Tundra Yukaghir

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	IDNR	identifier
ACC	accusative	IMP	imperative
ADV	adverb	IPFV	imperfective
AF	A-Focus	INCH	inchoative
AFF	affirmative	INFR	inferential
ANR	action nominalizer	INGR	ingressive
APPL	applicative	INSTR	instrumental
AT	attributive	INVS	invisible
AUG	augmentative	INTR	intransitive
CAUS	causative	IMG	imaginative
COM	comitative	INTS	intensifier
SET	scene-setting	IPFV	imperfective
D	deictic presentative	ITER	iterative
DAT	dative	ITR	interrogative
DESD	desiderative	LOC	locative
DETR	detransitivizer	LCR	locutor
DIM	diminutive	MED	medial
DIR	directional	NEG	negative
DLM	delimitative	NTR	neutral
DP	discourse particle	NOM	nominative
DS	different-subject	NR	nominalizer
DST	distal	OBLQ	oblique
DSTR	distributive	OF	O-Focus
DUB	dubitative	ORD	ordinal
EGR	egressive	PFV	perfective
FOC	focus	PL	plural
FRQ	frequentative	PROH	prohibitive
FUT	future	PROL	prolative
HAB	habitual	PRSP	prospective
HORT	hortative	PRV	privative
HST	hesitative	PRXM	proximal
HPCR	hypocoristic	QLT	qualitative
HYP	hypothetical	RESP	reciprocal

REFL	reflexive		TOP	topic
RES	resultative		TR	transitive
RNR	result nominalizer		TRNSF	transformative
SF	S-Focus		VEN	venitive
SG	singular		VR	verbalizer
SS	same-subject marker		VSBL	visible
STAT	stative			

Sources of the example sentences:

T G. N. Kurilov's collection in the archive of Yakut Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Language and Literature. Archive unit V: 14; storage units 63, 66 (transcriptions) and 64, 67 (Russian translations). References are given to the publication in (Maslova 2001) in the following format: "T text number : sentence number".

Krejnovich 1958 Example sentences and the sample text in (Krejnovich 1958); if the sentence is taken from the sample text, the page number is followed by the sentence number in brackets.

Krejnovich 1982 Example sentences in (Krejnovich 1982).

Field notes from my expedition to Andryushkino in 1987.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Tundra Yukaghir and its speakers

Yukaghir languages are traditionally subsumed under the label "Paleo-Siberian languages", along with other isolated languages and small language groups of Siberia (Eskimo-Aleut, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Yenisei Ostyak, Gilyak). Although Paleo-Siberian languages share some important typological characteristics (e.g., predominantly agglutinative morphology, head-final word order, deranking strategies of clause linkage), they can hardly be thought of as a "linguistic area" in any strict sense of the term, since their common features are widespread around the globe. According to the most widely received (albeit not uncontroversial) hypothesis, Yukaghir languages belong to the same genetic "stock" as the Uralic family of languages (Angere 1956; Bouda 1941; Collinder 1940, 1960, 1965; Nikolaeva 1988a; 1988b; *inter alia*).

The Yukaghirs are one of the ancient peoples of the North-East of Siberia, which used to roam along the vast territories from the Lena river in the west to the Anadyr river in the east. The Yukaghir population was gradually assimilated or squeezed out after the Evens, Yakuts, and Evenki penetrated the area; it suffered a dramatic drop in numbers due to a series of devastating epidemics and severe economic consequences of the *jasak* (tribute) introduced by the Russian government in the seventeenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, there remained several small communities of hunters and reindeer-breeders that spoke Yukaghir dialects (Tugolukov 1979). These communities had been living in contact with the neighboring peoples for several centuries; mixed marriages and widely spread multilingualism resulted in the weakening of ethnic self-consciousness and cultural amalgamation of the Yukaghirs, the Evens, and, to a lesser extent, the local Yakuts and Russians. The multilingualism is still preserved in the oldest generation of the Yukaghirs and Evens, whereas the younger generations have switched to Yakut and/or Russian, mainly due to mandatory school education (Maslova and Vakhtin 1996).

At the present time, Yukaghir is represented by two distinct languages, Tundra (Northern) and Kolyma (Southern) Yukaghir. Tundra Yukaghirs

(*wadul*) live in two multi-ethnic settlements of the Lower Kolyma district, Andryushkino (ca. 1000 people) at the Alasea river and Kolymskoye (ca. 900 people) at the Kolyma river (both established in 1941). According to a sociolinguistic survey conducted in 1987, there were 130 Yukaghirs in Andryushkino and 40 in Kolymskoye (the other ethnic groups being Evens, Chukchees, Yakuts, and Russians); approximately ninety of them spoke Yukaghir (Vakhtin 1992: 52-55). The major language of interethnic communication is Yakut in Andryushkino and Russian in Kolymskoye. Until the last decades of the twentieth century, they had had no contacts with Kolyma Yukaghirs (*odul*), who live mainly in the settlement of Nelemnoye at the Yasachnaya river (the Upper Kolyma district); according to the same 1987 survey, there were 133 Yukaghirs in Nelemnoye, but only 29 of them spoke Yukaghir.

The time of divergence between Tundra and Kolyma Yukaghir was estimated as two thousand years on the basis of lexical distinctions, which appear surprisingly great in comparison with grammatical and phonological divergence (Nikolaeva and Xelimskij 1997: 155-156). It must be taken into account, however, that the rate of lexical divergence must have been significantly increased by intensive language contacts (see above), so that the actual time depth of Proto-Yukaghir is likely to be less than two millennia. On the other hand, the degree of grammatical divergence appears to have been underestimated at the initial stages of Yukaghir studies. Although Yukaghir languages have essentially the same general typological profile and, furthermore, most grammatical morphemes of each language have obvious etymological counterparts in the other one, yet a detailed study reveals a broad range of substantial grammatical distinctions. For example, Kolyma Yukaghir has a grammaticalized Accusative marker, which is etymologically related to one of the Locative case markers in Tundra Yukaghir. Although this Locative marker can be used to encode objects, it retains its locative meaning, i.e., Tundra Yukaghir has no Accusative case. At another level, the past vs. present distinction is not obligatory in either language, i.e., they have a neutral (unmarked) non-future form. However, Kolyma Yukaghir has developed a periphrastic Past form, which can be used to stress the opposition between distant past and recent past/present temporal reference; this form has no counterpart in Tundra Yukaghir. Similar points of divergence are attested in all domains of grammar and add up to two quite different grammatical systems.

The first descriptive grammar of Tundra Yukaghir appeared in 1958 in Russian (Krejnovič 1958) and was based on materials collected by Yeruhim Krejnovich in 1936 and 1937, when several Tundra Yukaghirs studied in St.Petersburg (then Leningrad), as well as on Waldemar Jochelson's Tundra Yukaghir records (Jochelson 1898, 1900). Some aspects of Tundra Yukaghir grammar are described in more detail in (Krejnovič 1982) on the basis of

Table 1. Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	p b	t d	t' d'	k g	q
Fricative		s			h
Nasal	m	n	n'	ŋ	
Lateral		l	l'		
Rolled		r			
Glides	w		j		

Krejnovič's own field work in Tundra Yukaghir settlements and a collection of texts gathered and translated by Gavrila Kurilov (Archive of Academy of Sciences, Yakut Branch). A part of this collection, with English translations, is published in (Maslova 2001); see also *Appendix*. Taken together, these works constitute the major source of first-hand data on Tundra Yukaghir. Grammaticalization of information-structure phenomena and their effects on clause syntax and switch-reference were further studied in my doctoral dissertation (Maslova 1989a) on the basis of published and archived materials and my field research in Andryushkino in 1987.[1]

1.2. Phoneme inventory and major phonological constraints

1.2.1. Phonemes

Yukaghir distinguishes six vowel qualities:

	front	↔	back
close	i		u
↕	e	ø	o
open		a	

Each vowel has a long counterpart; half-close long vowels are regularly represented as falling diphtongs /ie/, /uø/ and /uo/ in accented syllables.

The system of consonants is shown in Table 1. The uvular fricative /h/ has a plosive variant, which occurs after /ŋ/.

1.2.2. Syllable structure

There are two major types of syllables, (C)V and (C)VC ('=' indicates syllable boundaries):

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1. Papers on specific issues in Tundra Yukaghir studies are listed in the bibliography to this book. For an overview of Kolyma Yukaghir studies, see (Maslova 2003a) and references therein.

(1) V: *ā̠=rī̠*   'weapon'
     CV: *lā̠=me*   'dog'
     VC: *ī̠s=rim*   '(she) breast-fed'
     CVC: *wiem*   '(he) made'

The vowel-initial subtypes are possible in the word-initial position only; if a vowel-initial morpheme is attached to a vowel-final stem, the vowel cluster is avoided either by means of an epenthetic consonant (2), or by dropping the final vowel of the stem (3):

(2) *apta-**j**-uol*   *ap=ta=juol*   'being gathered'
     gather-0-RNR

     *me-**r**-oŋu-m*   *me=ro=ŋu=m*   'he put'
     AFF-0-put-TR(3)

(3) *awe-l*   'sleeping'
     sleep-ANR
     āw-uol   *ā=wuol*   'bed, sleeping place'
     sleep-RNR
     āw-ā-je-ŋ   *ā=wā=jeŋ*   '(I) began to sleep'
     sleep-INGR-INTR-1SG

Voiced obstruents are prohibited in the syllable-final position and are replaced with sonorants according to the following rules:

(4) a. ***d→n**:   *ta=dul*   →   *tan=d'eŋ*
                     'merchandise'   'merchant'
     b. ***d'→n'**: *t'a=mō̠=d'e*   →   *t'a=mō̠-n'*
                     'big'   '(it) is big'
     c. ***g→w**:   *se=guj*   →   *sew=jeŋ*
                     '(he) entered'   '(I) entered'

Nasal consonants /n/ and /n'/ alternate with /l/ before /l/, /l'/ of the following suffix, e.g.:

(5) a. *taŋun*   →   *taŋul-leŋ*
         'that one'   Predicative form
     b. *pun'-im*   →   *pul-l'el-um*
         'he killed'   'he killed' (inferred)

This rule also applies to nasal consonants that represent underlying voiced obstruents, cf.:

(6) *me=**d'**im*   'he took'
     *me**n'**=han*   'let him take'
     *me**l**=l'el=d'e* 'that he had taken'

Syllables ending in a consonant cluster (CVCC) occur in the word-final position only and are confined to the following classes of word forms:

1. Nominative (unmarked) forms of a small group of nouns ending in /jl/, e.g., *qajl* 'stone', *n'ajl* 'sister in law'.

2. Action Nominal forms (suffix *-l*) of Perfective verbs (suffix *-j-*), e.g., *ke=wejl* 'going away', *pul=gejl* 'coming out'.

3. Imperative and 2SG Interrogative forms (suffix *-k*) of verbs with consonant final stems, e.g., *monk* 'say', *ne=re=gesk* 'beat'.

4. A closed class of particles, e.g., *ejk* (hesitation), *kot'ejk* (agreement).

In other contexts, consonant clusters in the word-final position are avoided by means of epenthetic vowels (/u/, /e/ or /i/):

(7) *pul-l'el-**u**-m*   *pul=l'e=**lum***   'he has killed'
     kill-INFR-0-TR(3)

     *t'am-uol-**e**-l*   *t'a=muo=**lel***   'the eldest (one)'
     big-STAT-0-ANR

     *tenubun'-**i**-r*   *te=nu=bu=n'**ir***   'being hungry'
     be.hungry-0-SS

The transparency of syllabic structure within a word is supported by alternation between syllabic ($C_i e$) and consonantal (C_i) variants of some suffixes (e.g., *-te-* and *-t-* for the Future marker). Generally, the appropriate variant of a suffix is determined by its left context. The roots fall in two classes depending on whether they take -C*e*- or -C- variants; the latter class includes only roots ending in /e/, /a/, /o/, whereas the former displays no phonological constraints of this sort (Krejnovič 1982: 36*ff*). In a string of suffixes, the variants alternate, so as to produce structures like ...-C*e*-C-C*e*-... or ...-C-C*e*-C-..., cf.:

(8) *sahu-**se**-**t**-**me**-le*   *sa=hu=set=me=le*   '(that) he lost'
     disappear-CAUS-FUT-TR-OF:3

     *lolha-**s**-**te**-**m**-le*   *lol=has=tem=le*   '(that) he boiled'
     boil-CAUS-FUT-TR-OF:3

However, this general rule may be violated to avoid prohibited phoneme clusters: -C*e*- is selected before a word-final consonantal morph; and -C- is selected before a vowel-initial morph, e.g.:

(9) *ed'i-te-**te**-m*   *e=d'i=te=te=m*   '(it) will save'
     live-CAUS-FUT-TR(3)

     *pun'-**t**-uok*   *pun'=tuok*   '(how) will we kill'
     kill-FUT-ITR.1PL

This mechanism of avoiding phoneme clusters thus serves as the preferred alternative to epenthesis (see (2), (7)).

1.3. Structural case and information structure

In many respects, Tundra Yukaghir fits the cross-linguistically recurrent profile of head-final dependent-marking language with moderately rich and predominantly agglutinative morphology. However, the system of syntactic roles (grammatical relations) – as reflected in case marking of core participants (A, S, O) – is less typologically common. It involves a complex interplay between several distinct parameters: information structure, relative ranking of A and O in the person hierarchy, and internal properties of NPs referring to core participants. It seems reasonable, therefore, to begin a description of Yukaghir morphosyntax with an overview of this system: on the one hand, it is essential for understanding virtually all examples in this book; on the other hand, it undoubtedly represents one of the most typologically non-trivial features of this language.

Grammatical encoding of *information structure* distinguishes two pragmatic macro-roles, Topic and Focus, i.e., each core participant is encoded as Topic or Focus. Topic is the unmarked member of this opposition, that is, a core participant can be encoded as Topic even if it belongs to the scope of assertion, whereas the reverse is impossible: Focus encoding unambiguously identifies the constituent as a part of (pragmatic) assertion. On the other hand, Focus encoding of a core participant is strictly obligatory in prototypical "narrow focus" contexts, i.e., if the remainder of the sentences is presented as its pragmatic presupposition (for example, in question-answer pairs). There can be only one Focus constituent per clause, i.e., there are two types of intransitive construction, S-Topic and S-Focus, and three types of transitive construction, A-Topic/O-Topic, A-Topic/O-Focus, and A-Focus/O-Topic. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to A-Topic/O-Topic constructions as "Neutral"; the other two transitive construction types will be referred to as O-Focus and A-Focus constructions respectively. In some contexts, it will be convenient to use the label "Neutral" as a cover term for both transitive and intransitive constructions without nominal Focus. All non-finite clauses and all Imperative clauses are Neutral, i.e., the role of Focus is accessible only for core participants of finite non-Imperative clause. Apart from nominal morphological oppositions described below, information structure is encoded on the finite verb (see 2.2).

In a nutshell, the interaction between semantic/syntactic (A vs. S vs. O) and pragmatic (Topic vs. Focus) macro-roles at the level of case marking can be described as *split intransitivity*: S-Topic aligns with A-Topic, and S-Focus, with O-Focus. This gives four distinct *morphosyntactic roles*: A-Focus, A/S-Topic, S/O-Focus, and O-Topic. In addition, the morphological encoding of O-Topic depends on the relative ranking of A and O in *person hierarchy* (Locutor > non-Locutor): if A has a higher rank than O in this hierarchy, O-Topic is encoded by the same case form as A/S-Topic.

A-Focus constituents take zero case marker, i.e., the A-Focus form coincides with the stem used to derive oblique case forms. This form will be referred to below as *Primary case*. This form consistently differs from that of A/S-Topic (*Neutral case*) for third-person pronouns only; personal pronouns take the suffix *-l* in the Neutral case (*tude-l* 'she, he, it', *titte-l* 'they'); the Neutral form of demonstrative pronouns is derived by suffix *-gi ~ -hi*, which replaces the general nominalizer *-ŋun*, present in all other case forms, e.g.: *tu(ŋ)* 'this' vs. *tu-ŋun* 'this one' (Primary form) vs. *tu-gi* 'this one' (Neutral form). Cf. the following pairs of examples:

(10) a. *kin lāme-s?*   ***tude*** *lāme-s*
     who dog-CAUS(AF) 3SG dog-CAUS(AF)
     'Who sent a dog? HE sent.' (Krejnovič 1982: 209)

    b. ***tude-l*** *me-lāme-s-u-m*
     3SG-NTR AFF-dog-CAUS-0-TR(3)
     'He SENT A DOG.' (field notes)

(11) a. *t'ohaje-le kin men'?*   ***tu-ŋun*** *men'*
     knive-ACC who take(AF) PRXM-NR take(AF)
     'Who took the knife? THIS ONE took.' (Krejnovič 1982: 238)

    b. ***tu-gi*** *me-med'-i-m*
     PRXM-NTR take-0-TR(3)
     'This one TOOK IT.' (Krejnovič 1982: 240)

For common nouns, the A/S-Topic role allows optional bound quantifier *-ŋ*, which occurs only with bare nouns (see 3.5.2) and is impossible in the A-Focus role. Apart from this, the A/S-Topic and A-Focus forms are identical, so that the pragmatic role of A is encoded only on the verb.

In contrast to the Primary form, the Neutral form can also be used for encoding of O-Topic (hence the term); in finite clauses, this is possible only if the referent of A is a speech act participant, e.g.:

(12) a. *tude-l*   *mālek alhan pun'-te-j*
     3SG-NTR DP   HORT kill-FUT-1PL
     'Let's kill him.' (T5:88)

    b. ***met amā*** *me-pun'-me-k*
     my father AFF-kill-TR-2SG
     'You have killed my father.' (T2:40)

If O also refers to a speech act participant, it takes the pronominal Neutral suffix *-l* in this context:

(13) a. *tit-u-l*   *met neme-lek*   *løgi-te-te-m?*
     2SG-0-NTR I   what-INSTR eat-CAUS-FUT-ITR:1SG
     'What shall I give you to eat?' (T5:13)

   b. *met-u-l*   *el-bun-d'e-k*
      1SG-0-NTR   NEG-kill-INTR-2SG
      'You have not killed me!' (T8:146)

This suffix is identical with the Neutral marker of third person pronouns, yet in this case it functions as an accusative marker, since the first and second person pronouns take zero-marked form in the A/S-Topic role (see (13a)). It can be assumed, then, that first and second person pronouns take the Primary form in the A role independently of pragmatic role. The Neutral form encodes third person A/S-Topic and O-Topic in the context of local person A (and, optionally, in non-finite clauses).

    The S/O-Focus role is encoded by one of two overt Focus markers, *-(e)k* or *-le-(ŋ)*, with the exception of three groups of NPs: third person pronouns, proper names, and possessive NPs (see 3.2), which appear in the S/O-Focus position in the Neutral form. These options are illustrated in (14) for S and in (15) for O.

(14) a. *te-n*   *sarime-pe-le-ŋ*   *kelu-ŋu-l*
       PRXM-D guest-PL-FOC-FC come-PL-SF
       'GUESTS have come!' (T6:56)

     b. *mārqa-n* *t'am-uo-d'e*   *jalhil-ek* *l'e-l*
       one-AT   big-STAT-INTR lake-FOC be-SF
       'There was A LARGE LAKE.' (T5:137)

     c. **mit abut'ie**   *joj-ā-l*
       1PL grandmother sick-INGR-SF
       'OUR GRANDMOTHER fell ill.' (T4:1)

(15) a. *met* *taŋ* *gol-le-ŋ*   *nū-me-ŋ*
       1SG that man-FOC-FC find-TR:OF-LCR
       'I have found THE MAN!' (T6:349)

     b. *t'ārt'eqān* ... *tand'e-hat*   *mārqa-n kerewe-d uo-k*
       Ch.   merchant-ABL one-AT   cow-AT   child-FOC
       pun'-me-le
       kill-TR-OF:3
       'Charchehan killed ONE OF THE MERCHANT'S CALVES.' (T5:89)

     c. *e*   *l'ie* **tude-l**   *par-me-ŋ*
       Intj DP she-NTR cook-TR:OF-LCR
       'I've cooked HER.' (T1:250)[2]

Distribution of the two overt Focus markers is determined primarily by lexical complexity of NP: if it has a lexical modifier and/or quantifier, it is marked

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2. The broader context of this fairytale suggests that the listeners of this utterance are supposed to expect that SHE had cooked the speaker, hence the O-Focus construction.

by *-(e)k*, otherwise, by *-le-(ŋ)*. In contrast to the constraint on overt Focus marking of third person pronouns, proper names and possessive NPs, this is a strong tendency rather than a strict rule. However, *-(e)k* seems to be the only option if the head noun is excluded from the scope of focus, that is, if the lexical modifier is the narrow focus of the clause. On the other hand, *-(e)k*-marking appears to be incompatible with generic reference. Demonstrative determiners, and, more broadly, definiteness (identifiability), have no direct effect on the choice of Focus marker, cf. (14a) and (15a); see 3.6 for a brief discussion of this issue.

    The first and second person pronouns are marked by *-ek* in the S/O-Focus role:

(16) *malāk* *tet-ek*   *n'ie-me-le*   *e*   *met-ek* *n'ie-me-le*
      IMP   2SG-FOC call-TR-OF.3 ... Intj 1SG-FOC call-TR-OF.3
      'Come on, she is calling YOU... Yes, she is calling
      ME.' (T1:312-313)

As mentioned above, O-Topic takes the Neutral form in the context of local person A. Otherwise, it is marked either by the Focus marker *-le-(ŋ)* or by one of the Locative markers, *-hane ~ -qane*.[3] This marking is obligatory in finite clauses and optional in non-finite clauses.

(17) a. *el'i-ne*   *me-kojles-ŋa*   *nime-le*
       first-ADVR AFF-crumble-PL:TR(3) dwelling-ACC
       'First they dismantled the dwelling.' (T3:19)

     b. *tude-hane* *me-pon'i-ŋa*
       3SG-ACC   AFF-leave-PL:TR(3)
       'They left her.' (T4:19)

     c. *t'ārt'eqān* *mit-qane* *me-pun'i-m*
       Ch.   we-ACC   AFF-kill-TR(3)
       'Charchehan has killed us!' (T5:130)

Distribution of these markers in the O-Topic function roughly matches the distribution of Focus markers: NPs that take *-le-(ŋ)* in the Focus role tend to retain this marker in the O-Topic role, whereas other NPs tend to take the Locative marker. The Locative encoding is the only option for personal pronouns, proper names, and possessive NPs. The dependency on the presence/absence of modifiers is weaker in this context; it is violated in approximately 15% of all relevant instances of O-Topic marking. Nonetheless, the internal structure of NP emerges as the best predictor of the case form of O-Topic, that is, such potentially relevant properties as definiteness, specificity, etc. show weaker correlation with the choice of case marker.

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3. For the sake of convenience, these suffixes are labeled as "Accusative" (ACC) in the interlinear gloss whenever they are used for O-Topic encoding.

Table 2. Morphosyntactic encoding of core participants

Participant roles	A/S	A/S/O	S/O	O
Pragmatic roles	A-Focus	Topic	Focus	Topic
Person hierarchy	1|2 person			(3 person A)
Morphosyntactic roles	Primary	Neutral	Focus	Accusative
1|2 person pronouns	*met-∅* 'I'	*met-u-l*	*met-ek*	*met-qane*
3 person pronouns	*tude-∅* 'he'	*tude-l*		*tude-hane*
demonstrative pronouns	*ta-ŋun* 'that one'	*ta-hi*	*ta-ŋut*	*ta-ŋun-hane*
possessive NPs, proper names	*ile-gi* 'his deer'			*ile-de-hane*
other NPs: *k*-paradigm	*kin ile* 'two deer'		*kin ile-k*	*kin ile-hane*
other NPs: *leŋ*-paradigm	*taŋ ile* 'that deer'		*taŋ ile-le-(ŋ)*	

The dependency of case paradigm on internal properties of NP is summarized in Table 2. As mentioned above, the distinction between *k*- and *leŋ*-paradigm is strongly correlated with the presence/absence of quantitative and qualitative modifiers, yet there seems to be no strict rule which would determine this choice.

Chapter 2

Verb

2.1. Situation types and verb classes

2.1.1. Aktionsarten

Verbs fall into four grammatical categories roughly corresponding to Vendler's (1967) typology. This four-way classification is defined by two language-specific grammatical parameters, compatibility with the Progressive suffix *-nu-* and temporal semantics of the unmarked (Witnessed) form (see 2.3). This classification is summarized in Table 3.

Telic verbs signify situations with inherent temporal endpoints; their unmarked (non-Progressive) form can be used only for past temporal reference, i.e., the absence of Progressive marking indicates that the inherent endpoint has been achieved by the time of reference:

(18) a. *el'ine   me-kojles-ŋa   nime-le*
at.first AFF-crumble-PL:TR(3) dwelling-ACC
'At first they dismantled the dwelling.' (T8:19)

   b. *konme-l'e t'awul-ha t'ire-j-ŋi*
other-NR   sea-LOC   drown-PFV-3PL:INTR(3)
'The others drowned in the sea.' (T1:431)

Telic verbs fall into two morphological classes, *neutral* and *perfective*. Neutral telic verbs (roughly corresponding to Vendler's *accomplishments*) can refer both to the internal phase of the process, and to the situation as a whole (with a terminal state achieved by the time of reference). The former meaning must be signaled by the Progressive suffix, cf. (18a) and (19).

Table 3. Situation types and morphological properties of verbs

Semantics of unmarked form	Compatibility with Progressive	
	+	−
Past	accomplishments neutral telic verbs	achievements perfective verbs
Past/Present	activities atelic dynamic verbs	states stative verbs

(19)   *tuŋ   met nime   quodīr køjles-**nu**-me-k?*
       PRXM 1SG dwelling why   crumble-PROG-TR-2SG
       'Why are you breaking my home?' (T8:129)

Perfective verbs (Vendler's *achievements*) signify events "without duration",
i.e., events that cannot be construed as ongoing at the time of reference.
These verbs are incompatible with the Progressive suffix and so cannot refer
to specific situations in present. The Perfective situation structure is marked
by the suffix *-j-*, e.g.:

(20)   a.   *t'ire-j-*   'drown'
            drown-PFV-
       b.   *juoha-j-*   'finish'
            finish-PFV-
       c.   *kotke-j-*   'reach'
            reach-PFV-

The presence of this suffix is obligatory, i.e., its absence signals that the
situation being described can be construed as an ongoing process. An im-
plication of this property is that many perfective verbs have no unmarked
lexical counterparts: if the lexical meaning blocks the possibility of progres-
sive interpretation, then the verb stem must contain the Perfective suffix.
Conversely, neutral telic verbs do not attach the Perfective suffix; in effect,
their unmarked form functions as the perfective counterpart of the Progres-
sive form.

On the other hand, the suffix *-j-* serves to derive perfective verbs from
atelic stems. This derivational process is applicable to two semantic groups of
verbs. The first group includes iterative verbs; in this context, the Perfective
suffix expresses *semelfactive* meaning, i.e., the basic verb signifies a series
of identical events, and the perfective derivative, a single event of the same
type:

(21)   a.   *t'ulha-j-*   'push once'
            push-PFV-
       b.   *nere-j-*   'bite once'
            bite-PFV-

Secondly, the basic stem can signify a situation characterized by abrupt (and
usually unexpected) initial event, which is singled out as the signified of the
derived perfective verb; see (22c-e). As shown by (22a), some verbs can
have both meanings. Some perfective verbs have conventionalized lexical
meanings; see (22c).

(22)   a.   *lirere-j-*   'blow once; begin to blow (of wind)'
            blow-PFV-
       b.   *memre-j-*   'burst into flames'
            burn-PFV-
       c.   *mond'e-j-*   'wake up; return to consciousness'
            hear-PFV-

Atelic verbs (Vendler's *activities*) signify dynamic situations without inher-
ent temporal endpoint. They can take the Progressive suffix (23), but the
Progressive marking is not obligatory, i.e., they can refer to ongoing situa-
tions also in the unmarked form, which is thus ambiguous between past and
present interpretation; see (24).

(23)   a.   *me-pan-din-**nu**-j*
            AFF-cook-DETR-PROG-INTR(3)
            'He is/was cooking.' (T1:142)

       b.   *wāj   mer-ū-**nu**-j*
            again AFF-go-PROG-INTR(3)
            'He went/was going further' (T1:46)

(24)   a.   *sukun wel'ï-l-ha   met-in' **qonha-d'e-ŋi***
            thing carry-1|2SG-DS I-DAT bow-DSPR-PL:SN(3)
            'They are bowing to me, because I am carrying the
            clothes.' (T1:136)

       b.   *kid'e-ŋ   lukul-ha **qonha-d'i-je-ŋ***
            two-FRQ-FC soil-LOC bow-DSPR-SN-1SG
            'I bowed from the waist twice.' (T7:37)

The class of atelic verbs contains all *iterative* verbs; the iterative situation
structure can (but need not) be marked by an Iterative suffix (*-jī-*, *-t'ī-*,
-d'e-).[4] Apart from the "plain" iterative meaning, the resulting verb can
have object-oriented distributive or dispersive semantics (see also 2.1.2 on
causative derivatives with iterative semantics).

(25)   a.   *kigi-**jī**-*   'jab (many times)'
            jab-ITER-
       b.   *tadi-**jī**-*   'give (to different people or different things)'
            give-ITER-

---

4. This derivation commonly involves a change of the preceding vowel.

   c.   *qanuo-jī-*   'roam, move one's dwelling (many times)'
          roam-ITER-

   d.   *n'ie-t'i-*   'call (many times, many people)'
          call-ITER-

   e.   *qonha-d'e-*   'bow (many times)'
          bow-ITER-

The Iterative suffixes can be combined with some stems that otherwise occur only with the Perfective suffix:

(26) a. *kewe-j*   'go away, depart'
        depart-PFV-

     b. *kewu-jī-*   'go away (and come back) several times'
        depart-MULT-

Finally, stative verbs (Vendler's *states*) are incompatible with the Progressive suffix; the unmarked form is ambiguous between past and present temporal reference. This class comprises verbs signifying states proper, qualities (see 3.4.3), and quantities (see 3.3). Most stative verb stems are morphologically complex, i.e., they usually contain a characteristic suffix of stative verb, *-uol-*, *-n'(e)-*, or *-ne-*. The first suffix appears to be diachronically related to the bound copula (see 4.2.2), the latter two, to the Comitative suffix (see 4.2.3).

(27) *t'am-uol-*   'be big'
     poj-uol-   'be multiple'
     am-uol-   'be good'

(28) *joŋo-n'e-*   'be evil; angry'
     aran-n'e-   'be smart'
     t'ajle-n'-   'be light; bright'

(29) *t'it-ne-*   'be long'
     pøm-ne-   'be round'
     norqi-ne- 'be curly'

Stative verbs can be derived from dynamic verbs by the Resultative suffix (see 2.4.2), which is formally identical to the Stative suffix *-uol* (cf. (27)):

(30) a. *oh-uol-*   'stand, be in an upright position'
        stand.up-RES-

     b. *qud-uol-*   'lie, rest on a surface'
        lie-RES

     c. *jab-uol-*   'be dead'
        die-RES

     d. *ur-uol-*   'be trained'
        learn-RES-

Conversely, dynamic verbs can be derived from stative stems by means of *causative* (see 2.1.2) or *inchoative* transformation. The Inchoative suffix can replace characteristic suffixes of stative verbs:

(31) a. *t'ama-mu-*   'grow, become big' (cf. *t'am-uol-* 'be big')
        big-INCH-

     b. *l'uku-mu-*   'become small' (cf. *l'uk-uol-* 'be small')
        little-INCH

     c. *poti-ha-j-*   'become full' (cf. *poti-ne-* 'be full')
        full-INCH-PFV-

The Inchoative derivation is formally irregular, i.e., the form of Inchoative derivative is unpredictable.

2.1.2. Transitivity

Verbs fall into two major classes, intransitive and transitive, which have different *participant reference* paradigms (see 2.2). There is a very small group of labile verbs, e.g., *t'ala-* 'add' vs. 'increase (in number)' (Krejnovič 1982: 78) and *mon-* 'say':

(32) a. *qajt'ie*   *neme-le*   **mon-me-le**
     grandfather what-FOC say-TR-3:OF
     'What has grandfather said?' (T8:108)

    b. *peldudie* **mon-i**   *malā apanalā*   *qanā-je-l'i*
     old.man say-INTR:3 IMP old.woman roam-INTR-1PL
     'The old man said: wife, let's roam!' (T8:14-15)

The major role in lexicalization of transitive events is played by the *causative* semantic structure: a broad class of transitive stems with a general meaning like CAUSE$(x, P(y))$ are derived from basic intransitives with a meaning like $Q(y)$ or BECOME$(Q(y))$, where P can be conceived of as identical with or similar to Q.[5]

(33) a. *sahu-se-*   'lose'
        disappear-CAUS-

     b. *t'āqa-s-*   'let freeze'
        freeze-CAUS-

     c. *øge-te-*   'put, erect'
        stand-CAUS-

     d. *kude-re-*   'put down, lay, spread (out)'
        lie-CAUS-

     e. *wejle-r-*   'widen'
        wide-CAUS-

---

5. See also 2.4.1 for regular causative derivation.

Some intransitive verbs have two lexical causative counterparts, *simple* and *distributive*: the former signifies a single situation involving a single object, the latter, a situation with multiple objects or multiple situations (e.g., several attempts to carry out the action). The neutral member of a pair can be derived by suffixes *-se-*, *-te-*, and *-re-* (often followed by the Perfective marker (see 2.1)), and the distributive causative, by suffixes *-s-*, *-t'i-*, or *-rit'(i)-~-dit'(i)-*:

(34) a. *seg-*   'enter, come in'
          enter-

      b. *sew-re*   'bring in, let in, put in, stuff into'
          enter-CAUS-

      c. *søk-t'i-*   'bring in (multiple things or many times)'
          enter-CAUS-

(35) a. *wal-uol-*   'hang, be hanging'
          hang-STAT

      b. *wel-te*   'hang'
          hang-CAUS-

      c. *wel-dit'i-*   'hang (multiple things or many times)'
          enter-CAUS-

(36) a. *sal'ha-j-*   'break, get broken'
          break-PFV

      b. *sal'ha-re-j-*   'break (one thing), castrate one deer'
          break-CAUS-PFV-

      c. *sal'ha-s-*   'break (multiple things), castrate many deer'
          break-CAUS-

Some transitive verbs without basic intransitives constitute semantically and formally similar pairs, e.g., *sawa-se-* 'share, divide' and *sawa-rit'i-* 'divide into multiple parts', *ile-te-j* 'push' and *il-dit'i-* 'push multiple objects or multiple times' (Krejnovič 1982: 127-128).

Other types of valence-changing lexical processes are highly lexically constrained. A small group of transitive verbs are built from intransitive stems by an applicative-like derivation, i.e., the derived transitive verb signifies essentially the same action as the basic intransitive, but this action is construed as directed towards a specific endpoint:

(37) a. *ørn'e-ri-*   'shout to somebody'
          shout-APPL-

      b. *køt'egej-re-* 'rush towards something'
          run-APPL-

There is a small group of intransitive verbs derived from transitives and signifying the same action with unspecified O, e.g.:

(38) a. *leŋ-de-*   'be eating, have a meal'
          eat-DETR-

      b. *pan-did'-*   'be cooking'
          cook-DETR-

2.2. Participant reference and clause types

The finite verb obligatorily encodes three types of information about the core participants: pragmatic role, person of A/S-Topic (if any), and number of A/S. This information is distributed among three morphological positions:

(39) V-[NUMBER]-TENSE-CLAUSE TYPE-[PERSON]

The person and number of A/S are also encoded on the verb in different-subject medial clauses and in passive relative clauses.

The category of clause type subsumes illocutionary sentence type (for finite clauses), the pragmatic role of core participants (for finite non-Imperative clauses; see 2.2.1), and the role of clause in a higher-level construction (for non-finite clauses). The Interrogative, Imperative, and non-finite forms imply Neutral information structure (see 1.3).

2.2.1. Information structure

Pragmatic role and illocutionary meaning are consistently expressed in the clause type position of intransitive finite forms; apart from the Imperative markers (see 2.2.5), this position can be occupied by the following morphemes:[6]

(40) *-j(e)-*   S-Topic & Indicative
      -l   S-Focus
      -∅-   S-Topic & Interrogative

The structure of transitive finite paradigm is less transparent, since the encoding of pragmatic role interacts with person distinctions (Table 5). The distribution of transitive clause-type markers is summarized in (41).

(41)

	A-Focus	Neutral	O-Focus
A = Speaker	-∅-		-me-
A = Speaker + non-Speaker(s)	-∅-	-j	-l
A ≠ Speaker	-∅-	-m(e)-	

Thus, the null suffix in CLAUSE TYPE position signals that A outranks O in the following "salience" hierarchy (below, A-oriented forms):

(42) FOCUS > SPEAKER > OTHER

Table 4. Intransitive paradigm

	S-Topic		S-Focus	Interrogative
	Future	Non-Future	Future	Future
1SG	*ū-te-je-ŋ* go-FUT-SN-1SG	*ū-je-ŋ* go-SN-1SG	*ū-te-l* go-FUT-SF	*ū-te-m* go-FUT-ITR:1SG
2SG	*ū-te-je-k* go-FUT-SN-2SG	*ū-je-k* go-SN-2SG	*ū-te-l* go-FUT-SF	*ū-te-∅-k* go-FUT-ITR-2SG
3SG	*ū-te-j-∅* go-FUT-SN-3	*ū-j-∅* go-SN-3	*ū-te-l* go-FUT-SF	*ū-t-∅-∅* go-FUT-ITR-3
1PL	*ū-te-j-l'i* go-FUT-SN-1PL	*ū-je-l'i* go-SN-1PL	*ū-te-l* go-FUT-SF	*ū-t-uok* go-FUT-ITR:1PL
2PL	*ū-te-j-mut* go-FUT-SN-2PL	*ū-je-mut* go-SN-2PL	*ū-te-l* go-FUT-SF	*ū-te-∅-mut* go-FUT-ITR-2PL
3PL	*ū-ŋu-te-j-∅* go-PL-FUT-SN-3	*ū-ŋi* go-PL:SN(3)	*ū-ŋu-te-l* go-PL-FUT-SF	*ū-ŋu-t-∅-∅* go-PL-FUT-ITR-3

Table 5. Transitive paradigm

	Neutral		O-Focus	A-Focus
	Future	Non-Future	Non-Future	Non-Future
1SG	*wie-t-∅* make-FUT-ON(1SG)	*wie-∅-ŋ* make-ON-1SG	*wie-me-ŋ* make-TR-1|2SG	*wie-∅* make-AF
2SG	*wie-te-me-k* make-FUT-TR-2SG	*wie-me-k* make-TR-2SG	*wie-me-ŋ* make-TR-1|2SG	*wie-∅* make-AF
3SG	*wie-te-m-∅* make-FUT-TR-3	*wie-m-∅* make-TR-3	*wie-me-le* make-TR-3SG:OF	*wie-∅* make-AF
1PL	*wie-te-j* make-FUT-ON:1PL	*wie-j* make-ON:1PL	*wie-l* make-OF:1PL	*wie-∅* make-AF
2PL	*wie-te-mk* make-FUT-TR:2PL	*wie-mk* make-TR:2PL		*wie-∅* make-AF
3PL	*wie-ŋu-te-m-∅* make-PL-FUT-TR-3	*wie-ŋa* make-PL:TR(3)	*wie-ŋu-me-le* make-PL-TR-OF:3	*wie-ŋu-∅* make-PL-AF

Table 6. Imperative paradigm

	Immediate	Future
2SG	*wie-∅-k* make-IMP-2	*wie-te-hane-k* make-FUT-IMP-2
2PL	*wie-ŋi-∅-k* make-PL-IMP-2	*wie-ŋi-te-hane-k* make-PL-FUT-IMP-2
1PL	*wie-ha* make-IMP(1PL)	
3SG	*wie-ha-n* make-IMP-3	
3PL	*wie-ŋu-ha-n* make-PL-IMP-3	

Deviations from this situation are marked by the suffix *-m(e)-* (O-oriented forms). The Neutral 1PL A occupies an intermediate position on the scale (42) and thus disallows either suffix; instead, the "Intransitive" set of clause type markers is used in this context, so that the pragmatic role of O is marked in the same way as the pragmatic role of S. In the O-oriented forms, the pragmatic role of O is expressed in the Person position (see below).

The non-zero clause-type markers are also used in non-finite clauses: the suffixes *-j(e)-* and *-m(e)-* appear on the main verb of Active and Passive relative clauses respectively, the suffix *-l* is used to build the Action Nominal form (see 2.2.7). Thus, only zero clause-type marker is uniquely associated with finite clauses.

2.2.2. Person

The category of person encodes the relation between A/S-Topic (if any) and the speech act participants.[7] In *Neutral non-Imperative forms*, this category distinguishes three "simple" grams, Speaker (1SG), Listener (2SG), and non-Locutor (3), and two "mixed" grams, Speaker + non-Speakers (1PL), Listener + Non-Locutor(s) (2PL). These distinctions are consistently expressed in the Person position only in the Intransitive paradigm (see Table 4). In the Transitive Neutral paradigm, the distinction between 1SG, 1PL and non-Speaker grams is encoded in the clause type position (see 2.2.1). The simple person grams are expressed by the same suffixes as in the Intransitive paradigm, with the only exception of 1SG Future form which has no overt person marker.[8] The 2SG and 2PL forms are distinguished by the choice of syllabic vs. consonantal variant of the transitive suffix *-m(e)-* (see Table 5), i.e., this distinction is expressed by means of an allomorphic variation that is otherwise determined by morphophonological context (see 1.2.2).[9]

The person position of *O-Focus paradigm* distinguishes only two simple person grams, Locutor vs. Non-Locutor. The Locutor gram has the same formal marker as 1SG form in the Neutral paradigm, *-ŋ*, the Non-Locutor gram is expressed by the suffix *-le*. Thus, the Focus role of O in O-oriented forms is encoded by means of the Locutor vs. Non-Locutor set of person

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6. Depending on the stem, the initial /j/ of S-Topic marker can alternate with /t'/ and /d'/; /d'/ alternates with /n'/ in the word-final position.

7. If the A/S participant has the pragmatic role of Focus, the verb contains no person markers, presumably because Focus is always represented by an overt NP.

8. This form is thus formally indistinguishable from the A-Focus Future form.

9. Interestingly, the 2PL form of Kolyma Yukaghir has the same person marker as its Intransitive counterpart (*-met*), which appears to indicate that specialized 2PL transitive forms have developed after the split of "Proto-Yukaghir"; this Kolyma Yukaghir form is also the only form in the paradigm that does not express the pragmatic role of O.

markers. The context of 2PL A disallows both these markers, since the set of A participants is mixed (Listener + non-Locutors), and the verb takes the Neutral form in the O-Focus construction:

(43)

	O-Neutral	O-Focus	
1SG	-ŋ		A = Locutor
2SG	-k	-ŋ	
2PL	-k		A = Listener + Non-Locutor(s)
3	−∅	-le	A = Non-Locutor(s)

It seems worth noting that all suffixes that appear in the person position of O-oriented forms also occur as nominal Focus markers (see 1.3, 3.5.3). This suggests that the person paradigm has been built on the basis of information-structuring markers (rather than through grammaticalization of free pronouns, which seems to be more frequent cross-linguistically).

The *Imperative* paradigm exhibits an entirely different system of person grams: the category of person distinguishes two simple grams, Listener (2) and Non-Locutor (3), and one "mixed" gram, Speaker + Listener(s) (1PL); see Table 6. However, the Listener gram is expressed by means of the regular Listener marker *-k*, in contradiction with the well-established cross-linguistic tendency to have distinct person markers for the core forms of the Imperative paradigm.

2.2.3. Number

In contrast to the category of person, the number of A/S participants is expressed independently of the pragmatic role of A/S. The plurality of A/S participants is encoded by the special Plural suffix *-ŋu∼-ŋi* if their relation to speech act participants is identical, i.e., in all third person forms and in the second person forms of the Imperative paradigm. This formal distinction is also employed in passive relative clauses and in different-subject medial clauses.

2.2.4. Interrogative

Interrogative forms are used only in specific questions to peripheral constituents.[10] The first person Interrogative forms are derived by means of specialized person markers, *-m* for 1SG and *ōk* for 1PL (see Table 4). This marking is available for both intransitive and transitive verbs:

(44) a. *tit-ul   met neme-lek   løgi-te-te-m?*
      you(PL)-ACC I   what-INSTR eat-CAUS-FUT-ITR.1SG
      'What can I give you to eat?' (T5:13)

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10. For encoding of other question types, see 4.1.2.

   b. *wāj quodeŋ pan-din-te-m?*
      too how   cook-DETR-FUT-ITR:1SG
      'How shall I be cooking again?' (T1:315)

   c. *quode pun'-t-uok?*
      how   kill-FUT-ITR.1PL
      'How will we kill him?' (T5:135)

The second and third person Interrogative forms exist for intransitive verbs only; they are derived by means of null suffix in the clause-type position, followed by regular person markers (see Table 4). Transitive verbs appear in the Neutral form in the same contexts:

(45) a. *quode l'e-l-lek   kelu-k?*
      how   be-ANR-INSTR come-(ITR)2SG
      'Where have you been?' (T1:249)

   b. *quode l'e-l-ŋin'   waŋt'i-me-k?*
      how   be-ANR-DAT search-TR-2SG
      'What for have you been looking for me?' (T2:16)

With the exception of first person forms, Interrogative marking appears to be optional, i.e., the verb can appear in the Neutral Indicative or in the Interrogative form in similar contexts:

(46) a. *qad'ir qan'in met-ul   løgi-te-t-t'e   gode-ŋo-d'e-k?*
      DP   when 1SG-ACC eat-CAUS-FUT-INTR person-be-INTR-2SG

   'When will you feed me?' (lit. 'You are a person who will feed me when?') (T1:512)

   b. *eld'e wal'be-pe qadā-d   l'e-j   d'ī-ŋol-mut?*
      ITR   friend-PL where-ABL be-INTR people-be-(ITR)2PL
      'Well, friends, where are you from?' (lit. 'You are people who are from where?') (T5:9)

2.2.5. Imperative

The Imperative verb forms (see Table 6) are identical for transitive and intransitive verbs; they are incompatible with Nominal Focus constructions. The central (second person Addressee) forms of the Imperative paradigm contain the null suffix in the clause-type position, followed by the regular second person marker.

The Future Imperative forms are derived by means of the regular Future marker *-t(e)-*, followed by the Imperative marker *-hane-* and the person marker. In these forms, the second-person marker *-k* alternates with *-ŋ*, without discernible semantic difference; see (47a). The Future Imperative encodes an action that is to be carried out later (47a), often after completing

some (explicitly specified) other actions (47b).

(47) a. *wāj eguojie   jej-t'e-**t**-qane-**ŋ***
          CA tomorrow check-VEN-FUT-IMP-2
          'Go and check them again tomorrow!' (T1:23)

      b. *mit-ul   sure-se-llek   **lew-te-hane-k***
          we-NTR thick-CAUS-SS:PFV eat-FUT-IMP-2
          'Fatten us up, and eat us thereafter!' (T1:195)

Other Imperative forms are derived by the Imperative suffix *-ha-* in the
clause-type position. The 1PL Imperative form expresses a proposal to the
Listener(s) to carry out an action together:[11]

(48) *mōl nime tudurū kuod'es-telek pon'i-**ha***
      DP house inside bind-SS:PFV leave-IMP(1PL)
      'Well, let us tie him up and leave him inside the
      dwelling.' (T1:162)

The third person Imperative forms expresses the speaker's desire (49a) or
consent (49b):

(49) a. *tuŋ   gol-le   øge-te-ŋu-**ha-n***
          PRXM person-FOC stand-CAUS-PL-IMP-3
          'They should appoint this man!' (T6:336)

      b. *ee   kot'ejk men'-**ha-n***
          Intj let.it.be take-IMP-3
          'All right, let him take them.' (T6:237)

2.2.6. Polarity

Clausal *negation* is expressed by proclitic *el-*, which usually precedes the verb.
In the Neutral clause type, this marking triggers a special participant refer-
ence pattern: first and second person forms take the S-Topic marker *-j(e)-*
followed by the Intransitive person markers; third person forms take null
clause-type suffix. These forms are identical for transitive and intransitive
verbs; see Table 7.

This shift of participant reference pattern seems to be triggered by the neg-
ative *meaning*, rather than by the presence of the negative marker itself. This
can be demonstrated by constructions with the hypothetical particle *mid'ek*:
the construction encodes situations that are hypothesized to be probable,
and the verb retains the regular participant reference markers in spite of the
presence of formal negative marker.

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11. There is a striking formal parallelism between Imperative markers, Different-
    Subject Medial markers (see 2.2.7), and nominal Locative markers 3.5.6, which
    appears to reveal some sort of diachronic relation between these paradigms.

Table 7. Negative Neutral paradigm

	Transitive	Intransitive
1SG	*el-wie-je-ŋ*	*el-ū-je-ŋ*
	NEG-make-INTR-1SG	NEG-go-INTR-1SG
2SG	*el-wie-je-k*	*el-ū-je-k*
	NEG-make-INTR-2SG	NEG-go-INTR-2SG
3SG	*el-wie-Ø*	*el-ū-Ø*
	NEG-make(3SG)	NEG-go(3SG)
1PL	*el-wie-je-l'i*	*el-ū-je-l'i*
	NEG-make-INTR-1PL	NEG-go-INTR-1PL
2PL	*el-wie-je-mut*	*el-ū-je-mut*
	NEG-make-INTR-2PL	NEG-go-INTR-2PL
3PL	*el-wie-ŋu-Ø*	*el-ū-ŋu-Ø*
	NEG-make-PL(3)	NEG-go-PL(3)

(50) a. *t'ahad'e-r mid'ek **el-urā-j***
          work-SS   HYP   NEG-learn-INTR(3)
          'In working, he will probably learn.' (T1:12)

      b. *mid'ek neme-le   **el-pun'i-m***
          HYP   what-ACC NEG-kill-TR(3)
          'He will probably kill something.' (T9:30)

See also 2.2.4 on vacillation between transitive and intransitive patterns in
questions.

Prohibitive forms are derived from the Imperative forms by means of the
regular negative marker *el-*, yet the second person forms also contain a special
Prohibitive suffix (*-le-∼-l'e-*), which appears before the number marker:

(51) a. ***el-lew-ŋu-ha-n***   'don't let them eat!'
          NEG-eat-PL-IMP-3

      b. ***el-ann'e-le-k***   'do not talk!'
          NEG-talk-PROH-(IMP)2

      c. ***el-t'ire-se-l'e-ŋi-k***   'do not drown!'
          NEG-drown-CAUS-PROH-PL-(IMP)2

      d. ***el-antes-l'e-ŋi-ta-hane-k***   'do not damage!'
          NEG-damage-PROH-PL-FUT-IMP-2

The negative proclitic can be used to negate specific components of the situ-
ation, i.e., it can be attached to non-verbal constitutents, but such examples
are very rare.

(52) a. ***el** amu-d'e-ŋin' jede-j-l'el-d'e   lāme-d*
          NEG good-NR-DAT   appear-PFV-INFR-INTR dog-AT
          uor-pe-ŋol-l'el-ŋi
          child-PL-*be*-INFR-PL:INTR(3)

'No good came from the puppies' coming.' (lit. 'These are
puppies who came for no good.) (T6:243)

b. **el**   *it-t'ie*   *l'e-l-lek*   *me-segu-j*
NEG   long-DLMT   be-ANR-INSTR   AFF-enter-INTR(3)
'Soon she came back.' (T8:60)

Although the absence of the Negative marker generally signals affirmative
polarity, there is also an overt affirmative prefix, *me-~mer-* (the latter variant
appears before vowels). This prefix is used to signal narrow focus on the
finite verb. Accordingly, this prefix is more commonly present than not in
affirmative Neutral sentences,[12] and is incompatible with S-Focus, A-Focus,
and O-Focus forms. The absence of an overt polarity marker on a Neutral
finite form indicates that a non-core constituent of the clause is included into
the scope of assertion, e.g.:

(53)   *nime-n*   *tudurū-pul-gi*   *aq*   *labunme-lek*   *potine-j*
house-AT   inside-PL-3   only   partridge-INSTR   full-INTR(3)
'Their dwelling WAS FULL OF PARTRIDGES.' (T1:55))

The Affirmative prefix is incompatible with Interrogative, Imperative, and
non-finite forms.

2.2.7. *Non-finite verb forms*

If the clause is non-finite, that is, if it is not marked for Focus structure and
illocution, then it functions as an element of a larger construction and must
be marked for its syntactic role in this construction. There are three major
groups of such forms: *Nominalized* forms are marked for syntactic role by
means of nominal *case markers* attached to the nominalized verb. A clause
can be nominalized by means of Action Nominal (*-l*) or Result Nominal (*-uol*)
suffixes in the clause-type position: *wie-l* '(a situation of) making', *wie-j-uol*
'(a result) of making'. A nominalized clause in the Neutral case form can be
used as noun modifier, that is, as relative clause.

Attributive clauses are derived by the Intransitive morph *-j(e)* (Active
Attributive form) or the Transitive morph *-m(e)* (Passive Attributive form) in
the clause-type position: *wie-je* '(someone) who makes', *wie-me* '(something)
made (by a Locutor)' They can function only as relative clauses. The Passive
Attributive form can be marked for (third) person and number according to
the O-Focus pattern: *wie-me-le* 'made by her/him', *wie-ŋu-m-le* 'made by
them'.

Medial clauses are marked for switch-reference: different-subject suffixes
coincide with Locative case markers, which are preceded by the markers of

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12. The wide usage of this prefix is one of the most visible points of divergence
    between Tundra and Kolyma Yukaghir; in the latter, it is used very sparingly.

person (Locutor vs. Non-Locutor) and number of A/S (see Table 12 in 4.3);
same-subject forms are derived by means of suffix *-r(e)-* in the clause-type
position and can be marked for temporal relation to the controlling clause
situation.

Non-finite clauses are described in more detail in Chapter ??.

2.3. Tense, Aspect and Mode

The finite verb takes one of the following Tense-Aspect-Mode (TAM) forms:

(54)   Witnessed: *wie-m*   '(s)he made'
Progressive: *wie-**nu**-m*   '(s)he is/was making'
Habitual/Generic: *wie-**nun**-u-m*   '(s)he makes, (s)he used to make'
Future: *wie-**te**-m*   '(s)he will make'
Prospective: *wie-**mori**-m*   '(s)he is (about) to make'
Imaginative: ***at**-wie-m*   '(s)he would make'
Inferential: *wie-**l'el**-u-m*   'it turns out that (s)he has made'
Hypothetical: *wie-**l'el-te**-m*   '(s)he probably made'

Witnessed (unmarked) form signals that the clause refers to a situation wit-
nessed by the speaker or another discourse-prominent observer by the time
of speech. This form is vague with regard to past vs. present distinction if
the situation is atelic (24); otherwise, it signals past temporal reference (18).

Progressive form (*-nu-*) encodes dynamic situations going on at the time
of reference. The Progressive meaning implies Witnessed mode. The Pro-
gressive marking is obligatory for telic situations, i.e., a telic verb cannot
express an ongoing situation without this marker, cf. (18a) and (19); the
Progressive suffix is incompatible with stative and perfective stems (see 2.1).

The *Habitual/Generic* suffix (*-nun-*) encodes clauses referring to a class
of recurrent situations, including generic (or near-generic) statements. In
contrast with the Progressive form, the Habitual/Generic form can be derived
from any verb stem, including perfective and stative verbs; see (56).

(55)   a. *talaw-le-ŋ*   *pun-**nun**-ŋu-m-le*
deer-FOC-FC   kill-HAB-PL-TR-OF:3
'They used to hunt wild deer.' (T8:1)

b. *mit kode-n*   *t'ūl*   *el-lew-**nun**-d'e-l'i*
we   person-AT   meat   NEG-eat-HAB-INTR-1PL
'We do not eat human meat.' (T1:202)

(56)   a. *lalime nime pomnī-r*   *qud-uol-**nun**-i*
sledge   home   encircle-SS   lie-STAT-HAB-INTR(3)
'Sledges always stand around dwellings' T4:36

b. *tadā me-kot'ege-j-nun-i*
   then AFF-rush-PFV-HAB-INTR(3)
   '(The deer) would rush away.' T9:12

Future (-t(e)-) encodes predictions (57a) and speaker's intentions (57b).

(57) a. *met mahil oŋunbe-te-j*
     my coat wet:INCH-FUT-INTR(3)
     'My coat will get soaked.' (T1:86)

   b. *sahan-a:-relek me-n'ied'i-t-t'e-ŋ*
      sit-INGR-SS:PFV AFF-speak-FUT-INTR-1SG
      'I'll take a seat and tell you.' (T1:408)

Prospective (-mori-) presents a future situation as a consequence of a present state of affairs:

(58) a. *mal met nimie-n' kewe-j-mori-je-ŋ*
     IMP my dwelling-DAT go-PFV-INTR-1SG
     'Well, I have to go home.' (T8:143)

   b. *me-jabe-mori*
      AFF-die-PRSP(INTR:3)
      'She is going to die.' (T4:30)

Imaginative (at-) encodes situations that did not take place, but are or were possible under certain conditions; this form appears mainly in the finite clauses of conditional constructions, where its temporal interpretation is determined by the tense of conditional clause: in (59a), the condition is unmarked for tense, which implies future temporal reference; the suffix *-l'el-* in the conditional clause of (59b) signals past temporal reference (cf. (68a)), which entails the counterfactual meaning. In the absence of explicit condition(s), the Imaginative form signals future temporal reference; see (60).

(59) a. *taŋut at-men'-me-k kī-l-hane*
     that IMG-take-TR-2SG give-LCR-DS:SET
     'That's what I would take, if you give it to me.' (T6:42)

   b. *el-aji-l'el-a-qane mid'ek*
      NEG-shoot-INFR-LCR-DS:SET HYP
      mer-at-upā-t'ī-j
      AFF-IMG-hold.on-DLMT-INTR(3)
      'If you hadn't shot it, she might have lived a little longer.' (T4:44)

(60)   *mer-at-juore-j-l'i*
       AFF-IMG-play-INTR-1PL
       'We might play (if you agree).' (T2:18)

Inferential (-l'el-) signals that the situation being described has not been witnessed by the speaker or another discourse-prominent observer (Krejnovič

1958: 127; Krejnovič 1982: 140). The information is presented as based on hearsay (61a) or inferred from indirect evidence, most often, from visible traces of the situation (61b).[13] The Inferential form can encode speaker's own actions to signal that she was unaware of some aspects or implications of her actions at the time of situation (62) (Krejnovič 1982: 142-143).

(61) a. *tin-dā-l'e d'ī mon-nun-ŋi tuŋ*
     INVS-ADV-NR people say-HAB-PL:INTR(3) PRXM
     uje-n'e-j rukun tieŋ+nāhar , al-har
     wing-COM-INTR(3) thing MED+side bottom-side
     l'ie-l'e-n'
     EXST-INFR-INTR(3)
     'Ancient people say that the birds used to live in the south.' (T3:1)

   b. *labunme poj-uol-e-r ejū-l'e-n'.*
      partridge multiple-STAT-0-SS get.into-INFR-INTR(3)
      'Many partridges had been caught.' (T1:18)

(62)   *etū! ejk ugunek juod'en-d'e rukun nime*
       Intj Disj right sick-AT thing home
       køjles-l'el-me-ŋ
       crumble-INFR-TR-LCR
       'It seems that I have broken up A SICK PERSON'S home indeed.' (T8:142)

Hypothetical (-l'el- + -te-) expresses hypotheses with non-future temporal reference.

(63) a. *law-je-bun'-ie-l'el-te-j-mut*
     drink-NR-DESD-INGR-INFR-FUT-INTR-2PL
     'You probably want to drink.' (T1:183)

   b. *t'amadald'e-pul-gi te-n l'ie-l'el-te-l*
      tzar-PL-3 PRXM-D EXST-INFR-FUT-SF
      'Probably, their tzar is here.' (T1:510)

Apart from this "frozen" combination of Inferential and Future, the Inferential marking can be applied to Imaginative and Habitual/Generic forms:

(64) a. *lewej-meŋ ta-ŋudeŋ ū-j-uol-e-r*
     summer-TMP DST-DIR go-0-STAT-0-SS
     at-am-uo-l'e-n'.
     IMG-good-STAT-INFR-INTR(3)
     '(It turned out that) it would be good to go there in the summer.' (T3:17)

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13. For a detailed description of evidentiality in Yukaghir see (Maslova 2003b).

b. *ta-hi*   *el'-l'uo-**nul-l'el**-d'e-mut*
DST-NTR   NEG-see-HAB-INFR-INTR-2PL
'(It turned out that) you had never seen it.' (T1:125)

Other combinations of overt TAM markers are impossible.

There is also a Periphrastic Prospective form, built by means of the Dative form of Action Nominal followed by the existential verb *l'e-*. The auxiliary verb follows intransitive (65a) or transitive (65b) agreement pattern depending on the transitivity of the lexical verb (Krejnovič 1982: 147-149).

(65) a. *qad'ir qan'in puŋ-ie-t?*   *e,   te-n -d*
DP   when   ready-INGR-FUT(ITR:3)   Intj   prxm
pun'-ie-l-ŋin'   *l'e-j*
ready-INGR-ANR-DAT   EXST-INTR(3)
'And when will it (the meal) be ready? Right now, it's almost ready.' (T5:67-68)

b. *mārq-uo-d'e*   *mit uo   korel **bun'i-l-ŋin'** l'e-m-le*
one-STAT-INTR   our child ogre   kill-ANR-DAT   EXST-TR-OF.3
'An ogre is going to kill our only son.' (T6:86)

This form refers to an internal state of the primary participant; for human referents, this includes such meanings as decision to carry out the action, preparedness to do so, etc. In contrast with the synthetic Prospective, this form is not deictic, i.e., it can be used with past temporal reference.

The Imaginative and Hypothetical marking is available in finite clauses only. The future temporal reference is encoded in relative clauses by means of the Future suffix (66) and in different-subject medial clauses by means of the Prospective marker (67). The Prospective marker is used only if the medial clause refers to a later time span in the future than the main clause.

(66) a. *met-ul løgi-te-**t**-t'e*   *gode*
[I-NTR eat-CAUS-FUT-INTR] person
'a person who will feed me' (T1:512)

b. *tude wie-**te**-l*   *rukun*
[his make-FUT-ANR] thing
'something he will make' (T1:11)

c. *met ū-**te**-me*   *t'ī*
[1SG go-FUT-TR] people
'the people to whom I will go' (T7:14)

(67) *malā l'ie el-mor-**mori**-da-ha-ne kot'ejk   alhan*
IMP   DP   NEG-hear-PRSP-DS-SET   let.it.be   HORT
ū-te-j-l'i
go-FUT-INTR-1PL

'All right, if he is not going to hear (us), let's go.' (T5:17))

The Progressive and Inferential suffixes are opposed as relative present vs. relative past markers in different-subject medial clauses.

(68) a. *qad'ir silhal'ā-**l'el**-da-ha   jawn-uo   me-n'uo-re-m*
DP   dry.out-INFR-3-DS   all-OBLQ   AFF-be.twisted-CAUS-TR(3)
'After they dried out, she spun them all.' (T5:6)

b. *arej neri-**nu**-da-ha-ne   sal'harī-gi me-lepege-t'*
DP   bite-PROG-3-DS-SET   tooth-3   AFF-fall.off-PFV:INTR(3)
'While it was gnawing, its tooth suddenly fell out.' (T8:51)

The Attributive clause can be marked for Inferential and for Habitual/Generic e.g.: *nimeles-**l'el**-d'e gøde* 'a man who has been writing' and *nimeles-**nun**-d'e gøde* 'a man who writes, writer' (Krejnovič 1958: 144).

2.4. Valence-changing morphology

2.4.1. Causative

The causative semantic structure CAUSE(x, P) is encoded by a causative suffix attached to the verb stem signifying the effect situation P. The regular causative suffixes are -*s*-, -*se*-, and -*t'i*-: the consonantal and syllabic variants of -*s(e)*- are distributed according to the general rules described in 1.2.2, but -*t'i*- occurs instead of -*s(e)*- after consonants; see (70). The Causator (x) is encoded as the A participant of the causative situation, the primary participant of P (Causée) occupies the O slot of causative construction if P is intransitive and the Dative slot otherwise:[14]

(69) a. ***met akā***   *mōrquon' kode   dite l'uo sahane-**s**-k*
1SG elder.brother   only   person like DP   live-CAUS-(IMP)2
'Just let my elder brother live like a human (=arrange a decent life for him).' (T1:499)

b. *tadā-t*   *met **tud-in'** mer-ubā-**se**-ŋ* .
then-ABL   1SG 3SG-DAT   AFF-kiss-CAUS-1SG
'Then I let him kiss me.' (T7:39)

The morphological causative is the only grammatical means of expressing causation. There are virtually no lexical constraints on causative derivation, nor on co-occurrence of two or more causative suffixes within a single verb form:

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14. See (Maslova 1993) for some qualifications.

(70) a. *tel'ie-*   'dry(a)'
          get.dry

      b. *tel'ie-s-*   'dry(x, a)'
          get.dry-CAUS-

      c. *tel'ie-s-t'i-*   'CAUSE(y, dry(x, a))'
          get.dry-CAUS-CAUS-

      d. *tel'ie-s-t'i-se-*   'CAUSE(z, CAUSE(y, dry(x, a)))'
          get.dry-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-

Strictly speaking, the multiple causative derivation like in (70d) implies participation of a chain of "intermediate" agents that link the Causator and the Endpoint (the entity undergoing a change of state). However, only one of these mediators, the Actor of the resulting transitive action (x in (70c)) can be expressed by an overt NP. In actual usage, multiple causative markers can be used to signal an increase of the metaphorical distance between the Causator and the Causée (indirect causation, permission, etc.), rather than to indicate the exact number of mediators (Maslova 1993):

(71) *jawn-uo   sal'ha-s-u-m*   *mārqa-n   t'awur-ŋol-leŋ   tude*
      all-OBLQ   break-CAUS-0-TR(3)   one-AT   arrow-FOC-ACC   his
      kedel-ha   el-eji-te-s-t'ī
      body-LOC   NEG-get.into-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS(3SG)
      'He broke all (arrows) and did not let even a single arrow hit his body.' (T2:68)

The situation being described involves two human participants, the one being shot at (x) and the one who is shooting (y), and a number of arrows (a). The derivation of the main verb can be represented as follows:

(72) *eji-*   'get.into(a)'
      get.into
      eji-te-   'CAUSE(y, get.into(a))'
      get.into-CAUS-
      eji-te-s-t'ī-   'ALLOW(x CAUSE(y, get.into(a)))'
      get.into-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-

Thus, the double causative *-s-t'ī* signals that x causes y to miss the target (x's body) indirectly (by catching and breaking the arrows), rather than the presence of an additional participant in the cause-effect chain.

As described in 2.1.2, the causative structure also plays an essential role in lexicalization of transitive events. The major semantic distinction between lexical causatives and causative constructions described in this section resides in the relation between the basic verb ($P(a)$) and its causative counterpart: the causative construction signifies a complex situation which includes $P(a)$, whereas a lexical causative verb signifies a simple situation in which the

change of state undergone by a is similar to $P(a)$ (see examples in 2.1.2). However, since the causative construction is encoded by suffixes which can be used in lexical causative derivation as well, these meanings are not always formally distinguished. For example, the verb *ū-se-* (from *ū* 'go, walk') can mean both CAUSE(x, go(a)) and *carry*(x, a), i.e., the situation signified by this verb may but need not include a's walking.

2.4.2. Resultative

The Resultative suffix *-uol* can be attached to intransitive or transitive telic verbs to refer to the resulting state of S/O. The Resultative verb takes intransitive participant reference markers. With intransitive basic verbs, this construction has purely aspectual semantics (see 2.1, examples (30)).

With transitive verbs, the Resultative suffix signals a passive-like modification of valence pattern: the O participant occupies the S slot, and A can but need not be expressed by means of an Instrumental NP:

(73) a. *juo-da-hane   tuŋ gode-lek   wie-j-uol-l'e-n'   met*
          see-3-DS:COND   this person-INSTR make-0-RES-INFR-SN(3)   my
          gorat
          town
          'It seems that my town has been built by this man.' (T6:331)

      b. *el-leg-uo-t*
          NEG-eat-RES-FUT(3)
          'It will not be eaten.' (T3:13)

      c. *eguojie   alhan t'ire-s-uo-te-j*
          tomorrow   HORT drown-CAUS-RES-FUT-SN(3)
          'Let him be drowned tomorrow.' (T5:140)

2.4.3. Reciprocal and Reflexive

Reciprocal verbs are derived by prefix *n'i-∼n'iŋ-* (the latter variant occurs before vowel-initial stems):[15]

(74) a. *n'i-nū-*   'find each other, meet'
          RECP-find-

      b. *n'iŋ-amud'i-*   'love each other'
          RECP-love-

Reflexive verbs are derived by incorporation of personal pronouns (Krejnovič 1958: 120):

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15. Reciprocal constructions in Tundra Yukaghir are described in detail in (Maslova 1989b).

(75) a. *me-**met**-qajwes-t'e-ŋ*   '(I) wounded myself'
          AFF-1SG-wound-SN-1SG

      b. *me-**tet**-qajwes-t'e-k*   '(you) wounded yourself'
          AFF-2SG-wound-SN-2SG

      c. *me-**tur**-qajwes-u-j*   '(he) wounded himself'
          AFF-3SG-wound-0-SN(3)

The S participant of reciprocal/reflexive verb corresponds to core participant roles (A and O) of the basic transitive verb; the verb follows intransitive participant reference pattern (see 2.2).

2.5. Miscellaneous

2.5.1. Desiderative

The Desiderative meaning is expressed by suffix *-bun'-* (Krejnovič 1958: 125-126):

(76) a. *jarā̃-l-bun'-*   'want to swim'
          swim-ANR-DES-

      b. *law-je-bun'-*   'want to drink'
          drink-NR-DES

This suffix must be preceded by a fossilized nominalizer, which seems to indicate that the Desiderative results from grammaticalization of a construction with nominal form.[16]

2.5.2. Ingressive

The ingressive meaning is expressed by suffixes *ā̃* or *-ie-* (Krejnovič 1982: 121-124).

(77) a. *lew-d-ie-*   'begin to eat'
          eat-DETR-INGR

      b. *t'ambi-n-ā̃-*   'begin to help'
          help-0-INGR

This derivation is semi-productive: with a few exceptions, any atelic verb can attach an Ingressive suffix, but the form of Ingressive derivative is not fully predictable.

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16. The only formally possible etymological source for *-bun'-* seems to be the verb stem *pun'-* 'kill', which is doubtful on both semantic and humanitarian grounds.

2.5.3. Hypocoristic

The verb may contain the suffix *-kødi-*, which signifies that the situation is associated with a pitiful condition of its primary participant(s) (Krejnovič 1982: 152).

(78) a. *en'ie-gi   tenubun'-i-r   me-sahane-**kødi***
          mother-3 be.hungry-0-SS AFF-sit-HCR

          'His mother sits there, a poor soul.' (T6:14)

      b. *legul waŋt'i-**kødi**-r   qan-uoji-nun-d'e-l'i*
          food search-HCR-SS roam-MULT-HAB-SN-1PL

          'We used to roam in search of food, poor creatures.' (T7:3)

Chapter 3

Noun Phrase

3.1. Pronouns and related items

3.1.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish three persons and two numbers (there are no gender-based distinctions); they cannot refer to inanimate objects:

	Speaker	Listener	Other
Singular	*met*	*tet*	*tude*
Plural	*mit*	*tit*	*titte*

Personal pronouns have essentially the same case paradigm as lexical NPs (see 3.5), the most important difference being the consistent distinction between Primary (unmarked) and Neutral (*-l*) case forms. In contrast to all other NPs, Locutor pronouns take the Primary form in the A/S role independently of the pragmatic role (see 1.3). Non-Locutor pronouns align with proper names and anchored NPs (see 3.2) in that they are incompatible with overt Focus markers and take the Neutral case form in the S/O-Focus role.

There are four bound *intensifiers*, which can be used only with personal pronouns referring to the primary participant of the situation:

-id'ie signifies that the primary participant was *alone* when carrying out the action (Krejnovič 1958: 81). In the context of this suffix, the 3SG pronominal stem has the form *tur-*:

(79) *ta-dā-t   me-kewe-t'   tur-**id'ie** .*
      DST-ADV-ABL AFF-go-(PFV)INTR(3) he-INTS
      'Then he went away alone.' (T1:501)

-ejk indicates that the participant acts *in the same way* as somebody else, i.e., it introduces a meaning like 'too, also' (Krejnovič 1958: 80).

(80) *e   mit-**ejk**   tet+tite   kur-t'i-relek   sahane-j-l'i*
      Intj we-INTSF you-EQT   do-DLMT-SS:PFV   sit-SN-1PL
      'We live like you, too.' (T7:85)

Table 8. Demonstratives

	Modifiers	Pronouns	Identifiers	Presentatives	Adverbs
Proximal	*tu(ŋ)*	*tu-ŋun*	*tu-ŋn'e(ŋ)*	*te-n*	*te-n'i*
Visible	*adu(ŋ)*	*adu-ŋun*	*adu-ŋn'e(ŋ)*	*a-n*	*a-da*
Medial	*tie(ŋ)*	*tie-ŋun*	*tie-ŋn'e(ŋ)*	*tigi-n*	*tigi-ra*
Distal	*ta(ŋ)*	*ta-ŋun*	*ta-ŋn'e(ŋ)*	*ta-n*	*ta-dā*
Invisible	*tide(ŋ)*	*tide-ŋun*	*tide-ŋn'e(ŋ)*		*tin-dā*

-ejlek stresses that the participant carries out the action *without anybody's help*. For example, (81) is a reply to a series of suggestions about what the speaker might like:

(81)   *met-ejlek mon-te-je-ŋ*   *met amu-d'ī-me*   *rukun*
       I-INTSF say-FUT-SN-1SG my good-TRR-TR thing
       'I'll tell you myself what I like.' (T7:131)

-ejlede is an optional marker of *contrastive topic*:

(82) a. *tude-jlede tett'ie-le-ŋ*
         he-INTSF rich.man-FOC-FC
         'As for him, he was a rich man.' (T6:4)

     b. *met-ejlede ū-re*   *el-dū-t'uon*   *el-ū-te-je-ŋ*
         I-INTSF   go-SS-COND NEG-load-PRIV NEG-go-FUT-SN-1SG
         'As for me, I would never go there empty-handed.' (T7:58)

3.1.2. Demonstratives

3.1.2.1. Referential semantics of demonstrative stems

There are five demonstrative stems, which are listed in Table 8 in the order of implied distance from the deictic center (Krejnovič 1982: 235-237). This scale amalgamates two distinct oppositions, *deictic* and *anaphoric*. The classification of entities and locations with respect to the coordinates of the speech situation is achieved by means of the first four demonstrative series (the invisible series is excluded). The anaphoric reference mechanism makes use of three series: proximal, distal, and invisible.

    The proximal and visible series are employed for deictic reference to visible entities and locations. The visible demonstratives signal that the referent is closer to the listener (under listener's control):

(83) a. *tet qadu-ŋut*   *men-te-me-ŋ?*   **tu-ŋut**
         you which-NR:FOC take-FUT-TR-LCR PRXM-NR:FOC
         'Which one (of these objects) will you take? This one (indicated by hand).' (Krejnovič 1982: 239)

     b. *neme-ha*   *nād-uol-k*   **adū-gi**,   *tet*   *t'ald'ed'uo,*
         what-LOC need-STAT-(ITR)2SG VSBL-NTR your ring
         jawn-uo   *ket'i-te-m*
         all-OBLQ bring-FUT-TR(3)
         'This one, your ring, will bring you everything, whatever you may need.' (T6:142)

The medial and distal series are neutral with respect to the visible vs. invisible distinction. In (84a), the medial determiner indicates a person who lives nearby; (84b) is a part of dispute about some goods that are visible but not directly available to the speech act participants.

(84) a. *mārquon'* *tieŋ* *tand'e-ŋin'*   *ū-relek*   *kerewe-le*
         only   MED merchant-DAT go-SS:PFV cow-FOC
         pun'-te-l
         kill-FUT-OF.1PL
         'Let's go to that merchant (a neighbor) and kill a cow.' (T5:14)

     b. *tet* **ta-hi**   *men-te-me-k,*   *met* **tie-hi**
         you DST-NTR take-FUT-TR-2SG I   MED-NTR
         men-te-me-ŋ
         take-FUT-TR-LCR
         'You'll take that, I'll take this.' (T5:196)

The proximal, distal and invisible forms can be used for *anaphoric reference*. The proximal and distal series seem to be opposed to the invisible series in terms of the referent accessibility (anaphoric distance): an entity introduced in the immediately preceding sentence would normally be referred to by a proximal or distal form (85a-b), whereas the invisible series is used if the previous mention of the referent is separated from the anaphoric pro-form by some stretch of discourse (85c). The semantic distinction between proximal and distal forms in the anaphoric function appears to be similar to that described above for the deictic function: it pertains not to the anaphoric distance, but rather to the physical distance between the 'deictic center' of the episode and the entity referred to in the situation being described, cf. (85a) and (85b).

(85) a. *mer-uo-n'e-j*   *ekya-gi*   **tuŋ** *tude uo-hane*
         AFF-child-COM-INTR(3) elder.sister-3 PRXM her child-ACC
         tude emd'ie-n'   *tadi-m*
         her younger.sibling-DAT give-TR(3)
         'She had a child. She gave this child to her little brother.' (T1:100-101)

     b. *tāt ū-nu-da-ha*   *anme nadanmōje-k kelu-l*   **ta-ŋun**
         so go-PROG-3-DS DP   owl-FOC   come-SF DST-NR

albe-han   n'āwe-l+**da-ŋun-hane**   me-pot'esej-m
bottom-PROL   white-ANR-DST-NR-ACC   AFF-send-TR(3)
'As he was walking, an owl came flying. He let the white one run
after it.' (T6:54-55)

c. **tideŋ** lolha-j   t'uoraske-k   køt'ege-j-re-m-le.
INVS   boil-INTR(3)   pot-FOC   rush-PFV-APPL-TR-OF.3
'He rushed to that (previously mentioned) boiling kettle.' (T1:115)

The distal pronouns are commonly used as heads of attributive NPs intended
to single out one referent from a context-determined set, e.g., the NP glossed
as 'the white one' in (85b) picks up one of two previously mentioned puppies.

3.1.2.2. Syntactic categories of demonstratives

As shown in Table 8, there are five formally distinct categories of demonstra-
tives. Demonstrative stems, often followed by -ŋ, function as noun *modifiers*,
e.g.: *tuŋ gode* 'this man', *taŋ gode* 'that man'. Demonstrative *pronouns* are
derived from demonstrative stems by means of nominalizer -ŋun, which is
replaced by -gi~-hi in the Neutral case (see 1.3). In the Focus form, the
final /n/ of the nominalizer is replaced by /t/:

(86)   tu-ŋut   lew-me-le
        PRXM-NR:FOC   eat-TR-OF.3
        'That's what he ate.' (T6:190)

The demonstrative forms derived by -ŋ-n'e(ŋ) are classified as demonstrative
identifiers according to the criterion put forward in (Diessel 1999: 10-11):
these forms are used in the role of subject of nominal predicate (see 4.2).

(87) a. **adu-ŋn'e** me-qawde amu-t'e   n'anme-k!
        VSBL-IDNR AFF-how good-INTR   willow.rod-FOC
        'What a good willow rod it is!' (T5:110)

   b. **adu-ŋn'e-ŋ**   neme-n lawje pundu-j   rukun-ek?
      VSBL-IDNR-FC   what-AT water tell-INTR thing-FOC
      'What water is this one talking about?' (lit. This/here is one who
      talks about what water?) (T1:481)

Identifiers also occur in the context of a complete verbal clause, where they
serve to identify the state of affairs to which the predication pertains: for in-
stance, the clause-final identifier in (88b) refers to the (observable) absence of
the speaker's mother. This construction is attested for clauses with nominal
Focus (88a) and for specific questions (88b).

(88) a. *e,*   **tu-ŋn'e**   el-gol-le   sukǖji-l
        Intj PRXM-IDNR   NEG-person-FOC   take.care-OF.1PL
        'It is not a human being that we take care of!' (T1:158)

   b. *tij,* *mit en'ie qadā sahā*   **tu-ŋn'e-ŋ**
      Intj our mother where disappear(ITR:3) PRXM-IDNR-FC
      'Hey! Where has our mother went to?' (T1:61)

Finally, identifiers can be used as the Neutral case form of demonstrative
pronouns:

(89) a. **tu-ŋn'e**   me-lolh-ā-j
        PRXM-IDNR   AFF-boil-INGR-INTR(3)
        'It began to boil.' (T1:105)

   b. **adu-ŋn'e**   neme-ha   at-kī-me-k?
      VSBL-IDNR   what-LOC   IMG-give-TR-2SG
      'What would you sell this for?' (T5:71)

In contrast with the purely deictic usages like in (87)-(88), the latter context
is compatible with the anaphoric usage of demonstratives.

   Deictic presentatives serve to link the clause to a state of affairs in the
situation of speech:

(90) a. **te-n**   met joqodile-pul med'i-ŋ
        PRXM-D   I   horse-PL   take-1SG
        'I've taken these horses here.' (T5:185)

   b. **a-n**   mit kode-hane   men-t'e-r   kelu-j
      VSBL-D   our person-ACC take-VEN-SS come-INTR(3)
      'This one there came in order to take our relative away.' (T7:43)

   c. **tigi-n** el-it'uo-je-mut   joqodile-pul jashik-pul køde-pul
      MED-D   NEG-look-INTR-2PL   horse-PL   box-PL   person-PL
      'There, don't you see horses, boxes and people?' (T5:194)

This is a purely deictic function, therefore there is no deictic presentative in
the invisible series.

   With the exception of the invisible series, demonstrative *adverbs* have five
distinct forms, as shown in Table 9. Apart from the directional forms, this
paradigm is formally and functionally identical with the spatial sub-paradigm
of nouns (see 3.5.6):

(91) a. **ten'i**   jawdil'il-ek kewe-j-te-l   **ta-dā-n**
        PRXM:ADV path-FOC   go-PFV-FUT-SF   DST-ADV-PROL
        kewe-j-ta-hane-k
        go-PFV-IMP-2
        'Here is a path. Follow it.' (T1:73-75)

Table 9. Demonstrative adverbs

	Proximal	Visible	Medial	Distal
Simple	*ten'i*	*adā*	*tigirā*	*ta-dā*
Generic	*ten'i-ne*	*adā-ne*	*tigrā-ne*	*ta-dā-ne*
Ablative	*ten'i-t*	*adā-t*	*tigrā-t*	*ta-dā-t*
Prolative	*ten'i-n*	*adā-n*	*tigrā-n*	*ta-dā-n*
Directional	*migi-de(ŋ)*	*adu-ŋude(ŋ)*		*ta-ŋude(ŋ)*

   b. **ta-dā-ne**   *mer-al'a-j*
     DST-ADV-GNR AFF-melt-INTR(3)
     'Everything is melted there.' (Krejnovič 1982: 154)

   c. **ten'i-t**   *kewe-j-l'el-d'e*   *met gorat-ŋin' ū-se-ŋi-k!*
     PRXM-ABL go-PFV-INFR-INTR my town-DAT go-CAUS-PL-IMP.2

     'Take me to the town that vanished from here.' (T6:302)[17]

   d. *qad'ir tude lukunburebie-n'* **migi-deŋ** *me-kelu-j*
     DP   his homeland-DAT PRXM-DIR AFF-come-INTR(3)
     'Now he came back here, to his own land.' (T2:44)

The following adverbial forms have temporal meanings:

(92) a. *ten'i-t*   'from now on'
       PRXM-ABL

     b. *ta-dā*   'then, at that time'
       DST-ADV

     c. *ta-dā-t*   'afterwards'
       DST-ADV-ABL

     d. *tin-dā*   'long ago, at the ancient times'
       INVS-ADV

3.1.3. Interrogative pronouns and other question words

There are two interrogative pronouns *kin* and *neme*; the former refers to human referents only, the latter is neutral with respect to animacy (see 2.2.4).

    In copula-based forms (3.6), these pronouns have *universal* reading:

(93) a. **kin-ol-l'elk** *ai-nun-u-m*
       who-*be*-NOM shoot-HAB-0-TR(3)
       'Everybody was shooting.' (T7:30)

     b. *apanalā-gi*   *aq*   *puŋuol-e-r* **neme-ŋol-leŋ**
       old.woman-3 only rejoice-0-SS what-*be*-ACC

---

17. The sentence pertains to a situation in a fairy-tale, whereby a town has been
    transferred magically from one place to another.

   wie-j-uol-moraw-le   *janaspejre-m* His wife was so glad that
   make-0-RNR-PRSP-ACC FORGET-TR(3)'
   she forgot everything she was going to do.' (T5:176)

The universal reading is more common in negative contexts:

(94) a. **kin-uol-leŋ** *øge-te-j-uol-moraw-pe-gi*   *el-gurel'ī*
       who-*be*-ACC stand-CAUS-0-RNR-PRSP-PL-3 NEG-know(3)
       'He did not know anybody whom they could appoint.' (T7:334)

     b. **neme-ŋol-l'elk** *ew-l'e*
       what-*be*-NOM   NEG-EXST(3)
       'Nothing was there.' T7:186

Pronoun *neme* 'what' can also have indefinite reading; see (151a).

    Other question words are derived from the stem *qa-∼qō-*. This class of lexical items comprises of the following groups:

- A group of interrogative adverbs covering the basic adverbial meanings: *qadā* 'where', *qan'in* 'when', *quodī* 'why', *quode* 'how' (the locative adverb also has regular Ablative and Prolative forms, *qadā-t* 'where from' and *qadā-n* 'along what route'; cf. Table 9.[18]

- A group of qualitative interrogative words with different syntactic functions: *qadi* 'what' (noun modifier), *quodeban-* (predicative), and *qadinol* (verb modifier).

- A group of quantitative interrogative words with different syntactic functions: *qabu-n∼qabu-d* 'how much' (noun modifier), *qamlal* (predicative), *qaml'id'e* 'how many times' (verb modifier).

3.1.4. Reflexive pronouns

There are two ways to express co-referentiality of a non-subject NP with the subject. First, the stem of the appropriate personal pronoun can be incorporated into the verb form; the verb switches from transitive to intransitive agreement pattern (2.4.3).

    Secondly, the co-referential participant can be expressed by the noun *kedel* 'body' with the appropriate possessive pronoun (see 3.2 on the reflexive semantics of the third person possessive pronouns), as in (157b). This option is also available for direct objects:

(95) a. *met met kedel me-paj-ŋ*
       I   my body AFF-hit-1SG
       'I hit myself.' (Krejnovič 1958: 120)

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18. Other adverbial meanings are covered by the oblique case forms of *neme* 'what'.

b. *tudel tude kedel-hane me-paj-m* -TR(3)
　 he　 his　 body-ACC　 AFF-hit
　 'He hit himself.' (Krejnovič 1958: 120)

The noun *kedel*, without possessive modifiers, can express co-referentiality with a discourse-determined central participant. In (96), there is just no syntactic relation between the controller (the implied subject of the first clause) and the underlined locative NP in the second clause.

(96) *ki-d　　ile-k　　　　　　ura-rit-nun-ŋu-m-le*
　　　 two-AT　 domestic.deer-FOC　 learn-CAUS:ITER-HAB-PL-TR-OF.3
　　　 mārqa-d ile　　kedel-ha　 l'e-te-j　　　　konme-gi
　　　 one-AT　 domestic.deer body-LOC　 EXST-FUT-INTR(3)　 partner-3
　　　 talaw-ŋin'　　ū-te-j
　　　 wild.deer-DAT　 go-FUT-INTR(3)
　　　 'People train two deer. One deer would stay with them. The other would go to the wild deer.' (T9:1-3)

Note that some meanings commonly expressed by 'reflexive pronouns' are rendered by specialized pronominal intensifiers (3.1.1).

3.1.5. 'Other'

The notion of an entity representing a different token of the same type as a previously mentioned one ('another') is expressed by means of word *wie-n* 'another'.[19] It is used as noun modifier (97), but can be nominalized by means of suffix *-l'e* (98a).

(97) *wie-d　　emul-ŋin'　 qaldej-ŋi.*
　　　 another-AT　 island-DAT　 run.away-PL:INTR(3)
　　　 'They ran away to another island.' (T6:194)

If the referent is selected from an identifiable (definite) set, the same meaning is rendered by means of noun *kønme* 'partner, friend, spouse'. The pronominal use is signaled either by the nominal cross-reference suffix (see 3.2) or by the nominalizer *-l'e* (3.4.4). The cross-reference form implies definite interpretation ('the other (one)' or 'the second (one)'; see (96)) and the form with *-l'e*, indefinite interpretation ('some', 'some of them'; see (98)). This pronoun can be used both as noun modifier (98b) and as autonomous NP (98a).

(98) a. *konme-l'e erpeje-p-le-ŋ　 konme-l'e wie-l-l'e-pe-k*
　　　　 partner-NR even-PL-FOC-FC partner-NR another-AT-NR-PL-FOC
　　　　 'Some of them were Evens, and others from other tribes.' (T7:91)

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19. The final morpheme is the regular nominal Attributive marker, i.e. it alternates with *-d* before vowels.

b. *mal konme-l'e t'ūl-gi tit kew-re-j-ŋi-ta-hane-k*
　 imp partner-NR meat-3 you go-CAUS-PFV-PL-FUT-IMP-2
　 'Well, you'll take away some of this meat.' (T5:33)

3.2. Anchoring

The Anchoring Construction is a construction in which one entity (*anchor*) is invoked to establish reference to another entity (*anchored*). The range of relations between entities that justify the use of Anchoring Construction includes canonical "possessive" relations (ownership, kinship, part-whole; see (100)-(101)), as well as rather loose context-based associations like in (99a).

If the anchor is the primary participant of the situation that involves the anchored referent and/or a participant of the speech act, it is referred to by the primary form of appropriate personal pronoun; see (129a), (132a). Other highly accessible anchors are referred to by suffixes *-gi* or *-d(e)-* attached to the head of anchored expression.[20]

(99) a. *tideŋ t'ī-pe-gi　　tude-hane*
　　　　 INVS people-PL-3　 he-ACC
　　　　 el-l'uo-t'ī-l-bun'-ie-ŋi
　　　　 NEG-see-DLMT-0-DESD-INGR-PL:INTR(3)
　　　　 'Those people (with whom *he* used to hang out) did not want to see him any more.' (T6:13)

　　 b. *nime-ha　　kotke-j-nā-da-ha　　　lāme-gi-tege n'āt'-in*
　　　　 dwelling-LOC reach-PFV-INCH-3-DS　 dog-3-AUG　 face-DAT
　　　　 kel-u-j
　　　　 come-0-INTR(3)
　　　　 'As he was approaching the dwelling, *his* dog came to meet him.' (T1:43)

The anchor can also be referred to by a nominal modifier in the primary form, which can but need not be linked to the head noun by Attributive marker *-d∼-n* (the obstruent variant of this linker is available only if the next word begins with a vowel). The unmarked option (as in (100)) is significantly more common; the overt linker tends to be used if the anchor itself is represented by an anchored NP; see (101).

(100) a. *apanalā　　nime*　　　'(the) old woman's dwelling' (T1:291)
　　　　　 old.woman dwelling

　　　 b. *t'amadald'e marqil*　　'(the) tzar's daughter' (T1:410)
　　　　　 tzar　　　　daughter

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20. The suffix *-gi* is used in unmarked case forms, *-d(e)-* appears before oblique case markers; the Dative, Attributive and Transformative forms allow both marking options without discernible semantic differences.

(101) a.   *en'ie-gi-**n**   samqaral*   'her mother's table' (T1:247)
           mother-3-AT table

     b.   *tude kerewe-**d** ugurt'e*   'the legs of his cow' (T1:70)
           [3SG cow-AT] legs

A lexical anchoring modifier within NP is compatible with cross-reference marking on the head:

(102)   <u>*ambār*</u> *waner-**de**-hane mer-umusej-m*
        barn   lock-3-ACC   AFF-shut-TR(3)
        'She locked the barn.' (lit. the lock of the barn) (T1:209)

If the anchor is cross-referenced on the head noun, its plurality is signified by the regular Plural marking on the head:

(103) a.   *lat'il-**pe-gi** ew-l'e-da-ha werwe-**pe-gi** l'uku-mu-te-j*
           fire-PL-3   NEG-be-3-DS strength-PL-3 small-INCH-FUT-INTR(3)

           'If they have no fire (lit. if *their* fire is absent), they will lose *their* strength.' (T1:413)

     b.   *ile-le*   *met an'mil-hane*
           domestic.deer-ACC 1SG draught.deer-ACC
           mer-oŋde-ŋa   ...   <u>*met*</u> <u>*t'ī*</u>   *kī-j-uol-**pe-gi***
           AFF-harness-PL:TR(3)   1SG people give-0-RNR-PL-3
           'They harnessed a deer, my draught deer, the one given to me by *my family.*' (T7:21-22)

If both referents invoked are quantifiable, the Anchored Plural form is ambiguous between three readings, e.g.: *akā-pul-gi* 'their elder brother; his elder brothers; their elder brothers'.

    If a noun is modified by a relative clause with non-primary relativized participant, the primary participant of the relative clause is encoded as the anchor of the head noun; in particular, it controls cross-reference suffixes on the head noun (104a). The primary participant of a nominalized clause is encoded as the anchor of this clause and controls cross-reference suffixes on the nominal verb form (104b).

(104) a.   *tideŋ kuril'i-me-le jā-n*   *kazak-**gi***
           INVS know-OF-3   three-AT Cossack-3
           'those three Cossacks whom *he* knew' (T6:299)

     b.   *leml'e-pul-gi*   *kelu-nu-l-**gi***
           headman-PL-3 come-PROG-ANR-3
           'the arrival of *their headman*' (T1:399)

In what follows, all instances of the Anchoring Construction will be referred to as *Anchored NPs*; the noun forms with bound cross-reference suffixes, as *Anchored forms*.

Table 10. Numerals

	Cardinal		Ordinal
	Attributive	Predicative	
1	*mārqa-n*	*mōrqō-n'*	*kija-d'e-l'e* before-SN-NR
2	*ki-n*	*kijō-n'*	*konme-gi-st'e* partner-3-ORD
3	*jā-n*	*jalo-n'*	*jalmi-st'e*
4	*jeluk-un*	*jalakla-n'*	*jelekle-st'e*
5	*imdal'd'i-n*	*imdal'd'a-n'*	*imdal'd'e-st'e*
6	*māleji-n*	*mālajla-n'*	*māleje-st'e*
7	*puskij-in*	*puskija-n'*	*puskije-st'e*
8	*mālejluk-un*	*mālajlakla-n'*	*mālajlekle-st'e*
9		*wal'han'umkruo-n'*	*wal'han'umkruo-st'e*
10	*kunil'-in*	*kunal'a-n'*	*kunil'e-st'e*

3.3. Quantification

3.3.1. Numerals

The first ten numerals have two cardinal stems, attributive and verbal, and a nominal ordinal stem (see Table 10). Numbers greater than ten are rendered by means of combinations based on the noun *kunil'* 'ten' and postposition *bure* 'above'.

(105) a.   *kunil'-ki-bure*   'twelve'
      b.   *kunil'-jelukul-bure*   'fourteen'
      c.   *jā-n kunil'*   'thirty'

The Attributive stems of cardinal numerals function as noun modifiers, e.g., *ki-n gode* 'two people', *jā-d ile* 'three domestic deer', etc. The Attributive form for 'nine' is missing from the paradigm and the neutral participle of the corresponding quantitative verb is used instead, cf.: *wal'han'umkruo-d'e ile* 'nine domestic deer'. The latter option is also available for other numerals, cf.: *mārq-uo-d'e mit uo* 'our only son' vs. *mārqa-d uo* 'one child'.[21] A NP with Attributive numeral in the A/S role can be combined with both the singular and plural form of the main verb:

(106) a.   *elgoderin' **jeluku-n** t'uo-d   urasā-k   kurel'uol-e-**l**   juodī-d*
           barely   four-AT   iron-AT yurt-FOC be.visible-0-SF eyes-AT
           ojt'e-lek
           brink-INSTR
           'Four iron yurts appeared on the horizon, barely visible.' (T1:187)

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21. It is unclear whether the semantic distinction between the marking options clearly visible in this example is consistently drawn.

b. *taŋ* **jā-n**   *gode-k*   *ta-dā*   *l'e-ŋu-l*
   DST three-AT   person-FOC DAT-ADV   be-PL-SF
   'There were only those three people.' (T6:312)

Quantitative verbs are used to predicate the number of elements in a definite set referred to by the subject and follow regular intransitive agreement pattern:

(107) a. *tudel ew-l'ie-l'e-n'*,   *me-ki-j-uol-l'el-ŋi*
         3SG   NEG-be-INFR-INTR(3) AFF-two-0-STAT-INFR-PL:INTR(3)
         'He is not here, there are apparently only two of them.' (T1:266)

      b. *mit ja-l-uo-d'e-l'i*
         we   three-0-STAT-INTR-1PL
         'There are three of us.' (Krejnovič 1982: 196)

The *ordinal numerals* are derived from the verbal cardinal stems by means of the suffix *-st'e* (in some cases, accompanied by certain modifications of stem, see Table 10); the word for 'second' is derived by the same suffix from the Possessive form of the noun *kønme* 'partner', which is otherwise commonly used as a pronoun, cf. *kønme-gi* 'the other one'. The ordinal counterpart of 'one' is missing; the corresponding meaning is signified by the nominalized neutral participle of the verb *kija-* 'be the first in a row, lead'.

The ordinal forms presented in Table 10 are used as noun modifiers, e.g. *jālmi-st'e t'ajle* 'the third day'. The corresponding nominal forms are built by means of the bound Possessive marker, cf. *jālmi-st'e-gi* 'the third one'.

There is a closed class of frequentative adverbs derived from numerals by means of the suffix *-d'e*, cf. *mārqa-d'e* 'once', *kidi-d'e* 'twice', *ja-lmi-d'e* 'three times' (cf. a similar quantiative interrogative *qamli-d'e* 'how many times').

3.3.2. Non-specific scalar quantifiers

Non-specific quantifiers, *alhamla-* '(be) few' and *pojuol-* '(be) multiple', belong to the morphological class of verbs (108); accordingly, they can be used as noun modifiers in a relativized form, see (108c).

(108) a. *poj-uol-ŋi*
         multiple-STAT-PL:INTR(3)
         'There were lots of them.' (lit. They were multiple.) (T7:86)

      b. *labunme* **poj-uol-e-r**   *ejū-l'e-n'*.
         partridge multiple-STAT-0-SS get.into-INFR-INTR(3)
         'Many partridges had been caught.' (T1:18)

c. **poj-uo-d'e**   *talaw-ha* *taŋnigi* *sebun'iet'e-le*
   multiple-STAT-AT deer-LOC   then   lure.deer-ACC
   el-nādī-ŋu.
   NEG-need-PL(3)
   'If there are many wild deer, then a lure-deer is not used.' (T8:36)

3.3.3. Universal quantifier

There is a universal quantifier *jawne-* 'all', which occurs in three forms:

jawne-r is derived by means of the verbal same-subject marker (see 2.2.7) and signals that the quantifier is controlled by the subject. If the antecedent is dropped, this form functions as a subject pronoun.

(109) a. *sāl* **jawne-r** *jaruha-j*
         tree all-SS   swing-INTR(3)
         'All trees began to swing.' (T1:135)

      b. **jawne-r** *jaba-ŋi*
         all-SS   die-PL:INTR(3)
         'They all died.' (T1:433)

jawn-uo is derived by means of the Oblique marker (cf. the same affix in the oblique Comitative form, 3.5.7) and signals that the quantifier is controlled by the object. Like in the previous case, this form can serve as an object pronoun if the set being quantified is not mentioned in the clause.

(110) a. *mit ile-pe*   **jawn-uo** *lajhudeŋ* *med'i-j*
         our domestic.deer-PL all-OBLQ   back   take-1PL
         'We took all our deer back.' (T7:87)

      b. **jawn-uo** *med'i-t*
         all-OBLQ   take-FUT(1SG)
         'I will take everything.' (T7:57)

jawne-j is used as noun modifier, e.g., *jawne-j nime-hat* 'from all houses' (T1:457). This form can be nominalized by means of the Possessive suffix and used as an oblique universal pronoun (in an appropriate case form), cf. *jawnej-d-in'* 'to all of them, to everybody', *jawnej-de-han* 'everywhere', *jawne-j-pe-de-n'e-ŋ* 'with all of them'. The suffix *-j* can be traced back to the marker of Active Relative form (see 2.2.7).

The universal quantifier can take the Diminutive (*-t'(ie)-*) and the Augmentative (*-teg(e)-*) markers (the latter is identical with the nominal Augmentative marker, see 3.4.1), cf. *jawnet-t'ie*, *jawnet-teg-uo*. The semantics of these suffixes in this context is not clear; they appear to signal the speaker's attitude

to the referent of the controller: either each element of the quantified set or the set as a whole are presented as being 'small' or 'large'; the Diminutive has an additional meaning of sympathy and affection.

3.3.4. Morphological number

The morphological category of Number distinguishes two forms, Plural (*-pe- ∼ -pul- ∼ -p-*) and Singular (unmarked), e.g., *tett'ie* 'rich man' vs. *tett'ie-pe* 'rich men'; *tand'ē* 'merchant' vs. *tand'ē-pul* 'merchants' (Krejnovič 1982: 41-43). The morphological marking of plurality is possible only if the NP has specific reference; see (111) for an example of generic NP unmarked for number.

(111) *talaw-le-ŋ*   *pun-nun-ŋu-m-le*
       wild.deer-PRED-FC kill-HAB-PL-TR-OF.3
       'They hunted wild deer' (T1:8)

As a rule, the Plural suffix does not occur in the context of a lexical quantifier, as in *jān marqil'* 'three girls'.

There is also a special *reciprocal Plural* form built by means of the Reciprocal prefix *n'i(ŋ)-* and the suffix *-jil'* (Krejnovič 1982: 43-44). This marking combines only with same-generation kinship terms and signifies a group of people related to each other (in contrast with a group of people related to someone else, cf. *jān n'iŋ-aka-jil'* 'three brothers' and *akā-pe-gi* 'his elder brothers').[22] This form can attach the regular Plural marker: *n'iŋ-emd'e-jil'-pe* '(all) younger brothers together' (Krejnovič 1982: 44). The suffix *-jil'* is occasionally used without the Reciprocal prefix, e.g., *akā-jil'* 'brothers'.

3.4. Modification

3.4.1. Diminution and augmentation

The Augmentative marker is *-tege∼-tke*, e.g.: *suskarā-tege* 'huge hook', *lāme-tke* 'huge dog'. The most interesting property of this suffix is its loose position in the word form: it can either precede (112a) or follow (112c) the cross-reference Possessive suffix, and, most surprisingly, it can follow the Comitative verbalizer (112c) (thus being in effect attached to the verb, rather than to the noun from which it is derived).

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22. This use of Reciprocal suffix is remarkable, since these kinship terms invoke reference to the relative age of participants (*akā* 'elder brother', *emd'e* 'younger sibling', etc.) and are thus essentially asymmetric.

(112) a. *lāme-gi-**tege***   'his huge dog' (T8:124)
          dog-3-AUG
      b. *lāme-n-**teg**-i*   '(he) had a huge dog' (T8:3)
          dog-COM-AUG-INTR(3)
      c. *unement'uo alba-**tke**-gi*   'the bottom of earring' (T7:43)
          earring   bottom-AUG-3

The Diminutive suffix is *-die∼-tie*, e.g.: *køn-die* 'a small human being', *n'anme-p-t'ie* 'small willow rods' (Krejnovič 1958: 25). This suffix can express speaker's affection:

(113) *uo-**die**, met-in' t'ū-n   moqlā-hat sūsej-k.*
       child-DIM I-DAT   meat-AT piece-ABL throw-IMP:2
       'Dear child, throw me a piece of meat.' (T10:23)

3.4.2. Nominal modifiers and compounding

A noun in the primary form can function as a qualitative modifier; such modifiers differ from anchoring modifiers (3.2) in that they cannot control cross-reference suffixes on the head and do not block overt Focus marking (see 1.3). Non-referential modifiers are usually linked to the head noun by Attributive marker *-d∼-n*:

(114) *tolo-**n** t'ūl*   'deer meet'
       *iŋli-**d** igije*   'breast ropes'
       *kode-**n** sahanel*   'human life'

Some collocations built according to this pattern can be classified as compounds; however, there seem to be no formal features which would distinguish compounds from regular NPs with non-referential modifiers. In a sense, any NP with Attributive linker can be thought of as a single phonological word, since the use of variant *-d* before vowel-initial head nouns violates the otherwise strict constraint on voiced obstruents in the syllable-final position (see 1.2.2).

3.4.3. Other qualitative modifiers

Most lexical units signifying qualities (like *big, small, fast, smart*, etc.) constitute a subclass of stative verbs (see 2.1.1), i.e., they take regular verbal markers in predicative position (115) and have to be encoded as relative clauses in the position of noun modifier (116).

(115) a. *lewej-meŋ   ta-ŋudeŋ   ū-j-uol-e-r*
         summer-TMP   there-DIR   go-0-STAT-0-SS
         ***at**-am-uo-**l'e-n**'.*
         IMG-good-STAT-INFR-INTR(3)
         'It would be fine to fly there in the summer.' (T3:17)

b. *met-qat* **me-t'am-uol-bun'-i**
   1SG-ABL AFF-big-STAT-DESD-INTR(3)
   'He wants to be bigger than me.' (T6:162)

(116) a. *amu-**t'e**   t'uoraske-k*
      good-INTR pot-FOC
      'good pot' (T5:64)

   b. *t'am-uo-**d'e**   jalhil-ek*
      big-STAT-INTR lake-FOC
      'one big lake' (T1:177)

If the head noun begins with a vowel, such a modifier can (but need not) be linked to its head by the Attributive linker *-d*, e.g., *lugu-je-**d** apanalā* 'a very old woman' (T1:2).

Two qualitative stems, *juku-~l'uku* 'small' and *t'ama-* 'big', occur as noun modifiers without overt markers of relativization, e.g. *t'ama-d'ohoje* 'sabre' (lit. 'big knife'), yet this option is apparently confined to a closed class of lexicalized collocations. In the vast majority of cases, these notions are rendered by qualitative verbs, which are derived from these stems by the Stative suffix *-uol*, *juk-uol-* 'be small' and *t'am-uol-* 'be big' (as in (116b)).

3.4.4. Modified NPs with empty heads

There are two lexical items that function as semantically empty heads of modified NPs, *rukun* and *-l'e*. *rukun* is a bound form of the noun *sukun* 'thing'.[23] It serves as empty head of relative clauses and imposes no semantic constraints on the referent of the NP:

(117) a. *neme-ŋol-leŋ el-wie-je   rukun*
      what-*be*-ACC NEG-make-INTR thing
      'somebody who does nothing' (T1:9)

   b. *el-gode+dite   ban-d'e   rukun-pe*
      NEG-person+as be.like-INTR thing-PL
      'creatures which do not look like human beings' (T1:392)

This pattern is commonly applied to build periphrastic descriptions of animals:[24]

(118) a. *uje-n'e-j   rukun*   'winged one (= bird)'
      wing-COM-INTR thing

   b. *ewre-j   rukun*   'walking one (= wolf)'
      walk-INTR thing

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23. This noun most commonly refers to clothes, but also serves as subject in descriptions of natural phenomena (Krejnovič 1958: 31-32).

24. Apparently, such descriptions are used to observe hunting taboos.

The bound pronoun *-l'e* 'one' has a similar function, yet it can be used only with simple (one-word) modifiers.[25] In particular, it is used to build free possessive form of personal pronouns:

(119) *A: te-n   met juodī jaw-de-ha qud-uo-d'e-ŋ   id'ie*
          PRXM-D my eyes sick-3-DS lie-STAT-INTR-1SG now
       *mer-ama-qa:-j   B: ie, **met-l'e** wāj te-n*
       AFF-good-INCH-INTR(3)   Intj my-NR   CA   PRXM-D
       juo-t'
       sick-INTR(3)
       '(A:) I'm lying here because my eyes ache. And they're getting much better now. (B:) Ah, mine (my eyes) hurt, too.' (T5:157-159)

3.5. Case

3.5.1. Primary case

The Primary case encodes A-Focus constituents, A/S-Topic constituents referring to speech act participants (see 1.3), and lexical and free pronominal anchors in Anchored NPs (see 3.2).

The Primary case form implies that the NP either refers to a specific identifiable entity (*definite* reference, as in (120a)) or to the type of entities signified by NP (*generic* reference, as in (120b)).

(120) a. **tand'ē-pul** *pun'-ŋu*
      merchant-PL kill-PL(AF)
      'It's THE MERCHANTS who killed it.' (T5:39)

   b. *køde-n   oŋiej-ol-moraw-hane   legul-de-n'-uo   aq*
      person-AT put.on-RNR-PRSP-ACC food-3-COM-OBLQ only
      pajp *wie*
      woman make(AF)
      'Clothes and meals are made only BY WOMEN.' (Krejnovič 1982: 251)

In other words, the A-Focus construction can never be used to introduce a new (unidentifiable) referent.

3.5.2. Neutral case

The core function of Neutral case is encoding of (i) non-Locutor A/S-Topic constituents and (ii) O-Topic constituents in the context of Locutor A; the

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25. It also occurs as a free pronoun if the speaker cannot find an appropriate noun (e.g., the name is forgotten).

Neutral encoding of O-Topic is also available in non-finite clauses with non-Locutor A (see 1.3). Some nouns have two variants of Neutral case, with or without suffix -ŋ; the ŋ-marking is possible only for bare nouns, i.e., it is incompatible with any kind of modification or quantification. It appears to occur primarily in generic (free-choice) contexts, as in (121).

(121) a. *nondawje-ŋ pel-uol-moraw-ha*   *ejuoke*
       bow-FC   catch.up-RNR-PRSP-LOC not.far

       gur-t'ï-nun-i
       do-DLMT-HAB-INTR(3)

       'He comes close enough for an arrow to reach them.' (T9:8)

    b. *mit mārqa-n luku-n-bure-be-ha*   *t'ajle-ŋ*
       we one-AT soil-AT-SUPER-LNR-LOC day-FC

       el-mol-nun-d'e-l'i
       NEG-spend-HAB-INTR-1PL

       'We never spend a whole day in one place' (T1:468)

    c. *kode-ŋ*   *pulge-j-da-hane*   *n'aha*
       person-FC come.out-PFV-3-DS:SET   together

       pulge-j-nun-ŋi
       come.out-PFV-HAB-PL:INTR(3)

       'Whenever someone came out, they would come out,
       too.' (T6:221)

As shown by examples like (122), free-choice contexts do not exhaust the range of functions of ŋ-marking. In (122a), *uo-ŋ* 'the lad' refers to a highly accessible referent, which is singled out by the context as the only possible candidate for this role, so that a sentence with dropped A would have the same reading in the given context. Similarly, *t'ajle-ŋ* 'the day' in (122b) refers to the day when the events being described took place and could have been dropped without any difference in interpretation.

Table 11. *Case paradigm*

Stem	*met* 'I'	*titte* 'they'	*ile* deer	*ile-gi* 'her/his deer'
Primary	*met*	*titte*	*ile*	
Neutral	*met-u-l*	*titte-l*	*ile(ŋ)*	*ile-gi*
Focus	*met-ek*		*ile-le(ŋ), ile-k*	
Dative	*met-in'*	*titt-in'*	*ile-ŋin'*	*ile-g-in', ile-d-in'*
Instrumental	*?met-lek*	*?titte-lek*	*ile-lek, ile-lede*	*ile-de-lek*
Locative	*met-qa*	*titte-ha*	*ile-ha*	*ile-da-ha*
Generic Locative	*met-qane*	*titte-hane*	*ile-hane*	*ile-da-hane*
Ablative	*met-qat*	*titte-hat*	*ile-hat*	*ile-da-hat*
Prolative	*met-qan*	*titte-han*	*ile-han*	*ile-da-han*
Comitative	*met-n'e(ŋ)*	*titte-n'e(ŋ)*	*ile-n'e(ŋ)*	*ile-de-n'e(ŋ)*
Transformative			*ile-ŋol*	*ile-d-ol, ile-gi-n-ol*

(122) a. *uo-ŋ*   *it'uo-da-hane*   *samqrāl-gi-n bure*   *n'umud'ï-le-ŋ*
       child-FC watch-3-DS:SET table-3-AT   SUPER ax-FOC-FC
       qud-uol-e-l
       lie-STAT-0-ANR

       'The lad noticed that there was an ax on her table.' (T1:238)

    b. *me-t'iŋit'e-r-i*   *t'ajle-ŋ*
       AFF-night-INCH-INTR:3 day-FC

       'It got dark.' (lit. 'the day turned into night') (T8:148)

Such examples suggest that -ŋ signals reference to a set *any* element of which can serve as an appropriate referent of NP; this set can but need not be constrained by the context.[26] This marking is optional in both types of contexts:

(123) a. *kode*   *kode-n'eŋ*   *n'ied'i-relek kol-le*
       person person-COM talk-SS:PFV person-ACC
       wel-tie-nun-u-m
       hang-CAUS-HAB-0-TR(3)

       'Usually one talks with a person before sending him to the gallows.' (T1:446)

    b. *leml'e*   *mon-i*
       headman say-INTR(3)

       'The head (of the town) said:...' (T1:447)

Other functions of Neutral case are confined to NPs that have no Focus case form, namely, non-Locutor personal pronouns, proper names, and Anchored NPs. For these NPs, the Neutral case takes over the Focus case functions (3.5.3), i.e., it encodes S/O-Focus constituents (see 1.3) and nominal predicates (4.2.1).

3.5.3. Focus case

The Focus case is represented by two suffixes, *-(e)k* and *-le-(ŋ)*; it encodes S/O-Focus role (see 1.3) and nominal predicates (4.2.1). The suffix *-le-(ŋ)* is also used as an overt marker of O participant role in Neutral transitive constructions with third person A (see 1.3). As indicated by parentheses, this has two variants, with and without final -ŋ. The choice of one or another variant shows a very strong statistical dependency on the syntactic role of

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26. It is interesting to note that, while the ŋ-form is very infrequent in authentic texts, ŋ-nouns consistently occur in this form in illustrative examples of (Krejnovič 1958); this seems to indicate that the ŋ-marking can be triggered by the context of linguistic interview, when sentences are not supposed to refer to any "real" referents, so any entity of the set defined by the meaning of NP will serve as an appropriate referent.

NP; the following scheme shows the percentage of instances with *-ŋ* in all possible functions of this suffix:

(124) Nominal predicate > S-Focus > O-Focus > O-Topic
          100%   96%   60%   2%

This distribution hints at a tendency towards specialization of *-le-ŋ* as Focus marker, and *-le*, as Accusative marker.[27]

An important discourse function of S/O-Focus is to introduce new participants; accordingly, an overt Focus marker implies indefiniteness in absence of overt indication of identifiablity (in contrast to the Neutral case form, cf. (123b)).

(125) a. *tadā   t'uo-n   korel   apanalā-k   sahane-l*
           there iron-AT ogre   old.woman-FOC   sit-SF
           'There sat AN OLD IRON OGRESS.' (T1:191)

       b. *samqrāl   bure   it'uo-da-hane   n'umud'ī-tege-**le-ŋ**   qud-uol-e-**l***
           table   on   look-3-DS:SET   ax-AUG-FOC-FC   lie-STAT-0-SF
           'He saw that there was A HUGE AX on the table.' (T1:276)

(126) a. *d'juoŋi-ŋo-d'e   n'olel-**ek**   pot'esej-ŋu-m-le*
           D.-*be*-INTR   bird-FOC   send-PL-TR-OF:3
           '[The birds decided to dispatch someone to look for a better place to live.] And they sent A BIRD WHOSE NAME WAS DYONGI.' (T3:5)

       b. *sāband'e   pon'iet'e-p-**le**   nū-ŋu-m-le*
           net   fish-NR-PL-FOC   find-PL-TR-OF:3
           'They found FISHERMEN.' (T6:270)

The "default" indefinite interpretation can be overridden by demonstrative modifier:

(127) *pure-ge+lāher   mārqa-n   qāli-t'e   gode-k*
        above-NR+from   one-AT   horrible-INTR   person-FOC
        *l'ie-l'el-u-l   taŋ   gol-**le**   waŋt'ī-t'e-**m-le**.3*
        be-INFR-0-SF   DST   person-FOC   search-VEN-TR-OF.3
        'There was A FORMIDABLE MAN in the west. He went to look for THAT MAN.' (T2:7-8)

For common nouns, the choice of Focus marker depends primarily on the presence of scalar quantifiers and qualitative modifiers; this dependency can be described by the following hierarchy:

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27. This or similar dependency seems to be fully grammaticalized in Kolyma Yukaghir, where the corresponding S/O-Focus marker is *-le-k*, and the O-Topic marker is *-le*.

(128) quantified nouns > modified nouns > unmodified nouns

Quantified NPs take the Focus marker *-(e)k*. Other NPs are, in principle, compatible with both Focus markers, yet the presence of a qualitative modifier usually triggers *k*-marking, especially if this modifier is focused. Conversely, unmodified nouns are usually marked by *-le-(ŋ)*. In the function of O-Topic marker, the latter suffix has a slightly broader distribution, i.e., it more freely combines with modified nouns and, albeit very rarely, also with quantified and anchored nouns. The presence/absence of demonstrative modifiers, and, in general, the actual referential status of NP, seems to have no direct effect on this choice. In sum, although the classification in (128) does not provide a full description of this distribution, the presence of various types of modifiers emerges as the best predictor of case form.[28]

Personal pronouns of first and second person and animate interrogative pronoun *kin* 'who' take the suffix *-(e)k* in the S/O-Focus role, neutral interrogative/indefinite pronoun *neme* 'what, who', the suffix *-le-ŋ*.

3.5.4. Dative

The Dative marker is *-(i)n'* for personal pronouns, proper names, and Anchored NPs (see 3.2) and *-ŋin* for other NPs. The Dative case encodes the semantic roles of recipient (129) and (spatial) goal (130).

(129) a. *tuŋ   tude uo-hane   tude emd'ie-**n'**   tadi-m*
           PRXM   3SG child-ACC 3SG younger.sibling-DAT   give-TR(3)
           'She gave this baby to her little brother.' (T1:101)

       b. *tuŋ   gode-**ŋin'**   mon-i*
           PRXM   man-DAT   say-INTR(3)
           'He said to this man...' (T1:460)

(130) a. *qad'ir   tude nimie-**n'**   me-kewe-t'*
           DP   3SG dwelling-DAT   AFF-go(PFV)-INTR(3)
           'Then he went home.' (T1:42)

       b. *sānmonile-**ŋin'**   tide   wegī-de-hane*
           forest-DAT   INVS   cargo.sledge-3-ACC
           me-kew-re-j-m
           AFF-go-CAUS-PFV-TR(3)
           'He drove his cargo sledges into the forest.' (T5:164)

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28. The role of modifiers in the distribution of S/O-Focus and O-Topic forms has been identified by Krejnovič (1982: 249-259); an alternative description in terms of reference in (Nikolaeva and Xelimskij 1997: 163).

3.5.5. Instrumental

The Instrumental case (*-lek* ~ *-lede*) has an array of meanings commonly associated with this functional label (instrument, means of transportation, material, etc.):

(131) a. *tideŋ n'umud'ī-lek n'amī-da-hane murittrej-m*
INVS ax-INSTR   neck-3-ACC   cut.off-TR(3)
'He cut her head off with that axe.' (T1:245)

   b. *qad'ir joqodile-lek me-kewe-j-ŋi*
DP   horse-INSTR AFF-go-PFV-PL:INTR(3)
'They went away riding (on horseback).' (T1:523)

   c. *tātl'ellede n'anme-lek poj-uol   nonol poj-uol*
then   osier-INSTR multiple-STAT snare multiple-STAT
wie-ŋ
make-1SG
'Then I made many snares of willow rod.' (Krejnovič 1958: 49)

The Instrumental marker *-lede* can (but need not) replace the regular Instrumental suffix *-lek* in contrastive negative contexts, cf. the following examples:

(132) a. *mit art'el-pe t'ald'e-lede el'-wie-ŋu,   jawn-o*
our artel-PL hand-INSTR NEG-make-PL(3)   all-OBLQ
masina-lek   wie-ŋa
machine-INSTR make-PL:TR(3)
'Our working cooperatives do not work manually, they make everything with machines.' (Krejnovič 1958: 52)

   b. *t'ald'e-lek   el'-enuskurie, jawne-r masina-lek*
hand-INSTR   NEG-work(3) all-SS   machine-INSTR
enuskurie-ŋi
work-PL:INTR(3)
'Nobody works manually, everybody works with machines.' (Krejnovič 1958: 52)

According to Krejnovič, the personal pronouns have no Instrumental form (1958: 73), since the meaning of this case is incompatible with animacy. However, such forms occur in the (demoted) A slot of the Resultative construction (see 2.4.2).

3.5.6. Spatial cases

There are four spatial case markers, which share a common morphological element *-ha* (*-qa* after voiceless obstruents). The distinction between Locative (location IN or movement (IN)TO), Prolative (movement ALONG), and Ablative (movement FROM) forms is expressed by the morphological opposition

{−∅ vs. *-n* vs. *-t*}, which is also applied to spatial adverbs and postpositions, with the same semantics (see 3.1.2.2). The Generic Locative form is derived by *-ne* from the Locative form.

3.5.6.1. Locative

The Locative form signifies a location IN (examples (a) in (133)-(134)), ON THE SURFACE OF (examples (b)), or IN THE VICINITY OF (examples (c)) the entity referred to by the NP, depending on the overall semantics of the clause. It is used to specify a stable location (133), or the final location of a movement (134).

(133) a. *jaw-lāhan-de t'ald'e-ha mōj-m*
left-side-3   hand-LOC hold-TR(3)
'She held it in her left hand.' (T4:22)

   b. *it'uo-da-hane t'awul-ha jarā-ŋi*
look-3-DS:SET sea-LOC   swim-PL:INTR(3)
'He saw that they were out in the sea.' (T6:200)

   c. *tadā qud-uo-n'   tude joqodile-pul-ha*
there lie-STAT-INTR(3) 3SG horse-PL-LOC
'He was lying there among his horses.' (T5:165)

(134) a. *qad'ir tude nime-ha   me-kotke-t'*
DP   3SG dwelling-LOC AFF-reach(PFV)-INTR(3)
'He reached his dwelling.' (T1:50)

   b. *āwā-ha   me-kude-re-m*
blanket-LOC AFF-lie-CAUS-TR(3)
'He put it on the blanket.' (T1:100)

   c. *qad'ir titte joqodile-pe-hane lawjedekū ehal-ha*
DP   their horse-PL-ACC   ice.hole   edge-LOC
øge-te-ŋa
stand-CAUS-PL:TR(3)
'They stopped their horses at the edge of the ice-hole' (T5:192)

The Locative form of temporal noun refers to a span of time:

(135) a. *akā-pe-ŋ,   anān tuŋ t'ajle-ha*
elder.brother-PL-FC very PRXM day-LOC
poj-uol-e-r   ejū-l'e-n'
multiple-STAT-0-SS:IPFV get.into-INFR-INTR(3)
'Elder brothers, today lots of them have been caught.' (T1:58)

   b. *qad'ir eguojie-da-ha   me-kewe-j-ŋi   tud-in'*
DP   tomorrow-3-LOC AFF-go-PFV-PL:INTR(3) he-DAT
'The next day they went to him.' (T5:132)

The Locative form of human nouns expresses a meaning like 'at somebody's place':

(136) a. *t'ārt'eqān-ha   sew-ŋi*
          Ch.-LOC   enter-PL:SN(3)
          'They entered Charchehan's dwelling.' (T5:7)

       b. *mit ekıa-ha   mit en'ie-n   sukun l'e-te-l*
          1PL elder.sister-LOC 1PL mother-AT thing be-FUT-SF
          'Our elder sister keeps our mother's clothes (at her place).' (T1:72)

It also has various metaphorical meanings, e.g.:

(137) a. *aduŋ-n'e neme-ha at-kī-me-k?*
          VSBL-IDR what-LOC IMG-give-TR-2SG
          'What would you sell it for?' (T5:71)

       b. *qad'ir tet t'uŋde-ha kin-ek   l'e-l?*
          DP   2SG mind-LOC who-PRED EXST-SF
          'Whom do you have in mind?' (T7:342)

3.5.6.2. Generic Locative

The Generic Locative case has two distinct functions: first, it can be used to encode O participant (see 1.3); secondly, it is used in generic and near-generic statements to refer to the *whole* domain signified by the noun (as opposed to a specific location within this domain):[29]

(138) a. *t'awul-hane lawje-ŋ   el'-am-o*
          sea-LOC   water-FC NEG-good-STAT(3)
          'The sea water is not good.' (Krejnovič 1958: 54)

       b. *juorpure-ne t'aj-ŋ noŋga-ŋ el'-neme-n'e-j   d'ī-hane*
          tundra-ADVR tea-FC tobacco-FC NEG-what-COM-SN people-LOC

          ew-l'ie-nun
          NEG-EXST-HAB(3)

          'Poor people in the tundra used to have no tea and tobacco.' (Krejnovič 1958: 54)

       c. *tu   sukunmol'hil-hane talaw   me-l'e-j*
          PRXM year-LOC   wild.deer AFF-EXST-SN(3)

          ideraŋ-hane wie-n   luku-n-bure-be-ŋin'
          next.year-LOC another-AT earth-AT-SUPER-LNR-DAT

---

29. The Kolyma Yukaghir counterpart of this suffix, *-gele*, is completely grammaticalized as Accusative marker; see (Maslova 2003a).

me-kewe-t'
AFF-go-(PFV)SN(3)
'One year, there are wild deer (here), next year, they go to another place.' (Krejnovič 1958: 54)

3.5.6.3. Prolative

The Prolative case encodes the semantic role of Route. It is normally used with verbs of movement (139), but other contexts are also possible (140).

(139) a. *tadā-t   tude jawul-han lalime tudie-reŋ*
          there-ABL 3SG track-PROL sledge pull-SSIPFV
          me-kewe-t'
          go(PFV)-INTR(3)
          'Then he went back along his own track, pulling the sledge.' (T8:33)

       b. *juodī lawje puoje-da-han   sīge-j*
          eyes water cheek-3-PROL run.down-INTR(3)
          'Tears were running down his cheeks.' (T8:138)

(140) a. *tude sundūk an'il-han   mer-it'uo-m*
          his trunk crack-PROL AFF-look-TR(3)
          'He looked through the crack of his trunk.' (T5:146)

       b. *ugurt'e-da-han wāj ek-uo-j*
          legs-3-PROL   too hole-STAT-SN(3)
          'There was also a hole along his feet.' (T7:181)

In the temporal meaning, the Prolative signifies the period of time during which the situation takes place:

(141) *met tet-ul   ja-n   sukunmol'hil-han*
       I   you-ACC three-AT year-PROL

       ura-rit'-i-t
       learn-CAUS:MULT-0-FUT(1SG)
       'I will be teaching you for three years.' (Krejnovič 1958: 57)

It can also be used in various metaphorical meanings:

(142) a. *ki-n   kopejke-han piro-le   men'-me-ŋ*
          two-AT copeck-PROL pen-FOC take-TR-LCR
          'I bought a pen for two copecks.' (Krejnovič 1958: 58)

       b. *kelu-te-j   gøde-han   pot'esej-k -IMP:2*
          come-FUT-INTR person-PROL send
          'Send it with the man who will come.' (K58:58)

3.5.6.4. Ablative

The Ablative case signifies the entity or location from which something orig-
inates or is being separated. This includes the initial location of an entity:

(143) a. *īrie anā-hat   apanalā   jalhil-in' ū-nun-d'e-li*
       Irie mountain-ABL old.woman lake-DAT roam-HAB-INTR-1PL
       'We used to roam from Irie mountain towards Old Woman
       lake.' (T7:80)

   b. *qad'ir met en'ie-hat   taŋ pudinime-ŋin'*
      DP   1SG mother-ABL DST neighbor-DAT
      kew-re-j-ŋa
      go-CAUS-PFV-PL:TR(3)
      'They brought me from my mother to that neighbor.' (T7:15)

the source of information:

(144) *arū-da-hat   lejtej-ŋ*
       word-3-ABL know:PFV-1SG
       'I have understood this from his words.' (T6:374)

the cause of event:

(145) *nododuor-pe-gi-ŋol-de   jawne-r puŋ-ie-nul-l'e-n'*
       bird.egg-PL-3-PRED-TOP all-SS   ready-INGR-HAB-INFR-SN(3)

       aq pugu-d'e-hat
       EL hot-NR-ABL

       'All their eggs boiled just because of the heat.' (T3:3)

and the set from which an element is being selected:

(146) *t'ārt'eqān tideŋ tude wegie-j-uol   sukun-pe-hat n'id'erpe-j*
       Ch.   INVS his transport-0-RNR thing-PL-ABL new-SN

       rukun-ek   oŋu-l'el-me-le
       thing-PRED put.on-INFR-TR-OF.3
       'Charchehan put on new clothes from the goods that he had
       brought.' (T5:179)

The Ablative also marks the standard of comparison (see (115b)) and parti-
tive objects in Imperative sentences:

(147) a. *ki-n   gode-hat   kī-k*
       two-AT person-ABL give-IMP:2
       'Give me (any) two men!' (T1:520)

   b. *met-in' øl'd'e-hat kī-ŋi-k*
      I-DAT boat-ABL give-PL-IMP:2
      'Give me any boat.' (Krejnovič 1958: 60)

3.5.7. Comitative

The Comitative refers to a participant who plays the same role in the sit-
uation as another participant (controller). The regular Comitative marker
-n'e-ŋ is used if the controller is the primary (A/S) participant (148a); other-
wise, the Comitative is followed by the Oblique suffix *-ō*, the resulting form
being *-n'-uo* (148b).

(148) a. *qad'ir tide marqil-n'e-ŋ ū-relek   me-segu-j*
       DP   INVS girl-COM-FC go-SS:PFV AFF-enter-INTR(3)
       nime-da-ha
       dwelling-3-LOC
       'He went with that girl and entered her dwelling.' (T1:230)

   b. *qad'ir joqodile-pe-le jawn-uo tideŋ tand'e-pul*
      DP   horse-PL-ACC all-OBLQ INVS merchant-PL
      joqodile-pul-de-n'-uo nime-ŋin'   me-kew-re-j-m
      horse-PL-3-COM-OBLQ dwelling-DAT AFF-go-CAUS-PFV-TR(3)
      'He brought all the horses, along with the merchants' horses, to
      his place.' (T5:197)

The regular Comitative can function as a coordinate nominal conjunction,
which triggers the Plural agreement on the verb, cf. (148a) and (149)

(149) **peldudie apanalā-n'e-ŋ**   *laja-wret ondire-reŋ*
       old.man old.woman-COM-FC back-ABL bless-SS:IPFV
       oh-uol-ŋi
       stand-STAT-PL:SN(3)
       'The old man and the old woman stood blessing him from
       behind.' (T6:145)

The same form is used for secondary participants of symmetric predicates:

(150) *ta-n   korel-n'e-ŋ luku-n-bure-be   kīd'e laj-nun-u-l*
       DST-D ogre-COM-FC soil-AT-SUPER-LNR spirit fight-HAB-0-SF
       'The spirit of the earth was fighting there with that
       ogre.' (T6:113)

The Comitative forms with cross-reference suffix *-de-* (see 3.2) are used to
organize lists of conjoined participants:

(151) a. *el-it-t'ie   l'e-llek   qad'ir n'awn'iklie-ŋ ojege-ŋ*
       NEG-long-RSTR EXST-SS:PFV DP   polar.fox-FC hare-FC

       n'etle-de-n'e-ŋ neme-de-n'e-ŋ me-kelu-ŋi
       fox-3-COM-FC what-3-COM-FC AFF-come-PL:SN(3)
       'After some time, polar foxes, hares, a fox and others
       came.' (T8:84)

b. *qad'ir ojege-**de-n'-uo**   labunme-**de-n'-uo***
   DP   hare-3-COM-OBLQ partridge-3-COM-OBLQ

   me-pun-na:-m
   AFF-kill-INGR-TR(3)

   'He began to kill hares and partridges.' (T8:9)

In some cases, the Anchored Comitative form is attached to the primary participant, apparently with a meaning like 'too':

(152) ***met-te-n'e-ŋ***   *ū-je-ŋ*   *ta-ŋude-ŋ*
       I-POSS-COM-FC go-SN-1SG DST-DIR-FC

       'I went there too.' (T7:7)

The Comitative affix is also used to derive predicative constructions with similar meaning ('be with, have'); see 4.2.3.

3.5.8. Transformative

The Transformative NP signifies the intended function (use) of an entity:

(153) a. *qad'ir neme-le   men-te-me-ŋ   wal'e-d-**uol**?*
          DP   what-PRED take-FUT-OF-FC payment-3-TRNSF

          'What shall you take as a payment for this?' (T1:461)

       b. *t'ārt'eqān apanalā-gi   **mit** qamdil-**uol** alRan*
          Ch.   old.woman-3 our slave-TRNSF HORT

          kew-re-j-te-j   *kel-de*
          go-CAUS-PFV-FUT-1PL come-SS:COND

          'Let's take Charchehan's wife for our slave when we come.' (T5:141)

In all attested examples, the entity intended for the function signified by the Transformative NP is the O participant, as in (153). In some examples, the Transformative NP serves as the only description of O, thereby virtually replacing the regularly marked object NP in the clause structure:

(154) a. *qad'ir ta-ŋul-lek   titte lewej-n   bure-b-**uol***
          DO   DST-NR-INST 3SG summer-AT SUPER-NR-TRNSF

          nū-l'el-ŋa
          find-INFR-PL:TR(3)

          'This is how they (the birds) found their summer homeland.' (lit. 'a place to use as their summer homeland') (T3:20)

       b. *lew-de-llek   tude n'āndawj-**uol** wie-nā-m*
          eat-DETR-SS:PFV 3SG bow-TRNSF   make-INGR-TR(3)

          'After the meal, he began to make his bow.' (T6:111)

The Transformative form of nominal verb forms is used to express purpose, see 4.4.3.

3.6. Referential status

There are no obligatory markers of referential status (like definiteness, specificity, etc.). *Definiteness*, and more broadly, the degree of accessibility, can be signaled overtly by means of a demonstrative modifier (see 3.5.3, **??**). Quantified NPs without demonstrative modifiers are interpreted as *indefinite*; in particular, the numeral *mārqan* 'one' is commonly used to express indefiniteness (see (14b)). On the other hand, the referential interpretation of NP depends on its pragmatic role, see 3.5.1-3.5.2.

An interesting and as yet not fully explored issue is the relation between referential status of NP and the covert category (or categories) underlying the case-marking splits described above (see 1.3, 3.5.2-3.5.3, 3.5.6.2). For non-pronominal NPs, this hypothetical category can be represented in terms of the following hierarchy:

(155) Proper names, anchored nouns > quantified nouns > modified nouns > unmodified nouns

The top segment of this hierarchy can be easily reinterpreted in terms of referentiality, yet such an interpretation cannot account for the relevance of qualitative modifiers and irrelevance of demonstrative ones. It seems, therefore, that hierarchy (155) is better accounted for in terms of *inherent specificity* of NP, i.e., its ability to single out a specific referent from a set of similar entities, where 'inherent' is intended to mean independence of deictic information. To put it the other way round, this hierarchy reflects the power of NP's extension.

Finally, there are two noun forms that imply *generic reference*; they are derived by the copular suffix *-ŋol-* (see 4.2.2) followed by *-l'elk* in the A/S role and *-leŋ* in the O role (there are no such forms for peripheral constituents):

(156) a. *køde-**ŋol-l'elk** ta-dā   poj-uo-n'*
          person-*be*-NOM DST-ADV multiple-STAT-INTR(3)

          'And there are also many people there.' (T5:189)

       b. *lat'il-**ŋol-leŋ** el-nādī*
          fire-*be*-ACC   NEG-need(3)

          'And it even doesn't need any fire!' (T5:73)

As shown by these examples, these forms introduce a meaning like 'also, too, even' (Krejnovič 1982: 222-223). They appear to occur primarily in descriptions of unexpected or otherwise surprising situations and favor the context of negation.

(157) a. *el'-aq   uor-pe   t'ama-d'ï-ŋol-l'elk urā-nun-ŋi*
        NEG-only child-PL big-people-*be*-NOM learn-HAB-PL:INTR(3)
        'Not only children, even adults study (there).' (Krejnovič 1958:
        260[328])

      b. *mārqa-n t'awur-ŋol-leŋ tude kedel-ha*
        one-AT   arrow-*be*-ACC his body-LOC
        el-eji-te-s-t'ï
        NEG-get.into-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS(3)
        'And he did not let a single arrow hit his body.' (T2:68)

The corresponding forms of interrogative pronouns function as universal pronouns (see 3.1.3).

Chapter 4

Sentence

4.1. Sentence types

4.1.1. Imperative sentences

The major means to express imperative meaning is Imperative clause-type marking on the finite verb (see 2.2.5). In addition, imperative sentences often contain a sentence-initial imperative particle *malā*, which can be combined with Indicative 1PL form or with Imperative second person form; in the latter case, the particle can attach the second person marker *-k*.

(158) a. **malā** *apanalā   qanā-je-l'i.*
        IMP   old.woman roam-INTR-1PL
        'Old woman, let's roam (to another place)' (T8:15)

      b. **malā** *muge-k*
        IMP   undress-(IMP)2
        'Come on, undress!' (T1:232)

      c. **malā-k** *tet   ū-k*
        IMP-2   2SG   go-(IMP)2
        'Come on, go!' (T1:269)

A proposal or consent to carry out an action, alone or together with the listener, can also be expressed by means of preverbal *hortative* particle *alhan* combined with the Future Indicative form of the verb:

(159) a. *e,   **alhan** jew-t'e-t*
        Intj HORT   check-VEN-FUT(1SG)
        'All right, I'll go and check them' (T1:16)

      b. *eguojie   n'aha   **alhan** n'umud'e-t-t'e-l'i*
        tomorrow together HORT   settle-FUT-INTR-1PL
        'Let us make a camping site together tomorrow.' (T2:21)

      c. *eguojie   **alhan** t'ire-s-uo-te-j*
        tomorrow HORT   drown-CAUS-STAT-FUT-INTR(3)
        'Let (us) drown him tomorrow.' (T5:140)

This construction is often used to express the purpose of another proposed or requested action, as in the following examples:

(160) a. *tude wie-te-l   rukun nonol banda-ha   **alhan***
          3SG make-FUT-ANR   thing snare put-IMP:1PL   HORT
          *joj-t'ie-nun-**te**-m*
          check-VEN-HAB-FUT-TR(3)
          'Let us set traps for him to do something, so that he would go and check them.' (T1:11)

     b. *t'am-uol-e-l+da-hi   met-in'   puŋ-de-llek*
          big-STAT-0-ANR+DST-NTR 1SG-DAT ready-CAUS-SS:PFV
          *kude-re-t-qane-k   mid'irpe-j al'āje **alhan** legu-t*
          lie-CAUS-FUT-IMP-2 new-INTR liver HORT eat-FUT(1SG)
          'Cook and serve the eldest one for me, so that I can eat a fresh liver.' (T1:221-222)

4.1.2. Questions

Specific questions differ from other sentence types in that the locus of Focus is encoded lexically, by means of question word. If the questioned component of the situation is one of its core participants, the verb takes the appropriate Focus-indicating form; see (10), (161), (162):

(161) a. *kin-ek   ewre-**l**?*
          who-FOC   walk-SF
          'Who has come?' (T6:96)

     b. *neme-le   nād-uol-e-**l**?*
          what-FOC   need-STAT-0-SF
          'What do you need?' (lit. 'What is needed?') (T6:155)

(162) a. *kin-ek   øge-te-te-**mk**?*
          who-FOC   stand-CAUS-FUT-2PL
          'Whom will you appoint?' (T6:340)

     b. *neme-le   pundu-te-**m-le**? tuŋ   gode*
          what-FOC   tell-FUT-TR-OF:3 PRXM person
          'What will this man tell us?' (T1:449)

Otherwise, the main verb of specific question takes the Interrogative form or the Neutral Indicative form (2.2.4).

   In *general* questions, the finite verb takes one of the Indicative forms, depending on the intended focus structure (i.e., the scope of question):

(163) a. ***eld'e** tideŋ mit t'ald'ed'uo el-men'-me-k?*
          ITR   INVS 1PL ring   NEG-take-TR-2SG
          'Well, HAVEN'T YOU TAKEN that ring of ours?' (T6:246)

     b. *e, **quolem** me-met-ek   mon-me-le?*
          Intj DUB   AFF-1SG-FOC say-TR-OF:3
          'Hey, did she call ME?' (T1:227)

     c. *qajt'ie   **ejk** me-t'antejre-me-k?*
          grandfather HST AFF-be.unable-TR-2SG
          'Grandfather, you cannot (do it), can you?' (T8:37)

The illocutionary meaning is usually expressed by the interrogative (*eld'e*), dubitative (*quolem*), or hesitative (*ejk*) particle, as shown in (163); if these particles are absent, the verb takes the Negative marker:

(164) a. *tit-qa   wolme   **el-l'e-j**?*
          2PL-LOC shaman NEG-be-INTR(3)
          'Don't you have a shaman?' (T8:79)

     b. *joqodile-pul **el-l'uo-je-mut**?*
          horse-PL   NEG-see-INTR-2PL
          'Didn't you see horses?' (T5:186)

In questions, the Negative marking can (164b), but need not ((163a), (164b)) trigger negative participant reference marking (see 2.2.6).

4.2. Nominal predication

4.2.1. Nominal Focus as nominal predicate

A noun phrase in the Focus case form (3.5.3) can form the predicate of a finite clause. This construction is incompatible with Locutor pronouns in the subject role; in order to express the relation of identity between a third-person referent and a speech act participant, the latter must be encoded as the predicate (165c). Categorization sentences with Locutor pronouns are built by means of the Stative construction (see 4.2.2).

(165) a. *taŋ tett'ie   leml'e-**le-ŋ***
          that rich.man headman-FOC-FC
          'That rich man was the head (of the town).' (T6:33)

     b. *ki-d   akā-pe-gi   qāli-t'e   ierut'e-pe-**k***
          two-AT elder.brother-PL-3 horrible-INTR hunter-PL-FOC
          'His two older brothers were great hunters.' (T1:7)

     c. *tet-**ek**   Id'ilwej? met-**ek***
          2SG-FOC I.   1SG-FOC
          'Are YOU Idilway? Yes, it's me.' (T2:48-49)

Anchored NPs (3.2) and proper names can be used as nominal predicates in the Neutral case form (see 1.3, 3.6)

(166) a. *met peldudie qoj-d   en'ie-gi*
       1SG husband god-AT mother-3
       'She was my husband's godmother.' (T7:32)

   b. *kin ile   tuŋ-n'eŋ   Beke ile*
      who domestic.deer PRXM-IDNR B. domestic.deer
      'Whose deer are these? Beke's deer.' (Krejnovič 1982: 253)

(167) a. *met aka   kirije Ajilwaj*
       1SG elder.brother name A.
       'My elder brother's name is Ajilway.' (Krejnovič 1982: 184)

   b. *Idilway amā-gi Marmjan*
      I.   father-3 M.
      'Idilway's father is Marmjan' (Krejnovič 1982: 185)

In this construction, the nominal predicate is not supposed to *identify* a
referent; it either predicates a relation between the subject and the anchor of
predicate NP (as in (166)) or informs about someone's name (e.g., (167b) does
not identify Idilway's father as a person known to the listener as Marmjan;
it simply asserts that his name is Marmjan).

4.2.2. Copular constructions

A nominal predicate can be built by means of bound copula -*ŋol*-, which
is attached to the head noun of NP and takes intransitive inflection. The
major type of copular construction is *Stative* construction, which signifies a
state or property ($BE(x)$) ascribed to a referent encoded as S participant of
intransitive clause. This construction can function as the predicate of finite
(168a-c) or medial (168d) clause, and as a nominal modifier (168e); in each
function, it takes appropriate verbal markers; in this sense, the bound copula
belongs to the class of stative verbs (2.1.1).[30] On the other hand, the Stative
construction retains the internal syntax of NP; e.g., it can be modified by a
relative clause (168b-c).

(168) a. *met l'uolha t'amadald'e-ŋol-k*
       1SG instead tzar-*be*-(IMP)2
       'Be the tzar instead of me.' (T1:532)

   b. *mit joke-t   ewre-j   gd'ī-ŋo-d'e-l'i.*
      we [far-ABL walk-INTR] people-*be*-INTR-1PL
      'We are people who have come from afar.' (T1:478)

---

30. In the role of finite predicate, the Stative construction is semantically similar to
the Focus case form (4.2.1), but it is not confined to third person subjects; see
(168a-b). In the context of third person subject, it usually bears overt markers of
Tense/Mood, Aspect, or Evidentiality (as in (168c)), which cannot be expressed
in constructions with Focus case.

   c. *mirin' pude   juorā-n-ā-je   uo-ŋol-l'e-n'*
      [INCP outside play-0-INGR-INTR] child-*be*-INFR-INTR(3)
      'It was a child who was just beginning to play outdoors.' (T2:27)

   d. *qad'ir tadā t'amadald'e-ŋol-deŋ sahane-j*
      DP   there tzar-*be*-SS:IPFV   sit-INTR:3
      'And there he still dwells being the tzar.' (T1:535)

   e. *id'ilwej-ŋol-a-l gode*
      I.-*be*-0-ANR   person
      'the man who is (whose name is) Idilway' (T2:12)

   f. *ya   neme-han t'ūdewt'e-ŋol-l'el-ŋu?*
      Intj what-PROL relative-*be*-INFR-PL(ITR:3)
      'Hey, how (in which way) have they turned out to be relatives of
      mine?' (T1:255)

The *Inchoative* copular construction ($BECOME(x)$) is derived from the Stative
construction by means of Ingressive suffix -*ā*- (see 2.5.2).

(169) a. *wie-n   gøde-ŋol-ā-l'e-n'*
       another-AT person-*be*-INGR-INFR-INTR:3
       'He had become another man (entirely different).' (T4:180)

   b. *lukunburebe-ŋol-uol-ek lukunburebe-ŋol-ā-j.*
      soil-*be*-RNR-INSTR   soil-*be*-INGR-INTR(3).
      'It turned into soil, as it had been before.' (T1:526)[31]

The *Object-Oriented* copular construction is derived from the Stative con-
struction by means of transitivizing suffix -*ri*- (the final /l/ of the Stative
suffix -*ŋol*- is dropped). This construction describes the property of one ref-
erent (x) from the point of view of another referent (y); this is a transitive
construction: x is encoded as O participant, and y, as A participant.

(170) a. *qad'ir apanalā-ŋo-rī-m*
       DP   wife-*be*-TRR-TR(3)
       'He took her in marriage.' (T11:44)

   b. *t'ī-pe-hane   sal'dāt-ŋo-rī-reŋ   jawnet-t'-uo*
      people-PL-ACC soldier-*be*-TRR-SS:IPFV all-DLMT-OBLQ
      ket'i-ŋa
      bring-PL(TR:3)
      'They brought all these men as soldiers.' (T7:90)

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31. The omitted subject referent of this clause is a place where the soil was turned
into sand; the sentence describes the reverse transformation. The first (Result
Nominal) form of Stative NP describes the state of the place before the first
transformation.

4.2.3. Comitative constructions

Comitative constructions express the property of possessing or being accompanied by an entity signified by the basic noun. They are derived by attaching the Comitative suffix -*n'(e)*- to the head noun,[32] followed by appropriate verbal inflection markers. This construction is used for predication of possession in finite (171a) and medial (171b) clauses, and for noun modification (171c).

(171) a. *mārqa-n   lāme-**n'**-ŋi*
           [one-AT dog]-COM-PL:INTR(3)
           'They had one dog.' (T1:3)

       b. *t'ārt'eqān   wegī-**n'e**-reŋ   tude   nime-ha*
           Ch.   sledge-COM-SS:IPFV his   house-LOC
           køtke-t'
           reach(PFV)-INTR(3)
           'Charchehan came home with sledges.' (T5:175)

       c. *old'e-**n**-d'e   d'ī*
           dugout-COM-INTR people
           'the people with dugouts' (T9:40)

Comitative verbs have Inchoative (*begin to be with x, acquire x*) and Causative (*give x, bestow x*) counterparts. Inchoative Comitative verbs are derived by suffix -*r(e)*-∼-*de*-, e.g., *ile-re-* 'acquire domestic deer', *tadul-de-* 'acquire merchandise', *ugurt'e-r-* 'acquire shoes' (see also (172a)), Causative Comitative verbs, by suffix -*te*-∼-*s*-, e.g. *ile-te-* 'give domestic deer', *tadul-te-* 'give merchandise', *ugurt'e-s-* 'give shoes'; the recipient is encoded as O participant; see (172b).

(172) a. *ugune   kønme-**r**-d'e-ŋ*
           right   partner-COM:INCH-INTR-1SG
           'It is nice that I have found a wife.' (T10:41)

       b. *qad'ir   me-lāme-**s**-ŋa   tuŋ   tolo-n   solqa-hane*
           DP   AFF-dog-COM:CAUS-PL:TR(3) this deer-AT crowd-ACC
           'They sent a dog into this herd of deer.' (T9:38)

All types of Comitative derivation are fully productive, i.e., Comitative constructions can be built for any noun (provided the result is semantically feasible). There is a slight difference in grammar of simple Comitative construction (with -*n'(e)*-) and its Inchoative and Causative counterparts: the former retains the internal syntax of NP, i.e., the verbalized noun can take nominal modifiers (see (171a)); this is not the case for Inchoative and Causative Comitative constructions, which function rather as denominal verbs.

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32. See 3.5.7 on the use of this suffix as a case marker.

4.3. Clause chaining

Clause chaining is the major strategy of linking descriptions of semantically related situations into a syntactic whole; its functions range from structuring discourse into loosely coherent event chains to expression of specific relations between events (causal, conditional, temporal, etc.). Thus, this strategy covers functional domains associated cross-linguistically with clause conjunction and adverbial subordination.

4.3.1. Switch reference

A clause chain consists of one or more *medial* forms (see Table 12) and one finite clause, most commonly the final clause of the chain. Medial forms are marked for switch reference, i.e., each medial form signals whether or not the primary participant of the medial-clause situation is coreferential with the primary participant of the controlling-clause situation; the controlling clause is either the next clause of the chain or the finite clause.[33]

(173)   *taŋ   gode   el-guril'i-**da-hane**   neme   juo-**re***
         that person NEG-know-3-DS:SET   what   see-SS:SET
         *me-mord'e-s-nun-ŋa   iŋer   l'e-**da-hane** .*
         AFF-inform-CAUS-HAB-PL:TR(3) separately be-3-DS:SET
         'When they see something (a deer) and this man (the hunter) does not know, they would send a word to him, if he lives separately.' (T9:32)

Different-subject forms are marked for person (Locutor vs. Non-Locutor) and number of the primary participant of medial clause. These forms apparently result from grammaticalization of the Locative forms of Action Nominal: the different-subject markers -*ha* and -*hane* are formally identical with the Locative and Generic Locative case markers, respectively; non-Locutor subjects are referred to by the nominal cross-reference marker (see 3.2); the suffix -*l*- in the Locutor forms can be identified as the Action Nominal marker. On the other hand, the non-Locutor forms make use of the verbal marker of plurality (see 3.3.4), in contrast with the Action Nominal forms, where the plurality of A/S can be marked only by the nominal Plural marker (3.2).

4.3.2. Scene-setting vs. neutral medial clauses

Medial forms fall into two groups, *neutral* and *scene-setting*. This morphological opposition (see Table 12) subsumes two semantic parameters. First,

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33. Minor deviations from the simple A/S-oriented switch-reference mechanism can be triggered by Focus marking in the main clause and/or topicalization of non-primary participant (Maslova 1989a); this issue is outside the scope of the present work.

scene-setting marking signals that the medial clause is outside the scope of il-
locutionary operator expressed on the finite verb (see (174a-b), 173), whereas
the neutral forms are neutral with regard to this parameter (hence the term);
compare (174) and (47)–(48).

(174) a. *tadā kotke-re-j-**re***   *neme-ŋol-leŋ*
there reach-CAUS-PFV-SS:SET what-be-ACC
el-lajare-ŋi-k
NEG-leave.behind-PL-2SG
'When you take me there, destroy everything.' (T6:303)

     b. *juoha-j-**relde***   *samqrāl bure kudie-ta-hane-k*
finish-PFV-SS:FUT table   SUPER lie-FUT-IMP-2
'When you are finished, lie down onto the table.' (T1:241)

Thus, only neutral forms can be used in conjunction-like chaining construc-
tions like in (175).

(175) a. *tideŋ uo sew-de-**ha** sespe-n mālahur-ha ki-n*
that child enter-3-DS entrance-AT side-LOC two-AT
lāme-d uo-k ige-ŋu-l
dog-AT child-FOC tie-PL-SF
'The boy came in, and there were two puppies fastened at both
sides of the entrance.' (T6:37)

     b. *apanalā qad'ir lugu-mu-**r** me-jabe-kodi*
old.woman DP old-INCH-SS AFF-die-HPCR
'The poor old woman grew old and died.' (T6:64)

     c. *tuŋ kode-ŋin' t'andeŋ juo-t'ī-**relek** mon-i*
this person-DAT upwards see-DLMT-SS:PFV say-INTR:3
'He looked upwards at that man and said...' (T6:94)

On the other hand, neutral marking is strongly preferred if the medial clause
refers to a specific real situation in the past or present; scene-setting forms
are extremely rare in such contexts (see (68b) for one of such rare examples).
An interesting exception to this constraint is the construction with verb

Table 12. *Medial forms (*wie-* 'make')*

Different-subject forms			Same-subject forms		
	Neutral	Scene-setting		Neutral	Scene-setting
1|2SG	*wie-l-ha*	*wie-l-hane*	Imperfective	*wie-r*	*wie-re*
1|2PL	*wie-l-a-qa*	*wie-l-a-qane*		*wie-reŋ*	
3SG	*wie-da-ha*	*wie-da-hane*	Perfective	*wie-relek*	*wie-relde*
3PL	*wie-ŋu-da-ha*	*wie-ŋu-da-hane*	Privative	*el-wie-t'uon*	

Note: The initial /r/ of syllabic Same-Subject suffixes alternates with /d/ after sonorants.

it'uo- 'watch, look at' illustrated in (176); in this construction, the situation
of perception is encoded as different-subject scene-setting clause, and the
situation being perceived, as the finite clause:

(176) *uo-ŋ it'uo-**da-hane** samqrāl-gi-n bure n'umud'ī-le-ŋ*
child-FC watch-3-DS:SET table-3-AT SUPER ax-FOC-FC
qud-uol-e-l
lie-STAT-0-ANR
'The lad noticed that there was an ax on her table.' (T1:238)

Conversely, scene-setting marking is virtually obligatory for scene-setting
clauses that do not refer to specific situations in the past or present, that
is, for conditional settings (*if*-clauses; see (59)), for temporal settings with
future temporal reference ((174), (178b)) and for settings with generic or
quasi-generic reference (*whenever*-clauses, see (173)).

The scene-setting form of copula (see 4.2.2) can be used for *topicalization*:

(177) a. *wolme-pe-gi-**ŋol-de** mer-āwa-j*
shaman-PL-3-*be*-SS:SET AFF-sleep-INTR(3)
'As for their shamaness, she was sleeping.' (T4:39)

     b. *met konme-**ŋol-de** mit ur-uo-d'e-d*
my partner-*be*-SS:SET our learn-STAT-INTR-AT
ile-hane   ... tono-j-m
domestic.deer-ACC   bring.in-PFV-TR(3)
'As for my husband, he brought in our tamed deer ...' (T4:81)

4.3.3. Semantics of same-subject medial forms

Same-subject suffixes mark temporal relations and degree of semantic co-
herence between events being described.[34] *Perfective* Same-subject markers
signal that the medial clause situation precedes the controlling clause situa-
tion; see (57b) and (178a). The Perfective scene-setting suffix is used only if
the medial clause refers to a future situation; see (178b).

(178) a. *eguo-**relek** t'āj law-**relek** me-l'irkejed'-ie-j*
stand-SS:PFV tea dring-SS:PFV AFF-tremble-INGR-INTR(3)
'She woke up, drank some tea and started dancing.' (T5:40)

     b. *t'amu-mu-**relde** me-kel-te-je-ŋ tet-in'*
big-INCH-SS:PFV AFF-come-FUT-INTR-1SG 2SG-DAT
'When I grow up, I will come after you.' (T2:41)

Imperfective same-subject forms can encode both anterior and simultaneous
situations; simultaneity can be marked by the Progressive suffix *-nu-*.

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34. In different-subject clauses, relative tense can be expressed by means of Infer-
ential and Progressive suffixes; see (68).

(179) a. *qad'ir lew-de-reŋ*   *ten'i me-qud-uol-ŋi*
         DP   eat-DETR-SS:IPFV   here AFF-lie-RES-3PL
         'They were lying and eating.' (T1:212)

      b. *tāt mon-deŋ   me-kewe-t'*
         so say-SS:IPFV AFF-go(PFV)-INTR(3)
         'She said this and went away.' (T1:223)

      c. *lew-die-nu-reŋ   mon-i*
         eat-DETR-PROG-SS:IPFV say-INTR(3)
         'While eating, she said...' (T1:335)

The distinction between two Imperfective same-subject markers (*-reŋ* vs. *-r*)
reflects the degree of semantic coherence within clause chains; the construc-
tion with *-reŋ* is used to describe temporally adjacent and loosely themati-
cally related events, while the suffix *-r* signals that these events are construed
as components of a single complex situation.

(180) a. *sawe-da-hane samn'i-r   t'āqa-s-u-m*
         skin-3-ACC   stretch-SS freeze-CAUS-0-TR(3)
         'He stretched its skin and let it freeze.' (T5:26)

      b. *qart'i-r mer-ed'-ie-j*
         lie-SS   AFF-live-INGR-INTR(3)
         'She pretended to come back to life.' (T4:108)

Finally, the *Privative* form describes a situation that was expected to accom-
pany the main clause situation, but did not:

(181) a. *el-l'uo-t'ī-t'uon   mønd'ie-j*
         NEG-see-DLMT-PRV   listen-INTR(3)
         'He listened to it without looking at it.' (T2:59)

      b. *qan'ineŋ el-lugu-mu-t'uon   tuŋ d'ajle-ha kitn'uo*
         never   NEG-old-INCH-PRV this day-LOC till
         me-sahane-ŋi
         AFF-live-PL:INTR(3)
         'They live there till now without growing old.' (T11:45)

4.4. Nominalization

Verb has three nominal forms, Action Nominal (suffix *-l*), Result Nominal
(suffix *-uol*), and Prospective Nominal, derived from Result Nominal by suf-
fix *-moraw*. Clause nominalization has two major functions, which can be
referred to as *entity-oriented* and *event-oriented*. An entity-oriented clause
refers to something associated with the nominalized situation and functions
as headless relative clause. This meaning is more or less context-independent,
that is, an entity-oriented nominalized clause can be used just as a referential

NP (see 4.4.1). Event-oriented nominalization is the major means of senten-
tial complementation (see 4.4.2); if a nominalized clause fills a valence slot of
a complement-taking verb, its semantic interpretation depends on the mean-
ing of the verb. In combination with some oblique case markers or temporal
postpositions, event-oriented nominalization can be used to build adverbial
clauses (4.4.3). Finally, Action Nominal can be used for relativization; this
function is described in Section 4.5.

4.4.1. Headless relative clauses

As a rule, entity-oriented nominalization is signaled by the Result Nominal
suffix *-uol*, with or without Prospective marker. A Result Nominal clause
can refer to the entity resulting from the situation (182b) and/or to the O-
participant of the situation (182c). In most instances, the entity referred to
satisfies both conditions, as in (182a). This construction can be identified as
headless or head-internal (as in (182d)) relative clause.

(182) a. *qol-l'e   tet   qohi-j-uol*
         where-EXST(ITR:3) [you dig-0-RNR]
         'Where is the pit you have dug?' (lit. 'the result of your digging')
         (T1:155)

      b. *mārquon' erime ejū-j-uol   l'e-j*
         only   [snow get.into-0-RNR] be-INTR(3)
         'There was only snow.' (lit. 'the result of snow falling
         out')(T6:188)

      c. *tuŋ tude kone-pul-han   tude nādi-j-ōl*
         this his   partner-PL-PROL [his   need-0-RNR]
         men-nun-l'el-u-m
         take-HAB-INFR-0-TR(3)
         'He used to take from his friend whatever he needed.' (T6:3)

In combination with a spatial case marker, the Result Nominal construction
can refer to the location where the situation took place:

(183) a. *laj-hudeŋ titte kelu-j-uol-han   me-l'irere-j-ŋa*
         back-DIR [their come-0-RNR-PROL] AFF-blow-PFV-PL:INTR(3)
         'They blew back along their way.' (T1:525)

      b. *tideŋ tude gorat oh-uol-uol-ha   køtke-t'*
         that [his   town stand-STAT-RNR-LOC] reach(PFV)-INTR(3)
         'He reached the place where his town had been.' (T6:321)

The Prospective form is used if the nominalized situation is supposed to
follow the main clause situation:

(184) a. *tand'e-ha   lat'il'-gi sisa-ha-s-te   lawje-gi*
         merchant-LOC fire-3   tear-INCH-CAUS-SS:SET water-3
         *eluoji-re   tude lew-j-**uol-moraw** nū-nun-me-le*
         drag-SS:SET his   eat-0-RNR-PRSP   find-HAB-TR-OF.3
         'He made his living (lit. 'found something to eat') by chopping
         wood and fetching water for the merchant.' (T5:5)

     b. *tit-ul   met legu-t-**uol-moraw** neme-ŋol-l'elk ew-l'e*
         2PL-ACC 1SG eat-CAUS-RNR-PRSP   what-be-NOM   NEG-EXST(3)

         'There is nothing I could give you to eat.' (T5:12)

The *Action Nominal* form is rarely used for entity-oriented nominalization;
in this meaning, it signifies a typical object of the nominalized situation, e.g.
leg-u-l 'eating; food', *ieru-l* 'hunting; game or other animals to hunt'. This
meaning is illustrated by the following example:

(185)   *ieru-l   poju-mu-l'e-n'*
         hunt-ANR   multiple-INCH-INFR-INTR(3)
         'There were more game and animals to hunt.' (T1:529)

As it seems, this usage is confined to a closed class of verbs and thus can be
accounted for in terms of lexicalization of Action Nominal.

4.4.2. Complements

The primary strategy of complementation is Action Nominalization:[35]

(186) a. *t'ald'ed'uo sahā-l-hane   me-mori-ŋa   qad'ir.*
         [ring   disappear-ANR-ACC] AFF-hear-PL:TR(3) DP
         'Now they heard that the ring had disappeared.' (T6:242)

     b. *l'iteges-u-l   me-sabal'e-j*
         beat-0-ANR AFF-cease-INTR(3)
         'The brawl was over.' (T6:268)

     c. *taŋ kude-re-l-da-hane   me-juo-m*
         DST like-CAUS-ANR-3-ACC AFF-see-TR(3)
         'He saw her put it there' (T6:224)

Prospective Nominal marking can (but need not) be used to express relative
future:

(187) a. *band'īt-pul ejk   me-neme-pe-le-ŋ*
         [bandit-PL HST AFF-what-PL-FOC-FC
         *kelu-j-**uol-moraw**-pe-da-hane mørd'es-ŋa.*
         come-0-RNR-PRSP-PL-3-ACC]   inform-PL:TR(3)

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35. See 3.2 on the use of nominal cross-reference suffixes in nominalized clauses.

'They let us know that bandits, or whoever they were,[36] were
going to come.' (T7:78)

     b. *qad'ir tude moŋo-pul-hane men-delek   kejeteŋ   mā-m*
         DP   his hat-PL-ACC   take-SS:PFV in.advance wait-TR(3)
         *tude ekya   kelu-j-**uol-moraw**-le*
         his elder.sister come-0-RNR-PRSP-ACC
         'He took his hat in advance and waited for his sister to
         return.' (T1:118)

Result Nominalization is used to encode *indirect questions*, i.e., a Result
Nominal clause is interpreted as event-oriented only if the nominalized clause
contains a question word. The Result Nominal form implies that the nomin-
inalized situation precedes the main clause situation (188a-b); otherwise,
indirect questions are encoded by Prospective Nominal (188c).

(188) a. *juodī-pe-gi n'ārt'ū-l-pe-gi me-kurel'ī-m   **quodīr** tāt*
         eyes-PL-3 bad-ANR-PL-3 AFF-know-TR(3) why   so
         *kurt'ī-j-**uol**-pe-da-hane   tude t'uŋde-ha*
         happen-0-RNR-PL-3-ACC   his mind-LOC
         'He understood why their eyes were bad.' (T6:107)

     b. *tuŋ   tude gorat **qadā-t**   jedē-j-**uol**-da-hane   tuŋ*
         [PRXM his town where-ABL appear-0-RNR-3-ACC] this
         leml'e   tude-jlek el-gurel'ī
         headman he-INTS NEG-know(3)
         'This headman himself did not know where his town had
         appeared from.' (T6:329)

     c. ***kin-uol-leŋ*** *øge-te-j-**uol-moraw**-pe-gi   el-gurel'ī*
         who-be-ACC stand-CAUS-0-RNR-PRSP-PL-3 NEG-know(3)
         'He did not know whom they were going to appoint.' (T6:334)

4.4.3. Adverbial nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses in peripheral syntactic roles function as adverbial clauses;
this class of constructions is used primarily to express semantic relations that
cannot be adequately rendered by means of clause-chaining construction (see
4.3). Most importantly, these are relations of *purpose* and *posteriority*. Var-
ious types of the former meaning are expressed by Action Nominal in Trans-
formative or Dative case and by Prospective Nominal in Instrumental case:

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36. This NP refers to Russian soldiers.

(189) a. *t'am-uo-d'e   pestiel' wie-ŋu-m-le*
       big-STAT-INTR sack   make-PL-TR-OF.3
       *wel'i-t'i-gi-n-**uol***
       carry-ITER-3-AT-TRNSF
       'They had made a huge sack for him to carry.' (T1:40)

       b. *qad'ir qan'in mit-ul   t'āj-lek   lawi-te-**l-ŋin'***   *lat'il*
       DP   when   we-ACC tea-INSTR drink-CAUS-ANR-DAT fire
       el-en-de-je-k?
       NEG-burn-CAUS-INTR-2SG
       'Why don't you make fire in order to give us some tea?' (T1:440)

       c. *tude en'ie-hane   el-kurul'-uo-de-**moraw-lek**   sespe-n*
       his   mother-ACC NEG-know-RNR-3-PRSP-INSTR door-AT
       n'uŋere-ha me-kude-re-m
       side-LOC   AFF-lie-CAUS-TR(3)
       'He laid his mother by the door, so that nobody could notice her.' (T1:51)

A posterior situation can be expressed by Action Nominal governed by postposition *keijie* 'before':

(190)   *t'ārt'eqān kel-u-**l**-pe-de   **kiejie** tand'e-hat   mārqa-n*
        Ch.   come-0-ANR-PL-3 before merchant-ABL one-AT
        kerewe-d uo-k   pun'-me-le
        cow-AT   child-FOC kill-TR-OF:3
        'Before they came, Charchehan had killed one of the merchant's calves.' (T5:89)

4.5. Relativization

4.5.1. Relativization of primary participant

The primary (A/S) participant can be relativized by putting the main verb into Active Attributive (*-j(e)*) or Action Nominal (*-l*) form; the latter option is attested for intransitive verbs only (Krejnovič 1958: 99).

(191)   a. *emd'e-pul-gi neme-ŋol-leŋ   el-wie-**je**   rukun-ek*
        sibling-PL-3 [what-be-ACC NEG-make-INTR] thing-FOC
        'Their little brother did not do anything.' (T1:10)

        b. *tideŋ lolha-**j**   t'uoraske-k køt'e-ge-j-re-m-le*
        INVS [bojl-INTR] cattle-FOC rush-INCH-PFV-APPL-TR-OF.3
        'He rushed to the boiling kettle.' (T1:115)

        c. *id'ilwej-ŋol-a-**l** gode   mol-l'e-n'*
        [I.-be-0-ANR]   person say-INFR-3
        'The person whose name was Idilway said:...' (T2:12)

The distribution of Active Attributive vs. Action Nominal form of intransitive verb in this function is motivated primarily by the pragmatic role of NP: the Focus role triggers Active Attributive encoding, and the Topic role, Action Nominal encoding; see (191b-c).

4.5.2. Relativization of anchor

The same formal means are used to relativize the anchor of S participant (see 3.2). In this construction, the primary participant of relative-clause situation remains inside the clause and takes the anchoring suffix *-de-*, which cross-references the head of relative clause, e.g.:

(192)   a. *juodī-**de** mōrq-uo-**d'e**   gøde-k*
        eyes-3   one-STAT-INTR person-FOC
        'a person with one eye' (Krejnovič 1982: 227)

        b. *ugurt'e-**de** salha-j-**l**   peldudie*
        leg-3   break-PFV-ANR old.man
        'an old man whose leg was broken' (Krejnovič 1982: 226)

4.5.3. Relativization of non-primary participants

The O participant is relativized by means of Passive Attributive form (193a-b) or Action Nominal form (193c):

(193)   a. *tet   nādī-**me** rukun me-kel-u-j*
        2SG need-TR thing AFF-come-0-INTR(3)
        'You got what you needed.' (T6:194)

        b. *... qan'ineŋ el-juo-l'el-**me-le**   jā-n kazak tude n'a:t'-in'*
        [when   NEG-see-INFR-TR-3] three Cossac his   face-DAT
        oh-uol-ŋi
        stand-STAT-PL(3)
        '...three Cossacs he had never seen appeared in front of him.' (T6:154)

        c. *tude wie-te-**l**   rukun nonol banda-ha*
        [his   make-FUT-ANR] thing snare put-IMP:1PL
        'Let us set traps for him to do something' (T1:11)

The Passive Attributive form can be occasionally used for relativization of Dative participant, yet such examples are extremely rare.

(194)   *met   ū-te-**me**   t'ī*
        I   go-FUT-TR people
        'people to whom I will go' (T7:14)

Appendix: Sample text

Kid adil[37]

Ivan Yegorovich Kurilov

1. *ki-d   adil qadā-t   titte med'uol-uol-hane el-gurel'i-ŋu.*
two-AT boy where-ABL they be.born-RNR-ACC NEG-know-PL(3)

2. *titte-jle-de mer-āri-n'e-ŋi.*
they-INTS AFF-weapon-COM-PL:INTR(3)
  3. *suk-in'*
thing-DAT
mer-ewre-ŋi.
AFF-walk-PL:INTR(3)
  4. *mārqa-l'e akā-ŋol-l'e-n'.*
one-NR elder.brother-be-INFR-INTR(3)

5. *ieru-relek   talaw   pun-delek   me-lew-die-nun-ŋi.*
hunt-SS:PFV reindeer kill-SS:PFV AFF-eat-DETR-HAB-PL:INTR(3)

6. *tāt en-deŋ   ewre-ŋi.*
so live-SS:IPFV walk-PL:INTR(3)
  7. *mārqad'eŋ tāt suk-in'*
once   so thing-DAT
ewre-reŋ   arej   ki-n   wadu-n   nime-k   nū-ŋu-m-le.
walk-SS:IPFV suddenly two-AT Yukaghir-AT house-FOC find-PL-TR-OF.3

8. *titte-jlede kīle-ŋ   qāli-t'e   gode-k.*
they-INTS both-FC horrible-INTR person-FOC
  9. *qad'ir*
DP
me-køtke-j-ŋi
AFF-reach-PFV-PL:INTR(3)
taŋ nime-pe-ha.
DST house-PL-LOC
  10. *pude*
outside
sespe-pe-da-ha   ah-uol-deŋ   me-n'ied'i-ŋi.
entrance-PL-3-LOC stand-STAT-SS:IPFV AFF-talk-PL:INTR(3)
  11. *ejk*
DUB
kīle-ŋ   mārqa-n nime-ha   sew-te-j-l'i   ejk   ende n'iruon'.
both-FC one-AT house-LOC enter-FUT-INTR-1PL DUB each separately

12. *qad'ir endu   n'iruon'   me-sew-ŋi.*
DP   each:OBLQ separately AFF-enter-PL:INTR(3)
  13. *arej*
suddenly
ende mārqa-n marqil'-ek sahane-ŋu-l.
each one-AT girl-FOC sit-PL-SF
  14. *el-n'ied'i-t'uon laj-hudeŋ*
NEG-talk-PRV behind-DIR

pukire-j-ŋi.   15. *me-n'i-nū-ŋa.*   16. *"eld'e tet*
jump.out-PFV-PL:INTR(3)   AFF-RESP-find-PL:TR(3)   ITR you

sew-j-uol-ha   *neme-le*   *l'e-l?"* 17. *"met-qa wāj*   *amu-t'e*
enter-0-RNR-LOC   what-FOC   be-SF   I-LOC again good-INTR

marqil'-ek." 18. *mel-l'e-qa*   *titte-l*   *ama-mu-t'."*
girl-FOC   take-1|2PL-DS they-NTR good-INCH-INTR(3)

19. *ta-hi*   *møri-relek*   *t'am-uol-e-l-da-ŋun*   *marqil'*
   DST-NTR hear-SS:PFV big-STAT-0-ANR-DST-NR girl

pulge-j-relek   20. *"mit*   *mer-akā-n'e-j-l'i.*
come.out-PFV-SS:PFV   PERS:1PL AFF-elder.brother-COM-INTR-1PL

21. *wie-n*   *lukunburebe-ha l'e-j*   *mit akā."*   22. *"mit*
   another-AT land-LOC   EXST-INTR(3) our elder.brother   our

t'anme"   *mon-ŋi*   *taŋ pād'e-d-uorpe-pul*   23. *"tit*
elder.brother say-PL:INTR(3) DST female-AT-child:PL-PL   you

t'aha-d'e-l   *me-juo-te-m.*   24. *amu-d'ī-re*
cross-DETR-ANR   AFF-see-FUT-TR(3)   good-TRR-SS:SET

mer-amu-d'ī-te-m.   25. *taŋnigi tit-in'*   *mer-ū-te-j-l'i.*
AFF-good-TRR-FUT-TR(3)   then   you-DAT AFF-go-FUT-INTR-1PL

26. *el-amu-d'ī-re*   *el-amu-d'ī-t*   *taŋnigi elen'+da-hi."*
   NEG-good-TRR-SS:SET NEG-good-TRR-FUT(3) then   NEG+DST-NTR

27. *tāt mon-l'en-ŋu-da-hane ejk nime-ŋol-l'elk*   *ew-l'e*   *ejk*
   so say-INFR-PL-3-DS:SET DUB house-FOC-NOM NEG-EXST(3) DUB

køde-ŋol-l'elk   *ew-l'e.*   28. *mer-ewl'ikie-ŋi.*   29. *tuŋ*
person-FOC-NOM NEG-EXST(3)   AFF-vanish-PL:INTR(3)   PRXM

d'ī   *ki-juo-t'ī-r*   *pon'ā-ŋi.*   30. *t'anme-d'e-ŋ*
people two-STAT-DLMT-SS remain-PL:INTR(3)   elder.brother-NR-FC

mol-l'e-n'   31. *"tu-gi*   *mit me-qawde*
say-INFR-INTR(3)   PRXM-NTR we   AFF-how

gur-t'ī-l'el-uok   32. *jaŋūd'aha waŋt'ī-t'a-qa."*
become-DLMT-INFR-ITR.1PL   it.is.a.pity search-VEN-IMP:1PL

33. *qad'ir suk-in'*   *me-kewej-ŋi.*   34. *taŋ marqil'-pul*
   DP   thing-DAT AFF-depart:PFV-PL:INTR(3)   DST girl-PL

waŋt'ī-t'e-r   *kewej-ŋi.*   35. *ogol*   *ewre-llek*
search-VEN-SS depart:PFV-PL:INTR(3)   further walk-SS:PFV

ewre-llek   *me-qabun*   *sukun mol'hal-ha ewre-llek*   *qad'ir*
walk-SS:PFV AFF-how.much thing year-LOC   walk-SS:PFV DP

mārqad'eŋ t'uo-n   *kørel nime*   *nū-ŋu-m-le.*   36. *tan*   *ta-ŋun*
once   iron-AT ogre house find-PL-TR-OF.3   DST-D DST-NR

budilie ki-n   *wadu-n*   *nime-k*   *ah-uol-e-l.*
nearby two-AT Yukaghir-AT house-FOC stand-STAT-0-ANR

37. *t'anme-d'e*   *mon-i:*   38. *"te-n*   *ki-n*   *nime-k*
   elder.brother-NR say-INTR(3)   PRXM-D two-AT house-FOC

ah-uol-e-l   *endu*   *sew-je-l'i."*   39. *qad'ir*
stand-STAT-0-SF each:OBLQ enter-INTR-1PL   DP

me-sew-ŋi.   40. *in*   *ses-pe*   *joŋo-te-j-relek*
AFF-enter-PL:INTR(3)   immediately entrance open-CAUS-PFV-SS:PFV

juo-t'ī-ŋa   41. *tideŋ marqil'-pe-gi sahane-ŋu-l.* 42. *tittel*
see-DLMT-PL:TR(3)   INVS girl-PL-3   sit-PL-SF   they

in   *juo-ŋa*   *tuŋ*   *adil-pe-le*   *t'uo-n*   *leg-u-l*   *men-d'e*
immediately see-PL:TR(3) PRXM boy-PL-ACC iron-AT eat-0-NR take-NR

men-delek   *me-kot'ege-j-re-ŋa.*   43. *qad'ir*
take-SS:PFV AFF-run/jump-PFV-APPL-PL:TR(3)   DP

me-luoqa-s-ā-ŋa   *me-pun'-i-l-bun'-ie-ŋa.*
AFF-bend-CAUS-INGR-PL:TR(3) AFF-kill-0-ANR-DESD-INGR-PL:TR(3)

44. *"met nime-ha*   *el-sew-l'e-k*   *pulge-j-k!*   45. *met*
   my   house-LOC NEG-enter-PROH-2 come.out-PFV-(IMP)2   my

t'anme-ha   *sew-k*   *te-n*   *pudinime-ha*   *l'e-j"*
elder.brother-LOC enter-(IMP)2 PRXM-D neighbor-LOC EXST-INTR(3)

mon-deŋ.   46. *qad'ir me-pukire-j-ŋi.*   47. *nime-ha*
say-SS:IPFV   DP   AFF-jump.out-PFV-PL:INTR(3)   house-LOC

el-sew-ŋu.   48. *"malā quode l'e-t-uok?*   49. *tideŋ mit*
NEG-enter-PL(3)   IMP how be-FUT-ITR.1PL   INVS our

marqil'-pul ten'i kelu-l'el-ŋi"   *mon-ŋi.*   50. *"malā tuŋ*
girl-PL   here come-INFR-PL:INTR(3) say-PL:INTR(3)   IMP PRXM

t'uo-n   *nime-le*   *quodi mon-ŋu*   *mit akā-l'e*   *tadā*
iron-AT house-ACC why   say-PL(ITR.3) our elder.brother-NR there

sew-je-l'i.   51. *juo-da-hane mit marqil'-pul*
enter-INTR-1PL   see-3-DS:SET our girl-PL

el-sew-re-mori-ŋu."   52. *qad'ir taŋ*   *t'uo-n*   *nime-ŋin'*
NEG-enter-CAUS-PRSP-PL(3)   DP   DST iron-AT house-DAT

me-mirā-ŋi.   53. *ses-pe-da-hane*   *qad'ir*
AFF-stride-PL:INTR(3)   enter-LOCNR-3-ACC DP

me-paj-du-ŋa.   54. *anme*   *t'uo-n*   *korel-ek*
AFF-hit-ITER-PL:TR(3)   unexpectedly iron-AT ogre-FOC

pukire-j-l.   55. *"al'āje-d uor-pe-k*   *kel-l'el-ŋu-l*
jump.out-PFV-SF   liver-AT child-PL-FOC come-INFR-PL-SF

me-leg-u-t.   56. *qad'ir tit-ul*   *me-pupses-u-t"*
AFF-eat-0-FUT(1SG)   DP   you-NTR AFF-give.lesson-0-FUT(1SG)

mon-i.   57. *me-qaldej-ŋi*   *tideŋ t'ī.*   58. *t'uo-n*
say-INTR(3)   AFF-run.away-PL:INTR(3) INVS people   iron-AT

kørel   laje-wret   me-toŋore-m.   59. t'anme-d'e   werwe-gi
ogre   behind-ABL   AFF-follow-TR(3)   elder.brother-NR strength-3
me-n'id'aha-t'.   60. ta-n   korel laje-wret   ūdek
AFF-exhaust(PFV)-INTR(3)   DST-D ogre   behind-ABL again
toŋorā-nun-u-m.   61. "tit-ul   me-leg-u-t!"   mon-deŋ.
follow-HAB-0-TR(3)   you-NTR AFF-eat-0-FUT(1SG)   say-SS:IPFV
62. qad'ir t'anme-d'e-ŋ   jaqtā-reŋ   mol-l'e-n'.
    DP   elder.brother-NR-FC sing-SS:IPFV   say-INFR-INTR(3)

63. met emd'e-e-e
    my younger.sibling-0-0

64. met werwe   me-n'id'aha-t'   geje-e
    my strength AFF-exhaust(PFV)-INTR(3)   Intj-0

65. me-nimie ølke-te-m
    AFF-what run-FUT-ITR:1SG

66. ten'i kejgur ul'ege-n'-d'e-e-e
    here ahead grass-COM-INTR-0-0

67. lawmdie-k l'e-te-l
    slope-FOC be-FUT-SF

68. tadā qularqā-pe-le-ŋ   l'e-ŋu-te-l
    there seagull-PL-FOC-FC be-PL-FUT-SF

69. ta-hi   alhan ūt'uore-te-j-e-e
    DST-NTR HORT visit-FUT-1PL-0-0

70. qun'uoke-pe-die
    small.seagull-PL-DIM

71. mid'ek mid'ek
    HYP   HYP

72. mit-qane el-liwu-ŋa.
    we-ACC NEG-divert-PL:TR(3)

73. qad'ir lawmdie-ha me-køtke-j-ŋi.   74. qularqā-pul tideŋ
    DP   slope-LOC   AFF-reach-PFV-PL:INTR(3)   seagull-PL INVS
t'uo-n kørel juodī-da-hane met me-tuŋ-ie-nu-ŋa.
iron-AT ogre eyes-3-ACC I   AFF-close-STAT.CAUS-PROG-PL:TR(3)
75. tideŋ t'ī   iemugur utte-gew-re-reŋ   it'uo-ŋu-da-hane.
    INVS people other.side fatigue-go-CAUS-SS:IPFV watch-PL-3-DS:GNR
76. utte-gew-rie-l'el-ŋu-da-ha   qad'ir t'uo-n kørel
    fatigue-go-CAUS-INFR-PL-3-DS DP   iron-AT ogre
mer-orte-t'   77. tide qularqā-pul lukul-ha me-kerie-ŋi.
AFF-cry(PFV)-INTR(3)   INVS seagull-PL soil-LOC AFF-fall-PL:INTR(3)
78. me-nerege-j-ŋi.   79. newrū-r me-jaba-ŋi.
    AFF-struck-PFV-PL:INTR(3)   flinch-SS AFF-die-PL:INTR(3)

80. qad'ir wāj   mer-ølk-ie-ŋi.   81. laje-wret   wāj
    DP   again AFF-run-INGR-PL:INTR(3)   behind-ABL again
me-toŋore-m.   t'anme-gi   wāj werwe-gi
AFF-follow-TR(3) elder.brother-3 again strength-3
me-n'id'aha-t'.   82. laje-wret   jaqte-reŋ   mon-i.
AFF-exhaust(PFV)-INTR(3)   behind-ABL sing-SS:IPFV say-INTR(3)

83. met emd'e   konme-d'ie!
    my younger.sibling partner-DIM

84. kejgur ibal-e-ŋ   l'e-te-l-e
    ahead hill-FOC-FC EXST-FUT-SF-0

85. ta-hi   ta-hi   ūt'uora-t-qane-k
    DST-NTR DST-NTR visit-FUT-IMP-2

86. tadā tadā-e-e sajre-p-tie-k   l'e-ŋu-te-l
    there there-0-0 eagle-PL-DIM-FOC be-PL-FUT-SF

87. mid'ek mid'ek mit
    HYP   HYP   our

88. utte-hane   el-kew-re-ŋa!
    fatigue-ACC NEG-depart-CAUS-PL:TR(3)

89. qad'ir mer-ølke-ŋi.   90. oqol'   me-toŋore-m   tuŋ
    DP   AFF-run-PL:INTR(3)   further AFF-follow-TR(3) PRXM
t'uo-n kørel 91. "met me-lew-t"   mon-deŋ.   92. ibal-ha
iron-AT ogre   I   AFF-eat-FUT(1SG) say-SS:IPFV   hill-LOC
kotke-j-ŋi.   93. sajre-ŋ   t'ama-ne poj-uo-n'.
reach-PFV-PL:INTR(3)   eagle-FC big-ADV multiple-STAT-INTR(3)
94. tuŋ   sajre-pul t'uo-n korel-e juodī-da-hane
    PRXM eagle-PL iron-AT ogre-ACC eyes-3-ACC
me-tuŋ-ie-nā-ŋa.   95. eg-uoji-l-gi-n-moraw-hane
AFF-close-STAT.CAUS-INGR-PL:TR(3) stand-ITER-ANR-3-AT-PRSP-ACC
el-it'uo-se-ŋu.   96. iemugur ū-relek   utte-le
NEG-watch-CAUS-PL(3)   other.side go-SS:PFV fatigue-ACC
me-kew-re-ŋa   tide adil-pul. 97. tideŋ t'uo-n kørel wāj
AFF-depart-CAUS-PL:TR(3) INVS boy-PL   INVS iron-AT ogre again
mer-orte-t'   98. sajre-pul jawner nerege-j-reŋ
AFF-cry(PFV)-INTR(3)   eagle-PL all   struck-PFV-SS:IPFV
me-jaba-ŋi.   99. titte uje-pe-hane   sabaharej-relek
AFF-die-PL:INTR(3)   their wing-PL-ACC spread-SS:PFV
qud-uol-ŋi.   100. wāj me-toŋore-m.   101. īt-neŋ
lie-STAT-PL:INTR(3)   again AFF-follow-TR(3)   long.time-ADV
ū-relek   akā-gi   wāj ahare-gi me-kit-ni-t'i-t'.
go-SS:PFV elder.brother-3 again breath-3 AFF-end-QLT-DLMT-INTR(3)

102. *jaqtā-reŋ*   *mol-l'e-n'*   *tude*   *emd'ie-n'*
     sing-SS:IPFV say-INFR-INTR(3) his   younger.sibling-DAT
laje-wret.
behind-ABL

    103. *met emd'e-e-e!*
        my younger.sibling-0-0

    104. *met ahare*   *me-t'awru-mu-j-e-e*
        my breath AFF-narrow-INCH-INTR(3)-0-0

    105. *ten'i ten'i*
        here here

    106. *kejgur kejgur*
        ahead ahead

    107. *qan'il-pe-le-ŋ*   *l'e-ŋu-te-l*
        golden.eagle-PL-FOC-FC be-PL-FUT-SF

    108. *sānmonila-ha-e*
        forest-LOC-0

    109. *ta-hi*   *ta-hi*
        DST-NTR DST-NTR

    110. *ūt'uora-t-qāne-ŋ*
        visit-FUT-IMP-2-0

111. *tāt mol-l'el-da-ha* *sānmonil'e-le* *juo-ŋu-m-le.*
     so say-INFR-3-DS forest-FOC   see-PL-TR-OF.3

112. *me-pel-ŋa.*   113. *qan'il-pe-le-ŋ*   *sahane-ŋu-l.*
     AFF-catch.up-PL:TR(3)   golden.eagle-PL-FOC-FC sit-PL-SF

114. *"qad'ir qajt'ie-pul*   *mit werwe*   *me-n'id'aha-t'.*
     DP grandfather-PL our strength AFF-exhaust(PFV)-INTR(3)

115. *mit-qane t'uo-n*   *korel me-toŋorā-nu-m.*   116. *el-itt'ie*
     we-ACC iron-AT ogre AFF-follow-PROG-TR(3)   NEG-long.time
mōj-ŋi-k.   117. *mid'ek mit ahare*   *el-pulge-re-t'."*
hold-PL-(IMP)2   HYP   our breath NEG-come.out-CAUS:PFV-1PL

118. *qad'ir qan'il-pe*   *me-t'ende-j-ŋi*   *sukun-e*
     DP   golden.eagle-PL AFF-fly-PFV-PL:INTR(3) thing-FOC
tuŋu-ŋu-m-le.   119. *juodī-da-hane me-tuŋ-ie-ŋa.*
close-PL-TR-OF.3   eyes-3-ACC   AFF-close-STAT.CAUS-PL:TR(3)

120. *qadu-ŋudedeŋ eg-uo-j-uol-moraw-hane*   *el-it'uo*   *t'uo-n*
     where-DIR   stand-STAT-0-RNR-PRSP-ACC NEG-watch(3) iron-AT
kørel. 121. *tadā kit-n'e-r*   *tideŋ adil-pul ahare-le*
ogre   there end-COM-SS INVS boy-PL breath-ACC
me-pulge-re-j-ŋa.   122. *t'uo-n*   *kørel*   *wāj*
AFF-come.out-CAUS-PFV-PL:TR(3)   iron-AT ogre again

mer-orte-t'   123. *qan'il-pul*   *jawner*
AFF-cry(PFV)-INTR(3)   golden.eagle-PL all
me-nerege-j-ŋi.   124. *ahare-pul-gi* *ū-t'ī-ŋu-l*
AFF-struck-PFV-PL:INTR(3)   breath-PL-3 go-DLMT-PL-SF
orul-da-hat.   125. *wāj*   *mer-ølk-ie-ŋi.*   126. *qad'ir wāj*
cry:NR-3-ABL   again AFF-run-INGR-PL:INTR(3)   DP   again
tide *t'anme-d'e*   *mer-utte-t'.*   127. *tude*
INVS elder.brother-NR AFF-tired(PFV)-INTR(3)   his
emd'ie-n'   *lawje-wret*   *jaqtā-j.*
younger.sibling-DAT behind-ABL   sing-INTR(3)

    128. *met emd'e-e-e*
        my younger.sibling-0-0

    129. *t'umu-n d'uoje-ha*
        hill-AT slope-LOC

    130. *qajt'ie-tege-pe-k*   *l'e-ŋu-te-l.*
        grandfather-AUG-PL-FOC be-PL-FUT-SF

    131. *ta-hi*   *ta-hi*   *ūt'uora-t-qāne-ŋ...*
        DST-NTR DST-NTR visit-FUT-IMP-2

132. *emd'e-gi*   *me-kijā-n'.*   133. *taŋ t'umur-e*
     younger.sibling-3 AFF-before-INTR(3)   DST hill-ACC
me-pel-ŋa.   134. *t'umu-n d'uoje-ha* *kotke-j-relek*
AFF-catch.up-PL:TR(3)   hill-AT slope-LOC reach-PFV-SS:PFV
t'anme-l'e   *mon-i*   135. *"qajt'ie-pul*   *mit-ul*
elder.brother-NR say-INTR(3)   grandfather-PL we-NTR
ed'i-te-ŋi-k.   136. *utte-gew-re-s-ŋi-k.*   137. *mit-qane*
live-CAUS-PL-(IMP)2   fatigue-go-CAUS-CAUS-PL-(IMP)2   we-ACC
t'uo-n   *korel toŋorā-nu*   *mit-ul*   *lem-l-bun'-i-r."* 138. *qad'ir*
iron-AT ogre follow-PROG(AF) we-NTR eat-0-DESD-0-SS   DP
tideŋ qajt'ie-tege-pul   *pulge-j-relek*   *tideŋ t'uo-n*   *korel-e*
INVS grandfather-AUG-PL come.out-PFV-SS:PFV INVS iron-AT ogre-ACC
kel-de-ha   *me-ner-ie-ŋa.*   139. *me-tuŋ-ie-ŋa.*
come-3-DS   AFF-bite-INGR-PL:TR(3)   AFF-close-STAT.CAUS-PL:TR(3)

140. *t'uo-n*   *korel el-itt'ie*   *l'e-llek*   *wāj*   *mer-orte-t'*
     iron-AT ogre NEG-long.time be-SS:PFV again AFF-cryPFV-INTR(3)

141. *tuŋ*   *qajt'ie-tege-pul*   *jawner me-nerege-j-ŋi.*
     PRXM grandfather-AUG-PL all   AFF-struck-PFV-PL:INTR(3)

142. *wāj*   *mer-ølk-ie-ŋi.*   143. *wāj*
     again AFF-run-INGR-PL:INTR(3)   again
me-kot'ege-j-re-m   *t'uo-n*   *kørel mon-deŋ*   *"tit-ul*
AFF-run/jump-PFV-APPL-TR(3) iron-AT ogre say-SS:IPFV you-NTR

me-leg-u-t!"   144. *ū-reŋ*   *ū-reŋ*   *tideŋ t'anme-d'e*
AFF-eat-0-FUT(1SG)   go-SS:IPFV go-SS:IPFV INVS elder.brother-NR
wāj   werwe-gi   me-n'id'aha-t'.   145. *tude*
again strength-3 AFF-exhaust(PFV)-INTR(3)   his
emd'ie-n'   jaqtā-reŋ   mon-i.
younger.sibling-DAT sing-SS:IPFV say-INTR(3)

    146. *qad'ir qad'ir*
         DP   DP

    147. *mit arū-n   nide-l*
         our word-AT talk-ANR

    148. *me-n'id'aha-t'+lie*
         AFF-exhaust(PFV)-INTR(3)+DP

    149. *mōrquon' mon-te-je-ŋ*
         only   say-FUT-INTR-1SG

    150. *kejgur mārqa-n*
         ahead one-AT

    151. *monŋe-k   l'e-te-l-e*
         mound-FOC EXST-FUT-SF-0

    152. *ta-ŋun+bure   qūdej-relek   mārquon' n'āt-in'*
         DST-NR+SUPER climb-SS:PFV only   face-DAT

    153. *me-sahan-ā-te-j-l'i   da-hi*
         AFF-sit-INGR-FUT-INTR-1PL DST:NTR

    154. *køt'ejk   køt'ejk*
         let.it.be let.it.be

    155. *lew-re   lew-ha-n*
         eat-SS:SET eat-IMP-3

    156. *en-dī-re   en-dī-ha-n!*
         live-CAUS-SS:SET live-CAUS-IMP-3

157. *qad'ir mer-ølke-ŋi.*   158. *monqa-le-ŋ   l'e-l.*
    DP   AFF-run-PL:INTR(3)   mound-FOC-FC be-SF
159. *me-qūdej-ŋi.*   160. *t'uo-n   korel-ŋol-da-hane*
    AFF-climb-PL:INTR(3)   iron-AT ogre-be-3-DS:SET
me-pel-nā-m.   161. *sahan-ā-relek   tude emd'ie-n'*
AFF-catch.up-INGR-TR(3)   sit-INGR-SS:PFV his younger.sibling-DAT
mon-i: 162. *"qadu-ŋudedeŋ el-t'aha-d'e-j-l'e-k.*   163. *ejk*
say-INTR(3)   where-DIR   NEG-cross-DETR-PFV-PROH-2   DUB
mit ed'-uol-moraw-ŋin' mit-qane jugulwe-s-nu-m   ejk   mit-ul
we live-RNR-PRSP-DAT we-ACC suffer-CAUS-PROG-TR(3) DUB we-NTR
lew-l-ŋin'   jugulwe-s-nu-m.   164. *qad'ir korel ten'i*
eat-ANR-DAT suffer-CAUS-PROG-TR(3)   DP   ogre here

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kelu-j   *laje-pe-da-ha-t.*   165. *tideŋ adil-pul n'i-wal'-in'*
come-INTR(3)   behind-PL-3-ABL   INVS boy-PL RESP-near-DAT
sahane-ŋi   *"kot'ejk lew-re   lew-ha-n" mon-deŋ.*   166. *qad'ir*
sit-PL:INTR(3) let.it.be eat-SS:SET eat-IMP-3 say-SS:IPFV   DP
aŋa   wat-n-ī-reŋ   kørel me-qūde-t'.
mouth gape-QLT-TRR-SS:IPFV ogre AFF-climb-INTR(3)
167. *me-kelu-j.*   168. *arej   adil-tege-ŋol-ā-j.*
    AFF-come-INTR(3)   suddenly boy-AUG-be-INGR-INTR(3)
169. *tude monil'e tude pugud'erie-j-uol pil-ūji-reŋ*
    his hair   his sweat-0-RNR   wipe-ITER-SS:IPFV
mol-l'e-n'.   170. *"adi-pe-ŋ   amu-tneŋ tit   urā-l*
say-INFR-INTR(3)   boy-PL-FC good-ADV you learn-ANR
t'am-uol-l'e-n'.   171. *met t'uŋde kudi-t'-uol   bure-n*
big-STAT-INFR-INTR(3)   my mind   lie-CAUS-RNR SUPER-PROL
t'uŋde kudi-t'i-nun-l'el-d'e-mut."   172. *tadā-t   polt'enme lukul-e*
mind   lie-CAUS-HAB-INFR-INTR-2PL   DST-ABL suddenly soil-FOC
porinde-m-le.   173. *arej   tideŋ ki-n   marqil'-pul*
push-TR-OF.3   suddenly INVS two-AT girl-PL
nime-n'e-reŋ   *neme-n'e-reŋ*   *tadā mar-eg-uo-ŋi.*
house-COM-SS:IPFV what-COM-SS:IPFV there AFF-stand-STAT-PL:INTR(3)
174. *"met emd'e-pul!*   *te-n   tit-in'   kid-in'   ki-ŋ.*
    my younger.sibling-PL PRXM-D you-DAT both-DAT give-1SG
175. *met t'uŋde kudi-t'i-l*   *mer-eji-te-mk.*   176. *qad'ir qarudu*
    my mind   lie-CAUS-ANR AFF-get.into-CAUS-2PL   DP   always
nime-ŋo-rī-ŋi-k.   177. *ten'i sahane-ŋi-k."* 178. *tuŋ   d'ajle-ha*
house-be-TRR-PL-(IMP)2   here sit-PL-(IMP)2   PRXM day-LOC
kit-n'-uo   *tadā amu-tneŋ en-deŋ   me-sahane-ŋi.*
end-COM-OBLQ there good-ADV live-SS:IPFV AFF-sit-PL:INTR(3)

Two lads

(1) There were two brothers who did not know where they were from. (2) They had a gun. (3) They wandered around. (4) One of them was older. (5) They hunted, killed wild deer and ate. (6) So they lived.

(7) Once they found two Yukaghir dwellings. (8) They both were formidable men. (9) They approached these dwellings. (10) Outside, near the entrance, they discussed (11) whether to enter one dwelling together or each dwelling separetely. (12) They entered different dwellings. (13) It turned out that

there was a girl in each dwelling. (14) Without talking, they jumped out. (15) They found each other. (16) "Well, what is in yours?" (17) "Eh, there is a girl there." (18) "There is a good girl in mine, too. (19) It would be nice to marry them." (20) The elder girl heard this and came out. (21) "We have an elder brother, (22) who lives elsewhere." (23) "Our elder brother" the girls said, (24) "will check how you work. (25) If he likes it, then he likes it, (26) and then we'll go with you. (27) If he does not like it, then he does not; then, this is impossible." (28) As soon as they said this, there was neither dwelling nor people. (29) They disappeared.

(30) The two men remained alone. (31) The elder one said: (32) "Something has happened to us. (33) Oh, it hurts, let us go and look for them." (34) They went to where their feet carried them. (35) They went in search of these girls. (36) They had been walking around for several years and once they found the dwelling of an iron devil. (37) There were two Yukaghir dwellings nearby. (38) The elder one said: (39) "Let us enter these dwellings here." (40) They opened the entrance and looked inside. (41) There were those girls. (42) As soon as the girls saw them, they grasped an iron hook and rushed to them. (43) They tried to catch them with this hook, as if they wanted to kill them. (44) "Don't enter my house, go out! (45) Go to my elder brother, he lives in the next house," they said. (46) The lads jumped out. (47) They did not enter the dwelling. (48) "Well, what are we going to do? (49) It turns out that our girls have come here," they said. (50) "This iron house, why do they say it belongs to their elder brother, let's go there. (51) It seems that our girls are not going to let us in." (52) They went to the iron house. (53) They knocked at the door. (54) The iron devil jumped out. (55) "Fresh liver arrived, I'll eat you! (56) Now I'll teach you a lesson!" he said.

(57) The men ran away. (58) The iron devil chased them. (59) The elder brother got tired. (60) And the iron devil kept chasing them (61) and shouting "I'll eat you!" (62) The elder brother began to sing:

(63) My little brother,
(64) I am exhausted,
(65) How long shall I run?
(66) Right ahead, a grassy
(67) slope will appear.
(68) There will be seagulls.
(69) Let's go to them.
(70) Small seagulls
(71) might save us.

(72) They reached the slope. (73) The seagulls kept the iron devil's eyes closed, (74) as the lads paused for breath at the other side, watching. (75) After a while, the iron devil shouted. (76) The seagulls all fell on the ground,

(77) shocked. (78) They died. (79) The lads ran away. (80) He chased them again. (81) The elder brother became tired again. (82) He began to sing:

(83) My little brother, my friend,
(84) There will be a knoll ahead.
(85) Let's go there.
(86) There will be eagles,
(87) And may be we
(88) will be able to take rest.

(89) They ran on. (90) That iron devil kept pursuing them. (91) "I'll eat you," he kept saying. (92) They reached the hill. (93) There were lots of eagles. (94) These eagles kept the iron devil's eyes closed. (95) They did not let him see where to tread. (96) At the other side (of the hill), the lads took a short rest. (97) That iron devil shouted again. (98) The eagles were struck dead. (99) They lied on the ground, their wings spread. (100) He chased them again. (101) After some time, the elder brother began to pant. (102) Running behind his brother, he sang:

(103) My little brother,
(104) I can't breathe.
(105) Here, here,
(106) Ahead, ahead,
(107) there will be golden eagles
(108) in the forest.
(109) That one, that one.
(110) Go there.

(111) After he said this, they saw a forest. (112) They reached it. (113) There were golden eagles there. (114) "Grandfathers, we are exhausted. (115) The iron devil keeps on chasing us. (116) Hold him up for a little while. (117) Maybe we can pause for breath." (118) The golden eagles flew up and covered the sky. (119) They closed his (devil's) eyes. (120) He did not see where to tread, the iron devil. (121) Meanwhile, the lads had a short rest. (122) The iron devil shouted again. (123) All the golden eagles fell down, shocked. (124) They chocked because of his cry. (125) The lads ran on. (126) The elder one got tired again. (127) He began to sing to his younger brother, running behind him:

(128) My little brother,
(129) On the slope of the hill.
(130) There will be bears.
(131) That one we should reach.

(132) His younger brother was ahead of him. (133) They reached that hill. (134) At the slope of the hill, the elder brother said: (135) "Grandfathers,

save us, (136) let us pause for breath. (137) The iron devil is chasing us, he wants to eat us." (138) These bears came out and, when that devil came, began to bite him. (139) They stopped him. (140) After a while, the iron devil shouted again. (141) All the bears were struck dead. (142) The lads ran on. (143) The iron devil rushed to them again, saying: "I'll eat you." (144) They ran and ran, and the elder brother got tired again. (145) He began to sing to his younger brother:

(146) Soon, soon
(147) our talk
(148) will be over.
(149) I will only say,
(150) Ahead one
(151) burial mound will appear.
(152) We'll just climb there
(153) and we'll face him on top of it.
(154) What is to happen, let it happen.
(155) If he is to eat us, let him eat us.
(156) If he leaves us alive, so be it."

(157) They ran on. (158) There was a burial mound. (159) They climbed on the top of it. (160) The iron devil started to catch up with them. (161) They sat down, and he said to his little brother: (162) "Do not move. (163) Either he is tormenting us to let us live, or in order to eat us." (164) Soon the devil came. (165) The lads were sitting together, waiting for him to eat them. (166) The devil, his mouth open, climbed (the hill). (167) He came to them. (168) Suddenly he turned into a young man. (169) Wiping the sweat from his hair, he said: (170) "Guys, you proved to be well trained. (171) Much better than I have thought." (172) Then he stamped his feet upon the ground. (173) Suddenly those two girls appeared, with their dwellings and everything. (174) "My sisters! I give these two to you. (175) I like them. (176) Live as a family. (177) Live here." (178) And they have been living there up to now.

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