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Andrei L. Malchukov

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## **0. Foreword**

The present work provides a concise grammatical description of Even (otherwise known as Lamut), one of the Tungusic languages of Siberia. This grammatical sketch differs from the previous works on Even grammar in that 1) it is confined to synchronic description; 2) it foregrounds the functional aspects of grammar; 3) it focuses on those topics that are of interest from a typological viewpoint. The present grammatical sketch consists of three major parts. The first part "Essentials of Even grammar" includes the following chapters: "General data on Even", "Phonological introduction", "Morphology", "Syntax" (general information, partly to be elaborated in what follows).

The second part "Topics in Even syntax" is devoted to the study of four particular syntactic phenomena that appear to be most intriguing in a typological perspective. The fifth chapter contains the description of the adversative ("adversative passive") constructions, which share features with prototypical passives, on the one hand, and with (nonvolitional) permissive-causatives, on the other hand. The sixth chapter deals with basic (formal and diathesis) types of reciprocals, in particular, with the possessive reciprocal constructions where the subject is coreferential with the possessor in an object NP. The seventh chapter "The structure of the nominal phrase: agreement and Attribute Raising" examines the interrelation between syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of the attributive nominal phrase. It is shown that the pragmatic saliency of an attribute can condition a "split" of head-like properties between NP-constituents. The eighth chapter deals with rules of relativization: constraints on the primary (gapping) relativization strategy, strategy for relativization of Possessor NPs, as well as rules of internal relative clause formation.

Finally, the third part contains a folklore text (in Okhotsk dialect) with translation, as well as the relevant bibliography.

## **PART I: Essentials of Even grammar**

### **1. General data on Even**

#### **1.1. General socio- and geolinguistic information**

Even is the language of a minor ethnic group, known as Evens or Lamuts. The ethnonym Even currently accepted in the Russian specialist literature is also the most wide-spread Even name for themselves.

Genetically, Even is a Tungusic language and belongs (apart from Evenki, Negidal and Solon) to the Northern (Siberian) branch of the Manchu-Tungus languages. Morphologically, Even (as well as the other Tungusic languages) is an agglutinating suffixing language, syntactically, an (nominative-) accusative head-final language.

According to the latest census of population in 1989 the total number of Evens is 17, 055. Despite their small numbers Evens are spread across a huge area in North-Eastern Siberia. The majority of Evens (9, 216) are currently resident in the Yakut (Saxa) Republic, 4, 070 in the Magadan region, 1, 683 in the Khabarovsk (Xabarovsk) region and 1, 642 in the Kamchatka region of Russian Federation. Still smaller groups of Evens are scattered across the Chukchi and Koryak Autonomous Areas.

According to the 1989 census statistics 43,8 % of ethnic Evens speak Even as their mother tongue. The language retention rates are higher among elderly Evens, among Evens engaged in traditional activities (e.g., reindeer-breeding) and in places of concentration of Even population.

At present, the majority of Evens are bilingual, that is speak Russian fluently, as well. Multilingual Evens are largely resident in Yakutia and also speak Yakut (a Turkic language of Siberia).

Even is used as means of communication in every-day life, in particular in family life and in monolingual groups (for example, in reindeer-breeder teams).

In communities with a concentration of Even population Even is used as a means of instruction in the preliminary grade of school and is taught as a subject in primary school. At a higher level of education Even is taught at some pedagogical colleges of northern nationalities, at the Faculty of Peoples of the Far North of Hertenzen State Pedagogical University (St.Petersburg) and at the

department of Northern Philology of the State University in Yakutsk.

Even has a written form (see below), which is used quite extensively in publication (of textbooks for primary schooling, of fiction - both original and translated from Russian). There have been published methodic literature for teachers of Even, bilingual dictionaries, phrase-books, etc.

### 1.2. Writing system and written form

The first attempt to introduce a writing system for Even was made in the middle of the 19th century by the Russian missionary S. Popov. In 1858 he published "The Tungus ABC with prayers", written in a simplified Church Slavonic script. This textbook, however, has, apparently, never been put into practical use.

The first writing system that gained some currency was introduced in the early 1930s. Originally, it was based on the Latin alphabet, from 1937 on on the Cyrillic alphabet. In 1958 several special letters (e.g., *ө, ҕ*) were added to the Even alphabet. It should be noted, however, that in view of dialect disparity the adopted writing system is not equally suitable for speakers of all dialects. Therefore in the 1980s there was an attempt to change Even spelling system in order to make it more similar to the Yakut and, consequently, more comprehensible for speakers of Western dialects, resident in Yakutia. The proposed changes, however, have gained only a restricted currency.

Standard ("literary") Even is based on Eastern dialects, in particular, on the Ola dialect, spoken in the Magadan region. Standard Even has not yet achieved recognition as a means of communication among speakers of different dialects. It is less intelligible for speakers of Western dialects and is largely restricted to the written form of language.

### 1.3. Language contacts

The divergence of the Prototungusic language, conditioned by migration of the Tungusic tribes from the region of lake Baikal, dates back, apparently, to the beginning of the first millennium A.D. In the 12th-13th centuries this migration process was intensified by expansion of Yakut tribes to the basin of the Lena river. Expansion of Evens to the North involved assimilation of the Yukagir population, while migration to the East meant assimilation of the Koryak population. The Russian expansion into Eastern Siberia in the 17th century caused Evens move to new territories. The migration of nomadic (reindeer-breeding) Evens slowed down in the 19th century, but the majority of Evens settled down only in post-Revolution years.

Ethnocultural contacts of Evens with aboriginal and nonaboriginal population of Siberia have given rise to borrowings from the neighbouring languages: Mongolian (cf. Ev. *bool* 'slave' and Mo. *bool* ~ *bogul*), Paleosiberian (cf. Ev. *maaja* 'supply of food' and Chukchi *majmaj*; Ev. *nalima* 'slade' and Yukagir *nalime*) and, in particular, Yakut (Ev. *muḡka* 'net' and Yak. *munka*, Ev. *hootoru* 'soon' and Yak. *sootoru*).

Although the first loanwords from Russian date back to the 17th century, such borrowings (esp. of Russian technical and political vocabulary) became especially extensive in post-Revolution years. Russian adjectives are borrowed with the stem-final *-aj/-ej* (cf. Ev. *rajonnaj* 'regional' and Rus. *rajonnyj*), Russian verbs are borrowed in the 2nd person singular imperative form (cf. Ev. *zvonj* 'phone' and Rus. *zvoni* 'Phone!').

Middle and especially Western Even dialects, the speakers of which are resident in Yakutia, are strongly influenced by Yakut. Thus, Western dialects have developed diphthongs, similar to Yakut, corresponding to monophthongs of Eastern dialects (cf. East. *d'ōōr* and West. *d'ūūr* 'two'). Morphologically, the Yakut influence reveals itself, specifically, in the borrowing of certain suffixes (e.g., the ordinal numeral marker *-s*: cf. East. *ili-tan* and Mid.-West. *ili-s* 'third'), in the loss of possessive forms of personal pronouns (see 3.5.); the corresponding base forms of personal pronouns are used in their function like in Yakut. Under influence of Yakut agreement of attributive modifiers is less regular in Middle-Western dialects. Russian influence on Even is found both in vocabulary and in syntax. The Russian interference in Even syntax results, primarily, in the loss of those features that are not compatible with its overall accusative typology; cf. restricted use of the Designative case in standard Even, use of adversative constructions as calques of Russian passive constructions and the like.

Finally, the Okhotsk [Oxotsk] dialect, belonging to the Eastern dialect group, has undergone certain influence from the genetically closely related Evenki (see 9.1.).

#### 1.4. Dialects

Presently, about a dozen distinct dialects are distinguished in Even. Largely on phonetic grounds, these dialects are traditionally distributed onto three dialect groups: Eastern (including Ola, Okhotsk, Kamchatka, Omolon and Berjozovka dialects), Middle (including Allaikha, Tompo and Moma dialects, among others) and Western (including Lamukhin and Tjugjasir dialects, among others).

Eastern dialects are characterized by the use of the fricative [s], corresponding to pharyngal [h] in other dialects; cf. East. *asi* 'woman'. Secondly, Eastern dialects show a marked reduction of short front vowels /a/, /e/ in non-initial syllables, which are pronounced rather as central [ə], [ə]; cf. East. *amən* 'father'.

Western dialects, by contrast, display pharyngal [h] in all phonetic positions (cf. West. *ahi* 'woman'), whereas the short front vowels are pronounced as rounded (cf. West. *amon* 'father'). Geographically central, Middle dialects combine features of both peripheral dialect groups. In the distribution of [h] they are similar to Western dialects, while in the articulation of reduced vowels they resemble Eastern dialects.

Apart from those three dialect groups there is a now extinct Arman dialect, which had retained a number of archaic features also found in Evenki.

#### 1.5. Previous research

The study of Even was initiated in the middle of the 19th century, largely due to A. Schiefner, who in 1859 published materials from the Okhotsk dialect. The first grammar of Even was written by V.G. Bogoraz in the late 1890s, but appeared much later as (Bogoraz 1931). In 1947 there appeared a classic work by V.I. Cincius (Cincius 1947), giving a comprehensive account of the phonetics and morphology of Even. Another fundamental work on Even, which has a marked diachronic bias, is Josef Benzing's "Lamutische Grammatik" (see: Benzing 1955). A number of issues in phonetics and morphology have been specified in the dissertation by K.A. Novikova (published as (Novikova 1960; Novikova 1980)), devoted to the Ola dialect.

In the subsequent years there appeared a number of works, dealing with Even grammar, phonetics and lexis, as well as dialectal studies (see bibliography in 10.3.). In Russia the research on Even is currently conducted in St.Petersburg (at the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and at Herzen State Pedagogical University), as well as in Yakutsk (at the Yakutsk State University and at the recently founded Institute for General Research of Peoples of the Far North). Apart from Russian scholars, Even is presently studied by German scholars, who, incidentally, published the most comprehensive dictionary of Even (Doerfer, Hesche & Scheinhardt 1980).

## 2. Phonetic introduction

### 2.1. Vowels

There are 18 vowel phonemes in Even, which fall into groups of "hard" and "soft" vowels, distributed in accordance with the vowel harmony rules. The hard vowels are: /i/, /i:/, /a/, /aa/, /u/, /uu/, /o/, /oo/, /ʌ/. The soft vowels are: /i:/, /i:/, /e/, /ee/, /u/, /uu/, /ö/, /öö/, /ʌ/. Hard vowels differ from the corresponding soft in that the former are somewhat lower, have a more back and "strained" articulation and (in Eastern dialects) are pharyngalized.

The vowel system of Even is represented in Table 1 (allophonic variants of phonemes are given in parenthesis),



TABLE 1: VOWEL SYSTEM

	front		central		back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
high	i	ii	(i)	(u)	u	uu
mid	i	ii	(i)	(i i)	ɥ	ɥɥ
	e	ie	(ə)		ö	öö
low	e	ee	(ə)		o	oo
	a	ia <sup>a</sup> aa				

As shown above, distinction between short and long vowels is phonemic in Even. Vowels /<sup>a</sup>a/ and /<sup>a</sup>e/ are similar to rising diphthongs and with respect to vowel length are close to long vowels. In non-initial syllables short /a/ and /e/ are realized as reduced [ə] and [ə], respectively. Preceded by dorsal [t] and [d], the front high vowels /i/, /ii/, /i/, /ii/ have a more open articulation [i], [i i], [i i], [i i].

## 2.2. Consonants

There are 17 consonant phonemes in Even. The consonantal system is represented in Table 2.

TABLE 2: CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

	bilabial		alveolar		palato-alveolar		velar	uvular	pharyngeal
stops	p	b	t	d	č	d'	k	g	(q)
fricatives		w	s		j		(ɣ)		(h)
nasal	m		n		n'		ŋ		
lateral			l		(l')				
rhotic			r						

The explosives [č] and [d'] are similar to affricates. The fricative /s/ has an alveolar and a pharyngeal - [h] - variants, their distribution being subject to dialectal variation (see below). The phoneme /k/ is realized as uvular [q] in hard vowel words and as a velar [k] elsewhere. /g/ is realized as a stop word initially and after consonants and as a fricative [ɣ] elsewhere.

## 2.3. Phonotactics and phonomorphology

There are no special restrictions (except for vowel harmony rules) on distribution of vowels. Consonant clusters (of at most two consonants) occur only in word-medial position. The fricatives /w/, /s/, /j/, /l/ and the rhotic /r/ do not occur word-initially. In Eastern dialects distribution of the pharyngeal [h] is restricted to the word-initial position, whereas in Middle-Western dialects [s] occurs only before palato-alveolar stops.

The major phenomenon affecting distribution of vowels in Even is vowel harmony. Vowel harmony implies restrictions on co-occurrence of vowels within a wordform. In other words, the vowel quality (hard versus soft) of a suffix is determined by the vowels of the stem. Thus, each suffix has two distinct forms, one for use with hard vowel stems, one for use with soft vowel stems. Compare the form of the locative marker in *-la/-le*, attached to the hard vowel stem *moo* 'wood' and to the soft vowel stem *möö* 'water': *moo-la* 'in wood', but *möö-le* 'in water'.

Consonant alternations are largely due to assimilation processes. The progressive assimilation occurs more regularly and applies, in particular, in the following cases: 1) If a voiceless stem-final consonant is followed by a suffix beginning with a voiced consonant, the latter becomes voiceless; cf. *d'uq-du* 'in the house' and *okat-tu* 'in the river'. 2) If a stem-final alveolar consonant is followed by a verbal suffix beginning with /r/, the latter undergoes complete assimilation; cf. the form of the nonfuture tense marker: *nan-ra(-m)* '(I) sent', *hat-ta(-m)* '(I) call', *gid-da(-m)* '(I) spear', *is-sa(-m)* '(I)

reached'. 3). If the suffix-initial /w/ is followed by a long vowel, it is assimilated by the preceding stem-final consonant (while the vowel of the stem becomes rounded); cf. the form of the iterative marker in *-waat-*: *oo-waat-* 'usually do', *hör-rööt-* 'usually go', *bak-koot-* 'usually find', *bel-lööt-* 'usually help', etc.

Apocope (phoneme deletion) is restricted to certain morphological and/or lexical contexts. Thus, the "primary"<sup>1</sup> stem-final //n// is deleted, when followed by a suffix beginning with [p], [b], [j], [k] or a sonant; cf. the base form *oran* 'reindeer' with the derived forms *ora-r* 'reindeers', *ora-kla* 'up to the reindeer', *ora-pči* 'with plenty of reindeer', etc.

Epenthetic vowels //a//, //e//, //i// are used to avoid consonant clustering. Normally, they occur at morpheme boundaries; cf. the base (singular) forms *okat* 'river', *bej* 'man' and the corresponding plural forms in *-l*: *okat-a-l* 'rivers', *bej-i-l* 'men'. However, in some few cases these vowels can be inserted into suffixes; cf. the base (nominative) forms *d'uq* 'house', *bej* 'man' and the corresponding directive case forms: *d'uq-tki* 'to the house', *bej-teki* 'to the man'.

The stress (its place, type, etc) has not been experimentally studied. In any case, stress is not phonemic in Even.

#### 2.4. Notes on transcription

Since the present study focuses on grammar, rather than phonetics, I henceforth adopt a phonemic transcription, disregarding all allophonic variation (except for the distinction between [s] and [h] that has become a writing convention). This transcription is further simplified in that it does not distinguish between hard and soft high vowels, as their quality can, normally, be elicited from the value of vowels in adjacent syllables.

Note also that the adopted transcription, albeit convenient for typographical reasons, is in several respects potentially misleading. First, the letter *č* here refers to stop, rather than affricate. Second, the vowels /*ʰa*/, /*ʰe*/ are in what follows represented as the diphthongs /*ʰia*/ and /*ʰie*/, respectively.

Otherwise, the present notation follows the conventions, adopted in (Comrie 1981), which are, largely, consistent with the I.P.A.

### 3. Morphology

#### 3.1. Introductory

##### 3.1.1. Word structure

Morphologically, Even is an agglutinating language, using exclusively suffixation. There are found, however, certain deviations from the strict agglutination.

On the one hand, Even has developed a certain degree of fusion. Thus, a number of suffixes are grammatically polysemous, that is encode values of different grammatical categories (cf., e.g., the suffix *-gar* in 3.7.4., indicating first person plural inclusive invitation; *hör-ger* 'Let's go!'). Further, there are some instances, where segmentation into different morphemes is problematic (as the reader can check for himself with regard to verbal conjugation presented in Table 6). Finally, nouns and verbs are divided into (phono)morphological classes (cf. distinct inflection and conjugation types).

On the other hand, Even reveals certain features, characteristic of "polysynthetic" languages. Thus, verbal suffixes (such as the causative marker *-wkan-*, the directional marker *-na-*, among others) have a content corresponding to that of independent words in other languages and also display some other properties of free morphemes. In particular, whereas the overall order of suffixes is fixed, the relative ordering of these suffixes reflects semantic differences; cf. (1a) and (1b) below:

- (1) a. *it-ne-wken*  
       *see-DIRECT-CAUS*  
       'make (smb.) go and see'

<sup>1</sup> Even makes distinction between (both nominal and verbal) stems with a "primary" versus a "secondary" stem-final //n//. The latter, unlike the former, are assumed to have lost a stem-final vowel.

- b. ič-uke-ne  
see-CAUS-DIRECT  
'go (in order) to make (smb.) see'

Apart from agglutinating suffixation, Even makes use of the following morphological processes: 1) (vowel and consonant) alternations in stems; cf. the alternation of the stem-final consonant in order to express aspect and valency of onomatopoeic verbs: *butal-* 'break (tr.)', *butar-* 'break (int.)', *butak-* 'be breaking (tr.)', *butam-* 'be breaking (int.)'; 2) periphrastic expressions; cf. periphrastic expression of negation in verbs in 3.7.5.; 3) reduplication (see, e.g., derivation of onomatopoeics in 3.10.); 4) compounding (e.g., in deriving numerals, see 3.4.); 5) conversion (cf., e.g., derivation of temporal adverbs from the corresponding nouns by means of a "zero" suffix in 3.6.).

### 3.1.2. Word classes

The first distinction that is relevant for the Even parts-of-speech system is that between nominals and verbs. Nominal parts of speech include nouns, adjectives (which are not fully differentiated from nouns), pronouns, numerals and adverbs. The latter are normally denominal and have partially retained the nominal inflection (cf. locative adverbs in 3.6.). Verbs are represented by both finite and non-finite (participial, converb) forms. Syntactic words are represented by the (closed) classes of enclitic particles and postpositions. Finally, interjections, together with onomatopoeics, constitute a class of their own.

## 3.2. Nouns

### 3.2.1. Morphological structure of nouns

Nouns inflect for number, possession and case. As shown in (2) the suffix ordering is: Number-Case-Possession.

- (2) d'uu-l-dula-tan  
house-PL-LOC-3PL  
'in their houses'

Depending on the set of inflectional suffixes there can be distinguished three morphological classes (inflection types) of nouns (and nominals in general): 1) nouns with stem-final vowels and consonants. This is the default class, comprising all nouns except for those that belong to the 2nd and the 3rd class; 2) nouns with the stem-final "primary" *-n* (see Note 1); 3) nouns in the plural form.

### 3.2.2. Number

Even makes a distinction between singular and plural forms. The former are unmarked, whereas the latter take the marker *-l* (for the first declensional class of nouns) or *-r* (for the second declensional class); cf. *d'uu* 'house' and *d'uu-l* 'houses', *oran* 'reindeer' and *ora-r* 'reindeers'. A restricted number of nouns (largely, kinship terms) take the special (historically complex) plural markers *-sal/-sel*, *-tal/-tel*, *-nil*; cf. *aman* 'father' and *am-til* 'fathers; parents'. Plural markers are restricted to referential NPs; cf. the non-referential direct object in (3), which despite its multiple reference lacks the plural marker:

- (3) Etiken-#      ora-m      e-s-ni      d'awut-ta  
old man-NOM    reindeer-ACC    not do-NONFUT-3SG    have-NEG CON  
'The old man doesn't have any reindeers'

### 3.2.3. Possession

The possessive markers fall into groups of personal and reflexive possessive markers. The former distinguish three persons in singular and plural, with an additional distinction between 1st person plural inclusive (including the hearer(s)) and exclusive forms. The latter are used under coreferentiality of a possessor with the subject.

TABLE 3: POSSESSIVE ENDINGS

	Type 1	Declension type Type 2	Type 3
Personal			
singular 1	-w ~-u	-mu	-bu
2	-s	-si	-si
3	-n	-ni	-ni
plural 1 incl.	-wun ~-un	-mun	-bun
excl.	-t	-ti	-ti
2	-san/-sen	-san/-sen	-san/-sen
3	-tan/-ten	-tan/-ten	-tan/-ten
Reflexive			
singular	-j ~ -i	-mi	-bi
plural	-wur ~-ur	-mur	-bur

If a possessive relation is regarded as temporary or conventional, the noun takes apart from the possessive endings the alienable possession marker *-ŋ-*, attached before the number markers. Contrast *hut-u* (child-1SG) 'my (own) child' and *hute-ŋe-n* (child-AL POS-1SG), referring to someone who is considered to be my child. In narration the alienable possession suffix often performs a pragmatic rather than a semantic function, being used as a definiteness marker.

### 3.2.4. Cases: Form

As illustrated in Table 4, there are 14 distinct case-markers in Even: Nominative (NOM), Accusative (ACC), Designative (DES), Comitative (COM), Dative (DAT), Instrumental (INST), Locative (LOC), Prolicative (PROL), Directional (DIR), Ablative (ABL), Elative (ELAT), Directive-Locative (DIR-L), Directive-Prolicative (DIR-P) and Equative (EQU). Unlike the other case-markers DES occurs only in the "possessive" declension, that is, only when followed by a possessive ending.

TABLE 4: NOUN DECLENSION

	Simple declension			Possessive declension	
	Type 1 d'uu 'house'	Type 2 hirkan 'knife'	Type 3 d'uu-l 'houses'	Personal d'uu-n 'his house'	Reflexive d'uu-j 'self's house'
NOM	d'uu-#	hirkan-#	d'uu-l-#	d'uu-#-n	d'uu-#-j
ACC	d'uu-w	hirka-m	d'uu-l-bu	d'uu-wa-n	
DES				d'uu-ga-n	d'uu-ga-j
DAT	d'uu-du	hirkan-du	d'uu-l-du	d'uu-du-n	d'uu-di
INST	d'uu-č	hirka-n'	d'uu-l-d'i	d'uu-d'i-n	d'uu-d'i
COM	d'uu-n'un	hirka-n'un	d'uu-l-n'un	d'uu-n'un-ni	d'uu-n'u-mi
LOC	d'uu-la	hirkan-dula	d'uu-l-dula	d'uu-la-n	d'uu-la-j
PROL	d'uu-li	hirkan-duli	d'uu-l-duli	d'uu-li-n	d'uu-li-j
DIR	d'uu-tki	hirkan-taki	d'uu-l-taki	d'uu-tki-n	d'uu-tki-j
ABL	d'uu-duk	hirkan-duk	d'uu-l-duk	d'uu-duku-n	d'uu-duk-i
ELAT	d'uu-gič	hirka-ŋič	d'uu-l-gič	d'uu-gič'i-n	d'uu-gič'i
DIR-L	d'uu-kla	hirka-kla	d'uu-la-kla	d'uu-kla-n	d'uu-kla-j
DIR-P	d'uu-kli	hirka-kli	d'uu-la-kli	d'uu-kli-n	d'uu-kli-j
EQU	d'uu-gč'in	hirka-ŋč'in	d'uu-l-gač'in	d'uu-gč'in-ni	d'uu-gč'i-mi

### 3.2.5. Cases: Major functions

NOM, DES, ACC and COM are opposed to the other case markers as syntactic cases as opposed to semantic. That is the former, unlike the latter, can mark the subject and/or the direct object functions. Whereas NOM is, normally, a subject marker, when followed by the reflexive possessive endings as in, e.g., (17), (28), it is used to mark the DO function. The primary function of ACC is to

mark the DO (see, e.g., (3)). However, added to a noun with a temporal reference, it can denote a period of duration of a state/process: *tugeni-w* (winter-ACC) 'during the winter'. DES primarily marks the DO, simultaneously assigning the Beneficiary function to the possessor in the DO phrase:

- (4) Bii-# etiken ora-ŋ-ga-n emu-re-m  
I-NOM old man reindeer-AL POS-DES-3SG bring-NONFUT-1SG  
'I brought the reindeer for the old man'

Co-occurring with intransitive predicates, the meaning of which includes an existential component, DES can in some dialects mark the subject:

- (5) Kuma-ŋ-ga-ku hie-n  
seal-AL POS-DES-1SG appear-NONFUT:3SG  
'A seal appeared for me (that is, to my benefit)'

Co-occurring with transitives, DES can also be used to indicate a designation of the DO (hence the term "designative"):

- (6) Ere-w asatka-m atika-ŋ-ga-j ga-li  
this-ACC girl-ACC wife-AL POS-DES-REF POS take-IMP:2SG  
'Marry this girl! (lit. Take this girl as a wife)'

COM normally marks the dependent constituent within a complex subject NP (see, e.g., (58b)). DAT is used to indicate a wide range of functions. Animate nouns take DAT to indicate Beneficiary, in particular indirect object of verbs of giving (as in (69a)). Inanimate nouns may take the DAT case-marking for locative function to indicate static location; cf., e.g., *bōōgōn'e-du* 'in the mountain' in the text example (t: 2)<sup>2</sup>. In the latter function its use is more restricted than that of the LOC marker, since the use of DAT implies that the subject exerts control over the situation. Therefore DAT cannot replace LOC in such examples as (7b), where the subject is inanimate:

- (7) a. Bej-# awlan-du/ awlan-dula ilat-ta-n  
man-NOM glade-DAT/ glade-LOC stand-NONFUT-3SG  
'The man stands on the glade'
- b. D'uu-# (\*awlan-du) awlan-dula ilat-ta-n  
house-NOM (glade-DAT) glade-LOC stand-NONFUT-3SG  
'The house stands on the glade'

Further, DAT can perform a temporal function, attaching to nouns with a temporal reference (for example, names of seasons): cf. *tugeni-du* (winter-DAT) 'in winter' in (73a). Finally, DAT can mark the initial subject of certain derived constructions (such as causative in (16a) or adversative in (40b)). By definition, INST is used to denote an instrument or means (in particular, means of transportation) used in an action: *turki-ē em-* (slade-INST come) 'come by slade'. In some dialects INST extends its use to indicate material, as well, competing with ABL in this function. Verbs of emotion assign INST to the source of the emotional reaction: *nakata-ē geel-* (bear-INST fear) 'be afraid of the bear'. DIR is used to denote movement towards a place in both a locative and a temporal sense. Additionally, verbs of perception assign DIR to the object of perception, whereas verbs of speech assign it to the addressee of speech (see (55a)). LOC serves as a general marker of static location (see (t: 22)). Co-occurring with telic motion verbs (predominantly, goal-oriented), it can also mark movement towards (see (t: 13)). The use of LOC in the latter sense, as opposed to DIR, carries an additional implication that the goal would be reached in the course of motion. Used with temporal nouns, LOC performs a temporal function, being synonymous with the temporal use either of DAT or of PROL. PROL is used to indicate motion within (route of motion as in (41a)) or

<sup>2</sup> Examples from the enclosed folklore text (in 9.2.) are referred to by the line number, preceded by the letter *t*.

period of time needed for a telic process/event to reach its inherent limit: *d'öör čaas-li* (two hour -PROL) 'in two hours'. ABL is used to indicate source, in particular, the source of motion (as in (39a)) or the source argument cooccurring with verbs of taking (as in (43a)). With animate nouns it can also indicate the source (the causer) of an event/process, with inanimate (and, predominantly, non-count) nouns also material. Within the comparative construction it is used to mark the object of comparison (see (t: 4)). ELAT is similar to ABL in that it denotes movement away from, but lacks the latter's presupposition of an action actually originating in the source point. DIR-L and DIR-P are semantically similar to LOC (in its goal function) and PROL, respectively. However, they carry an additional implication of objects coming in close contact. EQU marks a manner adjunct to indicate "object of equation":

- (8) Učaka-#-n                      bej-gečín    tööre-l-re-n  
 reindeer-NOM-3SG    man-EQU    speak-INCH-NONFUT-3SG  
 'His (saddle) reindeer began to speak as a man'.

The four latter case-markers exclusively mark adjuncts, are restricted in productivity in dialects and show affinity to adverbs.

### 3.2.6. Other inflectional suffixes of nouns

Apart from number, case and possession markers considered above, a noun can take certain (productive) inflectional suffixes, preceding number markers in a wordform. These suffixes, expressing a modal, referential or possessive meaning, are as follows: diminutive in *-kan/-ken*, *-čani/-čen*; augmentative in *-kaajal-keeje*, *-n'd'al-n'd'e*, *-mkarl-mker*; similitive in *-mdas/-mdes* (*d'uu-mdas* 'looks like a house'); contrastive-emphatic in *-dmarl-dmer* (*d'uu-dmar* 'this very house'); restrictive in *-nragl-nreg* (*d'uu-nrag* 'only this house'); distributive in *-tanl-ten* (*d'uu-tan* 'every house'); proprietive in *-lkanl-lken* (*d'uu-lkan* 'with a house'); negative proprietive, which is formed periphrastically by the prepositional negative particle *ač* and the suffix *-lal-le* attached to the noun (*ač d'uu-la* 'without a house'); emphatic possessive in *-gi*. The latter is added to a possessor under inversion or in the predicate position:

- (9) Ereke oran-#                      etike-gi  
 this reindeer-NOM    old man-EMPH POS  
 'This reindeer belongs to the old man (lit. is old man's)'

### 3.3. Adjectives

In Even there is no clear-cut distinction between nouns and adjectives. Morphologically, adjectives are similar to nouns in that they can inflect (under agreement) for number and case, and in some special cases (see below) for possession as well. (In that respect Even differs from the other Tungusic languages (except for Evenki) which do not display agreement of an attributive modifier.) On the other hand, with regard to syntactic distribution adjectives are, effectively, indistinguishable from non-count nouns. That is, they can be used both in an argument position and in a modifier position; cf. *hel* 'iron; of iron' and *nood* 'beautiful' also 'beauty' as in (10), where it is the head of the possessive construction, taking the appropriate possessive suffix:

- (10) Asatkan-#    nood-do-n                      haa-ra-m  
 girl-NOM    beauty-ACC-3SG    know-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I know that the girl is beautiful (lit. the girl's beauty)'

Adjectives expressing core adjectival meanings (such as color, etc.) can take inflectional suffixes, indicating an intensity of quality. The suffixes *-makan/-meken*, *-mkarl-mker*, *-dmarl-dmer* serve to indicate high intensity (cf. *hulan'a-makan* 'intensive red'), whereas the suffixes *-mrin* and *-sukan/-sukun* indicate reduced intensity (cf. *hulan'a-sukan* 'reddish'). There is no special comparative form of an adjective: its base form combines meanings of a positive and a comparative degree. The latter meaning holds within comparative constructions, where the object of comparison stands in the ABL case and the adjective optionally takes an intensity marker:

- (11) *geeluki-# gin-duk egi-dmer*  
 wolf-NOM dog-ABL strong-INTEN  
 'The wolf is much stronger than the dog'

The meaning of the superlative degree can be expressed either morphologically by the use of the appropriate possessive endings on the adjective (as in (12a)), or lexico-syntactically by the use of the quantifier *čele-n* in the position of the object of comparison (as in (12b)):

- (12) a. *Erek oran-# guda-ŋa-tan*  
 this reindeer-NOM high-AL POS-3PL'  
 'This reindeer is the highest (among them)'
- b. *Erek oran-# čele-duku-n gud*  
 this reindeer-NOM all-ABL-3SG high  
 'This reindeer is the highest (of them all)'

### 3.4. Numerals

Numerals inflect for case (some class of numerals for possession as well) and are normally used as attributive modifiers. Five major classes of numerals can be distinguished: cardinal, approximate cardinal, ordinal, distributive and multiplicative. The simple cardinal numerals are: *ōmen* 'one', *d'ōōr* 'two', *ilan* 'three', *digen* 'four', *tunŋan* 'five', *n'uŋen* 'six', *nadan* 'seven', *d'apkan* 'eight', *ujun* 'nine', *mian* 'ten', *n'ama* 'hundred'. Tens are derived by compounding, involving the plural form of the numeral *mian* 'ten' as the second member of the compound: *ilan-mia-r* (three-ten-PL) 'thirty'. The names of numerals above ten as well as hundreds are formed periphrastically, combining the corresponding names for hundreds, tens and unities; cf. *d'ōōr n'ama mian ōmen* 'two hundred eleven'. Derivationally, cardinals serve as a base for the other classes of numerals: approximate cardinals in *-kli* (*mia-kli* 'about ten'), ordinals in *-gi-~ -i-*, followed by a possessive ending (*d'ōōr-i-ten* 'the second (of them)'), distributive in *-tall-tel* (*ōme-tel* 'one by one'), "multiplicative" in *-rman/-rmen* (*ila-rman* 'of three components (layers, rows, etc)').

### 3.5. Pronouns

There is about a dozen of distinct pronoun classes in Even. On both derivational and functional grounds these classes can be distributed between five major groups. Among personal pronouns a distinction is made between proper personal and possessive personal pronouns. The former are as follows: *bii* 'I', *hii* 'you (sg)', *noŋan* 'he, she', *mut* 'we (inclusive form including addressee(s))', *buu* 'we (exclusive form)', *huu* 'you (pl)', *noŋartan* 'they'. The latter are represented by two sets of forms: simple forms, homophonous with oblique stems of personal pronouns (*min* 'my', *hin* 'your', *mun* 'our (exclusive)', etc) and emphatic in *-ŋi* (*mi n-ŋi* 'mine', *hin-ŋi* 'yours', etc). Reflexive-possessive pronouns serving as a base of derivation of other classes of reflexive pronouns are: *meen* 'self's' with the subject antecedent in singular, and *meer* 'self's' with the subject antecedent in plural. Emphatic personal pronouns are derived from the reflexive pronouns by taking the corresponding personal possessive endings (*meen-mu* 'myself'), emphatic reflexive pronouns by taking the suffix *-ŋi* (*meen-ŋi* 'self's own'), reciprocal pronouns by taking the suffix *-teke(n)-*, followed by the corresponding reflexive possessive ending (*meer-teke-mer* 'each other'). The class of demonstrative pronouns includes the following items: *erek* 'this', *tarak* 'that', *errōōč'in* 'like this', *tarroōč'in* 'like that'. The class of interrogative pronouns includes interrogative pronouns (*iak* 'what', *ŋii* 'who', *asun* 'how big', *irrōōč'in* 'what color', etc), which also function as relative pronouns within certain completive clauses (cf. *iduk* 'where from' in (35)) and indefinite pronouns. The latter are derived from interrogative by means of the enclitic particles *=(w)ul ~ =(g)ul* (for non-referential NPs: *ŋii=wul* 'anybody'), *=(w)utta/=(w)utte ~ =(g)utta/=(g)utte* and *=dal/=de* (for referential indefinite NPs: *ŋii=wutte*, *ŋii=de* 'somebody'). The pronouns in *=dal/=de* are also used as negative occurring in the scope of negation:

- (13) a. *gii-#=wutte*                    e-s-ni                    em-re  
 who-NOM=INDEF not do-NONFUT-3SG come-NONFUT-NEG CON  
 'Somebody hasn't come'
- b. *gii-#=de*                    e-s-ni                    em-re  
 who-NOM=INDEF not do-NONFUT-3SG come-NONFUT-NEG CON  
 'Nobody came'

Finally, quantifiers such as *čele(n)* 'all' (see (12b)) and *bekeče(n)* 'all' are traditionally regarded as a special class of pronouns. As in many other languages, pronouns in Even reveal morphological idiosyncrasies, as illustrated in Table 5: 1) declension of personal and demonstrative pronouns involves stem modification; 2) declension of personal and reflexive possessive pronouns cannot be assigned to any single declension type; 3) stem-final segments of the 3rd person pronouns as well as reflexive pronouns are interpreted under declension as the corresponding possessive suffixes; 4) the inflectional paradigm of nearly all pronouns lacks the DES case marker, as well as ACC in case of reflexive pronouns.

TABLE 5: PRONOUN DECLENSION

	bii 'I'	noġan 'he, she'	meeni 'self'	erek 'this'
NOM	bii-#	noġa-#-n	meeni-#-i	erek-#
ACC	min-u	noġ-ma-n		ere-w
DAT	min-du	noġan-du-n	meeni-di	e-du
INST	mine-č	noġan-d'i-n	meeni-d'i	ere-č
COM	min-n'un	noġ-n'un-ni	meeni-n'u-mi	er-n'un
LOC	min-dule	noġan-dula-n	meeni-dula-j	e-le
PROL	min-duli	noġan-duli-n	meeni-duli-j	e-li
DIR	min-teki	noġan-taki-n	meeni-teki-j	er-teki
ABL	min-duk	noġan-duku-n	meeni-duk-i	e-duk
ELAT	min-gič	noġ-nj'd'i-n	meeni-gid'i	er-gič
DIR-L	mine-kle	noġa-kla-n	meeni-kle-j	ere-kle
DIR-P	mine-kli	noġa-kli-n	meeni-kli-j	ere-kli
EQU	min-geč'in	noġ-ġač'in-ni	meeni-geč'i-mi	er-geč'in

### 3.6. Adverbs

The main types of adverbs available in Even are manner, quantifying, locative and temporal adverbs. Manner adverbs are mainly formed by addition of the INST case-marker to the corresponding adjective (cf. *aj* 'good' and *aji-č* 'well') or a (de)verbal noun (cf. *ġiama* 'friendship' and *ġiama-n* 'friendly'). Another group of manner adverbs is represented by resultative adverbs in -s, derived from a restricted number of onomatopoeic "destructive" verbs (cf. *teker* 'break off (int)' and *teke-s* 'to pieces'). Quantifying adverbs are largely derived from numerals; cf. iterative adverbs in -*rakan*/*-reken* (*ilan* 'three', *il-rakan* 'thrice'), collective adverbs in -*rid*/*'ur* (*il-rid*/*'ur* 'three together'). Degree adverbs differ structurally from the other classes of quantifying adverbs in that they are simple: *hoo* 'very', *asukut* 'almost'. The bulk of locative adverbs is derived from a restricted number of nominal stems with a locational semantics. These stems take different suffixes homophonous with locative case-markers, partly productive, partly archaic: cf. *herġi-le* 'underneath', *her-ġič* 'from underneath', *hes-seki* 'down', *herġi-lte* 'one under another'. Some place adverbs combine a locative and a temporal meaning: *ama-ski* 'back; ago', *d'ul-le* 'ahead; in the future'. Many time adverbs (denoting seasons, etc) are homophonous to corresponding nouns: *möntelse* 'early autumn; in early autumn', *bad'ikar* 'morning; in the morning'.

### 3.7. Verb

#### 3.7.1. Morphological structure of verbs

The (finite) verb inflects for voice, aspect, tense/mood and person/number. The normal ordering of



the markers of the corresponding morphological categories is as enumerated above (cf., however, cases of ordering variation discussed in 3.1.1.): *maa-máč-čoor-ti-tan* (kill-REC-HABIT-PAST-3PL) '(they) used to kill each other'.

### 3.7.2. Voices and other valency-changing categories

Apart from the morphologically unmarked active voice there are five special voice forms, affecting verbal valency. The medio-passive in *-b-/p-* is largely derived from transitives and has either the meaning of the O-oriented resultative<sup>3</sup> or a spontaneous/potential meaning:

- (14) Urke-# aaga-p-ta-n  
door-NOM open-MED-NONFUT-3SG  
'The door opened/is open'

The reciprocal form in *-mat-l-met-~ -mač-l-meč-* denotes mutual actions, affecting referents of the subject (as in (15a)) or objects possessed by the subject's referents (as in (15b)):

- (15) a. Ak-nil-# aw-mat-ta  
brother-PL-NOM wash-REC-NONFUT:3PL  
'The brothers washed each other'
- b. Ak-nil-# meer niri-l-#-bur aw-mat-ta  
brother-PL-NOM self's back-PL-NOM-REF POS PL wash-REC-NONFUT:3PL  
'The brothers washed each other's backs'

Causative forms are derived from both intransitives and transitives with the help of the marker *-wkan-l-wken-~ -ukan-l-uken-~ -mkan-l-mken-*. In the causatives of intransitives the causee appears as DO, whereas in the causatives of transitives it appears as either direct or indirect (dative) object. In the latter case it has either a factitive or a permissive meaning, in the former case only a factitive:

- (16) a. Ewe-sel-# Kad'd'ak-tu miine-w kool-ukan  
Even-PL-NOM K.-DAT wine-ACC drink-CAUS:NONFUT:3PL  
'Evens made/let Kad'd'ak drink the wine'
- b. Ewe-sel-# Kad'd'ak-u miine-w kool-ukan  
Even-PL-NOM K.-ACC wine-ACC drink-CAUS:NONFUT:3PL  
'Evens made Kad'd'ak drink the wine'

The adversative(-passive) form in *-w-l-m-* denotes an action, that is unfavourable for the (surface) subject:

- (17) Etiken-# nugde-du gia-#-j maa-w-ra-n  
old man-NOM bear-DAT friend-NOM-REF POS kill-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
'The bear killed the old man's friend (the old man was negatively affected)'

In traditional grammars sociative forms in *-lda-l-lde-* are regarded as a special voice. Apparently, it is due to the fact that, derived from a restricted number of verbs, they convey a reciprocal, rather than a sociative meaning; cf. *hōr-* 'go', *hōre-lde-* 'go together', but *bak-* 'find', *baka-lda-* 'meet (each other)'.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.7.3. Aspectual and modal forms

There are about a dozen of productive aspectual (or rather Aktionsart) forms that obtain in all dialects. Aspectual forms indicating different stages of an event include the progressive in *-d-l-d'-~*

<sup>3</sup> In accordance with (Nedjalkov 1988) I use the term resultative to refer to a (verbal) form which has a stative reference and is regularly derived from action verbs. In distinguishing between "S-oriented", "O-oriented" and "A-oriented" resultatives, I follow proposals in (Haspelmath 1992: 243).

-*d'id-* (cf. *hōr-* 'go' and *hōre-d-* 'be going'), durative in *-d'aan-* / *-d'een-* (*hōre-d'een-* 'go for a long time'), the inchoative in *-l-* (*hōre-l-* 'begin to go'). The stative form in *-l-l-č-* / *-č-* is polysemous: it can express either an imperfective meaning (cf. *bōō-* 'give' and *bōō-t-* 'be giving; give several times; distribute') or, more regularly, the resultative meaning. In the latter case the diathesis type of the resultative form depends largely on transitivity/intransitivity of the base verb. Resultatives of intransitives are, as expected, S-oriented (cf. *il-* 'stand up' and *ila-t-* 'stand'), whereas resultatives of transitives can be either O-oriented (see (18a)) or A-oriented (see (18b)):

- (18) a. Urke-#      aąąa-t-ta-n  
 door-NOM open-RES-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The door is open'  
 b. Hii-#      urke-w      iaąąaj      aąąa-či-nri ?  
 you-NOM door-ACC why open-RES-NONFUT-2SG  
 'Why are you keeping the door open'

The momentative form in *-san-* / *-sen-* / *-sn-* / *-s-*, as a rule, denotes a limited duration of an action (*hōre-sn-* 'go for a while'). However, derived from stative verbs and verbs of motion, it can also realize the inchoative meaning (cf. *hukle-* 'sleep' and *hukle-sn-* 'go to sleep'). Situational plurality<sup>4</sup> is expressed by the aspectual forms (with basic allomorphs) in *-kat-*, *-waat-* and *-gra-*. Aspectual forms in *-kat-* / *-ket-* / *-kač-* / *-keč-*, derived from atelic verbs, convey multiplicative meaning (cf. *hoą-* 'cry' and *hoą-kat-* 'whimper'), derived from telic, a distributive meaning. In the latter case the distributive quantifier can have its scope over the subject (cf. *kōke-* 'die' and *kōke-ket-* 'die one after another'), over the (direct) object (*maa-* 'kill', *maa-kat-* 'kill one after another'), or over both verbal arguments; cf. the three possible readings of (19):

- (19) Turaaki-l-#      hiakita-l-dula      doo-kat-ta  
 crow-PL-NOM tree-PL-LOC settle-DISTR-NONFUT:3PL  
 'One by one the crows settled down on the trees' or  
 'The crows settled down on one tree after another' or  
 'The crows settled down separately on the trees'

The iterative form in *-waat-* / *-weet-*... (on its allomorphs see 2.3.) has either an usitative-habitual meaning (*hōr-rōōt-* 'usually go') or, combining with a non-referential subject, a generic meaning:

- (20) Naawta-#      goru      hie-weet-te-n  
 moss-NOM long grow-HABIT-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The moss grows for a long time'

The form in *-gra-* / *-gre-* / *-gra-* / *-gre-* has a habitual meaning, primarily referring to the past (*hōr-ger-* 'used to go'). The modal markers are as follows: desidriative in *-m-* (*hōre-m-* 'want to go'), directional-intentional form in *-na-* / *-ne-* (*it-ne-* 'go to see') and conative in *-sč-* (*hōre-sč-* 'try to go'). All modal markers combine features of both the (prototypical) free and bound morphemes (see 3.1.1.).

### 3.7.4. Tense and mood markers

Even distinguishes five mood categories. The indicative mood is represented by three distinct tense forms, available in all dialects: a) the future in *-d'i-l-č-* (see (26)); the nonfuture in *-ra-l-re-* (on its allomorphs see 3.7.5), which derived from telic verbs, refers to past (cf., e.g., *emu-re-m* 'I have (just) brought' in (4)), derived from atelic to the present (cf., e.g., *ilat-ta-n* '(he) stands' in (7a)); c) the past in *-ri-*, subject to the same phonomorphological variation as the nonfuture tense marker (see (28)). The imperative mood is represented by the three basic person-and-number markers: *-li* / *-ni* for the 2nd person singular imperative (cf. (6)); *-lilra-* / *-lilre* / *-nilra-* / *-nilre* / *-lra-* / *-lre* for the 2nd person plural imperative; *-gar-* / *-ger* / *-kar-* / *-ker* / *-gar-* / *-ger* for the 1st person

<sup>4</sup> Regarding expression of different types of situational plurality in Even, I follow the terminology introduced in (Xrakovskij 1989).

inclusive plural invitation (cf. *hōr-ger* 'Let's go'). The other mood categories are: the "preventive" mood in *-d'ikl-čik* used for a warning addressed to the hearer (*hōr-d'ik* '(s)he may go'); the hypothetical in *-mna-l-mne-* (*hōre-mne-n* '(s)he will probably go'); the subjunctive in *-mči--mč-*, used for a consequent of counterfactual conditionals:

- (21) Deetle-j                    bi-seke-n                    hin-teki    dege-le-mč-u  
 wing-REF POS    be-COND CON-3SG    you-DIR    fly-INCH-SUBJ-1SG  
 'If I had wings (lit. if my wings were), I should fly to you'

### 3.7.5. Conjugation

As illustrated in Table 6, there are four distinct conjugation types in Even, which have different nonfuture tense formations (as well as formations of other verbal forms with the initial [r]): 1). The vast majority of verbs takes the suffix *-ra-l-re-* for the nonfuture tense (on its phonetic allomorphs see 2.3.); 2). Verbs with the primary stem-final //n// (see 2.3.) take the suffix *-a-l-e-*; 3). A limited number of (stative) verbs takes the *-sa-l-se-* marker; 4). A highly limited number of (telic) verbs takes the *-da-l-de--d-* marker.

Apart from these four conjugation types there is a distinct negative conjugation, which is formed periphrastically. In the negative conjugation the auxiliary negative verb *e-* 'not do, not be' inflects for tense/mood and person/number, whereas the lexical verb assumes the "negative" converb form in *-r(a)-* (on its allomorphs see 3.7.6.). In the nonfuture tense the negative verb *e-* takes the *-s(e)-* marker, as the verbs of the third declension, whereas in some other forms it displays distinct markers (*-te-* for the future tense, *-č--či-* for the past, etc).

TABLE 6: VERBAL CONJUGATION

	Conjugation types				
	Type 1 haa-'know'	Type 2 göön-'say'	Type 3 bi-'be'	Type 4 oo- 'become'	Type 5 e- haar 'not know'
SG 1	haa-ra-m	göön-e-m	bi-se-m	oo-da-m	e-se-m haa-r
2	haa-nri	göön-e-nri	bi-se-nri	oo-da-nri	e-se-nri haa-r
3	haa-n	göön-ni	bi-s-ni	oo-d-ni	e-s-ni haa-r
PL 1 EXC	haa-r-u	göön-u	bi-s-u	oo-d-u	e-s-u haa-r
1 INC	haa-ra-p	göön-e-p	bi-se-p	oo-da-p	e-se-p haa-r
2	haa-s	göön-e-s	bi-se-s	oo-da-s	e-se-s haa-r
3	haa-r	göön	bi-s	oo-d	e-s-ten haa-r

### 3.7.6. Subject agreement endings

Depending on tense/mood categories, a verb form can take two distinct series of person-and-number suffixes to show agreement with the subject. The second set of suffixes is similar to possessive suffixes on nouns (cf. Table 3).

TABLE 7: SUBJECT AGREEMENT ENDINGS

	1st series		2nd series	
	future, nonfuture indicative	hypothetical past indicative	mood, preventive, sub- junctive	
SG 1	-m	-w ~ -u	-w ~ -u	
2	-nri	-s	-s	
3	-n ~ -ni	-n	-n ~ #	
PL 1 EXC	-ru ~ -u	-wun ~ -un	-l-bun	
1 INC	-p	-t	-l-ti	
2	-s	-san/-sen	-l-san/-l-sen	
3	-r	-tan/-ten	-l	

### 3.7.7. Participles

The participle is a verbal form, combining both verbal and nominal features. Syntactically, the participle performs a wide range of functions, being used as an attributive modifier (see (22a)), as a sentential argument/adjunct (see (22b)) or in a predicate position (see (22c)):

- (22) a. Em-če                    bej-#                    göön-ni  
 come-PERF PART    man-NOM    say-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The man who had come said'
- b. Etiken    em-če-we-n                    haa-ra-m  
 old man    come-PERF PART-ACC-3SG    know-NONFUT-1SG  
 '(I) know that the old man has come'
- c. Bii-#    em-če                    bi-se-m  
 I-NOM    come-PERF PART    be-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I have (already) come'

In the latter position non-modal participles (such as the perfect participle in (22)) are normally used with the copula *bi* 'be' (omitted in the 3rd person nonfuture tense). Such constructions are particularly wide-spread in Middle-Western dialects, where they have given rise to formation of periphrastic tense forms (in particular, periphrastic perfect, as in (22c)) in addition to the 3 simple tense forms enumerated in 3.7.4. Modal participles, however, take subject agreement suffixes and usually occur without an overt copula:

- (23) Bii-#    eme-nne-w  
 I-NOM    come-NEC PART-1SG  
 'I must come'

Morphologically, participles are similar to verbs in that they inflect for voice, aspect, negation and convey temporal and modal meanings. Used in nominal positions the participle indicates relative tense (see (22a, b)). On the other hand, the participle is similar to nominals in that it displays number agreement, as well as inflects for case and possession. There are five distinct participial forms that occur in all dialects. The nonfuture participle in *-ri- -i- -si- -di* (for different conjugation types) is polysemous. Derived from telic verbs, it indicates recent anteriority with regard to the primary event, whereas derived from atelic, simultaneity to the primary event; cf. *em-ri* '(one), who came' and *girka-ri* '(one), who walks'. The perfect participle takes the marker *-ča/-če* (see (22)). The past participle is formed by addition of the suffix *-daŋ-l-deŋ-*, obligatorily followed by the subject agreement endings (*maa-daŋa-n* '(one), who was killed'). The necessitative participle in *-nna/-nne* (cf. (23)) and the hypothetical participle in *-d'iŋa/-d'iŋe* (*em-d'iŋe* '(one), who may come') belong to modal participles.

### 3.7.8. Converbs

On morphological grounds several classes of converbs (verbal adverbs) can be distinguished. The first distinction to be made is between those converbs that conjugate for person and number and those that do not. These two classes of converbs are opposed syntactically as well. The former are normally used in switch-reference constructions and indicate (with the help of person-and-number endings) the subject of their own clause, whereas the latter are used in "same-reference" constructions. In the latter case one further subdivision can be made, depending on whether a given converb has distinct singular and plural forms. The group of non-inflecting converbs includes 5 forms:

1) the preceding converb in *-mnin*, denoting a secondary event immediately preceding a primary:

- (24) N'eekičen-#    tööre-se-mnin                    dege-l-re-n  
 duck-NOM    quack-MOM-PRE CON    fly-INCH-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The (wild) duck quacked and (immediately) flew away';

2) the terminative converb in *-kan/-ken*:

- (25) Gurgewči-n heči-ken  
work-NONFUT:3SG get tired-TERM CON  
'(S)He worked until got tired';

3) the conditional converb in *-mi*, which is polysemous: apart from the conditional it can convey a temporal or a causal meaning:

- (26) Em-mi göön-d'i-m  
come-COND CON say-FUT-1SG  
'If/when (I) come, (I) shall tell'

Within a temporal clause the converb in *-mi* denotes a secondary event which is either simultaneous or immediately anterior (as in (26)) to a primary event, depending on the telicity/atelicity of the verb in the converbial form.

Two other converbs belonging to this group differ from the above in that they are exclusively used within periphrastic constructions: 4) The "negative" converb form in *-r ~ # ~ -s ~ -d* (depending on verbal conjugation type) is attached to the lexical verb within the periphrastic negative construction (see, e.g., (13); cf. 3.7.5.). 5) The "negative modal" form in *-ga/-ge* is attached to a lexical verb co-occurring with a negative modal auxiliary verb (such as *baa-* 'not want' in (45c)).

The group of converbs inflecting for number (of the subject), but not for person, includes the two following forms: 6) the simultaneous converb in *-nikan/-niken* with the subject in singular *~ -nikar/-niker* with the subject in plural (cf., e.g., *emen-d'id-niken* 'leaving' in (t:14)); 7) the anterior converb in *-rid'i* (sg) *~ -rid'ur* (pl) (cf., e.g., *em-nid'i* 'having come' in (t:5)).

Finally, the group of converbs inflecting for person and number is represented by four forms: 8) the conditional "switch-reference" converb in *-rak/-rek ~ -ak/-ek ~ -sak/-sek ~ -dak/-dek* is semantically identical to the conditional form in *-mi* (naturally, except for its role in switch-reference system); cf. (26) and (27):

- (27) Em-reke-n göön-d'i-m  
come-COND CON-3SG say-FUT-1SG  
'If/when (s)he comes, (I) shall tell';

9) the past converb in *-ḡsi -*, normally referring to a habitual event in the past simultaneous to the primary event:

- (28) Hupkuči-ḡsi-j d'uu-#-j hooč gele-ri-w  
study-PAST CON-REF POS house-NOM-REF POS very miss-PAST-1SG  
'When (I) studied, (I) missed my home very much';

10) the purposive converb in *-da/-de-*:

- (29) Göö-li taḡ-da-n  
say-IMP:2SG read-PURP CON-3SG  
'Tell him to read';

11) the negative terminative form in *-dle-* is attached only to the negative auxiliary verb *e-*:

- (30) Hin e-dle-s em-re e-le bi-d'i-m  
your not do-NEG TERM CON-2SG come-NEG CON this-LOC be-FUT-1SG  
'(I) shall stay here until you come'

### 3.8. Postpositions

The two types of postpositions available in Even are postpositional nouns and postpositional adverbs. The former are half-auxiliary nouns, expressing locative relations. They serve as a formal head of a possessive-like construction. Within a postpositional phrase a postposition takes the corresponding possessive endings to indicate the person and number of the lexical noun; cf. *mugdeken*





- (35) Etiken iduk em-če-we-n haa-ra-m  
 old man from where come-PERF PART-ACC-3SG know-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I know where the old man has come from'

The primary relativization strategy in Even is by "gapping" the relativized NP; cf. relativization of the subject NP in (36b) and of the direct object NP in (36c):

- (36) a. Etiken-# buju-m maa-n  
 old man-NOM reindeer-ACC kill-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man killed the (wild) reindeer'
- b. buju-m maa-ča etiken  
 reindeer-ACC kill-PERF PART old man  
 'the old man, who killed the (wild) reindeer'
- c. etiken maa-ča-n bujun  
 old man kill-PERF PART-3SG reindeer  
 'the (wild) reindeer, whom the old man killed'

Note that under relativization of non-subjects a participial predicate takes a subject agreement ending. (For more detail on RC formation see Chapter 8).

## Part 2: Topics in Even syntax

### 5. Adversative constructions

This chapter examines the syntax and semantics of adversative constructions (henceforth ADCs) in Even<sup>5</sup> and is structured as follows. Section 5.1. contains a description of the basic types of ADCs, distinguished in terms of morphological and semantic distribution of verbs with the adversative marker. In Section 5.2. syntactic characteristics of ADCs of different types are examined in relation to prototypical passives and permissive-causatives. Section 5.3. focuses on the semantics of ADCs, while section 5.4. sums up the present chapter.

#### 5.1. The basic types of adversative constructions

In this section ADCs are classified on the basis of the following two features: 1) syntactic valency of the base verb: with this feature zero-valent verbs are opposed to mono- and bi-valent intransitives and to bi- and tri-valent transitives; 2) morpho-syntactic distribution of verbs with the adversative marker, in particular, case marking on the initial subject. With these two features five basic types of ADCs are distinguished in Even.

##### 5.1.1. ADC1

ADC1 is illustrated by (37b) below:

- (37) a. (Imanra-#) iman-ra-n  
 snow-NOM snow-NONFUT-3SG  
 'It is snowing'
- b. Etiken-# (imanra-du) imana-w-ra-n  
 old man-NOM snow-DAT snow-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man is caught by the snowfall'

ADCs of this type are formed by a limited class of words, denoting atmospheric phenomena, such

<sup>5</sup> A more detailed account of formal and functional properties of Even adversative constructions is available in (Malchukov 1993b).



as *iman-* 'snow', *udan-* 'rain', *dolbo-* 'get dark', etc<sup>6</sup>. The initial subject, derived from the same root as the corresponding verb, is an optional constituent within both basic and adversative constructions. If present in ADC1, an initial subject is marked by the dative case as in (37b). ADC1 denotes that a referent of the surface subject (henceforth SS) is unexpectedly and negatively affected by the "elements".

### 5.1.2. ADC2

ADC2 can be exemplified by (38b);

- (38) a. Huličan böödele-#-n ene-l-re-n  
fox feet-NOM-3SG hurt-INCH-NONFUT-3SG  
'The fox's paws began to hurt'
- b. Huličan-# böödel-#-i ene-le-w-re-n  
fox-NOM feet-NOM-REF POS SG hurt-INCH-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
'The fox's paws began to hurt; it was negatively affected'

ADCs2, cf. (38b), are formed by mono-valent and bivalent intransitives, taking both animate and inanimate objects: *en-* 'hurt', *köke-* 'die', *dur-* 'burn down', *hör-* 'go away', etc. ADC denotes that something happening to the initial subject (henceforth IS) is inadvertent for the SS. Within ADCs2 the IS usually stands in the possessive relation to the SS: denotes the latter's property, body-part, etc. Verbs occurring within ADC2, chiefly denote events "unpleasant" for the IS. Verbs with neutral semantics, if used in ADC, acquire the inadvertent reading. Source oriented motion verbs provide a characteristic example of this phenomenon. It is the only valency class of motion verbs, regularly occurring in ADC2:

- (39) a. Bujun-# (töör-duk) il-ra-n  
reindeer-NOM ground-ABL stand up-NONFUT-3SG  
'The wild reindeer stood up (from the ground)'
- b. Bujusemge-# buju-m ila-w-ra-n  
hunter-NOM reindeer-ACC stand up-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
'The wild reindeer stood up; the hunter was negatively affected'

While (39a) states only that the reindeer changed its pose, (39b) in effect implies that the hunter scared away the reindeer: (having heard the hunter approach) the reindeer stood up and, most probably, escaped.

### 5.1.3. ADC3

ADC3, illustrated in (40b), denotes that one person (SS-referent) is negatively affected by another person's (IS-referent's) sudden appearance.

- (40) a. Arisag-# mut-tule em-re-n  
ghost-NOM we-LOC come-NONFUT-3SG  
'The ghost came to us'
- b. Mut-# arisag-du eme-w-re-p  
we-NOM ghost-DAT come-AD-NONFUT-1PL  
'A ghost came to us; we were negatively affected'

ADCs of this type are mainly formed by goal oriented motion verbs, such as *em-* 'come', *ii-* 'enter', *is-* 'reach', occasionally by neutral verbs taking a route argument such as *nuulge-* 'wander' in (41b):

<sup>6</sup> A list of words forming 'meteo-passives' in Tungusic languages, in particular, Evenki and Even, is presented in Nedjalkov(1991: 33 ff.).

(41) a. Asi-#           higi-li           nuulge-n  
 woman-NOM wood-PROL wander-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The woman wanders in the wood'

b. Etiken-#           asi-du           nuulge-w-re-n  
 old man-NOM woman-DAT wander-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'A woman wandered to the old man; he was negatively affected'

As shown above, ADC3 denotes a sudden appearance of the IS (in the dative case) in the location of the SS.

#### 5.1.4. ADC4

ADC4 can be illustrated by the example (17) above repeated here as (42b):

(42) a. Nugde-#       etiken       gia-wa-n           maa-n  
 bear-NOM old man friend-ACC-3SG kill-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The bear killed the old man's friend'

b. Etiken-#       nugde-du       gia-#-j           maa-w-ra-n  
 old man-NOM bear-DAT friend-NOM-REF POS kill-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The bear killed the old man's friend; the old man was negatively affected'

ADC4 denotes that the IS (in the dative case) acts upon DO and that this action is inadvertent for the SS. As a rule, DO in this case displays some sort of possessive relation to SS. This type of ADCs is formed by bi- and tri-valent transitives, by and large denoting actions unpleasant for their objects, like *maa-* 'kill', *ölekči-* 'deceive', *hepken-* 'catch', etc. Semantically, many of these verbs can be treated as causatives of verbs, forming ADCs2. Among tri-valent verbs occurring regularly in ADC are verbs denoting a forcible deprivation of one's property, such as *tie-* 'take away by force', *d'ormi-* 'steal'. In that case the source (the initial possessor) must be coreferential with the SS:

(43) a. Hejeke-l-#       oroči-l-duk       bilek-u-ten           tie-r  
 Koryak-PL-NOM Even-PL-ABL settlement-ACC-3PL take away-NONFUT:3PL  
 'Koryaks deprived Evens of their settlements'

b. Oroči-l-#       hiew-ri-ten       hejeke-l-du  
 Even-PL-NOM worry-PAST-3PL Koryak-PL-DAT  
 bilek-#-ur                           tie-w-d'iŋe-dur  
 settlement-NOM-POS REF PL take away-AD-FUT PART-DAT:POS REF PL  
 'Evens worried that Koryaks might deprive them of their settlements'

#### 5.1.5. ADC5

ADC5, traditionally identified with the canonical passive construction, is illustrated by (44b):

(44) a. Nugde-#       etike-m           maa-n  
 bear-NOM old man-ACC kill-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The bear killed the old man'

b. Etiken-#       nugde-du       maa-w-ra-n  
 old man-NOM bear-DAT kill-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man was killed by the bear'

ADC5 denotes that the SS undergoes an undesirable action, performed by the IS. ADCs5 are formed by the same class of bi-valent transitives denoting unpleasant actions, occurring also in ADCs4. Verbs with neutral semantics, occurring in ADCs5 require special contexts, implying that an action is unfavourable for the SS. Thus, although ADC (45b) sounds somewhat odd, it becomes perfectly acceptable in appropriate contexts: see (45c) from (Robbek 1984).

- (45) a. Asi-# kuḡa-w aw-ra-n  
 woman-NOM child-ACC wash-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The woman washed the child'
- b. ? Kuḡa-# enin-di awa-w-ra-n  
 child-NOM mother-DAT:REF POS wash-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The child was washed by his mother; he was negatively affected'
- c. Kuḡa-# baa-mi aw-ḡa  
 child-NOM not want-COND CON wash-NEG MOD CON  
 enin-di awa-w-ra-n  
 mother-DAT:REF POS wash-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The child, although he didn't want to wash ( himself ), was washed by his mother'

### 5.2. The syntax of adversative constructions

In the specialist literature Even adversative constructions are traditionally identified either with passives (Cincius 1947: 175-176; Robbek 1984: 77-91) or with nonvolitional permissive-causatives (Malchukov 1989: 170 ff.; cf. Novikova 1980: 55-57). Under the "passive" analysis derivation of ADCs is regarded as a promotion of an initial non-subject constituent to the SS-position. Under the "causative" analysis, by contrast, it is treated as a case of embedding. (A detailed discussion of the passive and causative analyses of Even ADCs is presented in (Malchukov 1993a; Malchukov 1993b)). In order to evaluate applicability of the alternative analyses to ADCs we should examine more closely the syntactic features of ADCs in relation to the prototypical passive, on the one hand, and to the causative, on the other hand. It has long been noted that passives and causatives differ derivationally. The passive has one actant fewer than the initial construction, whereas the causative has one actant more. This derivational difference appears to be twofold. Firstly, whereas the surface subject NP within the prototypical passive constructions corresponds to an initial actant, within the (permissive-)causative construction it corresponds to the adjunct denoting the Causer. Secondly, while in the course of the passive derivation, performing an "agent-defocusing" function (Shibatani 1985: 830 ff.), the initial subject loses its actant status, in the course of the causative derivation the IS usually retains its actant status, being demoted to the direct or the indirect object<sup>7</sup>. Then, in order to determine the derivational type of ADCs and evaluate their affinity to passive and causative constructions, we must state a) the valency status (actant vs. adjunct) of the SS counterpart within the initial construction; b) the valency status of the IS within the ADC.

As regards the first feature, the valency status of the SS-counterpart within an initial construction would be different for different types of ADCs. Thus, the SS of ADC5 corresponds to the initial DO, that is, to the prototypical secondary actant. The SS within ADC3 corresponds to a locative NP, which in some cases (cooccurring with goal oriented motion verbs as in (40b)) belongs to a set of verbal actants, in other cases (cooccurring with neutral motion verbs as in (41b)) is one of the verbal adjuncts. Within ADC2 and ADC4, by contrast, the SS corresponds, generally speaking, to the initial possessor in an NP (except for ADCs formed by verbs of taking as in (43b), with the SS corresponding to the tertiary actant). Therefore derivation of these constructions could be treated as involving Possessor Ascension, rather than Promotion. Possessor ascends from the IS NP to yield ADC2 (see (38) or from the DO NP to yield ADC4 (see (42)). Anyway, being a non-argument, the NP moving to the SS-position of ADC2 and ADC4 ranks lower in valency status than SS-counterpart within the above ADC types. Finally, the correlate of the SS of ADC1 ranks extremely low on the valency scale, since it cannot be expressed within the initial construction altogether (see (37)). Thus, with regard to the first feature the basic types of ADCs can be ranked along the following scale, the prototypical passive being at one end and the prototypical causative at the other:

- (46) CAUS ADC1 ADC2 ADC4 ADC3 ADC5 PASS

<sup>7</sup> This holds, at least, for causatives of intransitives and bi-valent transitives in languages consistent with the "paradigm case" of causative formation, set up by Bernard Comrie (1976).

The relevance of the scale in (46) is further corroborated by the application of the second criterion. The basic types of ADCs differ in the retention of actant properties on the part of the IS, as well. In particular, it can be argued that the IS within ADC2 and ADC4 outranks the IS within ADC3 and ADC5 in valency status, since only the former is accessible to relativization. (As argued in 8.2., the primary relativization strategy applies exclusively to verbal arguments.) As illustrated in (47), relative clauses involving relativization on the IS within ADC2 (38b) and ADC4 (42b) are grammatical (cf. (47a) and (47c), respectively), whereas RCs involving relativization on the IS within ADC3 (40b) and ADC5 (44b) are ungrammatical (cf. (47b) and (47d), respectively):

- (47) a. huličan ene-le-w-če-n böödele-n  
fox hurt-INCH-AD-PERF PART-3SG foot-3SG  
'the fox's paw that began to hurt'
- b. \* mut eme-w-če-l-ti arisag  
we come-AD-PERF PART-PL-1PL ghost  
'the ghost, who came to us'
- c. etiken gia-#-j maa-w-ča-n nugde  
old man friend-NOM-REF POS kill-AD-PERF PART-3SG bear  
'the bear, who has eaten the old man's friend'
- d. \* etiken maa-w-ča-n nugde  
old man kill-AD-PERF PART-3SG bear  
'the bear, by whom the old man was killed'

Thus, the first and the second criteria under discussion reveal a certain correlation. Generally speaking, the higher the valency status of the SS-counterpart within the initial construction, the lower the valency status of the IS within a given type of ADCs. (For further arguments in favour of the scale in (46) see (Malchukov 1993b).) The scale presented above demonstrates why neither the "passive" nor the "causative" analysis of ADCs can be accepted as a whole. Whereas within the derivational approach the passive and the causative analyses seem to be mutually exclusive, the range of data these theories can account for is, rather, in complementary distribution. Thus, syntactically, different types of ADCs differ in the affinity to passive constructions, on the one hand, and to causative constructions, on the other hand, and, consequently, differ in their accessibility to the alternative analyses.

### 5.3. Semantics of ADCs

Throughout this chapter we have seen that Even ADCs carry an implication of disadvantage for the subject. This implication accounts for some common semantic constraints on the formation of ADCs. First, the predominance of verbs, denoting "unpleasant" events, within ADCs is, clearly, conditioned by the nonvolitional (-permissive) semantics of the -w- form. Secondly, verbs in the adversative form take exclusively animate subjects, because the subjects are represented as the volitional entities. Hence we can infer the presence of the special component 'SS didn't want event V (denoted by the base verb) to happen' in the semantics of ADCs, which they share with nonvolitional permissive constructions. This inference is further corroborated by syntax of the subordinate clause adversatives. Thus, an ADC, demoted to a converbial clause, cannot be subordinated to a main verb, denoting a positive emotional reaction. Cf. (41b) and (48):

- (48) ? Etiken-# asi-du nuulge-w-rid'i örölda-n  
old man-NOM woman-DAT wander-AD-ANT CON rejoice-NONFUT:3SG  
'The old man, to whom a woman wandered, rejoiced'

On the other hand, the adversative and the nonvolitional permissive constructions differ in that the former do not necessarily attribute all "responsibility" for the event (V) to the SS-referent. Needless to say, such an interpretation is not excluded (cf. (49b)), but it is not forced by the semantics of ADCs, either (cf. (49c)):

- (49) a. Asi      hute-#-n                      hog-ra-n  
 woman child-NOM-3SG cry-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The woman's child cries'
- b. Asi-#                      hut-#-i                      e-mi  
 woman-NOM child-NOM-REF POS not do-COND CON  
 ökut-te                      hoga-w-ra-n  
 nurse-NEG CON cry-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The woman, not nursing her child, lets him cry'
- c. Agdiri-l-laka-n                      asi-#                      hut-#-i  
 thunder-INCH-COND CON-3SG woman-NOM child-NOM-REF POS  
 hoga-w-ra-n  
 cry-AD-NONFUT-3SG  
 'It thundered and(= therefore) the woman's child cried'

Since the SS within ADCs is not (obligatorily) represented as a causer of the event V, it can be argued that the semantics of adversatives, in contrast to causatives, does not make reference to the causing event. (For further arguments see (Malchukov 1993b: 26-29)). In that respect, then, adversative constructions are similar to passives, which are also 'one-situational'.

#### 5.4. Conclusions

Let me sum up the present chapter. As we have seen above, there is a special verbal category in Even, the adversative, which displays affinity both to passive and to permissive-causative. Syntactically, different types of ADCs can be viewed as existing along the passive-causative continuum. Semantically, the adversative combines properties of the prototypical passive, on the one hand, and the nonvolitional permissive, on the other hand. The assertive component in the meaning of the adversative is similar to that of the passive, since it includes not two propositions (in causal relations), but one. In the presuppositional part the meaning of the adversative, by contrast, coincides with the nonvolitional permissive: both categories share the common component 'SS didn't want V to happen'.

### 6. Reciprocal constructions<sup>8</sup>

#### 6.1. Structural types of reciprocal constructions

In this section we shall regard the basic structural types of reciprocal constructions (henceforth RCCs) in Even. A well-known characteristic feature of RCCs is that each of the referents of the surface subject (SS) performs two (different) semantic functions (e.g., Agent and Patient, Agent and Beneficiary, etc.). Such a correlation between the SS-referents and semantic functions, as available in RCCs, will be henceforth referred to as "the reciprocal meaning". Structurally, the reciprocal meaning can be expressed in Even in the following ways: 1) lexico-syntactically by the use of reciprocal pronouns (see 3.5.); 2) morphologically by the use of the verbal reciprocal marker *-mat* - (see, e.g., (15a) in 3.7.2.); 3) morpho-syntactically by the use of the anaphoric possessive pronoun *meer* apart from the verbal reciprocal marker (see (15b)). In what follows we shall consider these structural types of RCCs in turn.

#### 6.2. Syntactic reciprocal constructions

##### 6.2.1. Derivation of reciprocal pronouns

As noted above, within syntactic RCCs the reciprocal meaning is conveyed exclusively by the use of reciprocal pronouns (henceforth RCPs). RCPs are derived in different ways in different Even dialects. In Eastern dialects they are formed by addition of the suffix *-teke(n)*- (followed by the appropriate case and the reflexive possessive plural endings) to the stem of the reflexive possessive plural pronoun *meer*; cf. East. *meer-teken-du-r* (*meer-teken-DAT-REF POS PL*) 'to each other'. In Middle-Western dialects, however, RCPs are formed by reduplication of the reflexive possessive singular pronoun *meen* 'self's'. The second stem takes the corresponding case and the reflexive pos-

<sup>8</sup> This section is a concise version of my contribution to (Nedjalkov, ed. in preparation).

sessive plural marker; cf. M.-West. *meen meen-du-r* 'to each other'. Apart from syntactic RCCs, RCPs can occur within morphological RCCs as well. In the latter case, however, they are optional (see 6.3.1.).

### 6.2.2. Derivation of syntactic RCCs

Derivation of syntactic RCCs is rather straightforward and involves the following changes in the initial structure: a) the SS is marked for plurality of its referents (e.g., by the use of the plural forms, numerals or a comitative construction as in (51b)); b) the initial nonsubject NP, coreferential to the SS, is substituted by the corresponding (case) form of the RCP. Thus, derivation of syntactic RCCs does not affect valency of the base verb; cf. (50a) and (50b) from a Middle dialect:

- (50) a. *Ömen gın-# gia-w gın-u itme-n*  
 one dog-NOM another-ACC dog-ACC bite-NONFUT-3SG  
 'One dog bit another dog'
- b. *gina-l-# meen meen-#-ur itme-r*  
 dog-PL-MOM RCP-NOM-REF POS bite-NONFUT-3PL  
 'The dogs bit each other'

Note that in (50b) RCP in the nominative case is used in the DO position, thus following the pattern of other nouns with reflexive possessive suffixes (see 3.2.5.).

There are no special restrictions on the formation of syntactic RCCs, except for those that trivially follow from the semantics of RCCs (such as the animacy constraints on the SS-counterparts). Nevertheless, syntactic RCCs have a rather restricted use, as compared with morphological RCCs and occur preferably when the latter are unavailable. Thus, syntactic RCCs, unlike morphological, can be used to mark coreferentiality of the SS to an initial adjunct as in (51b):

- (51) a. *Etiken-# hurken-dule köke-n*  
 old man-NOM youth-LOC die-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man died (staying) at the youth('s place)'
- b. *Etiken-# hurke-n'un meen meen-dule-vur köke-r*  
 old man-NOM youth-COM RCP-LOC-REF POS die-NONFUT-3PL  
 'The old man and the youth died (staying) at each other('s places)'

## 6.3. Morphological reciprocal constructions

### 6.3.1. Derivation of morphological RCCs

Derivation of morphological RCCs involves the following operations on the initial structure: a) the base verb takes the reciprocal marker *-mat-l-met- ~ -mač-l-měč-*; b) the SS is marked for plurality of its referents; c) the initial complement, coreferential to the SS, is either substituted by the corresponding (case) form of the RCP or, more frequently, deleted. Since the RCP is in this case an optional constituent, the derivation of morphological RCCs can be argued to involve reduction of verbal valency<sup>9</sup>; cf. derivation of a morphological RCC (52) from the initial construction in (51):

- (52) *gina-l-# (meen meen-#-ur) itme-met-te*  
 dog-PL-NOM RCP-NOM-REF POS bite-REC-NONFUT:3PL  
 'The dogs bit each other'

Derivation of morphological RCCs, unlike syntactic, is subject to a number of restrictions. First, the majority of motion verbs lack reciprocal forms and therefore do not occur within morphological RCCs; cf. *hör-* 'go' and \**hör-met-* 'go from each other', but *bi-weet-* (be-HABIT) 'usually be' and *bi-weet-met-* 'usually be (guest) at each other('s places)'. More significantly, the verbal reciprocal forms can mark coreferentiality of the SS with an underlying complement, but not with an underlying adjunct. Whereas the syntactic RCC (51b) with the SS coreferential to the underlying

<sup>9</sup> In the examples of RCCs we shall generally disregard the presence of an optional reciprocal pronoun.

locative adjunct is acceptable, the corresponding morphological RCC (53) is not:

- (53) \* Etiken-# hurke-n'un köke-met-te  
 old man-NOM youth-COM die-REC-NONFUT:3PL  
 'The old man and the youth died (staying) at each other(s) places'

### 6.3.2. Syntactic (diathesis) types of morphological RCCs

With regard to the syntactic status of the underlying complement, coreferential to the SS, the following types of RCCs can be distinguished (and, consequently, diathesis types of reciprocal verbs): 1) DO-oriented RCCs, with the SS coreferential to the underlying DO. In the course of derivation the RCC loses the initial DO. This diathesis type of RCCs is formed by transitives taking an animate object (see, e.g., (15a), (52)); 2) OO-oriented RCCs, with the SS coreferential to the secondary argument of intransitives, loses the initial oblique object. This diathesis type of RCCs is formed by bivalent intransitives, in particular, by verbs of emotion, assigning the Directional or Instrumental case to their object:

- (54) a. Akan-# nöö-tki-j aas-sa-n  
 brother-NOM brother-DIR-REF POS be angry-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The (elder) brother is angry at his younger brother'
- b. Ak-nil-# aas-mat-ta  
 brother-PL-NOM be angry-REC-NONFUT-3PL  
 'The brothers are angry at each other';

3) IO-oriented RCCs. RCCs with the SS coreferential to a tertiary actant of ditransitives lose the initial indirect object. This diathesis type of RCCs is formed, in particular, by verbs of giving (cf. *böö-* 'give' and *böö-met-* 'give to each other', *borit-* 'divide' and *borit-mat-* 'divide among each other' in (62)) and taking (cf. *gaa-* 'take' and *gaa-mat-* 'take from each other'), as well as by verbs of speech (see below (55b)). 4) "Structurally ambiguous" RCCs. Interestingly, reciprocal forms of certain ditransitives (in particular, verbs of speech) are ambiguous. That is, the reciprocal verb can mark coreferentiality of the SS either with the initial DO or with the initial IO. For example, within the initial construction (55a) the verb *göön-* 'say, tell' takes the Topic-of-speech argument as its DO and the Addressee-of-speech argument as its IO. As shown below, its reciprocal form *göö-met-* is ambiguous between the "DO-oriented" reading as in (55c) and the "IO-oriented" reading as in (55b). (In the examples below the appropriate forms of RCPs are used to disambiguate the RCCs):

- (55) a. Bii-# nimek-teki-j etike-m göön-e-m  
 I-NOM neighbour-DIR-REF POS old man-ACC say-NONFUT-3SG  
 'I told my neighbour about the old man'
- b. Bii-# nimek-n'u-mi (meen meen-teki-wur)  
 I-NOM neighbour-COM-REF POS RCP-DIR-REF POS PL  
 etike-m göö-met-te-p  
 old man-ACC say-REC-NONFUT-3PL  
 'I speak with my neighbour about the old man'
- c. Bii-# etike-n'un nimek-teki-j  
 I-NOM old man-COM neighbour-DIR-REF POS  
 (meen meen-#-ur) göö-met-te-p  
 RCP-NOM-REF POS PL say-REC-NONFUT-3PL  
 'I and the old man tell my neighbour about each other'

## 6.4. Derivation of morpho-syntactic reciprocal constructions

### 6.4.1. Derivation of morpho-syntactic RCCs

As shown above, within both syntactic RCCs and morphological RCCs the SS is coreferential to a full (object) NP. Within morpho-syntactic RCCs, by contrast, coreferential relations hold between the SS and the possessor within an (object) NP. Given this diathesis-related property of morphosyn-

tactic RCCs they will henceforth also referred to as "possessive" RCCs. The derivation of morpho-syntactic RCCs involves the following morpho-syntactic changes: a) the base verb takes the reciprocal marker *-mat-l-met--mač-l-meč-*; b) the SS is marked for plurality of its referents; c) the initial possessor coreferential to the SS, is substituted by the anaphoric possessive pronoun *meer* 'self's'. Thus, the derivation of possessive RCCs, as exemplified in (56), does not involve reduction of verbal valency:

- (56) a. (Ömen) asi-# (gia) asi unta-wa-n  
 one woman-NOM other woman shoe-ACC-3SG  
 aj-ra-n  
 mend-NONFUT-3SG  
 'One woman mended another woman's shoes'
- b. Asa-l-# meer unta-l-#-bur  
 woman-PL-NOM self's shoe-PL-NOM-REF POS PL  
 aj-mat-ta  
 mend-REC-NONFUT:3PL  
 'Women mended each other's shoes'

Note that the anaphoric pronoun *meer* is ambiguous between the reflexive possessive reading (marking coreferentiality of the possessor to a plural subject, as in (57) below) and the reciprocal possessive reading (as in (56b) above). The latter meaning is, however, realized exclusively within RCCs; elsewhere the reflexive reading obtains; cf. (56b) and (57):

- (57) Asa-l-# meer unta-l-#-bur aj-ra  
 woman-PL-NOM self's shoe-PL-NOM-REF POS PL mend-NONFUT:3PL  
 'Women mended their own shoes'

In the Okhotsk dialect coreferentiality of the possessor to the SS, as available in possessive RCCs, is additionally marked on the head of the possessive phrase. The head noun (cf. *d'uu* 'house' in (58)) takes the special nominal reciprocal marker *-taka(n)-l-teke(n)-*<sup>10</sup>, followed by the corresponding case and possessive suffixes:

- (58) a. Bii-# etiken d'uu-la-n bi-weet-ti-w`  
 I-NOM old man house-LOC-3SG be-HABIT-PAST-1SG  
 'I used to visit (lit. to be at) the old man's house'
- b. Mut-# etike-n'un meer d'uu-tak-la-war  
 we-NOM old man-COM self's house-REC-LOC-REF POS PL  
 bi-weet-met-ti-t  
 be-HABIT-REC-PAST-1PL  
 'I and the old man used to visit (lit. to be at) each other's houses'

Interestingly, the formation of morpho-syntactic RCCs is also subject to valency restrictions reminiscent of those that constrain formation of morphological RCCs: the SS can be coreferential to the possessor within a complement NP, but not within an adjunct NP. Compare the grammatical (58b) with the SS coreferential to the possessor within the locative complement and the ungrammatical (59b) with the SS coreferential to the possessor within the locative adjunct:

- (59) a. Etiken-# hurken d'uu-la-n köke-n  
 old man-NOM youth house-LOC-3SG die-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man died (staying) in the youth's house'

<sup>10</sup> Notably, the same marker *-teke(n)-* is employed in the derivation of reciprocal pronouns in Eastern dialects (see 6.2.1.).



- b. \* Etiken-# hurke-n'un meer d'uu-la-vur  
 old man-NOM youth-COM self's house-LOC-REF POS  
 köke-met-te  
 die-NONFUT-3PL  
 'The old man and the youth died (staying) at each other's houses'

#### 6.4.2. Syntactic (diathesis) types of possessive RCCs

With regard to the syntactic position of the possessive phrase the following syntactic types of possessive RCCs can be distinguished: 1) DO-oriented possessive RCCs with the SS coreferential to the possessor within the DO NP (cf. (56b)); 2) OO-oriented possessive RCCs with the SS coreferential to the possessor within the oblique NP (cf. (58b)); 3) IO-oriented possessive RCCs with the SS coreferential to the possessor within the indirect object NP. These possessive RCCs are formed by the same class of ditransitives attested within morphological IO-oriented RCCs (see 6.3.1.).

#### 6.5. A functional explanation for valency constraints on RCC formation

As shown above, derivation of both morphological and morpho-syntactic RCCs, unlike syntactic RCCs, is subject to valency constraints. That is, within the former the SS must be coreferential to (a constituent within) an argument NP. It appears that these constraints can be offered a functional explanation. Recall that both morphological and morpho-syntactic RCCs are characterized by the following features: a) a referential property (coreferentiality) of NPs is marked not on the relevant NPs, but on the verb (which takes the reciprocal marker); b) there is a single marker that marks coreferentiality between NPs with a different syntactic and semantic status. Since the status of the NP coreferential to the SS is not explicitly marked here, these RCCs are potentially (and in some cases also actually, see (55)) ambiguous<sup>11</sup>. That is, it is not clear, what is the other semantic role acquired by the SS-referents in the course of reciprocal derivation. One factor that helps to disambiguate these RCCs in Even is the verb's lexical meaning, in particular, its argument structure. Therefore SS-referents can be assigned under reciprocal derivation semantic roles of arguments of a given verb (a number of which is highly restricted), but not of its potential adjuncts. Within syntactic RCCs, by contrast, semantico-syntactic status of the NP coreferential to the SS is marked as explicitly as within the initial construction (by means of the identical case-markers on reciprocal pronouns). These constructions are, consequently, unambiguous, and not subject to valency constraints.

### 7. The structure of the nominal phrase: agreement and Attribute Raising

#### 7.1. Data

In this chapter we shall consider the structure of the nominal phrase including an attributive modifier. Let us take, for example, the nominal phrase consisting of the (head) noun *beji* 'men' and its modifier, expressed by the adjective *eji* 'strong' or the (perfect) participle *hōrče* 'that has left', and introduce it into the DO slot of the matrix sentence. As shown in (60), this nominal phrase can be patterned in six different ways:

- (60) a. Eji/ Hör-če beji-l-bu emu-re-m  
 strong go-PERF PART man-PL-ACC bring-NONFUT-1SG
- b. Eji-l/ Hör-če-l beji-l-bu emu-re-m  
 strong-PL go-PERF PART-PL man-PL-ACC bring-NONFUT-1SG

<sup>11</sup> Note that the anaphoric *meer* within morpho-syntactic RCCs cannot count as an explicit marker of the status of the NP, whose possessor is coreferential to the SS, since the very pronoun is ambiguous (see 6.4.1.).

- c. Egi-l-bu/                    Hör-če-l-bu                    beji-l-bu  
 strong-PL-ACC   go-PERF PART-PL-ACC   man-PL-ACC  
 emu-re-m  
 bring-NONFUT-1SG
- d. Beji-l    egi-l-bu/                    hör-če-l-bu                    emu-re-m  
 man-PL   strong-PL-ACC   go-PERF PART-PL-ACC   bring-NONFUT-1SG
- e. Beji-l    hör-če-wu-ten                    emu-re-m  
 man-PL   go-PERF PART-ACC-3PL   bring-NONFUT-1SG
- f. Beji-l-bu    hör-če-wu-ten                    emu-re-m  
 man-PL-ACC   go-PERF PART-ACC-3PL   bring-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I brought back the strong men/the men who had left'

Semantically, all the constructions in (60) are identical (synonymous), nevertheless they differ morpho-syntactically. In (60a) the attributive modifier is juxtaposed to the head noun. In (60b) the attribute agrees with the head noun in number (taking the plural marker *-l*), whereas in (60c) in both number and case (additionally taking the accusative case-marker *-bu*). Interestingly, within (60d) the case-marker is attached to the attribute, but not to the head noun. In (60e) the nominal phrase is patterned as a possessive construction: the attribute takes the (3rd person plural) possessive ending *-ten*, indicating of person and number of the (Possessor) noun. Finally, the nominal phrase within (60f) differs from the previous one in that the (Possessor) noun retains its case marking. In what follows we shall discuss constructions in (60) in more detail.

## 7.2. Discussion

### 7.2.1. Agreement

Rules for the attributive agreement are one of the most intriguing issues of Even syntax. Whereas traditional grammars of Even generally assume that attributive modifiers regularly agree (in case and number) with their heads, both in texts and the specialist literature numerous counterexamples are found to this claim. The complexity of agreement rules is, apparently, due to the fact that a number of factors both extralinguistic and structural are involved here. First, different Even dialects differ in the consistency of attributive agreement. Thus, due to language contacts with Yakut, (Middle-)Western dialects display less regular agreement, as compared with Eastern dialects. Second, the rules of agreement depend also on the functional style and form of language. That is, the standard ("literary") Even displays, in accordance with prescriptive grammars, a regular attributive agreement. On the other hand, agreement rules are different for different classes of attributes. As regards adjectives and participles, agreement in case entails agreement in number, while the opposite is not true. Contrast the grammatical examples (60a)-(60c) above with the ungrammatical (61), with the adjective agreeing in case, but not in number with its head:

- (61) \* Egi-w                    beji-l-bu                    emu-re-m  
 strong-ACC   man-PL-ACC   bring-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I brought back the strong men'

Nevertheless, the agreement pattern, as attested in (61), is apparently possible for demonstrative pronouns, as exemplified by (62) (adopted from texts in (Novikova: 1980)):

- (62) Tara-w    ora-r-bu                    borit-mat-ta  
 that-ACC   reindeer-PLACC   divide-REC-3PL  
 '(Evens) divided the reindeer among themselves'

As for numerals, they cannot inflect for number altogether and therefore do not show number agreement. Different classes of attributes also differ in the consistency of agreement. Thus, according to preliminary counts, numerals agree (in case) far less frequently than attributes of other classes. Finally, agreement possibilities are dependent on discourse-pragmatic factors. As I have shown

in (Malchukov 1989), attributes in the rhematic (focus) position always agree with their heads, whereas elsewhere agreement is optional. For example, interrogative pronouns in a modifier position invariably agree with their heads:

- (63) *Adi-w* (\**adi*) *öliki-w* *maa-nri?*  
 how many-ACC (how many) squirrel-PL kill-NONFUT:2SG  
 'How many squirrels have you killed?'

In a similar fashion, inverted attributes or attributes followed by the restrictive enclitic =*takan*/=*teken* (see 3.9.) always agree with the head nouns:

- (64) *Eji-l-bu=teken* (\**egi=teken*)  
 strong-PL-ACC=REST CLIT strong=REST CLIT  
*beji-l-bu emu-re-m*  
 man-PL-ACC bring-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I have brought back only strong men'

Thus, the Even data suggest that agreement can serve other functions in languages with an "optional" agreement, as compared to languages with a compulsory agreement. (Within the latter agreement is generally assumed to perform the syntactic function of marking phrasal constituents, as well as the pragmatic function of keeping track of referents in discourse). However, as demonstrated above, one of the major functions of agreement in Even is to indicate the discourse-pragmatic salience of an attributive constituent.

### 7.2.2. Attribute Raising

The term Attribute Raising (henceforth AR) refers here to a syntactic process, assigning head properties to an initial attribute. Following Greville G. Corbett and others (see Corbett 1991) I shall here adopt the prototype approach to the notion of headedness. Within the prototype approach syntactic headedness is treated as a gradient notion. It is further assumed that head properties (HPs, for short) can be distributed among NP constituents in a different way. I adopt here the following set of universal HPs (for discussion see (Corbett 1991) with references to works by A.M. Zwicky and R.A. Hudson): 1) the head is distributionally equivalent to its phrase; 2) the head is the locus of (case) marking of external syntactic relations of its phrase; 3) the head is the obligatory constituent of its phrase; 4) the head of the nominal phrase is a (potential) controller of agreement in gender and number. This list of universal HPs is extended here by two additional language-particular properties: 5) the head occupies the final position in its phrase (recall that Even is a head-final language); 6) the head of the possessive phrase is marked by possessive endings (recall that the possessive relation in Even is head-marked, see 4.2.).

In the light of these criteria for heads let us reconsider the structure of nominal phrases in (60). As for the structures attested in (60a)-(60c), the noun is clearly the head of the nominal phrase. Thus, it is distributionally equivalent to the phrase (as incidentally in all the other constructions in (60), as well). The noun is also the obligatory constituent: unlike the attribute, it cannot be omitted without making the construction ungrammatical. It is the noun that normally occupies the final position in its phrase. Within (60a) and (60b) this ordering of the NP-constituents is the only word order available, whereas within (60c) it is still the basic word order. (In some cases the attribute can undergo inversion.). Further, the noun is invariably the locus of (case-) marking of the NP's external relations. It takes the ACC case marker to indicate that the NP occupies the DO position within the matrix sentence. Within (60a) and (60b) it is the only constituent marked for case, while within (60c) it shares this property with the attribute. Finally, in examples (60b) and (60c), as opposed to (60a), subordination within the NP is additionally marked by the number agreement: the noun stands in the plural, hence the plural marker on the attribute as well. Thus, within the nominal phrase (60a)-(60c) the noun is clearly more head-like than the attribute, although in (60a) and (60c) the attribute also reveals some head properties. If we now turn to (60d), the picture is somewhat different. The attribute acquires (and the noun consequently, loses) the following HPs: a) the attribute moves to the NP-final position; b) unlike the noun, the attribute is marked for case; c) the attribute becomes the obligatory constituent. Nevertheless, the attribute reveals its number agreement and in this respect is the dependent rather than the head constituent. In the course of derivation of (60e) the underlying NP structure (as iconically represented in (60a)-(60c)) undergoes

more radical changes. In derivational terms these changes can be described as follows: the initial attribute is raised to the head position (hence the term "Attribute Raising"), whereas the initial head noun is demoted to Possessor. Indeed, the nominal phrase in (60e) is patterned as a possessive construction, headed by the attributive participle. In other words, the nominal phrase in (60e) syntactically patterns as a sentential complement in the DO position (cf. (22b)). Whereas the noun is still the distributional equivalent of its phrase, all the other HPs are assigned to the participial attribute: it is the obligatory NP-constituent, it occupies the NP-final position and takes the appropriate possessive and case markers. Within (60f) the nominal phrase is also patterned as a sentential complement. It differs syntactically from the nominal phrase in (60e) in that the initial noun here retains its case marking and both NP constituents become optional. The three latter constructions (60d)-(60f), where the attribute outranks the noun in head properties, are similar discourse-pragmatically. Within these constructions the attribute is always pragmatically salient, in particular, contrastive. Cf. the contrastive attributes within the nominal phrase patterned as (60d) in (65), adopted from the texts in (Novikova 1980: 132):

- (65) Haadun=da                      oroči-l-#                      hukle-ri-l-bu  
 sometimes=CONJ CLIT Even-PL-NOM sleep-NONFUT PART-PL-ACC  
 haadun=da                      tege-t-ti-l-bu  
 sometimes=CONJ CLIT sit down-RES-NONFUT PART-PL-ACC  
 iiwde-mu-ten                      d'oram-moot-ta  
 arrow-ACC-3PL steal-HABIT-NONFUT:3PL  
 '(The Yukagirs) stole arrows from Evens, sometimes (when they were) sleeping,  
 sometimes (when they were) sitting'

On the other hand, the NP structures, found in (60a)-(60d), are opposed to structures found in (60e), (60f) in that the formation of the latter is subject to a number of restrictions. First, the former can occupy different syntactic positions, whereas the latter occur only in the DO position. Secondly, within the former the modifier can be expressed by attributes of different classes (adjectives, participles, numerals, etc), whereas within the latter exclusively by participles. (Therefore we shall reconsider the latter cases as instances of "internal relative clauses" in the next chapter). Finally, patterns (60e), (60f), as well as (60d), are restricted geo-linguistically: the former occur in Middle dialects, the latter in Eastern dialects.

### 7.3. Conclusions: splits of head properties in Even nominal phrases

The presented data can be summarized in Table 8, showing distribution of HPs between NP-constituents within examples in (60). (This table indicates which constituent - the noun (N) or the attribute (A) - is characterized as the head with respect to a given feature).

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF HEAD PROPERTIES IN NOMINAL PHRASES

Constructions	(60a)	(60b)	(60c)	(60d)	(60e)	(60f)
1. Distributional equivalent to NP	N	N	N	N	N	N
2. Locus of case marking	N	N	N,A	A	A	N,A
3. NP-final position	N	N	N	A	A	A
4. Obligatory constituent	N	N	N	A	A	
5. Controller of number agreement		N	N	N		
6. Head of the possessive construction					A	A

Since HPs are distributed between constituents of nominal phrases in (60a)-(60f) in a different way, these constructions can be ranked on a scale, N-headed nominal phrases being at its one end and A-headed nominal phrases at the other end:

- (66) N-headed NPs (60b) (60a), (60c) (60d), (60f) (60e) A-headed NPs

Significantly, the HPs display a partial correlation, which can be captured by means of the following implicational hierarchy (where  $x > y$  indicates an implicational relation between any feature  $x$  and all features  $y$  lower on the hierarchy):

- (67) A is marked as a head of the possessive phrase > A occupies NP-final position > A is the locus of case marking > N is an optional NP-constituent

Similar "splits" of head properties between different NP-constituents were attested in other Tungusic languages as well. Thus, as pointed out by V.A. Avrorin (1981: 138), in Nanai there occur participial constructions patterned like (60e). L.M. Brodskaya (1988: 56) considers similar cases in Evenki as problematic for her treatment of relativization. On the other hand, V.D. Kolesnikova (1966: 60-62) has noted violations of agreement patterns in Evenki numeral expressions that pattern like (60d). Thus, whereas such cases have not gone unnoticed in Tungus studies, they have been generally disregarded as exceptions (from rules of agreement, relativization, etc). It appears, however, that interrelation between syntactic, semantic and pragmatic structures of nominal phrases as attested in Even (and other Tungusic languages) is of importance both for language typology and linguistic theory. As shown above, Even reveals a tendency to mark a pragmatically salient (attributive) constituent as the syntactic head of the nominal phrase.

## 8 Relativization

### 8.1. Primary relativization strategy

In the terms of Edward L. Keenan and Bernard Comrie (Keenan and Comrie 1977) the primary relativization strategy in Even is a participial prenominal [-case] (alias gapping) strategy. This strategy applies to all positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy from the subject to the oblique object. Thus, (68) exemplifies relativization on the subject position (see (68b)) and on the DO position (see (68c)) from the restrictive sentence (68a)<sup>12</sup>:

- (68) a. Etiken-# buju-m maa-n  
old man-NOM reindeer-ACC kill-NONFUT:3SG  
'The old man killed the (wild) reindeer'
- b. [ e buju-m maa-ča ] etiken  
reindeer-ACC kill-PERF PART old man  
'the old man, who killed the (wild) reindeer'
- c. [ etiken e maa-ča-n ] bujun  
old man kill-PERF PART-3SG reindeer  
'the (wild) reindeer, that the old man killed'

As shown by (68), the primary relativization strategy involves the following morpho-syntactic changes in the structure of the restrictive sentence: 1) the (main) verb takes the (perfect) participle form; 2) the relativized noun (henceforth NPrel) is gapped; 3) the restrictive clause is preposed to the head (domain) noun. Within the primary strategy relativization of subjects and nonsubjects differs in that in the latter case the participle takes a subject agreement ending, indicating person and number of the participial subject (the initial subject of the restrictive sentence); cf. the 3rd person singular marker on the participle in (68c). Relativization of indirect and oblique object patterns, ef-

<sup>12</sup> The symbol *e* indicates the initial position of the relativized NP, which is empty in the restrictive clause.

fectively, in the same way as relativization of DOs; cf. relativization of a (Benefactive) IO in (69) and relativization of a locative OO in (70):

- (69) a. Etiken-# hurken-du oro-m böö-n  
 old man-NOM youth-DAT reindeer-ACC give-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The old man gave the reindeer to the youth'
- b. [etiken e oro-m böö-če-n] hurken  
 old man reindeer-ACC give-PERF PART:3SG youth  
 'the youth, to whom the old man gave the reindeer'
- (70) a. Etiken-# d'uu-la bi-s-ni  
 old man-NOM house-LOC be-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man is in the house'
- b. [etiken e bi-če-n] d'uu  
 old man be-PERF PART-3SG house  
 'the house, where the old man has been'

### 8.2. Constraints on primary relativization strategy

Unlike the relativization on higher syntactic positions (SUs and DOs) relativization on indirect and oblique objects is subject to certain restrictions. Thus, IO is relativizable from the restrictive sentence (69a), but not from (71a), OO is relativizable from (70a), but not from (72a):

- (71) a. Etiken-# hurken-du oro-m ga-d-ni  
 old man-NOM youth-DAT reindeer-ACC take-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man took the reindeer for the youth'
- b. \*[etiken e oro-m ga-ča-n] hurken  
 old man reindeer-ACC take-PERF PART-3SG youth  
 'the youth, for whom the old man has taken the reindeer'
- (72) a. Etiken-# d'uu-la ulre-w d'ep-te-n  
 old man-NOM house-LOC meat-ACC eat-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man ate the meat in the house'
- b. \*[etiken e ulre-w d'ep-če-n] d'uu  
 old man meat-ACC eat-PERF PART-3SG house  
 'the house, where the old man has eaten meat'

Note that restrictions on relativization, as illustrated above, are not related to the syntactic and/or semantic status of the NPrel. In (71a), as well as in (69a), the indirect object stands in DAT and performs the Beneficiary function. In a similar fashion in (72a), as well as in (70a), the oblique object stands in LOC and denotes static location. Note, further, that the grammatical RCs (69b) and (70b) differ from the ungrammatical (71b) and (72b) exclusively in the choice of the verbal predicate. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that accessibility for relativization depends largely on verbal semantics and, in particular, on the argument structure of a given verb. Thus, grammaticality of the RCs (69b) and (70b) demonstrates accessibility for relativization of the "inner" Beneficiary and Locative (that is, Beneficiary and Locative arguments), as opposed to the "outer" Beneficiary and Locative NPs (Beneficiary and Locative adjuncts) from (71) and (72), respectively. In short, the primary relativization strategy in Even is constrained by verbal valency: it applies to verbal arguments, but not to adjuncts.

This assumption, however, proves to be too strong in view of the following data. Whereas locative adjuncts cannot be relativized by the primary strategy, the temporal adjuncts can, as illustrated by (73):

- (73) a. Etiken-# tugini-du muču-n  
 old man-NOM winter-DAT return-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The old man returned in winter'
- b. [etiken e muču-če-n] tugini  
 old man return-PERF PART-3SG winter  
 'the winter, when the old man returned'

The attested asymmetry between temporal and locative adjuncts with regard to relativization rules is, clearly, problematic both for a syntactic account of relativization constraints (formulated in terms of Accessibility Hierarchy) and for the valency account, as formulated above. One way to account for these data within the latter approach is by making an additional assumption that temporal NPs count, actually, as arguments. Notably, as explicitly stated in (Plungian, Raxilina 1990), this assumption is independently required for lexicological reasons.

### 8.3. Secondary relativization strategy

Relativization of the positions on Accessibility Hierarchy lower than IO/OO positions is performed by means of another (secondary) strategy. This strategy applies to Possessor within a possessive NP, as well as to a Possessor noun within postpositional phrases and to the subordinate subject of a participial sentential argument. Recall that the two latter constructions are morphologically patterned as the possessive construction (see 4.2.). Within all these constructions subordination is marked on the head (the possessed) by means of a possessive ending, while Possessor can take the form of a possessive pronoun (see, e.g., *min* 'my' in (76b)). The secondary relativization strategy is exemplified in (74), showing relativization of Possessor from the subject NP:

- (74) a. Etiken atika-ŋa-#-n hagdani  
 old man wife-AL POS-NOM-3SG grow old-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The old man's wife died (lit. grew old)'
- b. [e atika-ŋa-n hagdani-ča] etiken  
 wife-AL POS-3SG grow old-PERF PART old man  
 'the old man, whose wife has died'

The secondary relativization strategy is similar to the primary in that both are prenominal and participial. Furthermore, it can also be treated as a gapping strategy, since the Possessor position is empty in the restrictive clause. It should be stressed that NPrel is missing in the RC not due to ellipsis (of a corresponding pronoun). If the empty position were filled by the appropriate pronoun, it would make the construction ungrammatical; cf. (74b) and (74c):

- (74) c. \* [noŋan atika-ŋa-n hagdani-ča] etiken  
 he wife-AL POS-3SG grow old-PERF PART old man  
 'the old man, whose wife has died'

Nevertheless, there is one crucial difference between the primary and the secondary relativization strategy. Whereas the initial Possessor is missing in the RC, the head noun retains the appropriate possessive endings, indicating person and number of the Possessor (cf. the 3rd person singular possessive ending *-n* on the possessed noun in (74b)). Since the possessive ending unequivocally marks the relativized position (as that of Possessor), the secondary relativization strategy, unlike the primary, should be regarded as [+case]. Relativization of the Possessor noun from a postpositional phrase has the same pattern. Whereas within the restrictive sentence (75a) the Possessor noun *hiakita* 'tree' is the dependent constituent of the postpositional phrase, within the RC (75b) it is the domain noun:

- (75) a. Turaaki-# hiakita öjde-le-n doo-n  
 crow-NOM tree top-LOC-3SG settle-NONFUT:3SG  
 'The crow settled on (the top of) the tree'

- b. [e öjde-le-n turaaki doo-ča-n ] hiakita  
 top-LOC-3SG crow settle-PERF PART-3SG tree  
 'the tree, on (the top of) which the crow settled'

Note that within (75b), unlike (74b), the participle takes the possessive suffix, since relativization applies to (Possessor within) an object NP. Thus, the form of the participle within RCs, formed by the secondary, as well as the primary, strategy depends on whether relativization applies to the subject or to a nonsubject NP. On the other hand RCs in (75b) demonstrates yet another difference between the primary and the secondary strategy: the latter involves movement of an (overt) constituent. The head of the NP (or of a postpositional phrase as in (75)), from which Possessor is extracted, moves to the RC-initial position. Meanwhile, as noted by Keenan (1985: 151) and others, such a change of overt RC-constituents is characteristic rather of pronominal relativization strategies than of gapping strategies. The former are generally assumed to involve movement of an overt wh-phrase<sup>13</sup>. Thus, with respect to this feature the secondary relativization strategy in Even is reminiscent of pronominal strategies.

Finally, let us consider relativization of the subject of the sentential complement in (76):

- (76) a. Bii-# [etiken hör-ri-we-n ] it-ti-w  
 I-NOM old man go-NONFUT PART-ACC-3SG see-PAST-1SG  
 'I saw that/how the old man was leaving'
- b. [[e hör-ri-we-n ] min it-če-w ] etiken  
 go-NONFUT PART-ACC-3SG my see-PERF PART-1SG old man  
 'the old man, who, I saw, was leaving'

The restrictive sentence (76a) is a complex construction where the matrix verb *ittiw* '(I) saw' takes the participial complement *etiken hörriwen* '(that) the old man was leaving' as its DO. Within the subordinate clause the NPrel *etiken* 'old man' occupies the subordinate subject position and controls the person-and-number agreement of the participle. In the course of derivation the subordinate subject is gapped, whereas the participial predicate, in accordance with the general rule, moves to the RC-initial position.

## 8.4. Internal relative clauses

### 8.4.1. Derivation of internal RCs

Apart from the basic relativization strategies considered above, in Even there obtains a marginal relativization strategy, henceforth referred to as 'internal'. Following E.L. Keenan (1985: 161-163), I use the term "internal relative clause" to refer to RCs that meet the following two criteria: the domain noun appears internal to the restrictive clause (cf. the term "Zirkumnominale Relativsatz" in (Lehmann 1979)) and does not constitute the syntactic head of the RC. Let us contrast the "external" relativization of DO, as represented in (77b), with the "internal" relativization of DO, as represented in (77c):

- (77) a. Asi-# unta-l-bu aj-ra-n  
 woman-NOM shoe-PL-ACC mend-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The woman mended the shoes'
- b. [[asi e aj-ča-l-ni ] unta-l-# ]  
 woman mend-PERF PART-PL-3SG shoe-PL-NOM  
 urke-le desči-r  
 door-LOC lie-NONFUT:3PL

<sup>13</sup> I do not want to claim hereby that the clause-initial position in Even RCs is indeed the COMP position in terms of GB. First, recall that Even does not make use of syntactic wh-movement elsewhere (4.1.). Second, as Even is a head-final language, a wh-phrase would be expected to move rightwards. Further investigation is, apparently, needed to determine what type of movement is involved here.



'The shoes, that the woman mended, are by the door'

- c. [Asi-# unta-l-bu aj-ča-n ] urke-le desči-r  
 woman-NOM shoe-PL-ACC mend-PERF PART-3SG door-LOC lie-NONFUT:3PL  
 'The shoes, that the woman mended, are by the door'

The RC in (77b) is a familiar case of a primary gapping strategy. It can be considered as an external RC, since the domain noun a) occurs externally (to the right) of the restrictive clause and b) constitutes the syntactic head of the RC. The head-dependent relation is additionally marked here by number agreement: the domain (head) noun is in plural, hence the plural marker *-l* on the participial modifier. The RC in (77c), by contrast, is internal: a) the domain noun appears within the restrictive clause and b) does not head the RC. Note, in particular, that number agreement between the participle and the domain noun fails in that case: the domain noun is in the plural, whereas the participle stands in the singular. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the domain noun occupies the same position (the DO position) within the RC (77c) and within the restrictive sentence (77a). Indeed, it retains both its (preverbal) word order position and its (ACC) case marking. In other words, the internal RC (henceforth, IRC) is patterned as a sentential argument (subject), headed by the participial predicate (cf. (22b)). On the other hand, semantically, the IRC in (77c) is a canonical relative clause, as already suggested by its translation. Indeed, there is formal evidence in favour of the fact that at some (logico-semantic?) level of representation of (77c) the RC is headed by the domain noun. First, the IRC in (77c) is distributionally similar to other RCs (cf. (77b)). That is, it has distribution of an NP, co-occurring with verbs, such as *desči-* 'lie' in (77c), that normally do not take sentential subjects. Second, the domain noun controls person and number agreement of the matrix predicate: the domain noun *untalbu* 'shoes' stands in the plural, hence the 3rd person plural ending *-r* on the matrix verb. Within the prototype approach to the notion of headedness, adopted in the previous chapter, it could be argued that derivation of internal RCs results in a "split" of head-like properties among different RC-constituents. In the course of derivation, the domain noun acquires RC-external head properties (in particular, control of agreement of the matrix predicate), whereas the participial predicate retains RC-internal head properties.

#### 8.4.2. Constraints on formation of IRCs

As noted above, internal RCs are marginal in Even. That is, internal RCs, as compared to external, are less frequently used, are subject to dialectal variation and, last, but not least, are heavily constrained by additional syntactic conditions. These constraints concern the syntactic position of the IRC, on the one hand, and the syntactic position of NPrel, on the other hand. As for the first restriction, IRCs exclusively occur either in the subject position (as in (77c)) or in the DO position (as in (78b)):

- (78) a. Etiken-# d'uu-ga-j oo-n  
 old man-NOM house-DES-REF POS do-NONFUT-3SG  
 'The old man built the house (for himself)'
- b. [Etiken-# d'uu-ga-j oo-ča-wa-n ] bak-ra-m  
 old man-NOM house-DES-REF POS do-PERF PART-ACC-3SG find-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I found the house that the old man built (for himself).'

Second, the internal strategy is used to relativize a highly restricted number of positions. In most dialects NPrel occupies only the DO position, taking the ACC case marker, as in (77c), or the DES marker, as in (78b). In certain Middle dialects (in particular, in the Ojm'akon dialect) this strategy can also apply to intransitive (but not to transitive!) subjects. The latter case can be exemplified by the Attribute Raising construction (60e), repeated here as (79b):

- (79) a. Beji-l-# hōr-re  
 man-PL-NOM go-NONFUT:3PL  
 'The men left'

- b. Beji-l hör-če-wu-ten emu-re-m  
 man-PL go-PERF PART-ACC-3PL bring-NONFUT-1SG  
 'I brought back the men who had left'

The sentential complement in (79b) can be regarded as an IRC because it meets the second criterion for the canonical IRCs. Syntactically, the domain noun *etiken* 'old man' is not a head, but rather a dependent constituent (the formal possessor) of the RC in (79b). Interestingly, there are further restrictions on relativization of (intransitive) subjects: such IRCs occur only in the DO position.

### 8.5. Some typological implications

The presented data on Even relative clauses seem to have the following implications for typological studies of relativization. First, the Even data strongly suggest that, contrary to current assumptions, [+gapping] and [+case] parameters are independent of each other. As shown above, the secondary relativization strategy in Even is both [+gapping] and [+case]. Second, these data provide evidence for the fact that gapping strategies can involve movement of overt constituents. As we have seen, the secondary gapping strategy employed for relativization of Possessors involves movement of the head of the possessive phrase to the RC-initial position. Third, as shown in 8.4.2., internal RCs are not uniform: they reveal different types of "splits" of head properties between RC-constituents. To sum up, Even data demonstrate that many concepts considered as primitives in current typological literature on RCs are, in fact, complex clusters of (independent) properties.

## Part 3. Appendix

### 10. Folklore text

#### 10.1. Preliminary notes

The present folklore text was recorded in 1991 from D.M. Osinina, the speaker of the Okhotsk dialect, presently resident in Topolinoje. (Topolinoje is a community in the Tompo region of Yakutia). The Okhotsk dialect, spoken in the North of the Khabarovsk region, belongs to Eastern dialects of Even. It has, however, developed some peculiar features, partly due to the influence of the genetically closely related Evenki. Phonetics. As in Evenki, the Okhotsk dialect has lost the distinction between hard and soft high vowels *i/i*, *ij/ii*, *u/u*, *uj/uu*. Under the influence of Evenki the rhotic *r/* is assimilated by the preceding sonorants *l/* and *n/*; cf. *gen-nid'i* < *gen-rid'i* 'going' in (t: 8), *huptučal-la-n* < *huptuča-l-ra-n* 'began to fall behind' in (t: 7). Morphology. In the Okhotsk dialect, as well as in other Eastern dialects, there obtain several imperative forms: apart from the basic forms enumerated in 3.7.4. there are two other forms - the polite imperative in *-ga/-ge-* (cf. *bi-ge-nni* 'be!' in (t: 11)) and the remote imperative form in *-d'iga(wa)-/-d'ige(we)-* (cf. *buga-g-d'iga-wa-n* 'let him have as his homeland' in (t: 10)). On the other hand, the Okhotsk dialect is similar to Middle-Western dialects in that it has lost the special possessive forms of personal pronouns: their function within the possessive phrase is performed by the corresponding personal pronouns; see *bii hut-če-mu* (lit. I child-my) 'my child' instead of *min hut-če-mu* (lit. my child-my) in (t: 15). Syntax. Note here the use of the adverbial *n'aan* 'again' as a coordinating conjunction ('and') in (t: 1), which is generally more characteristic of Middle-Western dialects. In (t: 20) there obtains topicalization structure, making use of the topic marker *bimi*.

#### 10.2. Text

- (t: 1) Tooki n'arcan-ni n'aan nojan hure-l-ni d'ugu-li-ten ukčenek  
 elk doe-3SG and (s)he child-PL-3SG about-PROL-3PL story
- (t: 2) Egd'en böögon'e-du ömen n'arčan-# bi-d'-de-n  
 big mountain-DAT one elk-cow-NOM be-PROG-NONFUT-3SG

- (t: 3) Ereġ n'arċan-# d'öör hute-lken  
 this elk-cow-NOM two child-PROPR
- (t: 4) Tarak hu-rel-ni ömettutiċ tug-ċe-l bi-niker  
 this child-PL-3SG together be born-PERF PART-PL be-SIM CON:PL  
 ġia hute-#-n aran=ta egd'en,  
 other child-NOM-3SG a little=CLIT big  
 ġia hute-#-n ġia-duki-j kuċuke-dmer  
 other child-NOM-3SG other-ABL-REF POS small-INTENS
- (t: 5) Taċin bi-d-deke-n ömneken ere-w tooki n'arċa-ma-n  
 like this be-PROGR-COND CON-3SG once this-ACC elk doe-ACC-3SG  
 ġeeluki-# em-nid'i hõt-te-n  
 wolf-NOM come-ANT CON chase-NONFUT-3SG
- (t: 6) Hookan goru hõlu-met'-te  
 very long chase-REC-NONFUT:3PL
- (t: 7) Ereġ tooki ömen-d'i hute-#-n obda-rid'i  
 this elk one-INST child-NOM-3SG get tired-ANT CON  
 en'-#-mi huptu-d'a-l-la-n  
 mother-NOM-REF POS fall back-PROGR-INCH-NONFUT-3SG
- (t: 8) Tariċ ereġ n'arċan-# ömen böögön'e-le ġen-nid'i  
 then this elk-cow-NOM one mountain-LOC go-ANT CON  
 hut-teki-j göön-ni  
 child-DIR-REF POS say-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 9) "Hii-# ereġ talġigan nelġig-du-n dik-li"  
 you-NOM this fallen tree root-DAT-3SG hide-IMP:2SG
- (t: 10) "Ereġer tooki-# erwööt-tu-n böögön'e-du  
 always elk-NOM like this-DAT-3SG mountain-DAT  
 bugaġ-d'iġawa-n"  
 have as a land-REM IMP-3SG
- (t: 11) "Hii-# tooki tooki-d'i bi-ġe-nni"  
 you-NOM elk elk-INST be-POL IMP-2SG
- (t: 12) Ereġ ömen hute-#-n ta-du nelġig-du hiwken-ni,  
 this one child-NOM that-DAT root-DAT hide-NONFUT-3SG  
 taċin eme-p-te-n  
 like this leave-MED-NONFUT-3SG
- (t: 13) Ereġ n'arċan-# ömen hut-#-i egd'en elin-dula  
 this elk-cow-NOM one child-NOM-REF POS big slope-LOC  
 is-sid'i emen-ni  
 reach-ANT CON leave-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 14) Tar emen-d'id-niken göön-ni  
 thus leave-PROGR-SIM CON say-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 15) "Bii hut-ċe-mu, hii-# e-du boosaġ-du  
 I child-DEMIN-1SG you-NOM this-DAT slope-DAT  
 eme-p-li"  
 leave-MED-IMP:2SG

- (t: 16) "Hii-# bučeke oo-li"  
you-NOM musk-deer become-IMP:2SG
- (t: 17) "Bučeke-# erweet-tu-n buga-lkan bi-d'igewe-n"  
musk-deer-NOM like this-DAT-3SG land-PROPR be-REM IMP-3SG  
göön-ni  
say-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 18) Erek n'arčan-# hure-l-#-bi tačin  
this elk-cow-NOM child-PL-NOM-REF POS like this  
hirgeč-niken emen-ni  
bless-SIM CON leave-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 19) Meenken gaadač n'oon-ni  
herself steadily run-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 20) geeluki-# bimi ere-w n'egd'eke-w hōt'-te-n  
wolf-NOM TOP this-ACC elk-cow-ACC chase-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 21) Tačin nam-na mudan hulu-n  
like this sea-LOC edge chase-NONFUT:3SG
- (t: 22) Erek n'egd'eke-# nam-na uju-sn-id'i  
this elk-cow-NOM sea-LOC swim-MOM-ANT CON  
kalim oo-d-ni  
whale become-NONFUT-3SG
- (t: 23) Tiwömi öterep beji-l-# tooki n'aan bučeke  
therefore long ago man-PL-NOM elk and musk-deer  
d'ugu-li-n tačimur ukčēn-gere-r  
about-PROL-3SG like this tell-ITER-NONFUT:3PL
- (t: 24) Tooki-lkan bučeke-# nōgenur-el  
elk-PROPR musk-deer-NOM brother and sister-PL
- (t: 25) Tooki n'aan bučeke korata-#-tan, kökčēn-#-ten,  
elk and musk-deer ear-NOM-3PL hoof-NOM-3PL  
böödel-#-ten, ingata-#-tan ureči-l  
legs-NOM-3PL fell-NOM-3PL similar-PL

### 10.3. Free translation

#### A legend about an elk-cow and her children

[Once upon a time] on a big mountain ridge there lived an elk-cow. This elk-cow had two children. Although her children were twins, one of them was somewhat bigger than the other. Once, as they lived there, a wolf came and began to chase the elk-cow. He was chasing her for a long time. One of her children, getting tired, began to fall behind. When the elk-cow reached a mountain ridge, she said to one child: "Hide yourself under the roots of the fallen tree. Let these mountains be the land of elks. Let you be (stay) the elk forever!" Thus one of her children hid himself under the root of a fallen tree and stayed there. When the elk-cow reached a big steep slope of another mountain, she left there her other child, saying: "My child, you stay on this (northern) slope of the mountain. You become a musk-deer. Let musk-deer own this land forever!" Thus, blessing her children, the elk-cow left them and ran away. As for the wolf, he kept chasing the elk-cow. He chased her to the sea shore. The elk-cow began to swim (jumped into) in the sea and finally became a whale. Therefore people used to tell this about the elk and the musk-deer: they are brother and sister. That's why they are alike. Their ears, hoofs, legs, fur all is alike.

## 11. Bibliography

### 11.1. Preliminary notes

This chapter includes as its two major parts the sections "References" and "Bibliography on Even". The first part lists all the sources referred to in the present paper, both works of typological character and studies on Even. As for the latter, the reader is further referred to "Bibliography on Even", presented below. The present bibliography on Even is not comprehensive. First, it is confined to works exclusively on Even and therefore disregards all papers dealing with Tungusic languages in general (e.g., comparative studies). A useful typologically oriented introduction to the field of Manchu-Tungus, as well as Altaic, studies, containing the relevant literature, is presented by B. Comrie (1981). Secondly, the present bibliography contains only monograph studies on Even, in particular, all monograph studies on Even grammar. Exceptions have been made for a few articles written in languages more accessible for a western reader, than Russian. The early literature on Even is given in (Benzing 1955). The recent literature on the Even language, as well as folklore and anthropology, is now available in (Petrov 1991).

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## 12. Abbreviations

A	attribute	LOC	locative (case)
ABL	ablative (case)	MED	medio-passive
ACC	accusative (case)	MOM	momentative (aspect)
AD	adversative (suffix)	NEC	necessitative (converb)
ADC	adversative construction	NEG	negative
AL	alienable (possession)	NOM	nominative
ANT	anterior (converb)	NONFUT	nonfuture (tense)
AR	Attribute Raising	NP	noun phrase
CAUS	causative (suffix)	NPrel	relativized NP
CLIT	clitic	OO	oblique object
COM	comitative (case)	PART	participle
CON	converb	PAST	past
COND	conditional (converb)	PERF	perfect
DAT	dative (case)	PL	plural
DEMIN	deminutive (suffix)	POL	polite (imperative)
DES	designative (case)	POS	possessive (suffix)
DIR	directive (case)	PRE	preceding (converb)
DIR-L	directive-locative (case)	PROGR	progressive
DIR-P	directive-prolative (case)	PROL	prolative (case)
DIRECT	directional (aspect)	PROPR	propriative (suffix)
DISTR	distributive (aspect)	PURP	purposive (converb)
DO	direct object	RC	relative clause
ELAT	elative (case)	RCC	reciprocal construction
EQU	equative (case)	RCP	reciprocal pronoun
EXC	exclusive (pronoun)	REC	reciprocal (suffix)
FUT	future	REF	reflexive (ending)
HABIT	habitual (aspect)	REM	remote (imperative)
HP	Head Property	RES	resultative (aspect)
IMP	imperative	REST	restrictive (clitic)
INC	inclusive (pronoun)	SG	singular
INDEF	indefinite (clitic)	SIM	simultaneous (converb)
INST	instrumental (case)	SS	surface subject
INT	intransitive	SU	subject
INTENS	intensity (adjectival marker)	SUBJ	subjunctive (mood)
IO	indirect object	TERM	terminative (converb)
IRC	internal RC	TOP	topic (marker)
IS	initial subject	TR	transitive
ITER	iterative	#	zero marker

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