

# *Nivkh*

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## Abbreviations

|         |                       |       |                        |
|---------|-----------------------|-------|------------------------|
| AD      | Amur dialect          | MOD   | modal                  |
| CAUS    | causative             | MULT  | multiplicative         |
| CAUSL   | causal                | NEG   | negative               |
| COM     | comitative            | NEVID | non-evidential         |
| COMP    | comparative           | NFUT  | non-future             |
| COMPL   | complement            | NOM   | nominative             |
| CONC    | concessive            | NSD   | North Sakhalin dialect |
| COND    | conditional           | OBJ   | object                 |
| CONV    | converb               | OPT   | optative               |
| COP     | copulative            | PERM  | permissive             |
| DAT/ACC | dative / accusative   | PL    | plural                 |
| DAT/ADD | dative / additive     | PTC   | participle             |
| DEM     | demonstrative         | PTL   | particle               |
| DEMN    | deminutive            | PRED  | predicative            |
| DETERM  | determinative         | PREV  | preventive             |
| DU      | dual                  | PRF   | perfective             |
| EMPH    | emphatic              | PURP  | purposive              |
| ESD     | East Sakhalin dialect | R     | root                   |
| EVID    | evidential            | REFL  | reflexive              |
| FIN     | finite                | RES   | resultative            |
| FUT     | future                | REST  | restrictive            |
| IMP     | imperative            | RTEL  | re-telling             |
| IMPRF   | imperfective          | sb.   | somebody               |
| INDEF   | indefinite            | SG    | singular               |
| INGR    | ingressive            | SMLF  | semelfactive           |
| INST    | instrumental          | SSD   | South Sakhalin dialect |
| INT     | intensifying          | sth.  | something              |
| INTER   | interrogative         | SUBJ  | subjunctive            |
| ITER    | iterative             | swh.  | somewhere              |
| LIM     | limitative            | TEMP  | temporal               |
| LOC     | locative              | USIT  | usitative              |
| LOC/ABL | locative / ablative   | VOC   | vocative               |
| MAN     | manner                |       |                        |

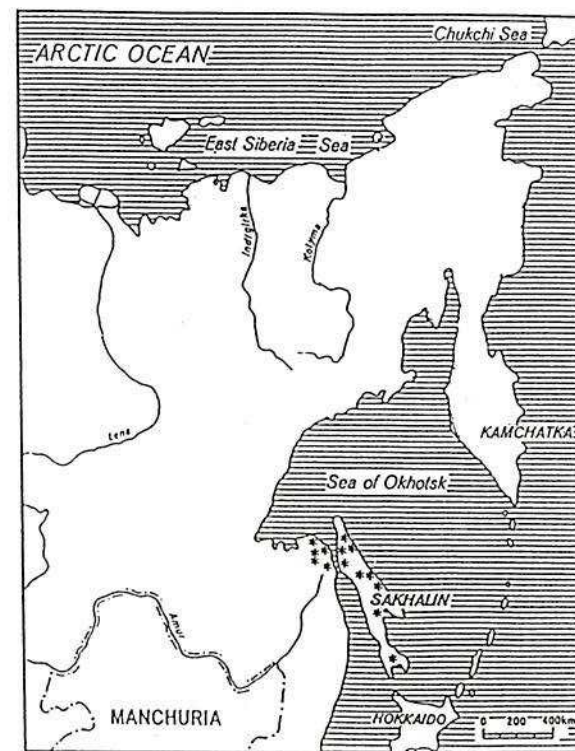
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## 1. Background data

Nivkh is a language of a small aboriginal tribe calling itself *N'ivxgu* (the Amur dialect) or *N'ryvngun* (the East Sakhalin dialect) that means 'people'. In Tungus-Manchu languages the Nivkhs are called *Gilyaki*, *Gileke*, *Gilyami*, *Gilyni*, etc., i.e., 'people travelling by big boats with pair oars'. Chinese and Japanese medieval sources mention tribe by similar names. It is assumed that this name goes back to that of a Tungus tribe or sub-tribe *Kiili*, once neighbours of the Nivkhs. The names *Gilyaki* and *Gilyak language* were also used in Russian research literature approximately up to the mid-20th century and it is still used in some non-Russian works.

Traditionally, the Nivkhs resided on the lower reaches of the Amur river in the Far East of the Asian continent, along the Tatar Strait coast, on the north-western and eastern coasts of Sakhalin Island, and also in insignificant numbers in the south of Sakhalin (see Map).

Map: *The Nivkhs* (\*)



Nivkh culture was coastal-subarctic and characterized principally by fishing, hunting (primarily coastal hunting), gathering wild plants, some for medical and religious purposes, dog-breeding and some reindeer-breeding, the bear festival, birchbark implements, canoe building, the dog-drawn sled.

For a long time the territory of the Nivkh residence was under Chinese dominance (from 1271 to 1341 Mongol, later under Manchu), then it was a part of Russian Empire. From 1858, according to the Russian-Japanese Treaty, Sakhalin was under joint control of Russia and Japan. After signing the new Russian-Japanese Treaty in 1875, Russia took complete dominion of Sakhalin. In 1905, as a result of the Russian-Japanese war, Sakhalin south of the 50° passed into the hands of Japan and was transformed into the Japanese governorship Karafuto. At that time, there began an intensive settling of the island by the Japanese immigrants (about half a million). Before 1945, the total number of the Nivkhs was about 4,000, of whom about 2,300 lived on the continent, 1,600 on Sakhalin north, and 100 on Sakhalin south in the Japanese part. In 1945, after the conclusion of the Second World War, southern Sakhalin was included into the realm of the Soviet Union, and practically the entire Japanese population was repatriated. Together with the Japanese a small number of the Nivkhs moved out to Japan and settled on Hokkaido Island.

In the 1960–70s, important changes took place in the life of the Nivkhs in the Soviet Union because of their forced resettling. Thus, in the lower reaches of the Amur, owing to the catastrophic scarcity of the river as a fishing basin, fishing collective farms and artels were liquidated. Currently, there exists only one fishing farm, where a small number of the Nivkhs lives. For its part, the Nivkhs (about 1,800 persons) have settled in many villages, towns, and seaports. At present, there are no dense Nivkh settlements on the Amur, excepting the village of Aleevka. At the same period, on Sakhalin, due to amalgamation of collective farms taken place at that time, inhabitants of small national villages of the Shmidt peninsula (Nyvrvo, Muz'ma, etc.) were transported to the village of Nekrasovka, and inhabitants of the northern villages of former Rybnovskij region (Vivski, Tamlavo, L'ugi, etc.) to that of Rybnoe. Inhabitants of all national settlements of the eastern sea coast were concentrated in the town of Nogliki. Old villages were liquidated. Resettling has been carried out despite unwillingness of inhabitants to desert their old villages, rich fishing-grounds and has caused a considerable migration of population because a lot of families did not want to move out to new settlements. They preferred to settle in towns and began to labour at industrial works. So, both in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, the traditional professions of the Nivkhs were more and more replaced by other occupations. According to the data of the 1989 general census of the population, there were 4,681 Nivkhs in Russia, of whom 2,008 lived on Sakhalin. By comparison with the previous decade, the number of the Nivkh

population a little bit increased: according to the data of the previous 1979 general census of the population, there were 4,420 Nivkhs in Russia.

One of the linguistic complications is the fact that Nivkh has four dialects, namely, the Amur dialect (hereafter, *AD*), the East Sakhalin dialect (hereafter, *ESD*), the North Sakhalin dialect (hereafter, *NSD*), and the South Sakhalin dialect (hereafter, *SSD*). *AD* and *ESD* are rather different: their speakers affirm that they do not understand each other. *NSD* (or the Shmidt dialect) occupies an intermediate position between these two. As for *SSD* (or the Poronaik dialect), it has essential differences in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary from the other three dialects, especially from *AD*. At the close of the last century, the number of speakers of *AD* and that of the Sakhalin dialects were roughly equal. Since the speakers of *AD* continually lived on the continent in close contact with the Tungus-Manchu peoples, it is suggested that this dialect is a result of an influence of Tungus-Manchu languages upon the Nivkh parent language. Among the Sakhalin dialects *ESD* was most widely practised. It was used by the Nivkhs settled all over Sakhalin, with the exception of some villages on the north-western sea coast where *NSD* was spoken and some settlements in the south of the island where a small group of speakers of *SSD* lived. *SSD* was used till recently by the Nivkhs who moved out from the Poronaik region to Japan after the Second World War. Furthermore, one of the Sakhalin dialects (probably, *NSD*) was also spoken by the Nivkhs who lived along the right sea coast of the continental part of the Amur estuary and the Tatar Strait coast. The sketch is based mainly on the materials of *AD* and *ESD*.

The question of genetic relationship of Nivkh to any other language has not been finally solved. Though there are marked some typological similarities to Japanese, Tungus-Manchu, Turkic, Chukchi, and Native American languages, it has so far been impossible to assign it to any known stock. Nivkh is generally classified as Paleosiberian (or Paleo-Asiatic) with some other languages of Siberia and Far East, which form a group of isolated languages without any particular relationship. It is thought that these languages were spoken in the area before the arrival of the Tunguses and the Yakuts.

One may note different hypotheses on the question of Nivkh genesis. According to one of them, the Nivkhs who had occupied extensive areas in Asia, under pressure from other peoples, were forced to leave for Sakhalin. Moving of the Ainu pressed by the Japanese from the south of Sakhalin to its north in turn led to partial return of the Nivkhs to the Amur region on the continent. Another hypothesis suggests that the Nivkhs moved to the places of their current residence from more northern Arctic regions. Thus, the Nivkhs together with the Chukchis, the Koryaks, and the Itelmens (the Kamchadals) is considered to be one of tribes related to American race, which secondarily moved to Asia. After the autochthonous theory, the Nivkhs are ancient abori-



gines of the lower Amur and Sakhalin, who previously occupied more extensive territories. By archeological and ethnographical data, the population which formed an ancient substratum of the lower Amur differed widely from other ethnic groups by its economic tenor (fishing, dog-breeding) and was known to the neighbours by the name of *Gilyaki*. As for settling of the Nivkhs on Sakhalin, according to Nivkh legends, after arriving on Sakhalin, they met there the Ainus. For its part, Ainu legends talk about the people named *Ton'chi*, who lived there in earlier times and, as a result of lengthy wars with the Ainus, was forced to desert the island. Archeological data give clues to the assumption that the Ton'chis are related to ancient Eskimo tribes, while toponymic materials convince that they were nobody else than the ancient Nivkhs.

Historically, the Nivkhs have been in close contact with the Tungus-Manchu tribes, namely, with the Oroks (the Uiltas), the Nanais, the Evenks, etc., on the Amur, and the Oroks and the Evenks on Sakhalin. That is found in numerous loan-words and phonetic interference. Moreover, the Sakhalin Nivkhs have been living for a long time in close touch with the Ainus, especially with those who lived in the south of the island. The historical ties with the Russians have been established since the mid-19th century, when those began to settle in the Far East of Asia and on Sakhalin. During the same period the Sakhalin Nivkhs were contacting with the Japanese.

At the turn of the 20th century, the language situation in the area was characterized by an active multilingualism caused by various socio-cultural reasons (joint residing, common forms of economic activities, mixed marriages, etc.). However, Nivkh has had little effect on neighbouring languages. It is often contended that the aboriginal neighbours of the Nivkhs easily acquired a knowledge of all the other local languages in use, except Nivkh. That is why, the Nivkhs had to express themselves in Ainu, Orok, etc., not in their own language, in their relations with the neighbours. A general rule which characterized the contacts between the aboriginal population and the immigrants, was communication in the language of the latter. Though the original population was dominated by stronger nationalities, due to their isolated life as hunters and fishermen, they could keep their native language and culture for a long time.

After the Second World War, an active process of massive Russification of the indigenous peoples was set in motion, completely changing the linguistic situation. At present, all the Nivkhs who know their native language are bilingual and speak fluent Russian as well. The language does not have any official state and, as a whole, has a low retention rate. Only 23.3% of the Nivkh population regard Nivkh as their mother tongue. For all the others amongst them Russian is the mother tongue. My selected sociolinguistic inspection (315 persons) carried out in the town of Nogliki (Sakhalin Island) in 1989 demonstrates that ca 75 persons (the youngest are 40 years old), i.e., 23.8%, know and

use Nivkh. Moreover, those bilinguals who claimed to speak Nivkh as their primary language nowadays prefer Russian even in routine situations. The knowledge of the native language remains a passive, rarely used reserve. As one can see, at present it tends to complete ousting of Nivkh by Russian. Nevertheless, some attempts are being made to revive the Nivkh language. Since 1981, Nivkh has been studied up to the third form in the boarding schools for children from the ethnic minorities in Nogliki and Nekrasovka on Sakhalin Island. Due to extreme dispersion of native population on the Amur river, there are no schools with the studying of Nivkh in that region. In the system of high education, a course on Nivkh is read at the Department of Northern Peoples of the Russian State Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg.

Nivkh folklore is rich in epics, tales, riddles, songs, and ditties. They talk about fighting of the Nivkhs with mountain, forest, sea, sky, or underground people, monsters (about a dozen different beings), and cannibals, about adventures during hunting and fishing, about getting a wife (probably, a forest, sea, or sky woman), bear festivals, etc. The most valuable data on Nivkh folklore were published by L.Ya. Shternberg in 1908. In 1996, owing to the efforts of K. Inoue and A.F. Majewicz the facsimile of B. Pilsudski's collection of Nivkh folklore texts was brought out. Historically, Nivkh had no script. The written language based on the Latin alphabet was introduced in 1930s for *AD*. Since then, several issues of a newspaper, booklets, an arithmetic book, and primers have appeared in Nivkh. However, this written language has not survived since the Nivkhs preferred to write in Russian. Later (1953), the Latin alphabet was abandoned and replaced by the Cyrillic alphabet. At the same time, the written system for *ESD* was introduced. G.A. Otaina, V.M. Sangi, Ch.M. Taksami, and G.I. Paklina published several primers for *AD* and *ESD*. Stories in Nivkh (1982) were written by V.M. Sangi, who also translated some texts by A.S. Pushkin.

The initial work on Nivkh is generally considered a brief article by N. Zeland (1866). In 1892, W. Grube published a work based on the materials collected by L. von Schrenk and P. von Glehn in 1854–56 during the expedition organized by Imperial Academy of Sciences to the Amur region. A great number of linguistic and ethnographic materials on Nivkh was collected at the turn of the century by L.Ya. Shternberg together with B. Pilsudski. Among Russian grammarians who studied Nivkh in the 20th century one can mention first of all E.A. Krejnovich and V.Z. Panfilov, as well as V.N. Savel'jeva, G.A. Otaina, V.P. Nedjalkov, L.B. Gashilova, V.A. Ruschakov, and A.A. Burykin. Russian-Nivkh (1965) and Nivkh-Russian (1970) dictionaries were published by V.N. Savel'jeva and Ch.M. Taksami. Different questions on Nivkh internal reconstruction, phonology, grammar, genesis, and sociolinguistics are discussed in the works of R. Austerlitz, R. Jakobson, P.G. Moellendorf, K. Bouda, O. Tailleux, B. Comrie, T. de Graaf, N. Akira, M. Takahashi, and T. Hattori.



## 2. Phonology and morphophonology

### 2.1. The sound-system

All the dialects have the same vowel system, which comprises 6 phonemes (see Table 1), and somewhat different consonant systems. Table 2 represents the consonant system of *AD* with 32 phonemes.

|        | front    | central  | back     |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|
| high   | <i>i</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>u</i> |
| middle | <i>e</i> |          | <i>o</i> |
| low    |          | <i>a</i> |          |

Table 1: *The vowel system*

|                      |                       | place of articulation |          | labial             |                       | den-<br>tal | pa-<br>la-<br>tal | ve-<br>lar | uvu-<br>lar | pha-<br>ryn-<br>ge-<br>al |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|---------------------------|
|                      |                       |                       |          | bi-<br>la-<br>bial | labio-<br>den-<br>tal |             |                   |            |             |                           |
| plo-<br>si-<br>ves   | obs-<br>tru-<br>ents  | voiced                |          | <i>b</i>           |                       | <i>d</i>    | <i>d'</i>         | <i>g</i>   | <i>g'</i>   |                           |
|                      |                       | voice-<br>less        | unasp.   | <i>p</i>           |                       | <i>t</i>    | <i>t'</i>         | <i>k</i>   | <i>k'</i>   |                           |
|                      |                       |                       | asp.     | <i>p'</i>          |                       | <i>t'</i>   | <i>č</i>          | <i>k'</i>  | <i>k'</i>   |                           |
|                      | sonants: nasal        |                       | <i>m</i> |                    | <i>n</i>              | <i>n'</i>   | <i>ŋ</i>          | <i>ŋ</i>   |             |                           |
| fri-<br>ca-<br>tives | obs-<br>tru-<br>ents  | voiced                |          |                    | <i>v</i>              | <i>z</i>    |                   | <i>ɣ</i>   | <i>ɣ'</i>   |                           |
|                      |                       | voiceless             |          |                    | <i>f</i>              | <i>s</i>    |                   | <i>x</i>   | <i>χ</i>    | <i>h</i>                  |
|                      | sonants               |                       |          |                    | <i>l</i>              | <i>j</i>    |                   |            |             |                           |
| trills               | obstruents: voiceless |                       |          |                    | <i>ř</i>              |             |                   |            |             |                           |
|                      | sonants               |                       |          |                    | <i>r</i>              |             |                   |            |             |                           |

Table 2: *The consonant system (AD)*

Unlike *AD*, the series of voiced fricatives in *ESD*, *NSD*, *SSD* includes, besides labiodental [v], bilabial [w], cf. <*AD*> *va*- 'fight, bandage' – <*ESD*> *wa*- 'fight', <*ESD*> *va*- 'bandage'. In *AD*, *ESD*, and *NSD* voiced plosives [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g'] usually do not occur word-initially in the dictionary forms of native words but only as a result of morphophonological alternations. The exceptions are, in particular, some participles denoting the intensity of a quality, cf. *tuzla* 'cold' – *duzla* 'very cold'. As for *SSD*, there are no voiceless unaspirated plosives in this dialect, voiced plosives occurring instead, cf. <*AD*, *ESD*, *NSD*> *pal*, <*SSD*> *bal* 'forest, hill'. The consonants are most likely to be phonemically distinct in the word initial-prevocalic position, cf. *pal* 'hill' – *p'al* 'floor', *tu* 'lake' – *t'u* 'sledge', *ku* 'day' – *k'u* 'arrow'. However, pairs like *ŋax* 'six' – *ŋax* 'soft roe', *ror*- 'miss' – *roř*- 'ask to help', *ŋavřki* 'head-hair' – *ŋavřki* 'smell, odor', in which the consonants are opposed in the word final and medial positions, are attested as well.

### 2.2. Historical changes in the phonological system

In the past, Nivkh was characterized by a vowel harmony, which entailed the alternation of high vowels [i], [y], [u] and non-high vowels [e], [a], [o]. Now it has been virtually lost, but the traces of a vowel harmony can still be discerned in a number of transitive verbs with the pronominal direct object prefixes *i*- and *e*-. It has been noted that the prefix *i*- usually occurs in the verbs which, besides this marker, contain only the vowels [u] and [y], e.g. *i-ŋlu*- 'be afraid [of sb. / sth.]', *i-vry*- 'clear up, take away [sth.]', *i-ryly*- 'pull [sb. / sth.]', whereas the prefix *e*- is found only in the verbs with the vowels [a] and [o], e.g. *e-ska*- 'be squeamish [about sth.]', have an aversion [for sb. / sth.]', *e-ŋna*- 'oil [sth.]', *e-ŋro*- 'hang [sth.]'. Whenever such verb takes a direct object, the pronominal prefix is deleted, with this in some verbs lost vowels are restored, cf. *i-ŋ*- 'kill, catch [sb. / sth.]' – *čo*<sup>1</sup> *k'u*-<sup>2</sup> 'catch<sup>2</sup> fish<sup>1</sup> (= fish)', *e-mk*- 'cut off [sth.]' – *lep*<sup>1</sup> *mo-k*-<sup>2</sup> 'cut off<sup>2</sup> bread<sup>1</sup>', *e-v*- 'take, hold [sb. / sth.]' – *mu*<sup>1</sup> *vo*-<sup>2</sup> 'take<sup>2</sup> a boat<sup>1</sup>'.

In the course of history of the language, two diachronic phonetic processes have affected consonants. Both processes are attested mainly in *AD*. As a result of the first process, nasals [n], [ŋ], [n'], [m] have disappeared in final and medial segments of some words and morphemes of *AD*, whereas in *ESD* and *SSD* these consonants have remained, cf. <*ESD*> *pund'int* – <*AD*> *pud'id'* '[smth.] prevails, prevailed', <*ESD*> *ŋirŋ* – <*AD*> *ŋir* 'cup', <*ESD*> *urlan* – <*AD*> *urla* 'good', <*ESD*> *-kun* / *-ŋun* / *-gun* / *-xun* – <*AD*> *-ku* / *-ŋu* / *-gu* / *-xu* – plural suffix of nouns, pronouns, and verbs. In the course of the second process, wordmedial voiceless fricatives [ɣ] and [g'] have been lost. The loss of these consonants was compensated in the corresponding words by prolonging of preceding vowels. As a result, there has arisen a new phonological phenomenon:



in some words of *AD*, long vowels are now opposed to the short ones, cf. <*ESD*, *AD*> *oġr*, <*AD*> *ōr* 'salmon's large intestine' – <*ESD*, *AD*> *or* 'skirt'.

### 2.3. Phonotactics

There are four syllable types: (a) *vowel*, e.g. *a* 'sazhen [= unit of length, equivalent to 2.13 metres]', *e* 'comb', (b) *consonant + vowel*, e.g. *mu* 'boat', *ŋa* 'animal', (c) *vowel + consonant*, e.g. <*AD*> *yl*, <*ESD*> *al* 'mouth', *an* 'year', (d) *consonant + vowel + consonant*, e.g. *pax* 'stone', *pos* 'material'. A typical Nivkh noun is monosyllabic and often contains rich initial and final clusters. Wordinitial clusters may comprise two consonants at most, e.g. <*AD*> *mra*, <*ESD*> *mraŋ* 'fault', *ksynz* 'witch', while wordfinal clusters may consist of three consonants at most, e.g. <*AD*> *ilms*, <*ESD*> *ilmř* 'mouth-piece', *lyvdr* 'tornado'.

Some intransitive / transitive verbs are opposed by initial root consonants. As a rule, the roots of intransitives begin with plosives [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k'], [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'], whereas those of transitives – with fricatives [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ġ], [f], [r], [s], [x], [χ], cf. *pykz*- 'get lost' – *vykz*- 'lose [sth.]', *t'a*- 'roast' – *řa*- 'roast [sth.]', *k'ov*- 'roll up' – *χov*- 'roll up [sth.]', *t'o*- 'bend' – *zo*- 'bend [sth.]'.

### 2.4. Suprasegmentals

As it was mentioned in section 2.2, one can find short and long vowels in *AD*, the latter being arisen as a result of the loss of fricatives. Besides that, prolonged pronouncing of vowels with an updrift tone may be used for expressing the following: (a) intensity of a quality, e.g. *ŋarla* 'very fat', (b) duration of an action, e.g. *myr-kē* 'rising [for a long time]', (c) remoteness of a person or an object, e.g. *ād* 'that [very distant]'.

The position of stress is not constant though it tends to fall on the first vowel of a word. In the same words in *AD* and *ESD* the stress may fall on different syllables, cf. <*AD*> *ámamd'* – <*ESD*> *amámnt* '[someone] walks / walked'. Sometimes the stress is used to distinguish lexical items from one another, cf. *χáunt* '[someone] calls / called' – *χáunt* '[someone] dries / dried'. In Nivkh, stress is bound to the suffixes of the vocative, the imperative, and conditional converb, which are always stressed, cf. *Ymyk-á!* 'Mother!', *Vi-já!* 'Go (2SG)!', *Vi-vél!* 'Go (2PL)!', *Vi-ġaj...* 'If [I] go...' respectively.

It is assumed that Nivkh makes a distinctive use of two types of tones, which are opposed in monosyllables and polysyllables: (a) monosyllables – with the following tones: (i) updrift, cf. *ki* 'footwear', *n'ivx* 'man', *ŋyn'k* 'face', (ii)

regular, cf. *kinř* 'devil', *pyn'x* 'soup', *laķ* 'skis', (b) bisyllables – with the following tones: (i) updrift-downdrift, cf. *xota* 'town', *at'ik* 'younger brother', *ova* 'flour', (ii) downdrift-updrift, cf. *vaķi* 'box', *seta* 'sugar', *apak* 'father-in-law', (iii) regular, cf. *nanak* 'elder sister', *kyhkyh* 'swan', *laķlaķ* 'sable's skin'.

### 2.5. Morphophonology

All the consonants, excepting [t], [d], [n], become palatalized before the vowels [e] and [i]. The final voiceless fricative of the word usually becomes voiced if the next morpheme or the word begins with a voiced fricative, a plosive, a sonant, or a vowel, cf. *tyf* 'house' – *tyv<sup>1</sup> mř<sup>2</sup>* 'inside<sup>2</sup> the house<sup>1</sup>' – *tyv-uin* 'in the house' – *tyv<sup>1</sup> yγzu-<sup>2</sup>* 'do not know<sup>2</sup> the house<sup>1</sup>'. The voiceless fricative [h] is found only word-initially. It becomes voiced between vowels, cf. *huin* 'there, not far away' – *ayuin* 'there, far away', and is lost in the position between a consonant and a vowel, cf. *haķ* 'cap' – *n'aķ* 'my cap'.

Nivkh is characterized by the regular initial consonant alternation of words (or morphemes) which is determined by the final segment of the preceding word (or morpheme). The various series of plosives and fricatives (the trills [r] and [ř] are conventionally considered as fricatives) alternate with one another in the context. The system of alternations involves all the consonants, excepting sonants [m], [n], [n'], [ŋ], [l], [j] and the fricative [h]. Different series of alternating consonants are presented in Table 3 (the consonants in the left columns occur in the dictionary forms of native words, while those in the right columns occur in these words as a result of alternations).

| initial plosives of head nouns |                 | initial fricatives of verbs |                 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| I<br>unaspirated /<br>voiced   | II<br>aspirated | III<br>voiced               | IV<br>voiceless |
| <i>p / b ~ v / b</i>           | <i>p' ~ f</i>   | <i>v ~ p / b</i>            | <i>f ~ p'</i>   |
| <i>t / d ~ r / d</i>           | <i>t' ~ ř</i>   | <i>r ~ t / d</i>            | <i>ř ~ t'</i>   |
| <i>t' / d' ~ z / d'</i>        | <i>č ~ s</i>    | <i>z ~ t' / d'</i>          | <i>s ~ č</i>    |
| <i>k / g ~ γ / g</i>           | <i>k' ~ x</i>   | <i>γ ~ k / g</i>            | <i>x ~ k'</i>   |
| <i>ķ / ġ ~ ġ / ġ</i>           | <i>ķ' ~ χ</i>   | <i>ġ ~ ķ / ġ</i>            | <i>χ ~ ķ'</i>   |

Table 3: *Initial consonant alternations*



Initial consonants of morphemes, reduplicated stems, and postpositions alternate according to the general rules of alternation cited below, cf. different phonetic variants of the dative-additive suffix *-toχ / -roχ / -doχ*: *t'yx-toχ* 'to a top' ~ *tu-roχ* 'into a lake' ~ *mur-doχ* 'to a horse', cf. alternation occurring in the second stem of the word derived by reduplication of the stem: *p'-en'* {REFL-ski} 'one's ski' ~ *p'-en'+f-en'* {REFL-ski+REFL-ski} 'one's skis', cf. alternation in the postposition *k'omi* 'from one side [of sb. / sth.]': *tyf k'omi* 'from one side of a house' ~ *mu χomi* 'from one side of a boat'.

As for the initial consonant alternation of words, it is found only in the following types of syntactic constructions:

(a) an attribute calls forth alternation in the following head noun that begins with a plosive (principally, they can also begin with fricatives), cf. alternation [p] ~ [v] / [b] in the noun *pyn'x* 'soup': *t'us<sup>1</sup> pyn'x<sup>2</sup>* 'beef<sup>1</sup> soup<sup>2</sup>' ~ *čo<sup>1</sup> pyn'x<sup>2</sup>* 'fish<sup>1</sup> soup<sup>2</sup>' ~ *ova<sup>1</sup> byn'x<sup>2</sup>* 'flour<sup>1</sup> soup<sup>2</sup>', and alternation [t'] ~ [z] / [d'] in the noun *t'oŋr* 'head': *kyxkyx<sup>1</sup> t'oŋr<sup>2</sup>* 'swan's<sup>1</sup> head<sup>2</sup>' ~ *yt<sup>1</sup> zoŋr<sup>2</sup>* 'drake's<sup>1</sup> head<sup>2</sup>' ~ *čam<sup>1</sup> d'oŋr<sup>2</sup>* 'eagle's<sup>1</sup> head<sup>2</sup>'.

(b) a direct object calls forth alternation in the following verb that begins with a fricative (as a rule, transitives begin with fricatives, whereas intransitives begin with plosives, see section 2.3), cf. alternation [v] ~ [p] / [b] in the verb *vyŋvyŋ* 'repair, treat': *ki<sup>1</sup> vyŋvyŋ<sup>2</sup>* 'repair<sup>2</sup> a footwear<sup>1</sup>' ~ *tyf<sup>1</sup> pyŋvyŋ<sup>2</sup>* 'repair<sup>2</sup> a house<sup>1</sup>', *oŋla<sup>1</sup> byŋvyŋ<sup>2</sup>* 'treat<sup>2</sup> a child<sup>1</sup>', and alternation [z] ~ [t'] / [d'] in the verb *zosk-* 'break': *laŋ<sup>1</sup> zosk<sup>2</sup>* 'break<sup>2</sup> a ski<sup>1</sup>' ~ *lvr<sup>1</sup> t'osk<sup>2</sup>* 'break<sup>2</sup> a spoon<sup>1</sup>' ~ *ŋir<sup>1</sup> d'osk<sup>2</sup>* 'break<sup>2</sup> a cup<sup>1</sup>'.

As it was mentioned above, the alternations are conditioned by the final segment of the preceding word or morpheme. In this connection it is necessary to take notice of so-called "historical" alternations, which take place after the words or morphemes historically ended in the nasal sonants [n] or [ŋ]. It would be recalled that these sonants are lost in a number of words in *AD* and remained on the whole in *ESD*, *NSD*, *SSD* (see section 2.2). Though lost, the final sonants in question still determine the initial consonant alternation of the following word or morpheme in *AD*. Language data demonstrate that in modern *AD* there is only one kind of alternations which involves alternations both after the lost sonants and after the sonants which have remained in *AD* (= "strong" sonants). On the contrary, what is typical about *SSD* are two different kinds of alternations, one of which is caused by the sonants which are nowadays lost in *AD* (= "weak" sonants) and another by the "strong" ones. *ESD* and *NSD* constitute to a certain extent an intermediate area since they display mixed and unregulated picture of alternations. In *AD* and *SSD* the consonants alternate in conformity with the following rules:

1) consonant alternations for head nouns in the syntactic construction *attribute + head noun* (see Table 2, columns I and II): (a) after unaspirated

plosives [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k], the voiced plosive [d'], vowels, or the sonant [j], unaspirated plosives <AD> [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k] and voiced plosives <SSD> [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] alternate with voiced fricatives [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] respectively, and aspirated plosives <AD, SSD> [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] alternate with voiceless fricatives [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] respectively, (b) after voiced fricatives [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] or voiceless fricatives [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ], unaspirated plosives <AD> [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k], voiced plosives <SSD> [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g], and aspirated plosives <AD, SSD> [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] do not alternate, (c) after sonants: (c<sub>1</sub>) after sonants [m], [n], [n'], [ŋ], [l], unaspirated plosives <AD> [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k] tend to alternate with voiced plosives [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] respectively, and aspirated plosives <AD> [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] tend not to alternate, (c<sub>2i</sub>) after "strong" sonants [m], [n], [n'], [ŋ], [l], voiced plosives <SSD> [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] alternate with voiced fricatives [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] respectively, and aspirated plosives <SSD> [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] alternate with voiceless fricatives [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] respectively, (c<sub>2ii</sub>) after "weak" sonants [n] and [ŋ], voiced plosives <SSD> [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] and aspirated plosives <SSD> [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] do not alternate.

2) consonant alternation for verbs in the syntactic construction *direct object + verb* (see Table 2, columns III and IV): (a) after voiced fricatives [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] or voiceless fricatives [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ], voiced fricatives <AD, SSD> [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] alternate with unaspirated plosives <AD> [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k] or with voiced plosives <SSD> [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] respectively, and voiceless fricatives <AD, SSD> [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] alternate with aspirated plosives [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] respectively, (b) after unaspirated plosives [p], [t], [t'], [k], [k], the voiced plosive [d'], vowels, or the sonant [j], voiced fricatives <AD, SSD> [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] and voiceless fricatives <AD, SSD> [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] do not alternate, (c) after sonants: (c<sub>1</sub>) after sonants [m], [n], [n'], [ŋ], [l], voiced fricatives <AD> [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] tend to alternate with voiced plosives [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] respectively, and voiceless fricatives <AD> [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] tend not to alternate, (c<sub>2i</sub>) after "strong" sonants [m], [n], [n'], [ŋ], [l], voiced fricatives <SSD> [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] and voiceless fricatives <SSD> [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] do not alternate, (c<sub>2ii</sub>) after "weak" sonants [n] and [ŋ], voiced fricatives <SSD> [v], [r], [z], [γ], [ŋ] alternate with voiced plosives [b], [d], [d'], [g], [g] respectively, and voiceless fricatives <SSD> [f], [ř], [s], [x], [χ] alternate with aspirated plosives [p'], [t'], [č], [k'], [k'] respectively.

As one can see, the system of initial consonant alternations in *SSD* is somewhat different from that in *AD* and has a more complex structure. In this dialect the alternations after sonants are not only conditioned by a phonetic nature of the initial consonant and the type of syntactic relationships between words at which boundaries the alternation takes place but also reflect a historical process of sonant loss in Nivkh.



### 3. Morphology

Nivkh is an agglutinating synthetic language which admits, however, polysemy of morphemes. *ESD* displays also some analytical features. One of moot points of Nivkh morphology is a problem of incorporation. The question is about such constructions as *attribute + head word*, cf. *pily<sup>1</sup> du<sup>2</sup>* 'big<sup>1</sup> lake<sup>2</sup>', *kylan<sup>1</sup> d'ryr<sup>2</sup>* 'high<sup>1</sup> tree<sup>2</sup>', and *direct object + verb*, cf. *t'us<sup>1</sup> t'a-<sup>2</sup>* 'roast<sup>2</sup> the meat<sup>1</sup>', *l'rys<sup>1</sup> k'u-<sup>2</sup>* 'kill<sup>2</sup> a wolf<sup>1</sup>', which are sometimes considered as incorporated complexes. This point of view is based on the fact that within these two constructions the words form particularly close units not only syntactically, but also phonologically in terms of alternation of the initial segments of second words (see section 2.5).

It is generally said that Nivkh distinguishes eight word-classes, i.e., nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, graphic words, connective words (including postpositions, sentence connectives, and particles), and interjections. The class 'adjective' does not exist, the semantic function of adjectives being performed by qualitative verbs, which are characterized by all verbal categories, cf. *Taf<sup>1</sup> pila<sup>2</sup>* 'The house<sup>1</sup> is<sup>2</sup> big<sup>2</sup>', *Ungu<sup>1</sup> pot'urd<sup>2</sup>* 'The woman<sup>1</sup> is<sup>2</sup> beautiful<sup>2</sup>'.

#### 3.1. Nouns

A noun form is built in accordance with two basic patterns: (a) *R + suffix(es)*, cf. *mu-γu-ø* {boat-PL-NOM} 'boats', *čay-ø-ux* {water-SG-LOC/ABL} 'in the water', (b) *prefix + R + suffix(es)*, cf. *n'-oγla-gu-ø* {I-child-PL-NOM} 'my children'. A noun has the categories of number, comitative, and case, whose suffixes follow the root in the order *R – number / comitative – case*, cf. *tyf-ku-roχ* {house-PL-DAT/ADD} 'to the houses'. Only possessive markers can cliticize as prefixes on the noun, cf. *č-vit-γaη-ø-ø* {you-book-SG-NOM} 'your book'.

##### 3.1.1. Number and comitative

Currently Nivkh noun morphology distinguishes two numbers, i.e., singular and plural. One can assume that originally there was also a dual number, which traces remain in the forms of comitative, personal pronouns, and imperative. Singular with its *-ø-* marker is opposed to plural with the suffix <AD> *-ku / -γu / -gu / -xu*, <ESD> *-kun / -γun / -gun / -xun*, <ESD, NSD> *-kunu / -γunu / -gunu / -xunu* (one or another phonetic variant of the suffix is chosen according to the rules of morphophonological alternation), cf. *n'ivx-ø* 'man' – *n'ivγ-gu* 'men', *k'u-ø* 'arrow' – *k'u-γun* 'arrows'. In some cases plural forms are derived by reduplication of a stem, cf. *eri* 'river' – *eri+eri* 'rivers', *p'-naχ* {REFL-plank.bed}

'one's plank bed' – *p'-naχ+p'-naχ* {REFL-plank.bed+REFL-plank.bed} 'one's plank beds'. Sometimes both mentioned ways of formation can be used together, cf. *n'ivx-ø* {man-SG} 'man' – *n'ivγ+n'ivγ-gu* {man+man-PL} 'men'. A noun which is not a subject of the sentence (sometimes the one which is a subject) may have a singular form even though it refers to more than one referent, cf. (1), (13).

- (1) Hoğat      n'ivγ-gu      k'u-ø-γir      χa-t  
 then      man-PL      arrow-SG-INST      shoot-CONV:MAN  
 i-γ-d'-γu-da.  
 OBJ-kill-FIN-PL-PTL:PRED  
 'Then, shooting with arrows, the men killed him'.

Collective nouns denote in singular either a single object or a totality of objects, cf. *alğar-ø* 'bead, beads', *hyγr-ø* 'grain of roe, roe', and in plural only a totality of objects, cf. *alğar-kun* 'beads', *hyγr-ku* 'roe'. Mass nouns indicating some substance normally are singular, cf. *raķ-ø* 'groats', *ova-ø* 'flour', *taft'-ø* 'salt', *t'om-ø* 'fat', but if they are used to denote either a specific kind of substance or several objects which include or consist of given substance, they are plural, cf.:

- (2) Hy      t'uyrmu-ø      raķ-xu      ova-gu      taft'-gu      t'om-gu  
 this steamer-SG      groats-PL      flour-PL      salt-PL      fat-PL  
 t'o-r      p'ry-d'.  
 bring-CONV:MAN      come-FIN  
 'This steamer came bringing groats (= 'several kinds or many sacks'), flour (= 'several kinds or many sacks'), salt (= 'many sacks'), fat (= 'several kinds or many vessels').

There are two forms of comitative, dual, in <AD> *-ke / -γe / -ge / -xe*, <ESD, NSD> *-kin / -γin / -gin / -xin*, and plural, in <AD> *-ko / -γo / -go / -xo / -kon / -γon / -gon / -xon*, <ESD, NSD> *-kunu / -γunu / -gunu / -xunu*, cf. (3):

- (3) N'i      ηaķr-ø-ux      k'eķ-xe / k'eķ-xo  
 I      snow-SG-LOC/ABL      fox-COM:DU / fox-COM:PL  
 hyjk-xe / hyjk-xo      zif-ku      n'ry-d'.  
 hare-COM:DU / hare-COM:PL      track-PL      see-FIN  
 'I saw fox's / foxes' and hare's / hares' tracks on the snow'.

##### 3.1.2. Case

There are 8 cases in *AD* and 7 cases in *ESD*, see Table 4. The vocative is not included into the case system. All nouns have the same type of declension.



| case \ dialect      | AD   | ESD   |
|---------------------|--|---|
| nominative          | -ø   | -ø  |
| dative / accusative | -αχ, -χ  | -αχ, -χ                                     |
| comparative         | -yk  | -ak   |
| locative            | -uine/-uin/-in/-un/-n                                  |   |
| locative / ablative | -ιγε/-γε, -ux/-x                                       | -ιγε/-γε, -ux/-x, -xe/-xi                   |
| dative / additive   | -τοχ/-ροχ/-δοχ/-ρχ/-τχ                                 | -τοχ/-ροχ/-δοχ/-ρχ/-τχ                      |
| limitative          | -τογο/-ρογο/-δογο,<br>-t'yky/-řyky,<br>-t'χα/-ρχα/-rğa | -τογο/-ρογο/-δογο                           |
| instrumental        | -kir/-γir/-gir/-xir                                    | -kiř/-γiř/-giř/-xiř,<br>-kis/-γis/-gis/-xis |

Table 4: Case markers

The nominative is the case of a subject, cf. (4), a direct object, cf. (5), an indirect object, cf. (6), a nominal predicate, cf. (7), an adverbial modifier of time, cf. (8), or an attribute, cf. (9).

- (4) N'řvη-ø i-γ-nt.  
man-NOM OBJ-kill-FIN  
'The man killed [sb.]'.
- (5) N'řvη-ø liγř-ø k'u-nt.  
man-NOM wolf-NOM kill-FIN  
'The man killed a wolf'.
- (6) N'i-ø čo-ø hy n'ivx-ø ar-d'.  
I-NOM fish-NOM this man-NOM feed-FIN  
'I fed this man with the fish'.
- (7) Čxyv-ø-an n'řvη-da.  
bear-NOM-PTL:INT man-PTL  
'The bear is also a man'.

- (8) T'olf-ø n'-ytk-ø čo-ø ηαηγ-d.  
summer-NOM my-father-NOM fish-NOM look.for-FIN  
'In summer my father fishes'.
- (9) Axmalk-ø osk-ø au-ø iγr-d.  
father=in=law-NOM hare-NOM voice-NOM use-FIN  
'Father-in-law used hare's voice'.

The forms of the dative / accusative are derived only from animate nouns and are used to express the causee in the causative constructions, cf. (10), a subject of the re-telling converb in the sentences with indirect speech, cf. (147–148), a subject of the purposive converb in *-guin*, cf. (127).

- (10) N'-nanx-ø n'-αχ pxi-roχ vi-gu-d.  
my-elder.sister-NOM I-DAT/ACC forest-DAT/ADD go-CAUS-FIN  
'My elder sister let me go to the forest'.

The comparative is traditionally considered as a case form in Nivkh grammars. Its suffix is taken by the noun which is the object of comparison, cf. (11):

- (11) Tlapi-ø kaηη-ak eγ-d.  
reindeer-NOM dog-COMP be.fast-FIN  
'A reindeer is faster than a dog'.

A special locative case is found only in AD. Using of two phonetic variants of the locative suffix is conditioned by the phonetic nature of the final segment of the stem. Noun stems ending in a consonant take the variant *-uin*, cf. *tyv-uin* 'in the house', while those ending in a vowel form their locatives with *-in*, cf. *eri-in* 'on the river'. Nouns in the locative indicate a place of action, cf. (12), a possessor, cf. (13), or time of action, cf. (14).

- (12) N'γη-ø hy dyv-uin k'o-d'-ra.  
we-NOM this house-LOC sleep-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'We slept in this house'.
- (13) Oyla-gu-in čuz pityγ-ø jiv-ny-d'-ra.  
child-PL-LOC new book-NOM be-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'Children will have new books'.
- (14) N'-ytk-ø 1890 an'-uin pan-d'.  
I-father-NOM 1890 year-LOC be.born-FIN  
'My father was born in 1890'.



The variants of the locative / ablative suffix are chosen according to the same rule: *-ux* occurs after a consonant, cf. *pal-ux* 'from the forest', whereas *-x* is used after a vowel, cf. *n'o-x* 'from the barn'. The locative / ablative has the same meanings as the locative, cf. (15), and can also indicate a starting point of movement, cf. (16), a starting point of time, cf. (17), a person from whom somebody / something is taken, cf. (18), a source of information, etc.

- (15) T'ivlap      čaγ-ux      ηat'x-ø      vezla-d.  
cold      water-LOC/ABL      foot-NOM      cramp-FIN  
'[I] have cramp in [my] foot in the cold water'.
- (16) Umgu-ø      n'o-x      p'u-d'.  
woman-NOM      barn-LOC/ABL      come.out-FIN  
'A woman came out from the barn'.
- (17) Rabotn'ivγ-gu-ø      zavod-uin      n'ybn'in      čas-ux  
worker-PL-NOM      factory-LOC      nine      hour-LOC/ABL  
ηax-toγø      nyd'ny-d'-γu.  
six-LIM      work-FIN-PL  
'Workers work at the factory from nine till six'.
- (18) N'γη-ø      čonγun'ivγ-gu-x      řaηzlu      čo-ø      vo-d'.  
we-NOM      fisherman-PL-LOC/ABL      some      fish-NOM      take-FIN  
'We took some fish from the fishermen'.

The dative / additive can mark a person or an object at which an action is aimed, cf. (19), an addressee of speech, cf. (20), a final point of movement, cf. (21), an object or a place where movement is directed to, cf. (27), a limit / an interval of time up to which / during which an action takes place, etc.

- (19) Ty    n'ivγ-a    t'a    ykyn-doχ    t'axta-ja!  
this    man-VOC    not    elder.brother-DAT/ADD    be.angry-IMP  
'This man, don't be angry at [your] elder brother!'.
- (20) N'in-doχ    p'-vo-x    t'amdid    xer-ja!  
we-DAT/ADD    REFL-village-LOC/ABL    what    tell-IMP  
'Tell us, what [is going on] in your village!'.
- (21) N'i-ø    vvn'-ø    d'yr-doχ    myr-d'.  
I-NOM    copper-NOM    brim-DAT/ADD    rise-FIN  
'I rose to the brim of the copper'.

The meaning of the limitative is in many respects similar to that of the dative / additive though seems narrower. Nouns in the limitative can indicate a terminative point of movement, cf. (22), or of time of action, cf. (23).

- (22) N'i-ø      eri-rχa      vi-ny-d'-ra.  
I-NOM      river-LIM      go-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'I shall go up to the river'.
- (23) Č-ytk-ø      haimηaf-toγo      hunv-nd-ra.  
you-father-NOM      old.age-LIM      live-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'Your father lived up to old age'.

The instrumental is used when it is a question of an instrument of action, cf. (24), a material of an object, cf. (25), a manner of action, cf. (26).

- (24) N'-ytk-ø      kax-kir      k'otr-ø      k'u-d'.  
I-father-NOM      spear-INST      bear-NOM      kill-FIN  
'My father killed the bear with a spear'.
- (25) N'i-ø      laηr-ø      ηγγr-kir      ki-ø      lyt-t'.  
I-NOM      seal-NOM      skin-INST      footwear-NOM      make-FIN  
'I made [my] footwear of seal's skin'.
- (26) Mer-ø      ηafk-ø      mačala-ø      k'oğa-gir      to-d'.  
we-NOM      friend-NOM      fellow-NOM      heart-INST      cry-FIN  
'Our friend is crying in his heart'.

When applying to an interlocutor, the corresponding noun occurs in the form of the vocative and takes the suffixes <AD, ESD> *-a* / *-aj*, <AD> *-o* / *-ğo*, cf. *Ytyk-a!* 'Father!', *Ty<sup>1</sup> nivγ-ğo<sup>2</sup>!* 'This<sup>1</sup> man<sup>2</sup>!'. Sometimes so-called "non-evidential" form with the suffix <AD, ESD> *-kan* / *-ğan* / *-gan* / *-χan* is included into the case paradigm. It is used when someone is talking about something by hearsay:

- (27) Ty    t'ulf-ø    Muzgun-χan    miřn-ø    wo-roχ  
this    winter-NOM    Muzgun-NEVID    we-NOM    village-DAT/ADD  
lay-iny-vur    it-nt.  
visit-MOD-CONV:RTEL    say-FIN  
'[They] say [that] this winter Muzgun is going to visit our village'.

Spatial and some other relationships between a noun and a verb may be specified by postpositions which follow the noun and can take case suffixes instead of a noun, cf. (28–29):



- (28) Yvn'-ø      mu      χomi-in      hum-d'.  
 oar-NOM      boat      on.one.side-LOC      be-FIN  
 'The oar is on one side of the boat'.
- (29) Myt'kylk      eγŋ-ø      ŋav-ġar-ř      t'aķ mi      fi-d.  
 little      child-NOM      swaddle-RES-CONV:MAN      cradle in      be-FIN  
 'Being swaddled, a little child is in the cradle'.

When a set of words form a comitative group, the case marker normally cliticizes on the last element of the group, cf. (30):

- (30) K'ymlly-ke      p'-ytyx-xo      p'-ymyx-xo-doχ  
 think-CONV:TEMP      REFL-father-COM:PL      REFL-mother-COM:PL-DAT/ADD  
 k'it-r      vi-iny-d'.  
 run.away-CONV:MAN      go-MOD-FIN  
 'Having thought, [you] are going to run away to your fathers and mothers'.

### 3.1.3. Noun derivation

The following three means of noun derivation are fairly common: suffixation, substantivization, and compounding of stems.

Nouns are derived from verbal stems by means of the following suffixes:

(a) <AD> -s, <ESD> -r indicating an instrument of action, cf. ġov- 'draw up' → k'ovs 'scoop', a subject of action, cf. j-ytŋu- 'keep watch [over sth.] → ytŋus 'watchman', an object of action, cf. e-zrov- 'nail [sth.] → t'rovs 'nail', a result of action, cf. χov- 'roll up [sth.] → χovs 'package'.

(b) <AD, ESD> -f indicating a place of action, cf. ler- 'play' → lerf 'place for games', a result of action, cf. p'yt- 'crackle' → p'ytf 'crack', a place which is characterized by some quality, cf. kaŋala- 'be white' → kaŋalaf 'white place'.

(c) <AD, ESD> -k indicating an object / person, cf. hyjm- 'grow old' → hyjmk 'old man'.

Nouns are also derived from the finite verbal forms with the suffix <AD> -d' / -t', <ESD> -d / -nd / -nt by substantivization. Derived nouns have all nominal categories and may denote an action, cf. lud' '[someone] sings / sang' → lud' 'singing', an object of action, cf. in'd' '[someone] eats / ate' → in'd' 'food', a result of action, cf. p'erd' '[someone] becomes / became tired' → p'erd' 'tiredness', an instrument of action, cf. ŋarġod' '[someone] snares / snared' → ŋarġod' 'snare', an object characterized by some quality, cf. kaład' '[something] is / was green' → kaład' 'verdure'.

The parts of compound nouns may combine in accordance with the patterns of the following phrases: (a) *attribute + head noun*, cf. t'ıyr 'fire' + mu 'boat' → t'ıyrmu 'steamer', pila 'big' + čo 'fish' → pilačo 'sturgeon', (b) *direct object + attribute (participle) + head noun*, cf. k'e 'seine' + j-ot 'knitting [sth.]' + nux 'needle' → k'eotnux 'needle with which seine is knitted', huty 'middle' + fi 'being [swh.]' + tun' 'finger' → hutyfidun' 'middle finger'. If nouns are compounded in conformity with the pattern *direct object + verb*, the deriving process is accompanied either by adding the suffixes <AD> -s, <ESD> -r, <AD, ESD> -f, -ŋ, cf. čo 'fish' + ŋyŋ- 'hunt' + -s → čoŋyŋs 'instrument for fishing', T'axta 'Taxta' + fi- 'be [swh.]' + -ŋ → t'axtfiŋ 'person who lives in Taxta', or by substantivization, cf. čat'f 'bog' + fid' '[someone] is / was [swh.] → čat'fp'id' 'pike'. Compounding of stems may also occur according to the pattern *subject + verb*, cf. ŋyki 'tail' + kyl- 'be long' → ŋykıŋyl 'duck with a long tail'. In this case a stem of the compound word sometimes takes the suffix -f, cf. ŋirgu 'dishes' + hum- 'be' + -f → ŋirguŋumf 'cupboard'.

### 3.2. Numerals

Numerals are represented mainly by cardinal numerals, which form a counting system divided into 26 classes with different numeral forms for each class. Numerals from 19 classes are used only for counting certain objects, e.g. boats, sledges, nets, poles, etc. Numerals from other classes are used for counting objects united into sets on the basis of some sign, e.g. paired objects (eyes, ears, hands, legs, skis, skulls, etc.), small round objects (arrow-heads, bullets, teeth, nuts, berries, eggs, etc.), thin flat objects (leaves, blankets, robes, shirts, etc.). In addition, there is a class for counting all objects that do not fit into any other class.

The principal phonetic distinctions are fixed for the numerals up to 'five' inclusively. They can be segmented into two components: the first component, a numeral, is common for corresponding numerals of all classes, while the second one, a classifier, is specific for each class. The corresponding numerals of different classes therefore differ from one another first of all by their second components, which are often relatable to a noun denoting an object which counting given class is used for, cf. ču 'family' – n'izču 'one (family)', mizču 'two (families)', t'ezču 'three (families)', nyzču 'four (families)', t'ozču 'five (families)', ar 'bunch of dried fish' – n'ar 'one (bunch of dried fish)', mer 'two (bunches of dried fish)', t'ar 'three (bunches of dried fish)', nyr 'four (bunches of dried fish)', t'or 'five (bunches of dried fish)'.

Dialectal differences are found only in three classes of numerals, namely, those for counting people, animals (see Table 5), and families.



| numerals<br>meaning | for counting people |                 | for counting animals |                 |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
|                     | AD                  | ESD             | AD                   | ESD             |
| 'one'               | <i>n'in, n'en</i>   | <i>n'enŋ</i>    | <i>n'yn'</i>         | <i>n'an</i>     |
| 'two'               | <i>men</i>          | <i>menŋ</i>     | <i>mor</i>           | <i>mar</i>      |
| 'three'             | <i>t'aqr</i>        | <i>t'aqr</i>    | <i>t'or</i>          | <i>t'aqr</i>    |
| 'four'              | <i>nyr</i>          | <i>nyrŋ</i>     | <i>nur</i>           | <i>nur</i>      |
| 'five'              | <i>t'or</i>         | <i>t'orŋ</i>    | <i>t'or</i>          | <i>t'or</i>     |
| 'six'               | <i>ŋax</i>          | <i>ŋax</i>      | <i>ŋax</i>           | <i>ŋax</i>      |
| 'seven'             | <i>ŋamk</i>         | <i>ŋamk</i>     | <i>ŋamk</i>          | <i>ŋamk</i>     |
| 'eight'             | <i>minr</i>         | <i>minr</i>     | <i>minr</i>          | <i>minr</i>     |
| 'nine'              | <i>n'yn'ben</i>     | <i>n'andorŋ</i> | <i>n'yn'ben</i>      | <i>n'andorŋ</i> |
| 'ten'               | <i>mxo</i>          | <i>mxoŋ</i>     | <i>mxoŋ, mxos</i>    | <i>mxoŋ</i>     |

Table 5: Two classes of numerals

Numerals up to 'fifty' divisible by 'ten' contain the component *-xo / -yo*, cf. *mxoqr* 'ten', *meyoqr* 'twenty', *čxoqr* 'thirty', while those from 'sixty' to 'ninety' – the component *-mxo / -nyo*, cf. *ŋaynyoqr* 'sixty', *ŋamknyoqr* 'seventy', *minrnyoqr* 'eighty'. Numerals undivisible by 'ten' can be segmented into a 'ten', a numeral from the corresponding class, and the component *-urk / -rk*, cf. *mxoqr-n'aqr-urk* 'eleven', *meyoqr-t'aqr-urk* 'twenty three', *ŋamknyoqr-minr-urk* 'seventy eight'. Numerals divisible by 'hundred' (up to 'nine hundred') include the component *-raŋk / -řaŋk*, cf. *n'-řaŋk* 'one hundred', *me-raŋk* 'two hundred', *t'-raŋk* 'three hundred'. The syntactic peculiarity of the numerals up to 'five' is that in counting phrases they are in postposition to the counted nouns and are declined according to the rules of noun declension (with the head noun in the nominative), cf. (31–33), whereas all other numerals are always placed in preposition, cf. (31), and are declined only in the isolated position, cf. (33).

- (31) Petr-ux            *ŋax*            *pityaŋ-ø*            ha-ķavr-ř  
 Peter-LOC/ABL      six            book-NOM            do.SO-NEG-CONV:MAN  
*pityaŋ-ø*            *t'oqr-ø*            iv-d.  
 book-NOM            five-NOM            have-FIN  
 'Does not having six books, Peter has five books'.

- (32) Imŋ-ø    hy    *ruv-gu-ø*            *men-dox*    ror            p'ry-d'-yu.  
 they-NOM    that    brother-PL-NOM      two-DAT/ADD    together      come-FIN-PL  
 'They came together to those two brothers'.
- (33) Ty    n'ivγ-gu-ø            *mu-ø*            *t'om-γir*            čo-ø  
 this    man-PL-NOM            boat-NOM            five-INST            fish-NOM  
*ŋyŋ-d'-yu*            *hyd'-yu*            *ŋamk-xir*            čo-ø            *ŋyŋ-d'-yu*.  
 look.for-FIN-PL            that-PL            seven-INST            fish-NOM            look.for-FIN-PL  
 'These men are fishing on five boats, those [men] are fishing on seven [ones]'.

The numeral 'one' from different classes may have a function of the indefinite article (the function of the definite article in the corresponding cases is carried out by the demonstrative pronoun *hyd'* 'this, that'), i.e., they are used when speaking about somebody / something for the first time, cf. (34):

- (34) Vi-ke                    *vo*            *n'aqr*            n'ry-d'.  
 go-CONV:TEMP            village            one            see-FIN  
 'When [he] was going, [he] saw a village'.

The meanings of ordinal numerals are expressed descriptively. The corresponding phrases include the information of spatial position of the counting object: *k'eqr<sup>1</sup> γx<sup>2</sup> p'<sup>3</sup> dyf<sup>4</sup>* 'house<sup>4</sup> situated<sup>3</sup> in<sup>2</sup> the end<sup>2</sup> of<sup>1</sup> the upper<sup>1</sup> side<sup>1</sup> of<sup>1</sup> the village<sup>1</sup> (= the first house)'. ESD, however, displays some elements of the ordinal counting system: several forms of ordinal numerals include the corresponding cardinal numeral and the component *-id*, cf. *menŋ-id* 'the second (man)', *mar-id* 'the second (animal)', cf. (35):

- (35) *Marid*            *γe-ja!*  
 second            take-IMP  
 'Take the second [dog]!'.

### 3.3. Pronouns

There are 6 classes of pronouns, namely, personal, demonstrative, reflexive-determinative, determinative, interrogative-relative, and indefinite pronouns. Nivkh distinguishes the following personal pronouns:

- 1SG <AD, ESD, NSD> *n'i* 'I'.  
 1DU <AD> *meγi / mege*, <ESD> *meŋ*, <NSD> *memak* 'I and you'.  
 1PL <AD, NSD> *n'yn*, <ESD> *n'in* 'we [exclusive]',



- <AD, NSD> *mer / mir*, <ESD> *meŕn / miŕn*, *min* 'we [inclusive]'.  
 2SG <AD, ESD, NSD> *či* 'you'.  
 2PL <AD> *čyŕn*, <ESD, NSD> *čin* 'you'.  
 3SG <AD> *if*, <AD, NSD> *i*, <ESD> *jaŕ* 'he / she'.  
 3PL <AD> *imŕ, ivŕ, inŕ*, <ESD> *iŕn*, <ESD, NSD> *in* 'they'.

3SG and 3PL personal pronouns in the nominative are used only with regard to a man, cf. (36), or in the case of anthropomorphization.

- (36) *N'yŕn*      *utku-gu*      *čo*      *ŕyŕn-t*      *vi-ny-d'-ra*.  
 we      man-PL      fish      look.for-CONV:PURP      go-FUT-FIN-PTL  
 'We, men, will go fishing'.

People, animals, and animated objects may be also indicated by the demonstrative pronoun *hyd'* 'this, that', or rarely *tyd'* 'that', cf. (37):

- (37) *Yxt*      *vyj-un*      *megi* *ytyk* *paχ*      *hum-d'-ra*. *Hyd'* *řomyr-ja...*  
 precipice      under-LOC      we      father stone be-FIN-PTL      this      bring-IMP  
 'There is our father's stone under the precipice. Bring it...'

All plural personal pronouns can take the plural suffix, cf. *n'yŕn-ø*, *n'yŕn-gu* 'we', *čyŕn-ø*, *čyŕn-gu* 'you', *imŕ-ø*, *imŕ-gu* 'they', and have the same case system as nouns. 3SG pronoun has both regular and suppletive case forms, cf. *if-ø* {he/she-NOM} 'he / she' – *if-toχ*, *e-rχ* {he/she-DAT/ADD} 'to him / her'.

Demonstrative pronouns may be divided into three groups within each of those they are differentiated basically according to the spatial remoteness of the object from the speaker (practically all demonstratives have common roots with the locative adverbs): (a) pronouns indicating a person or an object, cf. <AD> *tyd'*, <ESD> *tud*, *tunt*, *tynt* 'this, the nearest to the speaker, visible and available in the present situation', <AD> *hyd'*, <ESD> *hud*, *hunt*, *hynt* 'this, that, more distant from the speaker, known and recently referred to in the previous discourse but possibly unavailable in the present situation', <AD> *ad'*, <ESD> *ahud*, *ehyd*, *ehynt* 'that, even more distant from the speaker but visible', <AD> *aehyd*, <ESD> *aixnt* 'that, the most distant', <AD> *kud'*, <ESD> *kud*, *kunt* 'that, absent in the present situation, formerly referred to in the previous discourse', (b) pronouns indicating a qualitative description of a person or an object, cf. <AD> *toŕad'*, *tunryd'*, <ESD> *tymd'id*, *tymrad* 'such, the nearest to the speaker', <AD> *hoŕad'*, *hunryd'*, <ESD> *hymd'id*, *hymrad* 'such, more distant from the speaker or absent in the present situation', (c) pronouns indicating greater or less amount of persons or objects, cf. <AD> *tuŕs*, <ESD> *tunks* 'so much (persons or objects close to the speaker)', <AD> *tunrymk* 'so much, a lot of

(persons or objects close to the speaker)', <AD> *huŕs*, <ESD> *hunks* 'so much (persons or objects more distant from the speaker or absent in the present situation)', <AD> *hunrymk* 'so much, a lot of (persons or objects more distant from the speaker or absent in the present situation)'. Demonstratives from the groups (a) and (b) with the suffix <AD> *-d'*, <ESD> *-d / -nd / -nt* are used pronominally, cf. (38), and are characterized by the categories of number and case, cf. *hyd'-ø-ø* {this-SG-NOM} 'this' – *hyd'-ŕy-ø* {this-PL-NOM} 'these', *tyd'-ø-ø* {this-SG-NOM} 'this' – *tyd'-ø-ŕir* {this-SG-INST} 'by this'. Occurring without the final suffix, they are used in the function of attribute, cf. (39).

- (38) *Tyd'-ø-ø*      *ajma-ja!*  
 this-SG-NOM      look-IMP  
 'Look at this!'

- (39) *N'i*      *ty*      *urk*      *vi-ny-d'-ra*.  
 I      this      night      go-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED  
 'I am leaving this night'.

The meaning of the reflexive-determinative pronoun <AD, ESD, NSD> *p'i* is conditioned by its syntactic position: being a subject, it denotes 'myself, yourself, himself, etc.', cf. (40), being an attribute (usually incorporated into a noun) it denotes 'one's (my, your, his, etc.)', e.g. *p'-mu* 'one's boat', cf. also (41), being an object (in the nominative usually incorporated into a verb) it denotes 'oneself (myself, yourself, himself, etc.)', e.g. *p'-su-* 'wash oneself', cf. also (41).

- (40) *Hat*      *urymu-nt*.      *Čxyf*      *k'u-ra*      *p'i*      *mu-ra*.  
 so      fight-FIN      bear      kill-FIN      himself      die-FIN  
 'So [he] fought. [He] killed a bear, [he] himself died'.

- (41) *Ymyk*      *p'e-rχ*      *p'-oŕla*      *bo-d'*.  
 mother      herself-DAT/ADD      REFL-child      take-FIN  
 'Mother took her child to herself'.

In its first meaning the pronoun *p'i* can be used in relative sentences instead of any personal pronoun when the subject of the dependent verbal form (= participle) is coreferential with that of the head verbal form, cf. (42). The pronoun *p'i* is not marked for number, but occurring as a subject or an object, it is marked for case in the same way as nouns, cf. (41).

- (42) *N'i*      *p'i*      *zock*      *t'ačo*      *vykz-d'*.  
 I      myself      break:PTC      knife      throw.out-FIN  
 'I threw out the knife broken by me'.



The class of determinatives embrace the following ones: <AD> *syk, syk<sup>m</sup>*, <ESD> *sik, sik<sup>m</sup>* 'all', <AD> *enad*', <ESD> *enant* 'other, another', <AD> *aŋhagin*, <ESD> *naŋt'iŋ*, <AD> *sid'hagin*, <ESD> *nudziŋ*, <AD> *rad'hagin*, <ESD> *t'adziŋ* 'any, every, each'. A great number of pronouns is derived with the determinative particle <AD> *-hagin*, <ESD> *-t'iŋ* from interrogative-relative pronouns. Being used pronominally, most determinatives have regular forms of number and case, cf. *syk-θ-θ* {all-SG-NOM} 'all' – *syk-xu-θ* {all-PL-NOM} 'all, everyone', *nud-θ-θ-ziŋ* {what-SG-NOM-PTL:DETERM} 'any' – *nud-θ-rox-ziŋ* {what-SG-DAT/ADD-PTL:DETERM} 'to anyone'. As one can see, number and case suffixes come before the particle.

There are the following interrogative-relative pronouns: <AD> *aŋ, aŋ*, <ESD> *t'aunt / t'aud*, <ESD, NSD> *nar* 'who', <AD> *sid*', <ESD> *nunt / nud, runt / rud*, <NSD> *rut* 'what', <AD> *řad*', <ESD> *t'ad* 'which', <AD> *řaŋs*, <ESD> *t'aŋs*, *t'aŋs* 'how many'. All the pronouns, except those in <AD> *řaŋs*, <ESD> *t'aŋs*, *t'aŋs* 'how many', are marked for number and case, cf. *řad'-θ-θ* {which-SG-NOM} 'which [one]' – *řad'-γu-θ* {which-PL-NOM} 'which [ones]', *sid'-θ-θ* {who-SG-NOM} 'who' – *sid'-θ-rox* {who-SG-DAT/ADD} 'whom'.

Indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative-relative pronouns with the indefinite particles <AD, ESD> *-lu, -laŋ*, cf. <AD> *aŋlu, aŋlaŋ*, <ESD> *t'audlu, taudlaŋ* 'someone, somebody', <AD> *sid'lu, sid'laŋ*, <ESD> *nudlu, nudlaŋ, rudlu, rudlaŋ* 'something', <AD> *řad'lu, řad'laŋ*, <ESD> *t'adlu, t'adlaŋ* 'some, one or another', <AD> *řaŋslu, řaŋslaŋ*, <ESD> *t'aŋslu, t'aŋslaŋ* 'any'. Like the interrogative-relative pronouns, these pronouns, except those in <AD> *řaŋslu, řaŋslaŋ*, <ESD> *t'aŋslu, t'aŋslaŋ* 'any', have forms of number and case, the corresponding suffix being occurred before the particle, cf. *aŋ-θ-θ-lu* {who-SG-NOM-PTL:INDEF} 'someone' – *aŋ-γu-θ-lu* {who-PL-NOM-PTL:INDEF} 'someones', *sid'-θ-θ-lu* {what-SG-NOM-PTL:INDEF} – *sid'-θ-γir-lu* {what-SG-INST-PTL:INDEF} 'with something'.

Nivkh does not have possessive pronouns. Possession is expressed with the following: (a) dual and plural personal pronouns in the nominative, cf. *n'ŋŋ<sup>1</sup> doŋo<sup>2</sup>* 'our<sup>1</sup> kitchen<sup>2</sup> garden<sup>2</sup>', *čín mu* 'your boat', (b) the prefixes *n'-, č-, p'-* derived from the 1SG and 2SG personal pronouns *n'i* 'I', *či* 'you', and the reflexive-determinative pronoun *p'i* 'one's (my, your, his, etc.)', cf. *n'-raf* 'my house', *č-ykyn* 'your elder brother', *p'-vityaŋ* 'one's book', (c) the prefixes *i-, j-, v-, e-, vi- / ve-* derived from different dialectal forms of the 3SG personal pronoun, cf. *i-vit* 'his body', *j-ymyk* 'his mother', *v-utku* 'her husband', *e-č'ax* 'his spear', *vi-nanak* 'his elder sister'.

### 3.4. Verbs

There are two basic patterns of verbal form building: (a) *R + suffix(es)*, (b) *prefix + R + suffix(es)*, with the obvious tendency of suffixation. Only object,

reflexive, and reciprocal markers cliticize on the verb as prefixes. Most commonly, the suffixes follow the root in the order *R – transitive – negative – tense / aspectual – causative – modal – evidential – mood – number*. More than one aspectual or modal marker may appear on the verb. Consider the verbal form consisting of 8 morphemes: *j-uski-ivu-gu-iny-t'γγm-d-γun* {OBJ-pay-IMPRF-CAUS-MOD-EVID-FIN-PL} '[I see that they] are going to demand [that he] pays [for sth.]'.

Intransitivity / transitivity of the verb is reflected in its phonetic structure. As seen above in section 2.3, intransitives begin with plosives, while transitives – with fricatives. However, there exists a small class of verbs which carry the transitivizing suffix <AD, ESD> *-u-*, cf. *pol-* 'fall' → *vol-u* 'throw down [sth.]', *t'oz-* 'go out (about a fire)' → *zoz-u* 'put out [sth.]'. In the group of the most ancient verbs the pronominal markers of a direct object *j-, i-, e-* are cliticized as a prefix on the verb, cf. *j-ar-* 'feed [sb.]', *i-x-* 'kill [sb.]', *e-v-* 'hold [sb. / sth.]'. Some verbs denoting a place of action contain the component <AD> *hur-*, <ESD> *hus'-* 'here, there', which is omitted when a direct object appears in the sentence, cf. *hur-tov-* 'tie [to sth.]' – *čxas tov-* 'tie to a pole', *hur-xer-* 'lean [against sth.]' – *ŋaŋs k'er-* 'lean against a wall'.

#### 3.4.1. Aspect

The aspectual characteristic of a verb is determined by the lexical meaning of the verbal stem and interaction of the latter with the aspectual markers which transform its original meaning. Further we deal with following situational types: (i) states, i.e., durative situations not involving change across time, stable or temporary, (ii) processes, i.e., durative situations involving change across time, unlimited or limited, (iii) events, i.e., situations accomplished as a result of preceding process, completed or punctual situations. The most common aspectual suffixes are <AD, ESD> *-ivu-*, <AD> *-kyt- / -γγt-*, <ESD> *-ğar- / -χar-*.

The suffix *-ivu-* marks the following meanings: (a) imperfective aspect – when included into a verb referred to a state or an event, the suffix converts it to a process, cf. *Vukvuku-d* {be.dark-FIN} 'It is / was dark' → *Vukvuku-ivu-d* {be.dark-IMPRF-FIN} 'It is / was getting dark', *Jaŋ oz-d* {he stand-FIN} 'He stood up' → *Jaŋ oz-ivu-d* {he stand-IMPRF-FIN} 'He is / was standing up', (b) ingressive aspect – when included into a verb referred to a process, the suffix marks the meaning of beginning of the process, cf. *Jaŋ lu-d* {he sing-FIN} 'He sings / sang' → *Jaŋ lu-ivu-d* {he sing-INGR-FIN} 'He begins / began to sing'.

The suffix <AD> *-kyt- / -γγt-*, <ESD> *-ğar- / -χar-* marks the meanings of the following aspects: (a) perfective aspect – when included into a verb referred to a state or a limited process, the suffix converts it to an event, cf. *Vukvuku-d* {be.dark-FIN} 'It is / was dark' → *Vukvuku-ğar-d* {be.dark-PRF-FIN} 'It has got dark',



*Jaŋ pal d'u-d* {he/she floor wash-FIN} 'He / she washes / washed the floor' → *Jaŋ pal d'u-ġar-d* {he/she floor wash-PRF-FIN} 'He / she has washed the floor', (b) intensive aspect – when included into a verb referred to an event, the suffix marks the meaning of intensity of the event, cf. *Ki vaχt-t* {footwear wear.out-FIN} 'The footwear is worn out' → *Ki vaχt'-ġar-d* {footwear wear.out-INT-FIN} 'The footwear is entirely worn out', (c) resultative aspect (in *ESD*) – when included into a verb referred to a limited process or a certain event with the original diathesis being changed, the suffix marks the resultative meaning, see section 3.4.2, (d) semelfactive aspect – when included into a verb referred to a multiplicative process, the suffix marks the meaning of a single occurrence of the situation, cf. *Řy odr-d* {door squeek:MULT-FIN} 'The door squeeks / squeaked (many times)' → *Řy odr-ġar-d* {door squeek:MULT-SMLF-FIN} 'The door squeaked (once)'. Semelfactives may be also derived from the onomatopoeic graphic words by means of the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'do so', cf. *ŋau ŋau* 'mewing' → *ŋau ha-* 'mew (once)', *k'af k'af* 'chattering' → *k'af ha-* 'chatter (once)'.  
The following three derivations of multiplicatives are fairly common: (a) from initial semelfactives by reduplication of the verbal stem, cf. *za-* 'knock (once)' → *za+za-* 'knock (many times)', *jama-* 'look at [sb. / sth.] (once)' → *jama+jama-* 'look at [sb. / sth.] (many times)', (b) from simple verbal stems which do not have semelfactive meaning by reduplication of those stems, cf. *xit'i-* 'raise' → *xit'i+xit'i-* 'wave (many times)', *varġo-* 'put [sth.] on the side' → *varġo+varġo-* 'swing on the waves (many times)', (c) from onomatopoeic graphic words either (c<sup>1</sup>) with the suffix <AD> *-ju-*, <ESD> *-jo-* attached to one of the two elements of the graphic word with the other element being omitted, cf. *paχ paχ* 'clapping' → *paġ-ju-* 'clap (many times)', *k'eŋr k'eŋr* 'squeaking' → *k'eŋr-jo-* 'squeak (many times)', or (c<sup>2</sup>) by turning a graphic word into a verb capable of taking different verbal markers, cf. *ŋau ŋau* 'mewing' → *ŋau+ŋau-* 'mew (many times)', *k'af k'af* 'chattering' → *k'af+k'af-* 'chatter (many times)', or (c<sup>3</sup>) by combination of the two above patterns (c<sup>1</sup>) and (c<sup>2</sup>), cf. *k'af k'af* 'chattering' → *k'af+k'av-jo-* 'chatter (many times)'.

The meaning of a durative state or process may be emphasized by the analytical construction built according to the pattern <AD> *Stem-r/-t + hunm-*, <ESD> *Stem-ř/-t/-n + hunv-*, the second component being the auxiliary verb 'be', cf. *Jaŋ hup-ř hunv-nd* {he sit-CONV:MAN be-FIN} 'He is sitting'. The intensity of some quality may be expressed by the suffixes <AD, ESD> *-kar-*, *-katn-*, cf. *kyl-* 'be long' → *kyl-kar-* 'be very long', *tak-* 'be warm' → *tak-katn-* 'be very warm'. The deminutive meaning is marked by the suffix *-jo-*, cf. (43):

- (43) Ymyk      čaj      *χavu-jo-d*.  
mother      tea      warm-DEMN-FIN  
'Mother warmed the tea up a little'.

There is also an "emphatic" verbal form, which is derived with the suffix <AD, ESD> *-la-*. Qualitative verbs carrying this suffix indicate some signs of persons / objects and emphasize that other persons / objects do not show these signs, cf.:

- (44) Ty              du              *veu-la-d'*.  
this              lake              be.deep-EMPH-FIN  
'This lake is deep (in contrast with other, not deep lakes)'.

Non-qualitative verbs with the suffix *-la-* have a meaning of constant characteristic of a person and as a rule also contain the usitative suffix <AD, ESD> *-xy-*, cf. *raju<sup>1</sup> n'ivx<sup>2</sup>* {write man} 'a man<sup>2</sup> who<sup>1</sup> is<sup>1</sup> writing<sup>1</sup>' → *raju-xy-la<sup>1</sup> n'ivx<sup>2</sup>* {write-USIT-EMPH man} 'a man<sup>2</sup> who<sup>1</sup> usually<sup>1</sup> writes<sup>1</sup>', *lu<sup>1</sup> umgu<sup>2</sup>* {sing woman} 'a woman<sup>2</sup> who<sup>1</sup> is<sup>1</sup> singing<sup>1</sup>' → *lu-xy-la<sup>1</sup> umgu<sup>2</sup>* {sing-USIT-EMPH woman} 'a woman<sup>2</sup> who<sup>1</sup> usually<sup>1</sup> sings<sup>1</sup>', see also below.

The iterative marker, i.e., the suffix <AD> *-řa-* / *-t'a-*, <ESD> *-řa-* / *-t'a-* / *-na-*, occupies in the verb the same order as the tense marker, cf. (45a–b):

- (45) a. Tolvaj-ŋy                      n'in p'xi-roχ                      *vi-ø-d-ŋun*.  
summer-CONV:TEMP              we forest-DAT/ADD              go-NFUT-FIN-PL  
'In summer we went to the forest (once)'.
- b. Tolvaj-ŋy                      n'in p'xi-roχ                      *vi-t'a-d-ŋun*.  
summer-CONV:TEMP              we forest-DAT/ADD              go-ITER-FIN-PL  
'In summer we went to the forest (repeatedly)'.

The choice of the variant of the iterative suffix is determined by agreement of the verbal form in person and number with the subject in both dialects and also by tense / mood of the finite verb in *ESD* (see section 4.2.4).

The suffix <AD, ESD> *-xy-* is considered to be an usitative marker, cf.:

- (46) Ena              čam-gun              milk-xun              *mu-ø-xy-ta*.  
other              shaman-PL              devil-PL              turn.into-NFUT-USIT-FIN  
'Other shamans usually turned into devils'.

Incorporation of the stem of the negative verb <AD> *j-ŋŋzu-*, <ESD> *j-aχzu-* 'cannot' into the verbal form results in a meaning 'it is not like him', cf. (47):

- (47) Jaŋ              arak              *ra-xsu-ø-nt*.  
he              vodka              drink-USIT-NFUT-FIN  
'He does not drink vodka'.



## 3.4.2. Voice

Basically, the opposition of active / passive does not exist in Nivkh. Nevertheless, the verbal forms with the suffix <AD> *-kyta-* / *-γyta-* / *-xyta-*, <ESD> *-ġar-* / *-ḡar-* express the resultative meaning, cf. *Jaṇ pal d'u-d* {she floor wash-FIN} 'She washed the floor' → *Pal d'u-ġar-d* {floor wash-RES-FIN} 'The floor is washed'.

Reflexive verbal forms are derived with the reflexive-determinative pronoun *p'i* which cliticize on the verb as a prefix. Typically, reflexive verbs code both an action aimed at the subject, cf. *lyv-* 'hide [sb. / sth.]' → *p'-lyv-* 'hide [oneself]', *ryu-* 'teach [sb.]' → *p'-ryu-* 'study', and an action performing in the interests of the subject, cf. *ivry-* 'clear up [sth.]' → *p'-ivry-* 'clear up [for oneself]', *j-ot-* 'sew [sth.]' → *p'-ot-* 'sew [for oneself]'. The same derivational pattern is used for reciprocation, which can be applied only to the transitives with the pronominal prefixes *j-*, *i-*, *e-*. The last ones are replaced by the reciprocal prefixes <AD> *v-*, <ESD> *v-*, *o-*, *u-*, cf. *j-or-* 'meet [sb.]' → *v-or-* 'meet [each other]', *j-aḡaḡ-* 'disturb [sb.]' → *v-aḡaḡ-* 'disturb [each other]', *e-smo-* 'love [sb.]' → *o-smu-* 'love [each other]'. Another way of expressing reciprocal meaning, primarily pertaining to the transitives without pronominal prefixes, is by using the words *p'-ṇaḡk+ṇaḡk[xu]* {REFL-friend+friend-[PL]}, *p'-ṇaḡk-[xu]-p'-ṇaḡk-[xu]* {REFL-friend-[PL]-REFL-friend-[PL]}, *orḡ+orḡ*, *rolo* 'each other', cf. (48):

- |      |                             |                   |               |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (48) | <i>Imṇ</i>                  | <i>p'ṇaḡkṇaḡk</i> | <i>lov-d'</i> |
|      | they                        | each.other        | imitate-FIN   |
|      | 'They imitated each other'. |                   |               |

Both intransitives and transitives are made causative by the suffix <AD> *-ku-* / *-gu-*, <ESD> *-ṇ-* / *-ṇg-* / *-k-* / *-g-* / *-ku-* / *-gu-*, cf. (49a-b). The noun expressing the causee in a causative construction takes the dative-accusative suffix *-aḡ*.

- |      |    |                                 |                    |                    |                 |
|------|----|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| (49) | a. | <i>N'i</i>                      | <i>magazin-doḡ</i> | <i>vi-d'</i>       |                 |
|      |    | I                               | shop-DAT/ADD       | go-FIN             |                 |
|      |    | 'I went to the shop'.           |                    |                    |                 |
|      | b. | <i>If</i>                       | <i>n'-aḡ</i>       | <i>magazin-doḡ</i> | <i>vi-gu-d'</i> |
|      |    | he                              | I-DAT/ACC          | shop-DAT/ADD       | go-CAUS-FIN     |
|      |    | 'He made me to go to the shop'. |                    |                    |                 |

## 3.4.3. Mood

Only indicative and imperative moods are distinguished in Nivkh.

The indicative form may carry the suffixes of finiteness, tense and number. As a rule, in declarative monopredicative sentences the verb takes a closing finite suffix, the most common being <AD> *-d' / -t'*, <ESD> *-d / -nd / -nt*, <NSD> *-t*, cf. (49). The suffix serves essentially only to indicate finiteness, as it does not have any tense value, and does not serve any subject and / or object agreement function.

There are also obsolete finite verbal forms with the suffixes <AD, ESD> *-(ja)ġana / -(ja)ġan*, *-(ja)kana / -(ja)kan* which occur mostly in epics and tales, especially in the first sentences of texts, cf. (50):

- |      |  |                          |                   |
|------|--|--------------------------|-------------------|
| (50) | <i>P'-at'ik-xe</i>   | <i>p'-nanak-xe</i>       | <i>hum-jaġan.</i> |
|      | REFL-younger.brother-COM:DU  | REFL-elder.sister-COM:DU | live-FIN          |
|      | <i>Imḡ</i>   | <i>tyv</i>               | <i>lyt-jaġan.</i> |
|      | they   | house                    | build-FIN         |
|      | 'Her younger brother lived with his elder sister. They built a house'. |                          |                   |

One can mention also the suffix <AD, ESD> *-k*, cf. (51), which is often used with the negative verb *-k'au-* 'do not be, do not have', see section 4.1.1. The verbs with this suffix may take the future marker and do not take the plural marker.

- |      |                                      |             |               |                  |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| (51) | <i>Azmyt'eḡṇ</i>                     | <i>kyla</i> | <i>n'iḡṇṇ</i> | <i>mu-iny-k.</i> |
|      | boy                                  | high        | man           | be-FUT-FIN       |
|      | 'The boy is going to be a high man'. |             |               |                  |

If there are several coordinating verbal forms in the sentence, the finiteness is marked on the verb by the suffix <AD> *-ra / -ta*, <ESD> *-ra / -ta / -na*, see for more details section 4.2.1.

A plural subject is optionally coded in the finite verb by the suffix <AD> *-ku / -ḡu / -gu / -xu*, <ESD> *-kun / -ḡun / -gun / -xun*, <ESD, NSD> *-kunu / -ḡunu / -gunu / -xunu*, which is identical to the noun plural suffix, cf. *If ra-d'-ḡ* {he drink-FIN-SG} 'He drinks / drank' – *Imṇ ra-d'-ḡu* {they drink-FIN-PL} 'They drink / drank'.

The differentiation of person (together with number) of the subject is found only in the imperative, in the finite forms with the suffix <AD> *-ra / -ta*, <ESD> *-ra / -ta / -na*, in the verbal forms with iterative, evidential, and negative markers, and in some converbs.

Only non-future and future tenses are distinguished in the indicative. The markers are correspondingly *-ḡ-* and <AD> *-ny-*, <ESD> *-i-*, cf. *If ra-ḡ-d'* {he drink-NFUT-FIN} 'He drinks / drank' – *If ra-ny-d'* {he drink-FUT-FIN} 'He will drink'.

The Nivkh imperative paradigm demonstrates the differentiation of person and number of the subject, see Table 6.



| person | number | singular | plural        | dual  |
|--------|--------|----------|---------------|-------|
|        | 1      | AD       | -nykta/-nyxta | -da   |
|        | ESD    |          | -da           | -nate |
| 2      | AD     | -ja/-j   | -ve/-be/-pe   |       |
|        | ESD    | -ja/-j   | -ve/-be/-pe   |       |
| 3      | AD     | -ġazo    |               |       |
|        | ESD    | -ġaro    | -ġarġaro      |       |

Table 6: Imperative markers

As one can see from Table 6, there is no separate 1SG imperative form in *ESD*. It should be also noted that nowadays the 1DU imperative form with the corresponding 1DU personal pronoun has practically vanished.

When the prescription is addressed to an elder or unfamiliar person, a special polite form with the marker *-nave* (probably, the combination of the 2PL iterative marker *-na-* and the 2PL imperative marker *-ve*) can be also used, cf. *Ra-nave!* 'Drink [please]!'.

According to the materials of the first third of the 20th century the imperative paradigm in *ESD* included only one 3PL form, namely, the form with the suffix *-ġaro*, which like the corresponding form with the suffix *-ġazo* in *AD* was used both for singular and plural. The number opposition of the 3 person forms, when the suffix *-ġaro* is retained in the capacity of the 3SG marker, and the reduplicated 3SG imperative marker *-ġarġaro* is used as the 3PL marker, seems to have been developed under the influence of Russian, where 3 person imperative verbal forms are opposed by number.

The prohibitive meaning is marked either by the specialized negative particle *t'a*, which precedes – directly or non-directly – the corresponding imperative form, cf. *Ra-ja!* {drink-IMP:2SG} 'Drink!' – *T'a ra-ja!* {PTL:IMP:NEG drink-IMP:2SG} 'Do not drink!', or by the negative verb *ġavr-* / *ķavr-* incorporated into the finite verb, cf. *Ra-ġavr-ja!* {drink-NEG-IMP} 'Do not drink!'. The 2 person forms with the preventive meaning agree with the subject in number. The suffixes <AD> *-jra*, *-yjra*, *-ijra*, *-nyra*, <ESD> *-inyjra*, *-jajra* are used in singular, cf. *Zosķu-nyra!* {break-PREV:SG} 'Do not break!', while the suffixes <AD> *-jtla*, *-yjtla* / *-ujtla*, <ESD> *-inynta*, *-jaņta* are used in plural, cf. *Zosķu-jtla!* {break-PREV:PL} 'Do not break!'. There are specialized markers of the permissive meaning in *AD*, the 2SG suffix being *-gira*, and the 2PL suffix being *-gira*, cf. (52):

- (52) Vi-iny-ġa                      *vi-gira!*  
 go-MOD-CONV:COND            go-PERM:SG  
 'If [you] want to go, go!'

In *ESD* the same meaning is expressed by imperative forms. The optative meaning is marked by the suffix *-ġa* / *-ġaj* / *-ķaj* which is homonymous to the marker of the conditional converb, cf. *Ra-ġaj!* 'I would drink!'.

#### 3.4.4. Non-finite verbal forms

There are two non-finite verbal forms, namely, the participle and the converb.

Participle displays mainly the verbal morphology, having overt expressions of tense, aspect, number, and modality and usually constituting a verbal form without a finite suffix, cf. *p'ry n'ivx* {come man} 'man who is coming', *in-ny ŋa* {eat-FUT beast} 'beast which [sb.] will eat', *raju-ġyt xauzul* {write-PRF paper} 'paper covered with writing', *ra-iny t'us* {roast-MOD meat} 'meat which [sb.] is going to roast'. In *AD*, a participle sometimes takes the suffix *-k*, cf. *ŋyŋ-k<sup>1</sup> n'ivx<sup>2</sup>* 'man<sup>2</sup> who<sup>1</sup> is<sup>1</sup> looking for<sup>1</sup> [sth.]'. The plural number of participles is marked by reduplication of the stem, cf. *t'osķ mu-ø* {break boat-SG} 'broken boat' → *t'osķ+zosķ mu-ŋu* {break+break boat-PL} 'broken boats', *nok piry-ø* {be.thin book-SG} 'thin book' → *nok+nok piry-ŋu* {be.thin+be.thin book-PL} 'thin books'.

Converbs are characterized by aspect and modality, but, as a rule, are not marked for number and tense. They have the following meanings and suffixes:

(a) temporality, <AD, ESD> *-ba*, *-ivo*, *-fke*, <AD> *-ge*, *-datar* / *-datat*, *-durŋur* / *-durŋut*, *-ke*, *-ŋan*, *-ror* / *-tot*, *-t'arux*, *-t'ask*, *-ynke*, <ESD> *-vicye*, *-vul*, *-ġra*, *-data*, *-irŋara*, *-kro*, *-ŋa*, *-roř* / *-tot* / *-non*, *-t'ajgusk*, *-anke*, *-yrŋux*, cf. *j-aķ-vul* {OBJ-cut-CONV:TEMP} 'when cutting [sth.]', *j-askm-roř* {OBJ-teach-CONV:TEMP} 'after teaching [sb.]', *vi-ny-ynke* {go-FUT-CONV:TEMP} 'before leaving'.

(b) cause, <AD> *-xryry* / *-xryryry*, <ESD> *-lax*, cf. *ķ'o-xryry* {sleep-CONV:CAUSL} 'because I was sleeping'.

(c) purpose, <AD, ESD> *-ftoķ*, *-toķ* / *-roķ* / *doķ*, <AD> *-guin*, *-ilykrr* / *-ilykrt*, <ESD> *-ilakr* / *-ilakrt*, cf. *j-ai-iny-ftoķ* {OBJ-make-MOD-CONV:PURP} 'for making [sth.]'.

(d) condition, <AD, ESD> *-ġa* / *-ġaj* / *-ķaj* / *-ķaj*, <AD> *-t'aġa*, cf. *j-ai-ġaj* {OBJ-make-CONV:COND} 'if [someone] makes [sth.]'.

(e) subjunctiveness, <AD, ESD> *-ġar* / *-ķar*, cf. *vi-ny-ġar* {go-FUT-CONV:SUBJ} '[someone] would have gone'.

(f) concession, <AD, ESD> *-ġajnapy* / *-ķajnapy*, *-vur* / *-vut*, <AD> *-girk* / *-kirk*, *-girn* / *-kirm*, *-gin* / *-kin*, <ESD> *-kisk* / *-gisk*, cf. *vi-gisk* {go-CONV:CONC} 'although [someone] goes'.



(g) manner, <AD> -r / -t, <ESD> -ř / -t / -n, cf. *hup-ř* {sit-CONV:MAN} 'sitting', may also indicate cause or purpose and be used in complement sentences.

(h) re-telling, <AD, ESD> -vur / -vut, cf. section 4.2.5.

### 3.4.5. Verbal derivation

The most productive ways of verbal derivation are suffixation and compounding of stems. Verbs derive from noun stems with the suffixes <AD> -ju-, <AD, ESD> -jo-, cf. *la* 'wind' → *laju-* 'blow', *čalu* 'fog' → *čalujo-* 'grow misty', <AD, ESD> -z- / -r-, cf. *k'e* 'net' → *k'ez-* 'net [fish]', *kyj* 'sail' → *kyjz-* 'make sail', <AD, ESD> -u-, cf. *vyt'* 'iron' → *vyt'u-* 'forge', *pas* 'strip of cloth' → *vazu-* 'sew together strips of cloth to make a net'. Compounding of stems take place according to the following patterns: (a) *direct object + verb*, cf. *tyf* 'house' + *j-ur-* 'come down [to sw.]' → *tyv-* 'come [into the house]', (b) *adverbial modifier of place + verb*, cf. *tur* 'here' + *xu-* 'lie' → *tugu-* 'lie [near the speaker]', (c) *subject + verb* (= *j-ai-* 'make [sth.]'), cf. *parf* 'evening' + *j-ai-* 'make [sth.]' → *parvai-* 'become dark'.

About deriving semelfactives and multiplicatives see section 3.4.1.

### 3.5. Adverbs

The class of adverbs embraces at least the following ones: (a) qualitative, e.g. *urgur* 'well', *an't'yj* 'again', *p'ova* 'at once', (b) quantitative, e.g. *n'řak* 'once', *meřak* / *meřk* 'twice', *t'řak* 'three times', derived from corresponding numerals with the component *řak* '[one] time', (c) measure and degree, e.g. *myyn* 'too much', *n'en'ik* 'a little', *les* 'enough', (d) temporal, e.g. *naf* 'now', *namř* 'yesterday', *pyt* 'tomorrow', (e) locative, e.g. *tur* 'here', *hur* 'there', *hurur* 'everywhere' (their meaning depends on that of their stem: *a-* 'downstream', *k'e-* 'upstream', *he-* 'from a shore into the depth of land, from one side of a plank-bed near the wall to another side', *ko-* 'from a hill to a shore, from a forest to an edge').

Adverbs from groups (a, c, d) derive: (i) by adverbialization of converbs with the suffixes -gu-r / -gu-t, cf. *ey-gu-r* {be.in.a.hurry-CAUS-CONV:MAN} 'being in a hurry' → *eygur* 'quickly' (apart from converbs, adverbs do not agree with the subject in person and number), (ii) from verbal stems with the dative-additive suffix -toχ / -roχ / -doχ, cf. *p'xy-* 'come back' → *p'xydoχ* 'back', (iii) from verbal stems with the nominal word-forming suffix -s- and the instrumental suffix -kir / -řir / -gir / -xir, cf. *to-* 'weep' → *toskir* 'sadly', (iv) by reduplication of the stem, cf. *li+li* / *le+le* 'very, completely'.

Some adverbs have several morphological variants: *p'lařr* / *p'lařrtoχ* / *p'lařrkir* / *p'lařrux* 'suddenly'. Qualitative adverbs derived according to (i), cf. *eygur* 'quickly', have degrees of comparison: comparative with the suffix -jo-, cf. *ey-jo-gur* 'more quickly', and superlative marked by reduplication of the stem, cf. *eygu+eygur* 'most quickly [of all]'.

### 3.6. Graphic words

The meanings of graphic words are basically connected with visual, cf. *hokl hokl* 'lame', *matx matx* 'shaggy', acoustic, cf. *goņgoņ* 'low sound', *kaur kaur* 'crunch of snow', or tactile, cf. *homķ homķ* 'soft, unpleasant to the touch', images. These words do not change, do not take any suffixes and usually have a reduplicated form. They may function as an adverbial modifier, cf. (53), or as a predicate – independently, cf. (54), or in combination with the verb *ha-* 'do so', cf. (55). Many semelfactives and multiplicatives are derived from graphic words.

(53) *ķ'o-iny-t*                      *nya*                      *ķ'o-d'*  
 sleep-MOD-CONV:MAN      doze                      sleep-FIN  
 'Wanting to sleep, dozing, [he] sleeps'.

(54) *Hoņge*                      *ķ'o-iny-r*                      *nya nya*  
 then                      sleep-MOD-CONV:MAN      doze  
 'Then, wanting to sleep, [he] dozes'.

(55) *Ylmi-x*                      *t'ur*                      *psar psar*                      *ha-d'*  
 mouth-LOC/ABL      fire                      sparkle                      do.SO-FIN  
 'A fire sparkles from the mouth'.

### 3.7. Connective words

Connective words involve postpositions, sentence connectives, and particles.

As mentioned in section 3.1.2, postpositions follow the nouns and specify locative meanings expressed by case suffixes. By their origin postpositions are divided into nominal and verbal ones. Of these two only nominal postpositions can take case suffixes.

Consider for example, the postposition <AD> *vyj*, <ESD> *waj* 'under', which is derived from the noun <AD> *vyj*, <ESD> *waj* 'bottom', cf. (56), and can take case suffixes, cf. (57), and the postposition *tulku* / *rulku* 'across, through', which is derived from the verb *rulku-* 'get into [sth.], get through [sth.]', cf. (58), and cannot take any case markers, cf. (59).



- (56) Tyf vyj vyrk-t'-ra.  
house bottom rot-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'The bottom of the house rotted'.
- (57) Utkuoyla tyr vyj-uin p'lyv-d'.  
boy table under-LOC hide-FIN  
'The boy hid under the table'.
- (58) P'engr butylk rulku-d'.  
fly bottle get.into-FIN  
'A fly got into the bottle'.
- (59) N'yŋ pila eri rulku vi-d'.  
we big river across go-FIN  
'We went across a big river'.

Note another postpositions of nominal origin: <AD, ESD> *mi* 'inside', <AD, ESD> *t'xy / řxy* 'on', <AD, ESD> *ķ'omi / χomi* 'on one side', <AD, ESD> *t'aŋr / řaŋr* 'among', etc. Note another postpositions of verbal origin: <AD, ESD> *tomsk / romsk* 'together, with', <AD> *lys*, <ESD> *las* 'by, past', <AD> *t'yky / řyky*, <ESD> *t'aka / řaka* 'up', <AD, ESD> *t'mysk / řmysk* 'across, over', etc.

Sentence connectives are basically derived from the stems of the auxiliary verbs *ha-* 'do so', *hoġa-* 'be so' with the converb suffixes, cf. *hoġat / hoġar* 'then, because, therefore', *hoġoŋan* 'then', *hoġaror / hoġarot* 'after, after that', etc. They carry information about semantic relationships between two sentences and usually occupy the initial position of the second sentence, cf. (60):

- (60) N'i ŋyt'x ķo-d'-ra kiuskir vi-jiki-d'-ra.  
I leg hurt-FIN-PTL:PRED on.foot go-cannot-FIN-PTL:PRED  
*Hoġat* n'i mu-ŋir vi-iny-d'-ra.  
therefore I boat-INST go-MOD-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'My leg hurts, I cannot go on foot. Therefore, I am going to go by boat'.

By their position in different sentences particles are divided into the two groups: (a) prepositional particles which occur mainly sentence-initially in the imperative sentences, i.e., <ESD> *tuko*, cf. (61), <AD> *hela / hena*, <ESD> *hala / hana* 'well, well then, now, now then', cf. (98), <ESD> *p'eŋrdoŋ*, *haġaro* 'let', cf. (99–100), see section 4.1.3, <AD, ESD> *t'a*, see section 3.4.3.

- (61) *Tuko* n'-aŋ hup-ku-ja!  
PTL:IMP I-DAT/ACC sit.down-CAUS-IMP  
'Let me sit down!'

(b) postpositional particles which follow the word they modify, namely, modal particles, i.e., <AD, ESD> *-lu, -laķ*, cf. (62), <AD> *yvr / uvr / avr*, cf. (63), restrictive particles, i.e., <AD> *park*, <ESD> *pyřk* 'only', cf. (63), demonstrative particles, i.e., <AD, ESD> *-at*, cf. (64), intensifying particles, i.e., <AD, ESD> *-an*, cf. (7), *-t'i / -ri / -d'i*, cf. (65), predicative particles, i.e., <AD, ESD> *-ta / -ra / -da*, cf. (60), copulative particles, i.e., <AD, ESD> *-hara*, see section 4.1.1, and the particles which occur in the interrogative sentences, i.e., <AD> *-la / -l, -lo, -ŋa, -ata / -at*, <ESD> *-la / -l, -lu, -ŋa / -ŋy, -ara*, see section 4.1.2, in the imperative sentences, i.e., <AD> *-ġor, -r*, <ESD> *-maŋ, -gr*, see section 4.1.3, in the conditional sentences, i.e., <AD> *-for*, see section 4.2.2.3, and in the re-telling sentences, i.e., <AD, ESD> *-furu*, see section 4.2.5.

- (62) Mu lyrk-t'-lu hum-d'-lu.  
boat sail-FIN-PTL:MOD stay-FIN-PTL:MOD  
'The boat either is moving or has stopped'.
- (63) T'iŋr park yvr t'ara-gu-ve!  
firewood PTL:REST PTL:MOD chop-CAUS-IMP  
'If only you let [us] chop firewood!'
- (64) *Ytyk-at* čo xu-ny-kan.  
father-PTL:DEM fish kill-FUT-FIN  
'Father will certainly fish'.
- (65) *Loŋ-ri* ķ'au-ra vukvuku-ra.  
moon-PTL:INT not.be-FIN be.dark-FIN  
'There is not even the moon, it is dark'.

### 3.8. Interjections

Interjections are represented by a small group of words denoting different emotions, cf. *ŋnyje* 'surprise', *ŋtymi* 'surprise and displeasure', *ai* 'disdain', *hai* 'fright', *ŋtyty* 'delight', etc., or commands, cf. *ty ty* 'when someone whips up or drives away the dogs', *por por* 'when someone orders the dogs to lie down', etc.

Most of interjections are non-derivative though some of them seem to have been derived from verbs, cf. *por-* 'lie' → *por por* 'an order to a dog to lie down', *nuk-* 'wait' → *nuk nuk / nukja / nuko / nuk* 'an order to stop an action'. Interjections may include 2 person imperative markers, cf. *k'a-ja k'a-ja* 'when someone calls up the dogs'.

Some verbs in turn are derived from interjections, cf. *kyt' kyt'* 'when someone calls up the dogs' → *ŋyskyz-* 'call up [a dog]'.



## 4. Syntax

## 4.1. Monopredicative sentences

## 4.1.1. Declarative sentences

Nivkh canonic word order is *subject – object – verb*. A verbal form closes the sentence, an attribute precedes a head word, an adverbial usually occurs sentence-initially, a subject is often omitted. As seen from numerous examples cited above, being a nominative language, Nivkh has a subject morphologically unmarked (the nominative marker is *-ø*).

Coordinated nominal parts of the sentence take the copulative particle <AD, ESD> *-hara*, which is attached to each member of the coordinated row, cf.:

- |      |   |                    |            |
|------|---|--------------------|------------|
| (66) | <i>N'-ymyk-hara</i>                                 | <i>č-ymyk-hara</i> | <i>alz</i> |
|      | I-mother-PTL:COP                                    | you-mother-PTL:COP | berry      |
|      | <i>ŋa-t</i>   | <i>vi-d'-γu.</i>   |            |
|      | pick-CONV:PURP                                      | go-FIN-PL          |            |
|      | 'My mother [and] your mother went to pick berries'. |                    |            |

An overt *be*-copula, i.e., the verb *mu-* 'be, become' used in declarative sentences, is optional in non-future, cf. (67), and obligatory in future tense, cf. (68).

- |      |                                    |                 |                               |
|------|------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| (67) | <i>N'i</i>                         | <i>ryun'ivx</i> | <i>mu-d'</i>                  |
|      | I                                  | teacher         | be-FIN                        |
|      | 'I am a teacher'.                  |                 |                               |
| (68) | <i>Rajgun</i>                      | <i>urla</i>     | <i>čonγn'ivx</i>              |
|      | Rajgun                             | good            | fisherman                     |
|      | 'Rajgun will be a good fisherman'. |                 | <i>mu-ny-d'</i><br>be-FUT-FIN |

In the negative copular sentences the verbs <AD> *k'au-*, <AD, ESD> *kavr-* / *gavr-* 'do not be, do not have' are used, cf. (69):

- |      |                                    |                |           |                |
|------|------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| (69) | <i>Naf</i>                         | <i>tol-uin</i> | <i>čo</i> | <i>k'au-d'</i> |
|      | now                                | sea-LOC        | fish      | do.not.be-FIN  |
|      | 'There is no fish in the sea now'. |                |           |                |

In the sentences without overt *be*-copula the predicative noun or pronoun usually occupies the final position and takes the predicative particle <AD, ESD> *-ta* / *-ra* / *-da*, cf. (70). In this case no normal verbal categories are expressed.

- |      |                           |               |                |
|------|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| (70) | <i>N'i</i>                | <i>n'iyvŋ</i> | <i>eγŋ-da.</i> |
|      | I                         | human         | child-PTL:PREP |
|      | 'I [am] a human's child'. |               |                |

A predicate of a subjectless sentence is a qualitative verb denoting some state or process often connected with nature phenomena, cf. (71–72):

- |      |   |                   |                   |
|------|---|-------------------|-------------------|
| (71) | <i>Kly-in</i>                           | <i>čefčevy-d'</i> |                   |
|      | street-LOC                              | be.wet-FIN        |                   |
|      | '[It] is wet in the street'.            |                   |                   |
| (72) | <i>N'-n'ay-ux</i>                       | <i>p'laḡrux</i>   | <i>vukvuku-d.</i> |
|      | I-eye-LOC/ABL                           | suddenly          | be.dark-FIN       |
|      | '[It] suddenly became dark in my eyes'. |                   |                   |

Objectless verbs with only a single argument usually denote a permanent or a temporary state of the subject, a process performing by the subject or characterizing changes in its state, position or moving, cf. (73–74):

- |      |                              |                       |                 |
|------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (73) | <i>Tamk</i>                  | <i>n'ṛaklu</i>        | <i>ḡo-ṛa-d.</i> |
|      | hand                         | sometimes             | hurt-ITER-FIN   |
|      | '[My] hand sometimes hurts'. |                       |                 |
| (74) | <i>Lyx</i>                   | <i>n'in'akn'in'ak</i> | <i>ky-d.</i>    |
|      | rain                         | a.little              | rain-FIN        |
|      | 'It is raining a little'.    |                       |                 |

A direct object forms a particularly close unit with the verb syntactically as well as phonologically. As one must remember (see section 2.5), a direct object triggers an alternation in the following verb. In view of the virtual absence of verb agreement and case-marking for subjects, direct and indirect objects, and nominal attributes, word order and initial consonant alternation are often the only devices for differentiating syntactic constructions.

For instance, word order signals that *k'eḡ* 'fox' is a subject in (75a), but a direct object in (75b), while *vazaḡ* 'heron' is a subject in (75b), but a direct object in (75a), cf.:

- |      |    |                                     |                |                    |              |
|------|----|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (75) | a. | <i>K'eḡ-ø</i>                       | <i>vazaḡ-ø</i> | <i>ŋγŋ-r</i>       | <i>vi-d'</i> |
|      |    | fox-NOM                             | heron-NOM      | look.for-CONV:PURP | go-FIN       |
|      |    | 'The fox went to look for a heron'. |                |                    |              |



- |    |                |               |                    |              |
|----|----------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|
| b. | <i>Vazaχ-ø</i> | <i>k'eķ-ø</i> | <i>nyŋ-r</i>       | <i>vi-d'</i> |
|    | heron-NOM      | fox-NOM       | look.for-CONV:PURP | go-FIN       |
- 'The heron went to look for a fox'.

For its part, a couple of sentences (76a) and (76b) demonstrates another way of coding subject and object case-roles, that is an initial consonant alternation of the verb *řo-* 'bring'. One can see that *eyŋ* 'child' is a subject in (76a), but a direct object in (76b), cf.:

- |         |              |              |
|---------|--------------|--------------|
| (76) a. | <i>Eyŋ-ø</i> | <i>řo-d.</i> |
|         | child-NOM    | bring-FIN    |
- 'A child brought [sth.]'.
- |    |              |               |
|----|--------------|---------------|
| b. | <i>Eyŋ-ø</i> | <i>t'o-d.</i> |
|    | child-NOM    | bring-FIN     |
- '[Someone] brought a child'.

Some Nivkh verbs, like *i-ny-* 'give [sth. to sb.]', *si-* 'put [sth. swh.]', *j-aγ-* 'sew [sth. on sth.]', take two nominal objects. One of these is a prototypical direct object, that is an affected patient. The other is construed semantically as an indirect object, that is not an affected patient, which nevertheless gets coded syntactically as a direct object, i.e., stands in the nominative. Sentences with such verbs are characterized by the following word order: *subject – direct object – indirect object – verb*, cf. (77–78):

- |      |               |                    |                     |                |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (77) | <i>Ytyk-ø</i> | <i>p'-meut'u-ø</i> | <i>n'-ykyn-ø</i>    | <i>k'im-d'</i> |
|      | father-NOM    | REFL-gun-NOM       | I-elder.brother-NOM | give-FIN       |
- 'Father gave his gun to my elder brother'.

- |      |              |              |               |              |
|------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (78) | <i>Ytk-ø</i> | <i>k'y-ø</i> | <i>vaķi-ø</i> | <i>si-d.</i> |
|      | father-NOM   | axe-NOM      | box-NOM       | put-FIN      |
- 'Father put an axe into the box'.

However, quite often non-patient objects have also a probability of being marked with the appropriate case suffix. In case of morphologically marked indirect object the word order in the sentence is the following: *subject – indirect object – direct object – verb*, cf. (79–80):

- |      |               |                |                  |              |
|------|---------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|
| (79) | <i>Ymyk-ø</i> | <i>lep-γir</i> | <i>p'-oγla-ø</i> | <i>ar-d'</i> |
|      | mother-NOM    | bread-INST     | REFL-child-NOM   | feed-FIN     |
- 'Mother fed her child with the bread'.

- |      |              |             |              |              |              |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (80) | <i>Ytk-ø</i> | <i>vaķi</i> | <i>mi-rχ</i> | <i>k'y-ø</i> | <i>si-d.</i> |
|      | father-NOM   | box         | into-DAT/ADD | axe-NOM      | put-FIN      |
- 'Father put an axe into the box'.

If there are several coordinated indirect objects in the sentence, a case marker may be attached only to the last member of the chain, cf. (81):

- |      |                  |               |                     |               |
|------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (81) | <i>Oγla-gu-ø</i> | <i>paχ-ko</i> | <i>t'řyr-ko-γir</i> | <i>fyn-d'</i> |
|      | child-PL-NOM     | stone-COM:PL  | stick-COM:PL-INST   | throw-FIN     |
- 'Children threw [at one another] with stones and sticks'.

The principal modal meanings can be indicated in the sentence by the following ways.

The meaning of intention or desire is marked in the verb by the suffix <AD, ESD> *-iny-*, cf. *N'i ra-iny-d* {I drink-MOD-FIN} 'I am going to drink'. In ESD, this suffix may be followed in the verb structure either by the stem of the verb *j-aġn'i-* {OBJ-want} 'want [sth.]', cf. *N'i ra-in-aġn'i-d* {I drink-MOD-want-FIN} 'I want to drink', or by the evidential suffix *-ryγm-* / *-t'γγm-* / *-nyγm-*, cf. *Jaŋ ra-iny-ryγm-d* {He drink-MOD-EVID-FIN} '[I see, that] he is going to drink'.

For indicating the meaning of possibility the analytical form consisting of the finite verb and the verb <AD> *j-yjm-*, <ESD> *j-ajm-* {OBJ-know} 'know [sb. / sth.]' is used, cf. (82):

- |      |            |            |             |                 |
|------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (82) | <i>N'i</i> | <i>k'e</i> | <i>ai-d</i> | <i>j-ajm-d.</i> |
|      | I          | sweep=net  | make-FIN    | OBJ-know-FIN    |
- 'I can make a sweep-net'.

If the question is about impossibility of doing something, the verb takes the stem of the verb *rer-* 'cannot', cf. (83):

- |      |                |                   |
|------|----------------|-------------------|
| (83) | <i>Azmčeyŋ</i> | <i>ķ'o-rer-d.</i> |
|      | boy            | sleep-MOD-FIN     |
- 'The boy could not sleep'.

There are no specialized markers of deontic modality in Nivkh. To produce a phrase with the meaning of obligation one should use an imperative or a future verbal form, cf. (84):

- |      |                 |                       |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (84) | <i>Nirŋ-gun</i> | <i>d'u-i-d-ra.</i>    |
|      | cup-PL          | wash-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED |
- '[I] have to wash the cups (= [I] shall wash the cups)'.



Among numerous markers of uncertainty in *AD* one can mention the verbal suffix *-byn'evo-*, cf. (85), the particle *-uvr / -avr / -yvr* in combination with the connective word *jaɣalo* 'perhaps', cf. (86), and the finite suffixes *-čaira / -čajra, -čanyd', -čajkana*, which seem to be different forms of the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'do so', cf. (87).

(85) If čo xu-byn'evo-d'.  
he fish kill-MOD-FIN  
'He seems to have fished'.

(86) Čaj k'av-d'-avr jaɣalo.  
tea be.hot-FIN-PTL:MOD perhaps  
'Tea must be hot'.

(87) Ytyk p'ry-ny-čaira.  
father come-FUT-FIN:MOD  
'Father will probably come'.

*ESD* has a set of finite suffixes marking the same modal meaning, namely, *-jak / -jek, -jakna / -jekna, -jaknyr / -jeknyr*, cf. (88):

(88) N'i aulat-ɣaj n'-au my-jak / my-jakna / my-jaknyr.  
I shout-CONV:COND I-voice hear-FIN:MOD  
'If I shout, you will probably hear my voice'.

The verbal form may be also closed by the suffixes *<AD, ESD> -ɣitlo / -ɣitli, -ɣar, <AD> -bar(a) / -par(a)*, which mark the meaning of firm confidence, cf.:

(89) If čo xu-ɣitlo / xu-ɣar / xu-bara.  
he fish kill-FIN:MOD  
'He certainly fished'.

In conclusion, one can mention the finite suffix *<AD, ESD> -čari*, which tends to code the meaning of astonishment caused by some unexpected situation, cf.:

(90) Či p'ry-čari!  
you come-FIN:MOD  
'[I did not expect] you have come!'

In declarative sentences negation is expressed by synthetic or analytical verbal forms which include the following elements (about the ways of expressing negation in the imperative sentences with prohibitive meaning see section 3.4.3):

(a) the verbal form in *-toɣ / -roɣ / -doɣ* (= the dative / additive suffix) and the negative verb *<AD> k'au-* 'do not be, do not have', cf. *If p'ry-doɣ k'au-d'* {He come-DAT/ADD do.not.be-FIN} 'He did not come'.

(b) the negative verb *<AD, ESD> kavr- / gavr-* 'do not be, do not have' incorporated into the verbal form, cf. *Jaɣ p'ry-gavr-d* {He come-NEG-FIN} 'He did not come'.

(c) the finite negative suffix *<AD> -rla / -tla, <ESD> -rlo / -tlo*, cf. *Jaɣ p'ry-i-rlo* {He come-FUT-FIN:NEG} 'He will not come'.

#### 4.1.2. Interrogative sentences

When forming *yes-no* question the suffix *<AD, ESD> -l / -lo* attached to a finite verbal stem, or the interrogative particles *<AD, ESD> -la / -l, <AD> -lo, <ESD> -lu* attached to a finite verbal form are used, cf. *Či ra-l / ra-lo?* {you drink-FIN:INTER} 'Did you drink?', *Či ra-d-la / ra-d-lu?* {you drink-FIN-PTL:INTER} 'Did you drink?'. Interrogative particles may also cliticize on the other word of the sentence when this word is logically emphasized, cf. (91):

(91) Naɣk-a naɣk-a či-la n'-atx vli-d'?  
friend-VOC friend-VOC you-PTL:INTER I-skin put.on-FIN  
'Friend, friend, were it you who put on my skin?'

An answer for *yes-no* question includes the words *hy* 'yes', cf. (92), *toğagitla* 'yes, surely', or *k'auk / k'aukra / k'aud'ra* 'no', cf. (93). In case of affirmative answer, a speaker usually repeats the finite verb used in the question.

(92) Vo yrk mala-d'-la? Hy  
village already be.close-FIN-PTL:INTER yes  
mala-d'-ra.  
be.close-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'Is the village already close by? – Yes, [it] is close by'.

(93) Na nyɣ-ke p'ry-r n'-ryf-toɣ  
seal look.for-CONV:TEMP come-CONV:MAN I-house-DAT/ADD  
tyvu-d'-la? K'aukra n'i čyɣ-doɣ  
come.in-FIN-PTL:INTER no I you-DAT/ADD  
ler-iny-t p'ry-d'-ra.  
conquer-MOD-CONV:PURP come-FIN-PTL:PRED  
'Did you come to my house looking for a seal? – No, I came to conquer you'.



A special or informational question includes a question word, for instance, an interrogative-relative pronoun, which usually occupies the same position as the questioned element in the declarative sentence, cf. a subject question in (94) and (96), and an object question in (95).

- (94) *Aŋ*            *p'ry-d'-at?*  
 who            come-FIN-PTL:INTER  
 'Who came?'
- (95) *Či*    *sid'-ŋa*            *j-yrsu-d'?*  
 you    who-PTL:INTER    OBJ-pursue-FIN  
 'Whom do you pursue?'
- (96) *T'aud-ŋy / T'aud-ara*            *j-uγ-d?*  
 who-PTL:INTER            OBJ-come.in-FIN  
 'Who came in?'

Moreover, either a finite verb, cf. (94), or some other word in the question which is logically emphasized (in most cases a question word, cf. (95–96)) usually takes one of the two interrogative particles, i.e., <AD> *-ŋa*, *-ata* / *-at*, <ESD> *-ŋa* / *-ŋy*, *-ara*.

However, the particle may be omitted when the speaker uses a special question intonation, cf. (97):

- (97) *Xevgun*    *γr*            *p'ry-d'?*  
*Xevgun*    when            come-FIN  
 'When did Xevgun come?'

#### 4.1.3. Imperative sentences

Different semantic types of imperative sentences are marked by special imperative, prohibitive, preventive, permissive, and optative verbal forms, see section 3.4.3, as well as by imperative particles, see section 3.7, cf. (98–100):

- (98) *Hala*            *in'-da-maχ!*  
 PTL:IMP    eat-IMP:1PL-PTL:IMP  
 'Well, let us eat [as soon as possible]!'
- (99) *In*    *p'ry-in-aγn'i-ğaj*            *p'eγrdoχ*            *p'ry-ğarğaro!*  
 they    come-MOD-want-CONV:COND    PTL:IMP            come-IMP:3PL  
 'If they want to come, let them come!'

- (100) *Hağaro*    *la*            *ur-katn-ğaro!*  
 PTL:IMP    weather    be.good-INT-IMP:3SG  
 'Let the weather be very good!'

The particles <ESD> *p'eγrdoχ*, *hağaro* 'let', which usually occur sentence-initially in the sentences with 3 person imperative forms, cf. (99–100), are semantically redundant. One may explain their using by probable influence of the corresponding Russian 3 person analytical imperative forms with the particle *pust'* 'let'.

Another example of Russian-Nivkh interference is forming in Nivkh the analytical imperative forms on the base of models which are structurally similar to those in Russian. The development of such forms occurred, first of all, in the peripheral zone of the Nivkh imperative paradigm, namely, in the 1SG form.

So, in modern Nivkh, the complex forms consisting of (a) and (b) are normally used to express the meaning of autoprescription:

(a) prepositive desemantized imperative forms *t'ana* {give:IMP:2SG} 'give' or *t'ana-ve* {give:IMP:2SG-IMP:2PL} 'give', which do not change, in singular do not take any grammatical markers and are found only in the final position of imperative sentences, cf. (101) and (102):

- (101) *T'yj*            *ōla*            *t'ana!*  
 again            child            give:IMP:2SG  
 'Give [me] the child again!'
- (102) *N'e-rχ*            *n'in'ak*            *als*            *t'ana-ve!*  
 I-DAT/ADD    some            berry            give:IMP:2SG-IMP:2PL  
 'Give me some berry!'

(b) standard 2 person imperative forms including in their structure the causative suffix with the permissive meaning, which marks non-coreference of the hearer and the prescription executor.

Such special 1SG analytical imperative forms are opposed according to the number of hearers, cf. (103a) and (103b):

- (103) a.    *T'ana*                            *n'-aχ*                            *lu-gu-ja!*  
 give:IMP:2SG                            I-DAT/ACC                            sing-CAUS-IMP:2SG  
 'Let me sing! (when applying to one person)'
- b.    *T'ana-ve*                            *n'-aχ*                            *lu-gu-ve!*  
 give:IMP:2SG-IMP:2PL                            I-DAT/ACC                            sing-CAUS-IMP:2PL  
 'Let me sing! (when applying to more than one person)'



## 4.2. Polypredicative sentences

## 4.2.1. Sentences with coordinating verbal forms

Coordinating verbal forms denoting equal actions, as a rule, occur at least in pairs within one sentence or adjacent sentences and can have the same subject, cf. (105), or different subjects, cf. (106).

- (105) N'i yrk pil-ta veskar-ta p'-ytyk nali-ta.  
 I already be.big-FIN be.strong-FIN REFL-father resemble-FIN  
 'I am already big, strong, [and] resemble my father'.

- (106) N'i t'uryř it'i-na či čaχ t'o-ř p'ry-na.  
 I fire kindle-FIN you water bring-CONV:PURP come-FIN  
 'I shall kindle a fire, you will come to bring the water'.

Each form of the coordinating row takes the suffix <AD> -ra / -ta, <ESD> -ra / -ta / -na, being agreed in person and number with its subject in both dialects, and also indicating time or mood in ESD (see section 4.2.4). One of the coordinating forms may occur sentence-finally, cf. (105–106). A chain of given forms may be closed by the auxiliary verb ha- 'do so', cf. (107):

- (107) N'-ymk pot'ur-ra ur-ra ha-d.  
 I-mother beautiful-FIN good-FIN do.so-FIN  
 'My mother is beautiful [and] good'.

## 4.2.2. Sentences with subordinating verbal forms

In the bi-predicative sentences with subordinating verbal forms, the head (usually final) position is occupied by a finite form, which takes in the indicative the suffix <AD> -d' / -t', <ESD> -d / -nd / -nt, <NSD> -t. The dependent (usually non-final) position may be occupied by a finite form (in complement sentences), by a participle (in relative sentences), or by a converb (in complement and adverbial sentences).

ESD has also analytical forms of converbs derived with the auxiliary verb ha- 'do so', cf. (108):

- (108) N'i toru k'ymla ha-tot juγ-d.  
 I a.little think do.so-CONV:TEMP come.in-FIN  
 'After thinking a little, I came in'.

## 4.2.2.1. Complement sentences

Complement sentences include at least two verbal forms which may have (i) coreferential or (ii) non-coreferential subjects. In both cases the head form is represented by a finite form, typically being a modal, phasal, cognition, or utterance verb. As for the dependent form, in case of (i) it may be represented either by a finite verbal form, cf. (109–110), or by a converb in <AD> -r / -t, <ESD> -ř / -t / -n, cf. (111).

- (109) Řaņķ čo n'i-d eska-d.  
 woman fish eat-FIN do.not.like-FIN  
 'The woman does not like to eat fish'.

- (110) N'i k'ola umgu mu-ny-d' aņn'-d'-ra.  
 I rich woman be-FUT-FIN want-FIN-PTL:PRED  
 'I want to be a rich woman'.

- (111) Ačim k'o-ř tvi-d.  
 grandmother be.ill-CONV:COMPL stop-FIN  
 '[My] grandmother stopped to be ill'.

In case of (ii) two finite verbal forms appear in the sentence. With this, the position of the dependent form relative to its head form is not rigid: the former may either precede, cf. (112), or follow the latter, cf. (113). All dependent verbal forms may take the future, cf. (110), (112), or modal suffix.

- (112) Parf n'-aķi p'ry-i-d n'i j-ajm-d.  
 evening I-elder.brother come-FUT-FIN I OBJ-know-FIN  
 'I knew, [that] my elder brother would come in the evening'.

- (113) N'-nanx my-d eγlŋ kaģjo-d.  
 I-elder.sister hear-FIN child cry-FIN  
 'My elder sister heard [that] the child cried'.

## 4.2.2.2. Relative sentences

Relative sentences are formed by making the verb a participle which may still take tense, aspect, and modal markers, cf. (114–115). The head noun or pronoun always occurs after the dependent verbal form.



- (114) N'i    zosk                    t'ačo    tyr            t'xy            p'i-d'.  
 I        break:PTC                    knife    table            on            be-FIN  
 'The knife which I have broken is on the table'.
- (115) N'in    tun    t'olf            iv-inyŋ    taf-toχ            p'ry-d-γun.  
 we      this    summer    live-MOD    house-DAT/ADD    come-FIN-PL  
 'We came to the house where we were going to live this summer'.

#### 4.2.2.3. Adverbial sentences

Semantically, adverbial sentences may be classified into temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, concessive, subjunctive, and manner sentences.

(a) Temporal sentences may be divided into three types with the following meanings and suffixes attached to the non-finite form:

- (i) precedence, <AD> -ynke, <ESD> -anke, cf. (116).  
 (ii) simultaneity, <AD, ESD> -ivo, <AD> -datar / -datat, -durŋur / -durŋut, -ge, -t'arux, -t'ask, <ESD> -ge, -ke, -ŋan, -data, -t'ajgusk, -kro, -vurqe, -vul, -ŋa, -fke, -yrŋux, -irŋara, -ba, cf. (117).  
 (iii) subsequence, <AD, ESD> -ba, -fke, <AD> -ge, -ror / -tot, -ke, -ŋan, <ESD> -gra, -ror / -tot / -non, -vurqe, -ŋa, cf. (118).

- (116) Utkuōla    p'i                    vi-ny-ynke            ŋajknonk            ŋyŋ-d'.  
 boy            himself            go-FUT-CONV:TEMP    puppy                    look.for-FIN  
 'Before going, the boy looked for the puppy'.
- (117) Ymk            čo                    hač-vul                    p'-ajmŋař-kiř  
 mother        fish                    cut-CONV:TEMP            REFL-husband-INST  
 roř            k'erai-d.  
 together      talk-FIN  
 'When mother was cutting fish, [she] talked with her husband'.
- (118) Č-askm-non                    mu-i-nd-ra.  
 you-teach-CONV:TEMP            die-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED  
 'After teaching you, [I] shall die'.

Obviously, various kinds of temporal relationships may be expressed in the same polypredicative sentence, cf. (119–120):

- (119) Um-inyŋ-anke                    urgur            k'ymlŋ-roř            it-ja.  
 be.angry-MOD-CONV:TEMP            well            think-CONV:TEMP            say-IMP  
 'Before getting angry, after thinking well, say'.

- (120) N'i    napy                    ŋausořk-ķavr-data                    čχař            mi-x  
 I        yet                    be.bored-NEG-CONV:TEMP            forest            in-LOC/ABL  
 amam-ŋa                    n'-nanx                    alř                    p'e-d.  
 walk-CONV:TEMP            I-elder.sister                    berry                    pick-FIN  
 'While I was not yet bored, when I was walking in the forest, my elder sister picked berries'.

(b) The cause may be shown by a converb, whose marker in both dialects goes back to the postpositions <AD> xryry / xryry, <ESD> lax 'because of', cf.:

- (121) N'i    ķ'o-xryry                    ys                    n'-za-d'.  
 I        sleep-CONV:CAUSL            master                    I-beat-FIN  
 'Because I fell asleep, [my] master beat me'.
- (122) Iřn    n'ry-lax                    sik    ranft'iŋ                    pağ            mu-ta.  
 they    see-CONV:CAUSL            all    without.exception            stone            be-FIN  
 'Because [they] saw them, all [of them], without exception, turned into stones'.

The converb in <AD> -r / -t, <ESD> -ř / -t / -n may also convey the cause, especially being used in the sentences where the subject of the converb is non-coreferential with that of the finite verb (or of the other converb), cf. (123). As noted, in this case, the converb takes the causative suffix -gu-.

- (123) T'olf            ķ'av-katn-gu-ř                    čpyř            mařka-d.  
 summer            be.hot-INT-CAUS-CONV:CAUSL            grass            pour-FIN  
 'Because the summer is very hot, [I] water the grass'.

Moreover, causal relationships are quite often traced in the sentences with the converb in <AD> -ŋan, <ESD> -ŋa, which basically marks a precedence or a simultaneity of situations, cf. (124):

- (124) T'olf            tak-katn-ŋa                    mif            k'au-ğar-d.  
 summer            hot-INT-CONV:CAUSL            ground            dry-PRF-FIN  
 'Because the summer is very hot, the ground has dried out'.

(c) Among different converbs conveying the purpose the most common one is that in <AD, ESD> -ftoχ, which always contains the modal suffix -iny-, cf. (125):

- (125) Mu            aj-iny-ftoχ                    čχa            n'-imγ-d.  
 boat            make-MOD-CONV:PURP            money            I-give-FIN  
 '[He] gave me money in order that [I can] make a boat'.



This converb seems to be derived with the dative-additive suffix *-toχ / -roχ / -doχ*, which comes after the noun derivational suffix *-f*.

In case the subjects of the dependent and independent forms are coreferential, the purpose may be indicated in both dialects by another verbal form (sometimes called a supine) which is also derived with the dative-additive suffix *-toχ / -roχ / -doχ* attached directly to the verbal stem, cf. (126):

- (126) Imη      *mu-dōχ*      vi-d'.  
 they      die-CONV:PURP      go-FIN  
 'They went to die'.

There are also two other purposive converbs, namely, those in <AD> *-guin*, <AD> *-ilykrr / -ilykrt*, <ESD> *-ilakrr / -ilakrt*, which, by contrast of the general rule, often occupy the final position in the sentence, cf. (127–128):

- (127) Hoğat      n'yη      čyη      ηyη-d'-ra  
 then      we      you      look.for-FIN-PTL:PRED  
 čyη-aχ      p'-ro-guin.  
 you-DAT/ACC      REFL-help-CONV:PURP  
 'We were looking for you in order that you help [us]'.

- (128) N'i      za-d'-ra      if      t'yj      vi-ilykrt.  
 I      beat-FIN-PTL:PRED      he      again      go-CONV:PURP  
 'I beat [him] in order that he does not go again'.

The meaning of the converb in <AD> *-r / -t*, <ESD> *-ř / -t / -n* tends to be also interpreted as purpose in the two following cases: (a) if the converb contains the modal suffix *-iny-*, cf. (129), or (b) if the corresponding independent form is a verb of moving, cf. (130):

- (129) Čaχ      *kuryjo-ķavr-gu-iny-ř*      n'in      mu      lyly-d-γun.  
 water      purl-NEG-CAUS-MOD-CONV:PURP      we      boat      caulk-FIN-PL  
 'We caulked the boat in order that the water does not purl'.

- (130) N'i      p'-apak      *ajma-t*      vi-ny-d'-ra.  
 I      REFL-father=in=law      look.at-CONV:PURP      go-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED  
 'I shall go to look at my father-in-law'.

(d) Concerning conditional sentences, one must pay attention to the fact, that whenever a converb takes a conditional marker, i.e., the suffix <AD, ESD> *-ğaj / -χaj / -ķaj*, cf. (131), (133), or the suffix <AD> *-t'ağaj*, cf. (132), a finite verb in the indicative takes the future suffix <AD> *-ny-*, <ESD> *-i-*.

- (131) Lyx      *ky-ğaj*      n'in      taf      p'i-n  
 rain      rain-CONV:COND      we      house      be-CONV:MAN  
 hunv-i-d-γun-da.  
 stay-FUT-FIN-PL-PTL:PRED  
 'If it rains, we shall stay at home'.

- (132) Či      n'-i'ry-r      *ķo-t'ağaj*      *ķo-ja!*  
 you      I-be.together-CONV:MAN      swim-CONV:COND      swim-IMP  
 'If you swim with me, swim!'

- (133) Naf      nyx      nama      lyx      *ha-ğaj*      n'yη  
 now      today      fine      weather      be-CONV:COND      we  
 kerķ-roχ      vi-ny-d'-for.  
 sea-DAT/ADD      go-FUT-FIN-PTL:COND  
 'If the weather was fine today, we should go to the sea'.

This is true for the sentences conveying both real, cf. (131), and unreal, cf. (133), condition. Moreover, in *AD*, a finite verb, being used in the sentences indicating unreal condition, takes the particle *-for*, cf. (133).

(e) The concession may be indicated by the converbs in <AD> *-gin / -kin*, *-girn / -kirn*, *-girk / -kirk*, <ESD> *-kisk / -gisk*, <AD, ESD> *-vur / -vut*, cf.:

- (134) *Ky-gisk*      n'in      p'xi-roχ      vi-d-γun.  
 rain-CONV:CONC      we      forest-DAT/ADD      go-FIN-PL  
 'Though it was raining, we went to the forest'.

- (135) N'i      *lu-vur*      k'y-i-d'-lo?  
 I      compete-CONV:CONC      win-FUT-FIN-PTL:INTER  
 'Though I [am going] to compete, shall I win?'

Another concessive marker, namely, the suffix <AD, ESD> *-ğajnapy / -χajnapy*, seems to be a unit derived with the conditional suffix *-ğaj / -χaj* plus the adverb *napy* 'still, yet', cf. (136):

- (136) P'ax      kuty-γun      sik      *řyly-ğajnapy*      *ķ'av-d*.  
 window      hole-PL      all      open-CONV:CONC      be.hot-FIN  
 'Though all the windows are opened, it is hot'.

(f) In subjunctive sentences, as they are usually called in Nivkh grammars, a non-finite converb with the suffix <AD, ESD> *-ğar / -ķar* indicates a situation that would take place or would have taken place if the circumstances expressed by the head verbal form did not interfere or had not interfered with it, cf.:



- (137) K'it-t            *vi-ny-ġar*            lař            vil-ra  
 run-CONV:MAN    go-FUT-CONV:SUBJ    wave            be.big-FIN  
 luř            maľo-ra.  
 snow            be.a.lot-FIN  
 'We should have run away, but the waves are big, and [there] is a lot of snow'.

(g) Nivkh sentence usually represents an extremely detailed description of a situation: on the one hand, all links in the chain of actions which directly preceded and in some way prepared a given situation should be mentioned in the context, on the other hand, as far as possible, a situation is specified from different sides. The function of working out in detail is carried out by the manner converbs in <AD> -r / -t, <ESD> -ř / -t / -n, cf. (138):

- (138) Hajmṇař    t'axkyř    n'aχ-kis            *nloṇbloṇ-d'i-ķavr-r*  
 old.man    straight    eye-INST            blink-PTL:INT-NEG-CONV:MAN  
 t'yr-d.  
 look-FIN  
 'The old man looked straight, not blinking [his] eyes'.

#### 4.2.3. Sentences with coordinating and subordinating verbal forms

When producing a sentence with both coordinating and subordinating verbal forms, a chain of coordinating forms in <AD> -ra / -ta, <ESD> -ra / -ta / -na, which may occupy either (i) independent, or (ii) dependent position, is included into the sentence. In case of (i), one of coordinating forms or the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'do so' occurs sentence-finally (see section 4.3.1), while the dependent position is occupied by a converb, cf. (139):

- (139) Či    *viṇ-ġavr-data*            n'i    p'-vo            č-aχ  
 you    go-NEG-CONV:TEMP    I    REFL-village            you-DAT/ACC  
*idy-g-na*            p'-vo            *xerai-na.*  
 see-CAUS-FIN            REFL-village            tell-FIN  
 'Before you leave, I shall show you my village and tell [you] about my village'.

In case of (ii), the chain of coordinating forms is always closed by the auxiliary verb *ha-* 'do so', which takes one of converb markers, cf. (140):

- (140) Ytk            ṇa            ṇaṛṇ-ra            čo            ṇaṛṇ-ra  
 father            beast            look.for-FIN            fish            look.for-FIN

- ha-vul*            p'-eṇṇ            p'-řomsk            ṇe-řa-d.  
 do.so-CONV:TEMP    REFL-child            REFL-with            take-ITER-FIN  
 'When father was hunting and fishing, [he] used to take his child with him'.

#### 4.2.4. Syntactic agreement of verbal forms

Unlike other verbal forms, manner converbs in <AD> -r / -t, <ESD> -ř / -t / -n, temporal converbs in <AD> -ror / -tot, <ESD> -roř / -tot / -non, and finite verbal forms in <AD> -ra / -ta, <ESD> -ra / -ta / -na agree with the subject in person and number, so that in 2SG and 3SG, the variants -r (-ř), -ror (-roř), -ra are chosen, whereas in 1 person, 2PL, and 3PL, the variants -t, -tot, -ta are used, cf.:

- (141) Ki            *xiz-roř*            kiṇvuř            jup-t.  
 footwear            put.on-CONV:TEMP            lace            tie.up-FIN  
 'After putting on [his] shoes, he tied up [his] laces'.

- (142) In'-t            *k'ryz-tot*            *poz-t*            ķ'o-d-ṇun.  
 eat-CONV:MAN            be.full-CONV:TEMP            lie-CONV:MAN            sleep-FIN-PL  
 'After eating [their] fill, lying, [they] sleep.'

The finite form agrees with its own subject, cf. (105) and (107). As for the converbs, they agree with the subject of the independent form, cf. (142). In case of non-coreference of the subject of the converb and that of the independent form, the converb takes the causative suffix -gu- / -g-, cf. (143):

- (143) N'i    *vi-g-roř*            p'eṇṇdoχ            nudoχ            p'ur-ja!  
 I    go-CAUS-CONV:TEMP    PTL:IMP            whatever            say-IMP  
 'After I leave, say whatever [you like]!'

Moreover, in *ESD*, using of variants of given suffixes is conditioned by tense / mood of the independent form.

If the last one is used in non-future, the verbal forms in question take the suffixes with the elements *r* (ř) and *t* according to the person and number of the subject as it is described above, cf. (141–142).

In case the independent form is used in future or in the imperative, the variants with the elements *r* (ř) and *n* are used, so that -r (-ř), -ror (-roř), -ra occur in 2SG and 3SG, whereas -t, -tot, -ta – in 1 person, 2PL, and 3PL, cf. (144) with the independent form in future and (143), (145) with that in the imperative.



- (144) N'in        toru        ler-non        p'saryo-i-d-γun-da.  
 we        a.little        play-CONV:TEMP        rest-FUT-FIN-PL-PTL:PRED  
 'After playing a little, we shall have a rest'.

- (145) P'xi-roχ        alř        p'e-n        vi-ğaj!  
 forest-DAT/ADD        berry        pick-CONV:PURP        go-OPT  
 '[I would like] to go to the forest to pick berries!'

Tables 7 and 8 illustrate distribution of variants of suffixes according to the parametres mentioned above.

| number<br>person | singular      | dual          | plural        |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1                | -t, -tot, -ta | -t, -tot, -ta | -t, -tot, -ta |
| 2                | -r, -ror, -ra |               | -t, -tot, -ta |
| 3                | -r, -ror, -ra |               | -t, -tot, -ta |

Table 7: Markers of verbal forms (AD, ESD: NFUT)

| number<br>person | singular      | dual          | plural        |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1                | -n, -non, -na | -n, -non, -na | -n, -non, -na |
| 2                | -r, -ror, -ra |               | -n, -non, -na |
| 3                | -r, -ror, -ra |               | -n, -non, -na |

Table 8: Markers of verbal forms (ESD: FUT, IMP)

Both mentioned rules are also applied to the iterative forms in <ESD> -řa / -t'a / -na and evidential forms in <ESD> -ryγm / -t'γγm / -nyγm, cf. the corresponding forms in <AD> -řa / -t'a, which do not show tense / mood of the independent form.

As for the preventive forms with the suffixes <ESD> -inyņra / -inyņta, -jaņra / -jaņta, negative forms in <ESD> -rlo / -tlo, purposive converbs in <ESD> -ilakrr / -ilakrt, concessive and re-telling converbs in <AD, ESD> -vur /

-vut, though occurring in ESD, they do not reflect tense / mood of the independent verbal form, i.e., like the corresponding forms in -rla / -tla and -ilykrr / -ilykrt from AD agree only with the subject.

#### 4.2.5. Direct and indirect speech

Direct speech is normally indicated by the sentences, one of which contains an utterance verb, cf. (146):

- (146) If        k'ymlly-d'.        Sid'        n'ivx        n'-ņafk  
 he        think-FIN        what        man        I-friend  
 xu-d'-ņa?  
 kill-FIN-PTL:INTER  
 'He thinks: "What man killed my friend?"'

To express indirect speech a finite verb, like *it-* 'say', *my-* 'hear', and the non-finite converb in *-vur* / *-vut* are used, cf. (147). The latter usually precedes the former.

- (147) Tyņank        t'yļguř-kun-ux        milk-aχ  
 formerly        legend-PL-LOC/ABL        devil-DAT/ACC  
 maγo-vut        it-nd-γun.  
 be.a.lot-CONV:RTEL        say-FIN-PL  
 'Formerly, it was said in the legends [that] there was a lot of devils'.

Unlike most other converbs, this one may take the future suffix <AD> -ny-, <ESD> -i-, cf. (148).

- (148) If        imņ-aχ        als        p'e-ny-vur        it-t'.  
 he        they-DAT/ACC        berry        pick-FUT-CONV:RTEL        say-FIN  
 'He said [that] they would pick berries'.

The subject of the re-telling converb takes the dative-accusative marker -aχ, cf. (147–148). If a source of reported information is unknown, the action in question is expressed by a finite verb which takes the special particle <AD, ESD> -furu, cf. (149):

- (149) T'olf        k'av-katn-i-d-furu.  
 summer        be.hot-INT-FUT-FIN-PTL:RTEL  
 'It is said [that] summer will be very hot'.



## 5. Texts

Text 1 in AD was recorded 21.09.1931 from Pnidin in the village of Puir by E.A. Krejnovich and published with Russian translation in [Krejnovich 1934: 220–221].

|                            |                         |  |                        |                                     |                           |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|--|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|                            |                         | Ral-ge<br>frog-COM:DU                      | n'ayr-ke<br>rat-COM:DU |                                     |                           |
| N'ayr<br>rat               | vi-ror<br>go-CONV:TEMP  | p'ry-r<br>come-CONV:MAN                    | ral<br>frog            | k'ez-d'.<br>say-FIN                 | Ŋafk-a<br>friend-VOC      |
| ŋafk-a<br>friend-VOC       | n'-at<br>I-PTL:DEM      | kypramlav<br>place.where.bird.cherry.grows |                        | nŋy-d'-ra.<br>see-FIN-PTL:PRED      |                           |
| Pyt<br>tomorrow            | uyrut<br>together       | vi-nyte.<br>go-IMP:1DU                     | Hoĝat<br>then          | ķ'o-tot<br>sleep-CONV:TEMP          |                           |
| oz-ŋan<br>get.up-CONV:TEMP | mu-ŋir<br>boat-INST     | vi-d'.<br>go-FIN                           | Ral<br>frog            | mŋe-ra<br>row-FIN                   |                           |
| n'ayr<br>rat               | men'<br>scull           | vo-ra.<br>hold-FIN                         | Ral<br>frog            | yvn'<br>oar                         | tly-ŋan<br>pull-CONV:TEMP |
| kelŋel<br>sprawl           | ha-ŋar<br>do.so-FIN:MOD | payla<br>red                               | ĝox<br>stomach         | park<br>only                        |                           |
| helkelķ-t'.<br>shine-FIN   | N'ayr<br>rat            | it-t'.<br>say-FIN                          | Ći<br>you              | p'er-d'-ra<br>be.tired-FIN-PTL:PRED |                           |
| n'-ax<br>I-DAT/ACC         | tur<br>here             | mŋe-gu-ja.<br>row-CAUS-IMP:2SG             | Hoĝar<br>then          | n'ayr<br>rat                        |                           |
| mŋe-ra<br>row-FIN          | ral<br>frog             | men'<br>scull                              | vo-ra.<br>hold-FIN     | N'ayr<br>rat                        | mŋe-d'<br>row-FIN         |
| ŋyki<br>tail               | zaŋĝa<br>stick.up       | yf<br>whiskers                             | t'aŋĝa.<br>stick.up    | Hoĝat<br>then                       | vi-t<br>go-CONV:MAN       |
| max-ta.<br>moor-FIN        | N'ayr<br>rat            | ŋŋrykun<br>long.ago                        | p'-ŋafk<br>REFL-friend | ynk<br>before                       | myr-ra<br>go.up-FIN       |

|                                     |  |  |                                    |                     |             |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| kyp<br>bird.cherry                  | fe-r<br>pick-CONV:MAN                  | in'-ra.<br>eat-FIN                     | Ral<br>frog                        | p'-mu<br>REFL-boat  |             |
| hurtoŋ-ror<br>tie-CONV:TEMP         | p'-ŋafk-rox<br>REFL-friend-DAT/ADD     | myr-ra.<br>go.up-FIN                   | P'-ŋafk-rox<br>REFL-friend-DAT/ADD |                     |             |
| myr-ŋan<br>go.up-CONV:TEMP          | t'iŋr<br>tree                          | ksor<br>on                             | myr-ny-ĝar<br>climb-FUT-CONV:SUBJ  |                     |             |
| orkot-r<br>roll.down-CONV:MAN       | kut-t'-ra.<br>fall-FIN-PTL:PRED        | Ŋafk-a<br>friend-VOC                   | ŋafk-a<br>friend-VOC               |                     |             |
| hyŋr<br>roe                         | xem<br>grain                           | n'ik-hara<br>one-PTL:COP               | kyp<br>bird.cherry                 | xem<br>grain        |             |
| n'ik-hara<br>one-PTL:COP            | n'-yl<br>I-mouth                       | fyn'-ja.<br>throw-IMP:2SG              | Ĝau-ja<br>leave.alone-IMP:2SG      |                     |             |
| ĝot'-t<br>throw.down-CONV:MAN       | ĉ-ar-ny-dox<br>you-feed-FUT-DAT/ADD    | ķ'au-k-ra<br>do.not.be-FIN-PTL:PRED    |                                    |                     |             |
| park<br>yourself                    | myr-r<br>go.up-CONV:MAN                | in'-ja.<br>eat-IMP:2SG                 | Hogut<br>so.then                   |                     |             |
| p'-xoĝa-d'i<br>REFL-thought-PTL:INT | lyŋŋ-r<br>do.not.have-CONV:MAN         | in'-ke<br>eat-CONV:TEMP                |                                    |                     |             |
| hyŋr<br>roe                         | xem<br>grain                           | n'ik<br>one                            | kyp<br>bird.cherry                 | xem<br>grain        | n'ik<br>one |
| haz-r<br>seize.up-CONV:MAN          | rymzu-r<br>drop-CONV:MAN               | ĝot'-t'-ra.<br>fall-FIN-PTL:PRED       | Ral<br>frog                        |                     |             |
| ŋe-r<br>take-CONV:MAN               | in'-ŋyt-t'-ra.<br>eat-PRF-FIN-PTL:PRED | Hoĝar<br>then                          | n'ayr<br>rat                       |                     |             |
| e-ry<br>I-DAT/ADD                   | myŋ-ra<br>come.down-FIN                | i-ķ'ol<br>she-neck                     | mam-ra<br>squeeze-FIN              | j-aŋ<br>she-DAT/ACC |             |
| eru-gu-r<br>vomit-CAUS-CONV:MAN     | ŋe-r<br>take-CONV:MAN                  | in'-ŋyt-t'-ra.<br>eat-PRF-FIN-PTL:PRED | Hoĝar<br>then                      |                     |             |



|                                     |                                   |                            |                                     |                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ral<br>frog                         | e-ry<br>she-DAT/ADD               | um-ra.<br>be.angry-FIN     | ᠒afk-a<br>friend-VOC                | ᠒afk-a<br>friend-VOC                |                                |
| n'-at<br>I-PTL:DEM                  | um-t<br>be.angry-CONV:MAN         |                            | vi-ny-d'-ra.<br>go-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED | Minr<br>eight                       |                                |
| t'uk<br>ridge                       | rmy-ta<br>go.over-FIN             | minr<br>eight              | ᠒yju<br>brook                       | rozu-ta.<br>cross-FIN               |                                |
| Hoġar<br>then                       | if eγ-r<br>she come.back-CONV:MAN |                            | vi-᠒an<br>go-CONV:TEMP              | pil-kar<br>be.big-INT               |                                |
| t'ox<br>elk                         | i-dyf-t'i<br>she-house-PTL:INT    | fi-r<br>stay-CONV:MAN      |                                     | hum-ra.<br>be-FIN                   |                                |
| Hoġar<br>then                       | ral<br>frog                       | tyvy-r<br>come.in-CONV:MAN | mot<br>pillow                       | hekr-ux<br>from.behind-LOC/ABL      |                                |
| tan'<br>cutting.out                 | d'aġo<br>knife                    | γe-ra<br>take-FIN          |                                     | řo-r<br>carry-CONV:MAN              |                                |
| pu-r<br>come.out-CONV:MAN           |                                   | esp-r<br>prick-CONV:MAN    | iγ-ra.<br>kill-FIN                  | Tol<br>sea                          | erġ<br>side                    |
| čyg-ux-hara<br>fire-LOC/ABL-PTL:COP | pal<br>hill                       | erġ<br>side                |                                     | čyg-ux-hara<br>fire-LOC/ABL-PTL:COP |                                |
| je-ra.<br>cook-FIN                  | Hoġar<br>then                     | hum-r<br>be-CONV:MAN       | ġlaj<br>snare                       | lyt-t'-ra.<br>make-FIN-PTL:PRED     |                                |
| N'ayr<br>rat                        | e-ry<br>she-DAT/ADD               | p'ry-r.<br>come-CONV:MAN   | ᠒afk-a<br>friend-VOC                | či<br>you                           | sid'<br>what                   |
| lyt-t'-᠒a?<br>do-FIN-PTL:INTER      | Ral<br>frog                       | it-r<br>say-CONV:MAN       | n'i<br>I                            | pila᠒<br>big                        | lytt'<br>business              |
| lyt-t'-ra.<br>do-FIN-PTL:PRED       | Či<br>you                         | sid'<br>what               |                                     | he-d'-᠒a?<br>cook-FIN-PTL:INTER     | N'ayr<br>rat                   |
| it-t'.<br>say-FIN                   | Hoġar<br>then                     | ral<br>frog                | n'i<br>I                            | t'us<br>meat                        | he-d'-ra.<br>cook-FIN-PTL:PRED |

|  |                 |                               |                             |   |   |            |
|--|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|------------|
| Et'<br>dish                                | kylmr<br>plank  | ᠒ayi-r<br>go.for-CONV:MAN     |                             | tyvy-ja.<br>come.into.a.house-IMP:2SG   |   |            |
| Hoġar<br>then                              |                 | n'ayr<br>rat                  | p'-xot'i<br>REFL-hole       | rulku-r<br>climb.through-CONV:MAN       |   |            |
| tyvy-ra<br>come.into.a.house-FIN           |                 |                               | p'-nonχ-xu<br>REFL-whelp-PL | haz-r<br>bite-CONV:MAN                  | ᠒et'γju-gu-ra<br>squeak-CAUS-FIN          |            |
| et'<br>dish                                | kylmr<br>plank  | pyγi-r<br>drag-CONV:MAN       |                             | ġvalγju-gu-ra.<br>make.a.noise-CAUS-FIN | Hoġar<br>then                             |            |
| ral<br>frog                                | ġlaj<br>snare   | řayu-r<br>drag.up-CONV:MAN    |                             | i-ġ'ot'i<br>she-hole                    | zyr-uin<br>edge-LOC                       |            |
| ra-ra.<br>put-FIN                          | N'ayr<br>rat    | p'u-᠒an<br>come.out-CONV:TEMP |                             | ġlaj<br>snare                           | i-ġ'os<br>she-neck                        |            |
| pat'᠒a-ba<br>jam-CONV:TEMP                 |                 |                               | t'ef<br>squeek              | ha-ra<br>do.so-FIN                      | ᠒ex ᠒ex.<br>squeek                        |            |
| ᠒afk-a<br>friend-VOC                       |                 | ᠒afk-a<br>friend-VOC          |                             | kyp<br>bird.cherry                      | xota<br>birch.bark.vessel                 |            |
| n'ik-hara<br>one-PTL:COP                   |                 | hyr<br>roe                    |                             | ġota<br>birch.bark.vessel               | n'ik-hara<br>one-PTL:COP                  |            |
| č-ar-ny-d'-ra<br>you-feed-FUT-FIN-PTL:PRED |                 |                               |                             | n'-xylγu-ja.<br>I-slacken-IMP:2SG       | Ral it-r<br>frog say-CONV:MAN             | ta<br>here |
| maγva<br>take.that                         | park<br>oneself | in'-ja.<br>eat-IMP:2SG        |                             | N'i<br>I                                | č-xylγu-ny-dox<br>you-slacken-FUT-DAT/ADD |            |
| ġ'au-k-ra.<br>do.not.be-FIN-PTL:PRED       |                 | Hoġar<br>then                 | n'ayr<br>rat                |   | mu-ra.<br>die-FIN                         |            |

## TRANSLATION

## A frog and a rat

Going, coming [back], a rat said to a frog: "Friend, friend, I saw a place where bird cherry grows. Let us go tomorrow together." Then, after sleeping, when [they] got up, [they] went by boat. The frog rowed, the rat held a scull. When



the frog pulled an oar, [she] sprawled, [her] red stomach shined only. The rat said: "You are tired, let me row here". Then the rat rowed, the frog held a scull. The rat rowed, the tail [was] sticking up, the whiskers [were] sticking up. Then, going, [they] moored. The rat went up long before her friend, picking bird cherry, [she] ate. After tying her boat, the frog went up to her friend. When [she] went up to her friend, she climbed a tree, but rolling down, [she] fell down. "Friend, friend, throw [into] my mouth a grain of roe, a grain of bird cherry." "Leave [me] alone, throwing [you] down, I shall not feed you, going up yourself, eat." So then, does not having her thoughts, when [she] was eating, seizing up a grain of roe, a grain of bird cherry, dropping [them], [they] fell down. Taking up, the frog has eaten [them]. Then the rat came down to her, squeezed her neck, making her vomit out, taking [them], [she] has eaten [them]. Then the frog got angry at her. "Friend, friend, I shall go, being angry". [She] went over eight ridges, crossed eight brooks. Then, when she was coming back, there was a very big elk [in] her house. Then, coming in, the frog took a knife for cutting out from behind a pillow, carrying [it], coming out, pricking up, killed [it]. [She] cooked [it] on a fire at the sea side, on a fire at the hill side. Then [she] made a snare. The rat coming to her: "Friend, what are you doing?". The frog saying: "I am doing a big business". "What are you cooking?" – the rat said. Then the frog: "I am cooking the meat. Go to the house for a plank dish". Then, climbing through, the rat came into her hole, biting her whelps, [she] made [them] squek, dragging the plank dish, [she] made a noise. Then, dragging up a snare, the frog put it at the edge of her hole. When the rat came out, as soon as the snare jammed her neck, [she] squeked: "Ngex ngex". "Friend, friend, I shall feed you [with] a birch bark vessel of bird cherry, a birch bark vessel of roe, slacken me off". The frog saying: "Take that, eat yourself, I shall not slacken you off". Then the rat died.

Text 2 in ESD was recorded 19.08.1991 from V.N. Sachgun in the town of Nogliki by E. Gruzdeva.

Osk t'ylguř  
hare legend

|      |              |        |      |            |
|------|--------------|--------|------|------------|
| Tymy | γeřķη-ux     | n'iγvη | menη | čma-d.     |
| Tymy | side-LOC/ABL | man    | two  | go.out-FIN |

|                        |              |                 |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Ket                    | xeřķη-doχ    | vi-ivu-d-γun.   |
| west.coast.of.Sakhalin | side-DAT/ADD | go-IMPRF-FIN-PL |

|  |                                  |                              |                                      |                                      |                       |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| T'iv-ux<br>way-LOC/ABL                               | vi-ivu-fke<br>go-IMPRF-CONV:TEMP | iřn<br>they                  | huņgu-d-γun<br>pass.the.night-FIN-PL |                                      |                       |
| čχar<br>forest                                       | mi-x.<br>in-LOC/ABL              | N'iγvη<br>man                | n'enη<br>one                         | axmalk-hara<br>father=in=law-PTL:COP |                       |
| n'enη<br>one   | ymγi-hara<br>son=in=law-PTL:COP  | ha-d.<br>do.so-FIN           | T'uyř<br>fire                        |                                      |                       |
| či-tot<br>lay-CONV:TEMP                              | t'uyř<br>fire                    | p'i-t<br>stay-CONV:MAN       | hup-t<br>sit-CONV:MAN                |                                      |                       |
| hunm-d-γun.<br>be-FIN-PL                             | Čχar<br>forest                   | mi<br>in                     | xeřķη-ux<br>side-LOC/ABL             | osķ<br>hare                          |                       |
| če-d.<br>cry-FIN                                     | Axmalk<br>father=in=law          | osķ<br>hare                  | au<br>voice                          | iγr-d<br>use-FIN                     |                       |
| e-rγop-t.<br>OBJ-excite-FIN                          | Ymγi<br>son=in=law               | it-nt.<br>say-FIN            | Aγo<br>stop                          | jaņř<br>why                          | osķ<br>hare           |
| řxop-t-ņa?<br>excite-FIN-PTL:INTER                   | Axmalk<br>father=in=law          | p'-ņafķ<br>REFL-friend       | it-nt<br>say-FIN                     |                                      |                       |
| myi-d'i-ger-ř<br>listen-PTL:INT-do.not.want-CONV:MAN |                                  | nag-ř<br>continue-CONV:MAN   | osķ<br>hare                          |                                      |                       |
| au<br>voice  | iγr-d.<br>use-FIN                | Osk<br>hare                  | au<br>voice                          | p'aki<br>more                        | ma-ř<br>hear-CONV:MAN |
| p'aki<br>more  | ma-ř<br>hear-CONV:MAN            | ha-ra<br>do.so-FIN           | t'uyř<br>fire                        |                                      |                       |
| p'akifaki<br>more.and.more                           | uņur-ifu-ra.<br>burn-INGR-FIN    | Ymγi<br>son=in=law           | p'akifaki<br>more.and.more           |                                      |                       |
| k'lu-jo-γar-d.<br>be.afraid-DEMN-PRF-FIN             | Ymγi<br>son=in=law               | p'-řu<br>REFL-sledge         | vi-ř<br>go-CONV:MAN                  |                                      |                       |
| poz-ř<br>lie-CONV:MAN                                | čņyr-kis<br>grass-INST           | p'-ařku-ra<br>REFL-cover-FIN | ha-ř<br>do.so-CONV:MAN               |                                      |                       |



|                          |                              |   |                                 |                         |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| t'yk<br>for.a.long.time  | p'erv-ř<br>hide-CONV:MAN     | huvv-fke<br>be-CONV:TEMP                                  | ķ'o-d.<br>sleep-FIN             |                         |                              |
| K'unu<br>dawn            | mar-ř<br>rise-CONV:MAN       | kalyala<br>light  | ha-ŋa<br>do.SO-CONV:TEMP        |                         |                              |
| ym'yi<br>son=in=law      | jaxo-d.<br>wake.up-FIN       | Jaxo-ř<br>wake.up-CONV:MAN                                | t'yr-ŋa<br>look.round-CONV:TEMP |                         |                              |
| t'uyř<br>fire            | tor-χar-ra<br>go.out-PRF-FIN | axmalk<br>father=in=law                                   | uiyi-ra<br>disappear-FIN        | ķanŋ-gun<br>dog-PL      |                              |
| parf<br>evening          | poz-d<br>lie-FIN             | vot'id<br>as  | poz-t<br>lie-FIN                | hunm-ta.<br>be-FIN      | J-axmalk<br>he-father=in=law |
| jivv-ux<br>place-LOC/ABL | kivv-kin<br>footwear-PL      | vyřk<br>only  | huvv-nd.<br>be-FIN              | Hymd'igt<br>that.is.why |                              |
| n'iγvŋ-γun<br>man-PL     | osķ<br>hare                  | řxop-t'in-ger-d-γun.<br>excite-PTL:INT-do.not.want-FIN-PL |                                 | Menŋ<br>two             |                              |
| ŋafķ-kun<br>friend-PL    | hunŋuŋ<br>pass.the.night     | jivf<br>place   | Xaunuzu<br>Xaunuzu              | χau-d.<br>call-FIN      |                              |

## TRANSLATION

## A legend about a hare

Going out from Tymy, two men were going to the west coast of Sakhalin. On the way, going for a long time, they passed the night in the forest. One man was father-in-law, the other was son-in-law. After laying the fire, [they] were sitting [near] the fire. A hare cried in the forest. Using the hare's voice, father-in-law excited [the hare]. Son-in-law said: "Stop [that], why do you excite the hare?". Do not wanting to listen [what] his friend was saying, father in law continued to use the hare's voice. The hare's voice was heard more and more [strongly], [and] the fire was more and more burning. Son-in-law was becoming more and more afraid. Going, lying on his sledge, covering himself with the grass, hiding for a long time, son-in-law [fell] asleep. At dawn, when [it was] light, son-in-law woke up. Waking up, when [he] was looking round, the fire has gone out, father-in-law disappeared, the dogs were lying as [they] lied in the evening. There was only the footwear on the place of his father-in-law. That is why people do not want to excite the hare. The place [where] two friends passed the night is called Xaunuzu.

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