   The suffix -*xə*-

Forms with this suffix derive from a relatively limited number of verbs, mostly intransitives (though not from qualitative verbs) and they characterize the subject (human) as inclined to perform an action (mostly negative, it seems) habitually. Therefore this form may be termed qualitative habitual:

(342)   a.   *Ōla   va-ḍ.*
             child   fight-IND
             'The child fights.'

        b.   *Ōla   va-**xə**-ḍ.*
             child   fight-HAB-IND
             'The child often fights', '… is pugnacious.'

24.13   The suffix -*jo*-

The forms marked with this suffix denote actions or qualities manifesting themselves to a lesser degree, incompletely. The use of this suffix is subject to restrictions which are not quite clear. Examples:

(343)   a.   *Əmək   ţ'aj+χav-u-ḍ.*
             mother tea+be.warm-TR-IND
             'Mother warmed up the tea.'

        b.   *Əmək   ţ'aj+χav-u-**jo**-ḍ.*
             mother tea+be.warm-TR-DIMN-IND
             'Mother warmed up the tea a little.'

(344)   a.   *Als   ñeñi-ḍ.*
             berry be.sweet-IND
             'The berries are sweet.'

        b.   *Als   ñeñi-**jo**-ḍ.*
             berry be.sweet-DIMN-IND
             'The berries are sweetish.' (see Panfilov 1965:80–82; Otaina 1978:58–60)

24.14 The suffix -*la*-

This suffix is used mostly on qualitative verbs and some emotives and, depending on the lexical meaning of the base, it either singles out the subject referent out of a class of similar objects or denotes permanency of the quality named (sometimes connected with its intensification):

(345) *Tə+als   ñeñi-la-ḑ.*
       this+berry   be.sweet-PERM-IND
       'These are the sweet berries (among others).'

(346) a. *Ṭʻəŋg qʻav-ḑ.*
           stove   be.warm-IND
           'The stove is hot' (at this moment, after it was heated).

       b. *Ṭʻəŋg qʻav-la-ḑ.*
           stove   be.warm-PERM-IND
           'The stove is hot' (= 'it gives out much heat').

On some verbs of action the suffix -*la*- is attached only simultaneously with the suffix -*xə*- to emphasize permanency of the feature (see 24.12):

(347) a. *If   vi-ḑ.*
           s/he   go-IND
           'He went/goes.'

       a¹. **If   vi-la-ḑ.*
             s/he   go-PERM-IND

       b. *If   vi-xə-ḑ.*
           s/he   go-HAB-IND
           'He likes to walk.'

       b¹. *If   vi-xə-la-ḑ.*
             s/he   go-HAB-PERM-IND
             'He likes walking.'   (see also Panfilov 1965: 85–88; Otaina 1978: 61–64)

24.15 The suffix -*kar*-[2]

A small group, though of highly frequent qualitative verbs, may take, mostly in attributive function, the intensifying suffix -*kar*- (to intensify its force to an even greater degree, it changes the quality and/or quantity of the open vowel: -*kār*-, -*kər*-, -*kə⁻r*-); cf.:

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2. This suffix is glossed as AUG (= augmentative).

hə+eri pil-ḍ 'that river is big', *pila+eri* 'big river', *pil-kār+eri* 'very big river', *pil-kər+eri* 'very, very big river'; cf. also *pila-bila+eri* with the same intensifying force, and there are a number of other devices with the same function (for details see Panfilov 1965: 82–84).

24.16 The suffix -*bəñevo*-

Verb forms with this suffix denote the speaker's uncertainty that the situation named really takes (took) place:

(348) a. *If   ṭʻo+xu-ḍ.*
          s/he fish+kill-IND
          'He caught a/some fish.'

       b. *If   ṭʻo+xu-bəñevo-ḍ.*
          s/he fish+kill-probably-IND
          'He caught a/some fish, it seems.'

(349) a. *Ṭʻi   peʙo-ḍ-la?*
          you:SG be.in.a.hurry-IND-Q
          'Are you in a hurry?'

       b. *Ṭʻi   peʙo-bəñevo-ḍ-la?*
          you:SG be.in.a.hurry-probably-IND-Q
          'You are in a hurry, it seems?'

24.17 Positional characteristics of the suffixes

Provisionally, the following may be tentatively suggested.

1. The suffix -*nə*- (future tense) always takes the extreme right position (before the finite marker -*ḍ/-ṭ*) and it does not co-occur with the suffix -*inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə*- (desiderative/inchoative).
2. The preceding position is taken by the suffix -*bəñevo*- (uncertainty) which may be preceded on the left by the suffix -*ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu*- (causative) and next by -*inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə*-.
3. The suffix -*r*- is compatible with the suffix -*u*- (see (325)); from verbs with these suffixes resultatives with the suffix -*kəta-/-ɣəta-/-gəta-/-xəta*- may be derived. It does not combine with other suffixes.
4. The suffixes -*kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət*- (distributive/intensive/completive) and -*ivu*-/-*jvu*- (progressive/inchoative) are positioned to the left of -*inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə*-, the suffix -*yət*- always preceding -*ivu-/-jvu*-.

5. The suffixes *-řa-*, *-tʻa-* (positive usitative), *-su-/-ksu-/-ɣsu-/-jsu-/-ijsu-* and *-xə-* are incompatible; they are placed to the left of *-bəñevo-*.

6. The suffix *-xə-* does not combine with most of the suffixes; the suffix *-la-* is attached to some verbal stems in the position after the suffix *-xə-* only.

7. The suffixes *-řa-*, *-tʻa-* and also *-su-/-ksu-/-ɣ*su-*/-jsu-/-ijsu-* may follow the causative suffix *-ku/-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-*.

Syntactic (valency) classes of verbs

The syntactic verb classes are distinguished here in accordance with the following features applied consecutively:

1. The ability of a verb to form an object complex.
2. The number of valencies – syntactic actants.
3. The marking of an actant (case, postposition, coordinating particle).

Both underived (or derived according to unproductive patterns) verbs and causatives with the suffix *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* (see 24.4) taking an agentive (dative/accusative) object (see 16.2.2) are also considered here.

25.1   Verbs which do not form a complex with an object (intransitives)

These verbs fall into five groups according to the number of valencies: verbs with zero valency, one-place, two-place, three-place and four-place verbs.

25.1.1   Zero-valency verbs

These are verbs used without a subject and any objects, i.e. impersonal verbs. They denote mostly meteorological phenomena: *ŋəu-* 'grow dark', *laju-* 'snow (with strong wind)', *rivu-* 'grow cold', *rəku-* 'grow warm', etc.; cf.:

(350)   *Nəmr-uɣe   rivu-ḍ.*
yesterday-LOC/ABL grow.cold-IND
'It grew cold since yesterday.'

(351)   *Kʼlə-jn   maŋ-gur   χav-ḍ.*
street-LOC be.strong-ADV:3SG snow-IND
'It snows strongly in the street (outside).'

A number of verbs may function both as impersonals and one-place verbs; cf.:

(352)   a.   *Təf   tiv-ḍ.*
house be.cold-IND
'The house is cold.'

b.   *Nəx   tiv-ḍ̣.*
today be.cold-IND
'It is cold today.'

(353)   a.   *Ño   kuɣə-ḍ̣.*
barn be.spacious-IND
'The barn is spacious.'

b.   *Ño-mi-x   kuɣə-ḍ̣.*
barn-inside-LOC be.spacious-IND
'The barn is very spacious.'

(354)   a.   *Ṭif   leʁ-ḍ̣.*
road be.slippery-IND
'The road is slippery.'

b.   *K'lə-jn   leʁ-ḍ̣.*
street-LOC be.slippery-IND
'It is slippery in the street.'

(355)   a.   *Ṭ'-rəf   ərk   ma-ḍ̣/ma-la-ḍ̣.*
2SG-house already be.near-IND/be.near-PERM-IND
'Your house is already near.'

b.   *Ṭ'-rəf-toχ   vi-nə-ḍ̣   ərk*
2SG-house-DAT/ADD go-FUT-NML already

ma-ḍ̣ /   ma-la-ḍ̣-ra.
be.near-IND be.near-PERM-IND-FOC

'It is not far already to go to your village (lit. 'house').'

But: c.   *Ṭ'-rəf-toχ   ərk   ma-la-ḍ̣-ra.*
2SG-house-DAT/ADD already be.near-PERM-IND-FOC
'It is already not far from your village.'

d.   *Ṭ'-rəf-toχ   ərk*
2SG-house-DAT/ADD already

ma-la-gur   vi-nə-ḍ̣-ra.
be.near-PERM-ADV:3SG go-FUT-IND-FOC

'It is already not far to go to your village.'

25.1.2   One-place verbs

This type is subdivided into two subtypes according to the feature of subject plurality.

25.1.2.1   *One-place verbs without a plural subject*

These are verbs used with the subject only: *haʁa-* 'laugh', *ŋal-* 'moan', *jəmr-* 'hiccup', *təu-* 'yawn', etc.:

(356) *If* *haʁa-ḍ.* 'He laughed/laughs.'
(357) *Ṭus* *t'a-ḍ.* 'The meat got fried.'
(358) *Ñi* *veta-ḍ.* 'I dressed.'
(359) *Larq* *vaχt-ṭ.* 'The shirt tore/got torn.'

A small group of verbs which can also be interpreted as complex qualitative intransitives is included here; cf.:

(360) a. *Ñ-rəmk* *kəl-ḍ.*
           1SG-arm be.long-IND
           'My arms are long.'

       b. *Ñi* *təmk+γəl-ḍ.*
           I   arm+be.long-IND
           'I have long arms', lit. 'I am long-armed.'

                                   (Otaina 1978: 36; Panfilov 1965: 50–51)

Causative verbs with the suffix *-ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu* derived from impersonal verbs comprise a special group:

(361) a. *Ŋə-ḍ.*
           be.dark-IND
           'It grew dark.'

       b. *Ətək,* *p'aχ+aj-r,*   *ŋə-gu-ḍ.*
           father window+make-CONV:NAR:3SG be.dark-CAUS-IND
           'Father, shutting the window, made it dark (in the room).'[1]

25.1.2.2 *One-place verbs with a plural subject*

These are verbs like *k'espur-* 'talk', *ṭ'ozju-* (*ṭozju-*) 'whisper (with each other)', *ŋe-* 'quarrel', *ūmu-* 'fight', 'compete', etc. Their meaning implies at least two participants. The latter may be named in at least three ways: (1) by a plural subject; (2) by naming each participant separately by a noun with the comitative marker *-ke-/-γe-/-ge-/-xe-* (see Section 16.5); (3) by using this marker on the name of one of the participants only (see (113) in 16.5.1).

(362) a. *Imŋ* *ŋe-ḍ.*
           they quarrel-IND
           'They quarrelled.'

       b. *P'-əṭik-xe*   *p'-əmək-xe*   *ŋe-ḍ.*
           REFL-grandmother-COM:DU REFL-mother-COM:DU quarrel-IND
           'Grandmother and mother quarrelled.'

---

1. The word *j-aj-/-aj-* (*j-ai-/-ai-*) is a substitute verb; it may refer to any kind of action or state which is made clear by the context (cf. Saveljeva, Taksami 1970: 496). It is conventionally glossed here as 'make'.

c. *Əţik   əmək-xe   ŋe-ḍ.*
    grandmother mother-COM:DU quarrel-IND
    'Grandmother quarrelled with mother.'

In (362c) the comitative form *əmək-xe* is not subordinated to the predicate: it is related to the noun *əţik*. Therefore these verbs cannot be regarded as two-place verbs. (Reciprocals derived from transitive verbs also belong to one-place intransitives with a plural subject).

Some of the verbs considered here can also take an object in the dative/additive case.

25.1.3   Two-place verbs

According to the marking of the second actant, five types of two-place verbs are distinguished (some of the verbs may occur with two or more types of actants; see 25.1.3.1).

25.1.3.1   *Verbs taking the second actant in one of the spatial cases*

These are verbs of motion or involving motion: *vi-* 'go', *laɣ-* 'go on a visit to another village', *ravi-* 'move to a new place (of residence)', etc. The most common case form of the second actant is dative/additive:

(363)   a. *If   hə+vo-rχ   vi-ḍ.*
            s/he that+village-DAT/ADD go-IND
            'He went to that village.'

        b. *If   hə+vo-řəki   vi-ḍ.*
            s/he that+village-DEST go-IND
            'He reached that village' ('… went as far as that village').

        c. *If   pal-uɣe   vi-ḍ.*
            s/he forest-LOC/ABL go-IND
            'He walked in the forest.'

25.1.3.2   *Verbs taking the second actant in the dative/additive case*

In the first place, here belong emotive verbs: *ťaxta-* 'get angry', *qʻala-* 'hate', *kʻinŋu-* 'feel friendly', 'regard (sb) kindly', *osqa-* 'feel/get hurt', *kʻevara-* 'get attached to sb', etc.

(364)   *Umguōla andχ-toχ   qʻeʁnaj-ḍ.*
        girl   guest-DAT/ADD be.shy-IND
        'The girl is shy of the guest.'

(365)   *If   pʻ-ŋafq-roχ   osqa-ḍ.*
        s/he REFL-friend-DAT/ADD feel.hurt-IND
        'He felt hurt by his friend.'

25.1.3.3   *Verbs taking the second actant in the instrumental case*

These verbs mostly denote the presence or absence of an object in the subject's possession, and also acquiring or giving something away (also metaphorically): *ƭʿar-* 'be full', o*zot-* 'save, economize', etc.; cf.:

(366)   If   *ƭʿχa-yir*   *t'ovat-ƭ.*
        s/he   money-INSTR   be.in.a.difficulty-IND
        'He is short of money.'

(367)   If   *ƭʿχa-yir*   *əlzi-ḍ.*
        s/he   money-INSTR   be.abundant-IND
        'He is rich in money'; lit. '… abundant in money.'

(368)   *Hontq   lumr-kir*   *ƭʿar-ḍ.*
        sack   sable-INSTR   be.full-IND
        'The sack is full of sables.'

(369)   If   *haḍ-yir*   *k'rəz-ḍ.*
        s/he   that.one-INSTR   be.full-IND
        'He got full of that'; 'He is sated with that.'

25.1.3.4   *Verbs taking the second actant in the nominative case*

Here belong causative verbs with the suffix *-ku-/-yu-/-gu-/-xu-* derived from one-place verbs with an inanimate subject (see 24.4).

(370)   a.   *Lep   ƭʿe-ḍ.*
             bread   be.dry-IND
             'The bread became dry.'

        b.   *If   **lep**+ətu-doχ   q'au-r   ƭʿe-**gu**-ḍ.*
             s/he   bread+cover-SUP   not.be-CONV:NAR:3SG   be.dry-CAUS-IND
             'Not covering the bread, he let it grow dry.'

(371)   a.   *Řəf   əki-ḍ.*
             wound   be.bad-IND
             'The wound (lit. pierced spot) is bad.'

        b.   *Təmk+oxt'-ti+ləyə-ke   p'ake   nan*
             hand+medicine-even+not.have-CONV:DUR/INST   even.more   only

             *řəf   əki-**gu**-ḍ.*
             wound   be.bad-CAUS-IND

             '(He) did not treat the hand with medicine, (therefore) the wound
             became even worse.'

25.1.3.5   *Verbs taking the second actant in the dative/accusative case.*

These are causatives in *-ku-/-yu-/-gu-/-xu-* derived from one-place verbs with a human subject (see 16.2.2; 24.4).

(372)   a.   *If   pol-ḍ.*
            s/he   fall-IND
            'He fell.'

     b.   *If   pʻ-aṭik+əxt-r*
            s/he   REFL-younger.sibling+push-CONV:NAR:3SG

            j-aχ   pol-gu-ḍ.
            s/he-DAT/ACC   fall-CAUS-IND

            'Having pushed his younger brother, he made him fall.'

25.1.4   Three-place verbs

There are two types of three-place verbs.

25.1.4.1   *Verbs taking an object in the instrumental case and an object in the dative/additive case*

So far, we have found only one verb with this combination of objects:

(373)   *Hemar   mar-kir   tol-roχ   pəɣz-ḍ.*
        old.man   fish.scale-INSTR water-DAT/ADD   throw-IND
        'The old man threw fish scales into water.'   (see Panfilov 1965: 245)

25.1.4.2   *Verbs taking an object in the dative/accusative case and an object in one of the oblique cases*

Here belong causatives in *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* derived from two-place verbs considered above in Sections 25.1.3.1, 25.1.3.2 and 25.1.3.3.

(374)   a.   *V-umguōla ena+vo-rχ   laɣ-ḍ.*
            3SG-girl   be.another+village-DAT/ADD   go.visiting-IND
            'Her daughter went visiting to another village.'

     b.   *Ətək   pʻ-umguōla-aχ*
            mother   REFL-girl-DAT/ACC

            ena+vo-rχ   laɣ-gu-ḍ.
            be.another+village-DAT/ADD   go.visiting-CAUS-IND

            'Mother let her daughter go visiting to another village.'

25.1.5   Four-place verbs

Most likely, these may be only causative derivatives from three-place verbs (see 25.1.4.1); cf.:

(375)   *If   hemar-aχ   mar-kir   tol-roχ   pəɣz-gu-ḍ.*
        s/he   old.man-DAT/ACC   fish.scale-INSTR water-DAT/ADD   throw-CAUS-IND
        'He told the old man to throw the fish scales into water.'

25.2 Verbs which form a complex with an object (transitives)

These verbs fall into four syntactic groups according to the number of valencies: two-place, three-place, four-place and five-place verbs.

25.2.1 Two-place verbs

Verbs of this group take a direct object in the nominative case. If the object is in contact pre-position to the predicate they make up an object complex (see Chapter 4). Here belong underived two-place transitives and also transitives derived from intransitive verbs by the means described in Section 24.3 above; cf.:

(376) a. *V-aṭik*   *pol-ḍ.*
           3SG-younger.sibling   fall-IND
           'His younger brother fell down.'

     b. *If*   *pʻ-aṭik+vol-**u**-ḍ.*
           s/he   REFL-younger.sibling+fall-TR-IND
           'He knocked his younger brother down' (cf. (372)).

25.2.2 Three-place verbs

Here belong verbs with two objects. The case marking of these objects divides them into three groups. If the object entering into a complex with the predicate is inverted with the second object the latter does not form an object complex with the predicate even if it is in the nominative case, and the free variant of the transitive verb is used; cf. (377b) below.

25.2.2.1 *Verbs taking two objects in the nominative case*
The noun denoting a stationary thing forms an object complex with the predicate:

(377) a. *If*   *kʻuva*   *nux+t'ə-ḍ.*
           s/he   thread   needle+insert-IND
           'He inserted a thread into the needle.'

     b. *If*   *nux-tulku*   *kʻuva*   *řə-ḍ* (*řə-* is a free variant for *t'ə-*)
           s/he   needle-through   thread   insert-IND
           'He pulled the thread through the needle.'

     c. *If*   *nux*   *haq+ləku-ḍ.*
           s/he   needle   hat+pin-IND
           'He pinned the needle to (his) hat.'

25.2.2.2 Verbs taking an object in the nominative case and an object in the dative/additive case

In this group, there are also verbs derived by the means listed in 24.3:

(378) a. *Xaulus ŋays-toχ   ketv-ḍ.*
          paper   wall-DAT/ADD stick-IND
          'The paper stuck to the wall.'

      b. *If   ŋays-**toχ**   χaulus+ketv-**u**-ḍ.*
          s/he wall-DAT/ADD paper+stick-TR-IND
          'He stuck the paper to the wall.'

In sentences with these verbs the nominative object (a movable object) often precedes the object in the dative/additive case (a stationary object), if this is required by the communicative purpose of the utterance. This word order is often perceived as neutral; cf.:

      c. *If   χaulus ŋays-**toχ**   ketv-**u**-ḍ* (the verb is a free variant).
          s/he paper   wall-DAT/ADD stick-TR-IND
          'He stuck the paper to the wall.'

Some verbs taking two objects in the nominative case may change the case form of the noun (if it denotes a stationary object) if is a part of an object complex, thus transforming it into an oblique object; cf.:

(379) a. *If   vəṭ pʻ-huxt+aγ-ḍ.*
          s/he iron REFL-robe+sew-IND
          'She sewed pendants on to her robe'; 'She sewed her robe with pendants.'

      b. *If   vəṭ pʻ-huxt-**roχ**   j-aγ-ḍ* (free variant of the verb).
          s/he iron REFL-robe-DAT/ADD 3SG-sew-IND
          'She sewed pendants on to her robe.'

25.2.2.3 Verbs taking an object in the nominative case and an object in the instrumental case

This case is illustrated in (380) by a transitive verb derived from an intransitive by means of a device mentioned in Section 24.3:

(380) a. *Hontq lumr-kir   ṭʻar-ḍ.*
          sack   sable-INSTR be.filled-IND
          'The bag is full with sables.'

      b. *If   lumr-kir   hontq+sar-**u**-ḍ.*
          s/he sable-INSTR sack+be.full-TR-IND
          'He filled the bag with sables.'

25.2.2.4   *Verbs taking an object in the dative/accusative case and an object in the nominative case*

Here belong causatives in *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* derived from two-place transitives (see 25.2.1).

> (381)   a.   *Utkuōla   p'-ŋafq+vol-u-ḍ.*
> boy   REFL-friend+fall-TR-IND
> 'The boy knocked his friend down.'
>
> b.   *Ñi   utkuōla-aχ   p'-ŋafq+vol-u-gu-ḍ.*
> I   boy-DAT/ACC   REFL-friend+fall-TR-CAUS-IND
> 'I told (let) the boy to knock his friend down.'

25.2.3   Four-place verbs

25.2.3.1   *Verbs taking three objects: Nominative, locative/ablative and instrumental*
So far, few verbs with this valency pattern have been registered. The dative/locative object is usually omitted.

> (382)   *Umgu   j-ux   lumr-ku-gir   iññəḍ+rəkz-ḍ.*
> woman   s/he-LOC/ABL   sable-PL-INSTR   food+barter-IND
> 'The woman bartered sables for food with him.'

> (383)   *Tə+ṭ'o   ñi   j-ux*
> this+fish   I   s/he-LOC/ABL
>
> *ṭ'χa+nik-ɣir   ɣe-ḍ.*
> money+one:three.dimensional.object-INSTR   take-IND
> 'I bought this fish for one rouble from him.'

25.2.3.2   *Causative verbs taking three objects: Dative/accusative, nominative and oblique*
Here belong causatives derived from the groups of verbs considered in Sections 25.2.2.1, 25.2.2.2 and 25.2.2.3. Substitution of the nominative case for the dative/accusative is undesirable. Example (384) illustrates the use of a causative verb from the first group (i.e. from 25.2.2.1):

> (384)   a.   *Umgu   k'uva   nux+t'ə-ḍ.*
> woman   thread   needle+insert-IND
> 'The woman inserted the thread into the needle.'
>
> b.   *If   umgu-aχ   k'uva   nux+t'ə-gu-ḍ.*
> s/he   woman-DAT/ACC   thread   needle+insert-CAUS-IND
> 'He asked the woman to insert the thread into the needle.'

25.2.4 Five-place verbs

This type, so far a hypothetical possibility, could be illustrated by a causative derivative from a verb of the group considered in 25.2.3.1:

(385) a. *Umgu   iv-ux   lumr-ku-gir   i-ñ-nə-ḍ+rəkz-ḍ.*
       woman s/he-LOC/ABL sable-PL-INSTR 3SG-eat-FUT-NML+barter-IND
       'The woman bartered food for sables with him.'

   b. *If   umgu-aχ   iv-ux*
       s/he woman-DAT/ACC s/he-LOC/ABL

       lumr-ku-gir   i-ñ-nə-ḍ+rəkz-gu-ḍ.
       sable-PL-INSTR 3SG-eat-FUT-NML+barter-CAUS-IND

       'He told the woman to barter food for sables with him.'

Semantic classes of verbs

In this chapter we shall consider some verb groups whose semantic peculiarities determine to a greater or lesser degree the following: (1) possibility of their use in certain verbal forms or (2) peculiaritites of their combinability with certain grammatical markers. The classification suggested is provisional and it requires verification on a broader lexical material. It seems expedient to distinguish at least the following semantic classes of verbs.

26.1 Momentatives and non-momentatives

The former are characterized by their non-use in the continuative form (see 20.1.1); therefore the continuative form of the verb *por-* 'lie', 'lie down' is possible and the same form for the verb *p'rə-* 'come' which is a momentative is not (cf. (337c)). A kind of compensation for the verbs of motion is probably the inchoative/progressive suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-* (see Section 24.9).

(386) a. *If   veta-ḍ* (combines with adverbs meaning 'fast').
s/he   dress-IND
'He dressed/was dressing.'

b. *If   veta-r   hum-ḍ* (does not combine with 'fast').
s/he   dress-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
'He was/is dressing'; 'He dressed/dresses.'

Among continuative forms in texts intransitives with meanings like 'play', 'live', 'think', 'cry', 'sleep', 'rest', 'keep silent', 'snore', 'dress', 'undress', 'make noise', 'look', 'pour', 'write' (in absolutive use), etc. are prevalent. With regard to transitives, the continuative form of verbs with meanings like 'fry', 'drink', 'put together', etc., occurs in texts. Emotive verbs with meanings like 'love', 'despise', 'hate' and the like are not used in the continuative. If a momentative verb has a resultative or iterative form the continuative becomes possible:

(387) a. *If   ŋir+ ḍosq-ṭ.*
s/he   cup+break-IND
'He broke a cup.'

b. *If   ŋir+ ḍosq-r   hum-ḍ.
    s/he cup+break-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
    (the continuative is ungrammatical).

c. Ŋir zosq-*xəta*-r   hum-ḍ.
    cup break-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
    'The cup is broken' (continuative formed from resultative).

(388) a. Ōla   pol-ḍ.
           child fall-IND
           'The child fell down.'

b. *Ōla   pol-r   hum-ḍ.
     child fall-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
     (continuative is ungrammatical).

c. Ōla   pol-vol-ḍ (iterative).
    child fall-fall-IND
    'The child falls and rises, falls and rises.'

d. Ōla   pol-vol-r   hum-ḍ.
    child fall-fall-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
    'The child keeps falling' (i.e. he falls, then rises and falls again;
    continuative from iterative).

Thus, a change of the aspectual characteristic of a verb makes its use in the continuative
form possible.

A peculiarity of momentative verbs is that they are either not used in converbal
forms denoting durative actions or interpreted as iterative. Sometimes, the use of their
converbal forms requires preliminary iterativisation or the use in the negative form; cf.:

(389) If   tʼox-ku+kʼu-ke   ṭus   malɣo-ḍ.
       s/he elk-PL+kill-CONV:DUR/INST meat be.much/many-IND
       'He killed and killed elk (and) there was much meat.'

Of course, it is not always possible to find semantic motivation why one or another
grammatical form of a particular verb is or is not possible, as language may be rather
unpredictable and display unaccountable selectivity. But in most cases semantic
motivation is more or less traceable. It finds expression not only in the possible use
of a given form but also in the interpretation of meanings. Thus, it is probably not
accidental that:

1. Derivatives with the suffix *-kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət-* from verbs denoting non-
    momentative actions composed of a number of cycles of subactions and from
    multiplicative actions in general (with meanings like 'run', 'tell', 'jump', 'squeal', but
    not from those meaning 'sing', 'walk') denote completion of an action:

(390) a. *If   ərk   qama-ḍ.*
          s/he   already   run-IND
          'He already started running/ran/runs.'

  b. *If   ərk   qama-ɣət-ṭ.*
          s/he   already   run-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
          'He already finished running.'

2. The form in -*kət*-/-*ɣət*-/-*gət*-/-*xət*- of momentative verbs expressing actions which
    do not presuppose visual completion (like 'enter', 'come', etc.) has no interpretation
    if the subject is singular; if it is plural the form in question has a distributive
    meaning 'each', 'all'; cf.:

(391) a. *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
          s/he   come-IND
          'He came.'

  b. *Imŋ   sək   p'rə-ɣət-ṭ-ɣu.*
          they all   come-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND-PL
          'All of them (each of them?) came (one by one).'

  c. **If   p'rə-ɣət-ṭ.*
           s/he   come-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
           lit. 'He came (one by one).'

3. The -*ɣət*- form of the verb with the meaning 'wait' has no interpretation even if the
    subject is plural:

(392) a. *If   ŋarma-ḍ.*
          s/he   wait-IND
          'He waited/waits.'

  b. **If   ŋarma-ɣət-ṭ.*
           s/he   wait-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

  c. **Imŋ   ŋarma-ɣət-ṭ-ɣu.*
           s/he   wait-DISTR-IND-PL

4. The form in question is derived from verbs denoting state (see (393)) or an action
    resulting in a change of state (see (394)), in which cases it has an intensifying
    meaning:

(393) a. *Paq   tuz-ḍ.*
          porridge   be.cold-IND
          'The porridge is cold.'

  b. *Paq   tuz-ɣət-ṭ.*
          porridge   be.cold-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
          'The porridge is quite cold.'

(394) a. *Paq   ərk   he-ḍ.*
           porridge already be.cooked-IND
           'The porridge has already cooked.'

       b. *Paq   ərk   he-ɣət-ṭ.*
           porridge already be.cooked-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
           'The porridge has already quite cooked.'

26.2   Neutral verbs

This term is used here to refer to verbs denoting both an action and the result of an action; cf.:

(395) *por-*   a. 'lie down'   b. 'lie'
       hurtʻiv-   a. 'sit down'   b. 'sit'
       vesp-   a. 'squat down'   b. 'be squatting'
       kəpr-   a. 'stop'   b. 'stand'
       e-v-/-vo-/-po-/-bo-   a. 'take'   b. 'hold (in one's hands)'
       lez-   a. 'take under the armpit' b. 'carry under the armpit'
       xe-/-kʻe-   a. 'put on (clothes)'   b. 'be in clothes'
       i-ndə-/-ńřə-   a. 'find', 'get sight of'   b. 'see'
       mə-   a. 'get heard'   b. 'hear'
       j-ijm-/-hijm-   a. 'learn'   b. 'know'
       laqva-   a. 'get around (sb)'   b. 'be around', 'surround', etc.

Realization of one or the other meaning of these verbs is context-dependent. There are, however, forms which serve to express the statal meaning of these verbs only. These forms are the continuative and the resultative. They often occur jointly; cf.:

(396) a. *If   por-ḍ.*
           s/he lie-IND
           'He lay down/lay/lies.'

       b. *If   por-r   hum-ḍ.*
           s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
           'He lay/lies' (continuative).

       c. *If   por-ɣata-r   hum-ḍ*
           s/he lie-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
           'He was/is lying' (resultative in the continuative).

Among neutral verbs there are some that stand apart. Thus, for instance, the continuative of the verb *i-ndə-/-ńřə-* (a) 'find', 'get sight of (sth/sb)', (b) 'see' is used in the resultative form only:

(397) a. *If   i-ndə-ḍ.*
           s/he 3SG-see-IND
           'He got sight of/saw/sees it.'

       b. *If   napa i-ndə-ḍ.*
           s/he still 3SG-see-IND
           'He still sees it.'

       c. **If   i-ndə-r   hum-ḍ.*
            s/he 3SG-see-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

       d. *If   i-ndə-**yəta-r**   **hum-ḍ**.*
           s/he 3SG-see-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
           'He sees/saw it.'

A special group of neutral verbs is a subclass of units combining an inchoative (spontaneous process) and a stative meanings. In this latter meaning these verbs join the class of qualitative verbs; cf.:

(398) a. *Eʁ-gur   vukvuk-ṭ.*
           be.fast-ADV:3SG be.dark-IND
           'It grew dark fast.'

       b. *K'lə   vukvuk-ṭ.*
           outside be.dark-IND
           'The street is dark.'

(399) a. *Larq eʁ-gur   ŋalsqo-ḍ.*
           shirt be.fast-ADV:3SG be.dirty-IND
           'The shirt got dirty fast.'

       b. *Larq ŋalsqo-ḍ.*
           shirt be.dirty-IND
           'The shirt is dirty.'

26.3   "Resultative"-terminative verbs

This term is applied to a class of verbs denoting actions which result in a visually observable state. Verbs of this class mostly motivate semantically formation of resultative forms in *-kəta-/-yəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-* with the meaning of state as a result of the prior action (see 24.6).

26.4   Qualitative verbs

Verbs corresponding in meaning to Russian qualitative adjectives (see, for instance, (199), (201)–(202), (311), (323b), (328), (329), (334), (335), (345), (346), (352)–(354),

(360)) have quite a number of specific features distinguishing them from "real" verbs denoting actions and processes. Each of these distinctions is manifested, however, by a greater or lesser number of qualitative verbs rather than by all of them (see Otaina 1978: 51–52, 108).

Thus, qualitative verbs possess the following specific features.

1. They do not occur in multiplicative aspectual forms and they do not possess all the aspectual forms either; they do not occur in the continuative form.
2. The main derivational device for qualitative verbs is stem compounding "noun stem + bound stem".
3. Only 7 per cent of qualitative verbs may occur in the imperative mood – only with the particle *t'a* 'not'.[1]
4. The suffix -*la*- in combination with qualitative verbs may express a variety of meanings, while on other verbs it is monosemous; etc. (see Otaina 1978: 61–64, 109).

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1. In fact, Otaina (1978: 109) asserts that 7 per cent of qualitative verbs occur in the imperative mood with the suffix -*ja*, -*ve*, and five verbs are used in imperative sentences with the negative particle *t'a* 'not'.

Sentence word order

As has been mentioned above, the neutral word order in Nivkh sentences is "subject (often omitted) – direct object – predicate", "attribute – head word". Conjunctive words, if used, usually precede the subject (see 18.2.2). Adverbials of time and place also, it seems, precede the subject in most cases. Adverbials of manner are usually post-posed to the subject. As a rule, converbs which may perform a variety of syntactic functions precede the finite predicate (see 14.5).

The word order in the Nivkh sentence has not been subject of special study. One finds only general statements in the literature on Nivkh grammar. This chapter contains a preliminary discussion of the following issues: (1) the direct object position; (2) the subject position; (3) the predicate position.

It is but natural that the three issues are interrelated and overlap in some aspects (because, for instance, if we consider placement of the direct object before the subject this concerns the subject position as well). Hence numerous cross-references in the sections dealing with the issues listed.

Nivkh syntax is unusual from the viewpoint of the Russian language not only due to the fact that a Nivkh sentence may contain extremely extensive attributive word groups preceding the head word or a large number of words between the subject and predicate, but also due to the nature of combining situations within a single sentence and explicit expression of temporal relations between different actions. In such cases Russian resorts mostly to homogeneous finite predicates or several clauses within a sentence. Thus, the complex situation described below in (400) is likely to be expressed in Russian as follows: (*Naš geroj*) *Ostanovilsja, kak tol'ko kukuška pojavilas' iz otverstija, on vystrelil iz luka* lit. '(Our protagonist) Stopped, took an arrow and a bow and started waiting; as soon as the cuckoo appeared in the opening he made a shot with his bow.' In the Nivkh compound sentence there are three parts of which the first two (subordinate clauses) contain final variable-subject converbs. Thus, the first part (see clauses (a) and (b)) contains the "final" converb of the continuative *taŋra-r hum-ḏ* 'be ready/in readiness.' Two same-subject converbs are dependent on it: *kəpr-ror* 'having stopped' and *-bo-r* (bound variant of the verb *e-v-* 'take', 'hold'). The second part of this complex situation (see part (c)) describes the actions of the cuckoo and contains the "final" converb *p'u-jvo* denoting that the next action (*χa-ḏ* 'made a shot') takes place

exactly at the moment when the cuckoo appears in the opening. Here is this sentence with a literal (as far as possible) translation:

(400) a. *Kəpr-**ror*** *kʻu-γe*
stop-CONV:DST:3SG arrow-COM:DU

puñḍ-γe+bo-r
bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:NAR:3SG

b. *taŋra-**r*** *hum-ke*
be.ready-CONV:NAR:3SG be-CONV:PROGR

c. *pək* *hə+kʻutə-x* *pʻu-jvo*
cuckoo that+hole-LOC/ABL go.out-PROGR

d. *puñḍ-γir* *χa-ḍ.*
bow-INSTR shoot-IND

'At the moment when (he), having stood up, holding the arrow and the bow, was being ready, (at that moment) when the cuckoo was coming out of the opening, (he) shot (at it) from his bow.'

Sentence (401) is even more unusual for speakers of Russian from the viewpoint of the sequence in which the events of a complex situation are presented. The latter situation may be described in Russian as follows: *Mat' skazala, chto srazu posle moego rozhdenija otets uexal i propal* lit. 'Mother said that immediately after my birth (my) father went away and disappeared.' Here is the respective Nivkh text divided into segments each describing a separate event; each segment is supplied with a literal translation:

(401) a. *Ñi nanə pañḍ-ŋan*
I just grow-CONV:ANT/SIM
= 'When I having been just born'

b. *ñ-əmək*
1SG-mother
= 'my mother…'

c. *ñ-ətək* *vi-ke* *pəkz-vu-r*
1SG-father go.away-CONV:DUR/INST disappear-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG
= 'my father going away disappeared'

d. … *it-ra.*
…say-FOC
= '…said.'
'My mother said (that) when I had just been born my father went away (and) disappeared.'

The structure of the Nivkh sentence easily "absorbs" extended non-verbal locative and attributive word groups in pre-position to the finite predicate; cf.:

(402) *Hə+vo-erq-ux* *ṭif* *eri-roχ* *ṭʻaʁ+ŋa+ḍif*
that+village-side-LOC/ABL road river-DAT/ADD water+go.for+road

jiv-ḍ.
have-IND

'From the side of that village there was a road (which people take when) going to fetch water.'

As mentioned, there may be a great distance filled with other sentence components between the subject, usually in the initial position, and the finite predicate concluding the sentence. Sometimes a chain of homogeneous direct objects, the last one forming an object complex with the predicate, looks rather bulky. Thus, in the second sentence (404) the cluster of homogeneous direct objects consists of nine words and three particles.

(403) *Ṭʿam   kəl-kər+vəj+buks+pəyi-r   q̇oz-ux*
shaman   be.long-AUG+lower+tie+drag-CONV:NAR:3SG   neck-LOC/ABL

ṭaχ+hup-ɣəta-r   p̓u-ḍ.
shavings+tie-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG   go.out-IND

'The shaman went out, dragging a long lower tie, being tied round his neck with shavings.'   (Panfilov 1965: 223)

(404) *V-əmək   v-apak-xu-doχ   lumr+t̓o–r*
3SG-mother   3SG-father.in.law-PL-DAT/ADD   sable+carry-CONV:NAR:3SG

vi-ḍ.   Raq+xez+hontq+ñaqr+ke-ḍ.
go-IND   cereal+fish.skin+sack+one:generic+take-IND

Ma+mevsq-hara,   tamɣ+merax-hara,
dried.fish+two:pair.objects-CONJ   tobacco+two:two.dimensional.object-CONJ

t̓om+paɣ+ŋir+ñaqr-hara+rəkz-ḍ.
fat+be.red+cup+one:generic-CONJ+barter-IND

'His mother took a sable to his fathers-in-law. (She) bought one fish-skin sack of cereal. (She) bartered two dried fishes and two leaves of tobacco and one red bowl of fat.'   (Panfilov 1965: 250)

Further on, we shall discuss neutral word order and marked word order. The latter, with the exception of specially defined cases, is not related to emphasis or contrastive stress. Emphasis is usually expressed prosodically by intonation and special grammatical devices: long or open vowels, special particles. Focusing may be indicated by the particle *-ra/-ta/-da*. Thus, in (405) with neutral word order any sentence constituent may be in focus if it is placed sentence-initially and marked with the particle *-ra/-ta/-da*:

(405) *Nəmr   ŋaŋəŋñivɣ-gu pal-ux   q̇otr+ñřə-ḍ.*
yesterday   hunter-PL   forest-LOC/ABL bear+see-IND

'Yesterday the hunters saw a bear in the forest.'

The following words may be placed sentence-initially: *Nəmr-**ta*** 'just yesterday (not the day before yesterday)' (as in 'It was yesterday that …'), *pal-ux-**ta*** 'in the forest (not

on the river bank)' (as in 'It was in the forest that …'), *q'otr-ta* 'a bear (not a wolf)', *ŋaŋəŋñivɣ-gu-da* 'the hunters (not the women)'.

Focusing by means of the particle *-ra/-ta/-da* is not necessarily combined with the initial position of a constituent. Thus, (406a) with the neutral word order allows variants with focusing the subject and object respectively:

(406) a. *Rum Not+xu-ḍ.*
           Rum Not+kill-IND
           'Rum killed Not.'

b. *Rum-ra   Not+xu-ḍ.*
    Rum-FOC Not+kill-IND
    '(It was) Rum (who) had killed Not.'

c. *Not Rum-ra   i-ɣ-ḍ.*
    Not Rum-FOC 3SG-kill-IND
    '(It was) Rum (who) had killed Not' (the stress is stronger than in (406b)).

d. *Rum Not-ra+k'u-ḍ.*
    Rum Not-FOC+kill-IND
    '(It was) Not (whom) Rum had killed.'

e. *Not-ra   Rum i-ɣ-ḍ.*
    Not-FOC Rum 3SG-kill-IND
    '(It was just) Not (whom) Rum had killed.'

27.1 Position of a direct object

Most commonly, the direct object is immediately pre-posed to the predicate and they form an object complex, less frequently the direct object does not enter into a complex with the predicate. In some cases this usage is marked, i.e. it serves the purposes of stressing, underscoring or augmenting it, while in other cases the same position may, on the contrary, be conceived as neutral.

27.1.1 A direct object is in contact pre-position to the predicate and forms a complex with it

This position, as has been mentioned above, is the general rule:

(407) *Aṭik   maṭka-ḍ.   K'u-ɣe*
       younger.sibling be.small-IND arrow-COM:DU

puñḍ-ɣe+bo-ror   p'u–r
bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:DST:3SG go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG

ţevrq+χa-ḍ.
little.bird+shoot-IND

'The younger brother is little. Having taken arrows and a bow, coming out
(of the house he) shoots small birds.'   (Panfilov 1965: 222)

(408) *Hoʁat*   *verex-ko*   *əlţ-ɣo*   *ţʻarb+vur-ţ-ɣu*
     then:3PL   maid-COM:PL   servant-COM:PL   silk+spread-IND-PL
     'Then the maids and the servants spread the silk.'

                         (see 16.5.2; Panfilov 1965: 227)

(409) *I-tʻəmr*   *tʻūr+heqr-erq+tʻiv-ḍ.*
     3SG-polecat fire+place.in.direction.from.shore.toward.inland-side+sit-IND
     'His polecat sits by the fire side with its back to the exit.' (Panfilov 1965: 248)

27.1.2   A direct object is in contact pre-position to the predicate but does not form a complex with it

Two cases should be distinguished here.

In the first case the speaker uses the free variant of the verb in order to stress the
direct object. Thus, in the following sentence the bound variant of the verb is quite
possible as well; cf.:

(410) a.   *Ñi   ñivx+ñin-hagin*   **i-də-doχ**   *qʻau-ḍ.*
          I   man+one:human-even   3SG-see-SUP   not.be-IND
          'I did not see even a single man.'

      b.   *Ñi   ñivx+ñin-hagin+**ňřə-doχ***   *qʻau-ḍ.*
          I   man+one:human-even+see-SUP   not.be-IND
          (same translation).

In the second case the use of the free variant is obligatory. This concerns, for instance,
direct objects if they are extended morphological complexes with the postposition
-romsk/-tomsk 'together.'

(411) *Hoʁor*   *pʻ-nanak+vo-ra,*   *hə+ñivx+bo-ra,*
     then:3SG   REFL-elder.sister+take-COORD:3SG   that+man+take-COORD:3SG

     *imŋ+ŋəŋg-ɣu-**romsk***   *j-up-ra.*
     they+hair-PL-together   3SG-tie-COORD:3SG

     'Then (he) took his elder sister, took that man, tied their hair together.'

                         (Panfilov 1965: 229)

(412) *Qan   ŋəñf+meqr-**tomsk***   *e-v-ror*   *ve-ḍ.*
     dog   bone+two:generic-together   3SG-take-CONV:DST:3SG   run-IND
     'The dog, having taken both bones, ran (away).'

The substantive use of transitive verbs marked with the nominalising suffix -ḍ/-ṭ which is not quite clear (see 16.8.1.2.1), probably belongs to the second case. In Example (413) the forms *j-e-ḍ* and *j-aq-ṭ* function as direct objects of the respective same-stem verbs. The latter, however, are for some reason used as free variants: *j-e-ta* instead of *-he-ta* and *j-aq-ta* instead of *-haq-ta*:

(413)   Q'aṭq'aṭ+i-ñ-nəḍ+řak-ṭ-ɣu.   J-e-ḍ
        various+3SG-eat-FUT-NML+bring.home-IND-PL 3SG-cook-NML

        j-e-ta   řa-ta   ralvu j-aq-ṭ
        3SG-cook-COORD:3PL fry-COORD:3PL raw   3SG-cut-NML

        j-aq-ta.[1]
        3SG-cut-COORD:3PL

        '(They) brought in all kinds of food. What was to be boiled (they) boiled, what should be fried (they) fried, what raw (food) was to be cut (they) cut.'

27.1.3   A direct object is in non-contact pre-position to the predicate

It is obvious in this instance that the direct object cannot form a complex with the predicate. Three cases can be distinguished here in accordance with the function of the constituent placed between the object and the predicate: they may be divided by (1) an oblique object, (2) an adverbial modifier, (3) the subject (see also Panfilov 1954: 21–22).

27.1.3.1   *An oblique object between a direct object and predicate*

Oblique objects are all those actants which are determined by the verbal meaning; they denote a human addressee or the place where the object is placed (see 25.2.2.2; 25.2.2.3; 25.2.2.4; 25.2.3.1). In (414a) the direct object *ṭ'o* 'fish' is somewhat more prominent in comparison with (414b):

(414)   a.   *Ñi añ-añ-ŋara*   *ṭ'o   ṭ'əŋ-doχ*
             I   year-year-ADV:TEMP   fish   you:PL-DAT/ADD

             oyske-t   *ṭ'əŋ-aχ*   *i-ñ-t*
             send-CONV:NAR:1SG you:PL-DAT/ACC 3SG-eat-CONV:NAR:1SG

             morqa-gu-ḍ-ra.
             be.alive-CAUS-IND-FOC

             'Every year I sent fish to you (as a present), feeding you, I let you stay alive.'

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1.   *ralvu* is a form derived from the verb *talva-* 'be raw'.

Cf.:   b.   *Ñi   añ-añ-ŋara*   *ṭ'əŋ-doχ*
            I   year-year-ADV:TEMP   you:PL-DAT/ADD

            ṭ'o+oɣske-t …
            fish+send-CONV:NAR:1SG

            'Every year I sent you fish (as a present) …'

In the last sentence of (415a) the placement of the direct object *Lumr* 'sable' in sentence-initial position is probably determined by the theme of the sentence rather that by a desire to make it more prominent. The point is, the passage is about the sable and placing the word 'trap' in the initial position would mean stressing this word. Thus, object inversion here sounds more neutral than their more usual sequence (cf. (378b):

(415)   a.   *Honke   p'u–r*   *p'-narʙo-ḍ+aima-ḍ.*
            then   go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   REFL-set.trap-NML+look-IND

            Pil-kər+lumr   *rulku-r*   *mu-r*
            be.big-AUG+sable   get.into-CONV:NAR:3SG   die-CONV:NAR:3SG

            hum-ḍ.   Qlaj+ɣe-r   *řək-ṭ.*   ***Lumr***
            be-IND   trap+take-CONV:NAR:3SG   bring.home-IND   sable

            qlaj-ux   *səu-ḍ.*
            trap-LOC/ABL   take.out-IND

            'Then (he), going out, checked his trap. A very big sable got (caught) and was dead (in it).Taking the trap (he) brought it in. (He) took the sable out of the trap.'   (Panfilov 1965: 248)

Cf.:   b.   *… Qlaj+ɣe-r*   *řək-ṭ.*   *Qlaj-ux*
            trap+take-CONV:NAR:3SG   bring.home-IND   trap-LOC/ABL

            lumr+ṭ'əu-ḍ.
            sable+take.out-IND

            '…Taking the trap (he) brought it in. (He) took the sable out of the trap.'

In (416) the object inversion is aimed at making the direct object more prominent:

(416)   *If   imŋ   t'ūr+p'u–f+k'əz-ror*   *ŋəñf-ku   sək*
         s/he   they   fire+kindle-NML:LOC+dig-CONV:DST:3SG   bone-PL   all

         hur-me-rχ   *j-uṭi-ḍ.*
         there-inside-DAT/ADD   3SG-put.in-IND

         'Having dug up the place where they made a fire, he put in all the bones inside there' (cf. also (411)).

Due to object inversion, the object in the oblique case finds itself in immediate pre-position to the predicate. Naturally it never constitutes an object complex with a

transitive verb. Moreover, if an inverted object in the nominative case, if it is inverted and not a basically direct object, happens to be in contact with the predicate, an object complex with the predicate is not possible either (see (377b)).

The possibility of contact position of an oblique object denoting direction with a transitive verb is semantically motivated, in particular, by the fact that in sentences with two nominative objects the immediately pre-posed object (constituting a complex with the predicate) is usually the one denoting a stationary entity – place or addressee, and this often makes it possible to change it into an oblique object. Thus, (417b) is an example containing an oblique object instead of the direct one and a free variant of a transitive verb:

(417) a. *Hoʁor ŋir hemañaχ+kʻim-ḍ.*
    then:3SG cup old.woman+give-IND
    'Then he gave the cup to the old woman.'

   b. *Hoʁor ŋir hemañaχ-toχ   i-mə-ḍ.*
    then:3SG cup old.woman-DAT/ADD 3SG-give-IND
    'Then he gave the cup to the old woman.'   (Panfilov 1965: 226)

As mentioned above, contact pre-position of the second object in the nominative case (a moveable entity) does not entail forming an object complex with the predicate:

   c. *Qʻo-ror   tʻət   oz-ŋan*
    sleep-CONV:DST:3SG morning get.up-CONV:ANT/SIM

    v-emañaχ   ilγ+hās   i-mə-ḍ.
    3SG-old.woman be.chamois-clothes 3SG-give-IND

    'When after sleep (he) got up in the morning, his old woman gave him his chamois clothes.'   (Panfilov 1965: 226)

27.1.3.2 *An adverbial modifier between a direct object and predicate*

This case is more common in texts than the previous one, which is probably due to the relatively limited number of three-place verbs.

In the overwhelming majority of cases underived adverbs or those in *-gu-r, -gu-t* are inserted between a direct object and predicate. Especially common are adverbs characterizing the object quantitatively; their meanings are 'many', 'few', 'singly', etc. The semantic proximity of these adverbs to the objects favours, it seems, their relatively frequent contact use with transitives.

(418) *Ñi ṭʻo ñeñaq řəpr-ṭ.*
    I fish a.little bring-IND
    'I brought a little fish.'

(419) *Umgu-gu als eryale   fe-t*
    woman-PL berry much/many pick-CONV:NAR:3PL

řo-t   *pʼrə-ḍ.*
carry-CONV:NAR:3PL   come-IND

'Having gathered a lot of berries, the women brought (them)', lit. 'came bringing.'

(420)   *If*   *als*
       s/he berry

       ñik-ñik-gur
       one:three.dimensional.object-one:three.dimensional.object-ADV:3SG

       fe-ḍ.
       pick-IND

       'He gathered berries one by one.'

(421)   *Hoвot*   *pʼ-əkən-ge*   *men,*
       then:3PL REFL-elder.brother-COM:DU two:humans

       ñin-ñin+ñivx   *umgu*
       one:human-one:human+man   woman

       men-men-gut   *γe-ḍ-γu.*
       two:human-two:human-ADV:3PL   take-IND-PL

       'Then the men, two brothers (together), took two wives each.'

In the following two examples the direct object is placed in the initial position of a sentence or predicate group, and in the thematic position. In (422b) the direct object position is symmetrical to that of the subject of the preceding sentence. This word order is more neutral than in (423b) in which the adverb *talva-gut* 'raw' is made prominent.

(422)   a.   *Lums lili qʻau-ta,*   *laŋr+ṭus+park*
             food very not.be-COORD:3PL seal+meat+only

             talva-gut   *i-ñ-ta.*
             be.raw-ADV:3PL   3PL-eat-COORD:3PL

             'There is no food at all, (they) only eat seal-meat raw.'

       b.   *Lums lili qʻau-ta,*   **talva-gut**
             food very not.be-COORD:3PL be.raw-ADV:3PL

             laŋr+ṭus+park   *i-ñ-ta.*
             seal+meat+only   3PL-eat-COORD:3PL

             'There is no food at all, (they) only eat seal-meat raw.'

(423)   *Tʻəi-r*   *tʻūr+añma-ḍ. Lumr+ṭus   eryali*
       dream-CONV:NAR:3SG fire+look-IND sable+meat much/many

       řa-r   *hum-ḍ.*
       fry-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

       'Dreaming (he) looked at the fire. (On it he) is frying much sable meat.'

                                             (Panfilov 1965: 248)

(424) *T'ūr pil-kar+t'ūr   u-ra.   Lumr+ţus*
       fire   be.big-AUG+fire burn-COORD:3SG sable+meat

       malɣo-gur   řa-ra.
       fry-ADV:3SG   be.much/many-ADV:3SG

       'A fire, a very big fire burns. (He) fries sable meat in large quantities.'
                                                     (Panfilov 1965: 249)

In (425) the adverb *ərɣali* 'much/many' first precedes the direct object and in the second instance it is inserted between the object and the predicate with the purpose of giving prominence to the object, it seems:

(425) *Pal-roχ   mər-ʁar   erɣali-erɣali*
       forest-DAT/ADD   descend-CONV:SUBJ much/many-much/many

       ŋa+xu-ta,   tol-roχ   məx-qar   ţ'o
       animal+kill-COORD:3PL water-DAT/ADD   descend-CONV:SUBJ fish

       erɣali   i-x-ta.
       much/many   3SG-kill-COORD:3PL

       'If (he) goes to the forest (he) will kill many many animals, if (he) goes to sea (he) will catch much fish.'[2]

In (426a) and (426b) the same adverbial of place is used. In the first case the object is stressed, and in the second the neutral word order is used:

(426) a. *"Oz-ja   qlaj+lət-ja,   haror*
           get.up-IMP:2SG   trap+make-IMP:2SG after.that:2SG

          řo-r   p'u-ja.   Řo-r
          carry-CONV:NAR:2SG go.out-IMP:2SG carry-CONV:NAR:2SG

          p'u–r   p'-χalŋər-aqr-toχ
          go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-hut-place.in.lower.side.direction-DAT/ADD

          řo-r   vi-r,   ŋarʁo-ja.
          carry-CONV:NAR:2SG go-CONV:NAR:2SG   set.trap-IMP:2SG

          Lumr+ţif   p'-ŋarʁo-d̦-erq-toχ   lət-ja."
          sable+footprint REFL-set.trap-NML-side-DAT/ADD make-IMP:2SG

          'Get up, make a trap, then take it out. Taking out, carrying (it) in the direction of your hut, hunt. Make sable footprints in the direction of your trap.'   (Panfilov 1965: 248)

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2. There seems to be a mistake in the authors' translation: the coordinating suffix on the verbs in the Nivkh sentence is plural.

    b.   *Añʈəj*   *qlaj-erq-toχ*   *lumr+ʈif+lət-ʈ.*
          again   trap-side-DAT/ADD   sable+footprint+make-IND
          'Again in the direction of the trap (he) made sable footprints.'

                                              (Panfilov 1965: 248)

Compare also:

(427)   *"P'i-nə-γu*   *nama-gur*   *i-γn-ja".*
       REFL-POSS-PL   be.good-ADV:2SG   3SG-carry-IMP:2SG
       'Carry your things carefully.'   (Panfilov 1965: 249)

A converb is rather infrequently placed between a direct object and predicate. In sentence-initial position it acquires prominence:

(428)   **P'er-r**   *q'o-ḍ.*   *T'əi-ḍ.*   *Qalʁali+t'əmr*
       tire-CONV:NAR:3SG   sleep-IND   dream-IND   be.light.coloured+polecat

       t'əi-r   *i-də-ḍ.*
       dream-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-see-IND

       'Getting tired, (he) fell asleep. (He) had a dream. In (his) dream (he) saw a
       white polecat.'   (Panfilov 1965: 248)

27.1.3.3   *The subject between a direct object and predicate*
Such cases are rather rare. Inversion of a direct object is used in order to make it prominent.

(429)   *Ena+ʈ'o-γu,*   *pχaʈpχaʈ+ʈ'o-γu,*   *hə+ñivx*   *e-sqa-ḍ-ra.*
       be.another+fish-PL   be.different+fish-PL   that+man   3SG-not.like-IND-FOC
       'Other kinds of fish, different kinds of fish, this man does not accept.'

(430)   *Tə+ʈ'o*   *ñi*   *j-ux*
       this+fish   I   s/he-LOC/ABL

       ʈ'χa+nik-γir   *γe-ḍ.*
       money+one:three.dimensional.object-INSTR   take-IND
       'I bought (lit. 'took') this fish from him for one ruble.'

27.1.3.4   *A direct object follows the predicate*
There are two possibilities: (1) the entire direct object group is post-posed to the predicate; (2) one of a number of direct objects precedes the predicate and forms a complex with it, and some of them follow the predicate as a kind of supplement.

    In (431) the predicate position is accounted for by an intention to achieve parallel structuring of both clauses within a complex sentence and stressing it at the same time:

(431)　*Zis-kir*　　　　*j-ar-doχ*　　　*q'au-k,*　　　　*ərtə-ərtə*
　　　　dry.food-INSTR 3SG-feed-SUP not.be-NML:SUBJ always-always

　　　　j-əu-doχ+park　　　　　　　　　[*hum-ḍ*] *pila+qan-gu*
　　　　3SG-feed.with.liquid.food-SUP+only be-IND　be.big+dog-PL

　　　　ŋajaq-xu,　añax-ku.
　　　　puppy-PL　bitch-PL

　　　　'(They) did not feed them on dry rations, always fed grown dogs, puppies,
　　　　bitches with liquid food.'

In the following two sentences the predicate is followed by the objects specifying the
object pre-posed to it in (432), and in (433) the predicate is preceded by one direct
object, though not in contact with it, and followed by two more:

(432)　*Hə+ŋamg+ñivx*　*t'u-rχ*　　　　　*i-ñ-nəḍ-ɣu+qoñḍi-ḍ-ɣu.*
　　　　that+seven+man　sledge-DAT/ADD　3SG-eat-FUT-NML-PL+load-IND-PL

　　　　moz-e　　　　　*ṭuz-e.*
　　　　jellied.meat-and　meat-and

　　　　'Those seven men loaded the food on the sledge, jellied meat and meat.'

(433)　*V-əmək*　　　*v-apak-xu-doχ*　　　　　　　*lumr+t'o–r*
　　　　3SG-mother　3SG-father.in.law-PL-DAT/ADD　sable+carry-CONV:NAR:3SG

　　　　vi-ḍ.　　Raq　　ñeñaq rəkz-ḍ.　　Ma+pasq-hara,
　　　　go-IND　cereal　a.little　barter-IND　dried.fish+half-CONJ

　　　　tamɣ+ñrax-hara.
　　　　tobacco+one:two.dimensional.object-CONJ

　　　　'His mother went to his fathers-in-law carrying a sable. (She) bartered a
　　　　little cereals. And half a dried fish and a leaf of tobacco.' (Panfilov 1965: 249)

27.2　Subject position

With partial repetition, this section deals with the main positions the subject may
occupy in the Nivkh sentence.

27.2.1　The subject is in sentence-initial position

This position of the subject is prevalent in texts. We may include here the use of the
subject after conjunctive words which, as a rule, immediately precede the subject
thus connecting the sentence with the previous one. A conjunctive word can often be
replaced by the last verb of the preceding sentence in the converbal form with the same
marker as on the conjunctive word; cf.:

(434)　*Hoŋgur*　　　　(*hə+umgu*)　*p'rə-jvu-ḍ.*　　　　　*ɦoʁoŋan*
　　　　in.that.way:3SG　that+woman　come-INCH/PROGR-IND　then

(→ *p'rə-jvu-**ŋan***)   if   *k'əmlə-ḍ* …
come-INCH/PROGR-CONV:ANT/SIM s/he think-IND…

'Thus (this woman) was approaching. Then (→ while approaching) she thought …'

Most frequently the subject is omitted in narration. As the narration is told in the 3rd person the singular or plural number of the subject is usually indicated by the agreement markers (-*r* for 3SG and -*t* for 3PL) of the initial converb or conjunctive word; e.g.:

(435)   *Ноʁоŋan   mer+ŋafq* (A)   *k'əmlə-ḍ* (A).   *Por-r*
         then   we:INCL+friend think-IND   lie-CONV:NAR:3SG

         hum-r   puñḍ+vo-ra   k'u+vo-ra.
         be-CONV:NAR:3SG bow+take-COORD:3SG arrow+take-COORD:3SG

         Ноʁorot (A)   *hə+ŋa+χa-ḍ.*   *Ноʁoŋan*
         after.that:3SG that+animal+shoot-IND   then

         i–k'u (B)   *mər-r   hə+ŋa+ra-ḍ.*   *Ноʁoŋan*
         3SG-arrow   ascend-CONV:NAR:3SG that+animal+hit-IND   then

         hə+ŋa (B)   *kut-ţ* (B).   *Kut-ra   q'au-ɣətə-ra.*
         that+animal   fall-IND   fall-COORD:3SG   not.be-RES-COORD:3SG

         Ноʁorot (B)   *miv-mi-rχ   it-ţ* …
         after.that:3SG earth-inside-DAT/ADD say-IND

         'Then our friend thought (for a while). Lying, (he) took a bow, took an arrow. After that (he) shot at that animal. Then his arrow, flying, hit that animal. Then this animal fell. (It) fell and disappeared (entirely). Then (he) says into the ground ….'   (Panfilov 1965: 228)

In this passage there are seven sentences. The subjects denote three referents: a human agent, an arrow and an animal. The protagonist is named in the first sentence only. Similarly in the case of the subject denoting the animal. Thus, in seven sentences there are subjects in three sentences only, when a new subject is introduced. The conjunctive words are used in five sentences out of seven. In three sentences they precede the subject. Their positions cannot be exchanged.

27.2.2   The subject is preceded by an object, direct or oblique

This sequence usually stresses the object thus making it more prominent; cf.:

(436)   a.   *"Ōla!   Ţ'i   atak+vapak+zosq-əjra* …"(neutral WO)
               child you:SG grandfather+toy+break-PREV:2SG
               'Sonny! Don't break grandfather's toy …'

b. *"Ōla! Atak+vapak   ţ'i   zosq-əjra …"*
    child grandfather+toy you:SG break-PREV:2SG
    'Sonny! Grandfather's toy, don't break it ….' (see also 27.1.3.3)

<div align="right">(Panfilov 1965: 224)</div>

(437) *"Asqaḍ-aχ   ţ'əŋ+ir-ge   er-ge*
       youngest-DAT/ACC you:PL+father-COM:DU mother-COM:DU

       məy-gu-jnə-ḍ-ra."
       descend-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND-FOC

       'Your father and mother ask the youngest (sister) to come.'
       (On the dual suffix *-ke/-γe/-ge/-xe* see 16.5.1.)

(438) *Tə+q'oʁa+ur-la+ñivγ-doχ-ti*   if   qala-ḍ.
       this+nature+be.good-PERM+man-DAT/ADD-even s/he hate-IND
       'He does not like even this very kind man.'

27.2.3 The subject is preceded by an adverbial

There are several cases that attract attention in the first place.

Being dependent on the predicate, adverbials of manner do not as a rule take a position before the subject. Their usual position is before a direct object or immediately before the predicate (see, for instance, (421)–(425)).

Adverbials like *ţəj* 'again', 'some more', 'one more' are attributed to the constituent in immediate contact, therefore, when related to the subject, they are pre-posed to it; cf.:

(439) a. *Hoʁar   ţəj   t'opip+ñən   p'rə-r*
           then:3SG again jay+one:non.human come-CONV:NAR:3SG

           hurt'iv-ra…
           sit-COORD:3SG

           'Then one more jay, flying up, perched ….'   (Panfilov 1965: 228)

       b. *Hoʁar   t'opip+ñən   ţəj   p'rə-r*
           then:3SG jay+one:non.human again come-CONV:NAR:3SG

           hurt'iv-ra …
           sit-COORD:3SG

           'Then one jay, flying up again, perched …'

If they are a part of the theme converbs also precede the subject:

(440) *Q'o-jnə-r   ŋəŋə. Ţəi-r*
       sleep-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG dream dream-CONV:NAR:3SG

       añţəj i–t'əmr   xez-ḍ.
       again 3SG-polecat say-IND

       'Wanting to sleep, (he) dreams (= an ideophone). In (his) dream again his polecat tells (him).'

Compare the following sentence with the adverbial of time *t'ət* 'in the morning':

(441) … *q'o-ta.* **T'ət** *umgu* *oz-ra*
sleep-COORD:3PL morning woman get.up-COORD:3SG

t'ūr+p'u-ra …
fire+kindle-COORD:3SG

'… (They) sleep. In the morning the wife gets up, makes fire …'

An adverbial of place included in the theme precedes the subject in a neutral context; initial position of the subject serves to make it prominent; cf. (in (442) this concerns the initial position of the subject in the main clause which is preceded by a subordinate clause with its own subject):

(442) *Ноʁоr* *p'-saqo+səu-r* *vi-r*
then:3SG REFL-knife+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG go-CONV:NAR:3SG

olγoŋ+qoχ+ʈ'ev-r *j-əŋg-ḍ.* *If*
pig+belly+stick-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-rip.up-IND s/he

j-əŋg-ŋan,
3SG-rip.up-CONV:ANT/SIM

a. **olγoŋ+qoʁ-ux** *vaqej+ñaqr* *p'u-ḍ*
pig+belly-LOC/ABL box+one:generic go.out-IND

b. **vaqej+ñaqr** *olγoŋ+qoʁ-ux* *p'u-ḍ.*
box+one:generic pig+belly-LOC/ABL go.out-IND

'Then, having taken out his knife, coming up, plunging (it) into the pig's belly, (he) ripped it up. When he ripped it up,

a. from the pig's belly a box came out;

b. a box came out of the pig's belly' (Panfilov 1965: 224).

(443) *Ʈ'o-γu p'u–t* *k'ə-ḍ* … **Eri-mi-x**
fish-PL go.out-CONV:NAR:3PL be.skilful-IND river-inside-LOC

ʈ'o *tam-ḍ.*
fish be.numerous-IND

'Jumping out (of the water), fishes play … There is a lot of fish in the river.'

Adverbials of place determining the entire sentence, especially in the context of visual perception of relevant spatial reference points, usually precede the subject. They may be extended word groups and there may be two or more of them; e.g.:

(444) *Vi-ke* *if* *j-aima-ḍ:*
go-CONV:DUR/INST s/he 3SG-look-IND

t'ə-l-v-uin *ʈif-akr+pasq-uin-hara*
be.remote-PERM-NML:LOC-LOC road-that.direction+half-LOC-CONJ

> *tukr+pasq-uin-hara*   *qat+liys-ku*   *hurtov-t*
> here+half-LOC-CONJ   be.bald+wolf-PL   tie-CONV:NAR:3PL
>
> *hum-ḍ-γu.*
> be-IND-PL

'While walking he saw: far away on that side of the road and on this side wolves with their fur coming off were tied' (Panfilov 1965: 228). (The last predicate is a continuative form with a resultative meaning.)

(445)   *Təvu-ŋan*   *j-ajma-ḍ.*   *Pal-erq-uin*
          enter.house-CONV:ANT/SIM   3SG-look-IND   forest-side-LOC

pil-kər+ñivx
big-AUG+man

heqr+ʈʼeʼe–r
place.in.direction.from.shore.toward.inland+turn-CONV:NAR:3SG

por-ra,   *i-laʁa-in*   *umgu+ñin*
lie-COORD:3SG   s/he-next.to-LOC   woman+one:human

por-ra.
lie-COORD:3SG

'Entering the house, (he) looks. On the side of the forest, a very big man lies (with his face) turned (from the door), next to him a woman lies.'
                                                                 (Panfilov 1965: 229)

(446)   *Hoŋke*   *ximi-doχ*   *j-ajma-ŋan*
          at.this.time   up-DAT/ADD   3SG-look:CONV:ANT/SIM

i-ʈoŋr-kʼikr-uin   *tʼoz-uin*   *pək*   *hurtʼiv-r*
3SG-head-direction.up-LOC   bough-LOC   cuckoo   sit-CONV:NAR:3SG

hum-ḍ.
be-IND

'At this time, when (he) looked up, above his head, on a bough a cuckoo was perching.'   (Panfilov 1965: 229)

27.2.4   The subject is preceded by the predicate

In all the registered instances of this sequence the predicate is an intransitive verb. Once a two-place transitive is used but it occurs without its object. The latter is present when the same verb is used a second time, this time in the final position. In all the examples the predicate occupies the most unusual position and is heavily stressed; a pause is possible after it.

(447)   *Qʼo-ke*   *v-əmək*   *urk*   *jəri-ḍ …*
          sleep-CONV:DUR/INST   3SG-mother   night   wake.up-IND

> *hoke q'o-ḍ añṭəj v-əmək …*
> then sleep-IND again 3SG-mother …
> 'When (they) slept his mother woke up at night … Some time later his mother fell asleep again….' (Panfilov 1965: 250)

(448) *Новаŋan q'auta-ra hə+əu …*
then disappear-FOC that+voice
'Then that voice disappeared…'

(449) *P'-lumr-ku t'ləhontq+si-r hum-ḍ. Ṭ'ar-ḍ*
REFL-sable-PL hunting.bag+put-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND be.full-IND

ərk t'ləhontq+ñaqr, lumr-kir ṭ'ar-ḍ.
already hunting.bag+one:generic sable-INSTR be.full-IND

'(He) is putting his sables into the hunting bag. One hunting bag is already filled with sables.' (Panfilov 1965: 249)

The following instance is more complicated. It contains two predicates related to one subject expressed by a substantivised verb. First we shall cite the underlying sentences and next, the derived one with homogeneous predicates. The fronted predicate is highly prominent:

(450) a. *P'rə-ḍ-ɣu men ha-doχ q'au-ḍ.*
come-NML-PL two:human be.so-SUP not.be-IND
'The newcomers are not two in number.'

b. *P'rə-ḍ-ɣu tam-jo-ḍ.*
come-NML-PL be.numerous-DIMN-IND
'The newcomers are more numerous.' 'More than two have come.'

c. *Men ha-doχ q'au-ḍ p'rə-ḍ-ɣu,*
two:human be.so-SUP not.be-IND come-IND-PL

tam-jo-ḍ.
be.numerous-DIMN-IND

'Not two have come, more.'

27.3 Predicate position

The predicate is sentence final. This is its typical position. For prominence, as has just been mentioned, the predicate can be placed before the subject (see 27.2.4). One more position is possible for the predicate which is probably a variant of the final position. In this case after the final predicate, or rather, at the end of the main part of a sentence, separate sentence constituents may be placed, viz. adverbials and objects. These are

rather rare cases. Such isolated (?) words carry more stress than in their usual position, i.e. before the predicate; cf.:

(451) a. *Ňřak-at   ṭaqrm   ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-t*
           once-FOC three.together fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3PL

           vi-ɣət-ṭ.
           go-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

           'Once three (of them) together set out to catch fish.'

       b. *Ňřak-at   ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-t*
           once-FOC fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3PL

           vi-ɣət-ṭ   ṭaqrm.
           go-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND three.together

           'Once (they) set out to catch fish, three of them together.'

(452) *Ku   if   e-sp-ijnə-ra   ha+ñivx*
        that s/he 3SG-stick-DES/INCH-FOC be.so+man

        poj   ha-r   təvə-ḍ   e-rχ.
        just.such be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG enter.house-IND s/he-DAT/ADD

        'That (man) he wanted (yet) to prick, being just like him, entered to him'
        (the verb form in *-ra ha-ḍ* is used attributively; see 20.1.3; *poj* is an ideo-
        phone denoting entire similarity).

(453) *If   hukr-toχ   qama-r   vi-ḍ*
        s/he there-DAT/ADD run-CONV:NAR:3SG go-IND

        kər-doχ-ti   q'au-r.
        stay-SUP-even not.be-CONV:NAR:3SG

        'He was running there without even stopping.'

Sometimes, there occurs a sequence of sentences each containing an adverbial modi-
fier in sentence-final position after the predicate. Such symmetrical positioning of
adverbials lays particular stress on their content; cf.:

(454) a. *Maṭkilk+təf+lət-r   hum-ḍ-ra.*
           be.small+house+make-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND-FOC
           'Building a small house, (he) lived.'

       b. *Laŋr+ŋəŋ-r   i-ɣ-re   eryali.*
           seal+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-kill-FOC many
           'Hunting seals, (he) killed many.'

       c. *Ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-r   pota-re   eryali.*
           fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG lay.in.stock-FOC much/many
           'Catching fish, (he) laid much in store.'

       d. *Ma   əlyi-ra,   ŋoɣ əlyi-ra.*
           dry.fish be.abundant-COORD:3SG fat be.abundant-COORD:3SG
           'Dry fish was in abundance, fat was in abundance.'

e. *Añax-ku ŋajaq+pañ-ḍ   eryali.*
bitch-PL   puppy+grow-IND much/many
'Bitches had many puppies.'

f. *Qan pañḍ-ur-ḍ   malyo-gur.*[3]
dog grow-be.good-IND be.much/many-ADV:3SG
'The dogs grew up well, many of them.'

g. *Əlyi-r   hu-yəta-r   hum-ḍ.*
be.abundant-CONV:NAR:3SG live-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
'(He) is rich', '(He) lives in riches' (continuative verb form; the meaning of -*yəta*- is not clear here.)

The finite predicate is more often followed by a converb in -*ŋan* 'when' than by other converbs:

(455) *Ñivɣ-gu ja-ʁan   pal+fi-vu-t,*
man-PL   s/he-RNOM forest+be.smwh-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL

i-dəf   u-ŋan.
3SG-house burn-CONV:ANT/SIM

'People say (that) he was in the forest when his house was on fire' (on the pronominal case form see 16.2.2.1).

Means of introducing direct speech

The following features are relevant for the description of the means of introducing direct speech:

1. Presence/absence of a verb introducing direct speech.
2. Position of the introductory verb relative to the direct speech and
3. Its semantic characteristics – a verb of speech or some other class.
4. Presence/absence of the conjunctive word **ha-r**, **ha-t** 'thus.'
5. The finite or converbal form of the introductory verb.

Direct speech may render not only what has been actually said but also desire, thoughts, feelings, sensations, etc.

28.1   The introductory verb denotes speech

The most commonly used verbs of speech are *it-* 'say', *xez-/-kʼez-* 'say', *kʼəmlə-* 'think', *pʼolaɣ-* 'shout', *lu-* 'sing', *kʼespʼur-* 'tell, narrate, talk', *j-ot-/-ot-* 'ask', *e-ʁz-/-qʼez-/-χez-* 'think.'

28.1.1   Positional characteristics of the introductory verbs

Most frequently a verb of speech precedes the direct speech:

(456)   Ñaɣr   vi-ror,   pʼrə-r   ral+kʼez-ḍ: "Ŋafq-a!
        rat   go-CONV:DST:3SG   come-CONV:NAR:3SG   frog+say-IND   friend-VOC

        Ŋafq-a!   Ñ-at   kəp+ram-la-v+ñřə-ḍ-ra."
        friend-VOC   I-FOC   bird.cherry+be.numerous-PERM-NML:LOC+see-IND-FOC

        'Having gone, returning, the rat said to the frog: "Friend! Friend! I saw a
        place abundant in bird cherries". '   (Krejnovich 1934:220)

(457)   Ṭʼam   lu-ḍ: "Ūməv+ñivx   mər-ivu-ra …"
        shaman   sing-IND   be.brave+man   ascend-INCH/PROGR-COORD:3SG
        'The shaman sang: "The brave man is ascending …."   (Panfilov 1965:226)

(458)   *Ho вor   if   k'əmlə-ḑ: "Ey-t*
        then:3SG   s/he   think-IND   return.home-CONV:NAR:1SG

        p'-rəf-toχ   vi-nəxta",   ho вor   vi-ḑ.
        REFL-house-DAT/ADD   go-IMP:1SG   then:3SG   go-IND

        'Then he thought: "Let (me) return to my house." Then (he) went.'
        (Panfilov 1965: 225)

Less commonly direct speech is followed by the introductory verb. In this case the direct speech is often preceded by a sentence describing the approach of the speaker to the addressee:

(459)   *… Hə+ōla-doχ   vi-ḑ.   "Vo   ərk*
           that+child-DAT/ADD   go-IND   village   already

        mala-ḑ-la?"   – j-ot-ṭ.
        be.near-IND-Q   3SG-ask-IND

        '… (he) came up to that child. "Is the village near already?" – (he) asked.'

The introductory verb may follow one sentence and at the same time precede the following sentences of direct speech:

(460)   *Ūrut   təvy-ḑ   "Hela,   ṭ'-aχ*
        together   enter.house-IND   well   you:SG-DAT/ACC

        ey-t   vi-gu-nə-ḑ-ra"   – hemar   it-ṭ.
        return.home-CONV:NAR:1SG   go-CAUS-FUT-IND-FOC   old.man   say-IND

        "Vi-ŋan   ṭai   t'a   marṭsa-gir
        go-CONV:ANT/SIM   again   NEG   forked.spit-INSTR

        ṭ'o+řa-itla.   Uiy-ḑ-ra …"
        fish+fry-PREV:2PL   be.sinful-IND-FOC

        'Together (they) entered the house. "Well, (I'll) send you back home", the old man says. "When you arrive (home) do not fry fish on a forked spit any more. It is sinful…."'   (Panfilov 1965: 245)

And finally, direct speech may be framed by introductory verbs:

(461)   *K'əmlə-r   hum-ḑ: "Kerq-toχ   vi-t*
        think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND   sea-DAT/ADD   go-CONV:NAR:1SG

        j-əjm-inə-ḑ."   K'əmlə-r   hum-ḑ.
        3SG-know-DES/INCH-IND   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND

        '(He) thinks: "Going to the sea (I) will recognize it". (He) thinks.'
        (Panfilov 1965: 241)

28.1.2   The auxiliary word *ha-r*, *ha-t*

By origin, this word is a converb in *-r, -t* of the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'be so', 'be such', 'be like that', 'do so'. This auxiliary word is used in one position only: it concludes direct speech, being pre-posed to the speech verb. As it seems, the form *ha-gu-r* is preferable instead of *ha-r* if direct speech and introductory clause have different subjects (cf. (463a) and (463b):

(462)   *"If   p'rə-ʁaj,   ñi*
        s/he come-COND I

        toŋgut   j-az-nə-ḍ-ra"
        in.this.way:1SG 3SG-take.between.teeth-FUT-IND-FOC

    –   **ha-r**   *ñaqr*   *it-ţ.*
        be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG one:generic say-IND

    '"If he comes, I will bite him so" – so one (of them) says.'

                                                  (Panfilov 1965: 228)

(463)   a.   *"… Ñi tolqaχţaŋgi+ōla-da",*   **ha-r**   *it-ţ.*
           I   water.ruler+child-FOC be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
          ' "… I am the daughter of the ruler of waters", so (she) says.'

                                                  (Panfilov 1965: 225)

    b.   *"… If   tolqaχţaŋgi+ōla-da",*   **ha-gu-t**   *it-ţ.*
        s/he water.ruler+child-FOC be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL say-IND
        ' "… She is am the daughter of the ruler of waters", so (they) say.'

                                                  (Panfilov 1965: 225)

The auxiliary word is also used if direct speech is framed by the introductory verbs:

(464)   *Ноʁоŋan if   k'əmlə-ḍ: "Ţ'əŋ   ñ-ŋalivu-ʁaj   ñi ţaqo-ɣir*
        then   s/he think-IND you:PL 1SG-tease-CONV:COND I   knife-INSTR

        ţ'əŋ+ţ'ev-nə-ḍ-ra".   –   *Ha-r*   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
        you:PL+stick-FUT-IND-FOC   be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG think-IND

    'Then he thought: "If you tease me I will cut you with a knife." – So (he) thought.'   (Panfilov 1965: 223)

As mentioned, the auxiliary word *ha-r* may only follow the verb it is related to, which it substitutes.[1] Auxiliary derivatives from other verbs, viz. from *to*[-ʁa]- and *ho*[-ʁa]- 'be

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[1]   This is an exact translation of the sentence in the manuscript and it seems to contradict the statement that follows it. The authors probably meant the following: As mentioned, the auxiliary word *ha-r* may only follow the direct speech it refers to and in a way it serves as its substitute.

such', 'do so', may precede direct speech: it is hard to show the difference between **ha-r** and the latter words in translation.

(465) a. *If   ha-r   k'əmlə-ḍ: "…"
            s/he be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG think-IND: "…"
            'He thought so: "…"'

       b. If   toʁagur/togur/hoʁagur/hogur
            s/he in.this.way:3SG/in.this.way:3SG/in.that.way:3SG/in.that.way:3SG

            k'əmlə-ḍ: "…"
            think-IND
            'He thought thus: "…" (cf. 29.3).'

(466) "Təḍ   siḍ-l3u?"   – Ha-r   if
        this.one what-INDEF   be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG s/he

        ñ-ux   j-ot-ṭ.
        I-LOC/ABL 3SG-ask-IND
        '"What is this?" – So he asked me.'

28.1.3   The converb in -*r*, -*t* as an introductory verb

This form can only precede the introduced direct speech:

(467) Ral   **it-r**:   "Ñi pila-ŋ+lətṭ+lət-ṭ-ra".
        frog say-CONV:NAR:3SG   I   be.big-PTC+make-IND-FOC
        'The frog says (lit. 'saying'): "I perform a great deed". '

                                                        (Krejnovich 1934: 221)

28.1.4   The introductory verb is implied in the preceding context

In a series of related questions and replies, either only the authors of each utterance are named (see (468)), or the speakers are recovered from the context (see (469)):

(468) "Ṭ'i   siḍ+he-ḍ-ŋa?"   – Ñaɣr it-ṭ.   Hoʁaŋan ral:
        you:SG what+cook-IND-Q   rat   say-IND then   frog

        "Ñi   ṭus+he-ḍ-ra".
        I   meat+cook-IND-FOC
        "What are you cooking?" – The rat said. Then the frog (said): "I am cooking
        meat."   (Krejnovich 1934: 221)

(469) Hemar it-ṭ: "Ṭ'i   k'ər-lo?"   – "Hə, k'ər-ḍ-ra."   –
        old.man say-IND: you:SG be.hungry-Q   yes be.hungry-IND-FOC

"Ṭʻo+ñi-nə-lo?" – *"Hə, i-ñ-nə-ḍ-ra."*
fish+eat-FUT-Q   yes   3SG-eat-FUT-IND-FOC

'The old man says: "Are you hungry?" – 'Yes, (I) am hungry." – 'Will (you) eat fish?" – "Yes, (I) will eat". '   (Panfilov 1965: 244)

28.2   The introductory verb is not a speech verb

28.2.1   The introductory verb immediately pre-posed to direct speech is semantically close to the first verb of direct speech

Compare:

(470)   *V-ōla   oz-ḍ.   "Əmək-a,   oz-ja,   i-ñ-nəte."*
3SG-child get.up-IND mother-VOC get.up-IMP:2SG 3SG-eat-IMP:1DU
"Her son got up. "Mother, get up, let's eat."

(471)   *If … pʻ-nanak+ar-ḍ.   "I-ñ-ja!"*
s/he REFL-elder.sister+feed-IND 3SG-eat-IMP:2SG
'He … fed his elder sister. "Eat!"'

28.2.2   The introductory verb denotes emotion

Compare:

(472)   *Hoвoŋan hemar   laɣo-ḍ: "Ōla! Ṭʻi   pʻrə-ḍ-hari …"*
then   old.man get.scared-IND child you:2SG come-IND-MIR
'Then the old man got scared: "Son! You have come, it turns out …."'
                                    (Panfilov 1965: 228)

28.2.3   The introductory verb pre-posed to direct speech is not semantically related to its content

In this case the connection may be recovered from the broader context or there may be none at all.

(473)   *Hoвoŋan hemar   tʻək-vəj-uɣe   mař+ṭʻam-r*
then   old.man bunk-under-LOC fish.scale+take-CONV:NAR:3SG

řəpr-r   tol-roχ   pəiz-ḍ-ra.   "Hena, uɣrut
bring-CONV:NAR:3SG water-DAT/ADD throw-ind-foc well   together

pʻu–t   j-añma-nəte."
go.out-CONV:NAR:1DU 3SG-look-IMP:1DU

'Then the old man, taking from under the bunk (some) fish scales, bringing (them) threw into the water. "Well, let's go out together, have a look". '
                                    (Panfilov 1965: 244–245)

28.2.3.1 *The introductory verb is a converb in -r, -t*

The converb *p'rə-r* [come-CONV:NAR:3SG] 'coming' has occurred a few times. This usage has probably developed from a combination including a verb of speech, viz. *p'rə-r it-t̠* 'coming said' (this combination rather often introduces direct speech):

(474) *Ñaɣr e-rχ*   *p'rə-r:*   "*Ŋafq-a*
        rat   s/he-DAT/ADD   come-CONV:NAR:3   friend-VOC

        t̠'i   *sid̠+lət-t̠-ŋa?"*
        you:SG   what+make-IND-Q

        'The rat came (lit. 'coming') to her: "Friend, what are you doing?".'

                                                              (Krejnovich 1934: 221)

Means of expressing indirect speech

For the description of indirect speech, the following partially interrelated aspects are important:

1. The verb form of the embedded clause:
   a. The reportative converb in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*;
   b. The finite indicative form in *-ḍ/-ṭ*;
   c. The desiderative or negative converb in *-inər/-jnər*, *-inət/-jnət*, also in *-ikir*, *-ikit*, and a number of others.
2. Different-subjectness or same-subjectness of the embedded clause.
3. The means of marking the subject of the embedded clause.
4. The list of verbs governing each of the three types of embedded clauses.
5. Expression of the category of tense in the embedded clause.
6. Peculiarities of the use of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons of the finite verb of the construction.
7. Peculiaritites of the use of the conjunctive words *ha-vu-r*, *ha-vu-t*, *ha-gu-r*, *ha-gu-t* and *ha-r*, *ha-t* with the stem *ha-* 'be so', 'be such', 'be like that', 'do so'.
8. Agreement of the reportative converb with the subject not its own.
9. Referential identity of the reflexive pronoun on the embedded transitive verb.
10. Synonymy with the form in *-furu/pʻuru/-vuru*.
11. Expression of the addressee of the finite verb.
12. Monosemy or polysemy of the construction.
13. Position of the subject of the sentence (see also Panfilov 1965: 122–123).

In the first place, we will list all the constructions which may be used to express the meanings (a) 'Father said that he (= not father) would come' and (b) 'Father said that he (= father) would come' and designate these five types with the capitals **A**, **B**, **C**, **D** and **E** respectively. Within the first three of these five types there are different-subject and same-subject variants designated by the lower-case letters (**a**) and (**b**) respectively. The last two types allow same-subject constructions only.

Here is the underlying construction with direct speech for types **Aa**, **Ba** and **Ca**:

(475) *Ətək   it-ṭ: "If   pʻrə-nə-ḍ".*
       father say-IND   s/he   come-FUT-IND
       'Father said: "He will come."'

The underlying construction with direct speech for types **Ab**, **Bb**, **Cb** and **Db**:

(476)   *Ətək*   *it-ṭ*:   "*Ñi   pʼrə-nə-ḍ*".
      father say-IND I   come-FUT-IND
      'Father said: "I w.ill come".'

In type **Eb** the formally underlying construction with direct speech differs from **Db** due to the use of the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* denoting intention which makes it "livelier":

(477)   *Ətək*   *it-ṭ*:   "*Ñi   pʼrə-jnə-ḍ-ra*".
      father say-IND I   come-DES/INCH-IND-FOC
      'Father said: "I am going to come".'

The following examples illustrate the main types of sentences expressing indirect speech. Sentences (a) below mean 'Father said that he (= someone else) would come', and sentences (b) have the meaning 'Father said that he (himself) would come':

(478)   **A. a.** *Ətək*   *if/j-aχ/ja-ʁan/if-ʁan*
            father s/he/s/he-DAT/ACC/s/he-RNOM/s/he-RNOM

            *pʼrə-nə-**vu-r***   *it-ṭ*.
            come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

        b. *Ətək* *pʼi/pʼe-ʁan*   *pʼrə-nə-**vu-r***   *it-ṭ*.
            father self/self-RNOM come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

(479)   **B. a.** *Ətək*   *if/j-aχ/ja-ʁan/if-ʁan*   *pʼrə-nə-ḍ*
            father s/he/s/he-DAT/ACC/s/he-RNOM/s/he-RNOM come-FUT-IND

            ha-vu-r   *it-ṭ*.
            be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

        b. *Ətək* *pʼi/pʼe-ʁan*   *pʼrə-nə-ḍ*
            father self/self-RNOM come-FUT-IND

            ha-vu-r   *it-ṭ*.
            be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

(480)   **C. a.** *Ətək*   *if/j-aχ/ja-ʁan/if-ʁan*
            father s/he/s/he-DAT/ACC/s/he-RNOM/s/he-RNOM

             pʼrə-nə-ḍ   ***ha-gu-r***   *it-ṭ*.
            come-FUT-IND be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

       b. *Ətək* *pʼi/pʼe-ʁan*   *pʼrə-nə-ḍ*
            father self/self-RNOM come-FUT-IND

          ha-gu-r   *it-ṭ*.
          be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

(481) **D. a.** not registered

    b. *Ə̄tək   p'rə-nə-ḍ   **ha-r**   it-ṭ.*
        father come-FUT-IND be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

(482) **E. a.** not registered

    b. *Ə̄tək   p'rə-**jnə-r**   it-ṭ.*
        father come-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

29.1 Type A constructions (converbs in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*)

The reportative converb in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*, as has been mentioned above (see 17.1.3), combines only with the verb *it-* 'say' as predicate (the verb *mə-* 'hear' is under doubt), both making up a kind of specific analytical form for the introduction of indirect speech (a homonymous converb has a concessive meaning; see (483); the origin of this homonymy is rather mysterious because any synchronic semantic relations between the two functions seem to be rather unlikely).

(483) *Ṭʻi   ra-**jnə-vu-r**,   ñi*
       you:SG drink-DES/INCH-CONV:REP:2SG I

       ṭʻ-aχ   ra-gu-jlu.
       you:SG-DAT/ACC drink-CAUS-NEG

       'If you you are going to drink I won't let you drink.'

The verb *it-* 'say' always follows the converb, with possible insertion not only of emphatic particles but also of converbs, and also of objects and subject; in other words, this analytical form "behaves" in a way different from that of an analytical negative form (cf. 20.2.1):

(484) *Ṭəj   p'-**siŋru-vu-r-ti**   it-ṭ.*
       again REFL-deceive-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG-even say-IND
       '(He) said he had been deceived again.'

The verb *it-* may co-occur with converbs, or, on the contrary, it may be used as a converb itself:

(485) *If   p'-ōla-aχ   eʁ-gur*
       s/he REFL-child-DAT/ACC be.fast-ADV:3SG

       *p'rə-nə-vu-r   p'-ŋafq+xez-r   **it-ṭ.***
       come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-friend+say-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

       'He told his friend (that) his son would arrive soon' (*xez-**rit-ṭ** lit. 'telling him said').

(486) *If   p'-ōla-aχ   eʁ-gur*
      s/he REFL-child-DAT/ACC be.fast-ADV:3SG

      p'rǝ-nǝ-vu-r   p'-ŋafq-roχ
      come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-friend-DAT/ADD

      it-r   raju-ḍ.
      say-CONV:NAR:3SG write-IND

      'He wrote his friend (that) his son would arrive soon' (*it-r raju-ḍ* lit. 'saying wrote').

Converbs in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*, as both auxiliary words, agree with the subject of the matrix verb rather than with "their own" subject, i.e. the subject of the embedded clause; cf.:

(487) a. **Imŋ** *p'-ōla   p'rǝ-vu-t   it-ṭ.*
         they REFL-child come-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL say-IND
         'They said (that) their child had come' (*p'rǝ-vu-t* agrees with **Imŋ**).

     b. **Ōla** *imŋ-aχ   p'rǝ-vu-r   it-ṭ.*
         child they-DAT/ACC come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
         'The child said (that) they had come' (*p'rǝ-vu-r* agrees with Ōla).

29.1.1 The category of tense

Both verbs may have the forms of both the future and non-future tenses. But the use of the finite speech verb in the future tense form is related to expression of a rather rare situation:

(488) a. *Ətǝk   ja-ʁan   p'rǝ-vu-r   it-ṭ.*
         father s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
         'Father said/says (that) he came.'

     b. *Ətǝk   ja-ʁan   p'rǝ-nǝ-vu-r   it-ṭ.*
         father s/he-RNOM come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
         'Father said/says (that) he would come.'

     c. *Ətǝk   ja-ʁan   p'rǝ-vu-r   it-nǝ-ḍ.*
         father s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-FUT-IND
         'Father will say (that) he came' (if the speaker knows what father is going to say).

     d. *Ətǝk   ja-ʁan   p'rǝ-nǝ-vu-r   it-nǝ-ḍ.*
         father s/he-RNOM come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-FUT-IND
         'Father will say (that) he will come.'

29.1.2 Different-subject and same-subject constructions

The construction is basically meant for different subjects, therefore out of context sentences like (489) are interpreted, as a rule, as different-subject constructions with an omitted subject, in particular as indefinite-personal constructions.

(489)   *If*   *pʻrə-nə-vu-r*   *it-ṭ.*
        s/he come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

      (a) 'Someone (= known from the context) said (that he) would come.'
      (b) 'They say (that he) will come', but not:
      (c) 'He says (that someone) will come.'

Thus, both subjects should be expressed in this type of construction: the subject of the dependent verb and that of the finite verb. In (480b) above the prefixed reflexive object is a sufficient contextual component for disambiguating the construction.

    Same-subjectness should be as a rule denoted by the reflexive pronoun in the nominative or agentive (dative/accusative) case form of the reflexive pronoun *pʻi* 'self':

(490)   *Ətək*   *pʻi/pʻe-ʁan*   *pʻrə-nə-vu-r*   *it-ṭ.*
      father self/self-RNOM come-FUT-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
      'Father said (that) he would come.'

29.1.3   The use of constructions with the 3rd, 2nd and 1st person subjects

In texts, sentences with the 3rd person subject (nouns and 3rd person pronouns) occur almost exclusively.

(491)   *Ətək*   *ja-ʁan*   *pʻrə-vu-r*   *it-ṭ.*
      father s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
      'Father said (that) he (= someone else, not himself) had come.'

Sentences with the 1st subject person are grammatical but they are not widely used, and sentences with the 1PL subject are especially unusual. A sentence with a 1SG subject may be interpreted as follows:

(492)   *Ñi* *ja-ʁan*   *pʻrə-vu-t*   *it-ṭ-ra.*
      I   s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND-FOC
      'I say (that) he has come' (= 'I know it and therefore say this').

(493)   *Ñi* *pʻrə-r*   *pʻe-ʁan*   *tazaf-vu-t*   *it-ṭ.*
      I   come-CONV:NAR:3SG self-RNOM be.late-REP-CONV:NAR:1SG say-IND
      'I came (and) said (that I) was late.'

The 2SG subject (2PL would be more unnatural here as well) can be used in an interrogative sentence:

(494)   *Ṭʻi-la*   *ja-ʁan*   *pʻrə-vu-r*   *it-ṭ?*
      you:SG-Q s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
      'Was it you who said (that) he had come?'

29.1.4   The marking of the subject of the embedded verb

In Section 16.2.2 four possible case forms for the 3SG pronoun as subject of the embedded verb in types **A**, **B** and **C** are given. The reflexive pronoun allows only two

forms. In some types of constructions, given a certain lexical context, some of the case forms are preferable, while in other types, other case forms are more acceptable. Type **A** allows all the four different-subject variants without any difference in meaning (excepting slight prominence of the subject in the last three cases) but co-occurrence of two pronouns *if* 's/he' in (495a[1]) sounds difficult to interpret:

(495)   a.   *Ətək*   *if*   *p'rə-vu-r*   *it-ţ.*
             father s/he come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
             'Father said/says (that) he came.'

       a[1]. **If   if   p'rə-vu-r   it-ţ.*

       b.   *Ətək*   *j-aχ*   *p'rə-vu-r*   *it-ţ.*
             father s/he-DAT/ACC come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

       c.   *Ətək*   *ja-ʁan*   *p'rə-vu-r*   *it-ţ.*
             father s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

       d.   *Ətək*   *if-ʁan*   *p'rə-vu-r*   *it-ţ.*
             father s/he-RNOM come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND.

The other types of constructions and other lexical contents manifest different preferences in the choice of subject case forms. (It seems, in some cases the form *p'e-ʁan* in type **Cb** is an unhappy choice, and in types *Ab* and *Bb* the form *p'i* sometimes looks less acceptable.) We cannot offer any generalizations as yet and will limit ourselves to two illustrations.

In (496) the variant *j-aχ* sounds less suitable for some reason:

(496)   *Ñivy-gu*   *if/ᵖj-aχ/ja-ʁan/if-ʁan*   *orbot-ţ*
             man-PL s/he/s/he-DAT/ACC/s/he-RNOM/s/he-RNOM work-IND

      ha-vu-t   *it-ţ.*
             do.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL say-IND
             'People say (that) h3e works.'

But in the following example, for some reason, the informant preferred the pronominal form in -*aχ*:

(497)   *If*   *imŋ/imŋ-aχ*   *p'-sa-ḑ*
             s/he they/they-DAT/ACC REFL-strike-IND

      ha-vu-r   *it-ţ.*
             be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
             'He said (that) they had beaten him.'

Both subjects may be indefinite-personal; cf.:

(498) a. *Ətək* **imŋ-aχ** *t̓χa*
father they-DAT/ACC money

t̓-imə-doχ **q̓au-vu-r** *it-t̓.*
2SG-give-SUP not.be-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

'Father says (that) they did not give you (any) money.'

b. *Ṭ̓i* *orbot-kin,* *t̓χa*
you:SG work-CONV:CONC money

t̓-imə-doχ **q̓au-vu-t** *it-t̓.*
2SG-give-SUP not.be-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL say-IND

'Though you worked, they did not give you (any) money, they say.'

29.1.5 The difference from imperceptive forms in *-furu/-p̓uru/-vuru*

The forms in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t* and verb forms in *-furu/-p̓uru/-vuru* are sometimes treated together as expressions of the "reportative" mood (see Panfilov 1965: 122–123). These forms do manifest a kind of semantic affinity, especially in the case of the indefinite-personal use of forms in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*; cf.:

(499) a. *If* *p̓rə-vu-t* *it-t̓.*
s/he come-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL say-IND
'They say he has come.'

b. *If* *p̓rə-d̦-furu.*
s/he come-IND-IMPERC
'He has come, they say'; 'He has come, it seems.'

But there is a significant difference between these devices. The form in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t* is used to repeat what someone has said and the source can be named, unless the sentence is indefinite-personal. Constructions with the particle *-furu/-p̓uru/-vuru* do not allow it, and only one subject is expressed here, therefore these constructions can be regarded, more likely, not as forms of the "reportative" mood (i.e. means of marking indirect speech) but as a device for rendering inaccurate or hearsay information of unknown origin. In comparison with forms in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*, the form in *-furu/-p̓uru/-vuru* sounds less reliable. The following use of *-furu/-p̓uru/-vuru* with nouns is based on this particular meaning:

(500) *Təf-p̓uru!*
house-IMPERC
'And you call it a house?!'; 'That's a house?! Well, well …' (see Chapter 30 on the particle *-furu/-p̓uru/-vuru*).

29.2   Types B and C constructions (with the auxiliaries *ha-vu-r, ha-vu-t* and *ha-gu-r, ha-gu-t*)

In contrast to type **A** constructions where the embedded dependent clause is as a rule framed by the subject and predicate of the main clause, the subject in type **B** and **C** constructions may, though not in every particular sentence, follow the embedded clause, being pre-posed or post-posed to the finite predicate; the meaning of (501) is the same as that of sentences (a) in (478)–(480).

(501) a. *Ətək   if   p'rə-nə-ḍ   ha-vu-r   it-ţ.*
           father s/he come-FUT-IND be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
           'Father said (that) he would come.'

       b. *If   p'rə-nə-ḍ   ha-vu-r   ətək   it-ţ.*
           s/he come-FUT-IND be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG father say-IND
           'He would come, so father said.'

       c. *If   p'rə-nə-ḍ   ha-vu-r   it-ţ   ətək.*
           s/he come-FUT-IND be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND father
           'He would come, so said father.'

Variant (a) sounds more neutral, and in (b) and (c) sentences the main subject is somewhat more prominent.

The finite predicate allows an addressee object:

(502) *Ətək   if   p'rə-nə-ḍ*
       father s/he come-FUT-IND

       ha-vu-r   p'-ŋafq-roχ   it-ţ.
       be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-friend-DAT/ADD say-IND
       'Father told his friend (that) he would come.'

In comparison with types **A** and **B**, type **C** expresses greater confidence of the speaker in the information being true to reality.

Constructions with *ha-vu-r* and *ha-gu-r* are of different origin. The verb *ha-* may serve as a kind of back-up of the preceding verb form, in which case it takes its suffix and follows it immediately. The form that is replaced acquires the suffix *-ḍ/-ţ*; cf.:

(503) a. *If   p'rə-bar.*
           s/he come-ADVERS
           'He came, of course.'

       b. *If   p'rə-ḍ   ha-bar.*
           s/he come-IND be.so-ADVERS
           'He did come, of course.'

(504) a. *If   p'rə-ŋan   ñi vi-ḍ.*
           s/he come-CONV:ANT/SIM I   go-IND
           'When he came I went.'

b. *If   p'rə-ḍ   ha-ŋan   ñi vi-ḍ.*
s/he   come-IND   be.so-CONV:ANT/SIM   I   go-IND
(same translation; minimal difference in stress).

Similarly:

(505) a. *Ətək   ja-ʁan   p'rə-vu-r   it-ṭ.*
father   s/he-RNOM   come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
'Father said (that) he had come.'

b. *Ətək   ja-ʁan   p'rə-ḍ   ha-vu-r   it-ṭ.*
father   s/he-RNOM   come-IND   be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
(same translation) (see 18.2.1).

The auxiliary word ***ha-gu-r, ha-gu-t*** is of adverbial origin; it is derived by means of the suffix ***-gu-r***, ***-gu-t***. But in contrast to adverbs with this suffix and like converbs with the same suffix it is used in the case of different subjects.[1]

29.2.1   Lexical types of the finite predicate

In this respect there is a significant difference between types **B** and **C**. In type **B**, as well as in type **A**, the speech verb *it-* 'say' alone is possible (note that both types contain the marker *-vu-r*, *-vu-t*), while in type **C** a number of other verbs are also used: *k'əmlə-* 'think', *j-eʁ-/-heʁ-* 'know', *mə-* 'hear', *e-ʁz-/-q'ez-/-χez-* 'think', and possibly a few more.

(506) *Ñi   k'es+heʁ-ḍ.   [Ñi] Ūməv+ñivx   (→ ñivʁ-aχ)   nəx*
I   news+know-IND   I   be.brave+man   man-DAT/ACC   today

tu-tx   p'rə-r
here-DAT/ADD   come-CONV:NAR:3SG

q'o-nə-ḍ   ha-gu-t   mə-ḍ-ra.
sleep-FUT-IND   be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG   hear-IND-FOC

'I heard the news. (That) a brave man will arrive here today, (he) will sleep, so (I) heard.' (the converb *ha-gu-t* agrees with the omitted subject [*Ñi*] 'I'
(Panfilov 1965: 228)

29.2.2   The reflexive direct object in the embedded clause

The reflexive object may be coreferential both with the subject of the embedded clause and with that of the matrix clause. The context usually disambiguates it and leaves no room for doubt. In such cases one of the subjects, and even both may be omitted if they are obvious from the context.

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1. For the latter reason this auxiliary is glossed like a converb.

(507)   **If**   *imŋ-aχ*   *pʼ-sa-ḍ*   *ha-**vu-r***
s/he   they-DAT/ACC   REFL-strike-IND   be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG

(→ *ha-**gu-r***)   *it-ṭ.*
be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR-3SG   say-IND

'(He) said that they had beaten him' (the 3SG marker *-r* of the converb(s) points to the 3SG pronoun).

In (507) the reflexive marker *pʼ-* is coreferential with the preceding subject (anaphora); however, it may also be coreferential with the subject that follows (cataphora); e.g.:

(508)   *Imŋ*   *pʼ-siŋru-doχ*   *qʼau-ḍ*   *ha-**gu-r***
they   REFL-deceive-SUP   not.be-IND   be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

kʼəmlə-ḍ   *if.*
think-IND   s/he

'He thought (that) they did not deceive him (lit. 'himself')' (see also (484)).

Coreferentiality of the direct object *pʼ-* with one or the other subject probably depends mostly on the pragmatic factors; thus, in (509) *pʼ-* cannot be coreferential with the main subject because in this case it could not become subject (of the embedded clause):

(509)   *Imŋ*   *Not-aχ*   *pʼi-γ-**vu-t***   *it-ṭ.*
they   Not-DAT/ACC   REFL-kill-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL   say-IND

'They said (that) Not had killed himself' (not '… killed them').

The reflexive subject of the embedded converbal clause allows one interpretation only, of course:

(510)   *Imŋ*   *pʼe-ʁan*   *pʼi-γ-ijnə-**vu-t***   *it-ṭ.*
they   REFL-RNOM   REFL-kill-DES/INCH-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL   say-IND

'They said they (lit. 'themselves') tried to kill themselves.'

29.2.3   Omission of the embedded verb

This is only possible in an entirely non-ambiguous context. The resulting constructions are perceived as fragments of a dialogue:

(511)   **If**   *ha-**vu-t***   *it-ṭ.*
s/he   be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3PL   say-IND

'(They) say/said he did it (= something already mentioned).'

29.3 Type D constructions (with the auxiliary word *ha-r*, *ha-t*)

This construction presupposes same subjects; the lexical content of the main predicate is the same as in type **C**: *it-* 'say', *-e-ʁz-/-qʻez-/-xez-* 'say', *kʻəmlə-* 'think', etc.; cf.:

(512) *Ətək   imŋ-doχ   j-uski-nə-ḍ   ha-r   it-ṭ.*
       father they-DAT/ADD 3SG-pay-FUT-IND be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
       'Father told them (that he) would pay.'

(513) *Ñ-ŋafq   bazar-toχ   vi-ḍ,*
       1SG-friend market.place-DAT/ADD go-IND

       larq+ɣe-nə-ḍ   ha-r   it-ṭ.
       shirt+take-FUT-IND be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

       'My friend went to the market, (in order) to buy a shirt, (he) said'
       (cf. 28.1.2).

If the auxiliary *ha-r* is replaced by *ha-vu-r* or *ha-gu-r* in a type **D** construction, without making any other changes, the subject of both the embedded and the matrix clauses will be interpreted as the subject of the embedded clause only with the subject of the matrix clause being omitted (see 489)):

(514) a. *If   pʻrə-nə-ḍ   ha-r   it-ṭ.*
           s/he come-FUT-IND be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
           'He said (he) would come.'

       b. *If   pʻrə-nə-ḍ   ha-vu-r   it-ṭ.*
           s/he come-FUT-IND be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
           '(Someone) said he would come'; 'They say he will come.'

If a sentence contains additional components, for instance, a converb, the subject may or should be duplicated by means of the reflexive pronoun *pʻi* for clarity:

(515) *If   pʻrə-r   pʻi tazaf-ṭ   ha-r   it-ṭ.*
       s/he come-CONV:NAR:3SG self be.late-IND be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
       'He said coming (that) he was late.'

29.4 Type E constructions (with a converb in *-inə-r/-jnə-r/-ijnə-r*, *- inə-t/-jnə-t/-ijnə-t*)

This construction contains a desiderative or negative converb and a speech verb. Type **E** constructions, like those of type **D**, are same-subject, i.e. the subject of the main clause reports his/her own actions. The speech verbs controlling the subordinated converb seem to be the same as in the previously described types.

29.4.1   Constructions with a desiderative converb

The meaning of intention of the desiderative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-//-ijnə-* in these constructions is (almost) quite imperceptible and the construction just informs about the future action of the subject. Thus, type **E** is specialized for referring to the future, but the use of the future tense suffix *-nə-* makes the sentence incomprehensible. An action that has already taken place cannot be expressed by means of this construction. This construction seems to be more frequently used for expressing the meaning 'Father said that he (father) would come' than the previous four types (cf. (478b), (479b), (480б) and (481б)). Deletion of the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-//-ijnə-* either changes the meaning of the sentence (see (516c)) or makes it meaningless. The reflexive pronoun *p'i*, if added, may have a different meaning, namely 'by him/herself', 'personally':

(516)   a.   *If   p'rə-jnə-r   it-t̡.*
             s/he   come-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
             'He said he would come'; 'He promised to come.'

        b.   *If   p'i   p'rə-jnə-r   it-t̡.*
             s/he   self   come-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
             'He said (he) himself would come.'

        c.   *If   p'rə-r   it-t̡.*
             s/he   come-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
             'Coming, he said.'

        d.   **If   p'rə-nə-r   it-t̡.*
             s/he   come-FUT-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

Compare an example from a text:

(517)   *Hə+von-gu   ŋa+ŋəŋ-t   pal-roχ*
        that+villager-PL   animal+look.for-CONV:NAR:3PL   forest-DAT/ADD

        vi-d̡-ɣu.   Loŋ+ñaqr   ha-ŋan
        go-IND-PL   month+one:generic   be.so-CONV:ANT/SIM

        məy-inə-t   it-t̡-ɣu.
        descend-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3PL   say-IND-PL

        'The villagers went to the forest to hunt animals. (They) said (that they) would return (lit. 'descend from the forest') in a month's (time).'

29.4.2   Constructions with negative converbs

These converbs are derived from verbs containing bound stems (*-iki-/-ijki-/-əki-* 'be physically unable'; *-molo-* 'not want', etc.) with the meaning of unwillingness or inability to perform the action denoted by the lexical component of the verb (see 20.3).

(518)   a.   *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
            s/he   come-IND
            'He came.'

       b.   *If   p'rə-**iki**-ḍ.*
            s/he   come-be.physically.unable-IND
            'He cannot/could not come.'

       c.   *If   p'rə-**iki**-r   it-ṭ.*
            s/he   come-be.physically.unable-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
            'He said (he) could not come.'

(519)   a.   *If   p'rə-**i-molo**-ḍ.*
            s/he   come-EP-not.want-IND
            'He does not want to come.'

       b.   *If   p'rə-**i-molo**-r   it-ṭ.*
            s/he   come-EP-not.want-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
            'He said (he) did not want to come.'

29.4.3   Polysemy of constructions

Types **A**, **B**, **C** and **D** constructions are specialized devices of expressing indirect speech, which cannot be asserted about type **E** constructions. For instance, a desiderative converb can be used practically with any verb whose meaning allows an adverbial of purpose/goal, and also with verbs denoting an urge, a desire (see also 20.6). In these combinations the meaning of intention of the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-//-ijnə-* is usually stronger than in sentences with indirect speech:

(520)   *If   ṭ'o+ek-**ijnə**-r   p'rə-ḍ.*
        s/he   fish+ask-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-IND
        'He came to ask for (some) fish.'

(521)   *If   ṭ'o+ek-**ijnə**-r   toxt-ṭ.*
        s/he   fish+ask-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   agree-IND
        'He agreed to ask for (some) fish.'

(522)   *Imŋ   p'rə-ḍ-lu+hijm-**ijnə**-t   ñi   j-ama-ḍ.*
        they   come-NML-INDEF+know-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3PL   I   3SG-look-IND
        'I took a look to find out (whether) they had come' (see also 17.2.5).

(523)   *If   t'u+ňřə-**jnə**-r   kər-ḍ.*
        s/he   sledge+see-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   stay-IND
        'He stopped to get the sledge.'

29.5   Note

Cases of polysemous constructions with the converb in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* (see (524)) rendering indirect speech require additional study (cf. 524)).

(524)   a.   *If*   *it-ţ:*   "*Ñ-ōla*   *pʼrǝ-ḑ*".
               s/he say-IND 1SG-child come-IND
               'He said: "My son came".'

        b.   *If*   *pʼ-ōla-aχ*   *pʼrǝ-**gu-r***   *it-ţ.*
               s/he   REFL-child-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
               'He said (that) his son came.'

The imperceptive marker – particle *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru*

According to one of the definitions suggested so far, while indirect speech is a way of marking one's own speech as not his own, the imperceptive, on the contrary, is the speaker's own utterance containing reference to someone's evidence ('They say that …', etc.). These two modal meanings are very close and in some languages (e.g. Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian) they may be expressed in the same way, though more frequently, it seems, they are expressed by different means.

The meaning of forms in *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru* is most frequently translated into Russian by means of introductory words like *govorjat* '(they) say', *schitaetsja* 'it is considered (that)', *predpoložitel'no* 'presumably', *budto by* 'supposedly', *jakoby* 'allegedly', etc., i.e. the speaker does not vouch for the truth of what he says. The meaning of forms in *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru* is contiguous both to that of some forms used to express indirect speech and to that of forms with the suffix *-bəñevo* 'it seems' (see 24.16) and also with auxiliary words like **hajra**, **hajqana** 'probably', 'possibly', "maybe" (see 23.12 and 23.13). In contrast to sentences with indirect speech, constructions with imperceptive forms do not allow explication of the source of information: the speaker cannot be named. The particle *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru* is materially close to the transitive verb *fur-/-p'ur-* 'tell about (sth/sb)', and it is most likely descended from it (see Panfilov 1965: 123). The meaning of this particle is clear to the native speakers even if it is uttered out of context.

30.1 The use of the particle *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru* with verbs

The following sentences illustrate this usage:

(525) *Ūmәv+ñivx   nәx   tu-tx   p'rә-na-ḍ-furu.*
be.brave+man   today   here-DAT/ADD   come-FUT-IND-IMPERC
'(They say) the brave man will come here today.'

(526) *Hә+ŋa-ɣu   alʁ-alʁ-ḍ-furu.*
that+animal-PL   be.spotted-be.spotted-IND-IMPERC
'(They say that) these animals are spotted'; 'These animals are spotted, (they suppose).'

(527)   *Ноɣаr*   *if*   *təv-ux*   *p'-ōla+mraŋi-ḍ*
        then:3SG s/he house-LOC/ABL REFL-child+send.away-IND

     – *lizŋu-ḍ-furu.*
       disturb-IND-IMPERC

'Then he drove his son out of his home – (he) disturbed (him, they suppose).'

30.2   Combinations of the particle *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru* with nouns and adverbs

The following sentences illustrate this usage:

(528)   *"Řa+dəf-hata*   *if*   *ye-ḍ?"*   – *"hə+dəf-p'uru"*.
        which+house-Q:exactly s/he take-IND   that+house-IMPERC
        'Which house did he buy?' –'That house, probably.'

(529)   *"Řa+bityə-hata*   *aţik+vityə?"*
        which+written.paper-Q:exactly younger.sibling+written.paper

     – *"hə+bityə-furu"*.
       that+written.paper-IMPERC

'Which book is the younger brother's? – 'That book, presumably.'

(530)   *"Ə̄r*   *p'rə-ḍ-hata?"*   – *"Nəmr-p'uru"*.
        when come-IND-Q:exactly   yesterday-IMPERC
        'When did (he) arrive?' – 'Probably yesterday.'

(531)   *"V-ətək*   *ur-la+ŋaŋəŋñivx-p'uru"*.
        3SG-father be.good-PERM+hunter-IMPERC
        'His father is a good hunter, (they say).'

30.3   Combination *ha-ḍ-furu*

This combination is frequently used by narrators in folklore texts in the meaning 'that's how it was', 'it was thus', 'it is said so', etc. In this way the folktale narrator indicates that he himself did not witness the event described, etc.

In the following examples the particle *-furu/-p'uru/-vuru* is attached to the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'be so', 'do so' concluding the conjoining forms in *-ra, -ta* (see 14.1.3, 15.3):

(532)   *Ṭʻola-ke*   *qʻor-ta,*   *qʻor-ke*
        be.poor-CONV:DUR/INST   be.rich-COORD:3PL   be.rich-CONV:DUR/INST

   ṭʻola-ta,   *hoke*
   be.poor-COORD:3PL   then

   mu-ɣət-ta   *ha-ḍ-furu.*
   die-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-COORD:3PL   be.so-IND-IMPERC

   '(They) lived in poverty – grew rich, (they) lived rich – grew poor, (and)
   then (they) all died, (that's) how it was.'

(533)   *Mləvon-gu*   *pʻ-ŋafq-ŋafq+bark+ñřə-ta.*
        inhabitant.of.afterworld-PL   REFL-friend-friend+only+see-COORD:3PL

   Rolo   *kʻespʻur-ta*   –   *ha-ḍ-ɣu-pʻuru,*
   mutually   talk-COORD:3PL   be.so-IND-PL-IMPERC

   mer+ñřə-jsu-ta,   *mer+kʻez-ijsu-ta.*
   we:INCL+see-NEG:USIT-COORD:3PL   we:INCL+say-NEG:USIT-COORD:3PL

   'The inhabitants of the afterworld see only each other. (They) talk to each
   other, as if (they) don't see us, don't talk to us.'

30.4   The form *ha-vuru*

This special form (an auxiliary word?) is widely used in everyday speech. It very often
completes a jocular phrase; cf.:

(534)   *Ñ-at*   *pʻu–t*   *ṭʻ-ñu-ñu-nə-ḍ-ra,* (…)   *ha-vuru*
        I-FOC   go.out-CONV:NAR:1SG   2SG-look-look-FUT-IND-FOC   be.so-IMPERC
        '(Well, well,) I will come out to wait for you, (just you wait)' (*ha-vuru*
        is used here in order to show that the speaker means it as a joke, for the
        addressee not to become too proud).

(535)   *Ñi*   *ə⁻rti*   *qʻor-t*   *hum-ḍ-ra,*   *ha-vuru.*
        I   always   be.rich-CONV:NAR:1SG   be-IND-FOC   be.so-IMPERC
        'I always live in prosperity, so (they say)' (*ha-vuru* shows that the speaker
        does not want the listener to take it for boasting).

Two-predicate constructions

In this chapter we will consider constructions which contain two verbs or a verb subordinating a deverbal noun with the suffix *-ḍ/-ṭ* homonymous with the finite indicative suffix. Alongside these types, constructions with converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* are also discussed. Illustrations of these three types follow:

(536)   a.   *Ñi   i-ñ-nə-ḍ.*
           I   3SG-eat-FUT-IND
           'I will eat.'

       b.   *Ñi   i-ñ-nə-ḍ+amṭez-ḍ.*
           I   3SG-eat-FUT-NML+be.late-IND
           'I was too late for eating'; "I had no time for eating.'

(537)   *If   ñi i-ñ-nə-ḍ+aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
       s/he I   3SG-eat-FUT-NML+disturb-IND
       'He does not let me eat.'

(538)   *If   ñ-aχ   i-ñ-gu-r   ñ-aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
       s/he I-DAT/ACC 3SG-eat-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 1SG-disturb-IND
       'He does not let me eat.'

31.1   Two-predicate constructions with a dependent deverbal noun in *-ḍ/-ṭ*

This type of deverbal nouns is briefly considered above among the other means of nominalisation (see 16.8.1). Here, first *subject two-predicate constructions*, i.e. constructions with coreferential subjects of both predicates (see (536b)), and next *object constructions with non-coreferential subjects* (see (537)) are discussed.[1] In the latter case, at least with some verbs, subject coreferentiality, as in other similar cases (see 29.1.2; Examples ((478b), (480b), (490), (493)), may be achieved by means of reflexivization (see also Nedjalkov, Otaina 1981: 188–189).

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1.   Further on, the authors use the terms *same-subject constructions* for the former type and *different-subject constructions* for the latter type.

31.1.1 Same-subject two-predicate constructions

For the description of this type of constructions the following characteristics, among others, are relevant:

1. Transitivity/intransitivity of the main verb.
2. Tense form of the dependent predicate.
3. Change of meaning of the main verb in various constructions.
4. The desiderative suffix on the dependent predicate.
5. Expressive use of the construction.
6. Semantic characteristics of the lexical types of predicates.

31.1.1.1 *Transitive and intransitive verbs taking a dependent predicate*

If the main verb is transitive the deverbal noun – a dependent predicate – occupies the direct object position; in other words, it enters into an object complex with the latter and thus determines the initial consonant of this predicate; cf.:

(539) a. *Ñi e-zmu-ḍ.*
       I   3SG-rejoice-IND
       'I love it/him'; 'I rejoice.'

    b. *Ñi pʻ-ətək+smo-ḍ.*
       I   REFL-father+rejoice-IND
       'I love my father.'

    c. *Ñi parvət-ŋan*   *ṭiv-ux*   *nəŋ-ḍ.*
       I   be.evening-CONV:ANT/SIM road-LOC/ABL walk-IND
       'In the evening I walk/walked along the road.'

    d. *Ñi parvət-ŋan*   *ṭiv-ux*
       I   be.evening-CONV:ANT/SIM road-LOC/ABL
       nəŋ-ḍ+smo-ḍ.
       walk-NML+rejoice-IND
       'In the evening I like to walk along the road.'

The use of intransitive verbs in this type of constructions is somewhat unexpected, because they cannot take a direct object. Their occurrence in the position of transitives is probably accounted for by their semantic affinity to transitive verbs. The native speaker, who is a linguist, interprets the embedded predicate in a construction with an intransitive main verb in the same way as in constructions with transitive main verbs, i.e. she perceives it as a direct object. We have failed to find any significant formal differences between constructions with transitives and those with intransitives. Therefore, despite the indeterminate syntactic status of the embedded verb in a position before an intransitive verb we shall provisionally mark it with the symbol "+", i.e. in the same way as a direct object. An example:

(540) a. *Ñi t'ət-ke*   *oz-nə-ḍ.*
         I   morning-LOC/ABL   get.up-FUT-IND
         'I'll get up (early) in the morning.'

      b. *Ñi mraŋi-ḍ.*
         I   be.lazy-IND
         'I am/was lazy.'

      c. *Ñi t'ət-ke*   *oz-nə-ḍ+mraŋi-ḍ.*
         I   morning-LOC/ABL   get.up-FUT-NML+be.lazy-IND
         'I am (too) lazy to get up (early) in the morning.'

31.1.1.2 *The category of tense of the dependent predicate*

As Examples (539) and (540) show, the dependent predicate may take the form of both tenses, future and non-future. The choice of the tense form is determined by the lexical class of the main verb. Verbs requiring a dependent predicate in the future tense are prevalent among them. There are three subclasses of main verbs differing with respect to the tense form of the dependent predicate:

1. Verbs taking a dependent predicate in the future tense form only.
2. Verbs taking dependent predicates in either tense form.
3. Verbs requiring a dependent predicate in the non-future tense only.

Here are these three subclasses subsequently.

     Subclass (1) (the dependent predicate in the future tense only; cf. 17.1.4).

(541) a. Transitives:
         j-ān-/-ān-   'want'
         j-azra-/-azra-   'fear', 'apprehend'
         t'xərp-/-řxərp-   'forget'

      b. Intransitive main verbs:

mraŋi	'be lazy'	*taur-*	'linger', 'stay too long', 'be long'
alʁazi-	'refuse'	*əskəsk-*	'be shy', 'be timid'
metra-	'doubt'	*řəm-*	'be timid'
amṭez-	'be late'	*ləṭi-*	'feel disgust'
tazaf-	'be late'	*nuknuk-*	'be slow'
veʁa-	'be afraid'		

Subclass (2) (the dependent predicate in either tense form).

(542) a. Transitives:
         e-zmu-/-smo-/-ṭ'mo-   'rejoice', 'love'
         j-ali-/-ali-   'be unable to finish'
         j-əɣzu-/-əɣzu-   'be unable', 'not know.'

b. Intransitives:

əyi-   'not want'   *k'eʁŋaj-*   'feel shy'
vār-   'be shy'   *p'anp'ara-* 'not know', 'not understand'
maŋg-   'feel shy'[2]

Subclass (3) (the dependent predicate in the non-future tense form).

(543) a. Transitives:
           j-im-/-him-   'be able', 'can', 'know how to do'

       b. *tvi-*   'finish'
           muli-   'often do sth'

As we see, the lexical meaning of these verbs may be generally characterized as modal and, partially, phasal. These verbs specify all kinds of the subject's attitude towards the action: desire/non-desire, possibility/impossibility, etc.

Examples for Subclass (1):

(544) *At   por-ŋan,   hemar   p'u-nə-ḍ+heʁa-ḍ-ra.*
       tiger lie-CONV:ANT/SIM old.man go.out-FUT-NML+be.afraid-IND-FOC
       'As the tiger was lying, the old man was afraid to go out.' (Panfilov 1965: 153)

(545) *Ñi   q'or-la+umgu+mu-nə-ḍ+ayñ-ḍ-ra.*
       I   be.rich-PERM+woman+become-PERM-FUT-NML+want-IND-FOC
       'I want to become a rich woman.'

(546) *If   maŋ-gur   p'-rəu-nə-ḍ+ān-ḍ.*
       s/he   be.strong-ADV:3SG REFL-teach-FUT-NML+want-IND
       'He wants to study very much.'

(547) *Ñi   vi-nə-ḍ+alɣazə-ḍ-ra.*
       I   go-FUT-NML+give.up-IND-FOC
       'I (changed my mind and) decided not to go there.'

(548) *Ṭ'i   jār   maʁ-nə-ḍ+řəm-ḍ-ŋa?*
       you:SG why:2SG move.towards.shore-FUT-NML+be.timid-IND-Q
       'Why are you afraid to moor (the boat)?'

(549) *Ñizun ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-ŋan   ṭīr+ŋa-nə-ḍ+amṭez-ḍ.*
       Nizun fish+look.for-CONV:ANT/SIM tree+go.for-FUT-NML+be.late-IND
       'When Nizun goes fishing (he) is late (= has no time) to go (and) fetch firewood.'

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2. The translation of the verb *maŋg-* seems incorrect, because it means 'be strong' when used independently; cf., e.g. Saveljeva, Taksami (1970: 175). However, according to our informants this verb may intensify the meaning of the verb *vaʁr-* 'feel shy' in the construction *vaʁr-r maŋg-* 'felt very shy'.

(550)   *Ətək   ṭʼolŋi+vo-nə-ḍ+alʁazi-ḍ-ra.*
        father   deer+take-FUT-NML+give.up-IND-FOC
        'Father changed his mind about catching a deer.'

(551)   *If   pʼ-rəu-f-toχ   vi-nə-ḍ+tazaf-ṭ.*
        s/he   REFL-teach-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD   go-FUT-NML+be.late-IND
        'He was late to go to school.'

(552)   *If   ṭʼo+ŋəŋ-nə-ḍ+metra-ḍ.*
        s/he   fish+look.for-FUT-NML+doubt-IND
        'He does not venture to go fishing.'

(553)   *If   i-ñ-nə-ḍ+amṭez-ḍ.*
        s/he   3SG-eat-FUT-NML+be.late-IND
        'He was late (or: had no time) to eat.'

(554)   *If   hurtʼiv-nə-ḍ+ləṭi-ḍ.*
        s/he   sit-FUT-NML+feel.disgust-IND
        'It was unpleasant for him to sit down.'

(555)   *If   pityə+řəpr-nə-ḍ+tʼxərp-ṭ.*
        s/he   written.paper+bring-FUT-NML+forget-IND
        'He forgot to bring the book.'

Illustrations for Subclass (2) verbs:

(556)   *Ur-gut   hum-ta   ṭəj   pal-roχ*
        be.good-ADV:3PL   be-COORD:3PL   again   forest-DAT/ADD

        vi-t   hum-nə-ḍ+əɣi-yər-ta.
        go-CONV:NAR:3PL   be-FUT-NML+not.want-INTS-COORD:3PL

        '(They) live well, don't want to go back (and) live in the forest again.'

(557)   *If   malɣo-gur   i-ñ-nə-ḍ+vār-ḍ.*
        s/he   be.much/many-ADV:3SG   3SG-eat-FUT-NML+be.shy-IND
        'He is ashamed to eat much.'

(558)   *If   kʼe+lu-[nə-]ḍ+əɣzu-ḍ.*
        s/he   fishing.net+make.fishing.net-FUT-NML+be.unable-IND
        'He cannot make fishing nets.'

The necessity of using a dependent predicate in the future tense form may be required by the expressive colouring of the utterance. Thus, in (559a) the future tense marker is obligatory, whereas in (559b) both tense forms are possible:

(559)   a.   *Lumr+ṭʼəu-r   i-z-nə-ḍ+əɣzu.*
             sable+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-skin-FUT-NML+be.unable
             'Taking out a sable (he) does not know (how) to skin it' (the main verb
             is used without the finite IND marker; cf. (579), (580) in 31.1.1.8).

b. [*If*]   *lumr+kʻu-gin,*   *i-z-ḍ+əɣzu-ḍ*
     s/he   sable+kill-CONV:CONC   3SG-skin-NML+be.unable-IND

     (→ *i-z-nə-ḍ+əɣzu-ḍ*).
     → 3SG-skin-FUT-NML+be.unable-IND

     'Though he has killed a sable he does not know (how) to skin it.'

Examples for Subclass (3):

(560)   *"Ŋafq-a,*   *ərk-ra,*   *ərk-ra.*
       friend-VOC   be.enough-COORD:2SG   be.enough-COORD:2SG

       Va-ḍ+tvi-nə-te".
       fight-NML+finish-FUT-IMP:2DU

       'Friend, enough, enough. Let's finish fighting' (the form in *-ḍ/-ṭ* is rather
       unusual, though it does occur; the converb in *-r, -t*, i.e. a form like *va-t tvi-*
       nəte, is more common).

(561)   *Ra+ñivx-gu*   *pʻ-ŋafq-ŋafq-ujn*   *ṭʻxa+oṭ-ṭ+muli-ḍ-ɣu.*
       drink+man-PL   REFL-friend-friend-LOC   money+ask-NML+do.often-IND-PL
       'Drinking (men) often ask each other for money.'

(562)   *Ñi*   *j-uru-ḍ+him-ḍ.*
       I   3SG-read-NML+know-IND
       'I can read.'

(563)   *Ətək*   *kʻe+lu-ḍ+him-ḍ.*
       father   fishing.net+make.fishing.net-NML+know-IND
       'Father can make fishing nets.'

31.1.1.3   *The desiderative suffix on the dependent predicate*

The suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* on a dependent predicate either retains its meaning entirely
(see (564)) or functions as a synonym of the future tense suffix *-nə-* (see (565)). These
two meanings are very close:

(564)   a.   *Ətək*   *ṭʻolŋi+vo-nə-ḍ+alʁazi-ḍ-ra.*
           father   reindeer+take-FUT-NML+refuse-IND-FOC
           'Father refused to take the deer' (… thought better of taking the deer').

     b.   *Ətək*   *ṭʻolŋi+vo-jnə-ḍ+alʁazi-ḍ-ra.*
           father   reindeer+take-DES/INCH-NML+refuse-IND-FOC
           'Father thought better of the intention to take the deer.'

     c.   **Ətək*   *ṭʻolŋi+vo-ḍ+alʁazi-ḍ-ra.*

(565)   a.   *Ətək*   *ṭʻo+ŋəŋ-nə-ḍ+metra-ḍ.*
           father   fish+look.for-FUT-NML+doubt-IND
           'Father doubts (if it is necessary) to catch fish.'

b. *Ətək   ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-**ijnə-ḍ**+metra-ḍ.*
father fish+look.for-DES/INCH-NML+doubt-IND
(same translation).

c. **Ətək   ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-**ḍ**+metra-ḍ.*

31.1.1.4 *Intensifying particles with the dependent predicate*

The intensifying particles *-ri-/-ti-/-di-/-tə-/-də-* sometimes occur on dependent predicates, in which case their force may be increased by the use of the free variant of the main verb (if it is transitive); see (567):

(566)   *Ноʙоŋan v-aṭik   i-ñ-nə-**ḍ-ri**+əyi-ḍ-ra.*
then   3SG-younger.sibling 3SG-eat-FUT-NML-even+not.want-IND-FOC
'Then her younger brother did not even want to eat.'

(567)   *If   loṭi+zif-toχ*
s/he   Russian+language-DAT/ADD

*p'-rəu-**ḍ-ri**   j-**ali**-ḍ.*
REFL-teach-NML-even   3SG-be.unable.to.finish-IND

'He did not manage even to learn the Russian language.'

31.1.1.5 *Indirect question*

The dependent predicate can take the indefinite particle *-lu* (see 23.8). The construction becomes a kind of indirect question. The verbs *metra-* 'doubt', 'hesitate', *p'anp'ara-* 'not know', 'not understand', *j-əyzu-/-əyzu-* 'be unable' and a number of others function as main verbs.

(568)   *Pət   vi-nə-ḍ-**lu**   j-a-nə-ḍ-**lu***
tomorrow go-FUT-IND-INDEF 3SG-what.to.do-FUT-NML-INDEF

metra-r   hum-ḍ.
doubt-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

'To go or not to go tomorrow – (he) is in doubt.'[3]

(569)   *Tu-nə-ḍ-**lu**,   qa-nə-ḍ-**lu***
go.upstream-FUT-NML-INDEF go.downstream-FUT-NML-INDEF

p'anp'ara-r   hum-ḍ.
not.know-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

'To go upstream or to go downstream – (he) does not know.'

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3. The authors' interpretation of forms like *vi-nə-ḍ-lu* in this type of constructions is not obvious. Two variants are possible: it may be (a) the indicative form of a verb or (b) a deverbal noun. We interpret this kind of forms as indicative verb forms because they do not form a syntactic complex (in terms of the authors of this book) with the independent predicate.

31.1.1.6   *The use of the main verbs without dependent predicates*
When used this way, the main verbs may function in a different meaning. Verbs are subdivided into the following syntactic classes.

1.   Intransitive one-place verbs:

(570)   *If   taur-ḍ.*
      s/he   be.long-IND
      'He is absent for a long time.'

2.   Intransitive two-place verbs:

(571)   *Ətək   hə+ñivɣ-doχ   alʁazi-ḍ-ra.*
      father   that+man-DAT/ADD   refuse-IND-FOC
      'Father gave up this man' (he knew he could not cope with him).

(572)   *If   ñəŋ-doχ   vār-ḍ.*
      s/he   we:EXCL-DAT/ADD   be.shy-IND
      'He feels shy before us.'

3.   Transitive two-place verbs:

(573)   *Ətək   tə+ñivɣ+him-ḍ.*
      father   this+man+know-IND
      'Father knows this man' (a shift in meaning; cf. (563)).

(574)   *Ñi   ma+ān-ḍ.*
      I   dried.fish+want-IND
      'I want dried fish'; 'I feel like eating some dried fish.'

(575)   *If   tə+ḍaŋgi+əɣzu-ḍ.*
      s/he   this+chief+not.know-IND
      'She does not know this chief' (cf. (558)).

The verb *p'anp'ara-* 'not know', 'be perplexed' occupies a somewhat different position. For instance, it cannot be used on its own; cf.:

(576)   **Ñi   p'anp'ara-ḍ.*
      I   not.know-IND
      'I don't know.'

**31.1.1.7   *"Polyfunctionality" of some verbs occurring in same-subject
         constructions***
A number of verbs, while retaining their meaning, occur in other types of constructions as well. Thus, the verb *taur-* 'linger', 'be long', 'stay too long', may form a complex verb when combined with a stem in the future tense.

(577) a. *Ətək   p'rə-**nə-ḍ**+taur-ḍ.*
father come-FUT-NML+be.long-IND
'Father is taking long to come' (lit. '… is slow in coming',
'… is lingering').

b. *Ətək   p'rə-**nə-daur-ḍ**.*
father come-FUT-be.long-IND
'Father is not coming a long time' (lit. '… is long in coming').

The verb *ṭxərp-/-řxərp-* 'forget' occurs in other constructions in the meaning 'not remember', 'forget some information', but not 'forget to do sth'. Similarly, the verb *j-im-/-him-* 'know' in other constructions has the meaning 'know, posess some information' instead of 'be able (to do sth)'.

31.1.1.8 *Expressive use*
Some of the verbs are sometimes used in a manner which is not quite clear, when a pause between the predicates seems to be allowed. In this case the dependent predicate is preferable without the subject and adverbials. The main verb is expressed by an ideophone or the verb in this position has zero finite marker.

(578) *Va+suɣ-u-nə-ḍ   **nuknuk** ha-ḍ.*
sabre+get.off-TR-FUT-NML be.slow be.so-IND
'(I/he) should have taken off the sabre – but (I/he) lingered'
(lit. 'taking off the sabre' – a nominalised object complex; the ideophone
nuknuk 'be slow' in combination with it is highly expressive here.)

(579) *… j-əɣzu-nə-ḍ   p'anp'ara-Ø.*
… 3SG-be.unable-FUT-NML not.know-Ø
'… what to do, (has) no idea' (final zero marker for expressivity).

(580) *Lumr+ṭ'əu-r   i-z-nə-ḍ   j-əɣzu-Ø.*
sable+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-skin-FUT-NML 3SG-be.unable-Ø
'Taking out a sable (he) does not know (how) to skin it' (finite zero form
for expressivity).

31.1.2   Different-subject two-predicate constructions

In this section the following properties of verbs are taken into account for description:

1. Transitivity/intransitivity.
2. The semantic characteristics of the lexical content.
3. Overlapping with the lexical content of other constructions.
4. Expression of same-subjectness.

31.1.2.1   *Transitive main verbs; their semantic characteristics*

Out of approximately 27 verbs functioning in the construction under consideration 23 are transitive. They also fall into partially interrelated semantic groups.

(581)   1. Verbs of perceiving and retaining information:

j-im-/-him-	'learn', 'know'
mə-	'hear', 'listen',
sel-/-ƫʻel-	'notice'
hujv-	'remember'
ƫxərp-/-řxərp-	'forget'
i-ndə-/-ñřə-	'see', 'find'
j-ama-/-ama-	'look'
rār-/-dār-/-tār-	'watch', 'follow'
ñu-	'look', 'examine', 'view', 'check'
j-əɣzu-/-əˉzu-	'be unable', not know'

Here are the resultative forms of some of these verbs:

j-im-ɣəta-/-him-ɣəta-	'know'
i-də-ɣəta-/-ñřə-ɣəta-	'see'
mə-ɣəta-	'hear'
sel-ɣəta-/-ƫel-ɣəta-	lit. 'have noticed'

2.   Causative verbs of giving or obtaining information:

fur-/-pʻur-	'tell about sth/sb'
ep-	'conceal', i.e. 'not tell'
j-oƫ-/-oƫ-	'ask'
xe-/-kʻe-	'consider sth/sb as sth/sb', 'think that'
e-ʁz-/-qʻoz-/-χoz-	'think'

3.   Verbs of expectation:

ŋarma-	'wait'
j-aχt-/-aχt-	'hope'

4.   Verbs of attitude and emotional reaction:

j-aŋr-/-aŋr-	'be surprised', 'wonder'
j-itru-/-hitru-	'ridicule', 'make fun of'
e-ɣəjiv-/-qrev-/-χrev-	'laugh at sb'
j-amχta-/-amχta-	'praise'
j-iz-/-hiz-	'imitate'

5.   The verb of hindering (not helping!):

j-aɣaɣ-/-aɣaɣ-	'disturb sb'

31.1.2.2 *The category of tense of the dependent predicate*

In contrast to same-subject two-predicate constructions, where the dependent predicate is predominantly used in the future tense form (see 31.1.1.2), here all the main verbs, with few exceptions, can take a dependent predicate in both tense forms:

(582) a. *If   ñi p'rə-ḍ+hujv-ḍ.*
           s/he I   come-NML+remember-IND
           'He remembered my arrival.'

   b. *If   ñi p'rə-**nə**-ḍ+hujv-ḍ.*
       s/he I   come-FUT-NML+remember-IND
       'He remembered my future arrival.'

(583) a. *Ñi if   vi-ḍ+heʁ-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
           I   s/he go-NML+know-SUP not.be-IND
           'I did not know about his leaving.'

   b. *Ñi if   vi-**nə**-ḍ+heʁ-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
       I   s/he go-FUT-NML+know-SUP not.be-IND
       'I did not know (that) he was going to leave.'

(584) a. *Atak   ṭ'uz+k'e   kəl-ḍ+xe-ḍ.*
           grandfather be.new+fishing.net be.long-NML+think-IND
           'Grandfather thought (that) the new fishing net was long.'

   b. *Atak   ṭ'uz+k'e   kəl-**nə**-ḍ+xe-ḍ.*
       grandfather be.new+fishing.net be.long-FUT-NML+think-IND
       'Grandfather thought (that) the new fishing net would be long.'

It is not any particular dependent predicate that can be used in the future tense form with any particular main verb. Thus, in the following sentences the future tense form of the dependent predicate may result in denoting situations that are hard to interpret:

(585) *If   ñi mu-inə-ḍ+sel-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
       s/he I   die-DES/INCH-NML+notice-SUP not.be-IND
       'He did not notice (that) I was ill.'

(586) *Sək imŋ pañḍ-ur-ḍ+aŋr-ḍ-ɣu.*
       all   they grow-be.good-NML+be.surprised-IND-PL
       'All (of them) were surprised at their beauty.'

(587) *If   ñi it-ṭ-ɣu+hujv-ḍ.*
       s/he I   say-NML-PL+remember-IND
       'He remembered what I had said.'

(588) *If   ñi ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-ḍ+rār-ḍ.*
       s/he I   fish+look.for-NML+watch-IND
       'He watched (how) I caught fish'; 'He watched my fishing.'

The main verbs with meanings like 'hear', 'notice', 'watch', 'see', when used in the non-future tense form, are unlikely to combine with the future tense form of dependent predicates; cf.:

(589)   *Qan   k'lə-x   əɣ-d̦+mə-ɣəta-d̦.*
         dog   street-LOC/ABL   bark-NML+hear-RES-IND
         '(One can) hear (that) a dog is barking in the street'; '(One can) hear a dog barking …'

Verbs with the meanings 'wait' and 'hope' take a dependent predicate in the future tense form:

(590)   *Sək   ţ'i   p'rə-nə-d̦+ŋarma-d̦-ra.*
         all   you:SG   come-FUT-NML+wait-IND-FOC
         'All (= everyone) are waiting for your arrival.'

(591)   *Imŋ   əkəkə   tolvət-nə-d̦+ŋarma-d̦.*
         they   at.last   be.summer-FUT-NML+wait-IND
         'The summer they had been waiting for (came) at last'; 'At last they (saw) the arrival of the summer' (the dependent predicate *tolvət-nə-d̦* is impersonal).

(592)   *Sək   ţ'i   p'rə-nə-d̦+aχt-ţ-ra.*
         all   you:SG   come-FUT-NML+hope-IND-FOC
         'All (= everyone) hope for your arrival'; '… (that) you will arrive.'

The choice of the tense form for the dependent predicate of the main verb with the meaning 'disturb', 'be in the way', 'hinder' may be determined by the speaker's view of the dependent action as one that has already begun, despite an obstacle or as one that has not begun as yet because of obstacles. The nature of the action expressed by the dependent predicate may influence the choice of the tense form. Thus, for instance, the verb with the meaning 'cook food' tends to be used in the future tense form, while the verb meaning 'catch (fish)' is preferable in the non-future tense form:

(593)   a.   *Ōla   p'-əmək   vəŋir-nə-d̦+aɣaɣ-d̦.*
               child   REFL-mother   cook-FUT-NML+disturb-IND
               'The child prevents his mother from cooking.'

         b.   *Ōla   p'-ətək   ţ'o+ŋaŋ-d̦+aɣaɣ-d̦. (ʔţ'o+ŋaŋ-nə-d̦).*
               child   REFL-father   fish+look.for-NML+disturb-IND
               'The child interferes with his father's fishing.'

The future tense form of the deverbal noun in (593a) indicates that 'mother' cannot begin cooking food; the non-future tense form *vəŋir-d̦* is less acceptable due to the meaning of simultaneity; in this case a better choice is the converb *vəŋir-ŋan* 'when she was cooking.'

(594) *Qo-la-f*   *ōla*   **p'-rəu-nə-ḍ**+*aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
be.ill-PERM-NML:LOC child REFL-teach-FUT-NML+disturb-IND
'The illness prevents the child from studying.'

(595) *Qan-gu ōla*   *q'o-nə-ḍ*+*aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
dog-PL child sleep-FUT-NML+disturb-IND
'Dogs (= their barking) don't let the child sleep.'

31.1.2.3 *Intensifying particles with the dependent predicate*

As well as in same-subject two-predicate constructions (see 31.1.1.4), intensifying particles can also be used here.

(596) a. *If*   *p'-ətək*   *p'rə-**nə-ḍ-ri**+t'xərp-ṭ.*
           s/he REFL-father come-FUT-NML-even+forget-IND
           lit. 'He forgot even about the arrival of his father.'

      b. *If*   *p'-ətək*   *p'rə-**nə-ḍ-hagin**+t'xərp-ṭ.*
           s/he REFL-father come-FUT-NML-even+forget-IND
           'He forgot even about the arrival of his father.'

31.1.2.4 *Intransitive main verbs*

In contrast to same-subject two-predicate constructions in which intransitive main verbs are prevalent (see 31.1.1.1), there are only four of such verbs in this case:

(597) *k'əmlə-*   'think'
      p'anp'ara- 'not know', 'be puzzled'
      t'ajʁor-   'not know'
      lizŋu-   'disturb', 'hinder', 'be in the way'

Constructions with post-posed contact intransitive verbs do not formally differ from constructions with transitive main verbs:

(598) *Hemar*   *t'ə-l-v-ux*
      old.man be.remote-PERM-NML:LOC-LOC/ABL

      ṭ'o+ŋəŋ-r   *p'-ŋafq*   *mu-ḍ*+**t'ajʁo-ḍ**.
      fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-friend die-NML+not.know-IND
      'The old man fishing in a remote place did not know about the death
      of his friend.'

(599) *Ōla*   *p'-əmək*   *vəŋir-nə-ḍ-lu*+**p'anp'ara-ḍ**.
      child REFL-mother cook-FUT-NML-INDEF+not.know-IND
      'The child is puzzled (whether) his mother will cook (food).'

However, not every intransitive verb can replace a semantically close transitive verb in this construction. Thus, in (600) substitution of the verb *it-* 'say' for the verb *fur-/-p'ur-* 'tell about sth/sb' is not possible:

(600)   *If   pʻ-ətək   imŋ-doχ   ṭʻxa+ōske-nə-ḍ+fur-ḍ.*
s/he   REFL-father   they-DAT/ADD   money+send-FUT-NML+tell-IND

(→ **it-ṭ*; it should be: *ha-vu-r/ha-gu-r*
say-IND   be.so-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG/be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

it-ṭ)
say-IND

'He told (someone) (that) his father would send them money.'

The verbs *lizŋu-* 'disturb', 'hinder', 'be in the way' and *pʻanpʻara-* 'not know', 'be puzzled'
require additional study. The following examples are given as food for thought:

(601)   a.   *If   nəmr   qʻo-nə-ḍ+lizŋu-ḍ.*
s/he   yesterday   sleep-FUT-NML+disturb-IND
'He could not fall asleep yesterday'; 'Something (mentioned in the
context) prevented him from falling asleep' (*nəmr* should better be
omitted).

   b.   *If   qʻo-nə-ḍ   – lizŋu-ra!*
s/he   sleep-FUT-NML   disturb-FOC
lit. '(They) don't let him sleep.'

31.1.2.5   *Indirect question*

An indirect question is marked by the indefinite particle *-lu* on the dependent predi-
cate (see 23.8, 31.1.1.5). This particle is automatically used if the latter depends on the
main verb *j-ot-/-ot-* 'ask', and also on some other main verbs if they contain the desid-
erative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-*:

(602)   *If   ətək-ux   liɣs+ñřə-ḍ-lu+oṭ-ṭ.*
s/he   father-LOC/ABL   wolf+see-NML-INDEF+ask-IND
'He asked (his) father (if he) had seen a wolf.'

(603)   *If   ñi   vi-nə-ḍ-lu+oṭ-ṭ.*
s/he   I   go-FUT-NML-INDEF+ask-IND
'He asked me (if I) would go.'

(604)   a.   *If   ñi   orbot-ṭ+him-ḍ.*
s/he   I   work-NML+know-IND
'He learnt (that) I worked.'

   b.   *If   ñi   orbot-ṭ-lu+him-ijnə-ḍ.*
s/he   I   work-NML-INDEF+know-DES/INCH-IND
'He wants to know (whether) I work.'

(605)   *If   jagur   imŋ-doχ   ṭʻxa+ōske-nə-ḍ-lu+χoz-ḍ.*
s/he   how:3SG   they-DAT/ADD   money+send-FUT-NML-INDEF+think-IND
'He thinks how (he) would send them money.'

A dependent predicate with the particle *-lu* is employed when the event denoted by the embedded clause is not to take place definitely, if it is only expected or likely, etc.; cf.:

(606) a. *Ōla   pʻ-əmak   vəŋir-ḍ+ama-ḍ.*
           child REFL-mother cook-NML+look-IND
           'The child looks (how) his mother is cooking.'

    b. *Ōla   pʻ-əmak   vəŋir-nə-ḍ-**lu**+ama-ḍ.*
        child REFL-mother cook-FUT-NML-INDEF+look-IND
        'The child looks (whether) his mother will cook.'

    c. *Ōla   pʻ-əmak   vəŋir-ḍ-**lu**+ama-ḍ.*
        child REFL-mother cook-NML-INDEF+look-IND
        'The child looks (whether) his mother is cooking.'

The role of the particle *-lu* is not quite clear in sentences of the following type:

(607) a. *Ōla   pʻ-ətək   pʻrə-ḍ+him-ḍ.*
           child REFL-father come-NML+know-IND
           'The child knew (that) his father had come.'

    b. *Ōla   pʻ-ətək   pʻrə-ḍ-**lu**+him-ḍ.*
        child REFL-father come-NML-INDEF+know-IND
        lit. 'The child knew (whether) his father had come.'

31.1.2.6 *Same-subject constructions*

The constructions in question are most frequently used as different-subject. Same-subjectness is obligatorily marked by the reflexive pronoun *pʻi* in some cases and in some it is not obligatory. The rules are to be established yet.

   If we omit *pʻi* in the following sentence the part that follows will be perceived as subjectless and the meaning will change: someone known from the context noticed that Rum was losing his sight (cf. (489)):

(608) *Rum   pʻi   polm-ijvu-ḍ+sel-ḍ.*
       Rum   self be.blind-INCH/PROGR-NML+notice-IND
       'Rum noticed (that) he (= himself) was losing his sight.'

In the following sentence the use of *pʻi* does not seem to be obligatory:

(609) *If   imŋ-doχ   ṭʻχa+ōske-nə-ḍ+fur-ḍ.*
       s/he they-DAT/ADD money+send-FUT-NML+tell-IND
       'He said (that he) would send them money.'

In the following sentences the reflexive pronoun *pʻi* cannot be omitted:

(610) *Ñi   pʻi   nəx   imŋ-doχ   vi-jnə-ḍ+hujv-ḍ.*
       I   self today they-DAT/ADD go-DES/INCH-NML+remember-IND
       'I remembered (that) today I had to go to them.'

(611)   *Ñi* **p'i**   *imŋ-doχ*   *vi-t'a-ḍ-lu+t'χərp-ṭ.*
         I   self they-DAT/ADD go-USIT:1SG-NML-INDEF+forget-IND
         'I forgot (whether) I had visited them.'

In dialogue, the subject can be omitted on condition that the pronoun *p'i* is retained.

(612)   "*Ṭ'i*   *siḍ+χoz-ḍ-ŋa?*"   –   "**P'i** *pət*
         you:SG what+think-IND-Q   self tomorrow

         vi-nə-ḍ+χoz-ḍ-ra."
         go-FUT-NML+think-IND-FOC

         'What are you thinking about?' – 'I am thinking about my departure
         tomorrow.'

31.1.2.7   *Overlapping with the lexical types of the main verbs of other constructions*

The lexical type of the main predicate in different-subject two-predicate constructions overlaps with that of the following constructions: (1) same-subject two-predicate constructions; (2) two-predicate constructions with a converb in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t*; (3) compound sentences with an expounding part.

31.1.2.7.1   *Overlapping with the lexical types of the main verbs of same-subject two-predicate constructions*   The following transitive verbs differ in meaning when used in these constructions: *j-im-/-him-* 'know' (different-subject construction), 'be able' (same-subject construction); *j-əγzu-* (*j-ə⁻zu-*) 'not know' (different-subject construction), 'be unable' (same-subject construction); *t'χərp-/-řχərp-* 'forget (some information)' (different-subject construction), 'forget (to do sth)' (same-subject construction).

   The verb *p'anp'ara-* 'not know', 'be puzzled', 'wonder' retains the same meaning in both types of constructions.

31.1.2.7.2   *Overlapping with the lexical types of the main verbs in two-predicate constructions with a converb in -gu-r, -gu-t.*   In constructions with converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* with the verbs under consideration the subject of the dependent converb coincides with the object of the main verb (see case 2) in 16.2.2; also 14.2; 24.4). If the subject of the dependent verb is a noun or a 3SG pronoun the direct object of the main predicate is zero or expressed by the prefixed object markers *j-/i-/e-*. The actions expressed by both predicates are simultaneous; cf.:

(613)   a.   *Ñi* *p'-əmək*   *vəŋir-ḍ+amχta-ḍ.*
              I   REFL-mother cook-NML+praise-IND
              lit. 'I praised my mother's cooking.'

b. *Ñi   p'-əmək-aχ   vəŋir-**gu**-t*
    I   REFL-mother-DAT/ACC   cook-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

    j-amχta-ḍ.
    3SG-praise-IND

    lit. 'I praised my mother while (she) was cooking.'

c. *If   ñ-aχ   vəŋir-**gu**-r   ñ-amχta-ḍ.*
    s/he I-DAT/ACC   cook-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG   1SG-praise-IND
    'He praised me while (I) was cooking.'

In this construction the verb *ro-/-to-/-do-* 'help', which is not used with the indicative marker *-ḍ/-ṭ*, is used as the main verb. Out of verbs considered above (see 31.1.2.1), those with the meanings 'hear', 'hinder', 'imitate', 'praise', 'be surprised', 'laugh at sb', 'ridicule', and a number of others are used in this construction, but not verbs with the meanings 'know', 'not know', 'conceal', 'forget', 'remember', 'consider' and some other verbs.

31.1.2.7.3 *Overlapping with the lexical types of the main verbs in compound sentences with an expounding part.*   The semantic connection between the verbs in sentences provisionally viewed here as compound is not marked by any grammatical means, but by intonation alone. The main verb either follows the dependent predicate (in writing a dash is used) or precedes it (a colon is used to mark it). If the main verb is post-posed to the dependent one its subject usually precedes it, less commonly it follows it; cf.:

(614) a. *Ətək   if   p'rə-nə-ḍ+him-ḍ.*
           father s/he   come-FUT-NML+know-IND
           'Father knows (that) he will come.'

   b¹. *If   p'rə-nə-ḍ   – ətək   j-im-ḍ.*
        s/he come-FUT-IND   father 3SG-know-IND
        'He will come – father knows.'

   b². *If   p'rə-nə-ḍ   – j-im-ḍ   ətək.*
        s/he come-FUT-IND   3SG-know-IND   father
        'He will come – father knows.'

   c. *Ətək   j-im-ḍ: if   p'rə-nə-ḍ.*
       father 3SG-know-IND   s/he come-FUT-IND
       'Father knows: he will come.'

If sentences (614b)–(614c) are uttered as two separate sentences each, i.e. with a falling intonation after the first sentence, they sound "un-Nivkh".

(615) a. *Ñi   mu-inə-ḍ   – if   i-də-ḍ.*
           I   die-DES/INCH-IND   s/he 3SG-see-IND
           '(That) I was ill – he saw it.'

b. *Ñi mu-inə-ḍ* – *if* *i-də-ɣəta-ḍ.*
I die-DES/INCH-IND s/he 3SG-see-RES-IND
'I was ill – he was witness to it'; 'I was ill – he saw it.'

Examples with intransitive verbs:

(616) *Andχ-ku pət* *vi-nə-ḍ* *ətik*
guest-PL tomorrow go-FUT-IND grandmother

t'ajʁo-r *hum-ḍ.*
not.know-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

'Grandmother does not know (that) the guests will go tomorrow.'

(617) a. *Jagut imŋ p'rə-ḍ-lu* – *if* *p'anp'ara-ḍ.*
how:3PL they come-IND-INDEF s/he not.know-IND
'How they came – he does not understand.'

b. *Jagur p'rə-ḍ-lu* – *p'anp'ara-ḍ.*
how:3SG come-IND-INDEF not.know-IND
'How he came (there) – (he) does not understand' (e.g. about a man
who regains consciousness).

Sentences with a dependent clause expressing an indirect question manifest a closer
cohesion of both predicates. A sentence with the particle *-lu-* and without the "main"
verb may sound incomplete:

(618) *If p'rə-nə-ḍ-lu* – *ñi t'ajʁo-ḍ.*
s/he come-FUT-IND-INDEF I not.know-IND
'I did not know (if) he would come.'

The following series of sentences illustrates all the possible constituent sequences for
the meaning 'I forgot whether father had gone.' (619a) is a two-predicate different-
subject construction, and (619b) and (619c) are compound sentences.

(619) a. *Ñi ətək* *vi-ḍ-lu+t'xərp-ṭ.*
I father go-NML-INDEF+forget-IND

b. *Ñi t'xərp-ṭ* – *ətək* *vi-ḍ-lu.*
I forget-IND father go-IND-INDEF

c. *Ñi t'xərp-ṭ* – *vi-ḍ-lu* *ətək.*
I forget-IND go-IND-INDEF father

d. *Ətək vi-ḍ-lu* *ñi t'xərp-ṭ.*
father go-IND-INDEF I forget-IND

In the case of (619d) subject post-position would result in variant (619a).

In the case of a same-subject construction the number of variants is greater. Here
are all the variants for sentences with the meaning 'I forgot (whether) I had been to
(see) them.' (620a) is a two-predicate same-subject construction and the other variants
are compound sentences; in (620) the adverb *ərk* 'already' has to be added:

(620) a. *Ñi pʻi imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**+tʻxərp-ṭ.*
       I   self they-DAT/ADD go-NML-INDEF+forget-IND

   b. *Ñi imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**   ərk   tʻxərp-ṭ.*
       I they-DAT/ADD go-IND-INDEF already forget-IND

   c. *Pʻi imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**   ñi tʻxərp-ṭ.*
       self they-DAT/ADD go-IND-INDEF I   forget-IND

   d. *Imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**   ñi tʻxərp-ṭ.*
       they-DAT/ADD go-IND-INDEF I   forget-IND

(620d) is "better" than (620c).

   e. *Ñi tʻxərp-ṭ: imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**.*
       I   forget-IND they-DAT/ADD go-IND-INDEF

   f. *Ñi tʻxərp-ṭ: pʻi imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**.*
       I   forget-IND self they-DAT/ADD go-IND-INDEF

   g. **Ñi imŋ-doχ   vi-ḍ-**lu**   pʻi tʻxərp-ṭ.*
       I   they-DAT/ADD go-IND-INDEF self forget-IND

(621) *"Pʻi ñe-rχ   it-ṭ-γu   pʻ-ətək-roχ   it-ja".*
       self I-DAT/ADD say-NML-PL REFL-father-DAT/ADD say-IMP:2SG
       'Tell your father what you told me.'

As is seen from (619) and (620), compound sentences allow much broader positional variation of the constituents than sentences with deverbal nouns in *-ḍ/-ṭ*. These positional variants differ in logical stress, pragmatic significance of different constituents depending on the immediate context. The study of this issue is a special task.

31.2 Two-predicate different-subject constructions with a converb in *-gu-r, -gu-t*

In the first place, this section deals with constructions quasi-synonymous with those discussed above (see 31.1.2). Unlike the latter constructions, those considered here are semantically more vague, i.e. the relations between the main and dependent verbs are more varied, and only in one case we may perceive a kind of semantic "unequality" of the verbal forms in question. First we shall describe two-predicate constructions quasi-synonymous with those considered above, and then, in order to give a complete view, all the semantic relations will be described that are possible within two-predicate constructions with a dependent clause containing the converbal suffix *-gu-r*, *-gu-t*. Moreover, constructions with the complex suffix *-gu-ror*, *-gu-tot* which also forms different-subject constructions will be considered, and, in addition, constructions with the combined suffix *-γəta-gu-r*, *-γəta-gu-t*. In all the cases there is a close semantic relationship between the events described by two predicates, and, most frequently, shared participants.

31.2.1 Two-predicate different-subject constructions

31.2.1.1 *Constructions with a transitive main verb*

In these constructions the main verb performs approximately the same semantic function as a number of verbs listed in 31.1.2.1. Besides, we find here a number of verbs which do not occur in constructions with deverbal nouns in -*ḍ/-ṭ*. The main verbs belong to the following semantic types:

(622)   1.   Verbs of sensual perception:

mə-	'hear', 'listen to'
i-ndə-/-ñřə-	'see', 'find'
j-ama-/-ama-	'look'

2.   Verbs of emotional reaction and attitude:

j-aŋr-/-aŋr-	'be surprised', 'wonder'
j-itru-/-hitru-	'ridicule', 'make fun of'
e-ɣəjiv-/-qrev-/-rev-	'laugh at sb'
j-amχta-/-amχta-	'praise'
j-īz-/-hīz-	'imitate'

3.   Verbs of hindering and help:

j-aɣaɣ-/-aɣaɣ-	'disturb'
ro-/-to-/-do-	'help'

4.   The speech verb:

it-	'say'

In contrast to constructions with deverbal nouns in -*ḍ/-ṭ*, the dependent predicate here presents an action in its development, as a process. If possible, a native speaker translates these constructions into Russian by means of verbs, whereas constructions with deverbal nouns are translated mostly by means of Russian deverbal nouns. With regard to constructions with deverbal nouns we might say that the main verb governs nouns in a certain case form, because the range of the main verbs is quite limited, but here the situation is different. In fact, it is probably impossible to point out any restrictions on combinability of main verbs with converbs in -*gu-r*, -*gu-t*. On the other hand, the relations between these verbs and converbs in each particular case may vary significantly. In the examples below the causative meaning of the suffix -*ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* is not felt at all.[4] This suffix is perceived as a single entity with the added components -*r* and -*t*. Variants with the subject post-posed to a converbal group (see 623c)) are less common. The subject in this case is somewhat stressed. Examples:

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4.   Despite the bleached meaning of the causative suffix it is still glossed as CAUS in these cases, due to its initial meaning.

(623) a. *Ñi j-aχ   hogut   it-**ku-t***
          I   s/he-DAT/ACC in.that.way:1SG say-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

          mə-ḍ.
          hear-IND

          'I heard him saying so'; 'I heard (that) he had said so.'

      b. *Ñi j-aχ   hogut   it-**ku-t***
          I   s/he-DAT/ACC in.that.way:1SG say-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

          mə-doχ   qʻau-ḍ.
          hear-SUP   not.be-IND

          'I did not hear him saying so'; 'I did not hear (that) he had said so.'

      c. *J-aχ   hogut   it-**ku-t***   *ñi*
          s/he-DAT/ACC in.that.way:1SG say-CONV:CAUS:1SG   I

          mə-doχ   qʻau-ḍ.
          hear-SUP   not.be-IND
          (same translation).

(624) *If   pʻ-aṭik-aχ   ṭīr+pʻuv-**gu-r***
      s/he REFL-younger.sibling-DAT/ACC tree+saw-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

      pʻrə-r   ro-ḍ.
      come-CONV:NAR:3SG help-IND

      'He came (and) helped his younger brother to saw the firewood'; or: 'He,
      when his younger brother was sawing firewood, came (and) helped (him).'

(625) *Ñi pʻ-aṭik-aχ   ṭīr+pʻuv-**gu-t***
      I   REFL-younger.sibling-DAT/ACC tree+saw-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

      j-ama-ḍ.
      3SG-look-IND

      'I looked (how) my younger brother was sawing firewood.'

(626) *Ñi pʻ-aṭik-aχ   ṭīr+pʻuv-**gu-t***
      I   REFL-younger.sibling-DAT/ACC tree+saw-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

      i-də-ḍ.
      3SG-see-IND

      'I saw (how) my younger brother was sawing firewood.'

(627) *Ōla   ñ-aχ   vəɲir-**gu-r***   ñ-aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
      child I-DAT/ACC cook-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 1SG-disturb-IND
      'The child disturbs me while I cook (food).'; lit. 'The child, when I was
      cooking (food), disturbed me.'

(628) *Ñi ja-ʁan   ṭʻo+ek-**ku-t***   mə-ḍ.*
      I   s/he-RNOM fish+ask-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG hear-IND
      'I heard him asking for fish.'

(629) *Ñi ţ'am-gu   hǝ+umgu+mχaɣ-u-gu-t*
       I   shaman-PL   that+woman+be.young-TR-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

       mǝ-ḍ.
       hear-IND

       'I heard (that) shamans made that woman younger.'

Constructions with the main verb *it-* 'say' somewhat differ from those with the other verbs, because the action of the dependent verb here precedes that of the main verb. In this case the form in *-gu-r, -gu-t* is synonymous with the form in *-vu-r, -vu-t* (see 29.1).

(630) *If   p'-ǝtǝk-aχ   p'rǝ-gu-r*
       s/he REFL-father-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

       (→ p'rǝ-vu-r)   it-ţ.
          come-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

       'He said (that) his father had come.'

In sentences with a deverbal noun in *-ḍ/-ţ* the entire embedded clause takes the position of a direct object of the main verb:

(631) a.   *Ōla   ñi nǝmr   pitɣǝ+daju-ḍ+aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
            child I yesterday written.paper+write-NML+disturb-IND
            'The child disturbed my writing a letter yesterday.'

Sentences with converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* describe in fact the same situation, but, as mentioned above, the action of the dependent verb is presented in its progress. The main verb governs a human noun functioning as subject of the dependent action as well. Thus it is a same-subject sentence and this subject is named twice. Different subjects produce an ungrammatical construction; cf.:

       b.   *Ōla   ñi /ñ-aχ/ña-ʁan   nǝmr*
            child I/I-DAT/ACC/I-RNOM yesterday

            pitɣǝ+daju-gu-r   ñ-aɣaɣ-ḍ
            written.paper+write-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 1SG-disturb-IND

            (→ ñ-ro-ḍ).
            1SG-help-IND

            'The child disturbed my writing a letter yesterday (→ helped me).'
            'The child, when I was writing a letter yesterday, disturbed (→ helped me).'

       c.   **Ōla   if /j-aχ/ja-ʁan   (→ *if-ʁan)   nǝmr*
            child s/he/s/he-DAT/ACC/s/he-RNOM   he-RNOM yesterday

            pitɣǝ+daju-gu-r   ñ-aɣaɣ-ḍ.
            written.paper+write-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 1SG-disturb-IND

            'The child, when he was writing a letter yesterday, disturbed me.'

In (631c) both events turn out to be unrelated: they are presented as simply coinciding in time. This relation can also be expressed, but with the help of other converbs which do not presuppose a close semantic connection between the events; in this case a kind of "general" hindrance is implied, whereas in (631c) it is intentional and direct; cf.:

> d. *If   nəmr   pitɣə+daju-**ŋan***   *ōla*
>   s/he yesterday written.paper+write-CONV:ANT/SIM child
>
>   *ñ-aɣaɣ-ḍ.*
>   1SG-disturb-IND
>
>   'When he was writing a letter yesterday, the child disturbed me.'

In this sentence mere simultaneity is expressed, with the meaning 'when' emphasized.

> e. *If   nəmr   pitɣə+daju-**ra,***   *ōla*
>   s/he yesterday written.paper+write-COORD:3SG child
>
>   *ñ-aɣaɣ-**ra***   *ha-ḍ.*
>   1SG-disturb-COORD:3SG be.so-IND
>
>   'Yesterday he was writing a letter, and the child hindered me, (that's) how it was.'

If a converb is formed from a neutral verb (see Section 26.2) it usually denotes the phase of state (see (632a) and (632b)); the actional meaning may be indicated by adverbs (see (632c)):

> (632) a. *Imŋ j-aχ   mu-gu-t   i-də-ḍ.*
>   they s/he-DAT/ACC die-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL 3SG-see-IND
>   'They saw/found him dead'; 'They saw/found him when he was dead' (not '… was dying').
>
>   b. *Imŋ **nəmr** j-aχ   mu-gu-t*
>   they yesterday s/he-DAT/ACC die-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL
>
>   *i-də-ḍ.*
>   3SG-see-IND
>
>   (same translation).
>
>   c. *Imŋ j-aχ   **nəmr**   mu-gu-t*
>   they s/he-DAT/ACC yesterday die-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL
>
>   *i-də-ḍ.*
>   3SG-see-IND
>
>   'They saw (how) he had died yesterday.'

> (633) *Ñi ja-ʁan   q'o-gu-t   i-də-ḍ.*
>   I s/he-RNOM   sleep-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG 3SG-see-IND
>   'I saw him sleeping'; 'I saw him when he was sleeping.'

31.2.1.2   *Constructions with an intransitive main verb*

As well as in other types of constructions with transitive main verbs, in this case one construction with an intransitive main verb has also occurred, viz. with the verb *əyi-* 'not want' (see. 31.1.1.1). This verb is used with the suffix *-jo-* with the meaning of a diminished action. For some reason, this suffix cannot be omitted here.

(634)   a.   *Ñi   if   hu-tx   vi-inə-gu-t*
              I   s/he there-DAT/ADD go-DES/INCH-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

              əγ-jo-t   hum-ḍ.
              not.want-DIMN-CONV:NAR:1SG be-IND

              'I don't like (that) he is going to go there'; 'I don't want him to go there.'

        b.   *If   hu-tx   vi-inə-gu-t   ñi*
             s/he there-DA/ADD go-DES/INCH-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG   I

             əγ-jo-t   hum-ḍ.
             not.want-DIMN-CONV:NAR:1SG be-IND

             (same translation).

31.2.1.3   *Constructions with a converb in -γəta-gu-r, -γəta-gu-t*

Constructions with converbs containing the resultative suffix (see 24.6) describe the state of the subject referent of the dependent verb in which it is perceived or left by the subject of the main verb, and the meaning of the converb roughly corresponds to the meaning of a predicative attribute. Here is an example with a dependent predicate – subject-oriented resultative:

(635)   a.   *If   to-ḍ.*
             s/he cry-IND
             'He started crying/cried/cries.'

        b.   *If   to-γəta-ḍ.*
             s/he cry-RES-IND
             'He is in tears'; 'His face is tear-stained.'

        c.   *Ñi   i-də-ḍ.*
             I   3SG-see-IND
             'I saw him.'

        d.   *Ñi   j-aχ   to-γəta-gu-t   i-də-ḍ.*
             I   s/he-DAT/ACC cry-RES-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG   3SG-see-IND
             'I saw him tear-stained.'

Examples with a dependent predicate – object-oriented resultative:

(636)   a.   *If   hə+ʁan+ṭʼev-r   i-γ-ḍ.*
             s/he that+dog+stick-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-kill-IND
             'He stabbed (and) killed the dog.'

b. *Hə+ʁan*   *e-sp-r*   *i-x-kəta-ḍ.*
that+dog 3SG-stick-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-kill-RES-IND
'That dog is dead (= killed by stabbing).'

c. *If*   *hu-in*   *hə+ʁan*   *e-sp-r*
s/he there-LOC that+dog 3SG-stick-CONV:NAR:3SG

    i-x-kəta-gu-r   *i-də-ḍ.*
3SG-kill-RES-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-see-IND

    'There he found a dog stabbed to death.'

(637) a. *If*   *pʻi*   *qʻo–f+əju-ḍ.*
s/he self sleep-NML:LOC+mark-IND
'He marked the place (where) he had slept' ('… his sleeping place').

b. *If*   *qʻo–f*   *j-əju-yəta-ḍ.*
s/he sleep-NML:LOC 3SG-mark-RES-IND
'His sleeping place is marked.'

c. *If*   *pʻi*   *qʻo–f*   *j-əju-yəta-gu-r*
s/he self sleep-NML:LOC 3SG-mark-RES-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

    pʻəi-ḍ.
leave-IND

    'He left his sleeping place marked' (cf. 655)).

(638) *If*   *hə+larq*   *nama-gur*
s/he that+shirt be.good-ADV:3SG

    ŋav-yəta-gu-r   *tʻe-rx*
wrap-RES-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG you:SG-DAT/ADD

    řo-r   *vi-ḍ.*
carry-CONV:NAR:3SG go-IND

    'He carried away to you that shirt well rolled up.'

(639) *If*   *řə+řət-yəta-gu-r*   *pʻəi-ḍ.*
s/he door+close.door-RES-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG leave-IND
'He left the door closed (by him or someone else).'

31.2.1.4   *The main verb in the position of a converb*

Some main verbs may change places with converbs, thus forming quasi-synonymous
constructions; cf.:

(640) a. *Ōla*   *ñ-aχ*   *pʻ-ləv-gu-r*   *i-də-ḍ.*
child I-DAT/ACC REFL-hide-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-see-IND
'The child saw me hiding' ('… (how) I was hiding).'

b. *Ñi ōla*   *i-də-yəta-gu-t*   *pʻ-ləv-ḍ.*
I child 3SG-see-RES-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG REFL-hide-UND
'I hid myself before the child's eyes' ('… the child seeing it').

31.2.2 Two-predicate different-subject constructions with the meaning of simultaneity

In this case converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* correspond to same-subject converbs in *-r*, *-t*. In contrast to the constructions considered above, in which both predicates nearly always express simultaneous actions, the meaning of the main predicate here does not presuppose expression of a situation as an object.

(641) a. *Ñi p'rə-t*   *həḍ+χat-ṭ.*
           I   come-CONV:NAR:1SG that.one+scold-IND
           'Coming, I scolded that one.'

       b. *Ñi aṭik*   *p'rə-gu-t*   *həḍ+χat-ṭ.*
           I   younger.sibling come-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG that.one+scold-IND
           'When the younger brother came I scolded him.'

(642) a. *Ñoñi-ɣu eri+fi-gu-t*   *ñəŋ*
           goose-PL river+be.smwh-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL we:EXCL

           i-ɣ-ḍ.
           3SG-kill-IND

           'When the geese were in the river we killed them.'

(643) *Ətək   mu+heṭ-jiki-gu-t*   *ñi*
        father boat+take.out-be.unable-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG I

        vi-t   *p'-ətək+ro-ḍ.*
        go-CONV:NAR:1SG REFL-father+help-IND

        'Father could not drag out the boat, I went (lit. 'going') (and) helped my father' ('(helped) to drag out the boat' cannot be added).

31.2.3 Two-predicate different-subject constructions with the meaning of cause

The converb in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* is the main device of expressing the cause of the action named by the main verb. Actualization of the meaning of cause here depends on the relationship of the lexical meaning of both verbs, presence of negation and a number of some other factors which require further study. Thus, in (644b) negation brings out the meaning of cause, but not in (623b–c). Here, we do not have in mind the linguistic meaning of cause, i.e. the meaning which always manifests itself under strictly determined contextual factors, but a purely contextual interpretation. Examples:

(644) a. *Ña-ʁan nəmr   p'-rəv-ux*
           I-RNOM yesterday REFL-house-LOC/ABL

           mu-inə-gu-r   *if ñi-də-ḍ.*
           die-DES/INCH-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG s/he 1SG-see-IND

           'Yesterday he saw me being ill in my house.'

This is a different-subject two-predicate construction (see 31.2.1.1); but compare:

    b.   *Ña-ʁan nəmr p'-rəv-ux*
        I-RNOM yesterday REFL-house-LOC/ABL

        mu-inə-gu-r
        die-DES/INCH-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

        if ñi-də-doχ q'au-ḍ.
        s/he 1SG-see-SUP not.be-IND
        '(As) yesterday I was ill at home, he did not see me.'

As (623b) shows, the presence of negation does not always result in the meaning of cause. Compare a parallel with a converb in *-r*, *-t*:

(645) a. *Ñi mu-inə-t p'rə-ḍ.*
         I die-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG come-IND
         'I came being ill.'

     b. *Ñi mu-inə-t p'rə-doχ q'au-ḍ.*
         I die-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG come-SUP not.be-IND
         'I did not come (because) I was ill.'

The meaning of cause is usually present when the main verb denotes an emotional state or the dependent verb a state:

(646) a. *Ōla-gu q'o-gu-r v-əmək e-zmu-ḍ.*
         child-PL sleep-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-mother 3SG-rejoice-IND
         'Mother is glad (that) her children fell asleep.'

     b. *V-əmək ōla-gu q'o-gu-r e-zmu-ḍ.*
         3SG-mother child-PL sleep-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-rejoice-IND
         (same translation).

(647) *Imŋ j-aχ ŋa+ŋəŋ-gu-t*
      they s/he-DAT/ACC animal+look.for-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL

      maŋg-u-ḍ-ra.
      be.strong-TR-IND-FOC
      'They respect (him because) he (is good) at hunting.'

(648) *Imŋ j-aχ siḍ-ri nə-jsu-gu-t*
      they s/he-DAT/ACC what-even do-NEG:USIT-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL

      χat-ṭ.
      scold-IND
      'They scold him (for) doing nothing.'

(649) *Hemar p'olaγ-gu-t ñi jəri-ḍ.*
      old.man shout-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG I wake.up-IND
      'I woke up (because of) the old man's shouting.'

(650) *K'eŋ p'-ra-**gu**-t*   *ñi p'ovo-p'ovo   q'o-ḍ.*
       sun   REFL-shine-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG I   at.once-at.once sleep-IND
       'I fell asleep at once (because of) the warm sunshine' (lit. '…letting the sun
       shine on me').

(651) *Ñəŋ+tu   kerq+ŋala-**gu**-r   huŋju-ḍ*
       we:EXCL+lake   sea+resemble-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG make.noise-IND

       *la   teʁ-**gu**-r.*
       wind blow-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

       'Our lake makes noise like a sea when a (strong) wind blows.'

(652) *Ṭ'i   p'rə-**gu**-t*   *ñi e-zmu-ḍ.*
       you:SG come-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG I   3SG-rejoice-IND
       'I am glad (that) you have come.'

(653) *Ñəŋ   ləx kə-**gu**-t*   *e-zmu-ḍ.*
       we:EXCL rain fall-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1PL 3SG-rejoice-IND
       'We rejoice at the rain.'

(654) *Ñəŋ   ŋəu-**gu**-t*   *p'eʁo-ḍ.*
       we:EXCL grow.dark-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1PL hurry-IND
       'We hurried (because) it grew dark.'

31.2.4 Homonymy with converbs in *-r*, *-t* of causative verbs in *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-*

The causative meaning of the suffix *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* is quite distinct in these cases. But we cannot yet formulate the contextual factors that serve to bring it out.

(655) a. *If   p'i   q'o–f+əju-ḍ.*
           s/he   self   sleep-NML:LOC+mark-IND
           'He marked the place (where) he had slept (at night).'

       b. *If   p'i   q'o–f+əju-r*   *p'əi-ḍ.*
           s/he   self   sleep-NML:LOC+mark-CONV:NAR:3SG leave-IND
           'Marking the place (where) he had slept (at night) he left (it).'

       c. *If   ja-ʁan   p'i*
           s/he   s/he-RNOM   self

           *q'o–f+əju-**gu**-r*   *p'əi-ḍ.*
           sleep-NML:LOC+mark-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG   leave-IND

           'Making him to mark the place of his night stay, he left (him).'

(656) a. *If   ṭaŋgi+mu-ḍ.*   (*mu*- 'become' is transitive).
           s/he   chief+become-IND
           'He became a chief.'

b. *Imŋ j-aχ ṭaŋgi+mu-**gu-ḍ**.*
they s/he-DAT/ACC chief+become-CAUS-IND
'They made him (their) chief' (lit. 'forced (him) to become').

c. *Imŋ ja-ʁan ṭaŋgi+mu-**gu-t** ruγ-ḍ.*
they s/he-RNOM chief+become-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL elect-IND
'They elected him (their) chief' (lit. 'They, having made him chief, elected (him)').

31.2.5 Two-predicate constructions with a converb in *-gu-tot, -gu-ror*

Converbs with this suffix express either plain anteriority (cf. 14.1.2), e.g.:

(657) a. *Ñi liγs+qʻa-ḍ.*
I   wolf+shoot-IND
'I shot at the wolf.'

b. *Ñ-aχ liγs+qʻa-**gu-ror** nan*
I-DAT/ACC wolf+shoot-CAUS-CONV:DST:3SG already

ṭʻ-ətək pʻrə-ḍ-ra.
2SG-father come-IND-FOC
'Your father came after my having shot at the wolf already.'

(658) a. *If mu-ḍ.*
s/he die-IND
'He died.'

b. *Imŋ j-aχ mu-**gu-t** i-də-ḍ.*
they s/he-DAT/ACC die-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL 3SG-see-IND
'They saw him dead.'

c. *Imŋ j-aχ mu-**gu-tot** i-də-ḍ.*
they s/he-DAT/ACC die-CAUS-CONV:DST:3PL 3SG-see-IND
'They saw him after he had died.'

or anteriority combined with a permissive meaning of the type 'wait', 'expect' (sentences with meteorological verbs are prevalent here). The same meaning is displayed by the underlying causative verbs:

(659) a. *Tolvət-ṭ.*
be.summer-IND
'Summer (has come).'

b. *Ñəŋ tolvət-**ku**-ṭ.*
we:EXCL be.summer-CAUS-IND
'We (waited until) summer (came)'; 'Summer (has come to) us (at last).'

c.   *Ñəŋ*   *tolvət-**ku**-**tot***   *ey-ḍ.*
we:EXCL   be.summer-CAUS-CONV:DST:1PL   return.home-IND
'(Having waited until) summer (came) we set out for home';
'We (waited for) summer (and) set out for home.'

(660)   *Ñəŋ*   *kʼru-**gu**-**tot***   *ey-ḍ.*
we:EXCL   be.dawn-CAUS-CONV:DST:3PL   return.home-IND
'(Having waited until) dawn we went home.'

Causative constructions formed by verbs with the suffix *-ku/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-*

Some of the aspects of these constructions have been partially considered above (see Sections 16.2.2; 24.4; 25.1.4.2; 25.2.2.4; 25.2.3.2; 25.2.4; 31.2.4; 31.2.5). In this chapter the use of causative constructions is systematized. In addition, special attention is paid to the use of causatives in coherent texts, their interrelation with dependent converbs and also to the functioning of causatives in converbal form. Also considered are the conditions under which the factitive and the permissive meanings of causatives as well as their prohibitive use are realized. A related issue also discussed is expression of indirect orders. And, finally, reflexive causative constructions are briefly described.

32.1   Basic characteristics of causative constructions

32.1.1   Actualization of factitive and permissive causation

In the case of factitive causation the initial or the only source of changes on the referential level is the *causer subject* (cf. *ja velel emu prijti* 'I ordered him to come'; *ja pozval ego* 'I called him'; *ja zakryl dver'* 'I closed the door'; *ja ispugal ego* 'I scared him'). In the case of permissive causation the initial source of these changes is the *causee subject* and the role of the causer subject is limited to permitting or preventing these changes (*ja ne razreshil emu prijti* 'I did not allow him to come'; *ja ne vpustil ego* 'I did not let him in'; *ja ne dal dveri zakryt'sja* 'I didn't let the door close').

On the other hand, distant and contact causation should be distinguished. In the case of distant causation there is a mediated connection between the causer subject and the state caused, when the causee is to a greater or lesser degree independent in accepting or rejecting the new state. This fact often manifests itself in actualization of a certain time interval between the act of causation and the state caused. According to this definition, permissive causation is always distant (see Nedjalkov, Sil'nickij 1969: 20–50).

When two-place verbs are derived from one-place verbs by the means described in Section 24.3, the derived verb expresses contact factitive meaning, whereas if the causative suffix *-ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-* (see 24.4) is used the derivative acquires the distant-factitive or permissive meaning; cf.:

(661)   a.   *Lep   ṭʻe-ḍ.*
              bread be.dry-IND
              'The bread dried up.'

        b.   *If   lep+se-**u**-ḍ.*
              s/he bread+be.dry-TR-IND
              'He dried up the bread' (for dried crusts).

        c.   *If   lep+ətu-doχ   q'au-r   ṭʻe-**gu**-ḍ.*
              s/he bread+cover-SUP not.be-CONV:NAR:3SG be.dry-CAUS-IND
              'Not covering the bread, he let (it) dry up.'

When a causative can be derived from a one-place verb only by means of the causative suffix *-ku-/-γu-/-gu-/-xu-* the derivative denotes in most cases only distant factitivity and permissivity, and less commonly also contact factitivity; cf.:

(662)   a.   *Ōla   kəpr-ḍ.*
              child stand-IND
              'The child stopped/stood.'

        b.   *Umgu   p'-ōla-aχ   tu-in   kəpr-**gu**-ḍ.*
              woman REFL-child-DAT/ACC here-LOC stand-CAUS-IND
              (i) 'The woman stood her child here.'
              (ii) 'The woman (told/allowed) her child to stand here.'

Causatives derived from transitives may have either a distant-factitive or permissive meaning. In this respect they do not differ from causatives derived from intransitives. But the contact-factitive meaning is even less common among them than in causatives derived from intransitives. Distant factitivity can be both of verbal and non-verbal nature.

Causativity may be both actualized and non-actualized. Non-actualized causativity is more frequently factitive than permissive and, as a rule, it is contextual.

In the case of non-actualization the type of causation is partially predetermined by the objective nature of the action and its performer's objective attitude to it. In a causative situation, "sawing firewood" or some other work is not usually initiated by the causee-performer. Usually, the meaning is that of factitive causation:

(663)   *Ətək   ñ-aχ   ṭīr+p'uv-**gu**-ḍ.*
           father I-DAT/ACC tree+saw-CAUS-IND
           'Father (told) me to saw (some) firewood.'

(664) *Nanak*   *pʻ-aƫik-aχ*   *tʻu+lət-**ku**-ḑ.*
        elder.sister REFL-younger.sibling-DAT/ACC sledge+make-CAUS-IND
        'The elder sister (asked) her younger brother to make a sledge.'

Therefore permissivity (the initiative of the performer) must be actualized (in the same sentence or in a broader situational context; for instance: the listener knows that the performer wanted to saw firewood a week ago, but he was not allowed because he was too young).

    On the contrary, "tasting a dish" is more often initiated by the causee-performer:

(665) *Əƫik*   *ñ-aχ*   *mos+amla-**gu**-ḑ.*
        grandmother I-DAT/ACC mos+taste-CAUS-IND
        'Grandmother (allowed) me to taste the mos' (a dish made of berries and jellied meat).

Therefore, in contrast to the above case in (664), factitivity – the causee's reluctance should be actualized here.

    If a caused action is performed consciously and if it is not of negative nature the causation is interpreted as factitive in the absence of negation, as 'force', 'ask', 'order', 'tell (to do)', etc.

(666) *If*   *imŋ-aχ*   *qa-r*
        s/he they-DAT/ACC go.downstream-CONV:NAR:3SG

        *j-ama-**gu**-ḑ-ra.*
        3SG-look-CAUS-IND-FOC
        'He (asked) them to go downstream to take a look.'

(667) *Ñ-əmək*   *ñ-aχ*   *əƫik-uin*   *ƫʻo+ek-**ku**-jnə-ḑ.*
        1SG-mother I-DAT/ACC grandmother-LOC fish+ask-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND
        'My mother wants me (to go and) ask (some) fish from my grandmother.'

(668) *Nanak*   *ñ-aχ*   *ƫʻo+ek-**ku**-ḑ*
        elder.sister I-DAT/ACC fish+ask-CAUS-IND
        'The elder sister made me ask for (some) fish.'

(669) *Ətək*   *pʻ-ōla-aχ*   *eʁ-gur*   *pʻu-**gu**-jnə-ḑ.*
        father REFL-child-DAT/ACC be.fast-ADV:3SG go.out-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND
        'Father forces his son to go out fast.'

Actualization of the type of causation can be expressed in a variety of ways. The communicative purpose of an utterance may be viewed as one of the means of actualization.

Thus, for instance, if a causative verb is in the imperative mood form and (1) the causee-performer is coreferential with the initiator-speaker the likelier permissive meaning is 'allow/let me', less frequently, with negation, 'don't make me (do it)'; cf.:

(670) *Əmək-a,*   *ñ-aχ*   *mrə-**gu**-ja.*
       mother-voc I-DAT/ACC bathe-CAUS-IMP:2SG
       'Mother, allow me to bathe';

and (2) if the performer is not coreferential with the initiator and there is negation the likelier meaning is also permissive 'don't allow him/her' rather than 'don't make/force him/her' (i.e. the meaning of refusal from factitive causation):

(671) *T'a*   *j-aχ*   *t'oŋt'oŋ-**gu**-ja.*
       NEG s/he-DAT/ACC rotate.head-CAUS-IMP:2SG
       'Do not allow her to turn her head (all the time).'

32.1.2 Causative constructions as a means of expressing indirect order

In the Nivkh language there are no specialized grammatical means of expressing indirect orders, such as, for instance, the converb in *-vu-r*, *-vu-t* used as a specialized device for marking indirect speech (see Section 29.1). A certain part of causative constructions considered here can be regarded as transformations of 2SG/PL and 3SG/PL imperative constructions (1SG/PL imperative constructions do not have similar transforms); cf.:

(672) a. *Ñi* *ətək+k'ez-ḍ:*   *"P'rə-ja!"*
           I   father+say-IND   come-IMP:2SG
           'I told my father: "Come!"'

       b. *Ñi* *ətək+k'ez-t*   *j-aχ*   *p'rə-**gu**-ḍ.*
           I   father+say-CONV:NAR:1SG s/he-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-IND
           'I told father to come'; 'I told father (that) he should come.'

       c. *Ñi* *ətək-aχ*   *p'rə-**gu**-jnə-t*   *xez-ḍ.*
           I   father-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG say-IND
           (same translation).

If a verb introducing an order is in the future tense form the finite causative verb in indirect speech is naturally marked for the future tense:

(673) a. *Ñi* *ətək+k'ez-**nə**-ḍ:*   *"P'rə-ja!"*
           I   father+say-FUT-IND   come-IMP:2SG
           'I'll tell father: "Come!".'

       b. *Ñi* *ətək+k'ez-t*   *j-aχ*   *p'rə-**gu**-**nə**-ḍ.*
           I   father+say-CONV:NAR:1SG s/he-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-FUT-IND
           'I'll tell father to come (that he should come)'; 'I'll tell father (that) he should come.'

    c.   *Ñi ətək-aχ*   *pʻrə-**gu**-jnə-t*
        I   father-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG

        xez-nə-ḍ.
        say-FUT-IND

        (same translation).

In indirect orders for the 3SG/PL person(s) a mediator is present alongside with the causer and the causee. To make it easier to understand the construction, the converbal clause is usually post-posed to the main clause. Another device for making the sentence less cumbersome is deletion of the constituent naming the mediator. In the latter case a construction, when used out of broader context, may also be interpreted as derived from a 2SG/PL imperative construction:

(674) a.   *Ñi ətək+kʻez-ḍ:*   "*Atak*   *pʻrə-ʁazo*".
           I   father+say-IND   grandfather come-IMP:3SG/PL
           'I told father: "Let grandfather come".'

      b.   *Ñi ətək+kʻez-ḍ*   *atak-aχ*
           I   father+say-IND   grandfather-DAT/ACC

           *pʻrə-**gu**-jnə-t.*
           come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG
           'I told father (that) grandfather should come.'

      c.   *Ñi atak-aχ*   *pʻrə-**gu**-jnə-t*
           I   grandfather-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG

           xez-ḍ.
           say-IND
           'I said (that) grandfather should come.'

32.1.3   Restrictions on finite and other suffixes

Causatives in sentence-final position do not always accept all the finite suffixes listed in Chapter 22, and also in Chapters 23 and 24. Thus, for instance, instead of the form *pʻrə-gu-ḍ* in (675) the forms *pʻrə-**gu**-bara* (see 22.6), *pʻrə-**gu**-ʁar* (see 22.7), *pʻrə-**gu**-jlu* (see 22.10) can be used, but not *pʻrə-**gu**-yitle* (see 22.5; probably the categorical meaning prevents it), *pʻrə-**gu**-jqana* (see 22.2; the meaning of supposition prevents it), *pʻrə-**gu**-ḍ-lu* (see 23.8; because of the meaning of indefiniteness), *pʻrə-**gu**-bəñevo-ḍ* (see 24.16; because of the meaning of uncertainty):

(675)   *Ñi pʻ-ōla+kʻez-t*   *j-aχ*   *pʻrə-**gu**-ḍ.*
        I   REFL-child+say-CONV:NAR:1SG s/he-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-IND
        'I told my son to come.'

The question why and to what extent the grammatical morphemes enumerated here do not combine with the causative meaning requires special study.

32.1.4   Effective and non-effective causation

Usually, a causative verb in the non-future tense form presupposes effective causation, i.e. a sentence like (676a) cannot be logically followed by a sentence like (676b).

(676)   a.   *Ñi   p'-ōla+k'ez-t*   *j-aχ*
             I   REFL-child+say-CONV:NAR:1SG   s/he-DAT/ACC

             *p'rə-**gu**-ḍ-ra.*
             come-CAUS-IND-FOC

             'I told my son to come' (i.e. '… telling caused him to come, and he did').

        b.   *Hoʁagin   if   p'rə-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
             despite.that   s/he   come-SUP   not.be-IND
             'Despite that he did not come.'

Non-effective causation can be expressed in at least two ways. Firstly, by means of the aspectual suffix *-jvu-/-ivu-* (it can be used on verbs of motion only; see 24.9):

(677)   *Ṭ'-nanak-at*   *t'ləχāḍaŋge+ōla+əv-inə-r*
        2SG-elder.sister-FOC   sky.master+child+take-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG

        ṭ'-aχ   *ŋarʁoḍ-roχ   vi-**ivu**-gu-ḍ-ra*
        you:SG-DAT/ACC   trap-DAT/ADD   go-INCH/PROGR-CAUS-IND-FOC

        (→ *vi-**gu**-ḍ-ra*).
        go-CAUS-IND-FOC

        'Your elder sister, intending to marry the sky master's son, sends (→ sent) you into a trap.'   (Panfilov 1965: 222)

The second device is the suffix of intention which is semantically weakened when used in combination with the causative suffix; cf.:

(678)   a.   *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
             s/he   come-IND
             'He came.'

        b.   *If   p'rə-**jnə**-ḍ.*
             s/he   come-DES/INCH-IND
             'He is/was going to come.'

But:

(679)   *Ñi   p'-ōla+k'ez-t*
        I   REFL-child+say-CONV:NAR:1SG

        j-aχ   *p'rə-**gu-jnə**-ḍ-ra.*
        s/he-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND-FOC

        'I told my child to come.'

Unlike (676a), this sentence can be followed by a sentence like (676b).

32.1.5 Intensifying particles on causative verbs

Intensifying particles are possible only in analytical and complex forms of negation; cf.:

(680) a. *If   ñ-aχ   k'rəu-gu-ḍ-ra.*
           s/he   I-DAT/ACC   rest-CAUS-IND-FOC
           'He lets me have a rest.'

       b. *If   ñ-aχ   k'rəu-doχ-ti   q'au-gu-ḍ-ra.*
           s/he   I-DAT/ACC   rest-SUP-even   not.be-CAUS-IND-FOC
           'He doesn't let me have a rest at all.'

       c. *If   ñ-aχ   k'rəu-gu-j-di-ger-ḍ-ra.*
           s/he   I-DAT/ACC   rest-CAUS-EP-even-refuse-IND-FOC
           (same translation).

It is the intensifying particles that possess the greatest "penetrating" power to be used within complex formations.

32.1.6 Negative forms of causatives

In Nivkh negative forms for non-causatives are also more numerous than affirmative ones. Compare respectively:

A. For non-future tense forms:

(681) a. *If   vi-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-IND
           'He went/was going/goes.'

       b. *If   vi-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-SUP   not.be-IND
           'He didn't go/wasn't going/doesn't go.'

       c. *If   vi-də-ləɣə-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-even-not.have-IND
           (same translation).

B. For future tense forms:

(682) a. *If   vi-nə-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-FUT-IND
           'He will go.'

       b. *If   vi-nə-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-FUT-SUP   not.be-IND
           'He won't go.'

       c. *If   vi-nə-ʁavr-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-FUT-not.have-IND
           (same translation).

As we see, for each non-negative tense form of the predicate there are two negative forms. In the case of causatives this disproportion somewhat increases due to complex forms with the verb **ker-/-ger-** 'refuse'; cf.:

(683)   a.   *If*   *vi-ḍ.*
            s/he go-IND
            'He went/was going/goes.'

        b.   *If*   *vi-j-**ger**-ḍ.*
            s/he go-EP-refuse-IND
            'He refused to go.'

In causatives, the component **-ger-** is used regularly to express the meaning of prohibition; cf.:

(684)   a.   *Ətək*   *j-aχ*   *vi-**gu**-ḍ.*
            father s/he-DAT/ACC go-CAUS-IND
            'Father sent him.'

        b.   *Ətək*   *j-aχ*   *vi-**gu**-doχ*   *q'au-ḍ*
            father s/he-DAT/ACC go-CAUS-SUP   not.be-IND

            (or *vi-doχ*   *q'au-**gu**-ḍ*).
                go-SUP not.be-CAUS-IND
            'Father did not send him', 'Father did not let him go.'

        c.   *Ətək*   *j-aχ*   *vi-**gu**-j-**ger**-ḍ.*
            father s/he-DAT/ACC go-CAUS-EP-refuse-IND
            'Father forbade him to go.'

The sequence *vi-j-**ger**-**gu**-ḍ* 'cause to refuse to go' (cf. (700)) is also possible.

32.1.7   Causatives in constructions with homogeneous constituents

Homogeneous converbs syntactically dependent on the main causative verb also express causativity, but they cannot contain the causative suffix: it cannot be repeated in the same sentence. Curiously enough, these converbs do not agree in number and person with their own subject, but with the subject of the main clause, i.e. in the same way as converbs containing the causative suffix *-ku-/-yu-/-gu-/-xu-*; cf.:

(685)   a.   *Ōla*   *oz-r,*   *vi-r*   *vəɲir-ḍ.*
            child get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG go-CONV:NAR:3SG cook-IND
            'The boy got up, went (and) cooked.'

        b.   *Ñi* *p'-ōla-aχ*   *oz-t*
            I   REFL-child-DAT/ACC get.up-CONV:NAR:1SG

            vi-t,   *vəɲir-**gu**-ḍ.*
            go-CONV:NAR:1SG cook-CAUS-IND

            'I (asked) my son to get up (and) go to cook' (the converbs agree with the main subject *Ñi* 'I' instead of their subject *ōla* 'child').

c.   *Ñi*   *p'-ōla-aχ*   *oz-t*   *vi-t,*
     I   REFL-child-DAT/ACC   get.up-CONV:NAR:1SG   go-CONV:NAR:1SG

     vəŋir-gu-jnə-t   *it-ʈ.*
     cook-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG   say-IND

     (same translation).

In a chain of converbal clauses marked with the suffix *-ra*, *-ta* (see 14.1.3), not only affirmative, but also negative and affirmative forms of causatives can co-occur; as in (687):

(686)   *If*   *imŋ-aχ*   *ʈ'o+řa-ta*   *i-ñ-ta*
        s/he   they-DAT/ACC   fish+fry-COORD:3PL   3SG-eat-COORD:3PL

        ha-gu-jnə-r   *it-ʈ.*
        be.so-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

        'He told them to fry the fish and eat it.'

(687)   *If*   *imŋ-aχ*   *ʈ'o+řa-gu-ra*
        s/he   they-DAT/ACC   fish+fry-CAUS-COORD:3SG

        i-ñ-gu-j-ger-ra
        3SG-eat-CAUS-EP-refuse-COORD:3SG

        ha-r   *it-ʈ.*
        be.so-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

        'He told them to fry the fish but not eat it.'

Moreover, combinations of both causative and non-causative homogeneous constituents are also possible:

(688)   *If*   *p'e-ʁan*   *mu-inə-vu-r*   *it-ra*
        s/he   self-RNOM   die-DES/INCH-REP-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-COORD:3SG

        ña-ʁan   *oxt+řəpr-gu-jnə-r*   *ha-ḍ.*
        I-RNOM   medicine+bring-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   be.so-IND

        'He said (that) he was ill and (that) I must bring (him) medicine, (that) was so.'

32.2   Functions of converbal modifiers in sentences with a causative verb

In this type of constructions converbs may be of particular importance as specifiers of the causative meaning to a greater or lesser degree. In the first place, two types of the use of converbs are distinguished according to the feature "actualization of the mode of causation". Converbs of the first type are related to the meaning of causation, while

converts of the second type are not, or, at any rate, the relation is of a different kind; cf. respectively:

(689)   *Ətək   p'-ōla+q'at-r*   *j-aχ*   *p'rə-**gu**-d̦.*
        father   REFL-child+scold-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-IND
        'Father, scolding his son, made him come.'

(690)   *Ətək   p'-ōla+hujv-r*
        father   REFL-child+remember-CONV:NAR:3SG

        j-aχ   *p'rə-**gu**-d̦.*
        s/he-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-IND

        'Father, remembering his son, called him.'

In the first type three subtypes can be distinguished:

1.   The subject-causee is animate and performs the action consciously (cf. (689)).
2.   The subject-causee is inanimate or animate but the action caused is performed spontaneously:

(691)   a.   *If   vəjvəj-d̦.*
             s/he   smile-IND
             'He smiles.'

        b.   *Umguōla,   p'-aţik+ler-u-r*
             girl   REFL-younger.sibling+play-TR-CONV:NAR:3SG

             j-aχ   *vəjvəj-**gu**-d̦.*
             s/he-DAT/ACC   smile-CAUS-IND

             'The girl, amusing her younger sister, caused her smile.'

3.   Causation is in fact an expectation of an event; its controlled or spontaneous character is not relevant:

(692)   a.   *Ţ'o   ek-ţ.*
             fish   bite-IND
             'Fish took the bite.'

        b.   *Tə+ñivx   tək   ŋarma-ke   ţ'o   ek-**ku**-d̦.*
             this+man   long.time   wait-CONV:DUR/INST   fish   bite-CAUS-IND
             'This man waited for a long time (until) the fish took the bite.'

Let us consider these cases more closely.

32.2.1   The converb actualizes the mode of causation

At least three main cases can be distinguished in this type of constructions. Partially repeating what has just been said we may characterize these cases as follows.

In the first case the subject of causation induces the causee verbally or by his actions to perform an action, s/he promotes or hinders its realization.

In the second case the subject of causation performs a concrete action whose immediate consequence is the action caused. The latter may be a chance consequence of causation as well.

In the third case the causer does nothing and does not interfere. In this way s/he lets some event take place or s/he awaits the beginning of an action which s/he could not actually cause.

These three possibilities need to be considered more closely.

32.2.1.1   *The subject-causee controls his/her action and performs it deliberately*
At least three ways of its actualization can be distinguished.

32.2.1.1.1   *The converb denotes a speech act.*   These are transitives *xez-/-kʹez-* 'say', *j-añqa-/-añqa-* 'instigate', *j-alalʈu-/-alalʈu-* 'talk into (doing sth)', etc., and also intransitives taking a dative object: *it-* 'say', *ŋauʈu-* 'pass word (to sb)' (the intermediary cannot be named).

In these constructions a speech verb denotes plain conveying of information (cf., however, (700) where a speech verb is used as a means of compulsion); cf.:

(693)   a.   *Ətək   pʹrə-ḍ.*
             father   come-IND
             'Father came.'

        b.   *If   ətək+xez-ḍ.*
             s/he   father+say-IND
             'He said to (his) father.'

        c.   *If   ətək-aχ   pʹrə-**gu**-ḍ.*
             s/he   father-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-IND
             'He (told his) father to come'; 'He called (his) father'; 'He allowed father to come'; 'He let father approach (watching his approach)'; etc.

        d.   *If   ətək+xez-r   j-aχ   pʹrə-**gu**-ḍ.*
             s/he   father+say-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-IND
             'He told (his) father to come'; lit. 'Saying (it) to father, he caused him to come.'

As we see, actualization of the way of causation disambiguates interpretation of a sentence with a causative verb. In texts, however, this is far from frequent. Firstly, broader context itself can make it clear, and secondly, specification of the way of actualization may not be required by the communicative purpose of the utterance.

The converb in this type of constructions is used, as a rule, with the suffix *-r, -t*. Here are a few more examples:

(694)   a.   *If*   *ñ-ŋafq+xez-ḍ.*
           s/he   1SG-friend+say-IND
           'He said to my friend.'

        b.   *If*   *j-aχ*   *p'-ro-**gu**-ḍ.*
           s/he   s/he-DAT/ACC   REFL-help-CAUS-IND
           'He (asked) him to help him.'

        c.   *If*   *j-aχ*   *ṭīr+t'a-**gu**-ḍ.*
           s/he   s/he-DAT/ACC   tree+chop-CAUS-IND
           'He (asked) him to chop (some) firewood.'

        d.   *If*   *ñ-ŋafq+xez-r*   *p'-ro-r*
           s/he   1SG-friend+say-CONV:NAR:3SG   REFL-help-CONV:NAR:3SG

           j-aχ   *ṭīr+t'a-**gu**-ḍ.*
           s/he-DAT/ACC   tree+chop-CAUS-IND

           'He told my friend to help him chop the firewood.'

(695)   *Ōla*   *p'-ŋafq+añqa-r*   *j-aχ*
        child   REFL-friend+instigate-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he-DAT/ACC

        *p'ərifəri-**gu**-ḍ.*
        do.mischief-CAUS-IND

        'The boy talked his friend into doing mischief.'

Constructions with a dative/additive object:

(696)   *If*   *p'-ōla-**doχ***   *ŋauṭu-r*
        s/he   REFL-child-DAT/ADD   pass.word-CONV:NAR:3SG

        j-aχ   *qa-**gu**-ḍ.*
        s/he-DAT/ACC   go.downstream-CAUS-IND

        'Passing word (through someone) he (asked) his son to come.'

(697)   *If*   *ōla-gu-**doχ***   *it-r*   *imŋ*   *vəsk-**ku**-ḍ.*
        s/he   child-PL-DAT/ADD   say-CONV:NAR:3SG   they   wrestle-CAUS-IND
        'He told the children to wrestle.'

In these instances the subject of causation is named twice, once with the converb; cf., for instance, *ōla-gu-doχ* with *it-r* and *imŋ* with *vəsk-**ku**-ḍ* in (697). Mention of the performer may be absent with a speech verb:

(698)   *If*   *paṭe-gur*   *it-r*   *j-aχ*
        s/he   be.calm-ADV:3SG   say-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he-DAT/ACC

        *toqroq-**gu**-ḍ.*
        sneak.up-CAUS-IND

        'He calmly told him to sneak up.'

In type (698) sentences the unnamed "intermediary" may be identical with the performer, though not necessarily. In the latter case we observe double-stage causation.

32.2.1.1.2 *The converb denotes the mode of instigation.* Here verbs of different lexical meanings, including speech verbs, may take the converbal form. The difference from the previous case in which only converbs in *-r*, *-t* are used, is in the fact that here converbs in *-ke* are also used, and also adverbs of manner in *-skir* which are close to converbs (cf. 18.1; 16.8.3.2).

(699) a.　If　　p'xə-ḍ.
　　　　　s/he　return-IND
　　　　　'He returned'; 'He turned back.'

　　　b.　If　　j-aχ　　　　　p'xə-**gu**-ḍ.
　　　　　s/he　s/he-DAT/ACC　return-CAUS-IND
　　　　　'He (told) him to return.'

　　　c.　If　　xər-ḍ.
　　　　　s/he　force-IND
　　　　　'He drove (him) away' (lit. 'forced' – the sentence is complete).

　　　d.　If　　xər-**r**　　　　　　　(→ xər-**skir**)
　　　　　s/he　force-CONV:NAR:3SG　　force-ADV

　　　　　j-aχ　　　　　p'xə-**gu**-ḍ.
　　　　　s/he-DAT/ACC　return-CAUS-IND

　　　　　'lit. 'Forcing (him) he ordered him to return.'

(700)　*Jadoχparklu it-**ke**　　　　　　j-aχ*
　　　　whatever　say-CONV:DUR/INST　s/he-DAT/ACC

　　　　*ṭ'o+ek-ij-ger-**gu**-ḍ.*
　　　　fish+ask-EP-refuse-CAUS-IND

　　　　'Saying all kinds of things, (they achieved that) he refused to ask for fish.'

(701)　*Ətək　　ñ-əz-**ke**　　　　　　ñ-aχ*
　　　　father　I-call-CONV:DUR/INST　I-DAT/ACC

　　　　*p'e-rχ　　　　　tu-**gu**-ḍ.*
　　　　self-DAT/ADD　go.upstream-CAUS-IND

　　　　'Calling me, father forced me to come to him.'

(702)　*Ṭək　　　imŋ-uin　　hum-**ke***
　　　　a.long.time　they-LOC　be-CONV:DUR/INST

　　　　*hemar-aχ　　　　p'-xər-**gu**-ḍ.*
　　　　old.man-DAT/ACC　REFL-drive.out-CAUS-IND

　　　　'Staying (with) them for a long time, (he) caused the old man to drive him out.'

See also (689).

32.2.1.1.3 *The converb denotes help or hindrance.*   Let's suppose that we need to express in Nivkh the meaning of the Russian sentences *On pomog otcu vytashchit' lodku* 'He helped (his) father to pull out the boat', *On velel otcu vytashchit' lodku* 'He told (his) father to pull out the boat'. It turns out that Nivkh lacks verbs corresponding to and used as the Russian verbs *pomoch'* 'help' and *velet'* 'tell, order'. The matter is, the Nivkh verb *ro-/-to-/-do-* 'help' is two-place: it can be used only in sentences like 'He helped me', 'I helped my father', etc. The concrete nature of help itself is made clear by the context or it is expressed by the verb on which the verb *ro-/-to-/-do-* depends (!) syntactically, i.e. it is not the verb *ro-/-to-/-do-* that controls the verb denoting a concrete action, but the other way round. Nevertheless, the syntactically optional constituent of the construction carries a significant semantic load. Its deletion may change the mode of causation considerably; cf.:

(703) a. *If   vi-r   p'-ətək+ro-r*
           s/he go-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-father+help-CONV:NAR:3SG

           *mu+heṭ-**ku**-ḍ.*
           boat+take.out-CAUS-IND

           'He went (and) helped his father to take out the boat';
           lit. 'Going, helping his father, he caused (him) to take out the boat.'

       b. *If   vi-r*
           s/he go-CONV:NAR:3SG

           *p'-ətək-aχ   mu+heṭ-**ku**-ḍ.*
           REFL-father-DAT/ACC boat+take.out-CAUS-IND

           'He went (and) made his father take out the boat.'

The verb *j-aγaγ-/-aγaγ-* 'disturb' requires the use of a causative verb in the negative form:

(704) a. *If   p'-ətək+aγaγ-r*
           s/he REFL-father+disturb-CONV:NAR:3SG

           *mu+heṭ-**ku**-doχ   q'au-ḍ.*
           boat+take.out-CAUS-SUP not.be-IND

           'He didn't let his father take out the boat';
           lit. 'Hindering his father, he didn't let (him) take out the boat'
           (cf. also (630), (631b)).

32.2.1.2 *The subject-causee does not control his/her action and performs*
            it spontaneously
A distinctive feature of causatives derived from verbs denoting actions which always or usually rule out their intentional performance (an inanimate object, spontaneous action or process, etc.) is the common use of such causatives with the indication of the cause. Sentences without such an indication are often perceived by native speakers as elliptical and not easy to understand. These causatives are usually derived from intransitives.

However, one should not think that such converbs are used specially to specify the nature of causation. Not infrequently a causative form is used, it seems, for the syntactic linking of two actions which are in a cause-and-effect relation.

In this function, converbs in *-r*, *-t*, in *-ke* and also in *-ra*, *-ta* have been registered.

1.   Converbs in *-r*, *-t*:

(705)   a.   *Ma   kut-ṭ.*
             dried.fish fall-IND
             'The dried fish fell down.'

       b.   *If   ma   kut-**ku**-ḍ.*
             s/he dried.fish fall-CAUS-IND
             'He (did something so that) the dried fish fell down' (the situation
             is not clear).

       c.   *If   ma+suγ-u-**r**   ərkə   kut-**ku**-ḍ.*
             s/he dried.fish+get.off-TR-CONV:NAR:3SG almost fall-CAUS-IND
             'Taking down the dried fish he nearly dropped it.'

As we see, in the Russian (and English – eds) translations the causative relation between two actions is not, as a rule, explicitly expressed. Most frequently it is expressed in translation by means of coordinated clauses linked by the conjunction *i* 'and'.

(706)   *Ñi χa-jnə-ŋan   if   ñ-ruz-**r***
        I   shoot-DES/INCH-CONV:ANT/SIM s/he I-push-CONV:NAR:3SG

        *ñi varu-**gu**-ḍ.*
        I   miss-CAUS-IND
        'When I wanted to make a shot he pushed me (and) I missed (the aim)' (lit.
        '…made me miss') (see also (691)).

(707)   [*If*] *k'e-γu+p'əi-**r**   nivγ+aγaγ-ḍ.*
               s/he fishing.net-PL+leave-CONV:NAR:3SG man+disturb-IND
               'Leaving the fishing nets [he] inconvenienced people.'

(708)   *Новаŋan ñaγr p'-χoti+rulku-**r***
        then   rat   REFL-burrow+get.into-CONV:NAR:3SG

        *təvγ-ra: p'-nonχ-xu+haz-**r***
        enter.house-COORD:3SG   REFL-calf-PL+take.between.teeth-CONV:NAR:3SG

        *ŋeṭγju-**gu**-ra,*
        squeak-CAUS-COORD:3SG

        *eṭkəlmr+pəyi-**r**   q'valγju-**gu**-ra.*
        wooden.dish+drag-CONV:NAR:3SG make.noise-CAUS-COORD:3SG
        'Then the rat, crawling into its burrow, entered (it): biting its young (it)
        made (them) squeak, and dragging the wooden dish made (it) produce
        noise.'   (Krejnovich 1934: 221)

2. Converbs in -**ke**:

(709) a. *If   p'er-ḍ.*
s/he   tire-IND
'He got tired.'

b. *P'rə-jvo   ṭək   k'rəu-doχ q'au-ke,*
come-CONV:PROGR long.time rest-SUP   not.be-CONV:DUR/INST

ōla-aχ   p'er-gu-ḍ.
child-DAT/ACC   tire-CAUS-IND

'On the way (they) did not have a rest for a long time (and thus) tired the child.'

(710) a. *Řəf   əki-ḍ.*
wound   be.bad-IND
'The wound is/was bad.'

b. *Təmk+oxt-ti+ləyə-ke,   p'ake   nan*
hand+drug-even+not.have-CONV:DUR/INST even.more   already

řəf   əki-gu-ḍ.
wound   be.bad-CAUS-IND

'(He) did not treat (his) hand (and therefore) the wound became already worse (than before).'

3. Converbs in -**ra**, -**ta**:

(711) *Hoвar   ñaγr e-rχ   məγ-ra,*
then:3SG   rat   s/he-DAT/ADD descend-COORD:3SG

i–q'ol+mam-ra   j-aχ   eru-gu-r
3SG-neck+squeeze-COORD:3SG s/he-DAT/ACC vomit-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

γe-r   i-ñ-γət-ra.
take-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-eat-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-COORD:3SG

'Then the rat went down to it, squeezed its neck, making it vomit, taking (it) ate it.'   (Krejnovich 1934: 221)

32.2.1.3 *Causation of an event is anticipation-dependent*
The subject of the state caused acts purposefully or spontaneously. In this case the feature "subject control over his action" is kind of neutralized, because the causer does not actually interfere in the event which happens to be involved in his sphere of interests. The causer is just awaiting its beginning:

(712) *Hə+von-gu   xeki-la+ə⁻r+t'əu-ŋan*
that+villager-PL be.in.need-PERM+time+get.into-CONV:ANT/SIM

p'-ŋafq+ro-t
REFL-friend+help-CONV:NAR:3PL

hum-t   *ilγ-gu-ḍ.*
be-CONV:NAR:3SG be.break.of.ice-CAUS-IND

'The inhabitants of that village went through a needful period helping each other,   (until) the ice (on the river) broke.' (When ice on the river broke, fish appeared and starvation was over) (see also (692)).

32.2.2   The converb does not actualize the means of causation

As mentioned above, converbs syntactically dependent on causatives do not obligatorily actualize the means of causation with all causative verbs (with some causatives, however, actualization is obligatory). Converbs may denote place, time and other attendant circumstances of a causative action. Thus, for instance, in the sentence

(713)   *If*   *pʻ-ōla+kʻez-r*   *j-aχ*   *pʻrə-gu-ḍ.*
        s/he   REFL-child+say-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-IND
        'He called his child'; lit. 'He, telling his child, made him come.'

the converbal clause *pʻ-ōla+kʻez-r* 'telling his child' can be replaced by *pʻ-ōla+hujv-r* 'remembering his child', *pʻ-ōla+ñřə-r* 'seeing his child', *mu+řiv-r* 'sitting in the boat', etc. (see (690), (677)).

32.3   Causative constructions with a causative verb in converbal form

Causatives occur as converbal forms in *-gu-jnə-r, -gu-ror, -gu-tot*; negative causatives appear as converbs in *-gu-j-ger-r, gu-j-ger-t*. In converbs in *-gu-r, -gu-t* the causative meaning is most frequently absent (see, however, the form *eru-gu-r* in (711)). The desiderative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* cannot be deleted in non-negative converbs, nor in negative converbs in *-doχ qʻau-gu-jnə-r, -doχ qʻau-gu-jnə-t,* whereas in negative converbs with the component *-ger-*, on the contrary, it cannot be added. As usual, the subject of the action caused can be marked by means of all the variants of the dative/accusative case. True, in some cases there seem to be restrictions on the choice of the forms coinciding with the nominative case, and also on the suffix *-ʁan*.

32.3.1   Causative verbs used as converbs in *-gu-jnə-r, -gu-jnə-t* and *-gu-j-ger-r, -gu-j-ger-r*

Two main cases of the use of these converbal forms can be distinguished. In the first case the causer aims at making the causee perform or not perform an action by means of the action named by the main verb; cf.:

(714)   *If*   *j-aχ*   *pʻrə-gu-jnə-r*   *it-ṭ.*
        s/he   s/he-DAT/ACC   come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
        'He said (to him that) he should come'; 'He told him to come.'

In the second case the action expressed by the converb is a direct consequence of the action denoted by the main verb; cf.:

(715) *Ṭʻo vərk-toχ   q'au-**gu**-jnə-t*   *ñəŋ*
fish go.bad-SUP   not.be-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1PL we:EXCL

tafṭ si-ḍ-ra.
salt put-IND-FOC

'To keep the fish from going bad we put salt (into it).'   (Panfilov 1965: 158)

32.3.1.1 Subordination of causatives to speech verbs and other verbs denoting means of causation

32.3.1.1.1 *Lexical meanings of the main verb.*   As has been already mentioned above, Nivkh lacks three-place verbs like the Russian verbs *pomoch'* 'help', *meshat'* 'hinder', etc. Respective verbs are either non-existent and their meaning is expressed by the causative suffix in a most general way, or they are two-place verbs. Verbs with the meanings 'ask' (*ek-*) and 'demand' (*lanə‾‾-*) combine only with nouns denoting concrete objects (the verb *ek-* is used in order to ask for money, a knife, etc., but it cannot be used to ask someone to come, to lend money, etc.). In combination with converbs-causatives, verbs of the following lexical-semantic groups are used:

1. Verbs of speech: *xez-/-kʻez-* 'say', *it-* 'say', *j-añqa-/-añqa-* 'instigate', 'incite', *toxtku-* 'persuade', 'talk (into doing sth)', *j-alalṭu-/-alalṭu-* 'talk (into doing sth)', 'urge', *kəxṭu-* 'order', 'bid', *ŋauṭu-* 'pass word (to sb)', 'deliver (via sb)'.
2. Verbs denoting some kind of influence upon the causee subject: *χaṭ-/-q'at-* 'scold', *ŋayŋay-* 'threaten', *xər-/-q'ər-* 'drive away', 'force', etc.
3. Verbs of instigating a change of place, motion: *j-əz-/-əz-* 'call', etc.

32.3.1.1.2 *Referent relations between the object of the main verb and the subject of causation.*   Two cases should be noted.

1. Most frequently these actants are coreferential:

(716) *If   pʻ-ōla-doχ   j-aχ*
s/he REFL-child-DAT/ADD   s/he-DAT/ACC

*pʻrə-**gu**-jnə-r   it-ṭ.*
come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

'He told his son to come.'

The object of the main verb is often omitted:

(717) *If   j-aχ   p'rə-**gu**-jnə-r   it-ṭ.*
         s/he s/he-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND
         'He told him to come.'

2.   Less commonly, the actants in question are non-coreferential. In these cases two-stage causation is observed. The converb is not infrequently post-posed to the final verb:

(718) *Ñi p'-ōla+k'ez-ḍ   atak-aχ*
         I   REFL-child+say-IND grandfather-DAT/ACC

         *p'rə-**gu**-jnə-t.*
         come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG
         'I told my son (to tell) grandfather to come.'

Not infrequently, constructions like (717) may also be interpreted as involving an intermediary. The following sentence is most likely to be interpreted this way:

(719) *Ñi p'-ōla-aχ   p'rə-gu-j-ger-t   it-ṭ.*
         I   REFL-child-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-EP-refuse-CONV:NAR:1SG say-IND
         'I said (that) my son should not come' ('… asked someone to tell my son that he was not allowed to come'; the phrase would be out of place if the son were present).

32.3.1.1.3 *Relations between synonymous constructions with a causative verb in the dependent and the main position.* Constructions with causatives in the position of the main verb are considerably more frequent than those with causatives – dependent converbs. The latter are possible only with a limited number of verbs denoting means of causation. If their lexical content is identical constructions with final causatives denote more intensive causation, often effective, with the desired result; cf.:

(720) a. *If   p'-ōla+k'ez-r   j-aχ*
             s/he REFL-child+say-CONV:NAR:3SG s/he-DAT/ACC

             *p'rə-**gu**-ḍ.*
             come-CAUS-IND
             'He told his son to come (and he did).'

      b. *If   p'-ōla-aχ   p'rə-gu-jnə-r*
             s/he REFL-child-DAT/ACC come-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG

             xez-ḍ.
             say-IND
             'He called his son.'

32.3.1.2   *The purposive meaning of converbal forms of causatives*
Examples:

(721)   *Park maŋ-gur   t'āmə-r   p'-ōla*
        self   be.strong-ADV:3SG do.with.great.skill-CONV:NAR:3SG REFL-child

   maţki-ke   j-aχ
   be.little-CONV:DUR/INST s/he-DAT/ACC

   *k'ə-**gu**-jnə-**r***   *rəu-ḍ.*
   be.skilful-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG teach-IND

   'Himself being a great master (he) teaches his son since (he) was very little,
   to become skilful.'

(722)   *Ñi tu-in   kər-t   hum-nə-ḍ, j-aχ*
        I   here-LOC stay-CONV:NAR:1SG be-FUT-IND s/he-DAT/ACC

   *p'i-də-**gu**-j-ger-**t**.*
   REFL-see-CAUS-EP-refuse-CONV:NAR:1SG

   'I shall stop (and) stay here, for him not to see me'; lit. '…not wishing him
   to see me.'

(723)   *Imŋ ja-ʁan   brigadir+mu-**gu**-jnə-**t**.*
        they s/he-RNOM   team.leader+become-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3PL

   ruγ-ḍ.
   elect-IND

   'They elected him team leader'; lit. '…elected him wanting to make him
   become …' (*mu-* 'become' is a transitive verb).

32.3.2   Causative verbs in the form of converbs in *-**gu**-ror*, *-**gu**-tot*

These converbs denote actions after which the action of the main verb takes place. The
causative meaning is backgrounded; cf.:

(724)   *Ətək   vi-**gu**-tot   ñi q'o-ḍ.*
        father go-CAUS-CONV:DST:1SG I   sleep-IND
        'I fell asleep after father left'; 'Father left (and) I fell asleep.'

The forms under consideration can also express a particular kind of reduced permis-
sivity. It is observed in cases when the subject expects some event (not dependent on
him or his will), usually with the intention of performing some other action, and this
expectation is interpreted as a causing factor. The causative verb in this case is usually
marked with the converbal suffix of anteriority *-ror*, *-tot*:

(725)   a.   *La   teʁ-ḍ.*
             wind blow-IND
             'The wind blows.'

b. *Ñəŋ   la   teʁ-gu-tot   kəj-γir   vi-ḍ.*
we:EXCL wind blow-CAUS-CONV:DST:1PL sail-INSTR go-IND
'(Having waited) until the wind blew, we set out under sail.'

(726)   *Ətək   tə+ñivγ+guγu-r   j-aχ*
father   this+man+call-CONV:NAR:3SG s/he-DAT/ACC

alvre-gu-ror   xez-ḍ.
look.back-CAUS-CONV:DST:3SG say-IND

'Having called this man (and waiting) until he looked back, father said'
(cf. 32.2.1.3).

32.3.3   Causative verbs in the form of converbs in *-r*, *-t*

It seems we should distinguish between causatives in converbal form with the suffix
-r, *-t* (see *eru-gu-r* in (711)) and non-causative verbs used in converbal form with the
marker *-gu-r*, *-gu-t* denoting simultaneity of two related situations. The fact that in the
latter case the causative meaning does manifest itself to a certain degree is indicated
by the oddity (illogicality, in the opinion of native speakers) of some main verbs. In
the case of the converbal marker *-ŋan* denoting simultaneity without any additional
features, there are no such restrictions; cf.:

(727)   a. *Ətək   mif+k'əz-ŋan   ñi hur-mi-rx*
father   earth+dig-CONV:ANT/SIM I   there-inside-DAT/ADD

vaqa+huḍi-ḍ.
box+put-IND

'When father dug (a hole in) the ground I put a box in there.'

b. *Ətək   mif+k'əz-gu-tot,   ñi*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:DST:1SG I

hur-mi-rx   vaqa+huḍi-ḍ.
there-inside-DAT/ADD box+put-IND

'After father had dug the ground I put a box in there.'

c. *Ətək   mif+k'əz-gu-t,   ñi*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG I

hur-mi-rx   vaqa+huḍi-ḍ.
there-inside-DAT/ADD box+put-IND

'Father was digging the ground (and) I was putting the boxes in there.'

(728)   a. *Ətək   mif+k'əz-ŋan   ñi ex-t   vi-ḍ.*
father   earth+dig-CONV:ANT/SIM I   go.home-CONV:NAR:1SG go-IND
'When father was digging the ground I went home.'

b. *Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**gu-tot**   ñi*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:DST:1SG   I

ex-t   vi-ḍ.
go.home-CONV:NAR:1SG   go-IND

'When father (finished) digging the ground I went home.'

c. *Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**gu-t**   ñi*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:CAUS:1SG   I

ex-t   vi-ḍ.
go.home-CONV:NAR:1SG   go-IND

'When father was digging the ground I went home' (= I had nothing to do there).

(729) a. *Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**ŋan**   ñi   qʽo-ḍ.*
father   earth+dig-CONV:ANT/SIM   I   sleep-IND
'When father was digging the ground I fell asleep.'

b. *Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**gu-tot**   ñi   qʽo-ḍ.*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:DST:1SG   I   sleep-IND
'After father had dug the ground I fell asleep.'

c. **Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**gu-t**   ñi   qʽo-ḍ.*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG   I   sleep-IND
'Father was digging the ground (and) I fell asleep' (seems illogical because of the causative sense lit. 'Letting father to dig I fell asleep').

(730) a. *Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**ŋan**   ñi   qʽo-t   hum-ḍ.*
father   earth+dig-CONV:ANT/SIM   I   sleep-CONV:NAR:1SG   be-IND
'When father was digging the ground I was asleep' (continuative).

b. **Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**gu-tot**   ñi*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:DST:1SG   I

qʽo-t   hum-ḍ.
sleep-CONV:NAR:1SG   be-IND

'After father (finished) digging the ground I was asleep' (illogical, as this means 'I was asleep during the digging').

c. **Ətək   mif+kʽəz-**gu-t**   ñi*
father   earth+dig-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG   I

qʽo-t   hum-ḍ.
sleep-CONV:NAR:1SG   be-IND

'Father was digging the ground, (and) I slept' (illogical; cf. (729c)).

The causative meaning is entirely absent in the following instances:

(731) a. *If   pʽ-ōla-aχ   vi-j-ger-**gu-rv**   it-ţ.*
s/he   REFL-child-DAT/ACC   go-EP-refuse-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND
'He said (that) his son did not want to go.'

b. *If   pʼ-ōla-aχ   vi-doχ*
  s/he   REFL-child-DAT/ACC go-SUP

  qʼau-gu-r   it-ṭ.
  not.be-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

  'He said (that) his son did not go.'

c. *If   pʼ-ōla-aχ   vi-də-ləɣə-gu-r*
  s/he   REFL-child-DAT/ACC go-even-not.have-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

  it-ṭ.
  say-IND

  'He said (that) his son did not go.'

32.3.4 Reflexive causative constructions

Two types of reflexive causatives are distinguished with regard to the coreferential relations of the reflexive marker *pʼ-*.

In the first type of causatives the marker *pʼ-* may be coreferential both with the main subject or with the subject-causee. These two interpretations differ with regard to their derivation; cf.:

(732) a. *Ətək   pʼ-ōla+ḍu-ḍ.*
    father   REFL-child+wash-IND
    'Father washes his son.'

b. *Ōla   pʼ-su-ḍ.*
  child   REFL-wash-IND
  'The child is washing.'

c. *Ətək   pʼ-ōla-aχ   ŋir+ḍu-gu-ḍ.*
  father   REFL-child-DAT/ACC cup+wash-CAUS-IND
  'Father (told) his son to wash the cup.'

d. *Ətək   ōla-aχ   pʼ-su-gu-ḍ.*
  father   child-DAT/ACC REFL-wash-CAUS-IND
  (i) 'Father (told) his son to wash himself' (derived from (732b));
  (ii) 'Father (told) his son to wash him (= father).'

Causative reflexives of the second type allow interpretation (ii) only, because they have no reflexives of type (733b) due to extralingual reasons; cf.:

(733) a. *Ətək   ōla+tʼu-ḍ.*
    father   child+pursue-IND
    'Father caught up with (his) son.'

b. **Ōla   pʼ-řu-ḍ.*
  child   REFL-pursue-IND
  *'The child caught up with himself.'

c. *Ətək   ōla-aχ   p'-ŋafq+řu-**gu**-ḍ.*
    father   child-DAT/ACC   REFL-friend+pursue-CAUS-IND
    'Father (told) his son to catch up with his friend.'

d. *Ətək   ōla-aχ   p'-řu-**gu**-ḍ.*
    father   child-DAT/ACC   REFL-pursue-CAUS-IND
    'Father let his son catch up with him.'

The meanings of reflexive causatives are basically the same as those of non-reflexive causatives. With regard to frequency, however, the permissive meaning is prevalent (especially in the case of verbs denoting "unpleasant" actions).

(734)   *T'a   j-aχ   p'e-ryop-**ku**-ja.*
        NEG   3SG-DAT/ACC   REFL-touch-CAUS-IMP:2SG
        'Do not let him touch you.'

The factitive meaning also occurs; e.g.:

(735)   *If   ţək   ñ-aχ   p'-ŋarma-**gu**-ḍ.*
        s/he   long.time   I-DAT/ACC   REFL-wait-CAUS-IND
        'He made me wait for him a long time' (as he did not come at all or was late).

Permissivity often results due to objective causes (the subject is not in a position to show resistance), as is the case in the following example:

(736)   *Ōla,   nav-at   ţ'i   harʁo-ʁa,*
        child,   now-FOC   you:SG   be.strong-CONV:COND

        *kins-ku+**k'u**-ra,   ţ'i   ţez-ʁa,*
        devil-PL+kill-COORD:2SG   you:SG   be.weak-CONV:COND

        *kins-ku   p'i-ɣ-**gu**-ra.*
        devil-PL   REFL-kill-CAUS-COORD:2SG

        'Son, just now if you are stronger (you) will kill the devils, if you are weaker, the devils will kill you'; lit. '… you'll let the devils kill yourself'

        (Panfilov 1965: 224).

(737)   *Ñi   qoţu-t   hum-t*
        I   be.silent-CONV:NAR:1SG   be-CONV:NAR:1SG

        *əmək-aχ   p'-əz-**gu**-ḍ.*
        mother-DAT/ACC   REFL-call-CAUS-IND

        'Keeping silent, I (in this way) make mother call me.'

(738)   *… Mer   sək   p'i-ɣ-**gu**-nə-ḍ-ra.*
        we:INCL   all   REFL-kill-CAUS-FUT-IND-FOC
        '… (this way) we all (of us) will let kill us.'

(739)   *T'a   p'-ləzi-**gu**-ve!*
      NEG   REFL-pass-CAUS-IMP:2PL
      'Don't let (them) pass past you!'

(740)   *Əkən   ñ-aχ   p'-ro-**gu**-ḍ.*
      elder.brother I-DAT/ACC REFL-help-CAUS-IND
      'My elder brother asks me to help him'; lit. '…asks to help himself.'

(741)   *If   imŋ-aχ   ţ'o+řa-tot*
      s/he they-DAT/ACC fish+fry-CONV:DST:3PL

      *i-ñ-**gu**-j-ger-r   it-ţ.*
      3SG-eat-CAUS-EP-refuse-CONV:NAR:3SG say-IND

      *P'-ŋarma-**gu**-jnə-ḍ.*
      REFL-wait-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND

      'He told them to fry the fish (and) not eat it. Wait for him' (lit. 'told them to wait for him').

(742)   *If   imŋ-aχ   ţus   p'-imə-**gu**-jnə-r*
      s/he they-DAT/ACC meat REFL-give-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG
      it-ţ.
      say-IND
      'He told them to give him (lit. 'himself') meat.'

Relative clauses

33.1   Subject and non-subject relative clauses

Any verbal sentence with the subject and direct object expressed by nouns may be transformed into two types of embedded subordinate relative clauses (**RC**). In one of these types the head word corresponds to the subject of the respective simple sentence (SS) with a verb in the predicate function (henceforth *subject RC*), and in the second type the head word corresponds to the direct object of the SS (*non-subject RC*, in this case *direct-object RC*); cf. Examples (46b) and (46c) in subsection 11.4.1 respectively).

Thus, either of the two nominal constituents can be made the head word of a derived relative clause, the other one remaining a part of this attributive clause. The attributive phrase is an incomplete clause; the verb retains either (a) the direct object or (b) the subject. It should be stressed that the final consonant of the subject in a direct-object RC does not affect the initial sound of the adjacent verb, i.e. an attributive complex is not formed and the subject "behaves" in the same way as in the SS.

The two verbal forms used in (46b) and (46c) are translated into Russian by the active and the passive participles respectively.[1] But the verbal form *řa-* 'fry' in (46c) is not passive at all. Strictly speaking, there is no special form *řa-* here either, and this is an instance of addition proper, or more exactly juxtaposition of words. In the environment of this form, and in the marking of other words no changes take place either. The subject of *řa-* in (46c) is formally identical with the subject of the SS. The object of action in (46b) is formally no different from the direct object of (46a). Thus, there seems to be no reason to see the active voice in (46b) and passive in (46c). The Russian translations containing the active and the passive participles may suggest the idea of voices, but if these Nivkh RCs are translated with the help of the relative pronoun *kotoryj* 'which', 'who' the illusion of voices being expressed in Nivkh RCs disappears entirely.

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1.   These forms are translated into English by participles as well; and they may be translated into both languages by means of relative clauses; see examples below.

33.2 Retention of verbal suffixes in relative clauses

The verb within a RC retains all the suffixes of the non-syntactic form marking which it has in the SS. Thus, the verb of the RC in (743a)

(743) a. *umgu* *ye+ḍus* …
woman take+meat
'the meat bought by the woman …'; 'the meat (which) the woman bought.'

may, for instance, contain the following suffixes:

     b. *umgu* *ye-jnə+ḍus* …
     woman take-DES/INCH+meat
     'the meat (which) the woman wants to buy…'

     c. *umgu* *ye-j-ger+ḍus* …
     woman take-EP-refuse+meat
     'the meat (which) the woman refuses to buy…'

     d. *umgu* *ye-də-ləyə+ḍus* …
     woman take-even-not.have+meat
     'the meat (which) the woman did not buy…'

     e. *umgu* *ye-jsu+ḍus* …
     woman buy-NEG:USIT+meat
     'the meat (which) the woman never buys…'

33.3 A relative clause embedded in a non-verbal sentence

As a rule, a relative clause functions within a verbal sentence; cf.:

(744) *Umgu* *ye+ḍus* *kut-ṭ.*
woman take+meat fall-IND
'The meat bought by the woman fell down.'

However, direct-object RCs may be used in non-verbal sentences. In this case an RC occurs as a question or as a reply to a question, and contains the pronoun *təḍ* 'this one', *həḍ* 'that one', *aḍ* 'that one' in the initial position; cf.:

(745) a. *Aŋ* *ṭʻo+řa-ḍ-ŋa?*
who fish+fry-IND-Q
'Who fried the fish?'

     b. *Təḍ* *aŋ* *řa+ṭʻo-hata?*
     this.one who fry+fish-Q:exactly
     lit. 'This (is) by whom fried fish?'; 'Who fried this fish?'

    c.   *Təḍ   əmək   řa+ṭʼo.*
        this.one mother fry+fish
        'This is the fish fried by mother.'

The last sentence may also be a reply to the questions *Təḍ siḍ?* 'What (is) this?', *Təḍ siḍ+so?* 'What fish is this?'. Compare also:

(746) a.   *Aŋ   larq+ye-ḍ?*
        who shirt+take-IND
        'Who bought the shirt?'

      b.   *Təḍ   (həḍ, aḍ)   aŋ   ye+larq?*
        this.one that.one that.one who take+shirt
        lit. 'This (that) is by whom bought shirt?'; 'Who bought this shirt?'

      c.   *Təḍ   (həḍ, aḍ)   ətək   ye+larq.*
        this.one that.one that.one father take+shirt
        'This (that) (is) a shirt bought by father'; 'This is a shirt father bought.'

33.4   Homonymy of free and bound variants of transitives

In direct-object RCs the verb stem is used in its free variant (see Chapters 3; 10; 11.4.2), i.e. in a variant in which the prefixed marker indicates a 3SG direct object (the pronoun *if* 's/he' is as a rule represented by the syntactic zero in direct object position) or a distantly placed substantive direct object. The latter takes place if the direct object is inverted for communicative purposes: stressing or its thematization.

    Here is an example with the verb *i-ɣ-/-kʼu-/-xu-* 'kill', 'catch prey':

(747) a.   *Qʼotr loṭi+xu-ḍ.*
        bear   Russian+kill-IND
        'A bear killed a Russian.'

      b.   *Loṭi   qʼotr+kʼu-ḍ.*
        Russian bear+kill-IND
        'The Russian killed a bear.'

      c.   *Hə+loṭi   qʼotr i-ɣ-ḍ.*
        that+Russian bear 3SG-kill-IND
        'A bear killed this Russian.'

An example for the verb *ye-/-ke-* 'take', buy':

(748) a.   *Hemar   təf+ke-ḍ.*
        old.man house+take-IND
        'The old man bought a house.'

    b.   *Hə+dəf   hemar   γe-ḍ.*
        that+house old.man take-IND
        'The old man man bought that house.'

An example with the verb *j-amχta-/-amχta-* 'praise':

(749) a. *Ətək   ōla+amχta-ḍ.*
         father child+praise-IND
         'Father praised/praises the child.'

      b. *Ōla   ətək   j-amχta-ḍ.*
         child father 3SG-praise-IND
         'Father praises/praised the child.'

In some special cases of the alternation of the final consonant of the direct object, as has been mentioned above (see Chapter 3), the bound variant is formally identical with its free variant. In this case it may be difficult to distinguish between the subject and direct object; cf.:

(750) a. *Əmək   aţik+χat-ţ.*
         mother younger.sibling+scold-IND
         'Mother scolds the younger brother.'

      b. *Aţik   əmək+χat-ţ.*
         younger.sibling mother+scold-IND
         'The younger brother scolds mother.'

Compare ambiguity in the interpretation of the RC:

(751) a. *Ətək   zu+ōla   qʻo-ḍ.*
         father wash+child sleep-IND
         'The child washed by father sleeps.'

      b. *Ətək+zu+ōla   qʻo-ḍ.*
         father+wash+child sleep-IND
         'The child (who) washed (his) father sleeps.'

(752) a. *Ətək   za+umgu   ţʻoχt-ţ.*
         father strike+woman be.drunk-IND
         'The woman beaten by father is drunk.'

      b. *Ətək+za+umgu   ţʻoχt-ţ.*
         father+strike+woman be.drunk-IND
         'The woman who beat father is drunk.'

In such cases the subject and direct object (expressed by certain nouns?) can be differentiated by means of the prefixed possessive (*v-*, *i-*) and reflexive (*pʻ-*) pronouns; cf.:

(753) a. *Aţik*   *pʻ-əmək+χat-ţ.*
           younger.sibling REFL-mother+scold-IND
           'The younger brother scolds his mother.'

       b. *Aţik*   *v-əmək*   *χat-ţ.*
           younger.sibling 3SG-mother scold-IND
           lit. 'Younger brother, his mother scolds.'

(754) a. *Ətək*   *pʻ-ōla+dəu-ḍ.*
           father REFL-child+teach-IND
           'Father teaches his child.'

       b. *Hə+ōla*   *v-ətək*   *rəu-ḍ.*
           that+child 3SG-father teach-IND
           lit. 'That child, his father teaches.'

(755) a. *Ōla*   *pʻ-ŋafq+za-ḍ.*
           child REFL-friend+strike-IND
           'The child beat his friend.'

       b. *Ōla*   *i-ŋafq*   *za-ḍ.*
           child 3SG-friend strike-IND
           lit. 'The child, his friend beat.'

33.5 Direct object relative clauses

It is but natural that the noun – head word can be used in the same functions as any other noun in a sentence, including the function of an attribute of another noun.

   If a relative clause is embedded in a sentence with a transitive predicate the complex sentence contains two subjects: one of the transitive predicate, and the other of the attribute in the RC. Both subjects always differ with respect to the position in the sentence; cf.:

(756) a. *Ñi* *lep+γe-ḍ.*
           I   bread+take-IND
           'I bought (some) bread.'

       b. *Ətək*   *lep+ñi-ḍ.*
           father bread+eat-IND
           'Father eats bread.'

       c. *Ətək*   *ñi* *γe+lep+ñi-ḍ.*
           father I   take+bread+eat-IND
           'Father eats the bread I bought' ('… bread bought by me').

d. *Ñi   ətək   ɣe+lep+ñi-ḍ.*
    I   father take+bread+eat-IND
    'I eat the bread father bought.'

The subject of a RC coreferential with the subject of the main clause, whatever its person and number, is expressed by the reflexive pronoun *p'i*; cf.:

e. *Ətək   p'i   ɣe+lep+ñi-ḍ.*
    father   self take+bread+eat-IND
    'Father eats the bread he bought.'

f. *Ñi   p'i   ɣe+lep+ñi-ḍ.*
    I   self take+bread+eat-IND
    'I eat the bread I bought.'

The general rule of placing the underlying SS in the position of a RC is as follows: the head word is omitted in the RC in order to have it named only once in the sentence.

In the RC all the constituents present in the related SS are retained. The only restriction is avoiding redundant repetition; cf.:

(757) a. *Hə+ōla   ñivx+qʻa-ror   kʻit-ṭ.*
           that+child   man+shoot-CONV:DST:3SG   run.away-IND
           'Having shot at the man, that boy ran away.'

       b. *If   hə+ōla-ux   siḍ-lu+ot-ṭ.*
           s/he that+child-LOC/ABL   what-INDEF+ask-IND
           'He asked that child (about) something.'

       c. *If   ñivx+qʻa-ror*
           s/he man+shoot-CONV:DST:3SG

           kʻit+ōla-ux   siḍ-lu+ot-ṭ.
           run.away+child-LOC/ABL   what-INDEF+ask-IND

           'He asked (about) something the boy (who) had shot at a man (and) run away.'

Omission of a RC, unless this is compensated by some other attributes (e.g. *hə* 'that', etc.) results in semantic and/or communicative incompleteness.

33.6   Subject relative clauses

We shall consider now the types of RCs in more detail, in the first place those in which the head word is not in its turn an attribute of another head word (on this issue see Chapter 11). It may be worthwhile reminding that there are two main types, subject and non-subject RCs (see 33.1).

Subject RCs are generally formed in a simpler way than non-subject RCs. It is sufficient to place the subject in the position of the head word, i.e. in contact post-position relative to the verb – attribute. The verb itself does not acquire any marking. The initial sound of the head word undergoes changes according to the general rules of an attributive complex (see Chapter 11).

There are some restrictions on the formation of RCs: the head word cannot be (a) a proper name, (b) a kinship term, (c) a pronoun. Thus, if the subject of a SS is one of these types of nominals the SS may be transformed into a non-subject RC only (see 33.7 below).

Here are examples for subject RCs with different syntactic types of verbs:

(758) a. *Hə+ñivx ṭiv-ux   p'rə-ḍ.*
           that+man road-LOC/ABL come-IND
           'That man came by the road.'

      b. *Ṭiv-ux   p'rə+ñivx   kəpr-ḍ.*
           road-LOC/ABL come+man stand-IND
           'The man (who) came by the road stopped.'

(759) a. *Hə+křə   vo+aqr+p'i-ḍ.*
           that+cape village+place.in.lower.side.direction+be.smwh-IND
           'This cape is situated down the river below the village.'

      b. *Əmək   vo+aqr+p'i+křə-rx*
           mother village+place.in.lower.side.direction+be.smwh+cape-LOC/ABL

           qa-ḍ.
           go.downstream-IND

           'Mother went downstream (by boat) to the cape situated below the village.'

(760) a. *Umgu ōla-doχ   t'aχta-ḍ.*
           woman child-DAT/ADD be.angry-IND
           'The woman got angry with the child.'

      b. *Ōla-doχ   t'aχta+umgu   p'u-ḍ.*
           child-DAT/ADD be.angry+woman go.out-IND
           'The woman (who) got angry with the child went out.'

(761) a. *Umgu lep   p'-ōla+ar-ḍ.*
           woman bread REFL-child+feed-IND
           'The woman feeds her child with bread.'

      b. *Lep p'-ōla+ar+umgu   hurt'iv-ḍ.*
           bread REFL-child+feed+woman sit-IND
           'The woman feeding her child with bread sat down.'

(762)   a.   *Hə+ñivx*   *ōla-aχ*   *xota-roχ*
            that+man   child-DAT/ACC   town-DAT/ADD

            parf-t'əkə   *vi-gu-ḍ.*
            evening-DEST   go-CAUS-IND

            'That man let the child go to the town until evening.'

      b.   *Ōla-aχ*   *xota-roχ*   *parf-t'əkə*
            child-DAT/ACC   town-DAT/ADD   evening-DEST

            vi-gu+ñivx   *q'o-ḍ.*
            go-CAUS+man   sleep-IND

            'The man (who) let the child go to the town until evening fell asleep.'

Compare an example from a text:

(763)   a.   *Mer+ŋafq*   *ku*   *ə⁻rəkon*
            we:INCL+friend   that   long.ago

            mu-r   *q'auta+umgu+ñřə-ḍ.*
            die-CONV:NAR:3SG   disappear+woman+see-IND

            'Our hero saw (in the world of the dead) the woman (who) had disappeared, having died a long time ago.'

Compare the SS:

      b.   *Ku+umgu*   *ə⁻rəkon*   *mu-r*   *q'auta-ḍ.*
            that+woman   long.ago   die-CONV:NAR:3SG   disappear-IND
            'That woman, having died a long time ago, disappeared.'

33.6.1   Ambiguity of the reflexive pronoun *p'*- as a direct object within a relative clause

If the head word of the direct object *p'*- does not function as subject (cf. (761b)) the referential identity of this pronoun may be ambiguous. The respective RC may be a transform of two types of SS – the pronoun *p'*- may be coreferential either with the head word of the RC (interpretation (i) in (764d)) or with the subject of this RC (interpretation (ii)); cf.:

(764)   a.   *Ñivx*   *p'-rəu-ḍ.*
            man   REFL-teach-IND
            'The man studied', lit. 'taught himself.'

      b.   *Ñivx*   *ətək+rəu-ḍ.*
            man   father+teach-IND
            'The man taught (his) father.'

      c.   *Ətək*   *ñivx+ñřə-ḍ.*
            father   man+see-IND
            'Father saw the man.'

    d.   *Ətək*   [*ə⁻rəkon*]   ***p'-rəu+ñivx+ñřə-ḍ.***
        father long.ago REFL-teach+man+see-IND
        'Father saw the man (who) a long time ago (i) had studied; (ii) had
        taught him.'

The adverb *ə⁻rəkon* 'a long time ago' actualizes the meaning '(the man had) taught him.' Otherwise the first interpretation that comes to mind is '(the man had) studied.'

    The direct-object *p'-* is used if two conditions occur simultaneously: (a) coreferentiality of the SS subject and RC object, (b) the use of transitive verbs both in the RC and in the SS.

    In these cases ambiguity may be cancelled by the meaning of the predicate of the main clause; cf. (765) where interpretation (ii) is unlikely:

(765)   *Ətək*   ***p'-χoni+ñivx-doχ***   *ţ'xuz-ḍ.*
        father REFL-save+man-DAT/ADD ransom-IND
        'Father thanked (showed his gratitude to) the man (who) (i) had saved him
        (= father), (ii) ?had saved himself.'

Ambiguity is naturally absent if the reflexive cannot go back to the respective SS; cf.:

(766)   a. *Hə+ñivx*   *ətək+ŋarma-ḍ.*
           that+man father+wait-IND
           'This man waited for father.'

      b. **Hə+ñivx*   ***p'-ŋarma-ḍ.***
            that+man REFL-wait-IND
           'This man waited for himself.'

      c. *Ətək*   ***p'-ŋarma+ñivx+al-ḍ.***
           father REFL-wait+man+catch.up-IND
           'Father caught up with the man (who) (i) was waiting for him
           (= father), (ii) *was waiting for himself.'

A similar example:

(767)   *Ətək*   ***p'-əz+ñivx+or-ḍ.***
        father REFL-call+man+meet-IND
        'Father met the man (who) had called him.'

33.7   Types of non-subject relative clauses

Non-subject RCs may be subdivided into two types according to the syntactic role of the noun – head word in the respective SS: *object* and *adverbial RCs*. In adverbial RCs the verb has no special marking; the marking of RC manifests itself in blocking the possible lexical expression of the relevant actant or circonstant (by a pronoun, "zero").

Among object RCs two subtypes are distinguished: (a) direct object and (b) oblique object RCs. In case (b) transition of the object into the head word position is always marked by the 3SG pronoun prefixed on the predicate; the plural pronoun is not prefixed. In case (a) this transition, depending on the initial sound of a transitive or bitransitive predicate, is marked either (i) practically in all the cases or (ii) in the case of ambiguity; and if the head word corresponds to a non-contact direct object of the SS (see 25.2.2.1) the marking of the verb with a pronoun is always absent.

33.8 Direct object relative clauses with the head word corresponding to the base contact direct object

This is the main type of non-subject RCs, transitives being significantly prevalent over bitransitives (the latter are very few in number). In accordance with the above said, a number of variants of RCs are distingusihed.

33.8.1 A free variant of the verb is used in a relative clause

Here belong transitives and bitransitives with alternating initial consonants (probably, no less than 50% of all transitives and bitransitives). Examples:

(768) a. *Umgu   hǝ+ñivx+qʻat-ṭ.*
woman   that+man+scold-IND
'The woman scolded that man.'

b. *Umgu   χat+ñivx   pʻu-ḍ.*
woman   scold+man   go.out-IND
'The man scolded by the woman went out'; '…(whom) the woman scolded…'

Compare the subject RC:

c. *Ñivx+qʻat+umgu   pʻu-ḍ.*
man+scold+woman   go.out-IND
'The woman (who) scolded the man went out.'

(769) a. *Umgu   pǝñx+qʻav-u-ḍ.*
woman   soup+be.warm-TR-IND
'The woman heated the soup.'

b. *Umgu   χav-u+bǝñx   ŋir+kʻu-ḍ.*
woman   be.warm-TR+soup   cup+be.situated-IND
'The soup the woman (had) heated was in the bowl.'

Compare the subject RC:

> c. *Pənx+qʿav-u+umgu*   *pʿ-xēsku-ḍ*.
> soup+be.warm-TR+woman   REFL-burn-IND
> 'The woman who (had) heated the soup burnt herself.'

An example from a text:

(770) *If*   *vəγi+tez+řu*   *hoñʙa+řu+ŋala-ḍ*   *hiñγəj-ḍ*.
s/he drag+be.weak+sledge be.empty+sledge+resemble-IND be.light-IND
'The sledge (which) he dragged with difficulty was like an empty slegde, (it) was light.'

In RCs with bitransitives a distant non-contact direct object, when placed in contact pre-position relative to the transitive, does not change its initial sound and does not form an object complex with the verb; cf.:

(771) a. *Umgu*   *lep*   *pʿ-ōla+ar-ḍ*.
woman bread   REFL-child+feed-IND
'The woman fed her child with bread.'

b. *Umgu*   *lep*   *j-ar+ōla*   *qoțu-ḍ*.
woman bread   3SG-feed+child be.silent-IND
'The child fed by the woman with bread fell silent' (cf. subject RC in (761b)).

33.8.2 Relative clauses with transitives without alternation of the initial consonant

When the initial sound of a transitive verb cannot alternate and both nouns denote persons the RC may be interpreted both as an object and subject clause; cf.:

(772) a. *Umgu*   *ōla+mot-ț*.
woman   child+kiss-IND
'The woman kissed the child.'

b. *Umgu*   *mot+ōla*   *vəi-ḍ*.
woman kiss+child   smile-IND
'The child (whom) the woman kissed smiled.'

c. *Umgu+mot+ōla*   *vəi-ḍ*.
woman+kiss+child   smile-IND
'The child (who) kissed the woman smiled.'

When reading such sentences for the first time, native speakers tend to interpret them as subject RCs, i.e. as (772c). This is probably due to the fact that in this case the direct object is in its usual position, i.e. in contact pre-position to the transitive.

In sentences with 1SG and 2SG pronouns ambiguity does not occur, because these pronouns are prefixed on the verb of the RC as direct objects (see Chapter 6).

(773)   a.   *Hə+ñivx   ñi   ŋav+ōla+or-ḍ.*
             that+man   I   wrap+child+meet-IND
             'That man met the child (whom) I had wrapped up.'

         b.   *Hə+ñivx   ñ-ŋav+ōla+or-ḍ.*
             that+man   1SG-wrap+child+meet-IND
             'That man met the child (who) had wrapped me up.'

To mark an object RC in case of ambiguity, the reduced 3SG pronoun *i-* 's/he' and 3PL pronoun ***imŋ*** 'they' can be used; cf.:

(774)   a.   *Umgu   i-mot+ōla   vəi-ḍ.*
             woman   3SG-kiss+child   smile-IND
             'The child (whom) the woman kissed smiled.'

         b.   *Umgu   **imŋ**+mot+ōla-gu   vəi-ḍ-ɣu.*
             woman   they+kiss+child-PL   smile-IND-PL
             'The children (whom) the woman kissed smiled.'

(775)   a.   *Umgu+ŋarma+ñivx   təvɣ-ḍ.*
             woman+wait+man   enter.house-IND
             'The man (who) was waiting for the woman entered.'

         b.   *Umgu   i-ŋarma+ñivx   təvɣ-ḍ.*
             woman   3SG-wait+man   enter.house-IND
             'The man the woman was waiting for entered.'

33.8.2.1   *Verbs with the suffix -la.*

The suffix *-la* adding the meaning of permanence of the feature named occurs mostly on some qualitative verbs (see 11.3, 24.14). Besides, this suffix derives qualitative verbs from a group of emotive transitives (see Otaina 1978: 62). When used attributively, these transitives are used exclusively or mainly with the suffix *-la*. Thus, the transitive verb *e-zmu-/-ţ'mo-/-smo-* 'rejoice', 'love' is used in RCs only with the suffix *-la* in the meaning 'favourite.' This form is not used predicatively:

(776)   a.   *Ətək   hə+ḍif+ţ'mo-ḍ.*
             father   that+road+rejoice-IND
             'Father likes this road.'

         b.   *Ñi   ətək   e-zmu-**la**+ḍif   vi-ḍ.*
             I   father   3SG-rejoice-PERM+road   go-IND
             'I went along the road (which) father liked'; lit. '… father's favourite road.'

If the suffix *-la* is omitted in (776b) the sentence acquires an odd interpretation; it would mean that I go along a road which father likes at this particular moment rather than in general.

33.8.2.2 *Disambiguating contexts*

The use of pronouns pointing to a direct object is optional if the lexical meaning of the object and/or transitive verb removes ambiguity. A typical case is an inanimate direct object; cf.:

(777)   a.   *Umgu*   *ŋir-gu+ŋav-ḍ.*
           woman   cup-PL+wrap-IND
           'The woman wrapped the cups.'

         b.   *Umgu*   *ŋav+ŋir-gu.*
           woman   wrap+cup-PL
           'The cups (which) the woman wrapped.'

In (777b) the interpretation 'the cups which wrapped the woman' is out of the question for extralinguistic reasons.

33.8.2.3 *Ambiguity is not formally removable*

Context alone (broad or narrow) may disambiguate a sentence if the final sound of a noun – direct object immediately pre-posed to a transitive verb requires the bound variant of the stem which is formally identical with the free variant. In these cases the pronominal markers *i-* or *imŋ* cannot be added, and context alone may prompt the correct interpretation. Thus, in (778a) the word *Ətək* 'father' is more likely to be interpreted as a direct object and in (778b) as subject of the RC:

(778)   a.   *Ətək+za+ñivx*   *p'im-ḍ.*
           father+strike+man   run.away-IND
           'The man (who) had beaten up father ran away.'

         b.   *Ətək*   *za+ñivx*   *pol-ḍ/ŋal-ḍ.*
           father   strike+man   fall-IND/moan-IND
           'The man (whom) father had beaten up fell/moaned.'

33.8.2.4 *Reflexive subject*

The subject *p'i* occurs if the subjects of the RC and main clause are coreferential. In the following examples a construction with a reflexive direct object is added for comparison (see 33.6.1):

(779)   a.   *Ətək*   ***p'i***   *za+ñivx+hīm-ḍ.*
           father   self   strike+man+know-IND
           'Father knew the man (whom) he had beaten.'

         b.   *Ətək*   ***p'-sa+ñivx+hīm-ḍ.***
           father   REFL-strike+man+know-IND
           'Father knew the man (who) had beaten him.'

(780) *Hə+ñivx   p'i   t'əfk*
       that+man   self   long.ago

       j-aɣ+dəf-kutli-jn   p'-χan-gu+gər-u-ḍ.
       3sg-stay+house-outside-loc   refl-dog-pl+stay-tr-ind

       'That man stopped his dogs outside the house (where) he (= **p'i**) had stayed long ago.'

33.9   Direct object relative clauses with the head word corresponding to the base non-contact direct object

In these cases the object in question usually denotes an entity that is moved and then fixed. In corresponding RCs the object cannot be marked by a pronominal marker on the verb. Examples:

(781) a. *Umgu   lep   p'-ōla+ar-ḍ.*
           woman bread refl-child+feed-ind
           'The woman feeds her child with bread.'

       b. *Hə+lep   hor-ḍ.*
           that+bread be.tasty-ind
           'This bread is tasty.'

       c. *Umgu   p'-ōla+ar+lep   hor-ḍ.*
           woman refl-child+feed+bread be.tasty-ind
           'The bread the woman feeds her child with is tasty.'

(782) a. *Hemar   qan   ṭ'χas+tov-ḍ.*
           old.man   dog   pole+tie-ind
           'The old man tied the dog to the pole.'

       b. *Hemar   ṭ'χas+tov+qan   um-ḍ.*
           old.man   pole+tie+dog   be.angry-ind
           'The dog (which) the old man had tied to the pole is angry.'

In fact, ambiguous constructions are also possible here. Thus, (783a) may be related both to (783b) and (783c):

(783) a. *Hemar   ṭ'χas+tov+ñivx   um-ḍ.*
           old.man   pole+tie+man   be.angry-ind
           (i) 'The man (who) tied the old man to a pole is angry.'
           (ii) 'The man (whom) the old man tied to a pole is angry.'

       b. *Hemar   ñivx   ṭ'χas+tov-ḍ.*
           old.man   man   pole+tie-ind
           'The old man tied the man to a pole.'

    c.   *Ñivx hemar   ţʻχas+tov-ḍ.*
        man old.man pole+tie-IND
        'The man tied the old man to a pole.'

For comparison, here are all the three types of RCs derived from a bitransitive SS:

(784)   a.   *Hemar   tux vaqa+si-ḍ.*
            old.man axe box+put-IND
            'The old man put the axe into a box.'

     1.   Subject-dependent RC:
     b.   *Tux vaqa+si+hemar   pʻu-ḍ.*
           axe box+put+old.man go.out-IND
           'The old man (who) put the axe into a box went out.'

     2.   Direct-object RC (from a contact object):
     c.   *Hemar   tux si+vaqa əly-r   hum-ḍ.*
           old.man axe put+box be.open-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
           'The box (into which) the old man put the axe is open.'

     3.   Direct-object-dependent RC (from a non-contact object):
     d.   *Hemar   vaqa+si+dux tuñ-ḍ.*
           old.man box+put+axe be.sharp-IND
           'The axe the old man put into the box is sharp.'

33.10   Oblique object relative clauses

The marking of these RCs finds expression in the pronominal expression of the deleted sentence constituent.

    The head word corresponding to the dative object of the base SS with a dative or a bitransitive verb is marked in the RC by a 3SG or 3PL pronoun in the dative/additive case; cf. respectively:

(785)   a.   *Ōla ñivx-**doχ**   it-ţ.*
           child man-DAT/ADD say-IND
           'The child said to the man.'

     b.   *Ōla   e-rχ   it+ñivx pʻu-ḍ.*
           child s/he-DAT/ADD say+man go.out-IND
           'The man (whom, lit. 'him') the child said (sth) went out.'

(786)   a.   *Əkən   ñivx-**doχ**   pʻ-laq+řəpr-ḍ.*
           elder.brother man-DAT/ADD REFL-ski+bring-IND
           'The elder brother took his skis to the man.'

b. *Əkən* *e-rχ* *p'-laq+řəpr+ñivx* *p'u-ḍ.*
elder.brother s/he-DAT/ADD REFL-ski+bring+man go.out-IND
'The man (whom, lit. 'him') the elder brother had brought his skis
went out.'

The head word corresponding to the agentive (dative/accusative) object of SS with
causatives derived from intransitives and transitives is marked in the RC by the 3SG or
3PL pronouns in the dative/accusative case; cf.:

(787) a. *Ōla* *ñivx-aχ* *pol-gu-ḍ.*
child man-DAT/ACC fall-CAUS-IND
'The child made the man fall (by pushing, etc.)' (cf. 24.4).

b. *Ōla* *j-aχ* *pol-gu+ñivx* *q'o-ḍ.*
child s/he-DAT/ACC fall-CAUS+man sleep-IND
'The man (whom) the child made fall sleeps.'

(788) a. *Ōla* *ñivx-aχ* *p'e-rχ* *laq+řəpr-gu-ḍ.*
child man-DAT/ACC self-DAT/ADD ski+bring-CAUS-IND
'The child made the man bring him (= child) skis.'

b. *Ōla* *j-aχ* *p'e-rχ* *laq+řəpr-gu+ñivx* *q'o-ḍ.*
child s/he-DAT/ACC self-DAT/ADD ski+bring-CAUS+man sleep-IND
'The man (whom) the child made bring him the skis sleeps.'

33.11 "Distant" marking of the head words denoting an instrument

A noun denoting an instrument cannot correspond to the head word of an attribute
expressed by a verb denoting the main action. Thus, from a SS like (789a)

(789) a. *Ñi* *mu-γir* *eγ-ḍ.*
I boat-INSTR return.home-IND
'I set out for home by boat.'

we cannot derive a RC of type (789b) with the intended meaning 'the boat by which I
went home':

b. **Ñi* *eγ-mu ….*

In this case it is necessary to use a converb of the transitive verb *i-γr-/-kir-/-xir-* 'use' in
its free variant (as it happens, the suffix of the instrumental case has developed from
this verb; see Panfilov 1974: 83). Thus, RC (790e) below is the final member of the
following derivational chain:

(790) a. *Ñi* *mu-γir* *eγ-ḍ.*
I boat-INSTR return.home-IND
'I set out home by boat.'

b. *Ñi   mu+xir-ḍ.*
   I   boat+use-IND
   'I used the boat.'

c. *Mu   hoz-ḍ.*
   boat sink-IND
   'The boat sank.'

d. *Ñi i-ɣr+mu   hoz-ḍ.*
   I   3SG-use+boat sink-IND
   'The boat (which) I used sank.'

e. *Ñi i-ɣr-t   eɣ+mu   hoz-ḍ.*
   I   3SG-use-CONV:NAR:1SG return.home+boat sink-IND
   'The boat by using (which) I set out for home sank.'

An example with an attribute – transitive verb:

(791) a. *Meuṭu jo-ɣət-ṭ.*
         rifle   be.rusty-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
         'The rifle became rusty.'

   b. *If   meuṭu+xir-ḍ.*
      s/he   rifle+use-IND
      'He used a rifle.'

   c. *If   meuṭu-ɣir   k'eq+χa-χa-ḍ.*
      s/he   rifle-INSTR fox+shoot-shoot-IND
      'He shot foxes with a rifle repeatedly' (root reduplication denotes
      iterativity).

   d. *If   meuṭu+xir-r   k'eq+χa-χa-ḍ.*
      s/he   rifle+use-CONV:NAR:3SG fox+shoot-shoot-IND
      (same translation).

   e. *If   i-ɣr-r*
      s/he   3SG-use-CONV:NAR:3SG

      k'eq+χa-χa+meuṭu   jo-ɣət-ṭ.
      fox+shoot-shoot+rifle be.rusty-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

      'The rifle using (which) he shoots foxes became rusty.'

An example with the head word – direct object:

(792) *Ñi p'-ŋafq+asqam-t   i-ɣr-t*
      I   REFL-friend+take.away-CONV:NAR:1SG 3SG-use-CONV:NAR:1SG

      eɣ+mu   hoz-ḍ.
      return.home+boat sink-IND

      'The boat (which) I took away from my friend (and) used to return home
      sank.'

33.12   Adverbial relative clauses

As mentioned above, in these RCs removal of an adverbial phrase from the RC is not marked at all, i.e. the morphology here is the same as in subject RCs.

33.12.1   The head word denotes place

An attribute is an intransitive verb:

(793) a. *Ñəŋ   hə+vo-in   hum-ḍ.*
           we:EXCL that+village-LOC be-IND
           'We lived in this village.'

       b. *Ñəŋ   hum+vo   naf   hoñʁa-ḍ.*
           we:EXCL be+village now   be.empty-IND
           'The village (where) we lived is now empty.'

(794) *Kʼem+dan-gu   hum+dəf məj-yət-ṭ.*
       be.upper+kin-PL   be+house collapse-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
       'The house (in which) the upper family lives has collapsed.'

(795) a. *Ṭʼam   hə+dəv-uin   lu-ḍ.*
           shaman that+house-LOC   sing-IND
           'The shaman sang in that house.'

       b. *Ətək   hə+dəv+ñřə-ḍ.*
           father   that+house+see-IND
           'Father saw that house.'

       c. *Ətək   ṭʼam   lu+dəf+ñřə-ḍ.*
           father shaman   sing+house+see-IND
           'Father saw the house (where) the shaman sang.'

       d. *Ətək   ṭʼam   lu+dəf-toχ   vi-ḍ.*
           father shaman   sing+house-DAT/ADD   go-IND
           'Father went into the house (where) the shaman sang.'

(796) a. *Hə+ḍif   ləŋləŋə-ḍ.*
           that+road be.wide-IND
           'That road is wide.'

       b. *Ñivx hə+ḍiv-ux   pʼrə-ḍ.*
           man   that+road-LOC/ABL   come-IND
           'The man came by that road.'

       c. *Ñivx pʼrə+ḍif   ləŋləŋə-ḍ.*
           man   come+road   be.wide-IND
           'The road (by which) the man came is wide.'

(797) *Vi-ke   hə+vo-rχ   pʼi   pʼrə-t*
       go-CONV:DUR/INST   that+village-DAT/ADD   self come-CONV:NAR:3PL

> *q'o+vo-rχ*   *vi-ḍ.*
> sleep+village-DAT/ADD   go-IND
>
> '(They) walked and walked (and) came to that village (where) having come once they (= themselves) slept.'   (Panfilov 1965: 138)

A verb in the attributive function has tense forms:

(798)   a.   *If*   *hə+dəv-uin*   *hum-ḍ/hum-**nə**-ḍ.*
            s/he   that+house-LOC   be-IND/be-FUT-IND
            'He lived/will live in that house.'

        b.   *If*   *p'i*   *hum+dəf+ňřə-ḍ*
            s/he   self   be+house+see-IND
            'He saw the house (in which) he lived/lives.'

        c.   *If*   *p'i*   *hum-**nə**+dəf+ňřə-ḍ*
            s/he   self   be-FUT+house+see-IND
            'He saw the house (in which) he would live.'

Examples from texts:

(799)   a.   *If*   *hə+vo-in*   *hum-ḍ.*
            s/he   that+village-LOC   be-IND
            'He lived in this village.'

        b.   *Hə+vo*   *ku+vo+ŋəzi-ḍ.*
            that+village   that+village+be.equal-IND
            'This village is equal to that village' (*ŋəzi-* is transitive).

        c.   *Vi-ke*   *vo+ñaqr*   *ərə*
            go-CONV:DUR/INST   village+one:generic   just

            ha-gu-r   *poj-ḍ.*   *Təf*   *malγo-ḍ,*
            be.so-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG   appear-IND   house   be.much/many-IND

            ara   *if*   *hum+vo+ŋəzi-ḍ.*
            almost   s/he   be+village+be.equal-IND

            '(They) walked and walked, one village, hardly (visible), appeared. Many houses, (it was) almost equal in size to the village (where) he lived.'

(800)   *T'ərerq-toχ*   *alvre-r*   *p'i*
        left.side-DAT/ADD   look.back-CONV:NAR:3SG   self

        hum+vo+ňřə-ŋan,   *t'ərerq+nixsaχ*   *puñ-ra,*
        be+village+see-CONV:ANT/SIM   left.side+tear   drop-COORD:3SG

        nəirerq-toχ   *alvre-r*
        right.side-DAT/ADD   look.back-CONV:NAR:3SG

        p'-vo+ňřə-ŋan,   *nəirerq+nixsaχ*   *puñ-ra.*
        REFL-village+see-CONV:ANT/SIM   right.side+tear   drop-COORD:3SG

        'Looking back to the left, seeing the village (where) he lived, the left(-eye) tear drops, looking back to the right, seeing his village, the right(-eye) tear drops.'

The attribute is a transitive verb:

(801) a. *Ətək   hə+dəv-uin   mu+lət-ṭ.*
           father   that+house-LOC   boat+make-IND
           'Father made a boat in this house.'

       b. *If   hə+dəv+ñřə-ḍ.*
           s/he   that+house+see-IND
           'He saw this house.'

       c. *If   ətək   mu+lət+dəv+ñřə-ḍ.*
           s/he   father   boat+make+house+see-IND
           'He saw the house (in which) father had made a boat.'

(802) a. *Imŋ ə̄rəkon   hə+vo-in   ma+se-u-ḍ.*
           they long.time   that+village-LOC   dried.fish+be.dry-TR-IND
           'They dried fish in this village a long time ago.'

       b. *Imŋ vi-ke   hə+vo-rχ   p'rə-ḍ.*
           they go-CONV:DUR/INST   that+village-DAT/ADD   come-IND
           'They walked and walked and came to that village.'

       c. *Imŋ vi-ke   hə+vo-rχ   p'i ə̄rəkon*
           they go-CONV:DUR/INST   that+village-DAT/ADD   self long.time

           ma+se-u+vo-rχ   p'rə-ḍ.
           dry.fish+be.dry-TR+village-DAT/ADD   come-IND

           'They walked and walked to that village (where) they (= p'i) had dried
           fish a long time ago.'

33.12.2   The head word denotes time

The formation of these RCs is analogous to that of RCs with the head word denoting
place.

The attribute is an intransitive verb:

(803) a. *If   hə+añ-ux   rayi-r   vi-ḍ.*
           s/he that+year-LOC/ABL   move-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND
           'That year he moved (to a new place).'

       b. *If   hə+añ+hujv-ḍ.*
           s/he that+year+remember-IND
           'He remembered that year.'

       c. *If   p'i   rayi-r   vi+añ+hujv-ḍ.*
           s/he self   move-CONV:NAR:3SG   go+year+remember-IND
           'He remembered the year (when) he had moved (to a new place).'

The attribute is a transitive verb:

(804) a. *Ətək hə+ər-ux   eryali   ṭʻo+xu-ḍ.*
            father that+time-LOC/ABL much/many fish+kill-IND
            'That time father caught much fish.'

        b. *Ətək hə+ər+tʻxərp-toχ   qʻau-ḍ.*
            father that+time+forget-SUP not.be-IND
            'Father did not forget that time.'

        c. *Ətək pʻi eryali   ṭʻo+xu+ər+tʻxərp-toχ   qʻau-ḍ.*
            father self much/many fish+kill+time+forget-SUP not.be-IND
            'Father did not forget the time (when) he (= *pʻi*) had caught much fish.'

33.13 Converbal "substitution" of relative clauses

Strictly speaking, no substitution takes place here, because there are no corresponding relative clauses. But there is a certain functional similarity between them, therefore the information given below is in some way related to the problem under discussion. As has been already mentioned above, in both subject- and object-dependent RCs kinship terms and proper names cannot occur in the head word position (we might as well remind the reader that each Nivkh had his/her own unique name, and the proper names were not used more than once, as a rule). An attribute serves to distinguish the referent of the head word out a number of others, and proper names have the same function of distinguishing a given person from others. Thus both distinguishing functions are not compatible with one another. Therefore, type (805a) sentences cannot be changed into type (805b) subject RCs:

(805) a. *Ñi umgu+dəu-ḍ.*
            I   woman+teach-IND
            'I teach the woman.'

        b. **umgu+dəu-ñi*
             woman+teach-I
            'I (who) teach the woman.'

And object RCs of type (806b) cannot be formed from sentences like (806a):

(806) a. *Umgu ñ-dəu-ḍ.*
            woman 1SG-teach-IND
            'The woman teaches me.'

        b. **umgu+rəu+ñi*
             woman+teach+I
            'I (whom) the woman teaches.'

The following sentence with a kinship term in the head position is unnatural but its meaning is clear:

(807)   a.   *Ñivx+ḑa+ətək*   *ṭʻoxt-ṭ.*
             man+strike+father   be.drunk-IND
             'Father (who) had beaten the man was drunk.'

In order to describe this situation a converbal construction can also be used. The communicative characteristic of the utterance is changed, of course; cf.:

         b.   *Ətək   ṭʻoxt-r*   *ñivx+ḑa-ḑ.*
              father   be.drunk-CONV:NAR:3SG   man+strike-IND
              'Father (being) drunk beat the man.'

33.14   On the subject of object relative clauses

All the examples illustrating object-dependent RCs above contain an explicit subject. The presence of the subject is an obligatory structural feature of object RCs. Word combinations of the type

(808)   a.   **zu+ŋir-gu*
              wash+cup-PL

with the intended meaning 'washed cups' are not accepted by native speakers and are regarded as nonsensical. The phrase cited acquires meaning only in contexts of the type

         b.   *Umgu   zu+ŋir-gu*   [*tər-tʻxə+xu-ḑ*].
              woman   wash+cup-PL   table-on+be.situated-IND
              'The cups (which) the woman had washed [are on the table].'

It is noteworthy that in underlying independent SSs the subject is omitted more often than not if it is clear from the context. In many sentences subject omission is the norm.

There are, however, cases when the agent of the action cannot be named in a RC, though it is presupposed by the meaning of the transitive verb. This occurs in the case of the attributive use of an object-oriented resultative (see 24.6). The latter form is used, in particular, if the agent is unknown and the result of the action is visually observable. Besides, in such cases a subject-dependent RC of the corresponding transitive verb can be used as a substitute. Thus, four ways of presenting the same state of an object from different viewpoints are possible:

(809)   a.   *Umgu   tʻu+zosq-ṭ.*
              woman   sledge+break-IND
              'The woman broke the sledge.'

1. Object RC with a transitive verb:
b. *Umgu   zosq+ řu   kʼlə+xu-ḍ.*
   woman   break+sledge   street+be.situated-IND
   'The sledge broken by the woman is in the street.'

2. Object-oriented resultative:
c. *Zosq-**xəta**+řu   kʼlə+xu-ḍ.*
   break-RES+sledge   street+be.situated-IND
   'The broken (by someone) sledge is in the street.'

(810) a. *Tʼu   ṭosq-ṭ.*
      sledge   break-IND
      'The sledge broke.'

3. Subject RC with an intransitive verb:
b. *Ṭosq+řu   kʼlə+xu-ḍ.*
   break+sledge   street+be.situated-IND
   'The broken sledge is in the street.'

4. Subject-oriented resultative:
c. *Ṭosq-**xəta**+řu   kʼlə+xu-ḍ.*
   break-RES+sledge   street+be.situated-IND
   'The broken sledge is in the street' (= 'it broke by itself').

33.14.1   Note

In connection with the RCs considered above the following interesting tendency in the use of the possessive reflexive *pʼ-* with nouns denoting alienable possession should be pointed out.

If an RC contains an intransitive verb the prefixed *pʼ-* is obligatory; without it the sentence sounds "un-Nivkh"; cf.:

(811)   *Ñi   **pʼ**-vaχt+larq+ot-ṭ.*
        I   REFL-be.torn+shirt+sew.up-IND
        'I am sewing up my torn shirt.'

(812)   *Ñi   **pʼ**-moq+kə⁻s+tʼo-ḍ.*
        I   REFL-break.in.two+walking.stick+carry-IND
        'I carry my broken walking stick (in my hands).'

In respective RCs with corresponding transitive causatives or with object-oriented or subject-oriented resultatives, on the contrary, the use of *pʼ-* is forbidden or optional (it is likely that this prefixed *pʼ-* on a transitive verb may be taken for a reflexive direct object); cf.:

(813)   *Ñi   vaχt-**yəta**+larq+ot-ṭ.*
        I   be.torn-RES+shirt+sew.up-IND
        'I am sewing up a torn shirt.'

(814) *Ñi moq-ɣǝta+kǝ⁻s+t'o-ḍ.*
       I   break.in.two-RES+walking.stick+carry-IND
       'I carry a broken walking stick.'

(815) *Ñi p'i p'-moq+kǝ⁻s+t'o-ḍ.*
       I   self REFL-break.in.two+walking.stick+carry-IND
       'I carry my walking stick (which) I broke.'

33.14.2 Main cases of subject absence in relative clauses

33.14.2.1 *Adjectivisation of attributive verb forms*[2]
This adjectivisation may be permanent (cf. *řa-* 'fried', *je-* 'boiled') or occasional, context-dependent (cf. *ɣe-* 'bought', i.e. 'not home-made'). In the latter case the verb may or must be emphasized by intonation. Examples:

(816) a. *j–e+ṭ'o*
           3SG-cook+fish
           'boiled fish'

       b. * řa+ḍus*
           fry+meat
           'fried meat' (i.e. 'not raw')

       c. *j-aq+ma*
           3SG-cut+dried.fish
           'sliced dried fish' (= a dish)

(817) a. *Ñi i-ñ-nǝ+ŋa+ŋǝŋ-nǝxta.*
           I   3SG-eat-FUT+animal+look.for-IMP:1SG
           '(Let) me look for an edible animal.'

       b. *Ñi [p'i] i-ñ-nǝ+ŋa+ŋǝŋ-nǝxta.*
           I   self   3SG-eat-FUT+animal+look.for-IMP:1SG
           '(Let) me look for an animal (which) I will eat.'

(818) *Ñi [p'i] ɣe+lep+ñi-ḍ.*
       I   self   take+bread+eat-IND
       'I eat bread (which) I (= *p'i*) bought.'

If *p'i* is omitted the pronoun *ñi* 'I' is likely to be automatically interpreted as the subject of RC and the sentence acquires the meaning 'someone eats the bread (which) I bought'. But if *ɣe-* is stressed the meaning 'I eat the bought bread' (not, for instance, the bread baked at home) is possible.

---

2. The term *adjectivisation* is apparently used figuratively, since there are no adjectives in Nivkh.

33.14.2.2 *Indefinite-personal subject*
In the following case, which is rather rare, an indefinite-personal subject is presup-
posed. This usage is probably tied to this particular stable formation; cf.:

(819) a. *Sək/ñivɣ-gu hə+ŋədvz-ux   ṭīr+t'a-ḍ.*
           all/man-PL that+log-LOC/ABL tree+chop-IND
           'All/people chopped firewood on this log.'

       b. *Mer+ŋafq   i-laʁa-rχ   vi-ḍ,*
           we:INCL+friend s/he-next.to-DAT/ADD go-IND

           [*ñivɣ-gu/sək*] *ṭīr+t'a+ŋədvs-t'xə+řiv-ḍ.*
           man-PL/all   tree+chop+log-on+sit-IND

           'Our friend came up to her, sat on the log (on which) [men /all
           (people)] chopped firewood.'

This textual example contains an adverbial RC.

33.14.2.3 *Ellipsis*
These cases are rather rare and they usually display ellipsis of the reflexive subject
p'i. This pronoun is usually easily recoverable. Compare the following examples from
texts:

(820) a. *Imŋ manḍu-ɣu-doχ   vi-vi-ḍ.*
           they Chinese-PL-DAT/ADD go-go-IND
           'They (usually) went to (visit) the Chinese' (reduplication marks
           iterativity).

       b. *Hoʁoŋan imŋ p'i vi–vi+manḍu-ɣu-doχ   mər-ḍ.*
           then   they self go-go+Chinese-PL-DAT/ADD ascend-IND
           'Then they went up to the Chinese (to whom they) themselves
           (often) go.'   (Panfilov 1965: 136)

(821) *Əmək [p'i] řa-jnə+ḍus+po-ḍ.*
       mother self fry-DES/INCH+meat+take-IND
       'Mother took the meat (which she) [herself] was going to fry.'

33.14.2.4 *"Compulsory" ellipsis?*
In the following instance the absent reflexive pronoun *p'i* for some unclear reasons
cannot be restored. The subject of the main clause in the following sentence from a
text is also ellipted.

(822) a. *If   ṭ'o+xerqo-ḍ.*
           s/he fish+angle-IND
           'He is fishing with an angle.'

b. *Ərəkə* [**pʻi*] *kʻerqo+ṭʻo+ñən+xu-r*
as.soon.as self angle+fish+one:non.human+kill-CONV:NAR:3SG

i-ñ-ba, *ñār+nonq+ar-ar-ḍ.*
3SG-eat-CONV:INST rat+calf+feed-feed-IND

'As soon as (he) catches one fish with an angle (he) eats (and) feeds (his) young rat.'

Relative clauses without a head word

Here belong cases which were briefly considered in the section on nominalisation (see 16.8).

34.1   Subject relative clauses

Substantivised forms contain the suffixes *-ḍ/-ṭ* or *-k*, the relationship between which is awaiting its investigation yet. Examples:

(823) a. *Umgu-gu   ṭʼo+řa-ḍ-γu.*
           woman-PL   fish+fry-IND-PL
           'The women fried the fish.'

     b. *Ṭʼo+řa+umgu-gu   pʼu-ḍ-γu.* (subject RC)
           fish+fry+woman-PL   go.out-IND-PL
           'The women (who) had fried the fish went out.'

     c. *Ṭʼo+řa-ḍ-γu   pʼu-ḍ-γu.*
           fish+fry-NML-PL   go.out-IND-PL
           'Those (who) had fried the fish went out' (here *Ṭʼo+řa-k-xu* is not acceptable for some reason).

(824) a. *Umgu-gu   als+tʼo-ḍ.*
           woman-PL   berry+carry-IND
           'The women carried berries.'

     b. *Hemar   als+tʼo+umgu-gu+al-ḍ.*
           old.man   berry+carry+woman-PL+catch.up-IND
           'The old man caught up with the women carrying berries.'

     c. *Hemar   als+tʼo-ḍ-γu+al-ḍ.*
           old.man   berry+carry-NML-PL+catch.up-IND
           'The old man caught up with those (who) were carrying berries.'

     d. *Hemar   als+tʼo-k-xu+al-ḍ.*
           old.man   berry+carry-NML:SUBJ-PL+catch.up-IND
           (same translation).

34.2 Object relative clauses

The same suffixes are used here; cf.:

(825) a. *Ətək   mu+zosq-ṭ.*
father boat+break-IND
'Father broke the boat.'

b. *If   ətək   zosq+mu+ňřə-ḍ.* (object RC)
s/he father break+boat+see-IND
'He saw the boat (which) father had broken.'

c. *If   ətək   zosq-ṭ+ňřə-ḍ.*
s/he father break-NML+see-IND
'He saw what was broken by father.';
'He saw what father had broken.'

(826) a. *Ətək   andχ-ku+ŋarma-ḍ.*
father guest-PL+wait-IND
'Father waited for the guests.'

b. *Ətək   imŋ+ŋarma+andχ-ku p'rə-ḍ-γu.*
father they+wait+guest-PL   come-IND-PL
'The guests father had been waiting for came.' (object RC; see 33.8.2)

c. *Ətək   imŋ+ŋarma-ḍ-γu p'rə-ḍ-γu.*
father they+wait-NML-PL come-IND-PL
'Those came father had been waiting for' (*imŋ* 'they' cannot be
omitted).

d. *Ətək   imŋ+ŋarma-**k**-xu   p'rə-ḍ-γu.*
father they+wait-NML:SUBJ-PL come-IND-PL
(same translation).

34.3 Adverbial relative clauses

There are, probably, adverbial substantivisations with the meaning of place only. They
are formed by means of the suffix *-f/-v* (see 16.8.4.1):

(827) a. *If   hə+dəv-ux   hum-ḍ.*
s/he that+house-LOC/ABL be-IND
'He lives in this house.'

b. *If   hə+dəf-toχ   p'rə-ḍ.*
s/he that+house-DAT/ADD come-IND
'He came to this house.'

  c. *If p'i hum+dəf-toχ   p'rə-ḍ.*
    s/he self be+house-DAT/ADD come-IND
    'He came to the house (in which) he (= *p'i*) lived.'

  d. *If p'i hum-f-toχ   p'rə-ḍ.*
    s/he self be-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD come-IND
    'He came to the place (where) he lived.'

34.4 The head word of a relative clause functioning as an attribute of another head word

Such cases are rare but they are very important, because a sentence like (828d) is the only way of expressing by a single sentence in Nivkh the content which is rendered by the translation:

(828) a. *Ətək ñivx+or-ḍ.*
     father man+meet-IND
     'Father met the man.'

    b. *Ətək j-or+ñivx.*
     father 3SG-meet+man
     'The man met by father' ('The man (whom) father met').

    c. *V-əkən   ə⁻rəkon mu-ḍ.*
     3SG-elder.brother long.ago die-IND
     'His elder brother died a long time ago.'

    d. *Ətək j-or+ñivx+əkən   ə⁻rəkon mu-ḍ.*
     father 3SG-meet+man+elder.brother long.ago die-IND
     'Father met the man (whose) elder brother had died a long time ago.'

CHAPTER 35

The structure of a narrative text

35.1 Sentence binding. Variability. Quantitative characteristics

Narration can be marked by repetition of the following forms:

1. Finite indicative froms in *-ḍ/-ṭ* (see (840a)–(840d)).
2. Converbal forms in *-r*, *-t* (with a finite verb form; see (832) below).
3. Converbal forms in *-ra*, *-ta* (see (839d) and (839e)).
4. Converbal forms in *-ŋan* (with a finite verb form; see (841)).
5. Converbal forms in *-ror*, *-tot* (with a finite verb form; see (14)).
6. A combination of various converbs (see (829a) and (829b)).

The last case is prevalent.

Note. Case 4 is illustrated by an example which, alongside two forms in *-ŋan* and finite predicate, also contains a converb in *-r*, *-t*.

The sequences of the verb forms listed above look as follows, if the suffixes alone are indicated:.

1. ... *-ḍ.* ... *-ḍ.* *-ḍ.*
2. ... *-r* *-r* *-ḍ.*
3. ... *-ra* *-ra* ... *-ra.*
4. ... *-ŋan* *-ŋan* *-ḍ.*
5. ... *-ror* *-ror* *-ḍ.*
6. ... *-ror* *-r* *-ḍ,* etc.

35.1.1 Comparison of forms in *-r*, *-t* with forms in *-ra*,*-ta*

The term *narrative* is applied to converbs which when repeated promote narration in a regular way, denoting chains of successive actions that follow one another. According to this feature the converbs in *-r*, *-t* and those in *-ra*, *-ta* are opposed to all the other converbs. This functional affinity of these two types of converbs is somewhat unexpected. The matter is, from a certain viewpoint they are opposite endpoints of a scale of the degree of independence of converbs. The forms in *-r*, *-t* are generally the least autonomous, being most closely attached to the form they are subordinated to (as a rule, there cannot be a pause between them if they are in contact position). The forms

in *-ra*, *-ta*, on the contrary, are the most independent, they can subordinate other converbs nearly to the same extent as the main finite predicates (see Table 2 above in Section 14.1), and they can complete a sentence, when used at least in pairs. Nevertheless, there are the following similarities between the forms in *-r*, *-t* and those in *-ra*, *-ta*:

1. *Material affinity* due to their common origin (either *-r*, *-t* go back to *-ra*, *-ta* by way of reduction or, on the contrary, *-ra*, *-ta* developed from the emphatic forms of the former; on the emphatic forms see Panfilov 1965: 169–170).
2. *Agreement with the subject*.
3. *The highest frequency* in comparison with the other converbs (see the Tables in Section 35.4.1).
4. *The perfective-imperfective actional meaning* (see Chapter 14).
5. *The narrative function* (for converbs in *-r*, *-t* it is one of the functions, and for those in *-ra*, *-ta* it is the main function).

When used in narration, the two forms in question serve to distinguish two types of actions. As has been mentioned, the forms in *-r*, *-t* often denote *trivial* actions, i.e. actions that are more or less distinctly implied by the *main* actions (see above on the denotationally "coupled" actions). The forms in *-ra*, *-ta*, on the contrary, denote more significant actions and present them as *equal in value*. *Denotational implication* of actions should be distinguished from *situational* (more "remote") *implication*. Thus, the action 'pull sth' obligatorily presupposes a prior action 'take hold of sth.' Situational implication is of more independent nature, it is less rigid. For instance, in the following passage all the converbal actions are implied by the finite predicate. (To a certain degree, if we know the general state of things, the way of life, etc., an approximate chain of events preceding the final situation denoted by the finite verb *i-ñ-ḍ-γu* 'ate' can even be restored). Here is this passage:

(829) a. *K'u-ye*   *puñḍ-ye+bo-ror*
           arrow-COM:DU bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:DST:3SG

           p'u–r   *ṭevrq+χa-ḍ.*
           go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG little.bird+shoot-IND

       b. *I-γ-ror*   *řǝk-ŋan*   *nanak*
           3SG-kill-CONV:DST:3SG bring.home-CONV:ANT/SIM elder.sister

           ṭevrq+t'upř+p'ǝvrk-ṭ.
           little.bird+feather+pluck-IND

       c. *T'ūr-toχ*   *řa-tot*   *i-ñ-ḍ-γu.*
           fire-DAT/ADD fry-CONV:DST:3PL 3SG-eat-IND-PL

       a. 'Having taken arrows and a bow, going out (he) shot a gamebird.'
       b. 'Having killed it, when (he) brought (it) home, the elder sister plucked the feathers of the bird.'
       c. 'Having fried (it) on fire (they) ate it' (Panfilov 1965: 222).

The converbal and finite marking of the verbs-actions in this passage seems to be situationally motivated, though it is not the only way of describing the entire situation (see 35.3.4 below): unless the protagonist takes the bow and arrows and leaves home he cannot shoot a bird. And unless he kills and brings the bird home his sister cannot pluck it. And finally, without cooking or frying it cannot be eaten. Schematically, the combinations of the verb forms in this passage look as follows:

(830) a. *-ror* – *-r* – *-ḍ*.
       b. *-ror* – *-ŋan* – *-ṭ*.
       c. *-tot* – *-ḍ-yu*.

Each sentence begins with the same converbal form in *-ror*, *-tot*. We observe symmetrical structuring of the sentences.

35.1.2 The narrative function of forms in *-r*, *-t*

In the passage under (829) each action is performed after the preceding action is completed: all in all, eight actions are named which are expressed by five converbs and three finite indicative forms. Within the limits of one sentence the converbal forms, with the exception of those in *-r*, *-t* and *-ra*, *-ta*, are not as a rule repeated. They take part in creating a narrative context once (on cases of repetition see below).

Narrative context is created by alternating non-finite and finite verb forms combined in accordance with their taxis meaning and also the viewpoint of the speaker with regard to the nature of the communicative development of the events.[1]

As mentioned above, a characteristic feature of the *r*, *-t* forms is description of closely adjoining actions logically rigidly bound together. Examples:

(831) *Hə+ñivɣ* … *pʻ-mif-toχ*   *maʁ-ḍ*.   *Haror*
       that+man   REFL-earth-DAT/ADD move.towards.shore-IND after.that:3SG

       pal-roχ   *mər-r*
       forest-DAT/ADD ascend-CONV:NAR:3SG

       pal+solŋi+ŋəŋ-r   *i-ɣ-r*
       forest+deer+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-kill-CONV:NAR:3SG

       i-ŋif+kuz-r   *řo-r*
       3SG-heart+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG carry-CONV:NAR:3SG

       məɣ-r   *vaqej+si-ror*
       descend-CONV:NAR:3SG box+put-CONV:DST:3SG

       e-zrov-yət-r
       3SG-fasten.with.nails-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:NAR:3SG

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1. In this context and further on the term *taxis* refers to temporal meanings.

    tol-roχ   *ʁoṭ-r*   *j-əxt-ṭ.*
    water-DAT/ADD   lower-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-push-IND

    lit. 'This man … moored to his land. Then, going up into the forest, looking for a forest deer, killing it, taking its heart out, carrying (it), descending (= taking (it) (to the shore), putting (it) into a box (and) fastening it with nails, putting (the box) into water, (he) pushed it out.'   (Panfilov 1965: 245)

(832)   *Hoʁor*   *pʻ-saqo+səu-r*   *vi-r*
         then:3SG   REFL-knife+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-CONV:NAR:3SG

         olɣoŋ+koχ+ṭʻev-r   *j-əŋg-ḍ.*
         pig+belly+stick-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-rip.up-IND

         'Then, taking his knife out, going, sticking (it) into the pig's belly, (he) ripped it open.'   (Panfilov 1965: 224)

(833)   a.   *Haror*   *oz-r*   *kəpr-r*
              after.that:3SG   get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG   stand-CONV:NAR:3SG

              pʻir-pʻir-r   *t'ər-ḍ.*
              turn-turn-CONV:NAR:3SG   look.around-IND

              'Then waking up, standing up, turning (he) looks around.'

      b.   *Haror*   *kaskazi-r*   *qama-ʁama-r*
              after.that:3SG   be.cheerful-CONV:NAR:3SG   run-run-CONV:NAR:3SG

              eɣ-r   *vi-ḍ.*
              return.home-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND

              'After that he went home running (= sometimes faster, sometimes slower).'

      c.   *Pʻ-rəf-toχ*   *pʻrə-ror*
              REFL-house-DAT/ADD   come-CONV:DST:3SG

              pʻ-umgu+kʻez-ḍ.
              REFL-woman+say-IND

              'Coming (then) to his house (he) told his wife.'   (Panfilov 1965: 241)

(832) contains three forms in *-r* denoting subsequent actions. (833a) also contains three subsequent actions, whereas in (833b) all the three forms in *-r* denote actions simultaneous with that of the finite predicate.

35.1.3   The narrative function of forms in *-ra, -ta*

While forms in *-r, -t* when used in their narrative function describe actions of the same subject (same-subject converbs) and these actions are related as a more or less rigid natural sequence (from the viewpoint of a given communicative goal), the forms in *-ra, -ta* differ from them in that they can describe actions of different subjects (different-subject converbs), and these actions are less rigidly determined. The actions

named are ascribed the same communicative status from the viewpoint of the speaker. Examples:

(834) a. *H오воŋan imŋ rəru-ta,   mer+ŋafq*
           then   they let.go-COORD:3PL we:INCL+friend

           k'lə-rχ   p'u-ra   por-ra.
           street-DAT/ADD go.out-COORD:3SG lie-COORD:3SG

           'Then they let (him) go, our friend went out into the street (and) lay (down).'   (Panfilov 1965:229)

A possible variant:

       b. … *k'lə-rχ   p'u–r   por-ḍ.*
           … street-DAT/ADD go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG lie-IND
           '… going out into the street (he) lay down.'

In sentence (834b) the equal status of the three actions is lost (if the first action *rəru-ta* is not paired with another form in *-ra*, *-ta* the sentence becomes ungrammatical), the sentence loses a somewhat slowered tempo, and the action *por-ḍ* 'lay down' acquires a higher status than *p'u–r* 'going out'.

(835) *Hовоŋan if   ṭarq-r*   (→ *ṭark-*ra*)
         then   s/he jump-CONV:NAR:3SG   jump-COORD:3SG

         vi-ra,   mifp'iḍ+q'os+t'ik-ra.
         go-COORD:3SG toad+neck+clasp-COORD:3SG

         'Then jumping up he went flying, embraced the toad by the neck.'
                                                         (Panfilov 1965:225)

Converbs in *r*, *-t* cannot often be transformed into forms in *-ra*, *-ta* if they are not communicatively equivalent to the latter and if they kind of "pave the way" for the main action. Thus, in (836a) the actions 'lower oneself' and 'sit down' precede both simultaneous long-lasting actions 'rested' and 'smoked.' Transformation (836b) is clear in meaning but it sounds odd, "not Nivkh":

(836) a. *Hовоŋan mer+ŋafq   t'əkə-doχ*
           then   we:INCL+friend bunk.side-DAT/ADD

           məy-r   hurt'iv-r
           descend-CONV:NAR:3SG sit-CONV:NAR:3SG

           k'rəu-ra   tamx+ta-ra.
           rest-COORD:3SG tobacco+drink-COORD:3SG

           'Then, dropping on the side of the bunk (and) sitting down, our friend rested, smoked tobacco.'   (Panfilov 1965:225)

       b. … *məy-ra   hurt'iv-ra   k'rəu-ra*
           descend-COORD:3SG sit-COORD:3SG rest-COORD:3SG

> *tamx+ta-ra.*
> tobacco+drink-COORD:3SG
>
> '… dropped (on the side of the bunk), sat down, rested, smoked tobacco.'

A similar example:

(837) a. *Əmək   oz-r   vi-r*
                  mother get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG go-CONV:NAR:3SG

                  vəŋir-ra,   ma+řək-ra
                  cook-COORD:3SG dried.fish+bring.home-COORD:3SG

                  kʼe+ov-ra.
                  fishing.net+mend-COORD:3SG

                  'Getting up, going (there), mother cooked, brought in the dried fish, mended the fishing net.'

        b. **Əmək   oz-ra   vi-ra   vəŋir-ra …*
                   mother get.up-COORD:3SG go-COORD:3SG cook-COORD:3SG
                  (no translation (eds)).

The sequence of the forms in *-ra*, *-ta* in (837a) may be changed without any change in meaning, whereas the forms in *-r*, *-t* do not as a rule allow it (cf. *vi-r oz-r* 'going (and) getting up').

    Let us consider now a longer passage describing a relatively completed episode. The passage, it seems, is rhythmically organized:

(838) a. *Həḍ+γuz-ror   i-ñ-ḍ.*
                  that.one+take.out-CONV:DST:3SG 3SG-eat-IND

                  I-ñ-ŋan
                  3SG-eat-CONV:ANT/SIM

        b. *hoʁor   sək ur-γət-ṭ.*
                  then:3SG all   be.good-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

        c. *I-ṭus-ku   sək vəṭ   mu-γət-ṭ.*
                  3SG-meat-PL all iron become-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

        d. *Hoʁar   oz-ra,   təvu-ra.*
                  then:3SG get.up-COORD:3SG enter.house-COORD:3SG

        e. *Hə+ñivx e-rχ   pʼrə-ra,   nanak*
                  that+man s/he-DAT/ADD come-COORD:3SG elder.sister

                  pʼrə-ra.
                  come-COORD:3SG

        f. *Hoʁar   pʼ-nanak+vo-ra,*
                  then:3SG REFL-elder.sister+take-COORD:3SG

      hə+ñivx+bo-ra,   *imŋ+nəŋ-yu-romsk*   *j-up-ra.*
      that+man+take-COORD:3SG   they+hair-PL-together 3SG-tie-COORD:3SG

g.   *Hoʁoror*   *t'əjf-t'məsk*   *pəiz-ḍ.*
     after.that:3SG top.end.beam-over throw-IND

h.   *Hoʁoŋan həḍ-yu*   *larlara-t*   *hum-ḍ-yu.*
     then   that.one-PL swing-CONV:NAR:3PL be-IND-PL

Translation:

a.   'Taking this out, (he began) eating it. Having eaten
b.   'then (he) quite recovered (lit. 'became well').'
c.   'All his meat became iron.'
d.   'Then (he) got up, entered the house.'
e.   'This man came up to him, the elder sister came up.'
f.   'Then (he) grasped his elder sister, grasped this man, tied their hair together.'
g.   'After that (he) threw (them) over the tie-beam.'
h.   'Then they were swinging (on their tied hair)' (Panfilov (1965: 229); cf. also Example (857)).

For contrast, here is a text in which the forms in *-ra*, *-ta* denote simultaneous actions (here substitution of the *-ta* form for the *-ra* form alone indicates subject change, i.e. a different subject):

(839) *Hoʁoŋan ku+ṭ'am*   *napa q'as+t'o-ra*
        then   that+shaman still   tambourine+carry-COORD:3SG

        jaŋpa+xir-ra   *vəjbuks+po-ta.*
        belt.with.rattles+use-COORD:3SG tie+take-COORD:3PL

        'At this time that shaman still carried the tambourine, (he) wore a belt with rattles, (behind him they) carried the tie.'   (Panfilov 1965: 227)

35.1.4 The narrative function of the finite predicate

Successive completed actions can also be marked by finite indicative forms in *-ḍ/-ṭ*. In this case each action acquires the status of a completed statement after which a pause can be made. (It is not any sequence of actions that can be described by means of finite verb forms alone.) The speaker stresses each action thus building up tension for some culminating event. Here is a passage describing a relatively completed episode containing eleven actions of which the first nine follow one another. In this passage all the verb forms that can promote narration are used:

(840) a. *Hoʁoŋan hemar*   *maŋ-gur*   *əŋk+hava-ḍ-ra.*
          then   old.man be.strong-ADV:3SG mouth+open.wide-IND-FOC

b. *Ñaχ+ṭeññavu-ḍ.*
eye+close-IND

c. *Hoʁoŋan mer+ŋafq hə+ŋojaq-xir*
then we:INCL+friend that+egg-INSTR

hemar+tʼəx+pʼən-ḍ.
old.man+forehead+throw-IND

d. *Ŋojaq sək ṭosq-xət-ṭ.*
egg all break-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

e. *Hoʁor hemar pol-ra mu-ra.*
then:3SG old.man fall-COORD:3SG die-COORD:3SG

f. *Hoʁoŋan mer+ŋafq tʼəkə-doχ*
then we:INCL+friend bunk.side-DAT/ADD

məy-r hurtʼiv-r kʼrəu-ra
descend-CONV:NAR:3SG sit-CONV:NAR:3SG rest-COORD:3SG

tamx+ta-ra.
tobacco+drink-COORD:3SG

g. *Hoʁar if kʼəmlə-ḍ.*
then:3SG s/he think-IND

Translation:

a. 'Then the old man opened his mouth wide.'
b. '(He) closed his eyes.'
c. 'Then our friend threw this egg at the old man's forehead.'
d. 'The whole egg broke.'
e. 'Then the old man fell and died.'
f. 'Then dropping on the side of the bunk, sitting down, our friend rested and smoked tobacco.'
g. 'At this moment he thought' (Panfilov 1965: 225).

35.1.5 Repetition of converbs in *-ŋan* and in *-ror*, *-tot* for expressing successive actions

These cases are relatively rare.

(841) *Ñivɣ-gu tol-roχ məy-ŋan*
man-PL water-DAT/ADD descend-CONV:ANT/SIM

(→ məy-r) tʼo+ŋəŋ-ŋan jorvi+gins
descend-CONV:NAR:3SG fish+look.for-CONV:ANT/SIM monster+devil

ñivx+ge-r ʁau-ʁau-ḍ.
man+take-CONV:NAR:3SG swallow-swallow-IND

'When people went down to the water (and) caught fish the monster-devil, seizing people, swallowed (them).' (Panfilov 1965: 240)

(842) *Hoвoror*   *huŋg* *p'u–r*   *p'i*
       after.that:3sg there go.out-CONV:NAR:3sg self

       təvu+k'utə-roχ   *vi-r*
       enter.house+hole-DAT/ADD go-CONV:NAR:3sg

       p'u-ŋan   *hə+dəv-uin*   *sək*
       go.out-CONV:ANT/SIM that+house-LOC all

       q'o–t   *hum-ḍ-yu. P'u-ŋan*
       sleep-CONV:NAR:3PL be-IND-PL go.out-CONV:ANT/SIM

       (→ *p'u–r*)   *ku+umgu+ajma-ŋan*   *napə*
          go.out-CONV:NAR:3sg that+woman+look-CONV:ANT/SIM still

       vəṭ+xela-mi-in   *hum-r*   *ṭ'omsomu-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
       iron+net-inside-LOC be-CONV:NAR:3sg be.silent-CONV:NAR:3sg be-IND

       'Then, when going out of there (and) going to the hole (through which)
       he had entered, in that house all (people) were asleep. When (he) went out
       (and) looked at that woman (she), still being in the iron net, was in silence
       (→ was silent' (Panfilov (1965: 224); cf. also Examples (849) and (1049)).

(843) *Hoвar*   *p'-əkən+bo-ror*
       then:3sg REFL-elder.brother+take-CONV:DST:3sg

       təf+řə+řəlγ-ror   *mi-erq-toχ*   *j-əxt-ṭ.*
       house+door+open.door-CONV:DST:3sg inside-side-DAT/ADD 3sg-push-IND

       'Then taking his elder brother, opening the door, (he) pushed him inside.'

(844) *Hoвotot*   *hə+orŋ-doχ*   *ṭ'aχ+mark-ta*
       after.that:3PL that+dish-DAT/ADD water+pour-COORD:3PL

       pila+baχ-ku+ge-tot   *t'ūr+p'u-tot*
       be.big+stone-PL+take-CONV:DST:3PL fire+kindle-CONV:DST:3PL

       paχ+q'av-u-tot   *hə+baχ*
       stone+be.warm-TR-CONV:DST:3PL that+stone

       q'av-data-gut   *hə+ṭ'aχ-toχ*   *si-ta.*
       be.warm-CONT-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL that+water-DAT/ADD put-COORD:3PL

       'Then (they) poured water into this washtub (and) taking big stones,
       making fire (and) heating the stones, (they) put these stones into the water
       while (they) were hot.'   (Panfilov 1965: 433)

When repeated, imperfective converbs naturally express simultaneity:

(845) *Hoвor* *ṭəj* *parf* *k'unu-ke*   *k'eŋ*
       then:3sg again evening be.light-CONV:DUR/INST sun

       hum-ke   *umgu* *mi-erq-ux*   *ŋas+zaqau-ḍ.*
       be-CONV:DUR/INST woman inside-side-LOC/ABL belt+fasten-IND

       'Then when the evening was light (and) the sun was (shining), the woman
       fastened the belt from the inside.'

35.1.6   The form in *-ra*, *-ta* in the West-Sakhalin dialect

At least in the Tymovo subdialect, judging by the texts published by L.Ja. Shternberg (1900: 386–434), the form in *-ra*, *-ta* may appear singly, i.e. without another form with this marker. On the whole, its function is similar to that of the form in *-ra*, *-ta* in the Amur dialect, but there are, it seems, certain distinctions which require special study.

L.Ja. Shternberg gave a very interesting list of the functions of the form in *-ra*, *-ta*. Although they were distinguished at a time when no one wrote about functional sentence perspective, text structure, superphrasal entitites, etc., they sound so up-to-date that they deserve to be cited in their entirety. In his explanations of the verb form *ţ'erjo-ra* 'began to cry' L.Ja. Shternberg (1900: 423–424) writes that the form in *-ra*, *-ta* is used:[2]

1. At the beginning of a story, to depict the introductory descriptive actions or states which serve as an introduction to the subject matter of the story; in the plot itself, as we have seen, *perfectum narrativum* (i.e. the form in *-r*, *-t* – V.N., G.O.) is mostly used. Here is an example of the use of the tenses:

    'Once upon a time there **lived** a Gilyak. He **had** a wife. They **lived** in a large house; they were dying of hunger (introductory states). Then the husband **went** to catch fish (beginning of the plot).'

The Gilyak translation:

*Niʁavəŋ nenəŋ **hunəv-ra**. Anʁej nenəŋ **iv-ra**. Pilaŋ taf pi-t **hunəv-ta**; kə-r-mu-ta* (introduction). *Ax huŋ aţ'ix ţ'o nanəgə-r **vi-r**.*

When there are few introductory actions, as in our poem, *perfectum descriptivum* (i.e. the form in *-ra, -ta* – V.N., G.O.) is easily replaced by *narrativum*, this most favourite form of Gilyak speech (*ibid.*, p. 423).

2.   In the middle of a story to describe details and secondary actions. For instance: 'The Gilyaks **entered** the house (three men **entered**, three **stayed** in the yard).' Translation:

    *Niʁavəŋ-kun taf-tox **j-ugu-t** (ţ'akr niʁavəŋ **j-ugu-ta**, ţ'akr niʁavəŋ k'lə **vi-ta**).*

3. To describe common details of some procedure, e.g. preparations for a walking trip, hunting, wrestling, the procedure of dressing, etc. I give an example of preparations for a walking trip of the heroine of one poem:

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2.   In L.Ja. Shternberg's examples the author's orthography is retained.

'She **taking** it **put on** a skirt, **girded herself** with a man's belt, **braided** her head (hair) the way men do, **taking** it **put on** a man's cap, **taking** it **carried** a bow (= took it with her), **taking** it **carried** a spear, **taking** one reindeer **went**.'

Translation:

*Xoskŋ **ke-r ja-ra**, azmət' vixivər-kis **vixəv-ra**, p'-soŋxr nenku-r **no-ra**, t'iskax* **ke-r ne-ra**, *pund ge-r **šo-ra**, kxax ke-r **šo-ra**, tlaŋhi nan **ge-r irp-ra**.*

4. When it is necessary to single out some action out of the general sequence of events in order to stress its importance, effect, etc. This is the case in the word in question (i.e. *t'erjo* 'began to cry' – V.N., G.O.): the narrator wishes to draw attention to the fact that the cruelty of the youth drove the old man to tears.
5. When the narrator wishes to slow down the tempo of the narration he starts using this full form instead of the reduced *perfectum narrativum*.
6. The form in question is also used to express the present tense, when it is necessary to designate a permanent feature of the subject or his habitual action. Therefore nouns-predicates, having taken a verbal form (a common phenomenon in the Gilyak language), accept the flexions of the form under analysis; for instance:

'Ja – Gilyak, on – russkij budet.'
'I am a Gilyak, he – will be Russian.'
Ni niвəvəŋ-ta, hund luţ'a-ra.

(Shternberg 1900: 423–424)

35.2   Some means of connecting two subsequent independent sentences

Text cohesion, in particular of two adjacent sentences, can be achieved by a variety of means. Here devices connected with repetition of preceding information will be considered. Repetition can be realised by means of verbal forms and also of special conjunction-like words. Basically, these means of repetition may be absent without violating text coherence (see, for instance, Example (829)).

35.2.1   Repetition of information by means of converbs

If a sentence begins with a converb the latter very often repeats the last verb of the previous sentence. Less common is the first use of the repeated verb earlier in the text or implication of the meaning of this verb in the previous context. If the last verb of a sentence is *vi-ḍ* 'went', *q'o-ḍ* 'slept', *ŋau-ḍ* 'grew dark', *k'rəu-ḍ* 'began to rest' and some others verbs, the next sentence most frequently begins with the same verb in converbal

form. Thus, a sentence may contain nearly the entire content of the preceding sentence, like, for instance, the parenthesised sentence in Example (846). This state of things seems to be characteristic of converbs in many languages, some Indo-European languages among them (see, for instance, Jeffers, Kantor 1984: 97).

(846)   *Hoвoror*   *ţəj*   *vi-ḑ.*   [*Vi-**ke***   *ŋəu-ḑ.*].
           after.that:3SG again go-IND go-CONV:DUR/INST grow.dark-IND

           Ŋə-ŋan   *nama-f-toχ*
           be.dark-CONV:ANT/SIM be.good-NML:LOC-DAT/ADD

           vi-ŋan   *to-l-kar+qoj+ñaqr+oz-uin*
           go-CONV:ANT/SIM be.thick-PERM-AUG+larch+one:generic+root-LOC

           *məy-**r***   *por-**ra***   *k'u-ye*
           descend-CONV:NAR:3SG lie-COORD:3SG arrow-COM:DU

           puñḑ-ye   *p'-laвa-χ*   *huñdi-**ra***.
           bow-COM:DU self-next.to-DAT/ADD leave-COORD:3SG

           'Then (he) went again. [While (he) was going (it began) to grow dark.] When (it) became dark (and he) came up to a good place, dropping at the root of a thick larch (he) lay down, put the arrows and bow next to him.'

                                              (Panfilov 1965: 228)

In some cases, there appear entire passages in which the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next one (sometimes other positions) consist of the very same words. Compare the first five sentences in the following example:

(847)   (*Ţ'o*)+*ţoŋr+ţa-**r***   *i-γ-ḑ.*   *Ţ'o+k'u-**ror***
           fish+head+strike-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-kill-IND fish+kill-CONV:DST:3SG

           řa-ḑ.   *Řa-**ror***   *j-ar-ḑ.*   *Hoŋur*
           fry-IND fry-CONV:DST:3SG 3SG-feed-IND in.that.way:3SG

           *j-ar-**ror***   *j-aχ*   *q'o-gu-ḑ.*   *Hə+ñivx*
           3SG-feed-CONV:DST:3SG s/he-DAT/ACC sleep-CAUS-IND that+man

           *i-ñ-**ror***   *q'o-ḑ.*   *Q'o-ŋan*   *ərk*
           3SG-eat-CONV:DST:3SG sleep-IND sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM already

           řanz+añ-lu   *q'o-ḑ.*   *Hoвoŋan oz-ḑ.*
           how.much/many+year-INDEF sleep-IND then   get.up-IND

           'Striking (the fish) on the head, (he) killed it. Having killed the fish (he) then fried it. Having fried (it he) then fed him. Thus having fed him (he) then put him to sleep. Having eaten that man fell asleep. While sleeping (he) already slept for several years. Then (he) woke up.'   (Panfilov 1965: 244)

There are entire chains of commonly repeated verbs; cf., for instance:

(848)   *Malγo-gur*   *i-ñ-ḑ.*   [*I-ñ-**ror***
           be.much/many-ADV:3SG 3SG-eat-IND 3SG-eat-CONV:DST:3SG

    q'o-ḍ.]   *Q'o–r*   *t'əi-ḍ.*
    sleep-IND sleep-CONV:NAR:3SG dream-IND

    '(He) ate much. [Having eaten, (he) fell asleep.] Sleeping, (he) had a dream.'
                                            (Panfilov 1965: 249)

The first use of a verb may be in a converbal form as well:

(849)   *H오ороr*   *huŋg* *p'u–r*   *p'i*
       after.that:3SG there go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG self

       təvu+k'utə-roχ   *vi-r*   *p'u-ŋan*
       enter.house+hole-DAT/ADD go-CONV:NAR:3SG go.out-CONV:ANT/SIM

       hə+dəv-uin   *sək* *q'o–t*   *hum-ḍ-γu.*
       that+house-LOC all sleep-CONV:NAR:3PL be-IND-PL

       P'u-ŋan   *ku+umgu+ajma-ŋan*   *napə*
       go.out-CONV:ANT/SIM that+woman+look-CONV:ANT/SIM still

       vəṭ+xela-mi-in   *hum-r*   *ṭ'omsomu-r*
       iron+net-inside-LOC be-CONV:NAR:3SG be.silent-CONV:NAR:3SG

       hum-ḍ.
       be-IND

       'Then, when going out of there (*p'u–r*) (and) going (*vi-r*) to the hole
       (through which) he had entered (*təvu*), in that house all (people) were
       asleep. When (he) went out (*p'u-ŋan*) (and) looked at that woman
       (*ajma-ŋ*an) (she), still being (*hum-r*) in the iron net, was in silence (→ was
       silent)' (Panfilov 1965: 224); cf. also (842) and (1049).)

35.2.2   Conjunctive adverbs (= taxis localizers)

In many of the Nivkh texts cited above there are words, as a rule in the initial position
of sentences, which contain converb suffixes, and they are translated into Russian by
means of adverbs and prepositional groups like *togda* 'then', *potom* 'after that', *i vot '*
and then', *v eto vremja* 'at this time', etc. Different translations of the same initial Nivkh
word are sometimes chosen at random, and sometimes they are determined by the
context. V.Z. Panfilov describes these words as follows:

      'The group of words indicating all kinds of semantic relations between two
      sentences is numerous. Conjunctive words of this kind are usually placed initially
      in the second sentence and express temporal (sequence of two events in time)
      and causal relations, and the relations of the former and latter type are expressed
      without differentiation, by the same words. In origin, all these conjunctive
      words are converbal forms of the verb. They are: *hоʁa-t*, *hоʁa-r*, *hоʁo-r*, *hоʁо-t*
      'then', 'therefore'; *hоʁo-ror*, *hоʁo-rot* 'after that', 'then'; *ho-ke/hoŋ-ke* 'at this time',
      'then'; *hоʁo-ŋan* 'then'; *ho-ʁa/hоʁo-ʁaj* 'in that case', 'after that', and some others.'
                                                        (Panfilov 1965: 220)

E.A. Krejnovich writes:

> In the Nivkh language the auxiliary verb **ha-** 'be so', 'be such', 'do so', 'be like that' is quite frequently used. This verb can be used in almost all verbal forms. When taking converbal endings it practically performs the same function in a sentence which in the Russian language is performed by conjunctions: *ha-t*, *ha-r* 'thus', 'so', *ha-tot*, *ha-ror* 'then', 'after that', *ha-ŋan* 'then', *ha-nəftoχ* 'in order to', *ha-ʁa* 'if', *ha-gin/ha-girk* 'although'.　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Krejnovich 1934: 216)

The words in question derive from two verbs: *ha-* 'be so' and *hoʁo-* 'be like that', 'do so'. The second base has a variant *hoʁa-*, and also the variant *ho-* with the omitted second syllable *ʁo-*. After this root sometimes the sonant *-ŋ-* appears (cf. *hoŋ-ke* 'then'). Though formally these words are converbs they are not perceived by native speakers as identical with real converbs, i.e. the affinity of *hoʁo-ŋan* and *vi-ŋan*, *hoʁa-r* and *vi-r*, etc. is not felt. Here are examples of independent use of the base verbs in their finite form:

(850)   *Hor   lili   ərti-ərti   hoʁa-ḍ: ñřak ṭʼeʁju-ḍ.*
           then:3SG very always-always be.like.that-IND once ring-IND
           '(It) has always been so: (it) is ringing and ringing.'

(851)   "… *Ṭʼ-nos-xu-mi-rχ   hoʁa-nə-ḍ-ra*".
           … 2SG-ear-PL-inside-DAT/ADD be.like.that-FUT-IND-FOC
           '… In your ears (it) will be so.'

Here is a list of registered adverbs:[3]

(852)   *ha-ŋan*   *ho-ke/hoŋ-ke*   *hoʁo-ŋan*
           ha-ba   *ho-ror, ho-tot*   *hoʁo-r, hoʁo-t*
           ha-ror, ha-tot *ho-ʁa*   *hoʁa-r, hoʁa-t*
           ha-ʁa   *ho-r, ho-t*   *hoʁo-ror, hoʁo-tot*
           ha-gin   *hoʁo-ʁaj*
           ha-nəftoχ   *hoʁa-gin/hoʁa-girn*
                                               hoʁa-ke

Due to agreement with the subject, these adverbs indicate the number of the subject if the latter is omitted.

    Conjunctive adverbs occur both in narration and in direct speech, but in noticeably different proportions. Thus, in a continuous Nivkh text (Panfilov 1965: 222–230) their frequency has turned out to be as is shown in Table 4:

3.　On the glossing of these adverbs see (206) in Section 18.2.2. In Example (853) their morphemic structure is shown as a reminder.

Table 4. Frequency of conjunctive adverbs

Type of text	The number of sentences	Sentences with conjunctive adverbs
Dialogue	200	19 = 10%
Narration	640	257 = 41%

Thus, over 40 per cent of sentences in narration contain conjunctive adverbs, as a rule, in the initial position. They are an extremely characteristic feature of the Nivkh text.

The markers of converbs within the adverbs under consideration and within verbs have somewhat diverged with regard to the same-subject/different-subject marking. Thus, converbs in *-ror*, *-tot* are only *same-subject*, whereas the adverbs *ha-ror*, *ho-ror*, *hoʁo-ror*, etc. not infrequently introduce sentences with a new subject. On the other hand, converbs in *-ŋan* are most frequently *different-subject* (as mentioned above, this does not preclude their use as *same-subject* markers; this occurs in about 36 per cent of usages). With regard to the adverb *hoʁo-ŋan* in texts, there is an obvious tendency of its *different-subject* use, i.e. the adverb indicates a change of the subject of the action. For instance, this is very clear in Examples (838f), (840c), (840f). This adverb may also co-occur with a converb in *-ŋan*; cf.:

(853) *Məx-ke*   *i-ndə-ləyə-r*
         descend-CONV:DUR/INST 3SG-see-not.have-CONV:NAR:3SG

         məy-r   *i- țoŋr-toχ*   *pol-ra*
         descend-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-head-DAT/ADD fall-COORD:3SG

         mulk   *țosq-yət-ra.*   ***Hoʁoŋan***
         basket   break-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-COORD:3SG   then

         pol-ŋan   *i-ndə-ror*   *heʁa-r*
         fall-CONV:ANT/SIM 3SG-see-CONV:DST:3SG be.afraid-CONV:NAR:3SG

         p'olay-rə   *p'im-rə.*
         shout-COORD:3SG run.away-COORD:3SG

         'When descending without looking (under his feet) (he) was going down, (he) fell on his (= another person's) head, the basket (*new subject!*) broke entirely. Then (*introduces a new subject*) after (he) fell, seeing and getting scared (he) shouted (loudly) and ran away' (Panfilov (1965: 227); *-rə* is used instead of *-ra* for expressivity, for expression of emotions).

Table 5 shows the percentage and number of usages of the four most frequent conjunctive adverbs reflecting subject change in all the sentences with each given adverb. For comparison, the respective data are given for sentences which do not contain conjunctive adverbs.

Table 5. Quantitative data for four most frequent conjunctive adverbs with subject change

Sentence type	Subject change takes place
1. Without conjunctive adverbs	in 21% of usages (13 out of 64)
2. Adverb *hoʁo-ror*	in 23% of usages (7 out of 30)
3. Adverb *hoʁo-r*	in 27% of usages (14 out of 52)
4. Adverb *hoʁa-r*	in 40% of usages (16 out of 39)
5. Adverb *hoʁo-ŋan*	in 94% of usages (101 out of 107)

The overall number of sentences is 290.

Thus, in 9 cases out of 10 usages *hoʁoŋan* reflects subject change. But subject change is not always indicated by this adverb or some other special marker.

Of special interest is the analysis of cases when the adverb *hoʁoŋan* is used despite retention of the previous subject. So far we cannot offer any explanation for this. Below, we shall give a number of such texts (there are 6 of them all in all; see (854)–(859)).

There are certain subtle semantic differences between the adverbs under consideration which are hard to formulate; they relate a subsequent sentence to the preceding one in different ways (but all of them express the general sense 'there was a previous event before the following one', 'there was something before this event'): *hoʁoŋan* 'then', i.e. during the period in immediate contact with the following one'; *horor* 'then', *hoke* 'then', 'after that', 'when some time has passed'; *hoʁor/hoʁar* 'and then/now', etc. Most frequently a native speaker does not use the original adverb if offered a choice of several adverbs in a given context. And in the examples below the adverbs accepted by the native speakers as correct are parenthesised:

(854)   ***Hoʁar***   χa-ḍ.   *Mifpʿiḍ+ŋərɣr+moq-ṭ.*   *Mifpʿiḍ*
       then:3SG shoot-IND toad+wing+break.in.two-IND toad

       nuɣi-r   *kut-ivu-ra.*   *If*
       be.in.front-CONV:NAR:3SG fall-INCH/PROGR-COORD:3SG s/he

       əri-r   *kut-ivu-ra.*   ***Hoʁoŋan***
       be.behind-CONV:NAR:3SG fall-INCH/PROGR-COORD:3SG then

       (*hoʁar/hoʁor/hoʁoror*)   *if*   *j-ajma-ḍ*   *pʿəzru-roχ*
       then:3SG/then:3SG/after.that:3SG s/he 3SG-look-IND marsh-DAT/ADD

       kut-ivu-ḍ.   ***Hoʁoŋan*** (*hoʁar/hoʁor/hoʁoror*)
       fall-INCH/PROGR-IND then   then:3SG/then:3SG/after.that:3SG

       if   *pʿ-rəmk-xir*   *pʿ-soŋr+ṭa-ḍ.*   *Nux+tumu-ra.*
       s/he REFL-hand-INSTR REFL-head+strike-IND needle+turn.into-COORD:3SG

       'After this (he) shot. (He) broke off the toad's wings. The toad is falling forward. He is falling behind (it). Then he looks: (he) is falling into a marsh. Then he hits himself on his head. (He) turned into a needle.'

                                               (Panfilov 1965: 226)

Not infrequently, instead of an adverb the finite verb of the preceding sentence can be used with the same converbal suffix as the adverb:

(855)   *"Əţik-a!   Ñi pai   ler-t   nəŋ-ḍ-ra.*
           granny-VOC I   simply play-CONV:NAR:1SG walk-IND-FOC

           Hoŋke (→ **nəŋ-ke**)   *ţ'i-vrə+ňřə-t*
           then   walk-CONV:DUR/INST   2SG-booth+see-CONV:NAR:1SG

           təvu-ḍ-ra".
           enter.house-IND-FOC

           'Granny! I simply walk playing. So (→ walking) (I) seeing your booth
           entered.'   (Panfilov 1965: 226)

The following text is meant to illustrate the maximum possibility of interchangeability of conjunctive adverbs, after which we shall supply texts in which the informant perceives certain restrictions on the use of some adverbs in the given contexts.

    In the short text under (856) conjunctive adverbs are used six times. With the exception of one case, where the general meaning does not allow *hoʁoror* 'after that', in each case all the next five adverbs are possible: *hoʁoŋan, hoʁar, hoʁor, hoʁoror, hoŋke.*

(856)   *Siḍhagin q'au-ra   paχ+ñaqr   p'al-uin*
           whatever not.be-COORD:3SG stone+one:generic floor-LOC

           hum-ra.
           be-COORD:3SG

           Hoʁor   *it-ţ:* "…".   **Hoʁoŋan** *hemañaχ   it-ţ:* "…".
           then:3SG say-IND: "…" then   old.woman say-IND "…"

           Hoʁoŋan *vi-r   e-v-ḍ: ketv-r*
           then   go-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-take-IND: stick-CONV:NAR:3SG

           t'əŋřəŋa-ḍ.   **Hoŋke** (→ **hoʁoror*)
           be.unable.to.move-IND then   after.that:3SG

           j-ali-ḍ.
           3SG-be.unable.to.finish-IND

           Hoʁor   *it-ţ:*"…".   **Hoʁoŋan** *hemañaχ   it-ţ:* "…".
           then:3SG say-IND: "…" then   old.woman say-IND: "…"

           'There is nothing (here), only a stone is on the floor. Then (he) says: "…".
           Then the old woman says: "…". Then going (he) took it: (as) being glued (he)
           is unable to move (from the place). So (→ *then) (he) was unable (to raise
           the stone). Then (he) says: "…". Then the old woman says: "…".'
                                                    (Panfilov 1965: 226)

In the following texts the meaning does not allow substitution by the adverbs *hoʁoŋan* 'then' and *hoʁoror* 'after that', 'next' in one case and by *hoŋke* 'at this time', 'at the same time', 'then' in two cases:

(857) *If … imŋ+ŋəŋg-ɣu-romsk   j-up-ra.*   **Hoʁoror**
       s/he … they+hair-PL-together 3SG-tie-COORD:3SG after.that:3SG

       (→ *hoʁor/*hoʁoŋan/*hoŋke) t'əif-t'məsk   pəiz-ḑ.*
          then:3SG/*then/*then   top.end.beam-over throw-IND

       Hoʁoŋan (→ *hoʁot/*hoʁorot/*hoŋke)   həd-ɣu*
       then   then:3SG/*after.that.3SG/*then that.one-PL

       larlara-r   hum-ḑ-ɣu.
       swing-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND-PL

       'He … tied their hair together. Then (he) threw (them) over the tie-beam. Then they were swinging (on their tied hair)' (Panfilov (1965: 229); cf. Example (838f, h)).

(858) *Vi-nanak   it-t   ŋala-gu-r   vəţ+ʁoj*
       3SG-elder.sister say-CONV:NAR:3SG resemble-ADV:3SG iron+larch

       hum-ra   qoj+zəɣ-uin   pil-kər+ŋavi   hum-ra.[4]
       be-COORD:3SG   larch+top-LOC   be.big-AUG+nest   be-COORD:3SG

       Hoʁar   (→ *hoʁor/*hoʁoror/*hoʁoŋan /*hoŋke)*
       then:3SG   then:3SG/*after.that:3SG/*then/*then

       eñ+ţ'əu-ra   ɣuku-ra   qoj-roχ
       ski+take.out-COORD:3SG shake.off-COORD:3SG larch-DAT/ADD

       řo-r   vi-r   ləvu-ra.
       carry-CONV:NAR:3SG go-CONV:NAR:3SG   lean-COORD:3SG

       Hoʁorot   (→ *hoʁoŋan/*hoʁor/ *hoʁar /*hoŋke)*
       after.that:3SG   then/*then:3SG/*then:3SG/*then

       qoj+oz-un   paχ+ñaqr   hum-ḑ. Həd-roχ
       larch+root-LOC   stone+one:generic be-IND that.one-DAT/ADD

       məɣ-r   hurt'iv-ḑ.
       descend-CONV:NAR:3SG   sit-IND

       'As his elder sister said, (there) was an iron larch (there): at the top of the larch (there) was a big nest. Then (he) took off (his) skis, shook (the snow) off, taking (the skis) to the larch leaned them (to it). After that (there) was a stone by the root of the larch. Dropping himself on it (he) sat down.'
       (Panfilov 1965: 223)

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4. The adverb *ŋalagur* 'alike' (cf., for instance, Saveljeva, Taksami 1970: 225) is spelled both in Panfilov (1965: 223) and in the manuscript as *ŋarlagur*, which is apparently a mistake, since this adverb is definitely derived from the verb *ŋala-* 'resemble.'

In the following examples the conjunctive adverbs have a causal meaning:

(859)   *Oloŋ j-əu-ḍ+əki-ḍ-ra.*   ***Hoʁar***   *if*
pig   3SG-feed.with.liquid.food-NML+be.bad-IND-FOC   then:3SG   s/he

k'e-ḍ-ra.
be.lean-IND-FOC

'The pig's feeding was bad. Therefore it is lean.'

(860)   *"Ñi   ŋəṭx   qo-ḍ-ra,*   *kius-kir*   *vi-jki-ḍ-ra,*
I   foot   be.sick-IND-FOC   walk-INSTR   go-be.unable-IND-FOC

hoʁat   *ñi   mu-yir*   *vi-inə-ḍ-ra".*
then:1PL   I   boat-INSTR   go-DES/INCH-IND-FOC

'My feet ache, (I) cannot walk on foot. Therefore I want to go by boat.'

From time to time conjunctive adverbs occur at the beginning of the main clause after a different-subject adverb rather than at the beginning of the entire sentence, in particular after converbs in *-ŋan* and *-ra, -ta*:

(861)   *Həḍ+ɣuz-ror*   *i-ñ-ḍ.*   *I-ñ-ŋan*
that.one+take.out-CONV:DST:3SG   3SG-eat-IND   3SG-eat-CONV:ANT/SIM

hoʁor   (→ **hoʁoror/*hoʁoŋan/*hoŋke*)   *sək*
then:3SG   *after.that:3SG/*then/*then   all

ur-ɣət-ṭ.
be.good-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

'Taking this out, (he began) to eat. When (he) had eaten then (he) got (quite) well.'   (Panfilov 1965:229)

(862)   *Luvr+meqr+ñi-ra*   ***hoʁor***   *k'rəz-ra.*
spoon+two:generic+eat-COORD:3SG   then:3SG   be.full-COORD:3SG

'(He) ate only two spoons and (he) is (already) full.'   (Panfilov 1965:226)

(863)   *Hoŋgut*   *hum-ke*   *mūv+ñaqr*   *pal-roχ*
in.that.way:3PL   be-CONV:DUR/INST   day+one:generic   forest-DAT/ADD

mər-ra   *q'otr+k'u-ra*   ***hoʁorot***
ascend-COORD:3SG   bear+kill-COORD:3SG   after.that:3SG

lər-ɣət-ra.
cut-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-COORD:3SG

'So (they) lived, one day (he) went up into the forest, killed a bear, after that cut (it) (into pieces).'   (Panfilov 1965:222)

It has been mentioned above that conjunctive adverbs are relatively rare in dialogue. There are also some differences with regard to meaning. Thus, in dialogue, conjunctive adverbs with the suffixes of modal (non-temporal) converbs or with non-modal converbal suffixes with a modal implication are more frequently used; cf.:

(864) "**Hoвoвaj**   ñi ur-nə-d̦-ra."
        in.that.case I   be.good-FUT-IND-FOC
        'After that (= if it happens) I will recover.'   (Panfilov 1965: 222)

(865) "**Hoвagin,**   ñi țəj   vəlk-nə-d̦-ra."
        despite.that I   again add-FUT-IND-FOC
        'In spite of that I will add (some more).'   (Panfilov 1965: 223)

(866) "**Haŋan,** ñi ț'əŋ+d̦uz+ñi-nə-d̦-ra."
        then   I   you:PL+meat+eat-FUT-IND-FOC
        'Then (= if it happens) I will eat your meat.'   (Panfilov 1965: 228)

(867) "… Ñ-an-vara   ñivγ it-ku-t
        … 1SG-also-ADVERS   man   say-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG

        mə-d̦-ra.   **Hoвat**   prə-d̦-ra."
        hear-IND-FOC   then:1SG come-IND-FOC

        'I also heard (how) people were saying. Therefore (I) have come.'
                                                                  (Panfilov 1965: 228)

(868) "… Həd̦+řo-mər-ja   təf-toχ   řək-ja.
        … that.one+carry-ascend-IMP:2SG house-DAT/ADD bring.home-IMP:2SG

        Hoвorot   țax+vaγa-ja,   paχ+hup-ja".
        after.that:2SG shavings+shave-IMP:2SG stone+tie-IMP:2SG

        '… Bring this, take (it) into the house. Then make shavings, tie (them
        round) the stone.'   (Panfilov 1965: 222)

(869) "… **Hoвoвaj**   ñi ț'-əŋg-roχ   pəiz-nə-d̦-ra.
        … in.that.case I   2SG-mouth-DAT/ADD   throw-FUT-IND-FOC

        Hoвoŋan ț'i   вau-γət-ja".
        then   you:2SG   swallow-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IMP:2SG

        '… In that case I'll throw (it) into your mouth. Then swallow (it).'
        (see also (855))   (Panfilov 1965: 225).

The use of a conjunctive adverb in a position after a converb:

(870) "Əlț'-γo!   Verex-ko! Ț'arb+vur-t
        servant-PL maid-PL: silk+spread-CONV:NAR:2PL

        țrə-rχ   **hoвodot**
        road.towards.shore-DAT/ADD   after.that:2PL

        aiz+t'ifț+řo-məγ-t   huñdi-tot
        be.gold+chair+carry-descend-CONV:NAR:2PL leave-CONV:DST:2PL

        ñ-aχ   məx-t   hurt'iv-t
        I-DAT/ACC   descend-CONV:NAR:2PL sit-CONV:NAR:2PL

xez-gu-ve."[5]
say-CAUS-IMP:2PL

'Servants! And maids! Spreading the silk on the path to the shore, after that taking the golden chair (there and) leaving (it there), let (me) speak when (I) descend (and) sit down.' (Panfilov 1965: 227)

35.3 Variation in the use of converbs and of converbal and finite verb forms

The Nivkh text, as apparently the text in any other language, is not limited to *one exclusively possible* choice of converbs and final verb forms in each case, the choice which might be entirely determined by the sequence of events in reality and their mutual semantic relationship. Reality does determine the nature of its verbalization to a significant degree in established patterns of constructions, but the speaker has a certain latitude in the choice of forms dependent on his/her viewpoint or a desire to stress or highlight one or another relationship, or describe an event *per se* or, on the contrary, in a broader context and connect it with other denotationally related events. Let us consider a number of typical cases.

35.3.1 Variable use of converbs in *-r, -t* and in *-ror, -tot*

Not infrequently, converbs in *-r, -t* are interchangeable with those in *-ror, -tot*, when analogous situations are described; cf.:

(871) a. *Hoвoŋan if   p'-ŋəki+xiţi-ror*
           then   s/he REFL-tail+raise-CONV:DST:3SG

           (→ *xiţi-r*)   вoţ-r   *mif+ţa-ḍ.*
               raise-CONV:NAR:3SG lower-CONV:NAR:3SG earth+strike-IND

           'Then, raising his tail (and) lowering (it), he (= serpent) struck the ground (with it).'

       b. *Hoвoŋan if   ŋəki+xiţi-r*
           then   s/he tail+raise-CONV:NAR:3SG

           (→ *xiţi-ror*)   вoţ-r   *mif+ţa-ḍ.*
               raise-CONV:DST:3SG lower-CONV:NAR:3SG earth+strike-IND

           'Then, raising (his) tail (and) lowering (it), he struck the ground (with it).' (Panfilov 1965: 227)

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5. In the plural the vocative form coincides with the plural nominative form which undergoes some phonetic changes, viz. the end vowel of the plural suffix *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/xu-* becomes long or turns into the vowel *o*.

When using a converb in *-ror* the speaker perceives a brief interval in the situation after the serpent raises its tail, and the use of the *-r* converb implies no pause between the actions: the serpent raises its tail and lowers it at once. But these subtleties do not affect the grammaticality of this sentence and no informant can determine on the basis of his/her language intuition which of the variants is the basic one when presented with both variants at the same time.

Here are two more similar pairs of sentences. In (872) sentence (b) follows immediately after sentence (a) in the original text:

(872) a. *Hoʁoŋan   pək   ţəj   pəi-r*
           then   cuckoo   again   fly-CONV:NAR:3SG

           mər-r   i–kʻikr+tʻiv-ḍ.
           ascend-CONV:NAR:3SG   s/he-direction.up+sit-IND

           'Then the cuckoo again went up flying (and) perched higher above him.'
                                                           (Panfilov 1965: 229)

       b. *Hoʁoŋan if   pəi-r   mər-ror*
           then   s/he fly-CONV:NAR:3SG ascend-CONV:DST:3SG

           pək+xikrək-ux   qoj+zəx+moq-ra
           cuckoo+space.above-LOC/ABL   larch+top-break.in.two-COORD:3SG

           pəiz-ra.
           throw-COORD:3SG

           'Then he, flying higher, broke off the larch top above the cuckoo (and) threw.'
                                                           (Panfilov 1965: 229)

(873) a. *Hoʁoŋan if   eʁ-gur   oz-ror*
           then   s/he be.fast-ADV:3SG get.up-CONV:DST:3SG

           j-ajma-də-ləyə-r   vi-ḍ.
           3SG-look-even-not.have-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND

           'Then getting up quickly, without looking at her at all, he went.'
                                                           (Panfilov 1965: 229)

       b. *Tʻət-ke   oz-t*
           morning-LOC/ABL   get.up-CONV:NAR:3PL

           i-ñ-də-ləyə-t   vi-ḍ.
           3SG-eat-even-not.have-CONV:NAR:3PL   go-IND

           'In the morning, getting up, without even eating (they) went.'
                                                           (Panfilov 1965: 248)

(874) a. *Hoʁor   mer+ŋafq   ul-mi-x*
           then:3SG we:INCL+friend bosom-inside-LOC/ABL

           i-ŋojaq+ɣuz-r   it-ţ…
           3SG-egg+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND

           'Then, taking his egg out of the bosom, our friend says …'
                                                           (Panfilov 1965: 224)

b. *Ноʙоŋan   mer+ŋafq   pʻ-ul-mi-x*
   then   we:INCL+friend   REFL-bosom-inside-LOC/ABL

   *ŋojaq+ɣuz-**ror**   it-ṭ…*
   egg+take.out-CONV:DST:3SG   say-IND

   'Then, taking an egg out of his bosom, our friend says …'

<div align="right">(Panfilov 1965: 225)</div>

In the following instance, where an iterative context is possible, the difference is more pronounced:

(875) a. *Ноʙorot   pʻ-aɣs+ṭʻəu-ra*
          after.that:3SG   REFL-clothes+take.out-COORD:3SG

          *tař+ŋəŋ-**rot**   vəñ-doχ   si-ra.*
          louse+look.for-CONV:DST:3SG   kettle-DAT/ADD   put-COORD:3SG

          'Then (she) took off her clothes, looked for lice and put into the kettle.'

<div align="right">(Panfilov 1965: 226)</div>

       b. *… ŋəŋ-**r**   vəñ-doχ   si-ra.*
          … look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG   kettle-DAT/ADD   put-COORD:3SG

          '… catching, (she) was putting (them) into the kettle.'

In (875) the subject, having caught (enough) lice, put them into the kettle all at once, and in (875b) the subject catches and puts lice in at the same time, maybe not once.

35.3.2   Variable use of converbs in *-r, -t* and in *-ke*

The following two sentences divided by three lines in the text refer to the same event – *disappearance of the father who had gone away*, but in the first instance the converb *vi-ke* 'being gone away (a long time)' is used, i.e. duration of the absence is stressed; in other words, the action is shown as taking a certain long period, while in the second case the converb *vi-r* is used to indicate that the disappearance took place after departure, and the time of disappearance is expressed by the converb *pʻŋax-ke* 'being young'; cf.:

(876) a. *"Ñi   nanə   pañḍ-ŋan   ñ-əmək   ñ-ətək*
          I   just   grow-CONV:ANT/SIM   1SG-mother   1SG-father

          *vi-**ke**   pəkz-vu-r   it-ṭ-ra."*
          go-CONV:DUR/INST   disappear-Rep-CONV:NAR:3SG   say-IND-FOC

          'My mother says (that) going away my father disappeared when I had been (just) born'; lit. 'When I was (just) born (as) my mother says, my father, going away (for a long time), disappeared.'

       b. *"… Ṭʻi   pʻŋax-ke   vi-**r***
          … you:SG   be.young-CONV:DUR/INST   go-CONV:NAR:2SG

          pəkz-ḍ-ra".
          disappear-IND-FOC

          "… When young, you disappeared going away.'

35.3.3   Variable use of converbal and finite verb forms

The following cases concern not only different converbal expression of identical actions in analogous situations but also variable alternation of converbal and final forms, i.e. with different presentation of a series of events in sentences.

1. The episode 'A man is asleep and has a dream.' According to the degree of intensification of stress on the second action and its weakening on the first action (known information), the four registered means of presenting this episode can be arranged in the following way:

(877) a. *Hoke   q'o-ḍ …   Q'o-ke   t'ǝi-ḍ.*
           then   sleep-IND   sleep-CONV:DUR/INST   dream-IND
           'Then (he) fell asleep … (He) slept and slept, (he) had a dream.'

       b. *Hor   q'o-ḍ-hajra.   Q'o-ŋan   t'ǝi-ḍ.*
           then:3SG   sleep-IND-probably   sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM   dream-IND
           'And then (he) probably fell asleep. While sleeping, (he) dreamed.'

       c. *I-ñ-ror   q'o-ḍ.   … Q'o–r*
           3SG-eat-CONV:DST:3SG   sleep-IND   …   sleep-CONV:NAR:3SG

           t'ǝi-ḍ.
           dream-IND

           'Having eaten, (he) fell asleep … In sleep (he) had a dream.'

       d. *K'rǝu-r   ñeñak-xir   q'o-ḍ.   T'ǝi-ḍ.*
           rest-CONV:NAR:3SG   a.little-INSTR   sleep-IND   dream-IND
           'Resting, (he) fell asleep for a while. (He) dreamed.'

   In (877) both actions are shown as separate events, dreaming is stressed as a single isolated event, taxis relations are not expressed. In (877a) the dream did not begin right after falling asleep: it is stressed that some time passed before the dream came, i.e. the sleep without dreaming takes longer here. In (877b) the two events, i.e. the sleep and the dream, coincide in time, and the main event is the dream. And, lastly, in (877c) sleeping is backgrounded and in some way (which is difficult to understand for a native speaker of Russian) it defines the dream. The specific meaning of this case is difficult to explicate in the Russian (and English – eds) translation.

2. Episode "A man got angry, (getting up) he grasps a stick, he wants to strike the bird, the bird flies away. He stands up and goes away.' In the two passages below analogous episodes from the same text, divided by about ten sentences, are cited. Episode (A) contains five sentences, episode (B) is described by three sentences. In (A) there are seven actions and in (B), eight actions. The verb 'get angry' is expressed by a final finite verb form in (A), i.e. it is more stressed, and in (B) it is expressed by a converb, i.e. its simultaneity with the second action is formally

marked. The action '(he) grasped a stick' in both (A) and (B) is expressed in the same way by a converb, but in (B) it is preceded by the action '(he) stood up' denoted by a converb. The action 'wanted to strike' is expressed by the final finite form in both episodes. The action 'the bird flew away' is expressed by the final finite form in episode (B) and in (A), by the form in -*ra* which is paired with the action '(he) stood up', i.e. these consecutive actions are marked as communicatively equal and connected with each other. In episode (B) the last action is expressed by a converb (the narrator seems to have forgotten that the subject had already stood up once in order to grasp the stick; in episode (A) all the actions, it seems, are performed sitting). And, finally, in both episodes the action '(he) went away' is expressed by the final finite form. Here are the texts:

(878)   A.   (1) *Hoʁoŋan* *if*   *tʿaχta-ḍ.*
              then   s/he be.angry-IND
              'Then he got angry.'

         (2) *Pʿ-xəs+po-r*   *za-jnə-ḍ.*
            REFL-ski.stick+take-CONV:NAR:3SG strike-DES/INCH-IND
            'Grasping his ski stick (he) wanted to strike (it).'

         (3) *Zaq*   *pəi-r*   *vi-ra.*
            titmouse fly-CONV:NAR:3SG go-COORD:3SG
            'The titmouse went away flying.'

         (4) *Hoʁor*   *if*   *oz-ra.*
            then:3SG s/he get.up-COORD:3SG
            'Then he stood up.'

         (5) *Hoʁor*   *ṭəj* *vi-ḍ.*
            then:3SG again go-IND
            'Then (he) went away again.'   (Panfilov 1965: 222)

     B.   (1) = (2) *Hoʁoŋan* *if*   *tʿaχta-r*
                   then   s/he be.angry-CONV:NAR:3SG

                   oz-r   *kʿəs+po-r*
                   get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG ski.stick+take-CONV:NAR:3SG

                   za-jnə-ḍ.
                   strike-DES/INCH-IND
                 'Then getting angry, standing up, grasping a ski stick, he wanted to strike (it).'

         (3) *Ṭopip* *pəi-r*   *vi-ḍ.*
             jay   fly-CONV:NAR:3SG go-IND
            'The jay went away flying.'

         (4) = (5) *Hoʁor*   *oz-r*   *vi-ḍ.*
                   then:3SG get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG go-IND
               'Then standing up (he) went away.'   (Panfilov 1965: 223)

35.3.4   Experiments with recovering the original text

As has just been said, converbs can be used in more than one form in the same position. The relations they express may vary, each time with the respective change of stressing of their taxis meanings or their variants. It is usually difficult or even impossible for an informant to determine the original converbal forms if they are presented without the suffixes, i.e. in a text with the final verb forms only. Below, we produce a few revealing cases of restoring short passages by an informant. The informant characterized the texts offered to him as generally comprehensible though not easy to understand and, of course, as odd, sounding "un-Nivkh."

1. *Text One* – eight actions (text (A) is the one offered to the informant with a translation, and (B) is the original text; (C), (D), (E) are the texts "restored" by the informant.

(879)   A.   *K'u-γe*   *puñḍ-γe+bo-ḍ$_1$*   *p'u-ḍ$_2$,*
               arrow-COM:DU   bow-COM:DU+take-IND   go.out-IND

               ṭevrq+χa-ḍ$_3$ *i-γ-ḍ$_4$*   *řǝk-ṭ$_5$*   *nanak*
               little.bird+shoot-IND   3SG-kill-IND   bring.home-IND   elder.sister

               ṭevrq+tupř+p'ǝvrk-ṭ$_6$ *t'ūr-toχ*   *řa-ḍ$_{7,8}$*   *i-ñ-ḍ$_8$.*
               bird+feather+pluck-IND   fire-DAT/ADD   fry-IND   3SG-eat-IND

               '(He) took$_1$ arrows (and) a bow, went out$_2$, shot$_3$ a bird, killed$_4$ it, brought$_5$ home, the elder sister plucked$_6$ the bird's feathers, fried$_7$ on fire, (they) ate$_8$ it.'

         B.   (1) *K'u-γe*   *puñḍ-γe+bo-**ror***
                    arrow-COM:DU   bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:DST:3SG

                    *p'u–**r***   *ṭevrq+χa-ḍ.*
                    go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   little.bird+shoot-IND

                    'Having taken arrows and a bow, going out (he) shot a bird.'

              (2) *I-γ-**ror***   *řǝk-**ŋan**,*   *nanak*
                    3SG-kill-CONV:DST:3SG   bring.home-CONV:ANT/SIM   elder.sister

                    ṭevrq+tupř+p'ǝvrk-ṭ.
                    little.bird+feather+pluck-IND

                    'Having killed it, when (he) brought (it) home, the elder sister plucked the bird's feathers.'

              (3) *T'ūr-toχ*   *řa-**tot***   *i-ñ-ḍ-γu.*
                    fire-DAT/ADD   fry-CONV:DST:3PL   3SG-eat-IND-PL
                    'Having fried on fire, (they) ate it.'   (Panfilov 1965:222)

         C.   (1) *K'u-γe*   *puñḍ-γe+bo-**r***   *p'u-ḍ.*
                    arrow-COM:DU   bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:NAR:3SG   go.out-IND
                    '(He) taking arrows and a bow, went out.'

(2) *Ţevrq+χa-r*   *i-γ-r*
little.bird+shoot-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-kill-CONV:NAR:3SG

řək-ţ.
bring.home-IND

'Shooting a bird, killing it, (he) brought (it) home.'

(3) *Nanak*   *ţevrq+tupř+pʼəvrk-ţ.*
elder.sister   litle.bird+feather+pluck-IND

'The elder sister plucked the bird's feathers.'

(4) *Tʼūr-toχ*   *řa-t*   *i-ñ-ḍ-γu.*
fire-DAT/ADD   fry-CONV:NAR:3PL   3SG-eat-IND-PL

'Frying (it) on fire, (they) ate it.'

D. (1) *Kʼu-γe*   *puñḍ-γe+bo-ror*
arrow-COM:DU   bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:DST:3SG

pʼu–r,   *ţevrq+χa-ḍ.*
go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   little.bird+shoot-IND

'Having taken arrows and a bow, going out (he) shot a bird.'

(2) *I-γ-ŋan*   *řək-ţ.*
3SG-kill-CONV/ANT/SIM   bring.home-IND

'When (he) killed it, (he) brought (it) home.'

(3) *Nanak*   *ţevrq+tupř+pʼəvrk-ţ.*
elder.sister   litle.bird+feather+pluck-IND

'The elder sister plucked the bird's feathers.'

(4) *Tʼūr-toχ*   *řa-tot*   *i-ñ-ḍ-γu.*
fire-DAT/ADD   fry-CONV:DST:3PL   3SG-eat-IND-PL

'Having fried (it) on fire, (they) ate it.'

E. (1) *Kʼu-γe*   *puñḍ-γe+bo-ror*
arrow-COM:DU   bow-COM:DU+take-CONV:DST:3SG

pʼu–r,   *ţevrq+χa-r*
go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   little.bird+shoot-CONV:NAR:3SG

i-γ-ḍ.
3SG-kill-IND

'Having taken arrows and a bow, going out (and) shooting a bird, (he) killed it.'

(2) *Řək-ŋan*   *nanak*
bring.home-CONV:ANT/SIM   elder.sister

ţevrq+tupř+pʼəvrk-ţ.
little.bird+feather+pluck-IND

'When (he) brought (it) home, the elder sister plucked the bird's feathers.'

(3) *T'ūr-uχ*   *řa-t*   *i-ñ-ḍ-γu.*
     fire-LOC/ABL   fry-CONV:NAR:3PL   3SG-eat-IND-PL
     'Frying (it) on fire, (they) ate it.'

F.   This variant has coincided with the original one.

To make it easier for the reader, we shall point out only the verb forms of all the variants (the finite forms are underscored):

(880)

	'take'$_1$	'go out'$_2$	'shoot'$_3$	'kill'$_4$	'bring home'$_5$	'pluck'$_6$	'fry'$_7$	'eat'$_8$
B.	*bo-ror*	*p'u–r*	*χa-ḍ*	*i-γ-ror*	*řək-ŋan*	*p'əvrk-ṭ*	*řa-tot*	*i-ñ-ḍ-γu*
C.	*bo-r*	*p'u-ḍ*	*χa-r*	*i-γ-r*	*řək-ṭ*	*p'əvrk-ṭ*	*řa-t*	*i-ñ-ḍ-γu*
D.	*bo-ror*	*p'u–r*	*χa-ḍ*	*i-γ-ŋan*	*řək-ṭ*	*p'əvrk-ṭ*	*řa-tot*	*i-ñ-ḍ-γu*
E.	*bo-ror*	*p'u–r*	*χa-r*	*i-γ-ḍ*	*řək-ŋan*	*p'əvrk-ṭ*	*řa-t*	*i-ñ-ḍ-γu*
Number of variants	2	2	2	4	2	1	2	1

As we see, two verbs ('pluck' and 'eat') have no variants. For the verb 'eat' this result is self-evident because it is the final verb in the text, and for the verb 'pluck' it is not obvious. Five verbs are represented by two variants. In the case of two of these verbs ('take' and 'fry') forms in *-r, -t* and in *-ror, -tot* are varied; two more ('go out' and 'shoot') take forms in *-r* and in *ḍ*, and one verb ('bring home') has varying forms in *-ŋan* and *-ṭ*. And, lastly, for only one verb ('kill') all the four forms are different. We may draw a conclusion, it seems, that the choice of converbal and finite forms for naming actions is probabilistically determined by denotational factors. (See also explanations for Example (829)).

2.   *Text two* – sixteen actions (on the meaning of the letters see explanations for the previous text):

(881) A. *Hoвor*   *ṭəj*   *vi-ḍ$_1$*   *ṭəj*   *ena+k'nək-roχ*
            then:3SG   again   go-IND   again   be.another+promontory-DAT/ADD

            vi-ḍ$_2$ *kər-ḍ$_3$*   *eñ+ṭ'əu-ḍ$_4$.*   *K'eŋ+ajma-ḍ$_5$* *ərk*
            go-IND   stay-IND   ski+take.out-IND   sun+look-IND   already

            ŋəu-ḍ$_6$.   *Hoвar*   *məγ-ḍ$_7$*   *hurt'iv-ḍ$_8$* *taj-γe*
            grow.dark-IND   then:3SG   descend-IND   sit-IND   pipe-COM:DU

            hontq-xe+γuz-ḍ$_9$ *tamx+si-ḍ$_{10}$*   *xiṭi-ḍ$_{11}$*
            pouch-COM+take.out-IND   tobacco+put-IND   raise-IND

j-az-ḍ$_{12}$ *zatʿūr+kuz-ḍ*$_{13}$ *za-ḍ*$_{14}$
3SG-take.between.teeth-IND flint+take.out-IND strike-IND

ṭopip *pʿrə-ḍ*$_{15}$ *i-eñ+əx+tʿiv-ḍ*$_{16}$.
jay come-IND 3SG-ski+end+sit-IND

'Then (he) again went$_1$, went$_2$ again to another promontory$_2$, stopped$_3$, took off$_4$ the skis. Looked$_5$ at the sun, (it) was (already) dark$_6$. Then (he) went down$_7$, sat down$_8$, took out$_9$ a pipe and a pouch, put$_{10}$ the tobacco (into the pipe), raised$_{11}$ (it), pressed$_{12}$ between (his) teeth, took out$_{13}$ a flint, struck$_{14}$ (it), a jay came$_{15}$ (flying), sat on the end of his ski$_{16}$.'

B. *Hoʙor* *ṭəj* *vi-ḍ*$_1$. *Ṭəj* *ena+kʿnək-roχ*
then:3SG again go-IND again be.another+promontory-DAT/ADD

vi-ŋan$_2$ *kər-ra*$_3$ *eñ+ṭʿəu-ra*$_4$.
go-CONV:ANT/SIM stay-COORD:3SG ski+take.out-COORD:3SG

Kʿeŋ+ajma-ḍ$_5$. *Ərk* *ŋəu-ḍ*$_6$. *Hoʙar*
sun+look-IND already grow.dark-IND then:3SG

məγ-r$_7$ *hurtʿiv-ra*$_8$ *taj-γe*
descend-CONV:NAR:3SG sit-COORD:3SG pipe-COM:DU

hontq-xe+γuz-ra$_9$ *tamx+si-ra*$_{10}$
pouch-COM:DU+take.out-COORD:3SG tobacco+put-COORD:3SG

xiṭi-r$_{11}$ *j-az-ra*$_{12}$.
raise-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-take.between.teeth-COORD:3SG

Zatʿūr+kuz-r$_{13}$ *za-ŋan*$_{14}$ *ṭopip*
flint+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG strike-CONV:ANT/SIM jay

pʿrə-ra$_{15}$ *i-eñ+əx+tʿiv-ra*$_{16}$.
come-COORD:3SG 3SG-ski+end+sit-COORD:3SG

'Then (he) went$_1$ again. When he came$_2$ to another promontory, (he) stopped$_3$, took off$_4$ the skis. (He) looked$_5$ at the sun. (It) was (already) dark$_6$. (And) then (he), going down$_7$, sat down$_8$, took out$_9$ a pipe and a pouch, put$_{10}$ the tobacco (into the pipe), raising$_{11}$ (it) pressed$_{12}$ (it) between (his) teeth. When, taking out$_{13}$ the flint, (he) struck$_{14}$ (it), a jay flew up$_{15}$ and sat$_{16}$ on the end of his ski.' (Panfilov 1965: 222–223)

Instead of giving all the three variants produced by the informant, we shall compare only the verbal forms (the remaining text coincides entirely) from these variants in the lines indicated as (c), (d) and (e) under the forms of the original text, the verbal forms from (881b) being given in line (b). Not a single text produced by the informant coincides with the original text:

(882)

	'go'$_1$	'come'$_2$	'stay'$_3$	'take out'$_4$	'look'$_5$	'grow dark'$_6$
b.	vi-ḍ	vi-ŋan	kər-ra	ṭʻəu-ra	-ajma-ḍ	ŋəu-ḍ
c.	vi-ḍ	vi-ŋan	kər-ḍ	ṭʻəu-ror	-ajma-ŋan	ŋəu-ḍ
d.	vi-ḍ	vi-r	kər-ŋan	ṭʻəu-ḍ	-ajma-ŋan	ŋəu-ḍ
e.	vi-ḍ	vi-ge	kər-ror	ṭʻəu-ŋan	-ajma-ŋan	ŋəu-ḍ
Number of variants	1	3	4	3	2	1

	'descend'$_7$	'sit '$_8$	'take out'$_9$	'put'$_{10}$	'raise'$_{11}$
b.	məɣ-r	hurtʻiv-ra	ɣuz-ra	si-ra	xiṭi-r
c.	məɣ-r	hurtʻiv-r	ɣuz-ror	si-r	xiṭi-r
d.	məɣ-ror	hurtʻiv-ḍ	ɣuz-r	si-ror	xiṭi-r
e.	məɣ-r	hurtʻiv-ror	ɣuz-ḍ	si-r	xiṭi-r
Number of variants	2	4	4	3	1

	'take between teeth'$_{12}$	'take out'$_{13}$	'strike'$_{14}$	'come'$_{15}$	'sit'$_{16}$
b.	j-az-ra	-kuz-r	za-ŋan	pʻrə-ra	-tʻiv-ra
c.	j-az-ḍ	-kuz-r	za-ḍ	pʻrə-r	-tʻiv-ḍ
d.	j-az-ŋan	-kuz-r	za-ḍ	pʻrə-ge	-tʻiv-ḍ
e.	j-az-ror	-kuz-r	za-ḍ	pʻrə-ba	-tʻiv-ḍ
Number of variants	4	1	2	4	2

Note. In all the three variants the informant considered it necessary to add the adverb *hoke* 'and then' before the converbal form *pʻrə-r*.

The results need some comments. The expected coincidences concern two finite forms derived from the verbs *vi-*$_1$ 'go' (because it is followed by the repeated word *Ṭəj* 'again' indicating obviously the beginning of a new sentence) and *ŋəu-* 'grow dark'$_6$ (because previously the verb *-ajma-* 'look' was used, and it is obviously followed by a new subject). Expected coincidences also concern two forms in *-r*, denoting in complex with the main verbs denotationally overlapping actions: they are formed from the verbs *xiṭi-*$_{11}$ 'raise' and *kuz-*$_{13}$ 'take out' (see (875) above). In two cases only two variants are observed. This pertains to the verbs *məɣ-*$_7$ 'descend' (see also the above marked variants in *-r*, *-t* and in *-ror*, *-tot* in Section 35.3) and *-ajma-*$_5$ 'look' and *za-*$_{14}$

'strike' (combinations of forms in *-ŋan* and *-ḍ* of such lexical items are common in texts; cf.: 'when (he) looked it was dark already'). In one case the markers *-ra* and *-ḍ* vary. The informant could not use the verb *t'iv-*[16] 'sit' with the marker *-ra* because this marker has not been used previously (the form in *-ra* does not occur singly).

In the remaining eight cases more variants, three or four, are used. It should be noted that in the original *only one verbal form is used, viz. the form in -ra*, and in the variants suggested by the informant two or three different verb forms are used, and the form in *-ra*, which simply *relates to one another the main actions* of the participants, is not used a single time. The speaker's strategy was, obviously, to present the successive completed actions as equally important, the other forms (one in *-ŋan* and two in *-r*) being used to mark denotationally attendant actions. The first encounter with a bird is described in a similar way (in four sentences eight forms in *-ra* are used) and so is the second encounter (in three sentences seven froms in *-ra* are used).

35.4 Quantitative characteristics

For a more complete and all-round description of the Nivkh taxis information concerning frequency of various verbal forms and also structurally different sentences is doubtless necessary. All the quantitative characteristics given below are of preliminary nature because they are based on the text of one Nivkh fairytale only which is 8 pages long (see (see Panfilov 1965: 222–230). All the verbal forms are taken into account; their overall number is over 1100.

35.4.1 Frequency of different converbal and finite verb forms

The data for narration and dialogue differ sharply, therefore they are shown separately for each of the types of text.

35.4.1.1 *In narration*
The data are presented in Table 6:

Table 6. Frequency of finite and converbal forms in narration[*]

A.	1.	Finite forms in *-ḍ/-ţ*[**]	40%	(344)	40%
B.	2.	Converbs in *-ra, -ta*	23%	(205)	
	3.	Converbs in *-r, -t*	20%	(168)	43%
	4.	Converbs in *-ŋan*	7%	(59)	
	5.	Converbs in *-ror, -tot*	4%	(38)	

(Continued)

Table 6. (Continued)

C.	6.	Converbs in -*ke*	4%	(32)	15%
	7.	Converbs in -*ivo/-jvo*	–	(1)	
	8.	Converbs in -*fke*, -*ba*, -*ge*, etc.	–	–	
D.	9.	Converbs in -*ʁar*	–	(2)	
	10.	Converbs in -*ʁaj*, -*gin*, etc.	–	–	(0,3%)
	Total:			849***	98,3%

*Here and in the table below the precentage is expressed in round numbers.
**Two cases of ideophones in final position are included in this number conditionally (see Chapter 19). Among the forms in -*ḍ/-ṭ* there are only three cases with -*ḍ-ra* (less than 1 per cent) and there is not a single form in the future tense, i.e. with the marker -*nə*.
***No more than 5 to 10 forms are not included in the overall number because they require special explanation.

35.4.1.2 *In dialogue*

Table 7 below contains quantitative data only for those forms which are entered in Table 6 (subsection 35.4.1.1); the verbal forms which are characteristic of dialogue only and do not occur in narration are not taken into account here on purpose; they are: (1) the forms of modal moods (10 usages and two cases with the marker -*furu/-pʹuru/-vuru*); (2) imperative forms (76 cases, or 30 per cent of all the verbal forms in dialogue and 40 per cent of all the sentences); (3) interrogative and "indefinite" verb forms (22 cases); (4) forms like *ṭʹomr-u-ra* (9 cases); (5) a number of even more rare forms (10 cases). Thus, all in all about 127 verb forms are not taken into account in Table 7 (51 per cent of all

Table 7. Frequency of finite and converbal forms in dialogue

A.	1.	Finite forms in -*ḍ/-ṭ*	63%	(77)	63%	(31,5%)
B.	2.	Converbs in -*ra*, -*ta*	10%	(12)	21%	(10,5%)
	3.	Converbs in -*r*, -*t*	11%	(14)		
	4.	Converbs in -*ŋan*		(2)		
	5.	Converbs in -*ror-*, -*tot*		(1)		
C.	6.	Converbs in -*ke*		(3)	6%	(3%)
	7.	Converbs in -*ivo*, -*ba*, -*ge*	–	(–)		
	8.	Converbs in -*fke*		(1)		
D.	9.	Converbs in -*ʁar*		(1)		
	10.	Converbs in -*ʁaj*		(11)	10%	(5%)
	11.	Converbs in -*girn*		(1)		
	Total:			(123)	100%	(50%)

the verb forms registered in dialogue). Not included are also converbs dependent on all these forms. The purpose behind this is to obtain comparable data on the percentage ratio of the verb forms that are used in narration as well. As a result, Table 7 accounts only for 49 per cent of all the verb forms used in the dialogues of the fairytale; therefore in order to obtain the percentage concerning all the verbal forms in dialogue the percentage figures should be divided by two (as is shown in brackets).

In comparison with the data for narration, we find the following peculiaritites here:

1. A significantly higher percentage rate of the finite forms in -*ḍ/-ṭ*: 63 per cent and 40 per cent respectively.
2. A significantly higher percentange rate of modal converbs (see the data for "D"): 10 per cent and 0.3 per cent respectively.
3. A significantly lower percentage rate of converbs both in groups "B" (21 per cent and 40 per cent respectively) and in "C" (6 and 15 per cent respectively)
4. A considerably higher percentage rate of forms in -*ḍ-ra* among forms in -*ḍ/-ṭ* (90 per cent and 1 per cent respectively).
5. The use of future tense forms with the suffix -*nə*- (all of them have the final marker -*ḍ-ra*, i.e. the verb form looks like *ñi p'rə-nə-ḍ-ra* 'I will come').
6. The use of expressive finite forms in -*ḍa* (8 instances); they are included in the number of the forms in -*ḍ*.
7. The use of verbal forms which do not occur in narrative texts, as pointed out above in Table 7.

In general, there are no unexpected peculiarities among those listed here, unless we regard as such the overwhelming predominance of finite forms in -*ḍ-ra* with the mysterious -*ra* which seems to be turning into a characteristic feature of direct speech. But in this case it is unclear why the marker -*ra* does occur in narrative texts.

35.4.2   Frequency of converbal clauses of different length

One can observe a natural tendency towards diminishing frequency of converbal constructions with a greater number of embedded converbs. This tendency manifests itself practically in the same way in sentences with the final -*ḍ/-ṭ* as in those with the final -*ra*, -*ta*. The latter forms are regarded here as converbal, but, since they often have subordinated converbs and they often complete a sentence, it is expedient to give the corresponding data for them separately. Table 8 below also includes the data for forms in -*ḍ/-ṭ* in dialogue (the data for -*ra*, -*ta* forms in dialogue are not given because of limited quantitative data).

Table 8. Frequency of sentences with a varying number of converbal groups

Number of converbs in a sentence	Narration		Dialogue
	Sentences with the finite forms in:		
	-d̦/-ț	-ra, -ta	-d̦/-ț
1. absent	52%	52%	70%
2. one	32%	28%	24%
3. two	12%	28%	7%
4. three	3%	7%	–
5. four	2%	–	–
Total:	≈100% (320)	100% (85)	≈100% (72)

We can assert that dialogue shows a natural tendency for simpler constructions.

There are probably slight differences between converbs in their ability to be used jointly with other converbs. Thus, for instance, judging by the data of Table 9 below, converbs in *-ke* manifest a greater tendency to be used singly than converbs in *-ŋan* and those in *-ror*, *-tot*.

Table 9. Frequency of dependent converbs*

Converbs	Presence of other converbs					Total
	absent	one	two	three	four and more	
1. in *-ŋan*	48%	38%	10%	3%	–	99% (73)
2. in *-ror*, *-tot*	50%	37%	6%	4%	2%	101% (60)
3. in *-ke*	70%	20%	4%	4%	1%	99% (73)

* We took into account not only converbal forms used in the text under consideration (Panfilov 1965: 222–230).

Table 10 shows all the combinations of converbs in *-ror*, *-tot* and *-ŋan*, *-ke* with other converbs registered in the text.

Table 10. Combinations of converbs in *-ror*, *-tot* and *-ŋan*, *-ke* with other converbs

1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5
			a. Converbs in *-ror*, *-tot*						
-ror	*-r*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-ke*	*-ivo*	
-ror	*-ŋan*	*-ror*	*-ŋan*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ror*	*-ŋan*	*-r*	
-ror	*-ror*	*-r*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-r*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ror*	
-r	*-ror*	*-r*	*-ŋan*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-r*
-ŋan	*-ror*	*-ŋan*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-r*	*-r*	*-r*
			b. Converbs in *-ŋan*						
-ŋan	*-r*	*-ŋan*	*-ŋan*	*-r*	*-ke*	*-ŋan*	*-r*	*-r*	
-r	*-ŋan*	*-ŋan*	*-ror*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ror*	*-ŋan*	*-r*	
-ror	*-ŋan*	*-ŋan*	*-ke*	*-vu-r*					
-ke	*-ŋan*	*-r*	*-ŋan*	*-ror*					
		-ror	*-ŋan*	*-r*					
		-r	*-r*	*-ŋan*					
			c. Converbs in *-ke*						
-ke	*-ke*	*-ke*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ke*	*-ŋan*	*-r*	*-r*	
-ke	*-ŋan*	*-ŋan*	*-ke*	*-vu-r*	*-ŋan*	*-ke*	*-r*	*-r*	
-ke	*-r*	*-r*	*-r*	*-ke*	*-r*	*-ke*	*-r*	*-r*	
-ke	*-ror*				*-ror*	*-r*	*-ke*	*-ivo*	
-r	*-ke*				*-r*	*-ke*	*-gu-t*	*-ke*	*-r*

Aspectual and taxis characteristics of converbs

Before we deal with the functional part of this paper it is expedient to briefly characterize the converbs under discussion from the point of view of the relatedness of their aspectual and taxis (temporal) characteristics. Neccessarily, we shall have to repeat some of the information introduced in the previous chapters.

In the first place, we wish to remind the reader that Nivkh tense forms do not express any aspectual meanings. Thus, the future and non-future tense forms of the verb *i-ñ-/-ñi-* 'eat' may have the following interpretations depending on the context:

(883)   a.   *If   i-ñ-ḍ.*
            s/he   3SG-eat-IND
            i.   'He began to eat';   ii.   'He ate';
            iii.   'He has eaten';   iv.   'He eats/is eating', etc.
      b.   *If   i-ñ-nə-ḍ.*
            s/he   3SG-eat-FUT-IND
            i. 'He will eat';   ii. 'He will have eaten.'

The verb in (883) is non-terminative. Terminative verbs allow fewer variants of interpretation. As a rule, the form is interpreted as perfective in meaning; cf.:

(884)   a.   *If   i-γ-ḍ.*
            s/he   3SG-kill-IND
            'He killed him.'
      b.   *If   i-γ-nə-ḍ.*
            s/he   3SG-kill-FUT-IND
            'He will kill him.'

In combination with converbal and/or aspectual markers the aspectual characteristic of a verb may become more precise or it may undergo a change.

36.1   Aspectual and taxis characteristics of converbs without aspectual markers

This section concerns *aspectual* meanings of converbs containing no aspectual markers (the latter are described in Section 36.2). Four groups can be distinguished provisionally,

though it cannot be ruled out that the last two groups are opposed to the first two with regard to their aspectual properties. Aspectual characteristics correlate in a rather distinct way with taxis characteristics. The main correlations are as follows: imperfectivity – simultaneity, perfectivity – anteriority (cf. correlation of the aspectual meanings of Russian converbs and their taxis functioning; see, for instance, Bondarko (ed.) 1987).

36.1.1   Imperfective converbs and the taxis meaning of simultaneity

These converbs denote actions in the process of performance. They are also formed from stative verbs. At the moment of action of the main verb the action denoted by an imperfective converb, with the exception of special cases, is continued. Hence the natural (universal?) connection between imperfectivity and simultaneity. It is also natural that this quite predictable correlation of aspectual and taxis meanings manifests, like many other universal correlations, its own expected and "unexpected" restrictions in different languages. Establishing them is a typological problem.

With regard to the question under discussion imperfective forms of converbs behave in a way analogous to the well-known use of finite imperfective verb forms. Compare, for instance, the state of things in Chukchi: "in narration the imperfect denotes most frequently past actions simultaneous with actions denoted by the aorist and, in a way, accompanying them" (Nedjalkov et al. 1984: 210).

The group of converbs in question includes four formations.

36.1.1.1   *The durative converb in -ke*

Nearly all the verbs registered in this form denote (or may denote) non-terminative or, at least, not short-term actions, i.e. the use of converbal forms in -**ke** is not characteristic of verbs like *oz-* 'get up', *pʼu-* 'go out', *i-γ-/-kʼu-/-xu-* 'kill' etc. (885) contains a list of verbs that have occurred in the -**ke** form in our material:

(885)

axot- 'hunt'	*va-* 'fight'	*vi-* 'go'
za-/-ṭa-/-ḍa- 'strike'	*i-ñ-/-ñi-* 'eat'	*kʼəmlə-* 'think'
i-rlə-/-tlə-/-kʼlə- /-xlə- 'draw'	*it-* 'say'	*j-əz-/-əz-* 'call'
j-ərəsu-/-ərəsu- 'persecute'	*j-ətŋu-/-ətŋu-* 'guard'	*qʼau-* 'not be'
qʼo- 'sleep'	*qʼor-* 'be rich'	*maṭka-* 'be small'
mər- 'ascend'	*mχaʁ-* 'be young'	*məγ-* 'descend'
mə- 'hear', 'listen'	*ñoñ-* 'be small'	*ŋarma-* 'wait'
ŋəŋ- 'look for'	*por-* 'lie'	*pʼŋaʁ-* 'be young', 'be youthful'
řa-/-tʼa- 'fry'	*to-* 'cry'	*tχop-* 'disturb'
ul- 'be high'	*hum-* 'be', 'be smwh', 'live', etc.	

The verbs *vi-* 'go', *qʼo-* 'sleep', *ŋəŋ-* 'look for' are particularly frequent.

Thus we may assume there is a correlation between the non-terminative lexical meaning of the verb base and durative meaning of its converb.

The converb in -**ke** mostly denotes either a state or an action of long duration during which at a given moment (or a number of moments) another action takes place which is denoted by the main verb, i.e. it expresses the taxis meaning of simultaneity. Not infrequently, the action of the main verb takes place at the end of a prolonged converbal action as a kind of its consequence or as its final stage.

(886)   *Hoʁor   if   pʻu–r   vi-ḍ.   Vi-**ke***
        then:3sg s/he go.out-CONV:NAR:3sg go-IND go-CONV:DUR/INST

        kerq-toχ   vi-ḍ.
        sea-DAT/ADD go-IND

        'Then going out (he) went. Going for a long time, (he) came to the sea'
        (Panfilov 1965: 227).

(887)   *Tʻət   oz-ror   ṭəj   vi-ḍ.   Vi-**ke***
        morning get.up-CONV:DST:3sg again go-IND go-CONV:DUR/INST

        vo+ŋaqr   poj-ḍ.
        village+one:generic appear-IND

        'In the morning, getting up, (he) again went. (He) walked for along time, (and) a village appeared'
        (Panfilov 1965: 228).

(888)   *"Ṭʻ-ətək   pʻŋax-**ke***
        2sg-father be.young-CONV:DUR/INST

        tə+luvr+ṭaqr+ñi-řa-ḍ-ra".
        this+spoon+three:generic+eat-USIT:3sg-IND-FOC

        'When your father was young (he) used to eat three such spoons'
        (Panfilov 1965: 226).

(889)   *Hoŋut   va-**ke**   if   pʻer-ra*
        in.that.way:3PL fight-CONV:DUR/INST s/he tire-COORD:3sg

        mu-inə-ra.
        die-DES/INCH-COORD:3sg

        'When (they) fought so he got tired and fell ill'   (Panfilov 1965: 229).

Rather frequently there occur continuatives with the suffix -**ke**; cf.:

(890)   *Por-r   hum-**ke**   hekila-doχ*
        lie-CONV:NAR:3sg be-CONV:DUR/INST be.splendid-DAT/ADD

        ṭəu+lət-ṭ.
        sound+make-IND

        '(So he) was lying (and) (in his saber) a splendid sound was made.'

If a verb denotes an action of brief duration the precondition of its use in certain cases is iterative context with a multitude of actions and/or participants.

(891) a.   *Mujnək*   *oz-oz-ke*   (→ *oz-ke)
            sick.person get.up-get.up-CONV:DUR/INST   get.up-CONV:DUR/INST

            añ   *por-doχ+park* *hum-ḍ.*
            again lie-SUP+only   be-IND

            'The sick man kept getting up, (but) (he) is only lying' ('(he) feels like lying'; the form in -*doχ*-… *hum-ḍ* expresses an inclination to do sth).

       b.   *Ōla-gu*   (→ *ōla)   *oz-ke*   *q'o–f*
            child-PL   child get.up-CONV:DUR/INST sleep-NML:LOC

            ṭ'ar-r   *ha-ḍ.*
            be.full-CONV:NAR:3SG be.so-IND

            'The children were getting up (and) the sleeping room (in a boarding school) became full.'

(892) *If*   *añṭəj* *p'-lumr-ku+si-ḍ.*   *Si-ke*   *ṭ'ar-ḍ.*
       s/he   again   REFL-sable-PL+put-IND put-CONV:DUR/INST be.full-IND
       'He again (began) putting in his sables. (He) put in more and more, (the bag) filled in.'   (Panfilov 1965: 249)

(893) *If*   *pol-vol-ke*   (→ *pol-ke)
       s/he   fall-fall-CONV:DUR/INST   fall-CONV:DUR/INST

       kəpr-r   *k'rəu-ḍ.*
       stand.up-CONV:NAR:3SG rest-IND

       'He kept falling and stood up to have a rest.'

(894) *If*   *t'oχ-ku+k'u-xu-ke*   (→**k'u-ke*)
       s/he   elk-PL+kill-kill-CONV:DUR/INST   kill-CONV:DUR/INST

       ṭus   *malɣo-ḍ.*
       meat   be.much/many-IND

       'He killed and killed elk (and) there was much meat.'

Also possible is the meaning of a durative action prior to its (pragmatic) consequence; cf.:

(895) *V-aṭik-xu*   *k'əmlə-ke*   *sək* *it-ṭ-ɣu.*
       3SG-younger.sibling-PL think-CONV:DUR/INST all   say-IND-PL
       'His younger brothers thought a long time and said everything.'

Denoting situations in which an action of long duration was a condition for a certain outcome developed into a purely causative meaning of the form in -*ke*; cf.:

(896) *If*   *p'i*   *ṭez-ke*
       s/he   self be.weak-CONV:DUR/INST

ñivx-gu+k'rə-nə-ḍ+amṭez-ḍ.
man-PL+be.with.sb-FUT-NML+be.late-IND

'(Because) he was weak he was late to go with the people.'

As well as in other cases, a form in *-ke* may be repeated as a specifier:

(897) *Ṭus+heṭ-r*   *i-ñ-ḍ.*   *I-ñ-ke*
meat+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-eat-IND   3SG-eat-CONV:DUR/INST

malyo   *i-ñ-ḍ.*
much/many 3SG-eat-IND

'Taking off the meat, (he) began eating. When eating, (he) ate very much.'

36.1.1.2 *The progressive-inchoative converb in -ivo/-jvo/-vo*

This converb expresses an action in the process of its "natural" performance, i.e. it does not stress its duration. When used with the marker *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* verbs denoting an action of short duration cannot express iterativity, which, as is shown above, is characteristic of forms in *-ke* (see (891)–(894)). Converbs in *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* descend from aspectual forms in *-ivi-/-jvi-/-ivu-/-jvu-* (subdialectal variants) which are also used as finite predicates, but they are formed from verbs of motion and from forty qualitative verbs only (see Otaina 1978: 88–89). Thus, forms in *-ivo/-jvo* which are not subject to such rigid restrictions (although they are not formed from all the verbs; see (909)), compensate, to a certain degree, the limited use of the aspectual suffix. (True, it is also mostly verbs of motion that occur in this converbal form). Thus, for instance, converbs in *-ivu-ŋan/-jvu-ŋan* synonymous with converbs in *-ivo/-jvo/-vo*, are not used with the stem *řǝk-/-t'ǝk-* 'bring home.' In this case the converbal form in *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* "comes to rescue"; cf.:

(898) a.   *Ñi* *p'u-jvo*   (→ *p'u-jvu-ŋan*)
I   go.out-CONV:PROGR   go.out-INCH/PROGR-CONV:ANT/SIM

if   *tǝvγ-ḍ.*
s/he enter.house-IND

'When I was going out he entered.'; but:

b.   *Ñi* *řǝk-ivo*
I   bring.home-CONV:PROGR

(→ **řǝk-ivu-ŋan*)   *if*   *p'u-ḍ.*
bring.home-INCH/PROGR-CONV:ANT/SIM s/he go.out-IND

'When I was taking (it) into the house he went out.'

As might be expected, the suffixes *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* and *-ivu-/-jvu-* do not co-occur in the same verb form. The forms in *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* have the temporal meaning of simultaneity only.

(899) *"Ṭʻi   jār   pʻrə-**jvo***   (*here → pʻrə-**ke***)
you:SG why:2SG come-CONV:PROGR   come-CONV:DUR/INST

kər-r   kis+hup-ra
stay-CONV:NAR:2SG string+tie-COORD:2SG

vivus+hup-ra   ha-ḍ-ŋa?"
belt+tie-COORD:2SG be.so-IND-Q

'Why did you stop (and) tie up the strings, tie up the belt while coming?'
(Panfilov 1965: 142)

(900) [*If*] … *pək   tə+kʻutə-x   pʻu-**jvo***
s/he … cuckoo this+hole-LOC go.out-CONV:PROGR

(*here → *pʻu-**ke***)   *puñḍ-yir   χa-ḍ.*
         go.out-CONV:DUR/INST bow-INSTR shoot-IND

'When the cuckoo was going out of this hole [he] shot it'
(Panfilov 1965: 230).

(901) *Eri+rozu-**jvo***   (*here → *rozu-**ke***)
river+swim.across-CONV:PROGR   swim.across-CONV:DUR/INST

if   qo-la-f+ñřə-ḍ.
s/he be.ill-PERM-NML:LOC+see-IND

'When crossing the river he drowned.'

(902) *Imŋ+nanak   e+pəzi-**jvo***   *it-ṭ* …
they+elder.sister comb+throw-CONV:PROGR say-IND

'Throwing the comb, their elder sister said …'

Converbs in *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* of qualitative verbs have a somewhat different meaning. This form "does not express the presence of a quality but the beginning of its manifesting itself. In the process of coming of this quality into being the main action is performed" (Otaina 1978: 88). Thus, the form in *-ivo/-jvo/-vo* adds an inchoative meaning to qualitative verbs; cf.:

(903) *Kʻeŋ hərk-**ivo**,   umgu   ño-rχ   pʻu-ra,*
sun be.low-CONV:PROGR woman barn-DAT/ADD go.out-COORD:3SG

kəla+ŋas+ke-r   řək-ra   ha-ḍ.
be.long+belt+take-CONV:NAR:3SG bring.home-COORD:3SG be.so-IND

'When the sun was setting the woman went out into the barn and taking a long belt brought (it) into the house.'

(904) *Ṭif   qʻori-**vo**,   qan-gu maŋ-gut   ve-ḍ-γu.*
road be.sloping-CONV:PROGR dog-PL be.strong-ADV:3PL run-IND-PL

'When the road sloped down the dogs ran very fast.'

(905) *Ŋaiq   pil-**ivo**   um-ḍ.*
puppy be.big-CONV:PROGR be.angry-IND

'The puppy growing bigger becomes angry.'

36.1.1.3 *The continuative-stative converbs in -**data-r**, -**data-t** and*
*-**durŋu-r**, -**durŋu-t**[1]*

These converbs denote a continuing action or state during which at one moment
another action takes place, i.e. they express the taxis meaning of simultaneity only.
Rather often, the action of the main predicate kind of interrupts the converbal action:

(906)   *Kʼeq   vi-**durŋu-r**/vi-**data-r***
        fox   go-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG/go-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG

        *(→ vi-**ke**,   vi-**jvo**)   mu-ḍ̣.*
        go-CONV:DUR/INST go-CONV:PROGR die-IND

        'The fox (fell) dead while going.'

(907)   *If   mu+lət-**tata-r**/lət-**turŋu-r***
        s/he   boat+make-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG/make-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG

        *(→ lət-**ke**,   lət-**ivo**)   řak-toχ*
        make-CONV:DUR/INST make-CONV:PROGR where-DAT/ADD

        vi-ḍ̣-lu.
        go-IND-INDEF

        'While making the boat, he went somewhere' (i.e. 'he continued making it,
        probably going to come back to it').

(908)   *Ño-γu   kruŋz-**data-t** /*
        barn-PL dilapidate-CONT-CONV:NAR:3PL /

        *kruŋz-**durŋu-t**   məi-ḍ̣.*
        dilapidate-CONT-CONV:NAR:3PL collapse-IND

        'The barns, being dilapidated, collapsed.'

(909)   *Qoju-**data-t**   (→ *qoju-**ivo**)   sək   imŋ+dəf*
        shout-CONT-CONV:NAR:3PL   *shout-CONV:PROGR all   they+house

        u-ke   xavz-γət-ra.
        burn-CONV:DUR/INST collapse-DISTR/INT/COMPL-COORD:3SG

        'While (they) were shouting (= went on shouting) their entire house burnt
        and burnt (and) quite collapsed' (the verb *qoju-* has no form in *-ivo*).

In the Rujvo subdialect of the Amur dialect a combination of both synonymous suf-
fixes in the same verb form is possible (is the meaning the same?); cf.:

(910)   *Jaŋ   tʼloj-**durŋu-data**   qar-nt.*
        s/he run-CONT-CONT   stay-IND
        'As he was running (he just) stopped.'

---

1.   The marker of these converbs consists of two parts: (a) -***data**- or -**durŋu**- indicating a
continuative action and (b) -***r**-, -**t**- indicating the person and number of the subject.

As in in some other subdialects, the converb has lost the component *-r*, *-t* here.

36.1.2   Perfective converbs and the taxis meaning of anteriority

These converbs denote a completed action. At the moment of action of the main verb the action denoted by a perfective converb is already completed. This group includes four converbs. If the head verb in the context denotes a perfective action the perfective converb has the taxis meaning of anteriority; if the head verb denotes and imperfective action the perfective converb denotes an event simultaneous with some part or moment of the imperfective action. This aspectual-temporal correlation is also most likely a universal phenomenon.

36.1.2.1   *The converb of anteriority in -ror, -tot*
This converb has a distinct taxis meaning of anteriority. It describes a completed action after which – with a possible interval – some other action takes place. (It is likely that such meanings are typologically more common in the case of same-subject rather than different-subjects sentences.) To characterize the meaning of this converbal form the following parallels with converbs in *-ŋan* and in *-r*, *-t* (with semantically alternative main actions), which sometimes function as quasi-synonyms of forms in *-ror*, *-tot* may be revealing.

(911)   a.   *Por-ror*   *oz-ḍ.*
              lie-CONV:DST:3SG get.up-IND
              '(He) lay down and then got up', but:

        b.   *Por-ŋan*   *oz-ḍ.*
              lie-CONV:ANT/SIM get.up-IND
              'When (he) lay down (he) got up' (the sentence is contradictory).

(912)   a.   *If*   *vi-ror*   *pʼrə-ḍ.*
              s/he go-CONV:DST:3SG come-IND
              'He went away and then returned', but:

        b.   *If*   *vi-r*   *pʼrə-ḍ.*
              s/he go-CONV:NAR:3SG come-IND
              'Going away, he returned' (the sentence is contradictory, as it is impossible to go away and come back momentarily).

The prevalent lexical meaning of verbs used with the suffix in question is markedly different from that of verbs used with the suffix *-ke*, i.e. the lexical meaning of the verbs and the aspectual meaning of the converbal form correlate in this case (see 36.1.1.1, 36.1.2.1). Terminative verbs are prevalent here:

(913)   *vaxṭ-u-* 'tear (into pieces)'   *vol-u-/-pol-u-/-bol-u-* 'bring down'
        veta- 'get dressed'   *i-ñdə-/-ñřə* 'see'
        j-ajma-/-ajma- 'look'   *j-ot-/-ot-* 'ask'

j-up-/-up- 'tie up' *j-uti-/-uti-* 'throw'
huñḍi- 'put', 'leave (sth)' *hurt'iv-* 'sit', 'sit down'
hurtov- 'tie (to sth)' *ɣuz-/-kuz-/-guz-* 'take out'
oz- 'get up' *vur-/-pur-/-bur-* 'spread (sth)'
səu-/-ṭəu- 'take out' *rumu-/-tumu-/-dumu-* 'turn (into sth)'
řuv-/-t'uv- 'burn (sth) down' *xiṭi-/-kiṭi-* 'raise (sth)'
xe-/-k'e- 'put (sth) on' *e-v-/-vo-/-bo-/-/po-* 'take'
řəlɣ- 'open door' *e-mq-/-moq-* 'break (sth) in two'
e-sp-/-t'ev-/-sev- 'stick', etc.

A durative or a terminative-durative verb in the continuative form (see 36.2.1.1.5) with the perfective converbal marker *-ror*, *-tot* denotes completion of a segment of a relatively long-lasting action (or state). The action is either disrupted by another which follows it or does not replace it but takes place simultaneously. This combination of the processual meaning and that of completion is analogous to the combination of meanings of the imperfective aspect and aorist in Bulgarian (see Leonidova 1977: 71–86) or to that of non-terminative verbs and aorist in Chukchi (see Nedjalkov et al. 1984: 258). Compare:

(914) a. *If   por-ḍ.*
           s/he lie-IND
           'He lay down', less commonly 'He is/was lying.'

       b. *If   por-ror   oz-ḍ.*
           s/he lie-CONV:DST:3SG get.up-IND
           'He lay down (and) then got up'; 'He lay for some time (and) got up.'

       c. *If   por-r   hum-ḍ.*
           s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
           'He is/was lying' (continuative form).

       d. *If   por-r   hum-ror   oz-ḍ.*
           s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-CONV:DST:3SG get.up-IND
           'He lay for some time (and) then got up.'

The interpretation of some of terminative-durative verbs (the type *por-* 'lie', 'lie down') may vary depending on the main predicate; cf.:

(915) a. *Por-ror   oz-ḍ.*
           lie-CONV:DST:3SG get.up-IND
           '(He) lay down (and) then got up.'; '(He) lay for some time (and)
           got up.'

       b. *Por-ror   k'əmlə-ḍ.*
           lie-CONV:DST:3SG think-IND
           '(He) lay down (and) then began to think.'

The following durative and terminative-durative verbs have occurred as converbs in *-ror*, *-tot*: *vi-* 'go', 'walk', *za-/-ṭa-/-ḍa-* 'beat', *i-ñ-/-ñi-* 'eat', *k'rəu-* 'rest', *k'əmlə-* 'think',

q'o- 'sleep', 'fall asleep', *lu*- 'sing', *mər*- 'ascend', *ŋəŋ*- 'look for', *por*- 'lie', 'lie down', etc. Some of them have also occurred with the marker -*ke*. Compare the differences in meaning:

(916) a. *Q'o-**ke***   *jəri-ḑ.*
        sleep-CONV:DUR/INST   wake.up-IND
        '(He) slept and slept (and) woke up.'

      b. *Q'o-**ror***   *oz-ḑ.*
        sleep-CONV:DST:3SG get.up-IND
        'Having slept, (he) got up.'

(917) a. *Ŋəŋ-**ke***   *i-ndə-ḑ.*
        look.for-CONV:DUR/INST   3SG-see-IND
        '(He) looked and looked (for it and) found it.'

      b. *Ŋəŋ-**tot***   *i-ndə-ḑ.*
        look.for-CONV:DST:3PL   3SG-find-IND
        'Having looked (for it they) found it.'

(918) a. *I-ñ-**ke***   *it-ṭ.*
        3SG-eat-CONV:DUR/INST   say-IND
        '(When) eating and eating, (he) said.'

      b. *I-ñ-**ror***   *it-ṭ.*
        3SG-eat-CONV:DST:3SG   say-IND
        'Having eaten, (he) said.'

The grammaticalised combination of converbs in -*ror*, -*tot* with the verb *ṭez*- 'be weak' deserves special mention: it is used to express the meaning 'fail to achieve something as a consequence of the action expressed by a converb'. The component -*j*-/-*ij*- is inserted between the verb stem and converbal suffix. Compare:

(919) a. *Ñi ŋarma-**rot***   *vi-ḑ.*
        I   wait-CONV:DST:1SG go-IND
        'I waited (and) then went away.'

      b. *Ñi p'-ŋafq+ŋarma-**j**-rot*   *ṭez-ḑ.*
        I   REFL-friend+wait-EP-DST:1SG be.weak-IND
        'I waited and waited for my friend (and) all in vain (= he never came).'

(920) *Umguōla anaq+ŋəŋ-**ij**-ror*   *ṭez-ḑ.*
      girl   key+look.for-EP-CONV:DST:3SG be.weak-IND
      'The girl looked and looked for the key (and) failed (to find it).'
                                                 (see Otaina 1978: 101)

36.1.2.2 *The instantaneous converb in -ba/-pa*
These converbs denote a completed action which is immediately followed by another, single or repeated; cf.:

(921) *E-rχ*   *vi-ba*   *pʿ-sa-r*
s/he-DAT/ADD come-CONV:INST REFL-strike-CONV:NAR:3SG

qʿauta-ḍ.
disappear-IND

'As soon as (he) came up (to him/it) (he/it) having blazed up disappeared.'

(922) *Kʿəmlə-ba*   *to-řa-ḍ.*
think-CONV:INST cry-USIT:3SG-IND
'As soon as (she) thinks (about it she) usually cries.'

Formations with *-ba/-pa* from continuatives should be specially mentioned: the suffix here also denotes contextual inchoativity:

(923) *V-ətək*   *por-r*   *hum-ba*   *maţkilk*
3SG-father lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-INST be.small:NML

e-rχ   *vi-řa-ḍ.*
s/he-DAT/ADD go-USIT:3SG-IND

'As soon as his father (lies down and) is lying the kiddy goes to him' (inchoativity is most likely absent here, and the state is named at once; cf. Russian *eshche mgnovenie – i on lezhit* 'another moment – and he is lying', where the inchoative phase is kind of syncopated).

The instantaneous nature of the main action can be expressed in three ways which may be used either separately or all of them together:

(924) *Əkəkə lur teqa-ba*   *imŋ pʿovo*
at.last ice be.strong-CONV:INST they at.once

laχ-t   *vi-ḍ.*
visit-CONV:NAR:3PL go-IND

'As soon as the ice was strong enough they at once went visiting.'

In converbs of qualitative verbs, and also in the case of an iterative (usitative) main verb the meaning of converbs in *-ba/-pa* (and also forms in *-ke/-ge*; see 36.1.2.3 below) becomes close to that of forms in *-fke*; cf. (see also (922), (923), (933), (934)):

(925) a. *If*   *qʿor-ba*   (→ *qʿor-ge*)   *pʿ-xiţi-ḍ.*
s/he be.rich-CONV:INST   be.rich-CONV:DUR/INST REFL-raise-IND
'As soon as he became rich (he) began giving himself airs.'

      b. *If*   *qʿor-fke*   *pʿ-xiţi-ḍ.*
s/he be.rich-CONV:COMPL REFL-raise-IND
'Since becoming rich (he) started giving himself airs.'

(926) *Ñi pil-**ba***   (→ *pil-**ge**,*   *pil-**fke***)
I   be.big-conv:inst   be.big-conv:dur/inst be.big-conv:compl

hə+ñivx+ňřə-jsu-ḍ.
that+man+see-neg:usit-ind

'Since growing up (I) haven't seen this man.'

36.1.2.3 *The instantaneous-inchoative converb in -ke/-ge*[2]

Most frequently, these converbs function as synonyms of those in *-ba/-pa*, though with a less distinct meaning of instantaneous action. The interval between the converbal action and that of the main verb is greater than in the case of forms in *-ba/-pa* but less than with forms in *-ror, -tot* which imply an interval (see (911)–(912)). The meaning of the forms in *-ba/-pa* can be roughly defined as "the converbal action is instantaneously followed by the main action", whereas the forms in *-ke/-ge* can be given a somewhat different definition: "after the final phase of the converbal action is reached it is momentarily followed by the main action". This difference is clear in the following pair of examples:

(927) *Hemar   k'əmlə-**ge***   *p'u–r*   *vi-ḍ.*
old.man   think-conv:dur/inst go.out-conv:nar:3sg go-ind
'As soon as (he) made up his mind the old man went away going out.'

(928) *K'əmlə-**ba***   *to-řa-ḍ.*
think-conv:inst   cry-usit:3sg-ind
'Just as (she) has thought (about it she) cried.'

Alongside this meaning the forms in *-ke/-ge* may have at least one more meaning. This is probably an imperfective meaning: "the main action takes place while the converbal action is in progress and its result is effective"; cf. (929a(ii)):

(929) a. *Lur ţeqa-**ge***   *laχ-t*   *vi-ḍ-γu.*
ice be.strong-conv:dur/inst visit-conv:nar:3pl go-ind-pl
i. '**As soon as** the ice became strong (they) went visiting.'
ii. '**While** the ice is still strong (e.g. in spring) (they) went visiting.'

b. *Lur ţeqa-**ba***   *laχ-t*   *vi-ḍ-γu.*
ice be.strong-conv:inst visit-conv:nar:3sg go-ind-pl
'**As soon as** the ice became strong (they) went visiting.'

---

2. This converb is definitely related to the durative converb in *-ke* and is glossed in the same way as DUR/INST (= durative/instantaneous).

With certain lexical verbs the second meaning alone is actualized. Substitution of the converb in *-ba/-pa* for the *-ke-/-ge* form makes the construction ungrammatical here; cf.:

(930) a. *K'e   ṭeqa-ge   p'xə-doχ,   i-my-ḍ.*
            fishing.net be.strong-CONV:DUR/INST return-DAT/ADD 3SG-give-IND
            '**While** the fishing net was strong (yet) (he) gave it back to him.'

       b. **K'e   ṭeqa-ba …*
            fishing.net be.strong-CONV:INST
            '**As soon as** the fishing net became strong …' (an odd situation).

In the following instance the converbs *p'rə-ge* and *p'rə-ba* are translated in the same way, but in the first case the time interval between the main and subordinate actions is greater:

(931) *Ñ-əmək   p'rə-ge   (→ p'rə-ba)   p'ovo,*
        1SG-mother come-CONV:DUR/INST   come-CONV:INST at.once

       siḍ-lu   nə-řa-ḍ.
        what-INDEF do-USIT:3SG-IND

       'My mother, having just come, does (some work) at once.'
                                                      (Panfilov 1965: 78)

Aspectual differences between the markers *-ke/-ge* and *-ba/-pa* determine preferability of converbs in *-ke/-ge* with the main verb in the meaning 'wake up' and converbs in *-ba/-pa* with the same main verb if it means 'have a dream'; cf.:

(932) a. *Nana q'o-ge   jəri-ḍ.*
            just sleep-CONV:DUR/INST wake.up-IND
            '(He) just fell asleep (and) woke up.'

       b. *Nana q'o-ba   t'əi-ḍ.*
            just sleep-CONV:INST dream-IND
            '(He) just fell asleep (and) had a dream.'

With stative verbs and also in iterative contexts the meaning of the suffix *-ke/-ge* is practically synonymous to that of the suffix *-fke* (see 36.1.2.4 below):

(933) *If   por-r   hum-ge   (→ por-r*
        s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-CONV:DUR/INST   lie-CONV:NAR:3SG

       hum-fke)   ərk   taur-la-ḍ.
        be-CONV:COMPL already be.long-PERM-IND

       'Since he (lay down and) is lying much time has passed already'
       (*por-r hum-* = lit. 'be lying').

(934) *Hemar   mu-ge   i-ñafq   p'rə-jsu-ḍ.*
        old.man die-CONV:DUR/INST 3SG-friend come-NEG:USIT-IND
        'As the old man died (since then) his friend does not come.'

(935) *T'om χa-ge,*   *ñi i-ñ-ijki-ḑ.*
      fat   be.bitter-CONV:DUR/INST I   3SG-eat-be.unable-IND
      '(Since the time) when the fat became bitter I cannot eat it.'

(936) *Ṭ'o p'av-ge*   *ərk   añ+meqr   ləz-ḑ.*
      fish be.forbidden-CONV:DUR/INST already year+two:generic pass-IND
      '(Since the time) when fishing became forbidden two years have already
      passed.'

36.1.2.4 *The completive converb in -fke*

This converb denotes an action after whose completion the action of the main verb
regularly or continuously takes or does not take place, or some time has passed; cf.:

(937) *Tə+ḑaqo məi-məi-fke*   *ətək   napa*
      this+knife be.blunt-be.blunt-CONV:COMPL father yet

      řu-doχ   q'au-ḑ.
      sharpen-SUP not.be-IND

      'After this knife became blunt father has not sharpened it yet.'

(938) *Ñi p'-aṭik*   *ñřə-fke*   *ərk   taur-ḑ.*
      I   REFL-younger.sibling see-CONV:COMPL already be.long-IND
      '(Since the time) I saw my younger brother a long time has passed.'

36.1.3 Perfective-imperfective converbs

These converbs denote a perfective or an imperfective action depending on the aspec-
tual lexical nature of the verb. If the base verb stem is terminative the converb denotes
a perfective action; if it is non-terminative the converb is imperfective in meaning (less
commonly perfective; see (881)–(882)). This group includes four converbal forms.

36.1.3.1 *The converb of contact anteriority in -ŋan*[3]

This converb corresponds to the Russian conjunction *kogda* 'when' and indicates the
time when the action of the main verb takes place. Compare:

(939) a. *lu-* 'sing'   – b. *lu-ŋan* 'when (sb) sang', 'when (sb) had sung',

but:

(940) a. *i-γ-/-k'u-/-xu-* 'kill' – b. *i-γ-ŋan* 'when (sb) killed'

(941) a. *ŋalivu-* 'tease'   – b. *ŋalivu-ŋan* 'when (sb) was teasing',

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3. Throughout the text, his converb is glossed as CONV:ANT/SIM (= converb:anteriority/
simultaneity).

but:

(942)   a.   *oz-* 'get up'   –   b. *oz-ŋan* 'when (sb) got up'

In certain cases (especially with terminative verbs) the markers -***ŋan*** and -***ror***, -***tot*** are interchangeable with a slight change of meaning; cf.:

(943)   a.   *I-γ-ŋan*   *řǝk-ṭ.*
             3SG-kill-CONV:ANT/SIM bring.home-IND
             '**When** (he) killed it (he) brought (it) home.'

        b.   *I-γ-ror*   *řǝk-ṭ.*
             3SG-kill-CONV:DST:3SG bring.home-IND
             '(He) killed it, **then** brought (it) home.'

However, if a converb in -*ror*, -*tot* clearly distances the contact actions, the form in -*ŋan*, on the contrary, presents them as partially overlapping: the end of one action overlaps with the beginning of the subsequent one. Therefore replacement of a form in -*ror, -tot* by a form in -*ŋan* produces a contradictory sentence; cf.:

(944)   a.   *Ṭ'o+ŋǝŋ-r*   *vi-ror*
             fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG go-CONV:DST:3SG

             ey-r   *p'rǝ-jvu-ḍ.*
             return.home-CONV:NAR:3SG come-INCH/PROGR-IND

             '(He) went fishing, (now) returns home.'

        b.   **Ṭ'o+ŋǝŋ-r*   *vi-ŋan*
              fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG go-CONV:ANT/SIM

             ey-r   *p'rǝ-jvu-ḍ.*
             return.home-CONV:NAR:3SG come-INCH/PROGR-IND

             'When (he) went fishing (he) returned home.'

Although converbs in -*ŋan* actually describe actions which are in fact simultaneous with or precede the action of the main verb, the informant, however, positively perceives these taxis actions in both cases (nearly always?) as simultaneous (though she willingly agrees that in fact one action precedes the other). This is probably due to the fact that the form in -*ŋan* has a somewhat specific ("perfect"?) meaning. This is the case, for instance, in the following example:

(945)   *Ñi vi-ŋan*   *p'ityǝ+daju-nǝ-ḍ.*
        I   go-CONV:ANT/SIM   written.paper+write-FUT-IND
        'When I go away (I) will write a letter.'

In the following example, however, the informant is for some reason inclined to see anteriority (factual or taxis?):

(946)   *Hoʁar*   *if*   *mər-**ror**_1*   *uñyər+kʻutə-x*
        then:3SG s/he ascend-CONV:DST:3SG star+hole-LOC/ABL

        *toi-**ŋan**_2*   *e-f-t_3*   *ɣəru-d̦_4*.
        pass.through-CONV:ANT/SIM   3SG-take-CONV:NAR:3PL   stop-IND

        'When she ascended, she passed through the star hole, (they) took her and
        stopped (her)' (Panfilov 1965: 227).

Here action (1) precedes action (2), actions (3) and (4) are simultaneous, and action
(2) precedes (3) and (4).

    Terminative-durative verbs of the type *por-* 'lie down', 'lie', *qʻo-* 'fall asleep', 'sleep'
may acquire either of these interpretations when used in this form; cf.:

(947)   *Qʻo-d̦.*   *Qʻo-**ŋan***   *hə+maṭʻala t'əi-d̦.*
        sleep-IND   sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM   that+guy   dream-IND
        '(He) slept. When (he) fell asleep/while he slept this guy had a dream.'

We shall illustrate the main cases of the use of *-ŋan* forms:

1.   Denotational simultaneity of the converbal and main actions:

(948)   *K'lə-erq-toχ*   *ŋalivu-**ŋan***   *niñbin+ñivx+kʻu-ra.*
        street-side-DAT/ADD   tease-CONV:ANT/SIM   nine+man+kill-COORD:3SG
        'When (they) teased (him) in the street (he) killed nine men.'

                                                            (Panfilov 1965: 223)

2.   The converbal action (event) takes place at one of the moments during the main
     action; in the Russian translation it is usually necessary to add a verb like *obnaru-
     zhit'* 'find out' for text cohesion:

(949)   *Təvə-**ŋan***   *i-nanak*   *haundo-d̦.*
        enter.house-CONV:ANT/SIM   3SG-elder.sister sing.as.shaman-IND
        'When (he) entered the house (he found out that) his elder sister was
        singing (while acting) as a shaman.'   (Panfilov 1965: 222)

(950)   *Təvu-**ŋan***   *hemañaχ+pərk*   *hum-d̦.*
        enter.house-CONV:ANT/SIM   old.woman+only   be-IND
        'When (he) entered the house (he saw that) only an old woman was there.'
                                                            (Panfilov 1965: 226)

(951)   *Mər-ke*   *ximi-doχ*   *j-ajma-**ŋan***
        ascend-CONV:DUR/INST up-DAT/ADD   3SG-look-CONV:ANT/SIM

        uñyər+kʻutə ləŋ-d̦-ra.
        star+hole   shine-IND-FOC

        'When, going up and up, (he) looked up (he found out that) the star-hole
        was shining.'   (Panfilov 1965: 225)

(952) *Ноҕар   ŋəŋ-**ŋan**   ul-mi-in   hum-ḍ̣.*
       then:3SG   search-CONV:ANT/SIM   bosom-inside-LOC   be-IND
       'Then when (he) searched(.for a while) (he found that it) was in (his)
       bosom.'   (Panfilov 1965: 229)

If the main verb is in the continuative form a different-subject construction is obliga-
tory in such situations; cf.:

(953) a. *If   por-**ŋan**   kʻəmlə-ḍ̣.*
           s/he   lie-CONV:ANT/SIM   think-IND
           'When he lay down (he) thought/began to think'; but:

       b. **If   por-**ŋan**   kʻəmlə-r   hum-ḍ̣.*
            s/he   lie-CONV:ANT/SIM   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
           'When he lay down (he) was thinking.'

The correct construction is:

       c. *If   por-**ŋan**   **haḍ̣**   kʻəmlə-r   hum-ḍ̣.*
           s/he   lie-CONV:ANT/SIM   that.one   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
           'When he lay down that one was thinking.'

3. In the situation described, the converbal action obviously precedes the main
    action:

(954) *Ноҕат   qʻo-**tot**   oz-**ŋan**   mu-γir   vi-ḍ̣.*
       then:3SG   sleep-CONV:DST:3PL   get.up-CONV:ANT/SIM   boat-INSTR   go-IND
       'Then, having slept, when (they) got up, (they) went by boat.'

(955) *Hemañaχ   e-v-r   tʻūr-toχ   pəiz-ḍ̣.*
       old.woman   3SG-take-CONV:NAR:3SG   fire-DAT/ADD   throw-IND

       *Pəiz-**ŋan**   paχ   ṭosq-ṭ.*
       throw-CONV:ANT/SIM   stone   break.up-IND

       'Taking it, the old woman threw (it) into the fire. When (she) threw (it) the
       stone broke into pieces.'   (Panfilov 1965: 226)

4. The form in -ŋan "perfectivizes" a qualitative verb:

(956) a. *Kʻeŋ   hərk-**ŋan**   if   pʻu-ḍ̣.*
           sun   be.low-CONV:ANT/SIM   s/he   go.out-IND
           'When the sun set he went out (of the house)' (cf. (903)); cf.:

       b. *Kʻeŋ   hərk-**ke**   if   pʻu-ḍ̣.*
           sun   be.low-CONV:DUR/INST   s/he   go.out-IND
           'When the sun was low he went out (of the house).'

36.1.3.2   *The adverbial-narrative converb in -r, -t*

This form has been considered in Section 14.1.1 above. Here we supply some additional data. First, we shall illustrate its aspectual ambiguity (or neutral aspectuality):

(957)   a.   *lu-r*   'singing', but:
        b.   *i-γ-r*   'having killed'

(958)   a.   *ŋalivu-r*   'teasing', but:
        b.   *oz-r*   'having got up'

The following sentences are given here as information for reflection. The adverb with the meaning 'a long time' does not combine with some dynamic verbs; cf.

(959)   1.   a.   *If   por-ḍ.*
                  s/he   lie-IND
                  'He lay down'; less commonly 'He was lying.'

             b.   *If   por-r   hum-ḍ.*
                  s/he   lie-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
                  'He was/is lying' (continuative).

             c.   *If   məy-r   por-ḍ.*
                  s/he   descend-CONV:NAR:3SG   lie-IND
                  'Lowering himself, he lay down.'

        2.   a.   *If   ṭək   por-ḍ.*
                  s/he   long.time   lie-IND
                  'He lay for a long time.'

             b.   *If   ṭək   por-r   hum-ḍ.*
                  s/he   long.time   lie-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
                  'He was lying for a long time' (continuative).

             c.   **If   ṭək   məy-r   por-ḍ.*
                  s/he   long.time   descend-CONV:NAR:3SG   lie-IND

If a verb is terminative the difference between its forms in *-r, -t* and in *-ror, -tot* is considerably slighter than in the case of non-terminative (or non-terminative-terminative) verbs; cf. (960) and (961):

(960)   a.   *T'ət   oz-**ror**   ṭəj   vi-ḍ.*
             morning   get.up-CONV:DST:3SG   again   go-IND
             'In the morning, getting up, (he) went again.'

        b.   *Hoвor   oz-**r**   vi-ḍ.*
             then:3SG   get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-IND
             'Then he, getting up, went.'

Here is an instance of a sharp change of meaning when the forms in *-ror* and *-r* alternate:

(961)   "*Ṭ'i   nuʁi   (a) qama-**ror***   (→ (b) *qama-**r***)
        you:SG ahead   run-CONV:DST:3SG   run-CONV:NAR:3SG

        ñ-aχ   p'-iz-r   qama-gu-ja".
        I-DAT/ACC REFL-imitate-CONV:NAR:3SG run-CAUS-IMP:2SG

        'Run a head of me, let me run my own way.'

In case (a) the addressee is the first to run (to show how to run) and then the speaker
will run; in case (b) the addressee will run in front and the speaker will follow him at
the same time.

In the case of imperfective interpretation of converbs in -*r*, -*t* they express simul-
taneity (see (962a)), and in the case of perfective interpretation they express anterior
actions (though it is not always quite distinct; see (962b)). If the main verb denotes
motion the meaning of sequence is also possible (see (962b)); cf.:

(962)   a.   *If   ţ'o+ŋəŋ-**r***   *lerler-ḍ.*
             s/he fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG lose.one's.way-IND
             'While fishing he got lost.'

        b.   *If   ţ'o+ŋəŋ-**r***   *p'rə-ḍ.*
             s/he fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG come-IND
             'Having fished, he returned.'

        c.   *If   ţ'o+ŋəŋ-**r***   *vi-ḍ.*
             s/he fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG go-IND
             'He went fishing.'

(Maybe there is a kind of analogy with attributive relations here? We mean, is there
one kind of relation, *one* meaning of the type 'he got lost fishing', 'he returned fishing',
'he went fishing'? And the rest of the meaning is probably determined by context and
translation.)

As in some other converbal forms, different aspectual interpretations are possible
here; cf.:

(963)   a.   *If   por-**r***   *k'əmlə-**r***   *hum-ḍ.*
             s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG think-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
             'He is lying (and) thinking'; 'He thinks lying';

but:

        b.   *If   por-**r***   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
             s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG think-IND
             i.   'Lying, he began thinking',
             ii.   'He lay down (and) began thinking',
             iii. 'He thought lying.'

36.1.3.3 *The coordinating-narrative converb in -ra, -ta*

Its aspectual characteristics seem to be the same as those of converbs in *-ŋan*, also in *-r*, *-t* and of indicative finite forms in *-ḑ/-ţ*; cf.:

(964) a. *lu-ra* 'sang', 'began to sing', 'has sung', but:

   b. *i-ɣ-ra* 'has killed'

(965) a. *ŋalivu-ra* 'teased', 'was teasing', but:

   b. *oz-ra* 'got up' (cf. (883), (884))

Most frequently, forms in *-ra*, *-ta* denote perfective actions following one another:

(966) *Zaq*   *pəi-r*   *vi-ra,*   *hoʁor*
     titmouse fly-CONV:NAR:3SG go-COORD:3SG then:3SG

     if   *oz-ra.*
     s/he get.up-COORD:3SG

     'The titmouse flew away (lit. 'went away flying'). Then he stood up.'

                                                     (Panfilov 1965: 222)

(967) *Hoʁoŋan imŋ rəru-ta,*   *mer+ŋafq*
     then   they let.go-COORD:3SG we:INCL+friend

     k'lə-rχ   *p'u-ra,*   *por-ra.*
     street-DAT/ADD go.out-COORD:3SG lie-COORD:3SG

     'Then they let (him) go, our friend went out into the street and lay down'.

                                                     (Panfilov 1965: 229)

Less frequent is the imperfective use and, consequently, simultaneity of actions:

(968) *Pal-erq-uin*   *pil-kər+ñivx*
     forest-side-LOC be.big-AUG+man

     heqr+ţ'e–r
     place.in.direction.from.shore toward.inland+turn-CONV:NAR:3SG

     por-ra,   *i-laʁa-in*   *umgu+ñaqr*   *por-ra.*
     lie-COORD:3SG s/he-next.to-LOC woman+one:generic lie-COORD:3SG

     'On the forest side, turned in the direction opposite the door, a huge man
     was lying, next to him one woman was lying.'   (Panfilov 1965: 229)

(969) *Ral mye-ra,*   *ñaɣr meñ+vo-ra.*
     frog row-COORD:3SG rat rudder.bar+take-COORD:3SG

     'The frog rowed, the rat held the rudder bar.'   (Krejnovich 1934: 220)

36.1.3.4 *The different-subject causal converb in -gu-r,-gu-t*[4]

When indicating different-subject constructions with a human subject the suffix *-gu-r,-gu-t* does not possess an aspectual meaning of its own; cf.:

(970) a. *Imŋ qoju-data-t   pʼu-ḍ-ɣu.*
           they shout-CONT-CONV:NAR:3PL go.out-IND-PL
           'Continuing shouting, they went out.'

       b. *Imŋ qoju-data-t   sək imŋ+dəf*
           they shout-CONT-CONV:NAR:3PL all   they+house

           u-ɣət-ṭ.
           burn-DISTR/INTS-IND

           'While they were shouting (= went on shouting) their entire house burnt down (completely).'

       c. *J-aχ   qoju-data-gu-t   [imŋ]*
           s/he-DAT/ACC shout-CONT-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL   they

           e-v-ɣəta-t   i-ɣ-ḍ.
           3SG-take-RES-CONV:NAR:3PL   3SG-kill-IND

           '(Though) he went on shouting, grasping and holding him [they] killed him.'

Converbs with a causal meaning manifest most likely the perfective meaning, and the taxis meaning is not clear: sometimes it is most likely anteriority and sometimes, simultaneity; cf.:

(971) *Ətək   ñ-aχ   əvəñ+moq-ku-r,   ñ-aχ*
       father I-DAT/ACC oar+break.in.two-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG I-DAT/ACC

       enaḍ+ (a) řəpr-ku-ḍ   (→ (b) řəpr-ku-jnə-ḍ).
       another.one+ bring-CAUS-IND   bring-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND

       'Because (I) broke the oar father made me bring another' (in case (a) 'I' brought it, in case (b) it remains unclear).

(972) *Ñəŋ   ŋəu-gu-t   qʼo-ḍ-ra.*
       we:EXCL grow.dark-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1PL sleep-IND-FOC
       'As it grew dark we slept (= fell asleep).'

---

4. The marker of this converb comprises the causative suffix *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* and the adverbial-narrative converb suffix *-r, -t,* therefore it is glossed as -CAUS-CONV:NAR (causative-converb:narrative).

Compare anteriority proper:

(973) *Ñəŋ*   *ŋəu-**gu**-tot*   *q'o-ḑ-ra.*
       we:EXCL grow.dark-CAUS-CONV:DST:1PL sleep-INT-FOC
       'We slept (= fell asleep) after it had grown dark.'

Simultaneity proper:

(974) *Ñi j-aχ*   *to-**gu**-t*   *i-ndə-ḑ.*
       I   s/he-DAT/ACC cry-CAUS-CONV:NAR:1SG 3SG-see-IND
       'I did see him crying.'

(975) *Ətək   ţ'-aχ*   *pityə+daju-**gu**-r*
       father you:SG-DAT/ACC written.paper+write-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

       (→ *daju-data-**gu**-r*)   *ţ'-əz-ḑ.*
           write-CONT-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG) 2SG-call-IND

       'While you were writing a letter father called you.'

36.1.4   Neutral converbs

Here belong converbs denoting actions which follow the action of the main verb. Since the action has not yet taken place it is hard to define its aspectual characteristic. Here belong three converbs.

36.1.4.1   *The terminative-purposive converb in -nəftoχ*
Here are examples:

(976) a. *lu-**nəftoχ***   'in order to sing',
  but: b. *i-γ-**nəftoχ***   'in order to kill'

(977) a. *ŋalivu-**nəftoχ*** 'in order to tease',
  but: b. *oz-**nəftoχ***   'in order to get up'

36.1.4.2   *The causative-purposive converb in -guin*
Examples:

(978) a. *lu-**guin***   'in order to sing'
       b. *i-γ-**guin***   'in order to kill'

(979) a. *ŋalivu-**guin***   'in order to tease',
  but: b. *oz-**guin***   'in order to get up'

36.1.4.3 *The prohibitive-purposive converb in ilǝkr-r, -ilǝkr-t⁵*

This may be too late and in the wrong place but we should mention the specific agreement of these converbs. Very much like converbs in *-gu-r*, *-gu-t*, they agree with the subject of the main verb rather than with their own subject; cf.:

(980)   *Oxt   jajqa?*
        medicine where
        'Where is the medicine?'

  i.   *Ñi   e-f-t   řorvi-ḍ-ra,*
       I   3SG-take-CONV:NAR:1SG   carry.away-IND-FOC

       ōla-gu   ra-jlǝkr-t.
       child-PL   drink-PROH-CONV:NAR:1SG

       'Taking it I carried (it) away so that the children would not drink (it).'

  ii. *If   e-v-r   řorvi-ḍ-ra,*
       s/he 3SG-take-CONV:NAR:3SG   carry.away-IND-FOC

       ōla-gu   ra-jlǝkr-r.
       child-PL   drink-PROH-CONV:NAR:3SG

       'Taking it he carried (it) away so that the children should not drink (it).'
                                                    (cf. Krejnovich 1979: 321)

36.1.5 Probabilistic correlation between the lexical meaning of the stem and the converbal form

A preliminary check-up of the use of seven verbs in four converbal forms has shown the following correlations (for the Nivkh text in Panfilov 1965: 223–230):

Table 11. Frequency of four converbal forms of seven verbs

	Verb	Converb in				
		-ke	*-ror, -tot*	*-ŋan*	*-r, -t*	Total
1.	*vi-* 'go', 'walk'	15	1	11	18	45
2.	*mǝr-* 'ascend'	4	3	–	8	15
3.	*mǝy-* 'descend'	2	–	2	18	22
4.	*oz-* 'get up'	–	4	1	6	11
5.	*pʼrǝ-* 'come'	–	–	1	7	8
6.	*pʼu-* 'go out'	–	–	3	7	10
7.	*ṭarq –* 'jump'	–	–	–	8	8
	Total	21	8	18	72	119

---

5. The marker of this converb consists of two parts and is glossed as PROH-CONV:NAR (= prohibitive-converb:narrative).

36.2   Aspectual markers and forms of converbs and main verbs

The list of aspectual markers among which imperfective markers are manifestly prevalent includes the following:

1.   The desiderative-inchoative suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-*.
2.   The progressive-inchoative suffix *-ivu-/-ivi-/-jvu-/-jvi-* (subdialectal variants).
3.   The resultative-stative suffix *-kəta-/-ɣata-/-gəta-/-xəta-*.
4.   The usitative suffix *-řa-, -t'a-*.
5.   Reduplication of the verb stem denoting iterativity and multiplicativity.
6.   The intensifying-perfectivizing suffix *-kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət-*.
7.   The continuative.[6]

The devices listed may combine in the same verb form in a variety of ways, which indicates their semantic non-identity. For instance, the following markers are compatible:

(a)   Markers (1) and (2) of the list; cf.:

(981)   a.   *If   p'rə-ḍ.*
              s/hecome-IND
              'He came.'

        b.   *If   p'rə-jvu-ḍ.*
              s/hecome-INCH/PROGR-IND
              'He is coming up'; 'He approaches.'

        c.   *If   p'rə-jnə-ḍ.*
              s/hecome-DES/INCH-IND
              'He is going to come.'

        d.   *If   p'rə-jvu-jnə-ḍ.*
              s/hecome-INCH/PROGR-DES/INCH-IND
              'He is going to approach.'

(b)   Markers (6) and (2):

(982)   a.   *T'ūr   ṭoz-ḍ.*
              fire   go.out-IND
              'The fire went out.'

        b.   *T'ūr   ṭoz-ivu-ḍ.*
              fire   go.out-INCH/PROGR-IND
              'The fire began to go out'; 'The fire is going out.'

---

6.   This is a combination of a converb in *-r, -t* and the auxiliary *hum-* 'be'.

    c.   *T'ūr ṭoz-**ɣət-ḍ**.*
        fire go.out-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
        'The fire has quite gone out.'

    d.   *T'ūr ṭoz-**ɣət-ivu-ḍ**.*
        fire go.out-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-INCH/PROGR-IND
        'The fire began/has begun going out completely.'

(c)   Markers (3) and (7) (form (3) is attracted to (7)):

(983)   a.   *If   veta-ḍ*.
             s/he dress-IND
             'He dressed.'

        b.   *If   veta-**ɣəta**-ḍ*.
             s/he dress-RES-IND
             'He is dressed' (sounds unfinished).

        c.   *If   veta-r   hum-ḍ*.
             s/he dress-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
             'He is/was dressing.'

        d.   *If   veta-**ɣəta**-r   hum-ḍ*.
             s/he dress-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND
             'He is dressed.'

The aspectual markers retain their general meaning in converbs. But the interaction of their meanings with that of a converb and main verb sometimes produces a somewhat specific result, which makes the following brief survey expedient.

36.2.1   Aspectual markers and forms of converbs

First, we shall consider imperfective converbal forms and next, perfective forms.

36.2.1.1   *Imperfective forms*
These forms denote the following:

1.   The initial phase of an action or
2.   the "pre-initial" phase, i.e. the phase of intention (*-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-*, *-ivu-/-jvu-*).
3.   A state or an action in progress (continuative in *-ivu-/-jvu-*).[7]
4.   The result of an action and a state (*-ɣəta-*);
5.   Iterativity and multiplicativity (reduplication).

---

7.   It is not quite clear why the authors use the term *continuative* here, since the converb in *-ivu-/-jvu-* is termed progressive-inchoative; cf. 36.2.1.1.2.

As it seems, converbs of consequent actions in *-nəftoχ* and in ***-guin*** do not take the suffixes *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə, -ivu-/-jvu-, -kəta-/-yəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-* It is not clear whether they can be derived from continuative and reduplicated forms (cf. Otaina 1978: 97).

The suffixes *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə* and *-ivu-/-jvu-* change their meaning depending on certain conditions. Thus, the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə* means 'wish', 'intend', etc., if the subject is animate and it means 'begin' if the subject is inanimate (see Panfilov 1965: 105). Of course, it is not only the semantic type of subject that matters but the lexical meaning of the verb is also relevant; cf.:

(984) *If   t'uyr+ţoz-u-ḍ.*
s/he   fire+go.out-TR-IND
'He put out the fire.'

   a. *If   t'uyr+ţoz-u-**jnə**-ḍ.*
      s/he   fire+go.out-TR-DES/INCH-IND
      'He is going to put out the fire', but:

   b. *T'uyr   ţoz-ḍ.*
      fire   go.out-IND
      'The fire went out.'

   c. *T'uyr   ţoz-**inə**-ḍ.*
      fire   go.out-DES/INCH-IND
      'The fire began to go out.'

Similarly, the meaning of the suffix ***-ivu-/-jvu-*** changes markedly under certain conditions: with action verbs it denotes an action in the process of its performance (i.e. it has the meaning of progressive; see Panfilov (1965: 76)), while with qualitative verbs it denotes development of a feature. Moreover, in the former instance there are considerable restrictions on the formation of converbs (the suffix combines almost exclusively with verbs of motion), and in the latter case there are practically no restrictions (see Otaina 1978: 50). Compare:

(985) *Новоt   ex-t   vi-ḍ-yu.*
then:3PL   go.home-CONV:NAR:3PL   go-IND-PL

   *Matвamatвa+ḍīr-vəj-roχ   vi-t   q'o-**jnə**-ḍ-yu*
   spread+tree-under-DAT/ADD   go-CONV:NAR:3PL   sleep-DES/INCH-IND-PL

   (→ *q'o-ḍ-yu*).   *Ŋaŋəŋñivy-gu   p'rə-**jvi**-ḍ-yu*
      sleep-IND-PL   hunter-PL   come-INCH/PROGR-IND-PL

   (→ *p'rə-ḍ-yu*)   *imŋ   mə-ḍ-yu.*
      come-IND-PL   they   hear-IND-PL

'Then (they) went home. Having come to the foot of a spreading tree (they) were going to sleep (→ fell asleep). (Suddenly) they heard that the hunters were approaching (→ approached).'

(986) a. *Ṭʿaj qʿav-ḍ.*
          tea be.warm-IND
          'The tea is hot.'

        b. *Ṭʿaj qʿav-**jvi**-ḍ.*
          tea be.warm-INCH/PROGR-IND
          'The tea is heating.'

36.2.1.1.1 *The desiderative-inchoative suffix -inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-.* The following meanings of this suffix should be distinguished in the first place.

1. "At the moment of the subject's intention to perform the converbal action, the main action takes place":

(987) a. *Ətək pʿrə-**ŋan**,   pʿ-umgu-doχ   it-ṭ.*
          father come-CONV:ANT/SIM REFL-woman-DAT/ADD say-IND
          'When (he) came, father told his wife.'

        b. *Ətək pʿrə-**jnə**-ŋan,*
          father come-DES/INCH-CONV:ANT/SIM

          pʿ-umgu-doχ   it-ṭ.
          REFL-woman-DAT/ADD say-IND
          'When (he) was going to come, father told his wife.'

        c. *Ətək pʿrə-**jnə**-ba,   pʿ-umgu-doχ   it-ṭ.*
          father come-DES/INCH-CONV:INST REFL-woman-DAT/ADD say-IND
          'As soon as (he) decided to go, father told his wife.'

        d. *Ətək pʿrə-**jnə**-ke,*
          father come-DES/INCH-CONV:DUR/INST

          pʿ-umgu-doχ   it-ṭ.
          REFL-woman-DAT/ADD say-IND
          'While (he) was going to go father told his wife.'

        e. *Ətək pʿrə-**jnə**-r,*
          father come-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG

          pʿ-umgu-doχ   it-ṭ.
          REFL-woman-DAT/ADD say-IND
          'Intending to go, father told his wife.'

In this context, i.e. with the follow-up *pʿ-umgu-doχ it-ṭ* 'told his wife', the following converbal forms seem to be unsuitable (this should be checked once more):

        f. *Ətək pʿrə-**jnə**-ror …*
          father come-DES/INCH-CONV:DST:3SG
          ?

g.   *Ətək   p'rə-jnə-ge …*
     father   come-DES/INCH-CONV:DUR/INST
     ?

h.   *Ətək   p'rə-jnə-fke …*
     father   come-DES/INCH-CONV:COMPL
     'Since he was going to come …'

However, these converbs may be compatible with other main verbs.

2.   "The subject performs the main action intending to perform the action denoted
     by the converbal form". This most likely concerns the supine form, i.e. purposive
     converbs with the marker *-inə-r/-jnə-r*, *-inə-t/-jnə-t*, or at least the form in which
     the desiderative meaning of the suffix *-inə-/-jnə-* is weakened; cf.:

(988)   a.   *Ñi   i-ñ-ḍ.*
             I   3SG-eat-IND
             'I eat/ate/have eaten.'

        b.   *Ñi   i-ñ-inə-ḍ.*
             I   3SG-eat-DES/INCH-IND
             'I want/wanted to eat.'

        c.   *Ñi   i-ñ-ijnə-t   p'rə-ḍ-ra.*
             I   3SG-eat-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:1SG   come-IND-FOC
             'I have come to eat', lit. '… wanting to eat.'

(989)   a.   *Sək   q'o-ḍ-γu.*
             all   sleep-IND-PL
             'All (of us/them) sleep/slept/fell asleep.'

        b.   *Sək   q'o-jnə-ḍ-γu.*
             all   sleep-DES/INCH-IND-PL
             'All (of us/them) want/wanted to sleep.'

        c.   *Sək   q'o-jnə-t   vi-ḍ-γu.*
             all   sleep-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3PL   go-IND-PL
             'All (of us/them) went to sleep', lit. '… went wanting to sleep.'

(990)   a.   *Ṭ'o   ṭ'oʁ-ḍ.*
             fish   thaw.out-IND
             'The fish thaws/thawed out.'

        b.   *If   ṭ'o   ṭ'oʁ-gu-ḍ.*
             s/he   fish   thaw.out-CAUS-IND
             'He thaws/thawed out the fish.'

        c.   *If   ṭ'o   ṭ'oʁ-gu-jnə-ḍ.*
             s/he   fish   thaw.out-CAUS-DES/INCH-IND
             'He wants/wanted to thaw out the fish.'

    d.   *If   ṭʼo   ṭʼoʁ-gu-jnə-r*   *huñḍi-ḍ.*
           s/he fish thaw.out-CAUS-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG put-IND
           'He put the fish in order to thaw it out', lit. 'wanting it to thaw out.'[8]

3.   "The subject intends to perform the converbal action but then he/she (a) changes his/her mind, (b) performs another action, or (c) something prevents him/her from doing it." The actions (a), (b) and (c) are expressed by the main verb. This case seems to concern converbs in *-ror*, *-tot* and in *-ke* only. As (987) and (994) show, forms in *-inə-ke/-jnə-ke/-ijnə-ke* may have various meanings. Completedness of the pre-initial phase of action in converbs in *-inə-ror/-jnə-ror/-ijnə-ror, -inə-tot/- jnə-tot-/-ijnə-tot* naturally results in the meaning of unrealized desire: the subject himself/herself decides not to perform the action s/he planned; cf., for instance:

(991) a. *If   i-ñ-ijnə-ḍ.*
            s/he 3SG-eat-DES/INCH-IND
            'He wants/wanted to eat.'

       b. *If   i-ñ-ijnə-ror*   *qʼo-ḍ.*
            s/he 3SG-eat-DES/INCH-CONV:DST:3SG sleep-IND
            'He was going to eat, but fell asleep.'

(992) a. *If   pʼu-jnə-ḍ.*
            s/he go.out-DES/INCH-IND
             'He wants/wanted to go out.'

       b. *If   pʼu-jnə-ror*   *pʼxə-doχ*
            s/he go.out-DES/INCH-CONV:DST:3SG return:DAT/ADD
            təvə-ḍ.
            enter.house-IND
            'He was going to go out (and) entered back' (i.e. he turned in the doorway).

(993) a. *If   vi-ḍ.*
            s/he go-IND
             'He went away/left.'

       b. *If   vi-jnə-ḍ.*
            s/he go-DES/INCH-IND
            'He is/was going to go away.'

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8. The structure of Examples (990b–990d) is somewhat unclear. According to the authors, *ṭʼo* 'fish' and the verb form *ṭʼoʁ-gu-ḍ* 'thaws/thawed out' do not form a syntactic complex. This may be accounted for by the fact that *ṭʼoʁ-gu-ḍ* is a causative verb. However, in a causative construction *ṭʼo* should appear in the dative/accusative case, whereas in the given examples it is used in the nominative.

c. *If   vi-**ror**   ker-ḍ.*
   s/he go-CONV:DST:3SG refuse-IND
   'He went away (then changed his mind).'

d. *If   vi-**jnə-ror**   ker-ḍ.*
   s/he go-DES/INCH-CONV:DST:3SG refuse-IND
   'He was going to go (but) changed his mind.'

The following sentence with a converb in *-ŋan* demonstrates again the aspectual difference between *-ror*, *-tot* and *-ŋan*; the sentence is correct if it is interpreted as different-subject; otherwise the content is contradictory: the subject wants and does not want to go at the very same time:

e. *If   vi-**jnə-ŋan**   (həḍ)   ker-ḍ.*
   s/he go-DES/INCH-CONV:ANT/SIM that.one refuse-IND
   'When he wanted to go (that one) decided not to (for some reason).'

Converbs in *-inə-ke/-jnə-ke/-ijnə-ke* with certain main verbs also acquire the meaning of unrealized intention. In this instance the action is most commonly prevented by some external obstacle and not the decision of the subject; cf.:

(994) a. *If   ṭəj   pasq+řa-r   j-eṭ-ṭ.*
          s/he again half+fry-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-take.out-IND
          'Frying one more half he took it off (the fire).'

       b. *If   ṭəj   pasq+řa-r*
          s/he again half+fry-CONV:NAR:3SG

          *j-eṭ-**r**   i-ñ-**inə**-ḍ.*
          3SG-take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-eat-DES/INCH-IND

          'Frying one more half, taking it off (the fire) he was going to eat it.'

       c. *If   ṭəj   pasq+řa-r*
          s/he again half+fry-CONV:NAR:3SG

          *j-eṭ-**r**   i-ñ-**inə-ke***
          3SG-take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-eat-DES/INCH-CONV:DUR/INST

          (→ *i-ñ-**inə-ŋan**)*   *kl'ə-erq-toχ*
             3SG-eat-DES/INCH-CONV:ANT/SIM street-side-DAT/ADD

          ku+qan-gu   əγ-ḍ-γu.
          that+dog-PL bark-IND-PL

          'Frying one more half, taking it off (the fire), he was on the point of eating (it) (→ when he was going to eat) (suddenly) those dogs barked in the street.'

As we see, the converbal form *i-ñ-inə-ŋan* in (994) does not contain the meaning 'on the point of.'

4. "At the moment of the initial phase of a state coming into being the action of the main verb takes place". It is but natural that this meaning is observed in converbs of qualitative verbs. The suffix *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* is inchoative in meaning when used in converbs with the markers *-ba/-pa*, *-ŋan*, *-ke/-ge*, *-data-r*, *-data-t* and *-durŋu-r*, *-durŋu-t*; cf.:

(995)   a.   *Als   helo-ḍ.*
             berry   be.ripe-IND
             'The berries are ripe/red.'

        b.   *Als   helo-jnə-ḍ.*
             berry   be.ripe-DES/INCH-IND
             'The berries began ripening.'

        c.   *Als   nana helo-jnə-ŋan*
             berry   just   be.ripe-DES/INCH-CONV:ANT/SIM

             sək+řu-t   qʻauta-ḍ.
             all+pick-CONV:NAR:3PL   disappear-IND

             'When the berries just began ripening, (people) picked up all to the last one.'

Since inchoativity on qualitative verbs can also be expressed by a converb in *-ivo/-jvo* and the aspectual suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-* (see below 36.2.1.1.2), there is a series of synonymous forms which seem to be hard to differentiate semantically. Thus, the converbal form *helo-jnə-ŋan* in (995c) can be replaced by the following forms: (d) … *helo-jvo* …; (e) … *helo-jnə-vo* …; (f) … *helo-jnə-durŋu-r* …; (g) … *helo-jnə-data-r* …; (h) … *helo-jvu-ŋan* …

5. "At the moment of the inchoative stage of a quality the action of the main verb takes place and interrupts this process". Here also belong converbs of qualitative verbs marked by the suffixes *-ke/-ge*, *-data-r*, *-data-t* and *-durŋu-r*, *-durŋu-t*. The difference between these forms is not clear as yet.   (cf. Otaina 1978: 93, 104)

(996)   *Mūf tiv-inə-ke   añ   tək-ṭ.*
        day   be.cold-DES/INCH-CONV:DUR/INST again be.warm-IND
        'In the daytime (it) was on the point of growing cold and again (it) was/ became warm' (what is the difference between this converb and *tiv-data-r, tiv-inə-durŋu-r?*).

(997)   *Tʻom χa-inə-durŋu-r   sək ha-ḍ.*
        fat   be.bitter-DES/INCH-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG   all be.so-IND
        'The fat was on the point of becoming bitter, (but) it ended' (what is the difference between *χa-inə-durŋu-r* and *χa-inə-ke?*).

36.2.1.1.2 *The progressive-inchoative suffix -ivu-/-jvu-.*   In the literature this suffix is described in the following way: "A verb in the form of this aspect indicates an action in the process of its perfomance, its progression (cf. the continuous aspect in English). The aspect of process of such an action is related either to the moment of utterance or to the moment of perfomance of another action" (Panfilov 1965: 76).

(998) a. *If*   *pʼrə-ḍ.*
           s/he   come-IND
           'He came.'

   b. *If*   *pʼrə-ŋan*   *j-ama-ḍ.*
       s/he   come-CONV:ANT/SIM   3SG-look-IND
       'When he came (he) looked.'

   c. *If*   *pʼrə-**jvu**-ŋan*   *j-ama-ḍ.*
       s/he   come-INCH/PROGR-CONV:ANT/SIM   3SG-look-IND
       'When approaching he looked.'

   d. *If*   *pʼrə-**jvo***   *j-ama-ḍ.*
       s/he   come-CONV:PROGR   3SG-look-IND
       'Approaching, he looked.'

Formation of aspectual forms in *-ivu-/-ivi-/-jvu-/-jvi-* (subdialectal variants) is subject to significant restrictions: "Verbs denoting semelfactive, momentary actions of the type *e-sp-ṭ* 'stick (once)', and actions inaccessible to observation by means of the organs of sense, i.e. actions the beginning and progression of which cannot be observed, of the type *kʼəmlə-ḍ* 'think', do not have forms of the aspect of an action in progress (= continued action). Verbs already containing the modal suffix of intention *-inə-* cannot have the aspect of continuous action either" (Panfilov 1965: 77). (See also subsection 36.1.1.2.)

   The characteristics described above concern verbs of action but not qualitative verbs. Converbs with the suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-* describe actions during which the action of the main verb takes place, i.e. they denote simultaneity of two events. At the same time the difference between these converbs and those without the suffix *-ivu-/-jvu-* does not always seem clear enough. Thus, the difference between *pʼrə-ŋan* and *pʼrə-jvu-ŋan* is clear-cut and the latter form is generally synonymous to converbs with the aspectual suffix *-ivo-/-jvo-* (see (898) and (999)), whereas the difference between forms like *vi-ke* and *vi-jvu-ke* is less clear, because both suffixes are imperfective. Compare:

(999) a. *If*   *vi-ḍ.*
           s/he   go-IND
           'He went away.'

   b. *If*   *vi-**ke***   *pol-ḍ.*
       s/he   go-CONV:DUR/INST   fall-IND
       'He walked and walked (and) fell.'

c. *If   vi-**jvu-ḍ**.*
s/he go-INCH/PROGR-IND
'He is/was going' (at this moment or simultaneously with some other action).

d. *If   vi-**jvu-ke**   pol-ḍ.*
s/he go-INCH/PROGR-CONV:DUR/INST fall-IND
'He was walking and walking (and) fell.'

e. *If   vi-**jvo**   pol-ḍ.*
s/he go-CONV:PROGR fall-IND
'While walking he fell.'

f. *If   vi-**r**   pol-ḍ.*
s/he go-CONV:NAR:3SG fall-IND
'He fell walking.'

The difference between (d) and (b) is hard to formulate; cf. the difference in the following instance:

(999) g. *If   təf-toχ   vi-ŋan   j-ama-ḍ.*
s/he house-DAT/ADD go-CONV:ANT/SIM 3SG-look-IND
'When he came up to the house (he) looked.'

(h) *If   təf-toχ   vi-**jvu-ŋan***
s/he house-DAT/ADD go-INCH/PROGR-CONV:ANT/SIM

(→ *vi-**jvo***)   *j-ama-ḍ.*
      go-CONV:PROGR 3SG-look-IND

'When he was coming up (→ when coming up) to the house (he) looked.'

(1000) a. *J-aχ   təvy-**ivu-ku-r***
s/he-DAT/ACC enter.house-INCH/PROGR-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG

j-añma-ŋan   lili   pil-kar+ñivy-lu.
3SG-look-CONV:ANT/SIM very be.big-AUG+man-INDEF

'While looking at him when he was entering (he saw) a very big man, it seemed.'

b. *J-aχ   təvu-ku-r …*
s/he-DAT/ACC enter.house-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3SG
lit. 'Letting him enter th3e house …'

There are no data about the meaning, usage and, generally, whether the forms like *vi-**jvu-ror**, vi-**jvu-data-r**, vi-**jvu-ba**, vi-**jvu-fke**, vi-**jvu-r**, vi-**jvu-guin*** are possible at all.

There is some data about respective forms of qualitative verbs. Verbs of action, "when used in the aspect of continued action, mostly indicate an action in progress", whereas "qualitative verbs with this suffix denote the beginning of a certain quality

coming into being" (see Otaina 1978: 50). There are practically no restrictions on the use of qualitative verbs with this suffix.

(1001) a. *Ōla+ŋəŋg* [*ʾpʼake-fake*] *kevzkevz-ḍ.*
            child+hair more-more be.curly-IND
            'The child's hair is [even more] curly.'

  b. *Ōla+ŋəŋg* *pʼake-fake* *kevzkevz-**ivu**-ḍ.*
            child+hair more-more be.curly-INCH/PROGR-IND
            'The child's hair is becoming even curlier.'

(1002) a. *Ŋajq* *kʼe-ḍ.*
            puppy be.lean-IND
            'The puppy is skinny'

  b. *Ŋajq* *pañḍ-ivo* *kʼe-**jvu**-ḍ.*
            puppy grow-CONV:PROGR be.lean-INCH/PROGR-IND
            'The puppy when growing becomes skinny.'

Correspondingly, the taxis pair denotes a situation in which one action takes place at the beginning of the other or after the latter has begun, frequently interrupting the former.

(1003) a. *Ləx* *ur-ḍ.*
            weather be.good-IND
            'The weather is fine.'

  b. *Ləx* *ur-ke* *añ* *ṭosq-ṭ.*
            weather be.good-CONV:DUR/INST again break-IND
            'The weather, while being fine, again began growing bad.'

  c. *Ləx* *ur-**jvu**-ke* *añ* *ṭosq-ṭ.*
            weather be.good-INCH/PROGR-CONV:DUR/INST again break-IND
            'While growing better the weather began growing bad.'

(1004) a. *Atak* *kaskaz-ḍ.*
            grandfather be.cheerful-IND
            'Grandfather is cheerful.'

  b. *Atak* *kaskaz-**data-r*** *pʼlaqr*
            grandfather be.cheerful-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG suddenly
            mu-jnə-ḍ.
            die-DES/INCH-IND
            'Still being cheerful, grandfather suddenly fell ill.'

  c. *Atak* *ərk*
            grandfather already
            *kaskaz-**ivu-data-r***
            be.cheerful-INCH/PROGR-CONT-CONV:NAR:3SG

> *pʼlaqr   mu-jnə-ḍ.*
> suddenly die-DES/INCH-IND
> 'Already getting better (lit. 'becoming cheerful'), grandfather suddenly
> fell ill.'

In what way does *kaskaz-**ivu-datar*** differ from *kaskaz-**ivo***, *kaskaz-**ijvu-ŋan***, *kaskaz-**ijnu-ke***, etc.?

Let us compare the meanings of paired converbs with and without the suffix *-**ivu**-/-**jvu**-.*

| (1005) | a. | *pil-ŋan* | 'when (he) grew up', 'when (he) became grown-up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-ŋan* | 'when (he) began growing up' |

| (1006) | a. | *pil-ba* | 'as soon as (he) grew up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-ba* | ? |

| (1007) | a. | *pil-ge* | 'as soon as (he) has grown up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-ge* | ? |

| (1008) | a. | *pil-fke* | 'since (he) has grown up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-fke* | 'since (he) began growing up' |

| (1009) | a. | *pil-ror* | 'having grown up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-ror* | ? |

| (1010) | a. | *pil-r* | lit. '(when) growing', '(when) growing up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-r* | ? |

| (1011) | a. | *pil-ke* | 'when (he) was big/grown up' |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-ke* | ? |

| (1012) | a. | *pil-data-r* | ? |
| | b. | *pil-**ivu**-data-r* | ? |

Another significant problem is the correlation of converbal forms of qualitative verbs with the aspectual suffixes *-**ivu**-/-**jvu**-* and *-**inə**-/-**jnə**-/-**ijnə**-*; cf.:

> (1013) a. *Ṭʼaχ   ŋəz-ḍ.*
> water be.shallow-IND
> 'The water is shallow.'
>
> b. *Ṭʼaχ   ŋəz-**inə**-ḍ.*
> water be.shallow-DES/INCH-IND
> 'The water subsides.'
>
> c. *Ṭʼaχ   ŋəz-**ivu**-ḍ.*
> water be.shallow-INCH/PROGR-IND
> ?

    d.   *Ṭʻaχ*   *ŋəz-**ivu-jnə**-ḍ.*
         water be.shallow-INCH/PROGR-DES/INCH-IND
         ?

    e.   *Ṭʻaχ*   *ŋəz-**inə-ŋan** …*
         water be.shallow-DES/INCH-CONV:ANT/SIM
         ?

    f.   *Ṭʻaχ*   *ŋəz-**ivu-ŋan** …*
         water be.shallow-INCH/PROGR-CONV:ANT/SIM
         ?

In the following examples the difference between *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* and *-ivu-/-jvu-* also requires specifying. In both combinations with the suffix *-ke/-ge*, it seems, the meaning of interrupted action is present, but in the variant with *-inə-/-jnə-/-ijnə-* the initial phase of action is more stressed and in the variant with *-ivu-/-jvu-* formation of a feature in general; cf.:

(1014) a.   *Als*   *paʁ-la-ḍ.*
          berry be.red-PERM-IND
          'The berries are ripe/red.'

      b.   *Als*   *paʁ-la-**jvu**-ḍ.*
          berry be.red-PERM-INCH/PROGR-IND
          'The berries are ripening', 'The berries become red.'

      c.   *Als*   *paʁ-la-**ke***   *kəŋ-ḍ.*
          berry be.red-PERM-CONV:DUR/INST get.frozen-IND
          'When being ripe/red the berries got frozen.'

      d.   *Als*   *paʁ-la-**ivu-ke***   *kəŋ-ḍ.*
          berry be.red-PERM-INCH/PROGR-CONV:DUR/INST get.frozen-IND
          'The berries were nearly red (and) got frozen.'

      e.   *Als*   *paʁ-la-**inə-ke***   *kəŋ-ḍ.*
          berry be.red-PERM-DES/INCH-CONV:DUR/INST get.frozen-IND
          'The berries began nearly to get red but got frozen.'

36.2.1.1.3   *The resultative suffix -kəta-/-yəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-.*   This suffix is particularly characteristic of possessive resultatives used chiefly in the converbal form with the suffix *-r, -t* (see Nedjalkov, Otaina 1983: 84). Compare:

(1015) a.   *If*   *ṭʻo+ŋəkə+vo-ḍ.*
          s/he fish+tail+take-IND
          'He grasped the fish tail' (less frequently 'held').

      b.   *If*   *ṭʻo+ŋəkə+vo-**yəta**-ḍ.*
          s/he fish+tail+take-RES-IND
          'He held/holds the fish tail' (the sentence sounds incomplete).

c. *P'-řək-vəj-uye*   *ț'o+ŋəkə+vo-**yəta-r***
REFL-bunk-under-LOC/ABL fish+tail+take-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG

(→ *vo-r*)   *γuz-d̦.*
grasp-CONV:NAR:3SG take.out-IND

'Having grasped and holding (→ having grasped) the fish tail from under his bunk (he) took (it) out.'

The converbal form *vo-r* 'having grasped/taken' describes an action whose result is retained for the subsequent action *γuz-d̦* 'took out' (cf. 36.2.2.1.3). The converbal form *vo-**yəta-r*** denotes the resultant state (after the action) at the moment of the main action.

Analogous examples follow.

(1016) *Ț'am*   *kəl-kər+vəj+buks+pəyi-r*   *q'oz-ux*
shaman   be.long-AUG+lower+tie+drag-CONV:NAR:3SG neck-LOC/ABL

*țaχ+hup-**yəta-r***
shavings+tie-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG

(→ *hup-r*)   *p'u-d̦.*
tie-CONV:NAR:3SG go.out-IND

'The shaman went out, dragging a long lower tie, being tied round his neck with shavings.'   (Panfilov 1965: 223)

The situations described above have a general meaning "the subject performs an action attendant by a certain state of an object (as a result of the subject's action) which is in spatial contact with him".

(1017) *If*   *pix-ku+t'ik-**xəta-r***   (→ *t'ik-r*)
s/he   knee-PL+clasp-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG   clasp-CONV:NAR:3SG

təf-laʁa+fi-r   *hurt'iv-r*   *hum-d̦.*
house-next.to+be.smwh-CONV:NAR:3SG   sit-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

'Having clasped (and) holding (his) knees (→ having clasped) (he) sat by the house' (lit. '… being next to the house sat').

The following examples somewhat differ from these: in (1018) the result of the action exists in an abstract sphere and in (1019) the difference between the resultative and the respective form without *-kəta-/-yəta-/-gəta-/-xəta-* is not clear:

(1018) *Həd̦+hijm-**yəta-t***   (→ *hijm-t*)
that.one+know-RES-CONV:NAR:1SG   know-CONV:NAR:1SG

ñi *e-rχ*   *p'rə-d̦.*
I   s/he-DAT/ADD come-IND

'Knowing (= having learnt) this, I still went to him.'

(1019) *P'ŋaʁ+umguōla   ŋuli-ɣəta-r*
       be.young+girl   smile-RES-CONV:NAR:3SG

       (→ *ŋuli-r*)   *j-ama-ḍ.*
         smile-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-look-IND

       'The young girl smiling/going on smiling (→ smiling) looked at him.'

36.2.1.1.4 *Iterative reduplication of verbs.*   The meaning is "the action of the main verb takes place against the background of iterated converbal actions". The former may denotationally overlap with the latter; cf.:

(1020) a. *Otʁaṭ'aχ+řmə-r*   *ətək   ṭəf-toχ*   *p'eʁo-ḍ.*
           puddle+cross-CONV:NAR:3SG father house-DAT/ADD   hurry-IND
           'Having jumped over puddles father hurried home.'

       b. *Otʁaṭ'aχ+řmə-řmə-r*   *ətək*
           puddle+cross-cross-CONV:NAR:3SG   father

           ṭəf-toχ   *p'eʁo-ḍ.*
           house-DAT/ADD   hurry-IND

           'Jumping over puddles father hurried home.'

(1021) *Umguōla   p'-ŋafq-ŋafq+ama-ama-t*
       girl   REFL-friend-friend+look-look-CONV:NAR:3PL

       (→ *ama-t*)   *haʁa-ḍ-ɣu.*
         look-CONV:NAR:3PL   laugh-IND-PL

       'Casting glances (→ looking) at each other the girls laughed.'

If a verb denotes a momentary action its converb with the suffix *-ke/-ge* is used on condition that in certain cases the context is iterative with many actions and/or participants; cf.:

(1022) a. *Ōla-gu   oz-ke*   (→ *ōla   oz-ke*)
           child-PL   get.up-CONV:DUR/INST   child   get.up-CONV:DUR/INST

           q'o–f   *ṭ'ar-r*   *ha-ḍ.*
           sleep-NML:LOC   be.full-CONV:NAR:3SG   be.so-IND

           'The children were getting up (*the child getting up) (and) the sleeping room (in a boarding school) became full.'

       b. *Mujnək*   *oz-oz-ke*   *añ   por-doχ*
           sick.person   get.up-get.up-CONV:DUR/INST   again   lie-SUP

           park   hum-ḍ.
           only   be-IND

           'The patient got up repeatedly (but) again (he) is only lying'
           (see (891)–(894)).

36.2.1.1.5 *The continuative.* The continuative form consists of a converb in *-r, -t* and auxiliary verb *hum-* 'be', 'live', 'be smwh'. The continuative expresses duration of an action or state, often at the moment of utterance or performance of another action (see Panfilov 1965: 73–74); cf.:

(1023) a. *P'er-**r**+*   *k'rəu-ḍ.*
       tire-CONV:NAR:3SG   rest-IND
       'Getting tired (he) began resting/has/had a rest.'

    b. *P'er-**r***   *k'rəu-**řum**-ḍ*   (< *k'rəu-r*   ***hum**-ḍ*).
       tire-CONV:NAR:3SG   rest-be:3SG-IND   rest-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
       'Getting tired, (he) is /was resting.'

(1024) a. *P'-lumr-ku*   *t'ləhontq+si-ḍ.*
       REFL-sable-PL   hunting.bag+put-IND
       '(He) put/began putting his sables into the bag.'

    b. *… si-**r***   ***hum**-ḍ.*
       … put-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
       '… is/was putting.'

The continuative is not formed from verbs of momentary actions (like *pol-* 'fall', *ṭarq-* 'jump', etc.) and from qualitative verbs. The continuative has practically not been investigated.

     Of all converbal forms the continuative "prefers" the forms in *-**ke***, correlating semantically with its meaning (see (890)). According to the meaning of forms in *-**ke*** the sentences below express simulaneity of taxis actions. If it is a continuative form of a stative or agentive verb (at least in one of the meanings) the difference between the continuative and non-continuative is elusive; cf.:

(1025) a. *T'ət-ke*   *hemar-ke*   *hemañaχ-ke*   *napa*
       morning-LOC/ABL   old.man-COM:DU   old.woman-COM:DU   still

       *q'o–t'**um**-ke*   (< *q'o–t*   ***hum**-*)
       sleep-be:3PL-CONV:DUR/INST   sleep-CONV:NAR:3PL   be-

       hə+maṭ'ala əγr   *oz-ḍ-lu.*
       that+guy   some.moment   get.up-IND-INDEF

       'In the morning, the old man and the old woman still being asleep, this guy got up at some moment.'

    b. *… napa   q'o-**ke** …*
       … still   sleep-CONV:DUR/INST
       … still being asleep …'; '…while (they) were asleep.'

(1026) a. … *qʻor-ra.*   *Qʻor-řum-ke*
           … be.rich-COORD:3SG be.rich-be:3SG-CONV:DUR/INST

           (< *qʻor-r*   ***hum-****) ərk   həjm*
              be.rich-CONV:NAR:3SG be-   already be.old

           səkət-ra.
           be.complete-COORD:3SG

           '… grew rich. Being rich, (he) already grew quite old.'

       b. *Qʻǒř-**ke*** … '… being rich …'

Continuatives with the suffix *-ror*, *-tot* express a durative completed action; see (914c) and (914d).

36.2.1.2 *Perfective forms*

Here belongs one marker only, viz. the intensifying-perfective suffix *-**kət**-/-**yət**-/-**gət**-/-**xət**-*. When this marker occurs in converbs it usually has intensifying meanings like 'quite', 'all (of sb/sth)', 'each', etc. The perfective meaning of converbs is retained even when the marker is omitted. There seems to be a probabilistic correlation between this suffix and the converbal marker *-ror*, *-tot* (thus, *-**kət**-/-**yət**-/-**gət**-/-**xət**-* much more frequently occurs in combination with *-ror*, *-tot* than with *-r*, *-t*, though the latter converbal marker is much more frequent than the former).

(1027) *Ñəŋ+hup-**yət**-tot*   (→ *hup-**tot***)
        we:EXCL+tie-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:DST:1PL   tie-CONV:DST:3PL

        imŋ pal-doχ   sək
        they forest-DAT/ADD all

        *ñəŋ+tʻorvi-**yət**-ṭ-ɣu-da.*
        we:EXCL+lead-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND-PL-FOC

        'Having tied all of us (→ having tied), they led all of us to the forest.'

(1028) *If   amṭez-ror   ərk   sək ñivx-gu*
        s/he be.late-CONV:DST:3SG already all man-PL

        *vi-**yət**-ŋan*   (→ *vi-ŋan*)
        go-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:ANT/SIM   go-CONV:ANT/SIM

        hu-tx   pʻrə-ḍ.
        there-DAT/ADD   come-IND

        'He was late and came there when all the people had already gone.'

(1029) *Ōla-gu   pʻvəɣvəydəf-toχ*
        child-PL hospital-DAT/ADD

        *řorvi-**yət**-ŋan*
        carry.away-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:ANT/SIM

(→ *řorvi-**ŋan***)   *nan   ir-gu   pʼrə-ḍ-γu.*
   carry.away-CONV:ANT/SIM only father-PL come-IND-PL

'The parents arrived only after all the children had been taken to the hospital.'

(1030) *Ŋaŋəŋñivγ-gu   pʼrə-**yət-ke***
        hunter-PL   come-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:DUR/INTS

       (→ *pʼrə-**ge***)   *təv+lət-ṭ.*
        come-CONV:DUR/INTS house+make-IND

       'The hunters, as soon as all (of them) came (→ as soon as (they) came), built a house.'   (Panfilov 1965:70)

36.2.2 Aspectual markers and forms of the main verbs

(For this section we have little language material but we will enter here what we have for general perspective).

In the first place, we should mention the aspectual interpretation of those finite predicates which have no aspectual markers.

Momentatives, i.e. verbs like *oz-* 'get up', 'stand up', *pʼrə-* 'come', *pʼu-* 'go out', *təvə-* 'enter a house', *i-γ-/-kʼu-/-xu-* 'kill', *zosq-/-ṭosq-/-ḍosq-* 'break', etc. are as a rule interpreted as perfective; cf.:

(1031) a. *If   oz-ḍ.*
             s/he get.up-IND
             'He got up', not 'He was/is getting up.'

      b. *If   pʼu-ḍ.*
             s/he go.out-IND
             'He went out', not 'He was/is going out.'

      c. *If   i-γ-ḍ.*
             s/he 3SG-kill-IND
             'He killed him', not 'He was/is killing him.'

Agentives, i.e. verbs like *i-ñ-/-ñi-* 'eat', *to-* 'cry', *lu-* 'sing', *pəi-* 'fly', etc. have three principal interpretations:

(1032) *If   i-ñ-ḍ.*
        s/he 3SG-eat-IND
      i.   'He ate/eats' (imperfective interpretation)
      ii. 'He began to eat' (inchoative-imperfective interpretation)
      iii. 'He has eaten' (perfective interpretation).

If the preceding context contains no indication that the subject is already moving agentives of motion are usually interpreted as inchoative; cf.:

(1033) *Ноɓоŋan if   xəv+ţ'am   k'irk   pəi-ḍ.*
       then   s/he hash+shaman place.in.direction.up fly-IND
       'Then the shaman he had hashed flew upwards.'

Agentives are also mostly interpreted as inchoative after perfective converbs and also after converbs in -*ke*:

(1034) a. *Həḍ+γuz-**ror**   i-ñ-ḍ.*
          that.one+take.out-CONV:DST:3SG 3SG-eat-IND
          'Taking this out then (he) began to eat it.'

       b. *Həḍ+γuz-**r**   i-ñ-ḍ.*
          that.one+take.out-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-eat-IND
          'Taking this out (he) began to eat it.'

       c. *Həḍ+γuz-**ba**   i-ñ-ḍ.*
          that.one+take.out-CONV:INST 3SG-eat-IND
          'As soon as (he) took it out (he) began to eat it.'

(1035) *If   por-**r**   hum-**ke**   i-ñ-ḍ.*
       s/he lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-CONV:DUR/INST 3SG-eat-IND
       'He lay and lay (and) began to eat.'

(1036) *J-ama-**ke**   nel-nel   ha-ḍ.*
       3SG-look-CONV:DUR/INST wrinkle be.so-IND
       '(He) looked and looked at it (and) began to wince.'

The following translations from Russian are revealing in this respect:

(1037) *Imŋ hurt'iv-**tot**   p'ovo   i-ñ-ḍ-γu.*
       they sit-CONV:DST:3PL at.once 3SG-eat-IND-PL
       'They sat down and at once started to eat it.'

(1038) *Imŋ haɓa-**tot**   k'esp'ur-ḍ-γu.*
       they laugh-CONV:DST:3PL talk-IND-PL
       'They laughed and began talking.'

36.2.2.1 *Imperfective forms*
36.2.2.1.1 *The desiderative-inchoative suffix -ina-/-jna-/-ijna-* (cf. 36.2.1.1.1). It seems that this suffix does not affect the taxis relations between the converbal action and that of the main verb, unless we take into account that the intention to perform an action takes place of the action itself.

(1039) a. *P'rə-ŋan   if   i-ñ-ḍ.*
          come-CONV:ANT/SIM s/he 3SG-eat-IND
          'When (he) came he ate/began to eat.'

b. *Pʻrə-ŋan*   *if*   *i-ñ-ijnə-ḍ.*
come-CONV:ANT/SIM   s/he   3SG-eat-DES/INCH-IND
'When (he) came he wanted/was going to eat.'

36.2.2.1.2 *The progressive-inchoative suffix **-ivu-**/**-jvu-*** (cf. 36.2.1.1.2).   Depending on the meaning of the converb the main action may (partly) overlap in time with the converbal action or follow it, coinciding in time with some other action. Compare respectively:

(1040)   *Ṭʻi*   *tə+ḍif+ur-r*   *vi-ŋan*   *if*
you:SG   this+road+go.along-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-CONV:ANT/SIM   s/he

*pʻrə-**jvu**-nə-ḍ-ra*   (→ *pʻrə-nə-ḍ-ra*)   *ṭʻ-ordoχ.*
come-INCH/PROGR-FUT-IND-FOC   come-FUT-IND-FOC   you:SG-towards

'When you go following this road he will be coming (→ will come)
to meet you.'

(1041)   a.   *Ṭʻo+ŋəŋ-r*   *vi-rot*
fish+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG   go-CONV:DST:3SG

eɣ-r   *pʻrə-**jvu**-ḍ*
return.home-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-INCH/PROGR-IND

(→ *pʻrə-**jvu**-r*   *hum-ḍ,*
    come-INCH/PROGR-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND

pʻrə-r   *hum-ḍ*).
come-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND

'After (he) had been fishing (he) was returning home.'

b.   … *eɣ-r*   *pʻrə-ḍ* …
… return.home-CONV:NAR:3SG   come-IND
'… returned home.'

36.2.2.1.3 *The resultative suffix **-kəta-**/**-ɣəta-**/**-gəta-**/**-ɣəta-**.*   As mentioned above (see 36.2.1.1.3), simple sentences with isolated resultative forms sound incomplete. They acquire a completed form when used, for instance, as converbs, (see 1042c)) or when preceded by a converb (see (1042d)). The taxis meaning is that of simultaneity. Compare:

(1042)   a.   *Ōla-gu*   *veta-ḍ.*
child-PL   dress-IND
'The children dressed.'

b.   *Ōla-gu*   *veta-**ɣəta**-ḍ.*
child-PL   dress-RES-IND
'The children are/were dressed' (the sentence is not complete).

    c.   *Ōla-gu   veta-ɣəta-t*   *ñ-ŋarma-ḑ.*
        child-PL   dress-RES-CONV:NAR:3PL 1SG-wait-IND
        'Being dressed, the children wait for me.'

    d.   *Ñi təvə-ŋan*   *ōla-gu   ərk   veta-ɣəta-ḑ.*
        I   enter.house-CONV:ANT/SIM child-PL already dress-RES-IND
        'When I entered the children were already dressed.'

36.2.2.1.4   *Iterative reduplication of verbs* (see 36.2.1.1.4)

If the main verb expresses an iterative action a subordinated converb may also acquire the same interpretation, i.e. each time when the main action takes place the converbal action is iterated as well (see (1044) and (1048b)). However, the meaning of anteriority seems to be possible as well (this interpretation is admissible in (1043)):

(1043)   *V-əkən*   *ţus   orŋ+ţʻar-u-r*   *sək*
        3SG-elder.brother meat dish+be.full-TR-CONV:NAR:3SG all

        ţuz+ñi-ɣət-r   *palŋəs+orŋ+bark*
        meat+eat-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:NAR:3SG be.empty+dish+only

        kʻlə-erq-toχ   *pəɣz-pəɣz-ḑ*   (→ *pəɣz-ḑ*).
        street-side-DAT/ADD throw-throw-IND   throw-IND

        'Having filled the dish(es) with meat, having eaten all the meat, his elder brother only throws and throws (→ threw out) the empty dishes into the street.'

(1044)   *Ñivɣ-gu tol-roχ*   *məy-ŋan*
        man-PL water-DAT/ADD descend-CONV:ANT/SIM

        ţʻo+ŋəŋ-ŋan   *jorvi+gins   ñivx+ge-r*
        fish+look.for-CONV:ANT/SIM monster+devil man+take-CONV:NAR:3SG

        ʁau-ʁau-ḑ   (→ *ʁau-ḑ*).
        swallow-swallow-IND   swallow-IND

        'When people went down to the water (and) caught fish, the monster devil, seizing people, swallowed (them).'   (Panfilov 1965: 240)

36.2.2.1.5   *The usitative.*   The main action is either repeated against the background of a continuous state (see (1045)) or it takes place each time simultaneously with the converbal action or state, or after it (see (1046)). The usitative marker is the suffix *-řa-, -tʻa-*.

(1045)   *"Ţʻ-ətək pʻŋax-ke*
        2SG-father   be.young-CONV:DUR/INST

        tə+luvr+ţaqr+ñi-řa-ḑ-ra".
        this+spoon+three:generic+eat-USIT:3SG-IND-FOC

        'When your father was young (he) used to eat three of such spoons'
                                     (Panfilov 1965: 226).

(1046) a. *Orbot-v-ux*   *pʹrə-**ba***   *pʹovo*
                work-NML:LOC-LOC/ABL come-CONV:INST at.once

                por-r   *qʹo-řa-ḍ.*
                lie-CONV:NAR:3SG sleep-USIT:3SG-IND

                'As soon as (he) comes from work (he) at once goes to bed.'

      b. *Orbot-v-ux*   *pʹrə-**ba***   *pʹovo*
                work-NML:LOC-LOC/ABL come-CONV:INST at.once

                por-r   *qʹo-ḍ.*
                lie-CONV:NAR:3SG sleep-IND

                'As soon as (he) came from work (he) at once went to sleep.'

As we see in (1046), the iterative interpretaion of the converb depends on the usitative marking of the main predicate.

    Negative iterativity is expressed by means of the suffix *-xsu-/-ksu-*:

(1047)   *"Atak-a!*   *Ñi napa pañt-**fke***
             grandfather-VOC I   still be.born-CONV:COMPL

             *i-ñdə-**xsu**-ḍ-ra".*
             3SG-see-NEG:USIT-IND-FOC

             'Grandfather! Since I was born I have never seen (such a thing).'

The usitative marker can be added to iterative reduplicated verbs (cf. (1048c) and (1048d)). The usitative marker is not used on converbs (see (1048e)). Compare:

(1048) a. *"Ṭʹi   jār   ñəŋ   pal-roχ*
               you:SG why:2SG we:EXCL forest-DAT/ADD

               mər-ŋan   *to-ḍ-ŋa?"*
               ascend-CONV:ANT/SIM cry-IND-Q

               'Why did you cry when we were climbing/climbed the forest hill?'

      b. *"Ṭʹi   jār   ñəŋ   pal-roχ*
               you:SG why:2SG we:EXCL forest-DAT/ADD

               mər-ŋan   *to-řa-ḍ-ŋa?"*
               ascend-CONV:ANT/SIM cry-USIT:2SG-IND-Q

               'Why do you usually cry when we climb the forest hill?'

      c. *"Ṭʹi   jār   ñəŋ   pal-roχ*
               you:SG why:2SG we:EXCL forest-DAT/ADD

               mər-ŋan
               ascend-CONV:ANT/SIM

               ***to-ro**-ḍ-ŋa?"* (iterative reduplicated form ***to-ro**- < **to-to**-*).
               cry-cry-IND-Q

               'Why do you cry many times when we climb the forest hill?'

d. *"Ţʻi   jār   ñəŋ   pal-roχ*
you:SG why:2SG we:EXCL forest-DAT/ADD

mər-ŋan
ascend-CONV:ANT/SIM

to-ro-řa-ḍ-ŋa?" (usitative form of iterative; difference from (c) is not clear).
cry-cry-USIT:2SG-IND-Q

e. *"*Ţʻi   …   mər-řa-ŋan*
you:SG … ascend-USIT:2SG-CONV:ANT/SIM

… **to-ro-řa-ḍ-ŋa?"**
… cry-cry-USIT:2SG-IND-Q

'When climbing … (do you) always cry?'

36.2.2.1.6 *The continuative.* Note that the continuative form is composed of a converb in *-r*, *-t* and the auxiliary verb **hum-** 'be', 'live' (see 36.2.1.1.5).

In the case of a different-subject sentence substitution of a simple finite form for the continuative may not change the meaning significantly if the main verb is stative or agentive. The converbal action is perfective in this case; cf.:

(1049) *Hoʁoror   huŋ p'u–r   p'i*
after.that:3SG there go.out-CONV:NAR:3SG self

təvu+kʻutə-roχ   vi-r   p'u-ŋan
enter.house+hole-DAT/ADD go-CONV:NAR:3SG go.out-CONV:ANT/SIM

hə+dəv-uin   sək q'o–t   hum-ḍ-yu (→ q'o-ḍ-yu).
that+house-LOC all sleep-CONV:NAR:3PL be-IND-PL   sleep-IND-PL

P'u-ŋan   ku+umgu+ajma-ŋan   napə
go.out-CONV:ANT/SIM that+woman+look-CONV:ANT/SIM still

vəţ+hela-mi-in   hum-r   ţʻomsomu-r
iron+net-inside-LOC be-CONV:NAR:3SG be.silent-CONV:NAR:3SG

hum-ḍ   (→ ţʻomsomu-ḍ).
be-IND   be.silent-IND

'Then, when going out of there (and) going to the hole (through which) he had entered, in that house all (people) were asleep (→ slept/had fallen asleep). When (he) went out (and) looked at that woman (she), still being in the iron net, was in silence (→ was silent)' (Panfilov (1965: 224); cf. also Examples (842) and (849)).

In same-subject sentences deletion of the continuative form may or must result in the ingressive or perfective interpretation. With the continuative form, both taxis actions are entirely simultaneous; without the continuative it is either an event against the background of a process, or a contact sequence of the events; cf.:

(1050) a. *Nəkə   mər-r*
        not.far ascend-CONV:NAR:3SG

        țoŋr+ximi-r   *por-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
        head+be.turned.face.up-CONV:NAR:3SG lie-CONV:NAR:3SG be-IND

        '(He) crawled upwards a little more, head up (= having raised his head
        and keeping it so), (and) stayed lying.'   (Panfilov 1965: 227)

     b. *Nəkə   mər-r*
        not.far ascend-CONV:NAR:3SG

        țoŋr+ximi-r   *por-ḍ.*
        head+be.turned.face.up-CONV:NAR:3SG lie-IND

        '(He) crawled up a little more, having raised (his) head, (and) lay down'
        (*ximi-* (a) 'raise', (b) 'hold higher than …').

(1051) a. *Umgu   ț'aj+χav-u-r*
        woman tea+be.warm-TR-CONV:NAR:3SG

        hə+ñivx+əγ-inə-r
        that+man+give.to.drink-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG

        mana-řum-ḍ.
        cook.dried.fish-be:3SG-IND

        'Having heated tea, intending to give tea to this man, the woman is
        preparing dried fish.'

     b. *Umgu   ț'aj+χav-u-r*
        woman tea+be.warm-TR-CONV:NAR:3SG

        hə+ñivx+əγ-inə-r   *mana-ḍ.*
        that+man+give.to.drink-DES/INCH-CONV:NAR:3SG cook.dried.fish-IND

        'Having heated tea, intending to give tea to this man, the woman
        cooked dried fish.'

In the case of (a) same-subjectness, (b) converbal form of a momentative verb and
(c) continuative main predicate, a sentence may be hard to interpret. This is due to
the fact that the contiuiative does not allow inchoative or perfective interpretation.
Therefore we find an odd situation when the subject, having performed an action,
finds it/himself/herself in a state which already started some time previously (see
(1052c)–(1052e)). If the converb implies a temporal interval the sentence is correct
(see (1052b)). Grammaticality of (1052a) is probably due to the perfective-adverbial
function in relation to the main predicate:

(1052) a. *Oz-r*   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
        get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG think-IND
        'Having gotten up, (he) thinks/thought.'

a′.   *Oz-r*   *k'əmlə-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:NAR:3SG   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
'Having gotten up, (he) is thinking.'

b.   *Oz-ror*   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:DST:3SG   think-IND
'(He) got up (and) thought.'

b′.   *Oz-ror*   *k'əmlə-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:DST:3SG   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
'(He) got up (and then) was thinking.'

c.   *Oz-ŋan*   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:ANT/SIM   think-IND
'When (he) got up (he) thought.'

c′.   **Oz-ŋan*   *k'əmlə-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:ANT/SIM   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
'When (he) was getting up (he) was thinking.'

d.   *Oz-ba*   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:INST   think-IND
'As soon as (he) got up at once (he) thought.'

d′.   **Oz-ba*   *k'əmlə-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:INST   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
'As soon as (he) got up at once (he) was thinking.'

e.   *Oz-ge*   *k'əmlə-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:DUR/INST   think-IND
'As soon as (he) got up so (he) thought.'

e′.   *Oz-ge*   *k'əmlə-r*   *hum-ḍ.*
get.up-CONV:DUR/INST   think-CONV:NAR:3SG   be-IND
'Having gotten up, (he) was thinking.'

Note the following:

In (1052c′) there should be different subjects: *Ñəŋ oz-ŋan* **if** *k'əmlə-r hum-ḍ.* 'When we got up he thought.'

In (1052d′), as well as in (1052c′), the subjects should be different for the sentence to be correct.

36.2.2.2   *Perfective forms*

With certain reservations, forms with the suffix *-kət-/-γət-/-gət-/-xət-* alone can be entered here. This suffix may indeed almost unambiguously actualize a perfective meaning in certain contexts, but this meaning is not its main characteristic (see below), therefore it can hardly be regarded as a marker of "the aspect of completed action" (cf. Panfilov 1965:69). It is also probably not quite correct to translate the meaning of the perfective aspect of Russian verbs into Nivkh by means of this suffix, as it is sometimes done in the Russian-Nivkh dictionary (see Saveljeva, Taksami 1965).

According to V.Z. Panfilov (1965: 70–73), "the aspect of completed action" has the following basic meanings:[9]

"I. It indicates that this or that action contains within its limits a certain result – accomplishment of the purpose of the action." In our opinion, in his examples the suffix *-kət-/-yət-//-gət-//-xət-* most frequently has the meaning 'all (of them)', 'quite', 'everything', etc.; examples:

(1053) a.   *Āri*   *kʿru-yət-ŋan*   *tə+ḍus-ku*
             almost be.dawn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:ANT/SIM this+meat-PL

              sək *řa-yət-ṭ.*
              all   fry-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND

              'When day almost broke (he) had fried up all this meat.'

     b.   *Ṭʿaj* *ərk*   *tuz-yət-ṭ.*
              tea   already be.cold-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
              'The tea has already become cold.'
              (More likely, in our opinion, "… became quite cold".)

     c.   *Ŋaŋəŋñivy-gu* *pʿrə-yət-ke*
              hunter-PL   come-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:DUR/INST

              təv+lət-ṭ.
               house+make-IND

              'As soon as they came, the hunters built a house'
              (suggested translation::… as soon as all of them came…').

     d.   *Veta-yət-tot*
             dress-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:DST:3PL

              patej-gut   *pʿu-ḍ-yu.*
              be.quiet-CAUS-CONV:NAR:3PL go.out-IND

              'Having dressed (they) quietly went out' (without *-yət-*, the converb
              in *-ror*, *-tot* expresses completion; our interpretation: 'Getting quite
              dressed …').

     e.   *Ki*   *mrolv-yət-ŋan*   *ñəŋ*
             footwear be.old-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:ANT/SIM we:EXCL

              i-vəkz-nə-ḍ.
               3SG-throw.away-FUT-IND

              'When the footwear becomes worn (more likely: '… becomes quite
              worn…') we shall throw it away.'   (Panfilov 1965: 70)

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9.   In accordance with the authors' interpretation, the suffix in question is glossed as DISTR/INTS/COMPL (distributive/intensive/completive) rather than PFV (perfective), as V.Z. Panfilov interprets it.

f. *ṭəu-ḍ* 'was yawning' → **ṭəu-yət-ṭ* 'yawned (once)'
jəmr-ḍ 'was hiccupping' → **jəmr-yət-ṭ* 'hiccupped (once)'
(these forms with the suffix *-yət-* are ungrammatical).

"II. It points out that the action is directed at each of the referents denoted by a direct or oblique object, i.e. it expresses the meaning of dispersal, plurality of action"… "In all these cases a direct object is usually defined by the pronoun *sək* 'all (of them)' " (*ibid.*, p. 70).

(1054) a. *Ṭʻoŋəŋñivx hās+əuvz-yət-ṭ.*
fisherman clothes+spray-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
'The fisherman sprayed (all) clothes' (more likely: '… sprayed all over…').

b. *Ñi sək ṭʻəŋ+kʻu-yət-nə-ḍ-ra.*
I all you:PL+kill-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-FUT-IND-FOC
'I'll kill all of you' (object-distributive meaning 'each of you' here).

"III. It indicates participation of each member of a collective subject in the action" (*ibid.*, p. 71):

(1055) *Imŋ pʻrə-ŋan at-yu hə+bal-lakv sək*
they come-CONV:ANT/SIM tiger-PL that+hill-around all

por-yət-t hum-ḍ-ra.
lie-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:NAR:3PL be-IND-FOC

'When they came the tigers, all of them, were there lying around this hill' (in our opinion, the translation '… each of them was there lying …' is closer to the definition).

(1056) *Qʻo-la+hemar+oʙla-gu kʻit-t*
be.rich-PERM+old.man+child-PL run.away-CONV:NAR:3PL

vi-yət-ṭ-ɣu.
go-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND-PL

'The rich old man's children ran away' (here, the meaning 'each of the children ran away', 'all (of the children) ran away' seems to be more emphasized).

"IV. It points to a higher degree of intensity of the action" (*ibid.*, p. 71):

(1057) a. *Shantar hemar j-im-yətə-ra*
Shantar old.man 3SG-know-RES-COORD:3SG

en-v-ux hoʙa+ñivɣ-gu
be.another-NML:LOC-LOC/ABL be.like.that+man-PL

tam-ḍ.
be.numerous-IND

'Old Shantar knows (well) – (there) are many such people in another place' (more likely, *-yətə-* is not *-yət-*, but the resultative suffix *-yətə-/-yətə-/-yəti-* in one of its peripheral meanings).

b. *Təḍ   jaŋgut   i-ñ-nə-ḍ-ata*
   this.one how:1SG   3SG-eat-FUT-IND-Q:exactly

   talva-ɣət-ŋan?[10]
   be.raw-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:ANT/SIM

   'How shall I eat it when (it) is quite raw?' (our translation coincides
   with this one).

c. *Řaḍ   miv-ux   pañ-ḍ+ñi-ḍ   həḍ-ɣu   sək*
   which.one earth-LOC/ABL   grow-NML+eat-IND   that.one-PL   all

   veskar-ɣət-ta   kaskazi-ta.
   be.strong-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-COORD:3PL be.cheerful-COORD:3PL

   'Those (who) eat what grows out of earth all (of them) are strong,
   cheerful' (a more precise translation might be '… each of them is
   strong …').

"V. It indicates a simple discontinuance, interruption of an action before or without
achieving any result" (*ibid.*, p. 72).

(1058) *Utkuōla   mu+xori-xori-ɣət-ṭ.*
        boy   boat+rock-rock-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
        'The boy stopped rocking the boat' (without *-ɣət-* the meaning is 'rocked
        repeatedly').

The above Nivkh material ((1053)–(1058)) borrowed from V.Z. Panfilov (and the
changes we suggest) shows that the meaning of "the aspect of completed action" can-
not be discerned in some of the sentences with this suffix. It is not quite clear, in par-
ticular, why a sentence with a continuative form (see (1055)) is cited in the section on
"completed action". Completion is a contextual realization of a more general mean-
ing of intensive-distributive action. But generally this suffix is of interest and it is still
awaiting its investigation.

    Characteristically, one of the earliest researchers of the Nivkh language included
the East Sakhalin suffix *-xar-* (corresponding to the Amur suffix *-ɣət-*) as a marker of
the intensive aspect (Shternberg 1900: 429).

    The suffix *-kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət-* adds to qualitative verbs, most frequently, the
intensive meaning, less frequently the distributive meaning; cf.:

(1059) a. *Als   qala-ḍ.*
            berry   be.unripe-IND
            'The berries are unripe.'

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10. The component *-ata* is apparently an allomorph of the interrogative particle *-hata*, cf.
Section 23.7.

b. *Als   qala-ɣət-ḍ.*
   berry be.unripe-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
   'The berries are quite unripe.'

(1060) a. *Ōla-gu   ŋaskra-t   hum-ḍ-ra.*
       child-PL   be.healthy-CONV:NAR:3PL   be-IND-FOC
       'The children are healthy.'

   b. *Ōla-gu   ŋaskra-ɣət-t   hum-ḍ-ra.*
      child-PL   be.healthy-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:NAR:3PL   be-IND-FOC
      'The children (each of them) are healthy' (see Otaina 1978: 53).

E.A. Krejnovich (1979: 311) argues that the suffixes *-xar-* (East-Sakhalin dialect) and *-kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət-* (Amur dialect) express an "exhaustive mode of action".

The entire material given in this section should remind the authors (V.N. and G.O.) of the necessity to investigate this suffix thoroughly. In conclusion, here is an example in which the meaning 'all (of them)', 'quite' is interwoven with the meaning of completion:

(1061) a. *If   ṭʻo+ñi-ḍ.*
       s/he fish+eat-IND
       'He eats/ate/began to eat fish.'

   b. *If   ṭʻo+ñi-ɣət-ḍ.*
      s/he fish+eat-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
      'He has eaten up the fish' (this sentence cannot be followed by 'But the fish remained whole', etc.).

The suffix *-kət-/-ɣət-/-gət-/-xət-* does not seem to be related to taxis in any significant way.

36.3   Additional examples

In this section we list a number of Nivkh examples as additional information for consideration. Example (1062) is a characteristic illustration of the distinctions between converbs in *-ror*, *-tot* and those in *-ŋan*. Since the bag was being filled gradually as the sables were put in one by one, rather than it got filled after everything was put in, therefore the converb in *-ror*, *-tot* is not suitable. In sentences (c) and (d) the main verb contains the causative suffix *-ku-/-ɣu-/-gu-/-xu-* which ensures same-subjectness common to converbs in *-r*, *-t* and in *-ror*, *-tot*:

(1062) *If   añṭəj   pʻ-lumř-ku   si-ḍ.*
       s/he again   REFL-sable-PL put-IND
       'He began putting in his sables again.'

a. *Si-ke*   *t'ar-ḍ.*
put-CONV:DUR/INST be.full-IND
'(He) kept putting in (and the bag) got filled.'

b. *Si-ŋan*   *t'ar-ḍ.*
put-CONV:ANT/SIM be.full-IND
'When (he) put (them) in (the bag) got filled.'

c. *Si-r*   *t'ar-gu-ḍ.*
put.in-CONV:NAR:3SG be.full-CAUS-IND
'Putting (them) in (he) filled (the bag).'

d. *Si-ror   *t'ar-gu-ḍ.*
 put-CONV:DST:3SG be.full-CAUS-IND
'(He) put (them) in and then filled (the bag).'

The following series of sentences shows the role of converbs in expressing simultaneity, posteriority, anteriority, interruption of the main action:

(1063) a. *Hemar*   *meɣra-jvo*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
old.man pray-CONV:PROGR s/he-DAT/ADD say-IND
'Praying, the old man said to him.'

b. *Hemar*   *meɣra-ke*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
old.man pray-CONV:DUR/INST s/he-DAT/ADD say-IND
'The old man prayed and prayed (and) said to him.'

c. *Hemar*   *meɣra-jvu-ke*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
old.man pray-INCH/PROGR-CONV:DUR/INST s/he-DAT/ADD say-IND
'The old man was on the point of praying (and) said to him.'

d. *Hemar*   *meɣra-ŋan*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
old.man pray-CONV:ANT/SIM s/he-DAT/ADD say-IND
'The old man, when (he = old man) prayed, said to him.'

e. *Hemar*   *meɣra-ror*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
old.man pray-CONV:DST:3SG s/he-DAT/ADD say-IND
'The old man prayed (and) then said to him.'

f. *Hemar*   *meɣra-jvu-r*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
old.man pray-INCH/PROGR-CONV:NAR:3SG 3SG-DAT/ADD say-IND
(the meaning of this sentence is not clear).

Subtle semantic differences between various kinds of anteriority characteristic of Nivkh converbs, especially converbs with aspectual markers, are sometimes next to impossible to express in Russian (and English – eds). We shall list nine cases:

(1064) a. *Ñi sək k'əmlə-t*   *e-rχ*   *it-ṭ.*
I all think-CONV:NAR:1SG s/he-DAT/ADD say-IND
'Thinking it all over, I said to him' (= an action).

b.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ɣata-t*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-RES-CONV:NAR:1SG   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'Having thought everything over, I said to him' (~ about all I thought
     over; an action + result).

c.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ŋan*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-CONV:ANT/SIM   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'When I (had) thought everything over (it was only then that) I told
     him.'

d.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ɣata-ŋan*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-RES-CONV:ANT/SIM   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'When everything was thought over (it was only then that) I told him.'

e.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-tot*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-CONV:NAR:1SG   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'I thought everything over and then told him.'

f.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ɣət-tot*
     I   all   think-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-CONV:NAR:1SG

     e-rχ   *it-ţ.*
     s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND

     'I thought everything over/finally (and) then told him.'

g.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ba*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-CONV:INST   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'As soon as I thought everything over (I) told him.'

h.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ge*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-CONV:DUR/INST   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'As soon as I thought it over and decided everything (I) told him.'

i.   *Ñi   sək   kʻəmlə-ke*   *e-rχ*   *it-ţ.*
     I   all   think-CONV:DUR/INST   s/he-DAT/ADD   say-IND
     'I thought and thought about it (and) told him.'

Other variants of converbs are also possible. For some reason, the informant rejects
the form *kʻəmlə-ɣata-r* and insists on the form *kʻəmlə-ɣət-ror*, as in (1064f).

    In sentences (1065) below the alternative actions ('lie/lie down' and 'get up') are
not suitable for the taxis pairs with converbs in *-r*, *-t*, *-ŋan* and *-ba*, which fact once
again characterizes their meanings:

(1065) a.   *Por-r*   *i-ñ-ḑ.*
             lie-CONV:NAR:3SG   3SG-eat-IND
             '(He) eats/ate lying.'

        a′. **Por-r*   *oz-ḑ.*
             lie-CONV:NAR:3SG   get.up-IND
             lit. '(He) got up lying.'

    b.   *Por-**ror***   *i-ñ-ḍ.*
            lie-CONV:DST:3SG 3SG-eat-IND
            '(He) lay for a while (and) began to eat.'

    b′. *Por-**ror***   *oz-ḍ.*
            lie-CONV:DST:3SG get.up-IND
            '(He) lay for a while (and) got up.'

    c.   *Por-**ŋan***   *i-ñ-ḍ.*
            lie-CONV:ANT/SIM 3SG-eat-IND
            'When (he) lay down (he) began to eat.'

    c′. **Por-**ŋan***   *oz-ḍ.*
             lie-CONV:ANT/SIM get up-IND
            (makes no sense).

    d.   *Por-**ba***   *i-ñ-ḍ.*
            lie-CONV:INST 3SG-eat-IND
            'As soon as (he) lay down (he) began to eat.'

    d′. **Por-**ba***   *oz-ḍ.*
             lie-CONV:INST get.up-IND
             lit. 'As soon as (he) lay down (he) got up.'

    e.   *Por-**kē***   *i-ñ-ḍ.*
            lie-CONV:DUR/INST 3SG-eat-IND
            '(He) was lying and lying (and) began to eat'

    e′. *Por-**kē***   *oz-ḍ.*
             lie-CONV:DUR/INST get.up-IND
            '(He) was lying and lying (and) got up.'

Note the following:

In (1065c′) different-subject interpretation is suitable: *If por-**ŋan**[1] ñi oz-ḍ.* 'When he lay down I got up.'

For (1065d′) a different-subject sentence is also correct: *Həḍ por-**ba** təḍ oz-ḍ.* 'As soon as that one lay down this one got up.'

In (1065e–e′) a long vowel is appropriate as a means of conveying intensity of action, i.e. a particularly long duration in this case.

The following examples illustrate sequence of converbs in *-**ke*** and in *-**ŋan***:

(1066) a.   *Hə+pət*   *ṭəj*   *q'o-**ŋan***   *uřk*
          that+tomorrow again sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM night
          *q'o-**ke***   *v-əmək*   *jəri-ḍ.*
          sleep-CONV:DUR/INST 3SG-mother wake.up-IND
          'When on the next day (they) again fell asleep, at night (they) slept and
          slept, (and) his mother woke up.'   (Panfilov 1965: 250)

b. *Hə+pət*   ṭəj   *qʻo-ŋan*   *uřk*
   that+tomorrow again sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM night

   qʻo-ŋan   *v-əmək*   *jəri-ḍ.*
   sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM 3SG-mother wake.up-IND

   'When on the next day (they) slept again, when at night (they) slept
   this mother woke up.'

c. *Hə+pət*   ṭəj   *qʻo-ke*   *uřk*
   that+tomorrow again sleep-CONV:DUR/INST night

   qʻo-ke   *v-əmək*   *jəri-ḍ.*
   sleep-CONV:DUR/INST 3SG-mother wake.up-IND

   'When on the next day (they) again slept and slept, at night (they) slept
   and slept, his mother woke up.'

d. **Hə+pət*   ṭəj   *qʻo-ke*   *uřk*
    that+tomorrow again sleep-CONV:DUR/INST night

   qʻo-ŋan   *v-əmək*   *jəri-ḍ.*
   sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM 3SG-mother wake.up-IND

   'When on the next day (they) again slept and slept, at night when
   (they) fell asleep, his mother woke up.' (This sequence of actions here
   (or in general?) is not possible (why?)).

In the series of sentences (1067) the following points are of interest: (a) the semelfactive nature of the main action with a converb in *-rot*; (b) possible multiplicity with a
converb in *-r*; (c) inappropriateness of a converb in *-ŋan*:

(1067) a. *Hoʁorot* *pʻ-hās+ṭʻəu-ra*
            then:3SG   REFL-clothes+take.out-COORD:3SG

            tař+ŋəŋ-rot   *vəñ-doχ*   *si-ra.*
            louse+look.for-CONV:DST:3PL kettle-DAT/ADD put-COORD:3PL

            'Then (she) took off her clothes, looked for (= caught) lice and put into
            the kettle' (Panfilov (1965: 226); a clear case of sequential actions).

        b. *Hoʁorot* *pʻ-hās+ṭʻəu-ra*
            then:3SG   REFL-clothes+take.out-COORD:3SG

            tař+ŋəŋ-r   *vəñ-doχ*   *si-ra.*
            louse+look.for-CONV:NAR:3SG kettle-DAT/ADD put-COORD:3SG

            'Then (she) took off her clothes, having caught lice, was putting/put
            into the kettle.' (She caught and put the lice in at the same time,
            possibly more than once.)

        c. *Hoʁorot* *pʻ-hās+ṭʻəu-ra*
            then:3SG   REFL-clothes+take.out-COORD:3SG

tař+ŋəŋ-ke   *vəñ-doχ*   *si-ra.*
louse+look.for-CONV:DUR/INST kettle-DAT/ADD put-COORD:3SG

'Then (she) took off her clothes, looked and looked for lice (= caught), and put into the kettle.' (A somewhat odd situation suggesting that there were few lice and it took long to catch them.)

d.   *ʔНоʁοrοt p'-hās+ʈ'əu-ra*
then:3SG REFL-clothes+take.out-COORD:3SG

*tař+ŋəŋ-**ŋan***   *vəñ-doχ*   *si-ra.*
louse+look.for-CONV:ANT/SIM kettle-DAT/ADD put-COORD:3SG

'Then (she) took off her clothes, when (she) looked for lice, (she) put (them) Into the kettle.'

In (1067d) the process of looking for lice is stressed as a kind of special purpose. The converb *ŋəŋ-ŋan* would probably be more appropriate if the beginning of looking for lice were mentioned in the prior context.

The following sets of sentences contain four converbs of the verb *q'o-* 'sleep', 'fall asleep' in their relation to four main verbs. The sentences marked with an asterisk are ungrammatical for the following reasons: (a) contradictory combination of alternative actions (see (1069a), (1069c), (1070b), (1071c)); (b) different-subjectness (see (1070d), (1071d)):

(1068)   a.   *Q'o-**ke***   *oz-ḍ.*
sleep-CONV:DUR/INST get.up-IND
'(He) slept and slept (and) got up.'

     b.   *Q'o-**ke***   *t'əi-ḍ.*
sleep-CONV:DUR/INST dream-IND
'(He) slept and slept (and) had a dream.'

     c.   *Q'o-**ke***   *jəri-ḍ.*
sleep-CONV:DUR/INST wake.up-IND
'(He) slept and slept (and) woke up.'

     d.   *Q'o-**ke***   *k'ru-yət-ʈ.*
sleep-CONV:DUR/INST be.dawn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
'(He) slept and slept (and) day broke.'

(1069)   a.   **Q'o-**ŋan***   *oz-ḍ.*
sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM get.up-IND
'When (he) fell asleep (he) got up.'

     b.   *Q'o-**ŋan***   *t'əi-ḍ.*
sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM dream-IND
'When (he) fell asleep (he) had a dream.'

c.   *Q'o-**ŋan**   jəri-ḑ.
     sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM wake.up-IND
     'When (he) fell asleep (he) woke up.'

d.   Q'o-**ŋan**   k'ru-yət-ṭ.
     sleep-CONV:ANT/SIM dawn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
     'When (he) fell asleep day broke.'

(1070) a.   Q'o-**ror**   oz-ḑ.
             sleep-CONV:DST:3SG get.up
             'Having slept, (he) got up.'

        b.   *Q'o-**ror**   t'əi-ḑ.
             sleep-CONV:DST:3SG dream-IND
             'Having slept, (he) had a dream' (after sleep!).

        c.   Q'o-**ror**   jəri-ḑ.
             sleep-CONV:DST:3SG wake.up
             'Having slept, (he) woke up.'

        d.   *Q'o-**ror**   k'ru-yət-ṭ.
             sleep-CONV:DST:3SG dawn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
             'After (he) had a sleep day broke' (different subjects).

(1071) a.   *Q'o–**r**   oz-ḑ.
             sleep-CONV:NAR:3SG get.up-IND
             'While sleeping (he) got up.'

        b.   Q'o–**r**   t'əi-ḑ.
             sleep-CONV:NAR:3SG dream-IND
             'While sleeping (he) had a dream.'

        c.   *Q'o–**r**   jəri-ḑ.
             sleep-CONV:NAR:3SG wake.up-IND
             'While sleeping (he) woke up' (he slept too little?).

        d.   *Q'o–**r**   k'ru-yət-ṭ.
             sleep-CONV:NAR:3SG be.dawn-DISTR/INTS/COMPL-IND
             'While (he was) sleeping day broke' (different subjects).

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