To Dr. George Soros –
a person who is as fascinating
and mysterious as any human
language, with deep gratitude
for his generous support of
Russian science and
education.

Nedjalkov Igor

11. October 1997

Evenki

Evenki is one of nine Tungusic languages spoken in Siberia and Northern China. This book gives the first ever complete description of all this language's linguistic domains. Evenki is remarkable both for the vast area where it is spoken – from Western Siberia to the Amur regions and from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to Northern China – and for its immense number of dialects and subdialects.

Description of Evenki syntax and rich verbal and nominal morphology forms the main base of this text. More than two dozen non-finite verb forms are analysed in detail in sections devoted to subordination, and a variety of postpositions and locative cases fulfilling various adverbial functions are dealt with in relevant sections. Lexical groups are presented together with the basic Evenki vocabulary. Main findings of research here include the complete semantic analysis of the verb forms derived by means of the productive passive marker, and detailed investigation of tense and aspect verb forms. These investigations enabled the author to give the complete morpheme ordering rule for Evenki verb form.

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Editorial statement

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglocentrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

Evenki

Igor Nedjalkov



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y /ɯ/ close back unrounded vowel, found in Russian, cf. *ryba* 'fish'
zh /ʒ/ lamino-postalveolar voiced fricative, as in French *jeune*

Palatization is always represented by an apostrophe following a consonant.
Long vowels are orthographically indicated by being followed by a colon and by the symbol : in phonemic representations.
Upper-case vowels denote the existence of vowel harmony variants.
Italics in Evenki examples indicate tone peaks or emphasis.

Abbreviations

0	zero morpheme
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
abl	ablative case
accd	accusative definite
accin	accusative indefinite
act	active voice
adj	adjective
adjzr	adjectivizer
alien	alienable possession
all	allative case
anticaus	anticausative
aor	aorist
att	attributive
aux	auxiliary
C	consonant
caus	causative
clt	clitic
cmpr	comparative
com	comitative
cond	conditional mood
cont	continuous
conv	converb
cop	copula
dat	dative-locative case
detr	detransitivizer
dim	diminutive
dir	directional case ('towards')
ds	different subject
dstr	distributive
dur	durative aspect
elat	elative case
eqt	equative form
eval	evaluation
exc	exclusive
freq	frequentative
fut	future
hab	habitual aspect
hort	hortative mood
hyp	hypothetical mood
immfut	immediate future
imp	imperative mood
impf	imperfect tense
impr	impersonal
impv	imperfective aspect
inal	inalienable possession
inc	inclusive
inch	inchoative
ind	indicative mood
ingr	ingressive aspect
instr	instrumental case
int	interrogative
intr	intransitive
intrzr	intranzitivizer
ints	intensive
ips	impersonal passive
iter	iterative aspect
locall	locative-allative case
locdir	locative-directive case
masc	masculine
mod	modal
monimp	monitory-imperative mood
n	noun

neg	negative	pst	past
nfin	non-finite	purp	purposive
nfut	non-future	recp	reciprocal
nom	nominative case	res	resultative
nr	nominalizer	rvrs	reversive
oblg	obligative mood	sg	singular
opt	optative mood	sim	similarity
part	participle	smlf	semelfactive aspect
pass	passive	soc	sociative
pf	perfect	stat	stative
pl	plural	subj	subjunctive mood
plup	pluperfect	sup	superlative
poss	personal (non-reflexive) possessive	tr	transitive
		trr	transitivizer
prefl	reflexive possessive	v	verb
prob	probability	V	vowel
proc	processive	voc	vocative case
prog	progressive aspect	vol	volitional
prol	prolative case	vr	verbalizer
prs	present		

Subscripts *i* and *j* are used to distinguish (pro)nominal referents.

Introduction

Evenki (*Evedy turen*, lit. 'the Evenki language'; or *Iledy turen* 'human language') is one of eight Tungusic languages spoken in Siberia and the Far East of Asiatic Russia. Evenki belongs to the Northern Tungusic subgroup, the closest cognate languages being Negidal, Solon and Even (Lamut). There is also the Southern Tungusic subgroup which comprises five languages (Nanai or Gol'dy, Oroch, Uilta or Orok, Udehe and Ul'cha). Manchu (with its dialect Sibo) and Solon are the two members of the Tungus-Manchu group, which are spoken outside of Russia (in China). The time-depth of the split-up of the Tungus-Manchu parent language, as the glotto-chronological method shows, is at least 2,000 years. At that time, as the comparative data show, proto-Tungusic dialects were closer to the modern Northern Tungusic languages, that is to Evenki and Even. It is probable that Even separated from the common unit at the same time as the dialects which became Manchu and Southern Tungusic languages – that is, that it did not separate after the Northern and Southern Tungusic dialects had formed.

Before 1930 Evenki was termed the Tungus language, and the people speaking this language were called 'Tungusy'. This term was never used by the Evenkis themselves: it is believed to have Chinese origin. According to the last census (1989) there are about 29,000 Evenkis living in the vast area of Siberia. Evenki is spoken in almost all parts of Siberia: from the Ob and Enisei regions in the west to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea and the island of Sakhalin in the east, and from the regions in the vicinity of the Arctic Ocean in the north to the Amur river in the south. Several thousand Evenkis live in northern China. There are three main language variants or sets of dialects which are further subdivided into approximately fifty dialects. The first variant is spoken in the northern parts of the Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk regions (for example the villages of Tura, Chirinda, Ekonda, Nakanno and Erbogachon). The second variant is spoken in the areas situated in the vicinity of Lake Baikal (for example the villages of Vanavara, Bajkit, and Poligus, and also some villages in Buryatia). The third variant is spoken in the Far Eastern part of Russia

(villages in the Khabarovsk and Vladivostok regions). Some 10,000 Evenkis live in different regions of the Saha-Yakutia Republic. The best preserved Evenki dialects are in the northern and in the eastern parts of Siberia. There are villages in those areas where Evenki is spoken even by children (for instance, Chirinda and Ekonda in the north, and Chumikan and Tugur in the east). In the Krasnoyarsk region there is the Evenki National District with the capital Tura situated on the banks of the Nizhn'aja (Lower) Tunguska river. This district has an area of about 770,000 square kilometres and a population of about 25,000 people. Only 2,500 of them are Evenkis. The so-called 'southern' dialect of Evenki is spoken in the southern part of the Evenki National District, for instance, in the villages of Vanavara, Chemdal'sk, Mutorai, Strelka-Chunja. The dialects spoken in these villages (and also in Bajkit and Poligus) have been considered since 1962 to be literary, in spite of the fact that they are less well preserved by comparison with the northern and the eastern dialects. In the areas where southern dialects are spoken mainly during fishing, hunting or reindeer-breeding, Evenkis under 30, as a rule, do not know their mother tongue except for a few words. It is also true that these 'southern' dialects are best described, since the best monographs on morphology (Konstantinova 1964; Lebedeva, Konstantinova and Monakhova 1979) and syntax (Kolesnikova 1966) were based on the data taken from the Poligus and Bajkit dialects.

Since Evenkis have been so widely dispersed for at least ten centuries, their dialects differ greatly, as far as phonetics and vocabulary are concerned. Grammatical phenomena are to a large extent common, though various dialects may differ, for instance, in tense and converbal paradigms. Evenkis belonging to one set of dialects understand each other without difficulty. Misunderstanding may appear between Evenkis belonging, say, to the northern and to the eastern groups of dialects. Sometimes a wife and a husband belonging to different dialects may even laugh at each other, because one word may mean different things in their dialects (for instance, *chipkan* may mean 'duck', 'sable', 'bear' or 'any animal'). The most characteristic difference in phonetics is the variation /s/ ~/h/. For instance, words beginning with *s* in the southern and in the eastern dialects begin with *h* in the northern dialects, for example Vanavara *sulaki* 'fox' – Nakanno *hulaki* 'fox', compare also *sa:-re-n/ha:-re-n* 'he/she knows'. Words having intervocal *s* in the southern dialects have intervocal *h* in the northern and the eastern dialects, for example Poligus *bi-si-n*/ Erbogachon *bi-hi-n* 'he/she is', compare also *e:sa/e:ha* 'eye', *esi/ehi* 'now'.

Lexical differences are very numerous and are well documented in Vasilevich (1958). Nowadays, Russian is spoken by almost all Evenkis. In Yakutia, Evenkis speak Yakut, and in Buryatia, Buryat. There is a large number of Russian loan-words in Evenki speech, since in almost all the areas where Evenki is spoken Russians are in the overwhelming majority.

Evenki is now taught in St Petersburg State Pedagogical University (Department of the Peoples of the Far North). After their graduation, young Evenki students teach either Russian language and literature or their mother tongue to Evenki children from 6 to 14 years of age.

Evenki has a written literature dating back to the early 1930s: folklore, novels, poetry, numerous translations from Russian and other languages, school textbooks for almost all classes, sometimes written by different authors for one level but for different dialects. There are several Evenki–Russian and Russian–Evenki dictionaries which are given in the References.

This book describes one of the southern dialects spoken in Vanavara, Mutorai and Strelka-Chunja since the author visited these areas in 1988. It has been mentioned already that these dialects are taken as a basis for the written (literary) language. A regional paper of the Evenki National District three times a week devotes one page to materials published in Evenki (fairy tales, riddles, stories, translations of official documents, etc.). It should be noted, that it is not easy even for educated Evenkis (and, of course, for children at schools) in the north and in the east to get used to quite unusual ways of coding their native language, since these ways reflect all phonetic, lexical and, what is most important, unfamiliar grammatical properties characterizing almost all the nominal and verbal categories. It would be desirable to have at least three standards for Evenki (northern, southern and eastern), and, perhaps, one more standard for the Evenkis living in Yakutia. But of course this requires much preparatory work and means.

Since 1932, the Evenki orthography has been based on the Russian. Before that time it was based on the Latin alphabet. Evenki possesses a rich system of suffixal derivation. In fact, Evenki is the richest language of the Tungus-Manchu group as far as the number of suffixal morphemes is concerned. The closest languages to Evenki are Negidal (spoken on the Amur river by about 200 people) and Solon (spoken in Inner Mongolia, China).

Undoubtedly, the Negidals and the Solons were previously Evenki tribes. Any person who knows Evenki can read Negidal texts without difficulty, since these languages share the most important grammatical features and a large part of their vocabulary. It is true, however, that Negidal has been influenced to some extent by the Southern Tungusic languages (for example Ul'cha) which are spoken in the vicinity. The Solons called themselves 'Evenki', which proves that they are formed from some southern Evenki tribe which lived to the south of Lake Baikal. Some 300 hundred years ago this tribe was taken by the Manchus to China to serve in the Manchurian army. Since then Solon has undergone considerable influence by Chinese and Manchu. There are many grammatical phenomena of common origin in the Tungusic languages (for

example, markers of main cases, some tense and mood suffixes), to say nothing of hundreds of common words. Still mutual comprehension between different languages is absolutely excluded.

REPRESENTATION OF EVENKI EXAMPLES

In the examples presented in the book, morpheme boundaries within words are marked by a hyphen; sometimes bases and suffixes are not broken down in cases when morphemic analysis is irrelevant. Affixes cited in isolation are preceded by a hyphen. Individual morphemes frequently show varying forms due to the vowel harmony and the consonants preceding the suffix. Nominals not marked in the glosses for case or number should be understood as nominative and singular. A verb stem without any suffixes cannot function as an autonomous verb form (compare a pure verb stem in Turkic languages, which may function as an imperative mood form).

Chapter 1

Syntax

1.1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. Direct and reported speech

1.1.1.1.1. Syntagmatic means

These are the predominant ways of expressing indirect speech, and involve verbs of reporting followed by object clauses with participial verb forms. The latter are in fact ordinary noun clauses (see 1.1.2.2.3 for the expression of indirect statements), formed by one of three participles:

simultaneous participle in *-d'Ari* (see 2.1.3.5) is used when the reported action is simultaneous with that of the main verb, as in (1);
perfect participle in *-nA* (see 2.1.3.5) is used when the reported action is anterior to that of the main verb, as in (2) and (3);
posterior participle in *-d'AngA* (see 2.1.3.5) is used when the reported action is posterior to that of the main verb, as in (4).

(1) Bejetken gun-e-n min-tyki amin-in
boy say-nfut-3sg I-all father-3sg.poss

eme-d'eri-ve-n.
come-part-accd-3sg.poss
'The boy told me that his father was coming.'

(2) Asatkan amaka-duk-vi hanngukta-ra-n ile-vel
girl grandfather-abl-prefl ask-nfut-3sg where-clt

enin-me-n suru-m-ne-ve-tyn.
mother-accd-3sg.poss go.away-caus-part-accd-3pl.poss
'The girl asked her grandfather where they had led away her mother to.'

(3) Nungan ulguchen-che-n d'a-l-va-n
he say-pst-3sg relative-pl-accd-3sg.poss

va-ne-va-tyn.
kill-part-accd-3pl.poss
'He said that they had killed his relatives.'

(4) Asi silba-ra-n tyma:tne d'u-la-vi
woman promise-nfut-3sg tomorrow home-all-prefl

suru-d'enge-ve-n.
go.away-part-accd-3sg.poss
'The woman promised/said that tomorrow she would go home.'

Participles of these three taxis types (of simultaneity, of anteriority, and of posteriority) in complement clauses of this type always take the suffix *-vA* of the definite accusative case plus the possession affixes marking person and number of the agent of action expressed by the participle. Markers of personal possession (but not of reflexive possession!) are used with participles in the constructions of this type with both coreferential and non-coreferential agents.

All verbs of reporting (perhaps due to the influence of Russian) may also take indicative mood forms, especially when a conjunction is used (which comes from a question-word with the meanings 'when', 'where' and the like (see also 1.1.2.2.3 and 1.1.2.2.4 for indirect statements and indirect questions respectively):

(5) Alagumni nungan-man gun-e-n i:du nungan
teacher he-accd say-nfut-3sg where he

in-d'ere-n.
live-prs-3sg
'The teacher told him where he (either the teacher or the addressee) lived.'

(6) Girki-v hanngukta-ra-n o:kin enin-mi
friend-1sg.poss ask-nfut-3sg when mother-prefl

eme-d'e-n.
come-fut-3sg
'My friend asked when would my mother come.'

1.1.1.1.2. Enclitic

Texts recorded in the 1920s and 1930s contain constructions with indirect speech involving the converbal form in *-nA* of the verb *gun-* 'say' – *gunne/gune* (lit. 'saying'/'having said'), used immediately after the

direct speech phrase (compare the Turkic element *d'eb* lit. 'having said' used in subordinate clauses of the analogous type), compare:

(7) a. Bi d'u-la-vi ngene-d'e-m.
I home-all-prefl go-fut-1sg
'I shall go home.'

(7) b. Nungan d'u-la-vi ngene-d'e-m gunne
he home-all-prefl go-fut-1sg saying

suru-re-n.
go.away-nfut-3sg
'Saying that he will go home, he left.'
(lit. 'He, saying "I shall go home" went away.')

(8) a. Ekun-duk eme-che-s?
what-abl come-pst-2sg
'Where did you come from?'

(8) b. Tar beje ekun-duk eme-che-s gunne ngene-che-n.
that man what-abl come-pst-2sg saying go-pst-3sg
'Asking where he had come from, that man went away.'

1.1.1.1.3. Direct speech

Direct speech is introduced by a verb of saying or asking, etc. either following or preceding the quoted phrase:

(9) Kungaka-r eri-d'ere-0: 'Ama d'u-la-vi eme-d'ere-n!'
child-pl shout-prs-3pl father home-all-prefl come-prs-3sg
'The children shout: "Father is coming home!"'

(10) Taduk asi hanngukta-l-la-n: 'Evedy-ve turen-me
then woman ask-ingr-nfut-3sg Evenki-accd language-accd

sa:-0-nni?'
know-nfut-2sg
'Then the woman began to ask: "Do you know the Evenki language?"'

1.1.1.2. Interrogative sentences

There are two main types of interrogative sentences. The first includes a part of yes–no questions with finite verb forms taking the same morphological markers as the declarative (positive) verb forms, but differentiated from the latter only by intonational pattern. The second includes a part of yes–no questions and all question-word questions, one of the nominal or verbal (or other) components of which takes the interrogative particle

-gu/-ku/-ngu/-vu 'if/whether'. The interrogative form cannot be produced by altering word order.

1.1.1.2.1. Yes–no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral Neutral yes–no questions, as a rule, combine ordinary positive sentence with a high-pitch intonation pattern, the tone peak being much higher than that of the positive utterance. (Italics in Evenki examples indicate tone peaks or emphasis.)

(11) a. Nungartyn mo*ty*-va va:-re-0 (syllable *ty* contains the tone
they elk-accd kill-nfut-3pl peak)
'They killed the elk.'
(the intonation is low in the end)

(11) b. Nungartyn mo*ty-va va*:-re-0? (the intonation rises higher
they elk-accd kill-nfut-3pl than in (11a))
'Did they kill the elk?'

The focus, as a rule, attracts the intonational nucleus on to itself, the intonational contour being higher and more prolonged than that of the corresponding positive sentence, as in:

(12) Si bira-va *d'av-it* dag-cha-s? (segment *d'av-it* is the
you river-accd boat-instr cross-pst-2sg nucleus)
'Did you cross the river by boat?'

(13) Homoty hu*te-chi* bi-che-n?
bear child-com be-pst-3sg
'Was the bear with a bear-cub?'

If one of the elements is emphasized the word order, which is in general very flexible, may change:

(14) *Er urikit-tu* amin-ni bi-d'e-ngki-n?
this camp-dat father-2sg.poss be-impv-hab.pst-3sg
'Did your father (really) live *in this camp of nomads*?'

(15) Adul-il-va *si* gene-che-s?
fish.net-pl-accd you bring-pst-2sg
'Did *you* bring the fishing nets?'

With the declarative (falling) intonation, the four last constructions ((12)–(15)) without any morphological changes would correspondingly mean 'You crossed the river by boat', 'The bear was with a bear cub', 'Your father lived in this camp of nomads' (as if revealing a secret), 'You brought the fishing nets'.

Verbless yes–no questions have the same features:

(16) Alap*chu*-kakun ollo?
tasty-ints fish
'Is the fish tasty?'

(17) Tar *sin*ngi oron-ni?
that your reindeer-2sg.poss
'Is that your reindeer?'

(18) Sinngi pektyrevun-ni *aja*?
your gun-2sg.poss good
'Is your gun good?'

(19) *Eru*-meme locho:ko?
bad-ints saddle
'Is this saddle bad?'

Yes–no question intonation in such sentences in fact resembles an exaggerated declarative intonation with the rise of the intonation and final fall. Interrogative intonation with sharp final rise may only be found in cases when the speaker expresses surprise:

(20) Si er dukuvun-ma ga-*cha*-s?
you this book-accd buy-pst-2sg
'Have you (really) bought this book?'
(i.e. 'Did you really manage to buy this book?')

As in the last example, the word order of yes–no questions is usually the same as in the corresponding declarative sentences (SOV), but in the case of stress the direct object may take the first position (OSV), or the predicate may take the second position (SVO), as in (21) and (22):

(21) Er dukuvun-ma *si* ga-cha-s?
this book-accd you buy-pst-2sg
'Did *you* buy this book?'

(22) Si *ga-cha-s* er dukuvun-ma?
you *buy-pst-2sg* this book-accd
'Did you *buy* this book?'

Very often the subject is omitted when it expresses the addressee, compare:

(23) Chajty-mu-d'a-nn'e?
drink.tea-vol-prs-2sg
'Do you want to drink tea?'

(24) Tara-ve beje-ve sa:-0-nni?
that-accd man-accd know-nfut-2sg
'Do you know that man?'

An interrogative enclitic *-gu/-ku/-ngu/-vu* is often added to the verb form or more rarely to the nominal part of the question, but it never attracts the intonational nucleus on to itself:

(25) Ted'e-re-n-ngu?
believe-nfut-3sg-clt
'Did/does he believe it?'

(26) Er dukuvun-me tang-cha-s-ku?
this letter-accd read-pst-2sg-clt
'Did you read this letter?'

1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading

1.1.1.2.1.2.1. Expecting the answer 'yes': There is no structural distinction between neutral yes–no questions with no expectation as to a positive as opposed to a negative answer and leading yes–no questions which do have such an expectation. The only possible difference is perhaps in the corresponding intonational patterns, and also the use of certain enclitics (including those borrowed from Russian, for example, *vid/mɨt* coming from Russian *ved'* 'but really'/'but in fact'), for example:

(27) Bi tar-va sin-du *bu:*-che-v-vit?
I that-accd you-dat give-pst-1sg-clt
'Haven't I given that to you?'

(28) Si nungan-man sa:-0-nni-vit?
you he-accd know-nfut-2sg-clt
'Don't you know him?'

An overtly leading 'request for confirmation' may be expressed by an interrogative sentence with adverbs *tug'e* 'really/so', *ke* 'well', *esile* 'and now' and/or enclitic *-gu/-ku/-ngu/-vu*. Such utterances have the declarative intonational contour with the usual low rise-fall. The speaker wants the addressee to agree with him:

(29) Ke, esile gerbi-ve-n sa:-0-nne-gu?
well now name-accd-3sg.poss know-nfut-2sg-clt
'Well, and now you (surely) know his name, don't you?'

The next example shows the possibility of imperative/optative verb forms to be used in yes–no questions. The intonational contour in these cases may have low rise in the end, as in:

(30) Ke, d'ukte suru-get?
well two.of.us go.away-1pl.imp
'Well, shall we go, two of us?'

1.1.1.2.1.2.2. Expecting the answer 'no': Leading yes–no questions of this type, as a rule, contain negative verb forms. Such utterances usually express annoyance or surprise, compare:

(31) Si tynive-vit tatkit-tula e-che-s suru-re?
you yesterday-clt school-all neg.aux-pst-2sg go.away-part
'You didn't go to school yesterday, did you?'

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative questions The predominant means of expressing alternative questions is by linking two verbs or nominals in apposition, each of the two elements having the interrogative enclitic *-gu/-ku/-ngu/-vu*. In the case of two verb combinations the second verb is, as a rule, the conjugated negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .':

(32) Eme-d'e-n-ngu ele tar asi, e-te-n-ngu?
come-fut-3sg-clt here that woman neg.aux-fut-3sg-clt
'I wonder, if that woman will come here or not.'
(lit. 'Will that woman come here or not?')

(33) Tar asatkan songo-d'oro-n-ngu, in'ekte-d'ere-n-ngu?
that girl cry-prs-3sg-clt laugh-prs-3sg-clt
'Is that girl crying or laughing?'

(34) Inmek-tu-s burduka-vu, kolobo-vu?
bag-dat-2sg.poss flour-clt bread-clt
'Is there flour or bread in your bag?'

Alternative questions both with and without a question-word, as a rule, have the declarative intonation pattern. Still it is common in this type of questions to use higher pitch on the first contrasting constituent and relatively lower on the second one:

(35) *Anty*-va oron-mo va:-cha-s, bur*gume*-ve-vu,
what-accd reindeer-accd kill-pst-2sg fat-accd-clt

chulbikan-me-vu?
lean-accd-clt
'What (kind of) reindeer did you kill, fat or lean?'

(36) Si *i'le* ngene-d'e-nni, d'u-*la-vi*-gu, tatkit-tula-gu?
you where go-prs-2sg home-all-prefl-clt school-all-clt
'Where are you going, home or to school?'/'Are you going home or to school?'

1.1.1.2.2. Question-word questions

Question-words are listed below under 2.1.2.6.1.1 and 2.1.2.6.2. As a rule, they take the initial position in the question. Much more rarely, they

appear in the second position after the subject or the object of the question in cases when these components are stressed. Verbs following question-words never take the interrogative enclitic *-gu/-ku/-ngu/-vu*, unless they are followed by another verb, which is, as a rule, negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .'. The latter then repeats the tense/agreement form of the main verb and both verb forms may take the interrogative enclitic (see (40)). Question-word questions usually take declarative intonation with a rise over the question-word. If the subject is the addressee, it is usually omitted. If the object or the adverbial modifier are questioned by a question-word, then the word order is inverted, that is, either O(S)V or Adverbial modifier (S)(O)V respectively:

(37) *I:duk* eme-che-s?
where.from come-pst-2sg
'Where did you come from?'

(38) O:kin si dukuvun-ma min-du ung-d'e-nni?
when you letter-accd I-dat send-fut-2sg
'When will you send me a letter?'

(39) E:da e-che-s eme-re?
why neg.aux-pst-2sg come-part
'Why didn't you come?'

(40) Si e-ja-val tang-cha-s-ku, e-che-s-ku?
you anything-accin-clt read-pst-2sg-clt neg.aux-pst-2sg-clt
'Did you read anything or not?'

The verbal/nominal interrogative stem *e:-* 'what to do?'/'what?'(much narrower than the negative verb stem *e-* 'not to . . .') has a wide range of interrogative uses, for example:

(41) E:-d'ara-n?
what.to.do-prs-3sg
'What is (s)he doing?'

(42) E:-ra-n tatkit-tu?
what.to.do-nfut-3sg school-dat
'What did (s)he do at school?'

Various verbal question-words are formed with the help of the stem *e:-* which is conjugated like any other verb. The most frequent are the converbal forms expressing purpose *e:-da* 'why?'/'for what purpose?', *e:-vuna* 'why?'/'for what purpose?'/'with what aim?', and derivational stem *e:-ma-* 'go/come for what purpose?':

(43) E:da e-che-s i:-re?
why neg.aux-pst-2sg enter-part
'Why didn't you come in?'/'Why didn't you enter?'

(44) E:vuna nungartyn bira-tki suru-re-0?
why they river-locall go-nfut-3pl
'For what purpose did they go to the river?'

(45) E:ma-d'e-nni nungar-dula-tyn, beje?
why.go-prs-2sg they-all-3pl man
'Man, why are you going to them?'

The same stem *e:-* forms a few nominal question-words: *e:-t/e:-t-pi* (*-t* – instrumental case marker; *-pi* < *-vi* – marker of the singular reflexive possesion) 'why?', *e:-kun* (*-kun* – intensifier) 'who/what', *e:-nun* (*-nun* – comitative marker) 'with whom', *e:-va* (*-va* – definite accusative marker) 'what/why', *e:kun-duk* (*-duk* – ablative case marker) 'from whom'/'from where', *e:-ja* (*-ja* – indefinite accusative marker) 'what', *e:-l-a-n* (*-l* – intervocalic element, *-a* – indefinite accusative marker, *-n* – 3sg.poss) 'What is prepared (destined) for him?' (lit.) 'what for him?', *e:-t-par* (*-t* – instrumental case marker, *-par* < *-var* – marker of the plural reflexive possession) 'with what?', *e:ku-ma/e:ku-dy* (from *e:kun* 'who/what', *-ma* and *-dy* adjective-forming suffixes) 'what?'/'what kind of?', *e:kun-ngi* (*-ngi* – old unproductive genitive case marker) 'whose?', *e:-*lasa (*-lasa* – suffix used for forming names of the seasons) 'in what season of the year?', *e:kun-di-vi/ e:kun-di-ver* (*-di* – instrumental case marker, *-vi/-ver* markers of reflexive possession) 'by what means?', for example:

(46) E:kun tari (bi-si-n)? (the verb form is here optional)
who/what that (be-prs-3sg)
'What is that/this?'/'Who is that/this?'

(47) Si e:kun-ma edu o:-d'a-nni?
you what-accd here do-prs-2sg
'What are you doing here?'

(48) E:kuma-va su:n-me tet-te-n?
what-accd coat-accd put.on-nfut-3sg
'What coat did (s)he put on?'

(49) Tar oron e:kun-ngi?
that reindeer who-poss
'Whose is that reindeer?'

(50) E:-nun ngorcha-mat-cha-nni? (*-cha* < *-d'a* after *-t-*)
what-com fight-recp-prs-2sg
'With whom are you fighting/wrestling?'

(51) E:-t-par guluvun-me ila-d'a-p?
what-instr-prefl fire-accd kindle-fut-1pl.exc
'What shall we kindle the fire with?'

1.1.1.2.2.1. Elements of the sentence which can be questioned

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. Constituents of the main clause: Any constituent of the main clause can be questioned: subject, object, verb, attribute, adverbial modifiers, such as instrument, time, location, purpose, comitative, manner, and any other oblique-case argument (examples for some of these types are given in 1.1.1.2.2). Below I give some additional examples.

(52) *Subject questioned*
Ngi tadu ngene-d'ere-n?
who there go-prs-3sg
'Who is going there?'

(53) *Direct object questioned*
E:-va genno-sin-che-s?
what-accd bring-smel-pst-2sg
'What did you go to fetch?'

(54) *Manner/means questioned*
O:n si d'av-ja o:-d'a-nni?
how you boat-accin make-prs-2sg
(lit.) 'How do you make a boat (i.e., boats)?'

(55) *Location questioned*
Amin-ni i:du bi-d'ere-n?
father-2sg.poss where be-prs-3sg
'Where does your father live?'

The question-word must always be overt.

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. Constituents of subordinate clauses: This type of question is not found.

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. Constituents of noun phrases: All the constituents of the noun phrase other than the head noun may be questioned: a relative clause, possessor, adjectival modifiers, agent (in the dative case) of the participial construction, for example:

(56) Tar e:-d'ari beye?
that what.to.do-part man
'What is that man doing?'
(lit. 'That doing-what man?')

(57) E:kun asatkan eme-re-n?
what girl come-nfut-3sg
'Who is that girl, who came?'

(58) Tar ngi-ngi d'u bi-si-n?
that who-poss house be-prs-3sg
'Whose house is that?'

(59) Ir d'u kaltaka-n ajavu-0-nne?
which house half-3sg.poss like-prs-2sg
'Which half (part) of the house do you like (best)?'

(60) Ngi-du va:-v-cha oron tadu hukle-d'ere-n?
who-dat kill-pass-part reindeer there lie-prs-3sg
'Who killed the reindeer lying there?'
(lit. 'By whom killed reindeer lies there?')

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. Constituents of postpositional phrases: Nominal elements (either nouns or pronouns) standing before the postpositions can be questioned by means of the question-words *e:kun* 'who/what' or *ngi* 'who', compare:

(61) ngi d'arin
who for
'for whom?'

(62) e:kun daga-du-n
what near-dat-3sg.poss
'near what/where?'

(63) e:kun d'ule-du-n
what front-dat-3sg.poss
'in front of what?'

(64) e:kun do:-du-n
what inside-dat-3sg.poss
'in(side) what?'

See the list of postpositions in 2.1.1.5.2–20.

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. Constituents of coordinate structures: This type of question does not seem to occur at all. However, it is theoretically possible to form such an echo-question:

(65) Nungan Hovoko-nun taduk e:-nun evi-d'ere-n?
he hovoko-com then who-com play-prs-3sg
'He is playing with Hovoko, and with who else?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. More than one element questioned: More than one constituent in a sentence may not be questioned. Such combinations of question-words (either with a conjunction or without it; either together or separated by other elements), as *i:du* (*taduk*) *o:kin* 'where and when?', *ngi* (*taduk*) *e:kun* 'who and what?' never occur in Evenki.

1.1.1.2.2.2. Properties of the questioned element The questioned element occupies the same position as in the corresponding declarative sentence or the noun phrase. If the question-word is lacking, the questioned element always forms the intonation nucleus, being pronounced with the higher pitch, as compared with the declarative sentence (see examples (11)–(24)). In the case of emphasis the direct object (and even the predicate, see (66)) can be moved to the first position of the question (OSV / V(S)O), which may also happen in declarative sentences. So the characteristic properties of the questioned element are its tone pitch and / or the interrogative enclitic *-gu / -ku / -ngu / -vu*, compare:

(66) *Categorical question*
Bu:-d'enge-s-ku min-du oro-r-vo?
give-fut-2sg-clt I-dat reindeer-pl-accd
'Will you give me the reindeer (or not)?

1.1.1.2.3. Echo-questions

This type of question is not recorded in texts and is rare in speech. It is, however, theoretically possible and questions of such type are identical in structure with yes–no or question-word questions.

1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes–no echo-questions If the addressee wishes to ask for clarification on what the speaker has just said he or she may repeat any element of the previous sentence through an echo-question. This element may take an interrogative enclitic and always forms the intonational nucleus with the highest pitch possible:

(67) (Bi d'u-la-vi tegemi suru-d'e-m.) Tege*mi*
(I home-all-prefl tomorrow go-fut-1sg) tomorrow

gun-d'e-nni? E:-e:
say-prs-2sg yes-yes
('I shall go home tomorrow morning.') 'You say, tomorrow?'
'Yes, yes.'

Questions of this kind function both as confirmation-eliciting utterances and as questions expressing incomprehension, for example:

(68) (Nungan hava-la-i suru-re-n.)
(he work-all-prefl go-nfut-3sg

Suru-re-n-ngu, e-che-n-ngu? E:-e:
go-nfut-3sg-clt neg.aux-pst-3sg-clt yes-yes
('He went to work.')
'Did he go or not?' 'Yes-yes.'

1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo-questions A question-word forms the intonation nucleus, taking higher pitch, as compared to the ordinary question:

(69) (Bi girki-vi iche-che-v.) E:kun-ma iche-che-s?
(I friend-preflsee-pst-1sg) who-accd see-pst-2sg
('I saw my friend.') 'Whom did you see?'

(70) (Bejumimni agi-la ngene-re-n) I:le ngene-re-n?
(hunter forest-all go-nfut-3sg) where go-nfut-3sg
('The hunter went to the forest.') 'Where did he go?'

1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes–no question echo-questions Yes–no questions, as a rule, may not be questioned, since corresponding echo-questions sound very strange, if the main verb has a present or a future tense form. They sound less strange in the case of the main verb in the past tense. Such echo-questions have the same patterns as above: questions are repeated with necessary changes in agreement and also with the rising intonation at the end, as in:

(71) (Homo:ty-va agi-du iche-che-s?)
(bear-accd forest-dat see-pst-2sg?)

Homo:ty-va iche-che-v, gun-0-ni? Eche-eche.
(bear-accd see-pst-1sg say-nfut-2sg no-no
('Did you see a bear in the forest?')
'You ask, if I saw a bear? No.'

1.1.1.2.3.4. Question-word question echo-questions This type of question sounds more natural than yes–no question echo-questions. It has the same structure as ordinary question-word questions with necessary agreement changes and different intonation contour (rising intonation at the end of the question), for example:

(72) (I:duk eme-che-s?) I:duk/eme-*che*-v?
(from-where come-pst-2sg) from-where come-pst-1sg

Turu-duk.
Tura-abl
('Where did you come from?') 'Where did I come from?
From Tura.'

(73) (Ollo-jo d'ev-che-s?) Ollo-jo D'ev-*che*-v gun-0-ni?
(*fish-accin eat-pst-2sg fish-accin eat-pst-1sg say-nfut-2sg*

D'ev-kun.
eat-c/t
('Did you eat fish?') 'You ask, if I ate fish? Of course, I ate some.'

1.1.1.2.3.5. Elements of the sentence subject to echo-questioning Any independent element of the sentence (subject, object, main verb, attribute, adverbial modifier) may be subject to echo-questioning, but not particles, enclitics and bound forms. It is also possible to echo-question subordinate clauses expressed either by a participial or converbal construction, or much more rarely by a finite subordinate clause. The main verb is never repeated in the latter cases:

(74) (Asa-l il-la-0 urke-du i:duk
(woman-pl stand-nfut-3pl door-dat from.where

hegdy-meme beje ju:-re-n.)
big-ints man go.out-nfut-3sg

Ngi ju:-re-n? Hegdy-meme beje.
who go.out-nfut-3sg big-ints man
('The women stopped at the door through which a very big man went out.')
'Who went out? A very big man.'

(75) (Asi eme-reki-n, beje suru-cho-n.)
(wife come-conv-3sg man go.away-pst-3sg)

Ngi eme-reki-n, gun-d'e-nni?
who come-conv-3sg say-prs-2sg
('The man went away after his wife had come.')
(lit.) 'After whose coming, do you say?'

1.1.1.2.3.6. Quantity of elements subject to echo-questioning It is not possible to echo-question more than one element at a time.

1.1.1.2.3.7. Questioning of different word-types There are no structural differences in echo-questioning of different elements (word-types) of either declarative sentences or questions.

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1. Answers as a distinct speech act Answers are not marked as

a distinct speech act as far as their word order and intonational contours are concerned. However, they display certain lexical peculiarities.

1.1.1.2.4.1.1. Answers to yes-no questions: There are at least four response particles expressing confirmation (*e:-e:* 'yes', *tug/tug'e* 'indeed/really', *ted'e* 'it's true', *sa:bel* 'really/indeed'), corresponding to 'yes' which may be used either after positive questions or to express agreement with a statement expressed by a negative yes–no question, as in (76):

(76) Bi sungta-li singilgen-duli alba-d'a-m ngene-d'e-mi?
I deep-prol snow-prol can.not-fut-1sg go-impv-conv

E:-e:
yes-yes
'Shall I not be able to go in deep snow?'
'No, you shan't.'

All the particles expressing confirmation, being different in meaning, in the majority of contexts requiring confirmation can be used interchangeably, and not only as responses to questions but also as a confirmation to positive utterances.

Enclitic *-kun* attached to the verb stem expresses an emphatic confirmation (see (73)):

(77) Si tar-va beje-ve sa:-0-nni? Sa:-kun.
you that-accd man-accd know-prs-2sg know-clt
'Do you know that man?' 'Of course, I know him.'/'Of course I do know him.'

This enclitic is used only after yes–no questions.

Conversely, *eche* 'no', *ete-* (plus person/number marker) 'no' (used for the negation of future situations), *atmama* 'no' and a nominal negative element *a:chin* 'no/none' are used to disagree with a statement expressed by a positive yes–no question, for example:

(78) Davla-d'a-p-ngu?
sing-fut-1pl-clt
'Let us sing.'
E-ta-m - e-ta-m. Bi sin-nun e-ta-m davla-d'a-ra
no-fut-1sg no-fut-1sg I you-com no-fut-1sg sing-impv-part

esi.
now
'No no (I will not). I will not sing with you now.'

Negative particles *eche* and *ete-* are in fact tense forms of the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .'. (For a detailed description of negation see 1.4.) The

former particle in spite of the presence of the past-tense marker *-che* can be used for negating not only past situations but also present and even future situations. Particle *atmama* 'no' is used as an emphatic negative particle formed from the negative form *ete-* and intensifier *-mama* 'very'. It is usually reduplicated:

(79) Nungartyn suru-re-0-vu? Atmama, atmama, eche-l
they go.away-nfut-3pl-clt no no no-pl
suru-re.
go.away-part
'Did they go away?' 'Not yet, not yet, they didn't go away.'

As for the negative nominal *a:chin* 'no/none' which may be declined as any other nominal (compare *a:chin-du-v* (no-dat-1sg.poss) 'without me'/'in my absence'), it may negate only existence or possession of an object, both concrete and abstract:

(80) Sin-du pektyrevun bi-si-n? A:chin.
you-dat gun be-prs-3sg no
'Do you have a gun?' 'No (I haven't).'

With all the particles (both positive and negative) the verb may be repeated in the appropriate mood form, either in the positive or in the negative form. Thus, in example (76) *e:-e:* 'yes' can be continued as follows:

(81) E:-e:, alba-d'a-nni.
yes cannot-fut-2sg
'You will not be able (to walk in deep snow).'

If a yes–no question includes demonstrative pronouns *er* 'this' and *tar* 'that' questioned together with their head nouns, then these pronouns may themselves function as confirmation particles. In this case they can be either reduplicated or take enclitic *-te*, compare:

(82) Er bejetken eme-che-n? Er/Er-te.
this boy come-pst-3sg this/this-clt
'Was that this boy who came?' 'This/Exactly this.'

(83) Tar atyrkan umuken bi-d'e-vki? tar/Tar–tar.
that old.woman alone be-impv-hab.part that/that–that
'Is that *that* old woman who lives alone?' 'Yes, it is.'

1.1.1.2.4.1.2. Answers to question-word questions: The usual answer to a question-word question consists only of a constituent questioned. This constituent takes the appropriate case, agreement or mood form which it

would take in a full utterance. Usually the answer does not contain more of the question than the questioned constituent; it is possible, however, to repeat the main verb, compare:

(84) I:du bi-cho-s? Turu-du
where be-pst-2sg Tura-dat

(bi-cho-v).
(be-pst-1sg)
'Where were you?'/'Where have you been?' '(I was) in Tura.'

(85) Ekudy-va mu:-ve eme-vu-0-nni? Bira-dy-va.
what-accd water-accd come-caus-nfut-2sg river-adjzr-accd
'What water did you bring?' 'From the river'/
'River water.'

(86) Ady oro-r tadu bi-si-0? Ilan-d'ar nadan.
how.many reindeer-pl there be-prs-3pl three-ten seven
'How many reindeer are there there?' 'Thirty seven.'

1.1.1.2.4.1.3. Answers to echo-questions: The typical answer to an echo-question is as that for an ordinary question, that is, with *e:-e:*, *tug/tug'e* or *eche* when a yes–no answer is required, or with the repetition of the questioned constituent in case of question-word questions.

1.1.1.2.4.1.4. Incomplete sentence answers: Answers are almost always incomplete, that is, not repeating the whole question (see examples above). In case of yes–no questions their positive answers may consist only of one verb form in the appropriate tense form:

(87) Si tar-va tyli-0-nni? Tyli-0-m.
you that-accd understand-nfut-2sg understand-nfut-1sg
'Did/Do you understand that?' 'Yes, I did/do.'

(88) Si mine sa:-cha-s? Sa:-cha-v.
you I-acc know-pst-2sg know-pst-1sg
'Did you know me?' 'Yes, I did.'

There are also two particles that are always used as independent answers: *sa:rep* 'I don't know' and *tylmetluver* 'This is not true.'/'These are only rumours.' The latter particle has the pejorative enclitic *-luver* (see 2.1.8.1.6.1.2). Answers to the alternative questions are always incomplete, that is, including only the chosen constituent. Answers to questions with purposive question-words *e:da/e:vuna/e:t/e:tpi* 'why'/'for what purpose'/'with what aim' are usually complete, though incomplete answers are also frequent. As the material above shows, there are words

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for 'yes' and 'no', but there is no word for 'maybe' (see examples (67), (68), (71)). The simplest expression of 'maybe' would consist of the main verb with either one of the mood markers expressing probability (see 2.1.3.4.8) or one of the enclitics with the same meaning.

1.1.1.3. Imperative sentences

1.1.1.3.1. Positive imperatives

Positive imperative forms are expressed predominantly by the imperative or optative mood inflections (see 2.1.3.4.3, 2.1.3.4.11 and 2.1.3.4.4 for these mood forms). There are two paradigms for the imperative mood (the categorical/nearest imperative and the polite/remote imperative), one monitory-imperative suffix (*-nA*) and one optative-mood paradigm. These paradigms do not overlap with each other. The intonational contour in all the forms of the imperative sentences is the rise fall with a marked final fall. Whereas the imperative forms proper (2sg and pl), as a rule, express commands or exhortations, the other person forms of the imperative and the optative mood usually express invitations, offers to perform a desired action. It is possible to have two verb forms in apposition, the first being in the imperative; and the second either in the optative or in the indicative mood:

(89) Si-ke eme-kel bi-ke eme-d'e-m.
you-clt come-2sg.imp I-clt come-fut-1sg
'You come, and I shall come.'

1.1.1.3.1.1. Person-number combinations All combinations of both intransitive and transitive subject forms are found for two imperative paradigms (that is, for three persons and two numbers; see 2.1.3.4.3):

(90) Purta-va-s min-du bu:-kel.
knife-accd-2sg.poss I-dat give-2sg.imp
'Give me your knife.'

(91) Eduk suru-kellu.
from.here go.away-2pl.imp
'Go away from here.'

(92) *Order*
Edu eme-gin.
here come-3sg.imp
'Let him come here.'/'Order him to come here.'

(93) *Order*
Nungartyn homo:ty-va va:-ktyn.
they bear-accd kill-3pl.imp
'Let them kill the bear.'

(94) Bi oro-r-vi baka-kta.
I reindeer-pl-prefl find-1sg.imp
'Let me find my reindeer.'/'I'll go and find my reindeer.'

1.1.1.3.1.2. Degrees of imperative The imperative forms have two paradigms: one of which expresses nearest future imperative (the action should be performed as soon as possible, without delay), the other one puts off the time of desired action (at least it does not denote that the action should be performed immediately). The former paradigm includes forms in *-ktA* (1sg), *-kAl* (2sg), *-gin* (3sg), *-vvun/-ktavun* (1pl.exc), *-gAt* (1pl.inc), *-kAllu* (2pl), *-ktyn* (3pl), the latter includes forms in *-nngA-* (for the first and the third persons singular and plural) and *-da-* (for the second person singular and plural). Only the forms of the latter paradigm take agreement endings, whereas the inflections of the first paradigm never combine with any personal endings. Some of the imperative markers of the first paradigm are fused, and include agreement markers, for example, *-gı-n* (*-n* – 3sg), *-kta-vun* (*-vun* – 1pl.exc), *-kal-lu* (*-lu* < *-sun*, 2pl), *-k-tyn* (*-tyn* – 3pl). Compare:

(95) a. D'u-la-vi himat eme-kel.
home-all-prefl quick(ly) come-2sg.imp
'Come quickly to my place.'

(95) b. D'u-la-vi (gochin) eme-de:-vi.
home-all-prefl (next.year) come-imp-prefl
'Come to my place (next year).'

This semantic difference between two imperatives (categorical/nearest vs polite/remote) should be considered as a tendency, a more likely interpretation, and not a strict rule. In many contexts they can be used interchangeably, but change of the first imperative for the second, as a rule, produces a softening of the imperative's force.

1.1.1.3.2. Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives for all persons are formed with the help of the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .', which takes the imperative inflexions of either the first paradigm (the nearest/categorical imperative) or the monitory-imperative mood (*e-ne* 'do not'). The notional (lexical) verb is added to the negative verb form, as always, in the fixed form of the participle in *-rA*. This affix never allows any other inflections after it, that is, it is word-final,

but allows voice and aspect/modality markers before it (see in detail in 1.4). The complete list of negative imperative forms is the following: *e-kte* (1sg), *e-kel* (2sg), *e-gin* (3sg), *e-ktevun* (1pl.exc), *e-get* (1pl.inc), *e-kellu* (2pl), *e-ktyn* (3pl); *e-ne* (2sg), *e-ne-l* (2pl; *-l* is the plural marker). The latter two forms belong to the monitory-imperative paradigm, and they are used only with the second person. As for the first paradigm, all combinations are possible for three persons and two numbers:

(96) Tala e-kel girku-ra.
there neg.aux-2sg.imp go-part
'Don't go there.'

(97) E-kellu ta:n-e d'u-du.
(*-e* < *-re*)
neg.aux-2pl.imp smoke-part home-dat
'Do not smoke in the house.'

(98) Tar beje e-gin eme-re.
that man neg.aux.-3sg.imp come-part
'Don't let that man come.'/(lit.) 'Let that man not come.'

(99) Esi mit oron-mi e-get sokor-ro.
now we reindeer-prefl neg.aux-1pl.inc.imp lose-part
'Now let us not lose our reindeer.'

(100) Nungartyn e-ktyn suru-re.
they neg.aux-3pl.imp go.away-part
'Don't let them go away.'/'They shouldn't go away.'

Negative monitory-imperative forms have a sense of warning against possible bad consequences:

(101) Goro-tki d'u-duk e-ne suru-re.
far-locall home-abl neg.aux-monimp.sg go.away-part
'Don't go far away from the house.'

The order to stop some action of an addressee may be expressed with the positive imperative form of the verb *ete-* 'finish/stop', as in:

(102) Ete-kel tan-d'a-mi.
stop-2sg.imp read-impv-conv
'Stop reading.'

A negative imperative may be strengthened by use of enclitic *-kenen* attached to the negative forms *ekel/ekellu*, for example:

(103) E-kel-kenen noda:-re!
neg.aux-2sg.imp-clt throw-part
'Don't throw (that)!'

1.1.1.3.3. Other means of expressing imperatives

There are four main means of expressing the imperative function other than the imperative/optative paradigms proper. These are: (a) the future tense form of the indicative mood; (b) participial forms in *-vkA* expressing necessity (see 2.1.3.5); (c) adverbials of location; and (d) interjections. Future tense verb forms express a positive command of more urgent kind, the action in this case should be performed by all means:

(104) Esi-keken d'u-la-vi eme-d'enge-s taduk upkat-va
now-clt home-all-prefl come-fut-2sg then all-accd
gu:n-d'enge-s.
say-fut-2sg
(lit.) 'And now you will come home and will say everything.'

Impersonal participles in *-vkA* with the modal meaning of necessity express the imperative function without pointing out the concrete doer of the desired action, the hearer, or the hearers are usually understood as a possible agent, compare:

(105) Oro-r-vo amaski muchu-vu-vka!
reindeer-pl-accd back return-pass-mod.part
'It is necessary to return the reindeer!'

(106) Er dukuvun-ma ketere tangi-vka.
this book-accd many.times read-mod.part
'It is necessary to read this book many times.'

Adverbials of location pronounced with an expressive intonational contour with a marked final fall denote the direction in which the hearer(s) should move, for example, *Tuliski!* 'Outside!'/'Be off!', *Amaski!* 'Come back!', *Chagili!* 'Step aside!' A few interjections may express the imperative function (see also 1.1.1.4): *Hos'e:!* 'Leave it (alone)!', *Nasar'e!* 'Leave me alone!', *Chivir'e:!* 'Be silent!', *Kachus!* 'Hush!', *Ma!* 'Take (it)!' Some interjections may only imply that the desired action should be performed, as, for instance, in the case with *Huvar'e:!* 'There is a draught (here)!', which implies that somebody should/might close either the door or the window(s).

1.1.1.4. Exclamatory sentence-types

Exclamatory sentences almost always lack an inflected verb form (though they may have verb stems) and have an emphasized declarative-type intonational contour with final rise and a wide pitch range. There are several uninflected particles of an exclamatory nature. These almost always form complete utterances, for example, *Di:ve!* 'It is astonishing/

strange/surprising!', *Heku/Hekuje!* 'It is hot!', *A:me/Am'e:* 'I am sleepy', *Mul'e:* 'It's a pity', *Hoj* 'I am here!', *Ke-ty!* 'I am unlucky!'/'It's bad luck!' (For more examples see 4.2.) Adverbials of location may also function as exclamatory sentences (see 1.1.1.3.3 for examples).

Verbal stems may form exclamatory words taking suffixes *-r'e:/-k'e:/-e:*, e.g. *Hemure:* 'It is cold' (*hemur-* 'become cold'), *Idarike:* 'It is bitter' (*idari-* 'taste bitter'), *Huvare:* 'It's a draught' (*huv-* 'blow (of wind, draught)), *Enuk'e:* 'It is painful'/'It hurts' (*enu-* 'be ill'), *Uchun'e:* 'Hush' (*uchun-* 'become silent'), *Sebd'en'e* 'It is amusing/merry' (*sebd'en-* 'make merry'), compare also 4.2.

There are a few lexicalized word combinations which are used as exclamations. These include:

(107) Tar ekun min-duk.
that what I-abl
'That's all the same to me!'/'It makes no difference to me.'

(108) Me:n-du-vi-vel ngene-mi!
oneself-dat-prefl-clt go-conv
'How dare you compare it/him/her!'

(109) Me:n-mi chaski-vi!
oneself-prefl back-prefl
'Look at yourself!'

(110) Tyl-met-luvar.
understand-pej-clt
'It is not true.'/'These are only rumours.'

Ordinary indicative sentences may be given exclamatory force if pronounced with the emphatic intonational contour:

(111) *Tar* d'u hegdy-*me*me bi-si-n.
that house big-ints be-prs-3sg
'That is really a very big house!'

The main verb *bi-* 'be' may be omitted in exclamatory phrases, as in:

(112) Aja-kakun beje!
good-ints man
'What a good man he is!'

1.1.1.5. Sentence-types used regularly in functions other than their normal ones

The indicative mood verb forms outside of declarative contexts can also function in interrogative sentences, since yes–no questions often differ from the corresponding declarative sentences only in intonation. Another

case of this type is the use of the future tense forms in the function of imperatives (see (104)).

Evenki does not make use of indirect means of requesting, (e.g. questions in the function of requests), though it is possible to ask the addressee if (s)he is willing to perform an action. This may be interpreted as an invitation to perform this action:

(113) D'u-la-vi suru-mu-d'e-nni?
home-all-prefl go.away-vol-prs-2sg
'Would you like to go home?'

The indicative forms may also be used in such speech acts as promising (*silba-* 'promise'), naming (*gerbit-* 'name') and others. Speech acts expressing greeting and parting were borrowed from Russian: *Dorovo* (< *Zdorovo*) 'Hello/Hi', *Porossai* (< *Proshchaj*) 'Goodbye!'

1.1.2. Subordination

1.1.2.1. General subordination markers

Subordination is marked predominantly by verbal inflection (participial and converbal forms) or by conjunctions preceding the subordinate clause with the indicative mood verb form. Converbal forms are the most common way of expressing adverbial subordination. Participial forms are the predominant way of expression used in complement clauses. Complex multiple embedding is not frequent – especially in oral speech. Participial and converbal forms, as a rule, are related to the main verb by means of inflectional anaphora both in the case of coreferential subjects and in the case of non-coreferential subjects. In the former case, reflexive possession markers are often used, in the latter case personal possession markers are used with all the participles and the majority of converbs. Word order of the subordinate clause with the indicative mood verb form does not differ from that of the corresponding main clause without a conjunction.

1.1.2.2. Noun clauses

1.1.2.2.1. Noun-clause markers and ordering relative to the superordinate clause

Noun clauses are almost always in the participial form, though with some main verbs which require complement clauses subordinate clauses with finite verb forms are also possible. An object noun clause, as a rule, follows the main verb. If the subordinate verb form is a participle, then the latter takes the definite accusative case suffix. Only finite subordinate verb

forms (but not participles) may in their turn have converbal forms subordinated to them.

1.1.2.2.2. Different types of noun clauses

There are three syntactic types of noun clause construction in Evenki: (a) participial, (b) finite and (c) converbal.

Participial noun clauses may be either in the subject (114) or in the object position (115) and can be used either in indirect statements (see 1.1.2.2.3) or in indirect questions (see 1.1.2.2.4), but not in indirect commands:

(114) a. Tar beje ulguchen-ne-n gorolo sa:-vuv-cha
that man tell-part-3sg.poss long.ago know-pass-part

bi-che-n.
be-pst-3sg
'What that man told has been known for a long time.'

(114) b. Er asatkan tatkit-tu tat-changa-n so: aja.
this girl school-dat study-part-3sg.poss very good
'It is very good that this girl will (be able to) study at school.'

(115) Eni-m e-che-n sa:-re si
mother-1sg.poss neg.aux-pst-3sg know-part you

eme-ne-ve-s.
come-part-accd-2sg.poss
'My mother did not know that you had (already) come.'

Noun clauses of this type may be formed by one of the four participles: participle of simultaneity in *-d'Arı* (116), perfect participle in *-nA* ((114a), (115), (117)), participle of anteriority in *-chA* (123), or participle of posteriority in *-d'AngA* ((114b), (118)):

(116) a. duku-d'ari alagumni
write-part teacher
'a writing teacher'

(116) b. Alagumni duku-d'ari-va-n iche-0-m.
teacher write-part-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-1sg
'I see that the teacher is writing.'

(117) a. baka-na-l-tyn oro-r
find-part-pl-3pl.poss reindeer-pl
'the reindeer which were found by them'

(117) b. Bu iche-re-v baka-na-l-va-tyn
we see-nfut-1pl.exc find-part-pl-accd-3pl.poss

oro-r-vo.
reindeer-pl-accd
'We saw the reindeer which had been found by them.'

(118) a. duku-d'anga alagumni
write-part teacher
'the teacher who will (be able to) write'

(118) b. Alagumni duku-d'anga-va-n ala:t-che-0-m.
teacher write-part-accd-3sg.poss wait-impv-nfut-1sg
'I am waiting for the teacher to write (it).'
(lit. 'I am waiting for the teacher's future writing.')

The participle of simultaneity is used when the actions expressed by the main verb and the participle are simultaneous, the perfect participle (or more rarely the participle of anteriority) expresses an action which is prior to that of the main verb, the participle of posteriority is used when the action expressed by this participle is posterior to that of the main verb. Participial noun clauses may be subordinated to the verbs of mental states and activities, sense perception and speech (see 1.1.2.2.3), including the only verb of asking *hanngukta-* 'ask' (see 1.1.2.2.4). Among the verbs of mental states and activities which either require or can take complement clauses there are the following bases: *sa:-* 'know', *d'oncha-* 'remember', *tyl-* 'understand', *dıve-* 'get a surprise', *ilkiche-* 'hope', *alat (che)-* 'wait/expect', *evlend'e-/sinngınd'e-* 'regret', *henutche-* 'doubt'. All of these verbs are transitive. Participles in the constructions with coreferential subjects take reflexive possession affixes (*-vi* for the singular, *-vAr* for the plural), in the case of non-coreferential subjects participles take personal possession markers depending on person/number of the agent which performs an action expressed by the participle. In the case of reflexive possession markers (*-vi/-vAr*) suffixes of the accusative cases are never used, compare:

(119) a. Bi d'oncha-d'a-m gun-ne-vi.
I remember-prs-1sg say-part-prefl
'I remember what I said.'

(119) b. Bi d'oncha-d'a-m gun-ne-ve-n.
I remember-prs-1sg say-part-accd-3sg
'I remember what (s)he said.'

(120) a Nungan sa:-re-n eme-d'enge-vi.
he know-nfut-3sg come-part-prefl
'He$_i$ knows that he$_i$ will (be able to) come.'

(120) b. Nungan sa:-re-n eme-d'enge-ve-n.
he know-nfut-3sg come-part-accd-3sg
'He$_i$ knows that he$_j$ will (be able to) come.'

Verbs of mental state – *omngo-* 'forget' and *d'alda-* 'think/decide' – require the complement verb in the converbal form.

Verbs of sense perception *mede-/medu-* 'feel/experience', *henu-* 'notice', *iche-* 'see', *doldy-* 'hear', *baka-* 'find', 'discover' (all of them are transitive) require the complement verb in the participial form. As with the verbs of mental states/activities, the participles take either the markers of reflexive possession (in case of coreferential subjects), or markers of personal possession (in case of non-coreferential subjects), compare:

(121) Bejetken iche-re-n amin-in agi-tki
boy see-nfut-3sg father-3sg.poss forest-locall
suru-sin-d'eri-ve-n.
go.away-smel-part-accd-3sg.poss
'The boy saw that his father set off in the direction of the forest.'

(122) a. Asi baka-ra-n d'aja-na-vi.
woman find-nfut-3sg hide-part-prefl
'The woman$_i$ found what she$_i$ had hidden.'

(122) b. Asi baka-ra-n (nungan) d'aja-na-va-n.
woman find-nfut-3sg (he/she) hide-part-accd-3sg.poss
'The woman$_i$ found what he/she$_j$ had hidden.'

(123) Asatka-r henu-che-l eme-che-ve-tyn.
girl-pl notice-pst-pl come-part-accd-3pl.poss
'The girls$_i$ noticed that they$_j$ had come.'

(124) Hurkeken enin-in songo-d'ori-va-n
boy mother-3sg.poss cry-part-accd-3sg.poss
doldy-ra-n.
hear-nfut-3sg
'The boy heard his mother's crying.'/'The boy heard that his mother was crying.'

The participial noun clause may either precede (124) or follow (123) the main verb.

The use of the finite verb forms in noun clauses is rather limited. It almost never occurs in folklore texts, in which the participial strategy predominates. It is possible that this way of expressing complement subordination by means of conjunctions homonymous with question-words developed under the influence of Russian. In such constructions there is

no 'sequence of tenses' between two finite verb forms. Ambiguity may arise in such constructions as to coreferentiality/non-coreferentiality of subjects:

(125) Nungan$_i$ e-che-n sa:-re i:le nungan$_{i/j}$
he neg.aux-pst-3sg know-part where he

suru-sin-e-n.
go.away-smlf-nfut-3sg
'He didn't know where he had set off.'

All the verbs requiring participles as complement verb forms also allow noun clauses with finite forms (sometimes without any conjunctions), for example:

(126) Bejumimni iche-re-n: homo:ty bira-va is-ta-n.
hunter see-nfut-3sg bear river-accd reach-nfut-3sg
'The hunter saw (that) the bear reached the river.'

(127) Etejechimni-l d'alda-d'ere-0 i:du n'engn'e oro-r-vor
herdsman-pl think-prs-3pl where in.spring reindeer-pl-prefl

d'avucha-d'anga-tyn.
keep-fut-3pl
'The herdsmen consider where they will keep their reindeer in spring.'

(128) Asi dive-d'e-vki e:da nungartyn
woman be.surprised-impv-hab.part why they

e-che-tyn eme-re.
aux.neg-pst-3pl come-part
'The woman is wondering why they didn't come.'

Only converbs in *-mɪ* and *-da:-* may be used in noun clauses in object position. The temporal-conditional converb in *-mi* is used with modal and phrasal verbs, such as *alba-/dup-* 'cannot/be unable', *ba:-* 'not to want', *mullɪ-* 'be unable', *he:-* 'not dare', *ete-/mana-* 'finish/end'. The purposive converb in *-dA.-* expressing the sense 'in order to' is used with verbs of mental states and activities: *omngo-* 'forget', *d'alda-* 'decide', *gele-* 'wish/want' and also always in indirect commands with such causative verbs as *ɪpke-* 'make (somebody/someone do something)', *bele-* 'help' (see 1.1.2.2.5), for example:

(129) a. Bejetken alba-ra-n bira-va elbesche-mi.
boy cannot-nfut-3sg river-accd swim-conv
'The boy could not swim across the river.'

(129) b. Hunat dup-te-n oni-d'a-mi oro-r-vi.
girl cannot-nfut-3sg find-impv-conv reindeer-pl-prefl
'The girl could not find her reindeer.'

(129) c. Ami-m ete-re-n ta:n-d'e-mi gancha-vi.
father-1sg.poss stop-nfut-3sg smoke-impv-conv pipe-prefl
'My father finished smoking his pipe.'

(130) a. Asatkan omngo-ro-n dukuvun-ma ung-de:-vi.
girl forget-nfut-3sg letter-accd send-conv-prefl
'The girl forgot to send the letter.'

(130) b. Bi gele-d'e-m nungan emenmu-de:-n.
I want-prs-1sg he remain-conv-3sg.poss
'I want that he would stay (here).'/'I'd like him to remain.'

Note that the meaning 'want/wish' is, as a rule, expressed by the affix *-mu* which is used only with verbs involved in same-subject constructions. This affix cannot be used in the constructions semantically analogous to the following English ones: 'I want you to go'/(lit.) 'I want that you go.'

1.1.2.2.3. Indirect statements

Indirect statements, for example, object clauses of reporting, as a rule, contain participles as subordinate verb forms. Finite or converbal subordinate verb forms in this type of construction are much rarer. The superordinate verbs of speech in indirect statements include such stems as *gun-* 'say/tell', *ulguchen-* 'tell/retell', *turet-* 'speak/tell', *hengket-* 'say/tell', *ejet-* 'ask/beg for something', *silba-* 'tell/inform/announce', *eri-* 'call someone', *tylivken-* (< *tyl-* 'understand'; *-vken* – causative marker) (lit.) 'make/cause to understand', that is, 'explain'. All of these are transitive: either the content of speech or the addressee are expressed by the nominal in the definite accusative case form. Lately, however, some of these verbs, for example, *gun-, silba-, ulguchen-*, began to require the addressee not in the definite accusative form, but either in the dative (*-du*) or in the locative-directive (*-tki/-tyki*) form. Usually the nominal expressing the addressee is omitted:

(131) Beje ulguchen-e-n ekun-ma tatkit-tu
man tell-nfut-3sg what-accd school-dat

hengket-ne-ve-tyn.
speak-part-accd-3pl.poss
'The man said/told what they had spoken about at school.'

For more examples with various participles in indirect statements, see 1.1.1.1.

Finite forms of subordinate verbs, which occur very seldom are

considered to be due to the influence of Russian. Informants allow finite verb forms with the verbs of speech listed above if they are not used in the causal sense like 'ask' or 'command':

(132) Amin-in$_i$ ulguchen-che-n o:n nungan$_{i/j}$ uluki-je
father-1sg.poss tell-pst-3sg how he squirrel-accin
ulumi-d'eche-n.
hunt.squirrel-impf-3sg
'My father$_i$ told/narrated how he$_{i/j}$ had been hunting squirrel.'

The converbal form of purpose in *-dA:-* is used with the verb *ejet-* 'ask/beg for something', and also with other verbs of speech (like *gun-* 'say' in the meaning 'ask someone to do something' and *silba-* in the sense 'promise') when they are used in the causative sense (see 1.1.2.2.5):

(133) Nekun-mi ejet-te-n um-da:-vi.
younger.brother-1sg.poss ask-nfut-3sg drink-conv-prefl
(lit.) 'My younger brother asked to drink.'

(134) Bi silba-cha-v er pektyre:vun-me girki-du-vi
I promise-pst-1sg this gun-accd friend-dat-prefl
bu:-de:-vi.
give-conv-prefl
'I promised to give this gun to my friend.'

(135) Nungan min-du ere o:-da:-vi gun-che-n.
he I-dat this do-conv-prefl say-pst-3sg
'He promised me to do it.'/'He promised me (that) he would do it.'

1.1.2.2.4. Indirect questions

Questions are indirectly reported by the only verb of asking: *hanngukta-* 'ask'. Participial subordinate forms, as a rule, are used in this case (2), though finite forms are also possible (6):

(136) Asi hanngukta-ra-n i:du nungan in-d'ere-n.
woman ask-nfut-3sg where he live-prs-3sg
'The woman asked where he lived.'

1.1.2.2.5. Indirect commands

Indirect commands or requests, etc. are expressed by the only possible subordinate verb form – purposive converb in *-dA:-*, which follows such

verbs as *ipke-* 'order'/'make someone do something', *olgat-* 'forbid', *ejet-* 'ask for something', and some verbs of speech in the causative sense 'tell someone to do something':

(137) Nungan ipke-re-n bu ju:-de:-vun.
he order-nfut-3sg we go.out-conv-1pl.exc.poss
'He ordered us to go out.'

(138) Ai:chimni bu-mu-d'eri-du olgat-ta-n tuliski
doctor die-want-part-dat forbid-nfut-3sg outside
ju:-de:-n.
go.out-conv-3sg.poss
'The doctor forbade the patient (ill man) to go out.'

(139) Girki-v min-duk ejet-te-n d'eb-de:-v.
friend-1sg.poss I-abl ask-nfut-3sg eat-conv-1sg.poss
'My friend asked me to eat (= that I should eat).'

(140) Nungan tynive gun-e-n mo:-l-va
he yesterday say-nfut-3sg firewood-pl-accd
eme-b-de:-n.
come-caus-conv-3sg.poss
'He$_i$ said yesterday that she/he$_j$ should bring firewood.'/'He told her/him yesterday to bring firewood.'

1.1.2.2.6. Non-finite noun clauses

As it was stated above (see 1.1.1.1 and 1.1.2.1), verb forms functioning in indirect statements, indirect questions and indirect commands can be either participial or converbal. In the former case they undergo nominalization.

1.1.2.2.6.1. Lost and retained verbal categories Nominalization by participial affixes removes the category of mood and absolute tense (the latter changes to taxis or relative tense: present for simultaneity, past or perfect for anteriority, future for posteriority of the 'participial' action with reference to the action of the main (superordinate) verb). The categories of voice, modality and aspect may be retained in the participial forms functioning in noun clauses. The participle in object noun clauses should be inflected for agreement with its subject, and in the case of non-coreferentiality of subjects also for the definite accusative case. Reflexive possessive markers of agreement refer to the subject of the superordinate verb, personal possession markers imply that the participle has its own subject which is non-coreferential with the subject of the main verb.

1.1.2.2.6.2. Non-finitization of the verb Nominalizing affixes *-d'Ari* (simultaneous participle), *-nA* (perfect participle), *-chA* (anterior participle), and *-d'AngA* (posterior participle) can convert a clause to a noun phrase which may act as subject or object of the main verb (and also as an attribute to a noun ((116a), (117a), (118a)) and, with markers of locative cases, an adverbial modifier). The borderline between the meanings of a physical object or a process may be obscured here. For instance, (141) may denote either 'He$_i$ saw how he$_j$ killed something' (process) or 'He$_i$ saw what he$_j$ killed' (object, for example, his prey/catch/bag); (142) may mean either 'I see/saw how (s)he is/was drawing' (process) or 'I see/saw what (s)he is/was drawing' (object).

(141) Nungan va:-ne-va-n iche-re-n.
he kill-part-accd-3sg see-nfut-3sg

(142) Bi iche-0-m onjo-d'ori-va-n.
I see-nfut-1sg draw-part-accd-3sg.poss

Other participial forms cannot have such ambiguity.

Of the listed four participial forms two may function as the finite verb forms (participles in *-chA*, see 2.1.3.2.1.3.2; and in *-d'AngA*, see 2.1.3.2.1.4), and two forms (in *-d'Ari* and in *-nA*) cannot function as finite forms. The latter forms semantically correspond to the finite forms in *-d'ArA-* and *-chA-* respectively.

1.1.2.2.6.3. Arguments omitted in noun clauses The subject of the subordinate clause may be overtly expressed by the nominal in the nominative case. In case of coreferentiality of subjects (c.f. (119a)) in the constructions of the type 'He remembers/knows what he (coreferential subject) did' the subject in the subordinate clause is always omitted. In case of non-coreferentiality of subjects the subject of the subordinate clause is, as a rule, omitted since it is rendered by the personal possession marker in the participial form itself. The nominal subject in the nominative case may be, however, present in the subordinate clause. In this case it precedes the participle forming with it a noun phrase ((121), (122b), (124)).

1.1.2.2.6.4. Change in retained arguments There is no change in the arguments that are retained in noun clauses. The nominative subject of the subordinate clause always refers to the semantic subject, as in:

(143) Beje homo:ty-va va:-d'ari-va-n iche-0-m.
man bear-accd kill-part-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-1sg
'I saw how the/a man was killing a bear.'

The definite accusative noun of the subordinate clause always refers to the semantic object, as in:

(144) Beje-ve va:-d'ari-va-n iche-0-m.
man-accd kill-part-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-1sg
'I saw how (s)he was killing the man.'

The only exception to this rule is the possible ambiguity of subordinate clauses with the perfect participle in *-nA*, as in:

(145) Beje va:-ne-va-n iche-0-m.
man kill-part-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-1sg

which may be interpreted as either having an active sense – 'I saw the man's prey/catch' or having a passive sense – 'I saw how the man was killed'. Participial constructions with the definite accusative marker, for example:

(146) Beje-ve va:-ne-va-n iche-0-m
man-accd kill-part-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-1sg
'I saw that/how the man was killed.'

do not display such an ambiguity: in (146) only passive interpretation is possible (the man is the object of the action expressed by the participle).

1.1.2.2.6.5. Material insertion No morphological material is inserted before arguments as a result of nominalization.

1.1.2.2.6.6. Adverbials in noun clauses Any adverbials can be present in noun clauses. The most frequent type of adverbials retained in noun clauses are those expressing location and time. Adverbials do not take the form of adjectives and are not changed in any way.

1.1.2.2.6.7. Word order in nominalizations Word order remains unchanged in nominalizations, compare:

(147) a. Beje homo:ty-va va:-cha-n.
man bear-accd kill-pst-3sg
'The man killed the/a bear.'

(147) b. Beje homo:ty-va va:-ne-va-n doldy-0-m.
man bear-accd kill-part-accd-3sg.poss hear-nfut-1sg
'I heard that the man had killed the/a bear.'

1.1.2.3. Adjective (relative) clauses

1.1.2.3.1. Marking of adjective clauses

Adjective clauses are almost exclusively formed by means of participial constructions with the participles discussed in the previous sections,

that is, forms in *-d'Ari, -nA, -chA, -d'AngA,* and also other participial forms treated in 2.1.3.5: in *-vki* (habitual participle, see 2.1.3.5) which is used rather frequently both attributively and predicatively, and four rare participial forms (in *-mAchin,* in *-gsAn,* in *-ltAk* and in *-ngAt,* see 2.1.3.5). The latter four forms are not treated in this section, and examples of their attributive use are given in the indicated sections. Since the same participial forms may function both in noun clauses and relative clauses there seems to be no specific marker of the relative participial clause except for word order in a noun clause and an adjective clause and the agreement marking of the participle. In the noun clauses the participle follows the nominal which expresses the agent of the 'participial' action and always has possession (person/number) markers (either personal or reflexive) (148a), whereas in the adjective clauses the participle precedes the nominal and seldom takes person/number markers (148b):

(148) a. Beje-l agi-duk eme-d'eri-ve-tyn hute-l
man-pl forest-abl come-part-accd-3pl.poss child-pl

iche-re-0.
see-nfut-3pl
'The children saw the men (who were) coming from the forest.'

(148) b. Hute-l iche-re-0 agi-duk eme-d'eri-l-ve
child-pl see-nfut-3pl forest-abl come-part-pl-accd

beje-l-ve.
man-pl-accd
'The children saw the men (who were) coming from the forest.'

So, for one situation rendered by the English translation in (148), Evenki has two strategies – attributive ('coming people') and nominal (lit. 'people's coming'). In folklore texts the nominal strategy predominates over the attributive one.

Active and passive participles in the attributive function, as a rule, agree with the following head noun in number and case (148b). Subject vs object reference (but not noun vs pronoun reference) is relevant to the subject agreement in person. If the head noun is a semantic subject the attributive participle never takes a person agreement marker, and if the head noun is a semantic object (beneficiary, instrument, etc.) then the attributive passive participle (with the passive marker *-v(u)*) also never takes person markers, whereas the attributive active participle (without the passive marker) may take the person marker expressing the subject, for example:

(149) Bi duku-na-duk-in dukuvun-duk kete-ve
I write-part-abl-3sg.poss book-abl much-accd

sa:-cha-v.
know-pst-1sg
'I learnt much from the book that he wrote.'

Note that the majority of participial forms not only have attributive and nominal use, but are also used in the position of the predicate. In the latter case they may be marked for the person of the grammatical subject. As for their functioning in adjective clauses they are generally marked for number and case agreeing with the head noun, but not for person, as in (149). In this example the personal possession marker *-(i)n* denotes person/number of the agent of the action expressed by *duku-* 'write' and the whole participle *duku-na-duk-ın* is actually equivalent to the phrase 'from something which was written by him'.

Adjective clauses may be formed by the subordinate clauses containing finite verb forms preceded by conjunctions which are homonymous with question-words *anty* 'that', 'which', *angi* 'what/which', *ı:du* 'where', *ı:duk* 'where from', *ı:le* 'where to', *o:kın* 'when'. These conjunctions are almost always positioned after the superordinate clause before the subordinate relative clause. Subordinate relative clauses with conjunctions are seldom found in speech. Most probably they developed through the influence of Russian. Nowadays they are becoming more and more frequent in written journalism.

(150) Beje dukuvun-ma ga-ra-n anty-va bi
man book-accd buy-nfut-3sg which-accd I

e-che-v sa:-re.
neg.aux-pst-1sg know-part
'The man bought a/the book which I didn't/don't know.'

(151) Tadu oron ilit-chara-n anty-du si suru-d'enge-s.
there reindeer stand-prs-3sg which-dat you go.away-fut-2sg
'The reindeer on which you will go away is standing there.'

(152) Ngene-kel d'u-la-tyn i:du d'a-l-in
go-2sg.imp house-all-3pl.poss where relative-pl-3sg.poss

in-d'ere-0.
live-prs-3pl
'Go to their house where his relatives live.'

(153) Nungan urke-du il-la-n i:duk asatkan
he door-dat stand.up-nfut-3sg from.where girl

ju:-re-n.
go.out-nfut-3sg
'He stopped at the door through which a girl went out.'

Nominal forms with comitative markers *-lAn, -chı, -tAi* 'with something/having something' may also perform the function of adjective clauses, as in:

(154) a. hute-chi asi
child-com woman
'a/the woman with a child'/'a woman who has a child'

(154) b. pektyrev-len bejumimni
gun-com hunter
'the hunter with a gun'/'the hunter who has a gun'

There seem to be no constraints on valency, modal and aspectual affixes that can occur in participial forms used in relative clauses. As was stated above, and as in all the other non-finite verb forms, mood and tense markers are not admissible in participles. It is possible to create relative clauses with transitive participial forms having an overt object, for example:

(155) unta-l-va o:-d'ari hunat
winter.boot-pl-accd make-part girl
'the girl who is making fur boots'

(156) inmek-pe d'oromo-cho sulaki
bag-accd steal-part fox
'the fox that stole the bag'

Derived deverbal nouns with such affixes as *-kıt* 'place of habitual action', *-d'ak* 'place of past action' may correspond to relative clauses, for example, *ulukı* 'squirrel' > *ulumı-* 'hunt squirrels' > *ulumı-kıt* 'a place where hunters catch/hunt squirrels'; *mo:* 'tree/firewood' > *mo:la-* 'go and gather firewood' > *mo:la-d'ak* 'a place where people gathered firewood'.

1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive and non-restrictive clauses

There is no distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive adjective clauses.

1.1.2.3.3. Position of the head noun

A relative clause expressed by the participial construction, as a rule, precedes the head noun, though the alternative order (attributive participle after the head noun) is quite possible.

1.1.2.3.3.1. Before the relative clause This option occurs relatively seldom and is perceived as a case of inversion, for example:

(157) Bi beje-ve tatkit-tu haval-d'a-cha-ve archa-0-m.
I man-accd scholl-dat work-impv-part-accd meet-nfut-1sg
'I met the man who worked at school.'

(158) Hunat d'u-la i:-re-n amin-in
girl house-all enter-nfut-3sg father-3sg.poss
d'uta-d'ari-la-n.
live-part-all-3sg.poss
'The girl entered the house in which her father lived.'

Relative clauses with conjunctions and finite verb forms always follow the head noun (see (150)–(153) with conjunctive subordinate relative clauses).

1.1.2.3.3.2. After the relative clause The position of the head noun after the attributive participle is unmarked, so the most natural versions of (157) and (158) would be the following:

(159) Bi tatkit-tu haval-d'a-cha-ve beje-ve archa-0-m.
I school-dat work-impv-part-accd man-accd meet-nfut-1sg
'I met the man who worked at school.'

(160) Hunat amin-in d'uta-d'ari-la-n d'u-la
girl father-3sg.poss live-part-all-3sg.poss house-all
i:-re-n.
enter-nfut-3sg
'The girl entered the house in which her father lived.'

1.1.2.3.3.3. Internal to the relative clause This option is not attested.

1.1.2.3.4. Marker of the relativized element

As for participial relative constructions, they do not contain any element corresponding to the head noun since these constructions involve the head noun itself. So in such constructions no element corresponding to the head noun may be replaced or deleted, because the head noun is not 'copied' within a relative participial clause. The discussion in the following three sections is relevant only for the conjunctive subordinate relative clauses.

1.1.2.3.4.1. Element corresponding to the head noun is preserved in full This option is not realized in Evenki.

1.1.2.3.4.2. Element corresponding to the head noun is replaced by a relative pronoun The element in the conjunctive relative clause corresponding to the head noun is replaced by one of the relative pronouns. Personal pronouns or invariant particles are not used in relative clauses. In conjunctive subordinate relative clauses with indicative verb forms the preceding head noun (= relativized element) is replaced by the obligatory relative pronouns *anty* 'that/which' or its case forms e.g. *anty-va* (accd), *anty-du* (dat), depending on either the case form of the head noun or the semantic relationship to the head noun, *angi* 'that/which', or conjunctions homonymous with question-words *i:-du* (dat) 'where', *i:-duk* (abl) 'from where', *i:-le* (all) 'where to', *o:kin* 'when', *o:n* 'how' used when the relationship between the head noun and the relative clause is one of place or time.

1.1.2.3.4.3. Element corresponding to the head noun is deleted Element corresponding to the head noun cannot be deleted.

1.1.2.3.5. Position of the element corresponding to the head noun

1.1.2.3.5.1. Preserved in the same position Markers of the relativized nouns are always preserved in the same (relative clause-initial) position.

1.1.2.3.5.2. Moved next to the noun phrase containing the head noun This phenomenon does not exist in Evenki.

1.1.2.3.5.3. Moved to another position The element corresponding to the head noun cannot be moved to another position.

1.1.2.3.6. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses with participles in *-nA, -d'Ari* and *-d'AngA* occur quite freely both in texts and in speech. They may refer either to processes or to objects, for example:

(161) O:-na-l-va-n ga-cha-n.
make-part-pl-accd-3sg.poss take-pst-3sg
'He$_i$ took what was made by him$_j$ /her.'

1.1.2.3.6.1. Are headless relative clauses marked in any special way? Headless relative clauses are not marked in any special way as compared with relative clauses with head nouns:

(162) a. Bi ugir-d'ari-v d'olo so:t urgepchu.
I lift-part-1sg.poss stone very heavy
'The stone that I am lifting is very heavy.'

(162) b. Bi ugir-d'ari-v so:t urgepchu.
I lift-part-1sg.poss very heavy
'What I am lifting is very heavy' / 'The object that I am lifting is very heavy.'

Note that the pronoun *bi* 'I' both in (162a) and in (162b) is optional. Compare also:

(163) Asi ulli-d'eri-n (su:n) aja-kakun bi-si-n.
woman sew-part-3sg.poss (coat) good-ints be-prs-3sg
'(The coat that)/What is sewn by the woman is very beautiful.'

1.1.2.3.7. Elements which can be relativized

Any nominal constituent of the main clause may be preceded (or much more rarely followed) by a relative participial construction with the participle agreeing in number and case with the head noun:

(164) Turu-du alaguv-d'ari asatkan d'u-la-vi eme-re-n.
Tura-dat study-part girl house-all-prefl come-nfut-3sg
'The girl who studies in Tura came home.'

(165) Bi archa-0-m Turu-du alaguv-d'ari-va asatkan-me.
I meet-nfut-1sg Tura-dat study-part-accd girl-accd
'I met the girl who studies in Tura.'

(166) Bi Turu-du alaguv-d'ari-l-du asatka-r-du mengur-ve
I Tura-dat study-part-pl-dat girl-pl-dat money-accd
bu:-0-m.
give-nfut-1sg
'I gave money to the girls who study in Tura.'

A nominative case participial form can only refer to the subject of the main clause.

Subordinate clauses involving conjunctions with the indicative mood verb forms may also relativize any nominal constituent of the main clause. The latter always precedes a conjunctive subordinate relative clause (see the examples in 1.1.2.3.1).

Most commonly the head noun of the relative clause denotes the agent of the action expressed by the participle (compare (164)). Quite common is the situation in which the head noun denotes the semantic object of the action expressed by the participle. In this case two syntactic types of participial constructions are possible: in the first type an active participle (i.e. without the passive marker *-v-*) is used and the noun in the nominative case denoting the agent precedes the attributive participle. In the second

type a passive participle is used and the noun in the dative case denoting the agent precedes the participle, compare:

(167) a. Beje va:-na-n homo:ty tadu hukle-d'ere-n.
man kill-part-3sg.poss bear there lie-prs-3sg
'The bear killed by the man lies there.'

(167) b. Beje-du va:-v-cha homo:ty tadu hukle-d'ere-n.
man-dat kill-pass-part bear there lie-prs-3sg
'The bear killed by the man lies there.'

(168) a. Si ule-d'eri-s ulle alapchu bi-si-n.
you cook-part-2sg.poss meat tasty be-prs-3sg
'The meat that you are boiling/cooking is tasty.'

(168) b. Sin-du ule-v-d'eri ulle alapchu bi-si-n.
you-dat cook-pass-part meat tasty be-prs-3sg
'The meat boiled/cooked by you is tasty.'

Active participles in such cases are always marked for personal possession (cf. (167a) and (168a)), which renders person/number of the agent, whereas attributive passive participles are never marked for possession ((167b) and (168b)). The word order of these relative participial constructions is constant: agent–attributive participle–object–head noun. It should be noted that in constructions with passive participles of the type presented in (167b) and (168b) relativization is actually on the derived syntactic subject of the corresponding passive constructions, so ordinary subject relativization presented in these cases differs from syntactic object relativization, compare:

(169) a. *Syntactic subject relativization*
Homo:ty (beje-du) va:-v-cha-n.
bear (man-dat) kill-pass-pst-3sg
'The bear was killed (by the man).'

(169) b. beje-du va:-v-cha homo:ty
man-dat kill-pass-part bear
'the bear killed by the man'

(170) a. *Syntactic object relativization*
Beje homo:ty-va va:-cha-n.
man bear-accd kill-pst-3sg
'The man killed the bear.'

(170) b. beje va:-na-n homo:ty
man kill-part-3sg bear
'the bear killed by the man'

Relations other than syntactic subject/direct object between the head

noun and the relative clause are seldom expressed. As for the indirect object, it may be relativized only by means of a conjunctive relative clause, but not by means of a participial construction, for example:

(171) Beje anty-du bi purta-va bu:-che-v suru-che-n.
man which-dat I knife-accd give-pst-1sg go.away-pst-3sg
'The man (to) whom I gave the knife went away.'

Oblique-case arguments (instrument, location, time, etc.) may be relativized both by means of conjunctive relative clauses with the indicative mood verb forms and by means of participial constructions. For the conjunctive type see examples (150)–(153) with *i:du* 'where', *o:kin* 'when', *e:tpar* 'with what' in 1.1.2.3.1. For the participial type, two types of constructions are possible: with the active-voice participle, if the agent is overtly expressed (172a); and with the passive participle, if the agent is not overtly expressed (172b). (In the northern dialects, e.g. in Xantajskij dialect, only active-voice participles are possible in the latter case.) Participial forms are, as a rule, marked for personal possession:

(172) a. Asi ulle-ve mine-d'eri-n purta emer bi-si-n.
woman meat-accd cut-part-3sg.poss knife sharp be-prs-3sg
'The knife with which the woman is cutting meat is sharp.'

(172) b. Ulle mine-b-d'eri-n purta emer bi-si-n.
meat cut-pass-part-3sg.poss knife sharp be-prs-3sg
'The knife with which meat is cut is sharp.'

(173) a. Asi sirba-va ule-d'eri-n kalan tadu
woman soup-accd cook-part-3sg.poss pot there
loku-cha-d'ara-n.
hang-res-prs-3sg
'The pot in which the woman is cooking soup is hanging there.'

(173) b. Sirba ule-b-d'eri-n kalan tadu loku-cha-d'ara-n.
soup cook-pass-part-3sg.poss pot there hang-res-prs-3sg
'The pot in which soup is (being) cooked is hanging there.'

In one of the northern dialects (Xantajskij) L. M. Brodskaja (1977) found a very specific type of relative participial construction, in which the attributive participle has a different case suffix from that of the head noun. The case form of the head noun is obviously conditioned by the syntactic properties of the main verb, whereas the case form of the participle expresses semantic relations existing between the verb stem of the participle itself and the head noun (cf. the prolative case marker *-li* which shows up in the location adverbial in (174a) and in attributive participle in (174b)):

(174) a. Nungan ud'a-li girku-d'ara-n.
he path-prol go-prs-3sg
'He is going along the path.'

(174) b. Nungan girku-d'ari-li-vi ud'a-du girki-vi
he go-part-prol-prefl path-dat friend-prefl
archa-ra-n.
meet-nfut-3sg
'He$_i$ met his$_i$ friend on the path along which he$_i$ was walking.'

In such cases the case marker of an oblique argument of the base simple sentence (compare the marker *-li* in *ud'a-li* in (174a)), so to speak, moves to the participial form itself (compare *girku-d'ari-li-vi* in (174b)) because the nominal argument has to take another case marker which is conditioned by the main verb. Compare also other examples given by L. M. Brodskaja:

(175) a. Nungan karandash-it duku-d'ara-n.
he pencil-instr write-prs-3sg
'He is writing with a pencil.'

(175) b. I:du nungan ga-cha-n duku-d'ari-t-pi
where he take-pst-3sg write-part-instr-prefl
karandash-pa?
pencil-accd
'Where did he take the pencil with which he is writing?'

(176) a. Gancha-duk tan-d'eri etyrken suru-cho-n.
pipe-abl smoke-part old.man go.away-pst-3sg
'The old man smoking the pipe went away.'

(176) b. Ami-m tan-d'eri-duk-is gancha-va
father-1sg.poss smoke-part-abl-2sg.poss pipe-accd
o:-cha-n.
make-pst-3sg
'My father made the pipe (from) which you smoke.'

The case marker of the participle may distinguish the direction of the motion, compare (177) and (178):

(177) Nungan agi-li/agi-tki/agi-duk ngene-d'ere-n.
he forest-prol/forest-locdir/forest-abl go-prs-3sg
'He is going through the forest/to the forest/from the forest.'

(178) a. Nungan ngene-d'eri-li-n agi haktyrapchu.
he go-part-prol-3sg.poss forest dark
'The forest through which he is going is dark.'

(178) b. Nungan ngene-d'eri-tki-n agi haktyrapchu.
he go-part-locdir-3sg. poss forest dark
'The forest to which/in the direction of which he is going is dark.'

(178) c. Nungan ngene-d'eri-duk-in agi haktyrapchu.
he go-part-abl-3sg.poss forest dark
'The forest from which he is going is dark.'

A possessive relationship is also possible between the head noun and the relative clause – this may be expressed only by means of the conjunctive relative clause, as in:

(179) Bejetken ngingi-ve purta-va bi ga-cha-v
boy whose-accd knife-accd I take-pst-1sg
suru-che-n.
go.away-pst-3sg
'The boy whose knife I had taken went away.'

1.1.2.3.8. Movement of other elements of the relative clause

Neither the relativized element nor other elements of the relative clause can be moved within the clause.

1.1.2.3.9. Types of non-finite relative clauses

As has been discussed above, relative clauses in Evenki are most commonly non-finite, notably participial. These forms may retain voice, valency and aspectual categories but lose the categories of mood and absolute tense. Instead of absolute tense, participles acquire taxis or relative tense properties. The arguments of the participial relative construction may not be omitted (with the exception of the agent if the head noun denotes the patient) or changed in any way; no morphological material is inserted before or after arguments. Adverbials of place and time can be present in the relative clause though this phenomenon occurs very seldom. In such cases adverbials retain their form. Participial relative clauses are not marked by a special word order, for example, if the head noun is the agent of action expressed by the participle then the noun denoting the object always precedes the attributive participle, compare:

(180) homo:ty-va va:-cha etyrken
bear-accd kill-part old.man
'The old man who killed the bear.'

1.1.2.4. Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1. General marking and position relative to the superordinate clause

Adverb clauses of time, manner, purpose, etc., almost always employ a non-finite verb form which is, as a rule, converbal, and more rarely a participial form containing a case suffix, as in:

(181) D'u-la-vi eme-mi ulle-ve dev-d'enge-s.
house-all-prefl come-conv meat-accd eat-fut-2sg
'When/If you come home you will eat meat.'

Participles used adverbially always take possessive markers – either personal (182b) or reflexive (182a), depending on non-coreferentiality/coreferentiality of subjects respectively, for example:

(182) a. So:t deru-che bi-ne-di-vi nungan
very get.tired-part be-part-instr-prefl he

a:sin-mu-d'acha-n.
fall.asleep-vol-impf-3sg
'He$_i$ wanted to sleep because he$_i$ was very tired.'

(182) b. So:t deru-che bi-ne-di-n nungan-dun
very get.tired-part be-part-instr-3sg.poss he-dat

girki-n bele-che-n.
friend-3sg.poss help-pst-3sg
'His$_i$ friend$_j$ helped him$_i$ because he$_i$ was very tired.'

Converbal forms (see the list of converbs in 2.1.3.5) are divided into two groups: simple (same-subject) converbs which never take any possessive suffixes (forms in *-(d'A)nA, -ksA, -kA(n)im, -mı, -mnen, -mnAk*); and possessive (varying-subject and different-subject) converbs which always take possessive affixes either personal or reflexive (forms in *-rAki-, -chAlA-, -ngAsı-, -knAn-, -dA-, -d'AnmA-, -dAlA-, -ktAvA-, -vunA-*). Possessive suffixes render person/number of the agent of the action expressed by the converbal form, compare:

(183) a. Turu-du bi-ngesi-vi tara-ve sa:-cha-v.
Tura-dat be-conv-prefl that-accd know-pst-1sg
'I knew that when I was/lived in Tura.'

(183) b. Turu-du bi-ngesi-n tara-ve sa:-cha-v.
Tura-dat be-conv-3sg.poss that-accd know-pst-1sg
'I knew that when (s)he was/lived in Tura.'

Possessive converbal forms take affixes denoting one of three persons plus one of two numbers (a full paradigm of inflections is given under 2.1.1.1.1.3–4).

Conjunctive subordinate clauses with the indicative mood verb forms are also used as adverbial clauses, though these clauses with conjunctions are due to the influence of Russian and occur rather seldom, for example:

(184) Nungan ala:t-cheche-n o:kin girki-n eme-d'e-n.
he wait-impv-3sg when friend-3sg.poss come-fut-3sg
'He was waiting when his friend would come.'

Position of adverbial constructions relative to their superordinate clause depends on their type and function. Adverbial participles always precede the main clause. Converbal forms expressing time (except for posteriority), manner, condition and cause, as a rule, precede the main clause, whereas converbs of posteriority, purpose and result, as a rule, follow the main clause. Conjunctive adverbial clauses also, as a rule, follow the main clause. An adverb clause may include its own subordinate clauses – almost exclusively converbal, since only converbs, but not participles or finite forms, can commonly occur in chains of two or three forms, for example:

(185) Etyrken bira-tki ngene-d'ene umnet dylgan-ma
old.man river-locall go-conv suddenly voice-accd
doldy-ksa ugiski iche-kse il-la-n.
hear-conv upwards look.at-conv stand.up-nfut-2sg
'The old man while going to the river suddenly heard the voice, looked upards and stood still/stopped.'

1.1.2.4.2. Particular adverb clause-types

1.1.2.4.2.1. Time There are no less than ten different forms which can be used for expressing taxis relations of anteriority, simultaneity or posteriority, that is, relative tense. These include converbal, participial and finite verb forms. They differ in frequency both in written and spoken language. Converbs in *-ksA, -d'AnA, -mi, -rAki-* and *-chAlA-* are used frequently, whereas other converbal forms, participles with case markers and finite forms with conjunctions are used in adverb clauses rather seldom. Sometimes a certain converbal form may be used in one dialect frequently and yet in other dialects may be almost unknown. For instance, the form in *-ksA* is the most frequent converb of anteriority in more than thirty eastern dialects spoken in the Khabarovsk and Vladivostok regions and on the island of Sakhalin. The converb in *-kA(n)im* is lacking in these dialects, whereas in the northern dialects spoken in the northern part of the Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk regions and also in the majority of the southern

dialects spoken on the banks of the Podkamennaja Tunguska river (in the villages of Vanavara, Poligus, Bajkit) converbs in *-kA(n)im* are very frequent and forms in *-ksA* are practically non-existent. The Sym dialect in the west of the Evenki area (on the Sym river) knows neither the form in *-ksA* nor the form in *-kA(n)im*. The converb in *-mi* is used as the main means of expressing anteriority in the Sym dialect.

The adverbial forms used for expressing only past time include two participial forms (in *-nA* and *-chA*; as adverbials they obligatorily function with either the dative or the ablative case markers), and two converbal forms (in *-ngAsi-* and in *-chAlA-*). The other forms expressing taxis in adverb clauses make no distinction between different time planes, that is, they may co-occur with the main verb in any tense (past, present or future), though of course past-tense forms are most frequent both in the written language and in speech. Here I present the data on different converbal forms expressing taxis relations in adverb clauses in accordance with their frequency in folklore texts written down in the Vanavara–Mutoraj area (a detailed analysis of converbs in Evenki is given in Nedjalkov (1995: 441–63)).

1.1.2.4.2.1.1. Converb in *-kA(n)im*: This form is semantically very similar to the converbal form in *-ksA*, which is mainly used in the eastern dialects. Both forms are simple (same-subject), that is, they cannot take any possession inflections. They can take only the plural marker *-l*. Both are perfective and express anteriority with respect to the action of the main verb (the latter may be in any tense form). These converbs are used only in case of coreferential subjects. They differ only in their frequency or preference in different dialects, for example:

(186) D'u-la-vi eme-keim / eme-kse d'ep-cho-n.
house-all-prefl come-conv / come-conv eat-pst-3sg
'On coming home he ate.'

(187) Asi-va ga-kaim oron-mo tege-keim tar beje
wife-accd take-conv reindeer-accd sit-conv that man
suru-re-n.
go.away-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'Having taken a wife and having sat on a reindeer that man left.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.2. Converb in *-d'AnA*: This converb comes from the imperfective form (with the suffix *-d'a-*) of the converb in *-nA* (see 1.1.2.4.2.1.6). It is very frequent in all Evenki dialects and expresses simultaneity (or manner; see 1.1.2.4.2.2) only in case of coreferential subjects. This converb may take only the plural ending *-l* (which is optional) and, as a rule,

precedes the finite form. With verbs of activity and accomplishment it expresses durative simultaneous situations and with verbs denoting punctual situations it expresses iterative simultaneous situations:

(188) a. Bejumimni-l bira-li d'avra-d'ana-l moty-va iche-che-tyn.
hunter-pl river-prol boat-conv-pl elk-accd see-pst-3pl
'Boating along the river, the hunters saw the/an elk.'

(188) b. Tar asi bi-d'e-che-n sulaki-l-ve va:-d'ana.
that woman live-impv-pst-3sg fox-pl-accd kill-conv
'She earned a living by killing foxes.'
(lit.) 'That woman lived killing foxes.'

In (188b) either simultaneous or instrumental reading is possible.

1.1.2.4.2.1.3. Converb in *-mi*: This form is semantically very rich. In fact, it is as polysemous as the form in *-rAki-* with one cardinal referential difference: forms in *-mi* are same-subject and forms in *-rAki-* are different-subject (see 1.1.2.4.2.1.4). As adverbial modifiers of time they may express actions which are either prior to, or simultaneous with, the actions of the main verbs. In addition, the converb in *-mi* can express the meanings of condition, cause, concession and concessive condition (for examples of non-taxis use of this converb, see 1.1.2.4.2.4, 1.1.2.4.2.5 and 1.1.2.4.2.9). The form in *-mi* may also perform an infinitival function (see 1.1.2.2.2). The realization of the listed meanings is largely context dependent including the semantic nature of the verbs involved. Verbs with the imperfective aspect marker *-d'a-* opt for simultaneity, whereas verbs without this aspectual marker opt for anteriority, compare:

(189) a. Agi-li ngene-d'e-mi dengk'e-l-ve va:-vki.
forest-prol go-impv-conv sable-pl-accd kill-hab.part
(lit.) 'Going through the forest he hunts sable.'

(189) b. D'u-la-vi muchu-mi bejukte-ne-d'e-m.
house-all-prefl return-conv hunt-go-fut-1sg
'When/If I return home, I will go hunting.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.4. Converb in *-rAkı-*: This form is similar in semantics to the converbal form in *-mi*. Both may perform not only taxis functions of anteriority and simultaneity, but also such non-taxis adverbial functions as condition, cause and concession. The crucial referential difference between forms in *-mi* and *-rAki-* has already been stated: forms in *-mi* are used in case of coreferential subjects, whereas forms in *-rAki-* are used only in the case of non-coreferential subjects. Consequently forms in *-mi* never take any possession markers, whereas forms in *-rAki-* obligatorily take personal possession markers which render person/number of the

'converbal' subject. Forms in *-rAki-* express simultaneity if the converb contains the imperfective marker *-d'A-*. If this aspectual marker is lacking, the converb expresses anteriority:

(190) a. Bira-li ngene-d'e-reki-n tygde-l-le-n.
river-prol go-impv-conv-3sg.poss rain-inch-nfut-3sg
'When (s)he was going along the river it began to rain.'

(190) b. D'u-la-vi eme-reki-n asi-n
house-all-prefl come-conv-3sg.poss wife-3sg.poss

nungan-dun d'eb-de-n bu:-re-n.
he-dat eat-conv-3sg.poss give-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'When he$_i$ came home his$_i$ wife gave him$_i$ to eat.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.5. Converb in *-chAlA-*: The suffix *-chAlA-* consists diachronically of the participial suffix *-cha* and the allative case marker *-la*. Forms in *-chala-* are used rather frequently in the function of anteriority. Converbal forms in *-chAlA-* also exist in Even, Solon and Negidal, thus being of common Northern Tungusic origin. This converb is usually used in different-subject constructions, taking in such cases personal possession markers (191a). Same-subject use of forms in *-chAlA-* is also possible and in such cases converbs take reflexive possession markers *-vi* (sg)/*-vAr* (pl) (191b). This rule of employing possession suffixes on converbs with variable switch-reference properties is also applied to converbs in *-dAlA-*, *-ngAsi-*, *-dA:-*, *-knAn-*, *-ktAvA-* and *-vunA-*.

The converb in *-chAlA-* has the following peculiar properties: (a) it is always accompanied by a past or non-future tense form; (b) it never takes the imperfective aspect marker *-d'a-*, thus always denoting perfective situations; (c) it always stands before the finite form:

(191) a. Si suru-chele-s nginakin-mi n'an
you go.away-conv-2sg.poss dog-1sg.poss again

gogo-l-lo-n.
bark-inch-nfut-3sg
'After you had left, my dog began to bark again.'

(191) b. Kungaka-r amut-tula suru-sin-chele-ver
child-pl lake-all go.away-smel-conv-prefl

asa-l-ve iche-kse-l d'u-l-dula-ver tuksa-ra-0.
woman-pl-accd see-conv-pl house-pl-all-prefl run-nfut-3pl
'The children went to the lake, saw the women and ran to their houses.'

Converbs in *-chAlA-* with the verbs *bi-* 'be' and *ilten-* 'pass by' denote the

lapse of time after which a certain situation occurred. The initial reference point may not be expressed, for example:

(192) a. Ilalla-va bi-chele-tyn eme-re-n.
three.days-accd be-conv-3pl.poss come-nfut-3sg
'He came after they had stayed there for three days.'

(192) b. D'an minuta-l ilten-chele-tyn umun bejumimni
ten minute-pl pass-conv-3pl.poss one hunter
i:-re-n.
enter-nfut-3sg
'In ten minutes a hunter entered.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.6. Converb in *-nA*: This same-subject converb with non-stative verbs expresses immediate anteriority and with stative verbs and some verbs of activity (for example, *ichet-* 'look at', *bejit-* 'hunt in frosty weather', *bi-* 'be', *tuksa-* 'run') the form in *-nA* expresses simultaneity of converbal action with respect to the action of the main verb. Forms in *-nA* are seldom used without the imperfective marker *-d'A-*. They can take only the plural marker *-l* but cannot take any possession markers. Converb in *-nA* is homonymous with the participial form in *-na* which has the perfect meaning, that is, semantically it differs considerably from the converbal form. Converbs in *-(d'A)nA* may either precede or follow the main verb. The interpretation of either immediate anteriority or simultaneity of situations expressed by converbs and the main verbs does not correlate with their position before or after the finite verb, compare:

(193) a. Tymani-tykin erde tege-ne bejukte-vki bi-che-n.
morning-every early get-up-conv hunt-hab.part be-pst-3sg
'Getting up early every morning he usually went hunting immediately.'

(193) b. Bira-kan-me solo-d'o-m ertyki-tartyki ichet-ne.
river-dim-accd boat-prs-1sg here-there look-conv
'I am going by boat down the small river looking here and there.'

(193) c. Nungan alagumni bi-ne ajat haval-d'acha-n.
he teacher be-conv good work-impf-3sg
'When he was a teacher, he worked well.' / 'He worked well as a teacher.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.7. Converb in *-ngAsi*: This varying subject form expresses past prolonged situation simultaneous with the situation of the main verb. Converbs in *-ngAsi-* are always accompanied by the finite form in one of the past tenses or the non-future tense in its past use and, as a rule, con-

verbs occur before the finite form and quite freely take the imperfective aspect marker *-d'a-*:

(194) a. Er ure-li ngene-d'e-ngesi-vi kete-ve bejnge-l-ve
this hill-prol go-impv-conv-prefl many-accd animal-pl-accd

iche-che-v.
see-pst-1sg
'When I went across this hill, I saw many animals.'

(194) b. Bira dongoto-d'o-ngosi-n bu homo:ty-va
river freeze-impv-conv-3sg.poss we bear-accd

va:-cha-vun.
kill-pst-1pl.exc
'When the river was frozen (lit. freezing) we killed a / the bear.'

Converbs in *-ngAsi* usually denote remote past situations which continued for a long period of time. The verb *bi-* 'be / live', *in-* 'live' are often used in this converbal form, for example:

(195) Tar asi in-d'e-ngesi-ji tara-ve ulguchen-e-n.
that woman live-impv-conv-prefl that-accd retell-nfut-3sg
'That woman narrated that when she was alive.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.8. Converb in *-dAlA-*: This varying-subject converb (and its negative form *e-d'eli-* plus the negative participle in *-rA* of the notional verb) expresses posteriority of converbal action to that of the main verb. Forms in *-dAlA-* almost always follow the main verb, probably reflecting the iconicity principle. The following meanings are realized by this converb: before-posteriority, until-posteriority and the meaning of result, as in:

(196) a. Bejetken chas kaltaka-ja-n alat-chacha-n upkat
boy hour half-accin-3sg.poss wait-impf-3sg all

eme-dele-tyn.
come-conv-3pl.poss
'The boy had been waiting for half an hour until everybody came.'

(196) b. Bu suru-re-v purta-vi sokor-dolo-s.
we go.away-nfut-1pl.exc knife-prefl lose-conv-2sg.poss
'We went away before you lost your knife.'

(196) c. Bi tuksa-cha-v deru-dele-vi.
I run-pst-1sg get.tired-conv-prefl
'I ran until I got tired.'

The negative form of this converb, as a rule, follows the main verb as well:

(197) Bu:-kel min-du purta-va-s
give-2sg.imp I-dat knife-accd-2sg.poss

e-d'eli-v suru-re.
neg.aux-conv-1sg.poss go.away-part
'Give me your knife before I go away.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.9. Converbs in *-mnen/-mmen* and *-mnAk*: These, as a rule, follow the main verb and express immediate posteriority of 'converbal' action with respect to that of the main verb. These two forms are close in meaning and grammar: they are used only in case of coreferential subjects and never take any possession markers, but can have the optional plural marking (*-mne-r/-mnAk-il*):

(198) Nekun-mi mo:-l-va emev-re-n
younger.brother-1sg.poss firewood-pl-accd bring-nfut-3sg

taduk suru-mnen.
then go.away-conv
'My younger brother brought firewood (and) then left (immediately).'

(199) Bejetken tege-re-n dukuvun-ma duku-li-mnak.
boy sit.down-nfut-3sg letter-accd write-inch-conv
'The boy sat down and (immediately) began to write a letter.'

When positioned before the main verb both these converbs may express either immediate anteriority or simultaneity, for example:

(200) Tar beje oron ije-l-duk-in
that man reindeer horn-pl-abl-3sg.poss

d'ava-mnen/d'ava-mnak elge-re-n.
take-conv/take-conv bring-nfut-3sg
'That man taking the reindeer by its horns brought it home.'

(201) Tyma:tne tege-mnek eme-kellu.
tomorrow sit.down-conv come-2pl.imp
'Come tomorrow immediately after you get up.'

In many cases in which these converbs precede the main verb, either simultaneous or immediate anterior interpretation is possible, compare:

(202) Bi ud'akit-va d'ute-mnek bira-va iche-0-m.
I path-accd cross-conv river-accd see-nfut-1sg
'Crossing/Having crossed the path I saw the river.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.10. Peripheral means of expressing taxis: The other forms expressing time in adverb clauses nowadays very rarely occur in spoken

language and are very seldom found in texts. But as the folklore texts of the 1920s and 1930s show, these forms were used, though seldom. These include two more converbal forms in *-d'AnmA-* (simultaneity; non-coreferential subjects) and *-ktAvA-* (anteriority; predominantly non-coreferential subjects), three participial forms in *-nA, -chA* and *-ri* with either the dative (*-nAdu-, -chAdu, -ridu-*) or the ablative case affixes (*-nAduk-, -chAduk-, -riduk-*) (anteriority; predominantly non-coreferential subjects), and conjunctive adverb clauses with the indicative mood verb forms and the conjunction *o:kin* 'when' (184). Examples:

Converbal forms in *-d'AnmA-* and *-ktAvA-*

(203) Asi haval-d'anma-n edy-n
woman work-conv-3sg.poss husband-3sg.poss

teget-cheche-n.
sit-impf-3sg
'While the woman was working her husband was sitting.'

(204) D'a-l-tyn suru-kteve-tyn beje
relative-pl-3pl.poss go.away-conv-3pl.poss man

a:sin-a-n.
fall.asleep-nfut-3sg
'The man fell asleep after their relatives had gone away.'

Participial forms in *-nA, -chA, -rı*

(205) Suru-che-duk-in dygin anngani-l ilten-che-l.
go.away-part-abl-3sg.poss four year-pl pass-part-pl
'Four years had passed since he had gone away.'

(206) Min-duk pektyrevun-me ga-na-duk-in b'ega
I-abl gun-accd take-part-abl-3sg.poss month

ilten-e-n.
pass-nfut-3sg
'A month had passed since he had taken a gun from me.'

(207) Bira dagadun o:-ri-du-v
river near become-part-dat-1sg.poss

so:t edyni-l-le-n.
very blow.wind-inch-nfut-3sg
'When I found myself near the river a strong wind began to blow.'

1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner There is no specialized verb form expressing manner. Adverb clauses of manner almost always employ the converb of

simultaneity in *-d'AnA* (more rarely the converb in *-nA*) which is usually positioned before the main verb. The distinction between manner and simultaneity is often not clear-cut:

(208) Sulaki dokolot-chono irgichi-duk hukty-l-che-n.
fox limp-conv wolf-abl run-inch-pst-3sg
(lit.) 'The fox limping ran from the wolf.'

(209) Etyrken dyku-d'ene ulgur-ve ulguchen-d'eche-n.
old.man stammer-conv story-accd tell-impf-3sg
'The old man stammering was telling the story.'

(210) Nungan e-ne helinche-re ngene-d'eche-n.
he neg.aux-conv hurry-part go-impf-3sg
'He went without hurrying.'

(211) Asatkan songo-d'oro-n silgin-d'ene.
girl cry-prs-3sg tremble-conv
(lit.) 'The girl was crying trembling.'

1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose Purpose is almost always expressed by the specialized converbal form in *-dA:-*. Older speakers also know the converbal form in *-vunA-* which has exactly the same function (this form is preserved in the interrogative question-word *e-vuna* 'why?'/'for what purpose?'). Both converbs are varying-subject and take either the reflexive possession markers if subjects are coreferential, or personal possession markers, if subjects are non-coreferential. As a rule, purposive converbs follow the finite verb and may take the imperfective marker *-d'A-*, for example:

(212) Bi nungan-dula-n tuksa-cha-v dukuvun-ma-s
I he-all-3sg.poss run-pst-1sg letter-accd-2sg.poss
bu:-de:-vi.
give-conv-prefl
'I ran to him to give him your letter.'

(213) D'ev-de:-n iri-che-n.
eat-conv-3sg.poss cook-pst-3sg
'She prepared meals for him to eat.'

(214) Girki-vi tala ung-che-tyn haval-d'a-da:-n.
friend-prefl there send-pst-3pl work-impv-conv-3sg.poss
'They sent their friend there to work (so that he worked).'

(215) Evi-vune-v eviken-me emev-re-n.
play-conv-1sg.poss toy-accd bring-nfut-3sg
'She brought the toy for me to play.'

1.1.2.4.2.4. Cause Cause may be expressed either by participial or converbal forms. The former way involves the perfect participle in *-nA* in the prolative case (*-li*) (much more rarely in the ablative (*-duk*) or in the dative (*-du*) case):

(216) Ajat haval-na-li-v min-du pektyre:vun-me
good work-part-prol-1sg.poss I-dat gun-accd

bu:-re-0.
give-nfut-3pl
'They gave me a gun because I had been working well.'

(217) Tar atyrkan bali:-re-n songo-no-duk-pi
that old.woman get.blind-nfut-3sg cry-part-abl-prefl

ilmakta-du-vi.
young-dat-prefl
'That old woman went blind because she had wept when she was young.'

(218) Si purta-va-v baka-na-du-s bi sin-du
you knife-accd-1sg.poss find-part-dat-2sg.poss I you-dat

ollo-vo bu:-d'e-m.
fish-accd give-fut-1sg
'I shall give you fish because you found my knife.'

Cause may also be expressed by taxis-conditional converbs in *-mi* and *-rAki-* in certain contexts, for instance, after nouns, adjectives and participles. Sometimes both interpretations are possible: either cause or condition:

(219) Engesi bi-mi nungan homo:ty-va davdy-ra-n.
strong be-conv he bear-accd win-nfut-3sg
'He overcame the bear because he was strong (lit. being strong).'

(220) Deru-che bi-mi etyrken d'u-du emenmu-re-n.
get.tired-part be-conv old.man house-dat stay-nfut-3sg
'The old man stayed at home because he was tired (lit. being tired).'

(221) Mata-l une-tmerit suru-rek-tyn bu kino-la
guest-pl early-cmpr leave-conv-3pl.poss we cinema-all

suru-che-vun.
leave-pst-1pl.exc
'As the guests left earlier, we went to the cinema.'

(222) Edy-v e-reki-n ngene-re bi-de
husband-1sg.poss neg.aux-conv-3sg.poss go-part I-clt

e-ta-m ngene-re.
neg.aux-fut-1sg go-part
'If/Since my husband will not go, I shall not go either.'

1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition Condition is expressed either by the taxis-conditional converb in *-mi* or the taxis-conditional converb in *-rAki-*. The forms in *-mi* are used with coreferential subjects, whereas the forms in *-rAki-* are used with non-coreferential subjects. The subjunctive and the imperative mood forms, as well as the future-tense forms of the finite verb lead to the conditional reading of these converbs, whereas all the past (and non-future) tense forms force a temporal interpretation of these converbs. Sometimes both readings are possible. The converb in *-mi* may take only the plural marker *-l*, whereas the converb in *-rAki-* always takes a marker of personal possession, for example:

(223) Asatkan-me ajav-mi asila-mcha-v.
girl-accd love-conv marry-subj-1sg
'If I loved this girl I would marry her.'

(224) Si dolboltono mun-dule eme-reki-s bi girki-vi
you evening we-all come-conv-2sg.poss I friend-prefl

eri-d'enge-v.
call-fut-1sg
'If you come to us in the evening, I will call my friend.'

Analytic converbal forms consisting of one of the two participial forms (either the anterior participle in *-chA* or the posterior participle in *-d'AngA*) and the converbal form of the auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be' generally have a conditional interpretation, for example:

(225) Si min-dule eme-che bi-mi kete-ve sa:-mcha-s.
you I-all come-part be-conv many-accd know-subj-2sg
'If you had come to me, you would have learned a lot.'

(226) Girki-v tatkit-tula amanni-cha bi-reki-n
friend-1sg.poss school-all be.late-part be-conv-3sg.poss

alagumni nungan-man e-ta-n i:-vken-e.
teacher he-accd neg.aux-fut-3sg enter-caus-part
'If my friend is late to school, the teacher will not let him in.'

Contrary to fact (unreal) conditions are expressed by the same converbal forms in *-mi* and *-rAki-*, the main verb takes the subjunctive mood marker *-mchA-* (225):

(227) Nungan dukuvu-r-va min-du bu:-reki-n bi esi
he book-pl-accd I-dat give-conv-3sg.poss I now

tangi-mcha-v.
read-subj-1sg
'If he had given me books I would have read (them) now.'

If the converbal form in *-mi* or *-rAki-* is derived from the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' then the only possible interpretation is also conditional, compare:

(228) D'uke e-mi kapurga-ra aja bi-mche!
ice neg.aux-conv break-part good be-subj
'If the ice does not break, it would be good!'

Negative analytic converbal forms also opt for the conditional reading:

(229) A:kin-mi d'u-la-vi e-che eme-re
brother-1sg.poss house-all-prefl neg.aux-part come-part

bi-mi agi-du bi-d'enge-n.
be-conv forest-dat be-fut-3sg
'If my (elder) brother didn't come home, he will stay in the forest.'

1.1.2.4.2.6. Result Result or consequence of an anterior situation can be expressed either by the specialized converbal form in *-knAn-* or by means of a coordinate sentence with the conjunctions *tarit* (instrumental case *-t* of the pronoun *tar* 'that'), *tar d'arin* 'that is why'. Both the converb in *-knAn-* and the conjunctive clause always follow the main verb. The converb of result never takes the imperfective marker *-d'a-* and usually can be replaced by the posterior converb in *-dAlA-* since the latter form in its second meaning also expresses a certain result achieved as a consequence of a prior action, expressed by the finite verb, compare:

(230) a. Asatkan songo-d'ocho-n e:sa-l-in
girl cry-impf-3sg eye-pl-3sg.poss

hularga-knan-tyn.
become.red-conv-3pl.poss
'The girl cried and cried until her eye became red.'

(230) b. Bejumimni agi-li ngene-d'eche-n deru-knen-mi.
hunter forest-prol go-impf-3sg get.tired-conv-prefl
'The hunter went and went through the forest until he got tired.'

(230) c. Bi pektyre:vun-duk-iv so:t d'avucha-d'acha-v
I gun-abl-1sg.poss very hold-impf-1sg

umukeche-r-vi bagdarga-knan-tyn.
finger-pl-prefl become.white-conv-3pl.poss
'I held my gun so tight that my fingers became white.'

(231) Nungan ajat haval-d'acha-n, tar d'arin nungan-man
he good work-impf-3sg that for he-accd

ken'e-che-tyn
praise-pst-3pl
'He worked well, that is why they praised him.'

1.1.2.4.2.7. Degree Degree (both comparative and equative) is always expressed by derivational means (see 1.8 and 1.9) and never involves clausal subordination. The standard of comparison is always in the ablative case, as in:

(232) Nungan duku-d'ari-duk-in bi aja-tmar duku-d'a-m.
he write-part-abl-3sg.poss I good-cmpr write-prs-1sg
'I write better than he does.'

The functions of equative degree are expressed by means of the affix *-gAchin* 'similar to/just as/like' (see 2.1.1.4.11) which is added to the standard of equation expressed by a nominal.

1.1.2.4.2.8. Place Place is expressed by the participial forms with the proper locative case marker. Four participles are possible here: participle of simultaneity in *-d'Ari*; participle of anteriority in *-chA*; perfect participle in *-nA*; and posterior participle in *-d'AngA*. These participial forms when used in the function of the adverbial of place should take one of the three locative case suffixes: *-du* (dat), *-duk* (abl) or *-tki* (locall). The choice of participial forms depends on the simultaneity/anteriority or posteriority of the situation with the locative meaning expressed by the participle with reference to the action expressed by the main verb. The choice of case affix depends upon the direction of motion (correspondingly in/on the place, from or to the place of action):

(233) D'u-l ilit-chari-du-tyn guleseg
house-pl stand-part-dat-3pl.poss village

bi-d'anga-n. (*-chari* < *-d'ari*)
be-fut-3sg
'There will be a village on the place where now tents stand.'

(234) Tar atyrkan in-d'e-che-du-n tykin tatkit
that old.woman live-impv-part-dat-3sg.poss now school

bi-si-n.
be-prs-3sg
'There is a school now where that old woman lived.'

(235) Asa-l ju:-d'e-ne-tki-tyn suru-re-n.
woman-pl go.out-impv-part-locall-3pl.poss go.away-nfut-3sg
'He went to the place from where the women had been going out.'

1.1.2.4.2.9. Concession Concession is predominantly expressed by taxis-conditional converbs in *-mi* or *-rAki-*. In both cases the concessive enclitics *-dA* or *-vAl* are necessary. Much less often concession is expressed by a coordinate structure with a conjunctional word *emi-vel* 'and still/but nevertheless/though':

(236) Su:n-mi-da bi-reki-n bi upkachin
coat-1sg.poss-clt be-conv-3sg.poss I entire

ulap-cha-v.
get.wet-pst-1sg
'Although I had my coat, I got soaked to the skin.' (lit. 'Although there was my coat, I got soaked entirely.')

(237) Eni-m mine so:t tykul-mi-vel
mother-1sg.poss I.accd very get.angry-conv-clt

e-che-n hengket-che-re.
neg.aux-pst-3sg scold-impv-part
'Though my mother got very angry with me, she didn't scold me.'

(238) Dylacha buru-reki-n-mel nangmakta-l hata
sun fall-conv-3sg.poss-clt mosquito-pl still

horoli-kta-d'ara-0.
circle-dstr-prs-3pl
'Though the sun has set, mosquitoes are still circling around.'

(239) Emi-vel tulidu hekupchu bi-cho-n nungan su:n-mi
though outside hot be-pst-3sh he coat-prefl

tet-te-n.
put.on-nfut-3sg
'Though it was hot outside, he put on his coat.'

The concessive interpretation may have no overt expression, that is, appear in two coordinated finite clauses, as in:

(240) Nginaki-r gogo-d'o-rok-tyn tulile, beje
dog-pl bark-impv-conv-3pl.poss outside man

d'u-duk-pi e-che-n ju:-re.
house-abl-prefl neg.aux-pst-3sg go.out-part
'Though the dogs barked outside, the man didn't go out from his house.'

1.1.2.4.3. Non-finite adverb clauses

As illustrated above (under 1.1.2.4.2.1-9), non-finite (converbal or participial) clauses are the predominant and sometimes the only means of expressing adverbial functions. These forms lack categories of mood and absolute tense (the latter changes for the taxis, or relative tense; see 1.1.2.2.6). The categories of voice, modality and aspect may be retained in the participial and converbal forms. Both participial and the majority of converbal forms may be inflected for personal and reflexive possession. Only participial forms may be inflected for case. Some participles and converbs may be also inflected for number (marker *-l*). The subject of the adverb clause may be overtly expressed in the nominative case. For the treatment of other overt arguments in adverb clauses see 1.1.2.2.6.

1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

There is no sequence of tenses between two different time planes in case the complex structure contains two indicative mood verb forms, as in:

(241) Nungan gun-che-n amakan eme-d'enge-n.
he say-pst-3sg soon come-fut-3sg
'He$_t$ said (that) he$_t$ would come soon.'

There is perhaps the only restriction laid on the co-occurence of forms in *-chA* and in *-rA*: if the main verb has the tense affix *-chA*, then the subordinate indicative verb form cannot have the tense affix *-rA* (see 2.1.3.2.1.3). The following sentence, for instance, is ungrammatical:

(242) * Heladan va:-cha-n homo:ty-va on nungan
Heladan kill-pst-3sg bear-accd how he

gun-e-n. (*-e* < *-re*)
say-nfut-3sg
'Heladan killed the bear, as he (had) said.'

To make the last sentence grammatical one should change the non-future-tense form *gun-e-n* '(s)he said' for the past-tense form *gu:-cha-n* '(s)he said'.

1.2. STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1. Copular sentences

Copular sentences always consist of an equational construction with two nominal constituents united by the auxiliary verbs *bi-* 'be' or *o:-* 'become'. This type of sentence has, as a rule, overt copular verb forms expressing being or becoming.

1.2.1.1.1. Copular sentences with nominal complement

1.2.1.1.1.1. Is an overt 'be'-copula optional or obligatory? An overt 'be'-copula is obligatory with the exception of the third-person singular of the present tense (*bi-si-n* 'is'), for example:

(243) Tar oron n'ami (bi-si-n).
that reindeer female (be-prs-3sg)
'That reindeer is a doe.'

(244) Minngi ami-m bejumimni (bi-si-n).
my father-1sg.poss hunter (be-prs-3sg)
'My father is a hunter.'

(245) Bi alagumni bi-che-v.
I teacher be-pst-1sg
'I was a teacher.'

1.2.1.1.1.2. Marking of the predicate noun Both the subject and the predicate noun are always in the nominative case:

(246) Tar bira gerbi-n Enisei.
that river name-3sg.poss Enisei
'The name of that river is Enisei.'

(247) Si aja havalimni bi-si-nni.
you good worker be-prs-2sg
'You are a good worker.'

(248) Nungan degiktemni bi-d'anga-n.
he pilot be-fut-3sg
'He will be a pilot.'

1.2.1.1.1.3. The order of the constituents The word order is, as a rule, Subject–Complement–V (see (243)–(248), though the copula may precede the complement, compare:

(249) Taduk nungartyn aichimni-l o:-cha-tyn.
then they doctor-pl become-pst-3pl
'Then they became doctors.'

(250) Tar bi-si-n minngi girki-v.
that be-prs-3sg my friend-1sg.poss
'This is my friend.'

The equational construction Subject–Nominal Predicative–Copula (with copulas *bi-* 'be' and *o:-* 'become'), as a rule, links simple nouns without any modifiers. Nevertheless nominal constituents of any degree of complexity are possible. In all cases the subject represents the argument to be identified and the predicative noun represents the identifying element. There may be no overt identified element, as in:

(251) Boloni bi-che-n.
autumn be-pst-3sg
'It was autumn.'

In such cases the presupposed subject may be anaphoric and the sentence may clarify or expand the preceding discourse, compare:

(252) a. Nungartyn Evenki-l bi-si-0.
they Evenki-pl be-prs-3pl
'They are the Evenkis.'

(252) b. Evenki-l bi-si-0.
Evenki-pl be-prs-3pl
'They are the Evenkis.'

1.2.1.1.2. Copular sentences with adjectival complement

Adjectival statements containing quality assignment are formed exactly like those with nominal complements: with a copula *bi-* 'be' or *o:-* 'become'.

1.2.1.1.2.1. Optional vs obligatory status of copula A copula is obligatory in all tenses with the only exception in the case of the third-person singular in the present tense, for example:

(253) Tar oron burgu-meme (bi-si-n).
that reindeer fat-ints (be-prs-3sg)
'That reindeer is very fat.'

(254) Ami-m engesi (bi-si-n).
father-1sg.poss strong (be-prs-3sg)
'My father is strong.'

1.2.1.1.2.2. Marking of the adjective complement The adjective complement is always expressed in the nominative case, as in:

(255) Bejetke-r hegdy-l o:-cha-tyn.
boy-pl big-pl become-pst-3pl
'The boys became big.'

1.2.1.1.2.3. Order of the constituents The order of the constituents is almost always Subject–Adjective Complement–Copula.

1.2.1.1.3. Copular sentences with adverbial complement

Copula *bi-* 'be' is used in this case.

1.2.1.1.3.1. Is an overt 'be'-copula optional or obligatory? The copula *bi-* 'be' is obligatory with the exception of the third-person singular of the present tense (*bi-si-n* 'is'):

(256) Eni-m tuli:le (bi-si-n).
mother-1sg.poss outside (be-prs-3sg)
'My mother is outside.'

1.2.1.1.3.2. Marking of the complement adverbial The complement adverbial has no special affixes, compare:

(257) D'u-tyn tadu bi-che-tyn.
house-3pl.poss there be-pst-3pl
'Their houses were there.'

1.2.1.1.3.3. The order of the constituents The order of the constituents is as above: Subject–Complement–Copula:

(258) Upkat hitenme bi-che-n.
all in.vain be-pst-3sg
'Everything was in vain.'

1.2.1.1.4. Copular sentences without overt copula

Simple juxtaposition of two nominals without overt copula is impossible with the exception of cases involving the ellipsis of copula *bi-si-n* 'is' (3sg.prs) (see 1.2.1.1.3.1). Compare also:

(259) Minngi amin-mi d'u-du (bi-si-n).
my father-1sg.poss house-dat (be-prs-3sg)
'My father is at home.'

The copula always expresses such verbal categories as tense and mood.

1.2.1.1.5. Omission of the 'be'-copula

The 'be'-copula can be omitted only in the third-person singular of the present tense. In all other cases it is obligatory.

1.2.1.1.6. Different types of copula

There is the only possible copula *bi-* 'be' used in the defining function (see examples in 1.2.1.1.1). This copula is also used in identifying, or role- or class-assigning functions. The second copula *o:-* 'become' when used in all these functions expresses acquisition of a certain property or feature, as in:

(260) Nungan sagdy o:-cha-n
he old become-pst-3sg
'He became old.'

Since the latter copula never lacks its lexical meaning it cannot be omitted from the sentence.

1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

1.2.1.2.1. Verbs without subjects or with dummy subjects

All indicative mood verb forms are, as a rule, inflectionally marked for subject. An external subject argument in the nominative case may be absent in cases of ellipsis, as in:

(261) Beje suru-re-n. ngene-re-n, ngene-re-n,
man go.away-nfut-3sg go-nfut-3sg go-nfut-3sg

is-ta-n.
reach-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'The man went away. (He) went on, (he) went on, (he) reached.'

Thus, the simplest complete (= independent) sentence with a human agent consists, as a rule, of two parts: the subject in the nominative case and a verbal root plus mood inflection with person and number marking of the subject (and never of the object).

There are several specific cases when verbs function without subjects. This happens for the following main reasons: either because of the lexical

meaning of the verb or because of the grammatical form of the verb. There are two semantic classes of verbs which function without subjects: (a) some verbs of atmospheric phenomena, e.g., *ingin-* 'become cold', *haktyra-* 'become dark', *nge:ri-* 'become light', 'dawn', *n'amal-* 'become warm', *tyrga-* 'begin (of morning, day)'/'dawn', *hosi-* 'flash (of lightning)', *lungur-* 'start getting dark'/'begin (of twilight)', and verbs of physiological sensation, for example, *migdy-* 'hear noise (in the head)', *kinggi-* 'hear buzzing (in the ears)':

(262) a. Lunguri-l-le-n.
get.dark-inch-nfut-3sg
'It began to get dark'/'Twilight began.'

(262) b. Amakan n'amal-d'anga-n.
soon become.warm-fut-3sg
'It will become warm soon.'

(263) a. Dyl-du-v migdy-d'ara-n.
head-dat-1sg.poss produce.noise-prs-3sg
'I hear a noise in my head.'

(263) b. Se:n-du-v kinggi-d'ara-n.
ear-dat-1sg.poss buzz-prs-3sg
'I hear buzzing in my ear.'/'There is buzzing in my ear.'

The majority of more than thirty intransitive verbs expressing atmospheric phenomena (with the exception of those listed above) can be used with subjects which coincide with the corresponding verb stems. In fact these subjects are optional, and such verbs as *tygde-* 'rain', *edyn-* 'blow (of wind)', *imanna-* 'snow' are used impersonally (i.e., without subjects) much more often than with such semi-formal subjects, for example:

(264) a. Tygde-d'ere-n.
rain-prs-3sg
'It is raining.'

(264) b. Tygde tygde-d'ere-n.
rain rain-prs-3sg
'It is raining.'

(265) a. Edyn-d'ere-n.
blow.wind-prs-3sg
'The wind is blowing.'

(265) b. Edyn edyn-d'ere-n.
wind blow.wind-prs-3sg
'The wind is blowing.'

There are no dummy subjects in Evenki, though with some verbs of

atmospheric phenomena such subjects as *buga* 'world/universe', *du:nne* 'earth/world', or *n'angn'a* 'heaven' are possible, compare:

(266) a. Tuhsu-l tuhsu-d'ere-0.
cloud-pl come.cloud-prs-3pl
'Clouds are coming.'

(266) b. Tuhsu-l eme-d'ere-0.
cloud-pl come-prs-3pl
'Clouds are coming.'

(266) c. N'angn'a tuhsu-d'ere-n.
heaven come.cloud-prs-3sg
'Heaven becomes clouded.'/'Clouds come over the sky.'

Statements expressing seasons of the year are formed in the same way (either with the formal subject repeating the verb stem or more often without it), as in:

(267) a. D'uga-ra-n. /D'uga d'uga-ra-n.
begin.summer-nfut-3sg/summer begin.summer-nfut-3sg
'Summer came.'

(267) b. Bolo-ro-n. /Bolo bolo-ro-n.
begin.autumn-nfut-3sg/autumn begin.autumn-nfut-3sg
'Autumn came.'

(267) c. Tuge-re-n. /Tuge tuge-re-n.
begin.winter-nfut-3sg/winter begin.winter-nfut-3sg
'Winter came.'

(267) d. Nelki-re-n. /Nelki nelki-re-n.
begin.spring-nfut-3sg/spring begin.spring-nfut-3sg
'Spring came.'

Impersonal (or rather indefinite-personal) subjects corresponding to English pronouns 'one' or 'they' are expressed by means of the third-person plural either of the present tense or of the habitual participle in *-vki* (see 2.1.3.5):

(268) a. Sulaki-l-va agi-du va:-vki-l.
fox-pl-accd forest-dat kill-hab.part-pl
'They kill foxes in the forest'/'One kills foxes in the forest.'

(268) b. Guni-ngne-re-0 u:tele Evengki-l kete-meme bi-che-tyn.
say-hab-nfut-3pl long.ago Evenki-pl many-ints be-pst-3pl
'They say, there were very many Evenkis long ago.'

Subjects are not allowed by impersonal passive forms of any verbs, including all intransitive verbs. These forms include passive participles in

-d'AngA, modal impersonal participles in *-vkA* and modal negative forms with the modal word *engi* 'impossible' (see examples in 2.1.3.1.1.2). Forms in *-vkA* (see 2.1.3.5) do not admit nominative subjects, in either the passive or in the active verb forms:

(269) a. Tar sektevun-du a:-v-d'anga.
that bed-dat sleep-pass-fut.part
'It is possible to sleep in that bed.'

(269) b. Er aja-va dukuvun-ma tangi-vka /
this good-accd book-accd read-mod.part /

tangi-vu-vke.
read-pass-mod.part
'It is necessary to read this good book.'

(269) c. Tara-ve engi o:-v-ra.
this-accd impossible make-pass-part
'It is impossible to do it.'

1.2.1.2.2. Verbs without direct objects

There seem to be no verbs with semantic objects in their case frame which would not have syntactic direct objects expressed by one of three possible morphological forms: (a) the definite accusative case affix *-vA*; (b) the indefinite accusative case affix *-jA*; or (c) the reflexive possession affix (*-vi* (sg), *-vAr* (pl)) without any case affixes. It does not mean of course that direct objects must be obligatorily expressed. They may be omitted if they are known from the context and/or situation, or when they are clear from the verb stem derived from nominal stems by means of such affixes as *-mA* ('hunt/catch/go to fetch'), *-mi* ('hunt/catch'), *-lA* ('gather/pick/go to bring'), *-li* ('gather'), *-ng* ('make/cook'), *-ty* ('eat'), *-mu* ('smell of'). For other affixes and examples of denominal verbs, see under 2.2.2.1. Examples:

(270) a. Sulaki mo:-la-d'e-vki, mu:-le-d'e-vki.
fox wood-vr-impv-hab.part water-vr-impv-hab.part
'The fox goes and brings firewood, goes and brings water.'

(270) b. Atyrkan himat kolobo-ng-no-n.
old.woman quickly bread-make-nfut-3sg
'The old woman quickly made/baked bread.'

It is possible to add to these sentences external objects expressed by nouns in the definite accusative case: *mo:-va* 'firewood', *mu:-ve* 'water', *kolobo-vo* 'bread' respectively.

Intransitive verbs which do not have semantic 'direct' objects in their

case frames obviously function without syntactic direct objects. These include, for instance, weather verbs, the majority of motion verbs and verbs expressing physical and psychological states.

The incorporated object sentence indicates an action in which the subject is involved, as in:

(271) Ulle-ty-d'ere-n.
meat-eat-prs-3sg
'He is eating meat.'

whereas the external object indicates a more specific definite object, compare:

(272) Nungan ulle-ve d'ev-d'ere-n.
he meat-accd eat-prs-3sg
'He is eating the meat.'

With the causative affix *-vkAn* 'cause/let' attached to the transitive verb stems both the causee and the object of the underlying verbal base are expressed either by the definite accusative-case form or by the reflexive possession form, for example:

(273) a. Bejumimni bejetken-me uluki-l-ve ga-pkan-e-n.
hunter boy-accd squirrel-pl-accd take-caus-nfut-3sg
'The hunter made/let the boy take the squirrels.'/'The hunter ordered the boy to take the squirrels.'

(273) b. Amin-in hute-vi avun-mi baka-vkan-e-n.
father-3sg.poss child-prefl fur.cap-prefl find-caus-nfut-3sg
'His father$_i$ ordered his$_i$ child$_j$ to find his$_{i/j}$ fur-cap.'

Few verb stems may function as both transitives and intransitives without addition of further suffixes. These include *av-* 'wash someone/something'/'wash oneself', *luk-* 'undress someone'/'undress oneself/take off one's clothes', *tet-* 'dress someone'/'dress oneself', *eri-* 'call someone'/'shout', *in'e-* 'make fun of someone'/'ridicule someone'/'laugh', *tukty-* 'go up'/'climb something' and some others. Explicit objects with these verbs are expressed by nominals in the definite accusative case or by nominals with the reflexive possession markers. In the case of intransitive use of some of these verbs they may be accompanied by the reflexive pronoun *me:nmi* 'oneself' (sg)/*me:rver* (pl), compare:

(274) a. Asatkan ileken-me tet-te-n.
girl doll-accd dress-nfut-3sg
'The girl dressed the doll.'

(274) b. Asatkan (me:nmi) tet-te-n.
girl (oneself) dress-nfut-3sg
'The girl dressed herself.'

1.2.1.2.3. Indirect objects

An external argument denoting recipient may be expressed by nominals in one of three case forms (dative *-du*, definite accusative *-vA* or the much rarer locative-allative *-tkɪ*), for example:

(275) Girki-v min-du omakta-va purta-va bu:-re-n.
friend-1sg.poss I-dat new-accd knife-accd give-nfut-3sg
'My friend gave me a / the new knife.'

(276) Asi edy-vi amin-tyki-vi ung-che-n.
woman husband-prefl father-locall-prefl send-pst-3sg
'The woman sent her husband to her father.'

(277) Hunat hute-kle-vi mu:-je emev-re-n.
girl child-locdir water-accin bring-nfut-3sg
'The girl brought water to her child.'

Some verbs allow variation in their case government. The verb *emev-* 'bring' allows the indirect object not only in the locative-directive case (277) but also in the dative case, as in:

(278) Asatka-r enin-du-ver dikte-l-e emev-re-o.
girl-pl mother-dat-prefl berry-pl-accin bring-nfut-3pl
'The girls brought berries to their mother.'

Some *verba dicendi* allow either the definite accusative or the locative-allative case, compare:

(279) a. Etyrken gu:n-e-n beje-l-ve 'D'u-la i:-kellu.'
old.man say-nfut-3sg man-pl-accd house-all enter-2pl.imp
(lit.) 'The old man said to the men: "Enter the house."'

(279) b. Gu:-kel min-tyki ulgur-ve.
say-2sg.imp I-locall story-accd
'Tell me the story.'

The verb *s'ilba-* 'inform' / 'let know' allows either the definite accusative or the locative-allative case, and the verb *hanngukta-* 'ask' allows either the definite accusative or the ablative case of the indirect object, compare:

(280) a. I:du nungan bi-d'eri-ve-n mine/min-tyki
where he be-part-accd-3sg.poss I.acc/I-locall

s'ilba-kal.
inform-2sg.imp
'Tell me where he is now.'

(280) b. Ollomimni-l kungaka-r-ve/kungaka-r-duk hanngukta-l-la-0
fisherman-pl child-pl-accd/child-pl-abl ask-inch-nfut-3pl

ngingi tari d'av.
whose that boat
'The fishermen began to ask children whose boat that was.'

Thus, indirect object may be expressed by a number of cases, most commonly by the dative or locative-allative case forms. The same is true with verbs of giving and the usual agentive verbs involving indirect objects even when the detrimental action is expressed.

1.2.1.2.4. Other arguments

Other cases (see 2.1.1.1.1) required in oblique arguments are the following: the allative (*-lA*) or the locative-allative (*-tki/-tyki*) cases express the meaning of goal, the ablative case forms (*-duk*) – the meaning of source, the prolative (*-li/-duli*) – the meaning of content of discourse and the instrumental (*-t/-di*) – the meaning of means. See 1.2.1.3.1.3 for the various adverbial functions performed by nouns in oblique cases. Individual verbs may take an oblique case argument in the instrumental case, for example, *in'ekte-* 'laugh at someone', *urunche-* 'be glad for someone/something', *aksa-* 'become/be angry with someone', *ngele-* 'be afraid of someone/something'.

In passive constructions the agent is, as a rule, expressed by a dative case nominal (see 2.1.3.1.1), and much more rarely by the instrumental case.

1.2.1.2.5. Combinations of arguments

Any combinations of subject, direct and/or indirect object and oblique arguments may be found in texts, obviously within the limits of the case frame of the particular verb, but none of these external arguments is obligatory. Thus, the minimal sentence consists of a simple finite verb form, though the absence of any of the arguments is always regarded as ellipsis, compare:

(281) Nungan girki-du-vi purta-va gorovo
he friend-dat-prefl knife-accd long.ago

bu:-mu-d'eche-n. Esi bu:-re-n.
give-vol-impf-3sg now give-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'He wanted to give the knife to his friend long ago. Now (he) gave (it to him).'

Ambiguity may occur when both subject and object nominals are singular and when a nominative-case noun is followed by a noun in the definite accusative case with the third-person singular possession marker. In this case the leftmost nominal can be understood as either a sentential subject or a possessor, compare:

(282) Saman asi-va-n iche-re-n.
shaman woman-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-3sg
a. 'The shaman$_i$ saw his$_i$ wife.'
b. 'Someone (unexpressed) saw the shaman's wife.'

In (282b) two nominals form a possessive noun phrase in the function of direct object. In such cases only context or situation can disambiguate the structure.

1.2.1.2.6. Order of sentence constituents

The most neutral order for major sentence constituents is SOV or more fully: Sentential Adverb–Subject–Indirect Object–Direct Object–Predicate adverb–Predicate, as, for instance, with such verbs as *bu:-* 'give', *ung-* 'send', *emev-* 'bring' (see (275), (277), (278), (281)). Simple sentential adverbials are used, as a rule, sentence-initially, for example, *tymatne une* 'early in the morning', *tyrganitykin* 'every day', *bolonidu* 'in autumn'. Predicate adverbs appear just before the finite verb (for example, *himat* 'quickly', *amakan* 'soon', *d'ure* 'twice'). Other oblique arguments occur either after the subject or just before the verb (those expressed by the instrumental or locative cases). In general, position of adverbial constituents is rather free: they may occupy either the first or pre-verbal positions. If the speaker wants to attach logical stress to an adverb it can take any position including the middle of the sentence between the subject and object(s). The indirect object usually precedes the direct object, though the other order is also quite possible (276). A neutral instrumental case argument expressing instrument of an action occurs just before the finite verb, for example:

(283) Bejumimni homo:ty-va pektyre:vun-di ikte-re-n.
hunter bear-accd gun-instr hit-nfut-3sg
'The hunter hit the bear with the gun.'

In the causative structures (with finite verb forms having the affix *-vkAn*) the causee precedes the direct object of the underlying transitive verbal base (see examples with the causative forms in (273), 1.2.1.2.2).

There is considerable variation in word order variants owing to contextually determined focusing or emphasis. In fact, under certain conditions any of the six possible orderings of S/O/V are possible, compare:

(284) Gelekte-che-n, gelekte-che-n, baka-ra-n asi-va
look.for-pst-3sg look.for-pst-3sg find-nfut-3sg woman-accd
bejetken.
boy
'(He) looked for (her), (he) looked for (her), (and at last) the boy found the woman.'

The ordering principles in subordinate clauses (both with converbal and finite verb forms) are the same as in the main clause (non-rigid SOV order). The shifting of constituents of embedded (participial) clauses out of those clauses is not attested and impossible in Evenki. In general, complex participial nominalizations are not typical of Evenki and may be found only in translations from Russian into Evenki and in newspaper texts.

For the ordering of adverbial constituents see 1.2.1.3.2; for the position of adverb clauses relative to the main clause see 1.1.2.4.1.

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

The following sections deal with external adverbial constituents, which perform the main part of adverbial modification. Predicate adverbials, as a rule, modify whole derived verb forms, not just their stems, compare:

(285) Umnet beje pektyre-l-le-n.
suddenly man shoot-inch-nfut-3sg
'Suddenly the man began to shoot.'

The exception to this is the volitive affix *-mu* 'want' which is not modified by an external adverbial, but only the verbal base to which this affix is attached is modified by the temporal adverbials, as in:

(286) Tyma:tne tegemi suru-mu-d'ere-n.
tomorrow morning go.away-vol-prs-3sg
'He wants to leave tomorrow morning.'

1.2.1.3.1. Types of adverbials

1.2.1.3.1.1. Adverbs Non-inflected adverbs are not numerous (for inflected adverbials see 2.2.4.1). These include *aran-aran* 'hardly', *d'uga* 'in

summer', *bolo* 'in autumn', *tuge* 'in winter', *n'engn'e* 'in spring', *dolbo* 'at night', *tyrga* 'by day', *gochin* 'next year', *tyngaringna* 'last year', *tymi/tyma:tne* 'tomorrow'/'in the morning', *umne* 'once', *lungur* 'in the twilight', *tynive* 'yesterday', *utele* 'some time ago'/'long ago', *tykin* 'now', *teli* 'then', *une* 'early', *esi* 'now', *so:t* 'very', *umnet* 'suddenly', *golkam* 'enough', *goro* 'far', *daga* 'near', *umneken* 'one time'. Deictic adverbials may be formed on the basis of demonstrative pronouns taking affixes of locative cases (see 2.1.2.5.6), such as *e-du* 'here', *tadu* 'there', *e-le* 'to this place', *tala* 'to that place', *e-duk* 'from here', *taduk* 'from there'.

Some enclitics may also have adverbial force (see 2.1.8.1.6.1.1 for *-kan* 'and now'/'first', *-kun* 'surely'; 2.1.8.1.9 for *-riktA* 'only', *-tykin* 'every', *mAju* 'only'). Locative semantic functions may be performed by locative cases of the majority of postpositions when they are used as independent isolated adverbial forms, for example, *do:-du* 'inside', *do:-duk* 'from inside', *amaski* 'behind', *chaski* 'further/forward' (see the list of such postpositional adverbials in sections 2.1.1.5.2–20).

1.2.1.3.1.2. Postpositional phrases See 1.2.4 and 2.1.1.5.2–20.

1.2.1.3.1.3. Cases of noun phrases All the postpositional stems listed under 2.1.1.5.2–2.1.1.5.20 are in fact nominal stems and may be used in different locative case forms as adverbials of location (these are listed under 2.2.4.1). Several nouns expressing time (formed on the basis of adverbs) may take the affix of the dative case *-du*. Such derived adverbials have concrete temporal meaning as opposed to the 'pure' adverbial stems with abstract temporal meaning, compare: *bolo* 'in autumn'/'in the autumn' – *bolo-ni* 'autumn' – *bolo-ni-du* 'in autumn' (deictic elements *er* 'this' or *tar* 'that' are likely to appear in the latter case); compare also *tuge* '(usually) in winter' – *tuge-ni-du* '(this/that) winter', *d'uga* '(usually) in summer' – *d'uga-ni-du* '(this/that) summer', *dolbo* '(usually) at night' – *dolbo-ni-du* '(this/that) night', *tyrga* 'by day'/'during the daytime' – *tyrga-ni-du* '(this/that) day'.

Adverbial functions performed by noun phrases in different oblique cases, are described under 2.1.1.5.1. The adverbials with the dative case marker express location at rest; those with the ablative, prolative and allative/locative-allative case markers express respectively motion from, through and towards the point of orientation (examples are given in 2.1.1.5.1). The instrumental case forms may express the function of an instrument or means, the equative form in *-gAchin* 'similar to'/'like something' expresses the adverbial function of the standard of comparison, for example:

(287) ile-gechin
man-eqt
'like a man' / 'like an Evenki man'

For further uses of specific cases in adverbial functions see 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5. In fact, all cases with the exception of the nominative, elative, locative-directive and allative-prolative cases may perform adverbial temporal functions:

(288) Asatkan enin-mi tyrgani-va alat-cheche-n.
girl mother-prefl day-accd wait-impf-3sg
'The girl had been waiting for her mother the whole day.'

(289) Girki-v d'ugani-du suru-d'enge-n.
friend-1sg.poss summer-dat go.away-fut-3sg
'My friend will go away in summer.'

(290) Alagumni dolboni-tki hava-vi ete-che-n.
teacher night-locall work-prefl finish-pst-3sg
'The teacher finished his work by nightfall.'

(291) Aichimni tymani-la haval-d'acha-n.
doctor morning-all work-impf-3sg
'The doctor had been working till morning.'

(292) Amin-mi nadalla-li ulumi-sin-d'enge-n.
father-1sg.poss week-prol hunt.squirrel-smlf-fut-3sg
'My father will go to hunt squirrels in a week's time.'

(293) Ekin-mi tymani-duk dolbo-dolo-n
sister-1sg.poss morning-abl night-conv-3sg.poss
haval-d'acha-n.
work-impf-3sg
'My elder sister was working from morning till night.'

Both accusative cases may be used in adverbial expressions of total duration of time, for example, *tyrgani-va* 'all day', *dolboni-va* 'all night' (concrete day and night is implied), *boloni-ja* 'in autumn' (any autumn is meant), for example:

(294) Bejumimni boloni-ja, tugeni-je bultana-d'ara-n.
hunter autumn-accin winter-accin hunt-prs-3sg
'The hunter hunts in autumn and winter.'

Temporal adverbial functions of the type '(a year) ago' and 'in (a year)' are expressed respectively by means of a postposition *amaski* 'back(wards)' preceded by the definite accusative case of the nominal, and by the prolative case, as in:

(295) a. ilan-ma tyrgani-l-va amaski
three-accd day-pl-accd backwards
'three days ago'

(295) b. ilan-duli tyrgani-l-duli
three-prol day-pl-prol
'in three days'

1.2.1.3.1.4. Adverbial clauses Adverbial clauses involving either non-finite (converbal or participial) or finite verb forms are discussed in 1.1.2.4.

1.2.1.3.2. Position and co-occurrence of adverbials within the sentence

Sentential adverbials as mentioned in 1.2.1.2.6, as a rule, occur sentence initially, whereas predicate modifiers appear before the finite verb. If more than one adverbial occurs in a sentence (this occurs very seldom) the neutral order amongst them is the following: Place–Time–Manner/Degree–Cause. In general there is considerable freedom of adverbial positioning relative to subject, object and predicate conditioned by emphasis (see 1.2.1.2.6). For instance, word order variants in (296) have the same meaning but contain differently focused elements.

(296) a. Er bira-duk esityrga kete-ve ollo-vo va:-0-m.
this river-abl today many-accd fish-accd kill-nfut-1sg
'Today I have caught many fish in this river.'

(296) b. Kete-ve ollo-vo esityrga er bira-duk va:-0-m.

(296) c. Esityrga kete-ve ollo-vo va:-0-m er bira-duk.

There are no constraints on the co-occurrence of the various types of adverbials discussed in sections 1.2.1.3.1.1, but simple adverbials modifying the main verb are not separated from the latter by adverbial clauses. In general, an adverbial clause almost never intrudes between two arguments of the main clause, that is, between subject and object, or between object and main verb, unless it consists of the only non-finite verb form (either converbal or participial), compare:

(297) Tar beje togo-vo si:-keim urke-ve som-kaim
that man fire-accd put.out-conv door-accd close-conv

arakukan tuliski ju:-re-n.
quietly outside go.out-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'Having put out the fire (and) closing the door that man quietly went out.'

Participial and converbal constructions performing temporal functions

(with the exception of posteriority) almost always precede the main clause. With regard to other adverbial functions performed by non-finite verb forms, purpose tends to be expressed after the main verb (see also examples in 1.1.2.4.2.2–9).

1.2.1.3.3. Obligatory adverbials in constructions

Locative or temporal adverbials are necessary in certain types of copular constructions with *bi-* 'be' (see examples in 1.2.1.1.3):

(298) Tar gorolo bi-cho-n.
that long.ago be-pst-3sg
'That was long ago.'

(299) Er bejetken Turu-du bi-d'eche-n.
this boy Tura-dat be-impf-3sg
'This boy lived in Tura.'

Other cases where adverbials are obligatory are very few – notably in answers to questions containing different question-words, for example, *o:n* 'how', *o:kin* 'when', *i:du* 'where'; in constructions expressing extent or comparison, for instance, with adverbs *goro* 'far (from)', *daga* 'near (to)'; with an affix *-gAchin* 'as if'/'like', or an adverb *uret* 'equal to'. Adverbials are also obligatory with modal impersonal passives formed from intransitives, compare:

(300) a. Sungta-li singilgen-duli ngene-v-d'enge.
deep-prol snow-prol go-pass-part
'It is possible to go in (this) deep snow.'

(300) b. Tar sektevun-du a:-v-d'anga.
that bed-dat sleep-pass-part
'It is possible to sleep in that bed.'

1.2.2. Adjective phrases

1.2.2.1. Operational definition

The majority of adjectives have their own particular adjectival inflections (the list of these is given in 2.2.3.1). Fewer adjectives have no distinctive morphological features, e.g. *aja* 'good', *eru* 'bad', *ala* 'tasty', *gugda* 'high', *alb'in* 'wide', *n'ama* 'warm'. All adjectives are used either attributively (almost always preceding a noun) or predicatively (preceding, or more rarely following the copula *bi-* 'be'). Adjectives may have case and number nominal inflections, as in:

(301) Nungartyn omakta-l-du d'u-l-du in-d'ere-0.
they new-pl-dat house-pl-dat live-prs-3pl
'They live in new houses.'

Only adjectives (though of course not all of them) may have markers of the comparative (*-tmAr/-dymAr*) and the superlative (*-dygu*) degrees. Adjectives never have any verbal inflections. Within a noun phrase consisting of two elements the head nominal will always be in the final position, and any attributive element preceding it within the phrase will include either a participle or an adjective.

1.2.2.2. *Adjectives with arguments*

The list of adjectives which may (optionally) take arguments is very limited. These include *daga* 'near', *goro* 'far' (both may take an argument in the ablative case; both can be used as adverbs or nouns, as in *ure-duk daga* 'near the mountain', *e-duk goro* 'far from here'), *d'alum* 'full of' (which may take an argument either in the instrumental or in the definite accusative case, as in *ulle-t d'alum inmek* 'bag full of meat'), *engesi* 'strong' (it may take an argument in the ablative case: *min-duk engesi* 'stronger than me'), *hegdi* 'big', *dyram* 'thick', *gud'oi* 'beautiful', *sagdy* 'old' and other qualitative adjectives which may take an argument in the ablative case denoting the standard of comparison, as in:

(302) murin-duk hegdy oron
horse-abl big reindeer
'a/the reindeer (which is) bigger than a horse'

Other case forms of external arguments with adjectives are not possible.

1.2.2.2.1. Adjectives in subjectless sentences

Such adjectives are not attested.

1.2.2.2.2. Adjectives with direct objects

There seems to be only one adjective (*d'alum* 'full of') which may require the noun in the definite accusative case, for example:

(303) Nungan mu:livun-me emev-re-n, d'alum mu:-ve.
she bucket-accd bring-nfut-3sg full.of water-accd
'She brought the bucket, full of water.'

1.2.2.2.3. Adjectives with indirect object

There are a few adjectives allowing indirect objects in the ablative case

form which express the standard of comparison (see 1.2.2.2). These include *engesi* 'strong', *hegdy* 'big', *dyram* 'thick', *gud'oi* 'beautiful', *sagdy* 'old'.

1.2.2.2.4. Adjectives with other kinds of arguments

No such cases are attested.

1.2.2.2.5. Possible combinations of arguments

No combinations of arguments are possible with adjectives.

1.2.2.3. Adverbials modifying adjectives

Adjectives may be modified either by means of adverbs or by means of derivational morphemes (see 2.1.4.5.1).

1.2.2.3.1. Adverbs

These include adverbs expressing degree of quality or intensity of action expressed by a participle in the function of an attribute: *so:t* 'very', *aran-aran* 'hardly/slightly', *elek'in* 'enough', *eledun* 'fully', for example:

(304) so:t gud'oipchu asatkan
very beautiful girl
'a very beautiful girl'

(305) aran-aran ngene-d'eri oron
hardly go-part reindeer
'a reindeer going slowly'

1.2.2.3.2. Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases cannot modify adjectives.

1.2.2.3.3. Cases of noun phrases

Cases of noun phrases cannot modify adjectives.

1.2.2.3.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses cannot modify adjectives.

1.2.2.3.5. Relative order of adverb and adjective

Adverbs always precede adjectives.

1.2.2.4. Order of the constituents

Both arguments and adverbials precede adjectives, the latter in their turn precede the head noun. Arguments and adverbs cannot co-occur in one attributive phrase.

1.2.3. Adverbial phrases

1.2.3.1. Operational definition

An adverbial, as a rule, has morphologically distinctive elements (see under 2.2.4.1–5). Two adverbs may co-occur in one adverbial phrase, one of the adverbs modifying the other one. However, there is the possibility that these two adverbs modify the main verb in apposition. A combination of more than two adverbs modifying one another never occurs in Evenki.

1.2.3.2. Types of adverbials which can modify adverbials

Secondary adverbial modification may be performed by the following means: (a) derivational affixes on adverbials (these are also used with other parts of speech: *-kAn* with the diminutive meaning, *-kAkun* – with the augmentative meaning; enclitics *-ma, -tana, -ta, -sA* expressing the meaning 'very'); (b) adverbs; (c) postpositional phrases; and much more rarely (d) case forms of nouns.

1.2.3.2.1. Adverbs

Adverbs can quite easily modify adverbials, for example:

(306) a. tyma:tne une
tomorrow early
'tomorrow morning'

(306) b. so:t hekupchu-t
very hot-instr
'very hot'

(306) c. nonon esile
at.first now
'now at last'

1.2.3.2.2. Postpositional phrases

The only possibility of this type of adverbial phrases involves converbal or participial constructions performing adverbial functions with modifying postpositional phrases:

(307) D'u do:-duk-in ju:-keim suru-re-n.
house inside-abl-3sg.poss go.out-conv go.away-nfut-3sg
'Going$_i$ out of his$_j$ house he$_i$ went away.'

1.2.3.2.3. Cases of noun phrases

This type of adverbial modification is very rare:

(308) a. upkat-tuk beje-l-duk gud'oipchu-t
all-abl man-pl-abl beautiful-instr
'nicer / more beautiful than all the people'

(308) b. gochin tugeni-du
next.year winter-dat
'next year in winter'

1.2.3.2.4. Adverbial clauses

This type is not attested.

1.2.3.3. Relative order of the constituents

Adverbial modifiers of adverbials almost always stand before the latter.

1.2.3.4. Particular types of adverbial restricted to modifying particular types of adverbial

There exist constraints of purely semantic compatibility, for example, an adverb *so:t* 'very' cannot be further modified. As was mentioned above an adverbial clause cannot modify a simple adverb. If an adverbial clause and a simple adverb co-occur in one sentence then both adverbials modify the main verb:

(309) D'u-la-vi i:-kse himat gun-e-n.
house-all-prefl enter-conv quickly say-nfut-3sg
'Entering the house he quickly said.'

1.2.4. Postpositional phrases

1.2.4.1. Operational definition

Postpositional stems almost always express locative meanings (see 2.1.1.5.2–20). Differing from other nominal stems, postpositional stems almost never occur without case markers. Postpositions are semantically similar to locative case markers but differ from the latter at least in the following two properties: postpositions but not case endings are syntactically autonomous, and only case markers have vowel-harmony variants.

1.2.4.2. Postpositional phrases and their arguments

1.2.4.2.1. Postpositions without arguments

The majority of postpositional stems may be used without arguments, that is, adverbially. All such adverbials which can be used without a preceding nominal in the nominative case are listed in 2.1.1.5.4–20. Some postpositional stems cannot be used without an argument in the nominative case. These include *d'arın* 'for'/'because of' (see 2.1.5), *do:-* 'inside/interior', *daga-* 'vicinity'.

1.2.4.2.2. Postpositions with more than one argument

No postposition ever occurs with more than one argument.

1.2.4.2.3. Postpositions with arguments other than noun phrases

The argument of the postposition may be only either a noun or, much more rarely, a pronoun.

1.2.4.2.4. Can postpositions be left behind?

Postpositions cannot be separated from their noun phrases by other elements.

1.2.4.3. Elements modifying postpositions

Postpositions can be modified only by the affix *-gıda* 'right/exactly', as in:

(310) a. gule amar-duk-in
house behind-abl-3sg.poss
'from behind the house'

(310) b. gule amar-gida-duk-in
house behind-ints-abl-3sg.poss
'from right behind the house' (that is, from exactly behind the house)

1.2.4.3.1. Adverbs

This type of postpositional modification does not exist.

1.2.4.3.2. Postpositional phrases

This type of postpositional modification does not exist.

1.2.4.3.3. Cases of noun phrases

This type of postpositional modification does not exist.

1.2.4.3.4. Adverbial clauses

This type of postpositional modification does not exist.

1.2.4.3.5. Order of postposition and modifier

Postpositions can be modified by the suffix with the focusing meaning.

1.2.4.4. Government properties of postpositions

The majority of postpositions listed in 2.1.1.5 govern only one case – the nominative. However, there is a small group of postpositions that govern only the definite accusative case. The choice of case does not depend on the verb. Postpositions requiring the definite accusative form are: *iltemnek* 'by'/ 'past something', *archaptyki* 'facing something/someone', *soloki* 'up the river', *bargiski* 'to the opposite bank (of the river, lake, etc.)', *bargigit* 'from the opposite bank (of the river, lake, etc.)', *d'ultyki* 'along (the bank)', *pelpemnek* 'across', *murumnek* 'around', *bargimnak* 'across (the river, lake) to the opposite bank', for example:

(311) a. bira-va bargimnak
river-accd across
'across the river'

(311) b. gule-ve murumnek
house-accd around
'around the house'

1.2.5. Noun phrase

1.2.5.1. Operational definition

A noun phrase may be defined as a complex unit with nominal head acting as subject, object or oblique argument to a verb, or as a complement of a copular sentence. A noun phrase may also be used in different adverbial functions. A noun phrase may vary from simple noun or pronoun to a complex clause with a number of modifiers. All preceding adjectival or participial forms modifying the head agree with the latter in number and case. Participial forms in headless relative clauses themselves act as noun phrase heads (see 1.1.2.3.6).

1.2.5.2. Types of modifier

1.2.5.2.1. Adjective

Adjectival forms (including denominal and deverbal adjectives; see 2.2.3.1 and 2.2.3.2) always precede the head noun (ordinary nouns may function as attributive forms only when there is the possessive relation between them and the following head noun; see 1.2.5.2.3):

(312) a. gugda mo:
high tree
'a high tree'

(312) b. alta-ma un'akaptun
gold-adj ring
'a golden ring'

(312) c. d'ali-chi bejetken
intellect-com boy
'a clever boy'

(312) d. tuksa-d'ari asatkan
run-part girl
'a running girl'

Participial forms (see their list under 2.1.3.5), rather frequently occur in adjectival function, as in example (312d), indicating a short-term characteristic quality of an object expressed by a head noun.

Adjectival modification may also be performed by a few derivational affixes, for example, *-kAkun* 'very', *-pchAne* 'huge', 'enormous', *-kAn* 'little', *-chAn* 'bad/wicked' (pejorative meaning), *-mi* 'old/shabby' (see 2.2.1.1).

1.2.5.2.2. Relative clause

See 1.1.2.3. Participial relative clauses almost always precede the head noun, whereas relative clauses involving finite verb forms and conjunctions always follow the head noun, as in:

(313) a. Oron-mo va:-cha beje suru-re-n.
reindeer-accd kill-part man go.away-nfut-3sg
'The man who killed the reindeer went away.'

(313) b. Bi oron-mo iche-che-v anty-va tar beje va:-cha-n.
I reindeer-accd see-pst-1sg which-accd that man kill-pst-2sg
(lit.) 'I saw the reindeer which that man had killed.'

1.2.5.2.3. Possessive adjective

Ordinary nouns are used in this case. The possessor in the nominative case (much more rarely with the 'old genitive' possessive affix *-ngi* emphasizing the possessor's role) always stands before the possessed noun. The latter always has personal possession suffixes. Personal possession may be indicated only by inflection of the head noun (see 2.1.1.4.6), as in for example, *d'u-v* 'my house', *purta-s* 'your (sg) knife', *pektyre:vun-in* 'his/her gun'.

(314) a. etyrken d'u-n
old.man house-3sg.poss
'the old man's house'

(314) b. etyrken-ngi d'u-n
old.man-poss house-3sg.poss
'the old man's house'

(314) c. atyrkan(-ngi) gerbi-n
old.woman(-poss) name-3sg.poss
'the name of the old woman'

(314) d. kungaka-r evike-r-tyn
child-pl toy-pl-3pl.poss
'children's toys'

If the possessor is expressed by the pronouns then the latter take an affix *-ngi*: *min-ngi* 'my', *sin-ngi* 'your (sg)', *nungan-ngi-n* 'his/her', *mun-ngi/mit-ngi* 'our', *sun-ngi* 'your (pl)', *nungar-ngi-tyn* 'their':

(315) a. minngi amin-mi
my father-1sg.poss
'my father'

(315) b. nungan-ngi-l-in adyl-il-in
he-poss-pl-3sg.poss fish.net-pl-3sg.poss
'his fishing-nets'

Two nominals in apposition may both be marked for personal possession, as in:

(316) a. nungan amin-in d'u-n
he father-3sg.poss house-3sg.poss
'the house of his father'/'his father's house'

(316) b. amin-mi girki-l-in d'av-il-tyn
father-1sg.poss friend-pl-3sg.poss boat-pl-3pl.poss
'the boats of my father's friends'

1.2.5.2.4. Article

There are no articles. For expression of definiteness/indefiniteness see 2.1.1.10–11.

1.2.5.2.5. Demonstrative adjective

A demonstrative pronoun may stand before a head noun specifying the nature of the referent:

(317) a. er asatkan
this girl
'this girl'

(317) b. tar bejetken
that boy
'that boy'

In speech these pronouns sometimes acquire full forms *eri* 'this' and *tari* 'that', which usually do not agree in case with the head noun. However, they almost always agree with the head noun in number, for example:

(318) Nungan eri gule-ve o:-ra-n.
he this house-accd make-nfut-3sg
'He built this house.'

(319) Er(-il) beje-l eme-cho-tyn tar tugeni-du.
this(-pl) man-pl come-pst-3pl that winter-dat
'These people came last winter.'

Pronouns *er* 'this', *eril* 'these', *tar* 'that', *taril* 'those' may be used without the head noun, and also function as personal pronouns of the third person

singular and plural, that is, instead of the pronouns *nungan* 'he', 'she', *nungartyn* 'they'.

1.2.5.2.6. Quantifiers

All quantifiers (numerals, question-words, etc.) always precede the head noun, as with other attributive constituents:

(320) a. ilan oro-r
three reindeer-pl
'three reindeer'

(320) b. kete ile-l
many man-pl
'many Evenkis'

(320) c. adyka-r asa-l
a.few-pl woman-pl
'a few women'

(320) d. ili: d'av
third boat
'the third boat'

'Partitive' meaning involves the ablative case of the head noun and the reverse order of the elements:

(321) minngi girki-l-duk-iv umun (beje)
my friend-pl-abl-1sg.poss one (man)
'one of my friends'

The stem *upkat* 'all (of)' usually does not agree with the head noun in number and case, as in:

(322) upkat(-tu) bejetke-r-du
all(-dat) boy-pl-dat
'to all (of) the boys'

There are also two enclitics *-rikta* 'only' and *-maju* 'approximately / about' which may be attached to numerals:

(323) Tunnga-rikta beje-l eme-re-0.
five-clt man-pl come-nfut-3pl
'Only five people came.'

(324) Nungartyn ilan-maju-va tyrgani-l-va ngene-d'eche-tyn.
they three-clt-accd day-pl-accd go-impf-3pl
'They went for about three days.'

1.2.5.2.7. Adverbials

Head nominals cannot be modified by simple adverbials including locative case-marked nouns which perform adverbial functions. Adverbial clauses with finite verb forms and conjunctions are possible in this case. Such clauses always follow the head noun, as in:

(325) guleseg i:du nungan baldy-cha-n
village where he be.born-pst-3sg
'the village where/in which he was born'

1.2.5.2.8. Emphatic words

Noun phrases may be modified by various emphatic particles and enclitics (see the list of these with the examples in 2.1.8). The most frequent of these are *-vAlın* 'namely/exactly', *-dA* 'exactly/just', *-mAt* 'at least'/'if only', *-riktA* 'only', *-mAju* 'approximately/about', *-luvAr* (with the pejorative meaning), *-tykin* 'every', as in *tyrgani-tykin* 'every day', *asi-valın* 'exactly this/that woman', *bejetken-luver* 'that little weak (lit. 'bad') boy' (in the sense 'he will not be able to do it'), *kolobo-mot-jo* (*-jo* – indefinite accusative case marker) 'at least bread' (in the sense 'if only you could give me at least bread').

1.2.5.2.9. Comparative/superlative/equative structures

See 1.8 and 1.9. The standard of comparison or equation may be included in a noun phrase, as in:

(326) a. d'uke-gechin mu:
ice-eqt water
'water (cold) like ice'

(326) b. murin-dyn oron
horse-eqt reindeer
'a reindeer as big as a horse'

(326) c. upkat-tuk aja-dyg alaguvumni
all-abl good-sup pupil
'the pupil who is best of all'

1.2.5.2.10. Other types of modifiers

As has been said above (see 1.2.5.2.1), nouns may not be used in apposition in adjectival function, other than in phrases with possessive relation. For examples of nominalized participial constructions functioning as noun phrase modifiers see 1.1.2.3.1 and 1.1.2.3.7. Compound nominals do

not exist. Some of the meanings are expressed by derivational affixes (see 2.2.1.1), as in *uluki* 'squirrel' – *uluki-ksa* 'pelt/skin of a squirrel'.

1.2.5.3. Order of modifiers when more than one of each type

More than one attributive modifier may precede a head noun, though the number of such modifiers almost never exceeds two at a time. As for relative clauses (both participial constructions and conjunctive clauses with finite verb forms), they are almost always the only modifiers of the head nouns. When the head noun is preceded by two (rarely – three) simple adjectival modifiers of different types they are positioned in the following (non-obligatory) order: demonstrative 'adjective', quantifier, possessive 'adjective', simple adjective, for example:

(327) tar-il dygin nungan-ngi-n adyl-il
that-pl four he-poss-3sg.poss fish.net-pl
'those four (are) his fishing-nets'

The preferred order for simple adjectives is: size, colour, shape for objects, age, quality, sex for persons, as in:

(328) sagdy evedy asi bejumimni
old evenki woman hunter
'an old Evenki female hunter'

(329) hegdy singarin homo:ty
big brown bear
'a big brown bear'

Such strings of two adjectives are regarded as quite normal, but coordination of adjectives by means of conjunctions almost never occurs.

1.2.5.4. Inadmissible combinations of modifiers

Participial and finite relative clauses with conjunctions do not admit other adjectival modifiers. Combination of two nouns is not admitted if the possessive interpretation is excluded. Other restrictions are conditioned by semantic reasons. Semantically allowed complexes of demonstrative 'adjectives', quantifiers, possessive 'adjectives' and simple adjectives may modify one head noun in a nominal phrase.

1.2.5.5. Order of head and various types of modifiers

The head noun is always in the last position unless it is modified by the conjunctive clause involving finite verb forms (see examples in 1.2.5.2.1–7). Enclitics modifying nouns follow them, by definition. In the case of

enclitics there is no other modifier of a noun. Simple adjectival modifiers always precede participial ones, as in:

(330) gud'oi haval-d'ari asatkan
beautiful work-part girl
'a beautiful working girl'

Demonstrative pronouns always precede all types of other modifiers. In general, noun phrases including more than two adjectives are very rare.

1.3. COORDINATION

1.3.1. Means and types of coordination

1.3.1.1. Means of coordinating sentences

Sentences may be coordinated either by the enclitic *-dA* or with the help of the conjunctional adverb *taduk* '(and) then'. Much more frequently instead of coordinated structures subordinate constructions are used which involve various converbal forms with coreferential subjects (see 1.1.2.4.2.1).

1.3.1.1.1. 'And'-coordination

Two sentences with finite verb forms in the same tense may be coordinated by the addition of enclitic *-dA* 'and' either to the first constituent of the second sentence (usually to the subject) or to both coordinated constituents:

(331) Nungartyn tynive eme-cho-tyn, girki-l-tyn-da
they yesterday come-pst-3sg friend-pl-3pl.poss-clt

tynive chagudu eme-cho-tyn.
yesterday after come-pst-3pl
'They came yesterday and their friends came the day before yesterday.'

(332) Bira-li d'av-il-da ngene-vki-l, kater-il-da
river-prol boat-pl-clt go-hab.part-pl launch-pl-clt

ngene-vki-l.
go-hab.part-pl
'Boats go along the river, (and) launches go along the river.'

Less frequent is the conjunction *taduk* '(and) then' which is placed before the second sentence:

(333) Bejetken togo daga-du-n teget-chere-n taduk
boy fire near-dat-3sg.poss sit-prs-3sg and

nginakin daga-du-n bi-si-n.
dog near-dat-3sg.poss be-prs-3sg
'The boy is sitting near the fire and his dog is nearby.'

(334) Asa-l bira-li ejen-d'ere-0 taduk bira
woman-pl river-prol boat-prs-3pl and.then river

o:-ra-n.
become-nfut-3sg
'The women drift along the river and then another river comes in sight.'

It is much more common, however, both in coreferential and in non-coreferential constructions to place all but the last verb in the converbal form, without any enclitics or conjunctions. See 2.1.3.5.2 for the complete paradigm of converbal forms and 1.1.2.4.2.1 for examples of coordinated constructions by means of conjoining finite and converbal forms. The latter type of construction analogous to coordinated ones in European languages is predominant in Evenki. 'True' coordination with two or more sequential actions expressed only by indicative finite forms occurs very seldom.

1.3.1.1.2. 'But'-coordination

The conjunction *emi-val* 'but' may be used for this type of coordination. This conjunction is placed before the second sentence. Both verb forms are indicative, and clauses may be both coreferential and non-coreferential:

(335) Nungan eri-d'eche-n atyrkan-me, emi-va tar kuiki
he call-impf-3sg old.woman-accd but that deaf

bi-che-n.
be-pst-3sg
'He called the old woman but she was deaf.'

(336) Beje gun-e-n tuli:le inginipchu bi-si-n, emi-val tar
man say-nfut-3sg outside cold be-prs-3sg but that

eche ted'e bi-si.
no true be-part
'The man said that it was cold outside, but that is not true.'

1.3.1.1.3. 'Or'-coordination

Two clauses may be coordinated in this case by means of enclitics

-gu/-ku/-ngu (otherwise used as interrogative enclitics; see 1.1.1.2) or *-li* (borrowed from Russian). These enclitics are added to both disjunctive parts of the sentence, for example:

(337) Amakan tygde-d'e-n-ngu, imanna-d'a-n-ngu.
soon rain-fut-3sg-clt snow-fut-3sg-clt
'Soon it will either rain or snow.'

(338) Bi e-che-v sa:-re nungan emukin
I neg.aux-pst-1sg know-part he alone
eme-d'e-n-li, asin-nun-mi eme-d'e-n-li.
come-fut-3sg-clt wife-com-prefl come-fut-3sg-clt
'I do not know if he will come alone or if he will come with his wife.'

1.3.1.1.4. 'Neither–nor'-coordination

This type of coordination is expressed by the addition of two positive enclitics *-dA* 'both . . . and' to both negated parts of the sentence containing negative forms of the verbs:

(339) Bi-de nungan-da e-che-vun eme-re.
I-clt he-clt neg.aux-pst-1pl.exc come-part
'Neither I nor he came.'

(340) Kungakan tang-d'a-mi-da duku-d'a-mi-da
child read-impv-conv-clt write-impv-conv-clt
mulli-d'ara-n.
not.be.able-prs-3sg
'The child cannot read or write.'/'The child can neither read nor write.'

1.3.1.2. Coordination of two or more constituents

1.3.1.2.1. One coordinator for each element

Coordinating enclitics *-gu/-ku/-ngu* and *-li* (borrowed from Russian) are always attached to both elements that are 'or'-coordinated ((337), (338)). The 'and'-coordinating enclitic *-dA* is also added to both coordinated elements (see (332), (339), (340)), compare:

(341) Er tatkit-tu minngi ami-m-da haval-d'acha-n,
this school-dat my father-1sg.poss-clt work-impf-3sg

bi-de esi haval-d'a-m.
I-clt now work-prs-1sg
'My father worked in this school, and I work in it now.'

1.3.1.2.2. One less coordinator than the number of elements

Since no more than two sentences can be coordinated the sentence coordinators *taduk* '(and) then' and *emi-val* 'but', placed before the second sentence, belong to this case. (See (333), (334), (335), (336).) The coordinating enclitic *-dA* can only be added to the second of the two coordinated elements (331).

1.3.1.2.3. One coordinator irrespective of the number of elements

Such coordinators do not exist.

1.3.1.3. Means of coordinating major sentence constituents

Two (much more rarely, more) noun phrases may be coordinated (a) by apposition, that is, without overt coordinators, as in (342); (b) by the conjunction *taduk* '(and) then', as in (343); and (c) by the enclitic *-dA* 'and' as in (344):

(342) etyrke-r atyrka-r
old.man-pl old.woman-pl
'old men and old women'

(343) hekupchu-l tyrgani-l taduk inginipchu-l dolboni-l
hot-pl day-pl and cold-pl night
'hot days and cold nights'

(344) d'ikte-l-de deginngekte-l-de
berry-pl-clt mushroom-pl-clt
'berries and mushrooms'

The first type is the most frequent, then the third type with enclitic *-dA*, while the type with *taduk* 'and' occurs rather seldom.

The same types of coordination are applied to adjectival constituents coordination:

(345) *Apposition*
aja mo:ma gule
good wooden house
'a good wooden house'

(346) *Coordinator* taduk *'and'*
gugda taduk d'ukeme ure
high and icy hill
'a high and icy hill'

(347) hujukun-de d'alichi-da bejetken
little-clt clever-clt boy'
'a little and clever boy'

The same applies to adverbials:

(348) Vanavara-du-da Turu-du-da bi-che-v.
Vanavara-dat-clt Tura-dat-clt be-pst-1sg
'I have been both in Vanavara and in Tura.'

(349) D'uleski-de ugiski-de degi-kte-d'eche-n.
forward-clt upwards-clt fly-dstr-impf-3sg
'It (a bird) was flying forward and upwards.'

1.3.1.4. Coordination and accompaniment

Accompaniment (comitative) is not expressed by coordinating means. Accompaniment is expressed by means of affixes *-nun, -nAn,* and, more rarely, with the help of suffixes *-gAlı, -chı, -lAn* and *-tAj* (see examples in 2.1.1.4.4). In general, coordinative (with *taduk* 'and') and comitative constructions are very similar in meaning, compare:

(350) a. etyrken taduk atyrkan
old.man and old.woman
'an old man and an old woman'

(350) b. etyrken atyrkan-nun-mi
old.man old.woman-com-prefl
'the old man with his old wife'

The type of construction in (350b) is much more common in Evenki than that in (350a).

1.3.1.5. Structural parallelism required under coordination

1.3.1.5.1. Adjectives and participial constructions

Structural parallelism is necessary between elements before they can be coordinated. That is why simple adjectives can be coordinated, as well as two participial constructions, but not a simple adjective and a participial form.

1.3.1.5.2. Nouns and nominalized constructions

Simple nouns and nominalized (= participial) constructions may not be coordinated.

1.3.1.5.3. Different types of adverbials

It is possible to coordinate adverbials when there is structural parallelism between them, for example, the same case inflections, as in:

(351) a. dolboni-du taduk tyrgani-du
night-dat and day-dat
'at night and by day'

(351) b. Vanavara-la taduk Turu-la
Vanavara-all and Tura-all
'to Vanavara and (then) to Tura'

Coordinated simple adverbials not only have the same case suffix, but also belong to one semantic group, for example, of place, of time, of manner. Two simple adverbials belonging to different semantic groups may rarely be coordinated, for example:

(352) utele taduk gorodu
long.ago and far away
'long ago and far away'

Clausal adverbials never coordinate with simple adverbials, although apposition of such adverbials is possible:

(353) Tynive ami-m eme-reki-n bi
yesterday father-1sg.poss come-conv-3sg.poss I

nungan-dun purta-va-n bu:-0-m.
he-dat knife-accd-3sg.poss give-nfut-1sg
'Yesterday when my father came (back), I gave him his knife.'

Two adverbial clauses may co-occur only by means of apposition rather than be coordinated by enclitic *-dA* or conjunction *taduk* 'and', compare:

(354) D'u-la-vi i:-kse girki-vi iche-kse bi
house-all-prefl enter-conv friend-prefl see-conv I

guni-0-m . . .
say-nfut-1sg
'Entering the house and seeing my friend I said . . .'/'When I entered the house and saw my friend I said . . .'

1.3.1.5.4. Active and passive verbs

This type of coordination of verb forms never occurs either in texts or in speech, though it is theoretically possible, compare:

(355) Bejumimni suru-che-n agi-tki taduk
hunter go.away-pst-3sg forest-locall and

imanna-v-cha-n.
snow-pass-pst-3sg
'The hunter went to the forest and was caught by the snow-storm.'

1.3.1.5.5. Verb categories that cannot be coordinated with each other

There are constraints on the coordination of verb forms having different mood inflections: coordinated verb forms are always of the same mood (e.g. either indicative or imperative). For semantic types of verbs, resultative forms with the suffix *-chA* (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.5) cannot be coordinated with active verbs; habitual and iterative aspect verb forms cannot be coordinated with semelfactive verb forms and forms containing the quick action marker *-mAlchA*, though exceptions to these rules may be found, for example:

(356) Nungan d'avu-cha-d'acha-n purta-va taduk umnet tara
he take-res-impf-3sg knife-accd then suddenly that

noda:-re-n.
throw-nfut-3sg
'He held the knife (in his hand) and then suddenly he threw (it).'

1.3.2. Identity in coordination

1.3.2.1. Elements that can be omitted

The subject of the second clause can be easily omitted under identity in coordination. It is usually omitted after the conjunction *taduk* '(and) then' and is always omitted in the case of apposition, for example:

(357) Akin-mi eme-re-n taduk n'an
brother-1sg.poss come-nfut-3sg then again

suru-re-n.
go.away-nfut-3sg
'My elder brother came and then left again.'

(358) Beje homo:ty-va pektyren-e-n, ura:-re-n taduk n'ane
man bear-accd shoot-nfut-3sg miss-nfut-3sg then again

pektyren-e-n, halgan-ma-n hujenngi-re-n.
shoot-nfut-3sg leg-accd-3sg.poss wound-nfut-3sg
'The man shot at the bear, missed (it), then shot again and wounded (it) in its leg.'

Both direct and indirect objects may be omitted in the second clause under identity in coordination:

(359) Bi nungan-man sa:-0-m, enin-mi-de tugi-de
I he-accd know-nfut-1sg mother-1sg.poss-clt also

sa:-re-n.
know-nfut-3sg
'I know him and so does my mother.'

(360) Bejumimni ama:ka-du ulle-ve bu:-re-n,
hunter grand.father-dat meat-accd give-nfut-3sg

girki-n tugi-de bu:-re-n.
friend-3sg.poss also give-nfut-3sg
'The hunter gave meat to the old man, and his friend did the same.'

Oblique-case arguments usually do not require repetition in the second clause under identity in coordination.

1.3.2.2. Elements that cannot be omitted

It is not normal to omit a shared verb under coordination when there is a distinct object, as in:

(361) Bi ilan-ma uluki-l-ve va:-0-m, nungan-da
I three-accd squirrel-pl-accd kill-nfut-1sg he-clt

dygin-me va:-re-n.
four-accd kill-nfut-3sg
'I killed three squirrels and he killed four.'

A shared intransitive verb is not omitted in the second clause:

(362) Esityrga d'a-l-vi eme-re-0, tyma:tne
today relative-pl-prefl come-nfut-3pl tomorrow

nungan-da eme-d'e-n.
he-clt come-fut-3sg
'Our relatives came today, and he will come tomorrow.'

1.3.3. Elements in phrasal constituents that can(not) be omitted under identity in coordination

1.3.3.1. Elements of noun phrase that can(not) be omitted

When two (never more than two) noun phrases are coordinated, shared attributive modifiers are repeated preceding each head:

(363) omakta tatkit taduk omakta-l gule-l
new school and.then new-pl house-pl
'a new school and new houses'

One modifier can sometimes precede conjoined nouns modifying both of them, but it cannot take the plural ending if the nearest noun is in the singular:

(364) a. va:-v-cha-l denk'e-l-da sulaki-l-da
kill-pass-pst-pl sable-pl-clt fox-pl-clt
'killed sables and foxes'

Possessive inflections of the nominal heads can have within their scope elements outside of their own nominals, for example:

(364) b. bejumimni omolgi-n taduk hunad-in
hunter son-3sg.poss and.then daughter-3sg.poss
'the hunter's son and his (the hunter's) daughter'

1.3.3.2. Elements in adjective phrase that can(not) be omitted

Adverbials modifying coordinated adjectival phrases must be repeated for each element. A single modifying adverbial will take within its scope only the nearest adjective (derivational affixes modifying adjectives and adverbs, e.g., *-kAkun* 'very', *-mAmA* 'very' cannot have within their scope other adjectives or adverbs (see 2.1.4.5.1)):

(365) a. so: aja-da gud'oi asatkan
very good-clt beautiful girl
'a very good and beautiful girl'

(365) b. hegdy-meme taduk nodypchu mo:
high-ints and.then beautiful tree
'a very high and beautiful tree'

1.3.3.3. Elements in adverb phrase that can(not) be omitted

Adverbials modifying other adverbials must be repeated for each element, since the former take within their scope only the nearest adverb, as in:

(366) so: himat taduk ajat
very quickly and good
'very quickly and beautifully'

1.4. NEGATION

1.4.1. Sentence negation

Sentence negation is expressed either by means of an analytic negative form involving the conjugated negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' and the unchangeable participial form in *-rA* of the notional verb (see (367)–(373)), or by the negative noun *a:chin* 'no/none' (having the plural form *a:chi-r*) denoting absence or lack of some material object (e.g. water, firewood, money) or ideal substance (time, strength, etc.). The negative auxiliary is fully conjugated and may take some aspectual (iterative *-ngna*, inchoative *-l*) and mood affixes, the participial form in *-rA* may also take some verbal affixes, for example, the markers of valence (causative, decausative), voice (passive, sociative, reciprocal), aspect (imperfective, inchoative, iterative, habitual, semelfactive, distributive), modality (volitive, conative, departure) and evaluation (high vs low degree of action; pejorative meaning). For example:

(367) Bejumimni homo:ty-va e-che-n va:-re.
hunter bear-accd neg.aux-pst-3sg kill-part
'The hunter didn't kill the bear.'

(368) Bejetken e-che-n girki-l-nun-mi
boy neg.aux-pst-3sg friend-pl-com-prefl
suru-mu-re.
go.away-vol-part
'The boy didn't want to go away with his friends.'

(369) Asatkan degi-l-ve e-ngki-n
girl bird-pl-accd neg.aux-hab.pst-3sg
degili-vken-e. (*-e* < *-re*)
fly-caus-part
'The girl didn't let the birds fly away.'

(370) Chipkan avady-du bulen-du e-vki
sable some-dat enemy-dat neg.aux-hab.part
baka-v-ra.
find-pass-part
'Sable is not found by any enemy.'
(lit.) 'Sable does not let any enemy find it.'

(371) Evenki-l tar ity-va e-vki-l omngo-ro.
Evenki-pl that story-accd neg.aux-hab.part-pl forget-part
'The Evenkis do not forget that story.'

(372) E-ngne-kel ngele-re.
neg.aux-hab-2sg.imp be.afraid-part
'Don't be afraid.'

(373) E-d'enge bele-re bi-si-m.
neg.aux-part help-part be-prs-1sg
'I cannot help.' / 'I am not able to help.'

Examples with the negative noun *a:chɪn* 'no / none':

(374) Min-du d'eptyle-l a:chi-r (bi-si-0).
I-dat food-pl no-pl (be-prs-3pl)
(lit.) 'There is no food by me.', i.e. 'I have no food / edibles.'

(375) Tadu ekun-da a:chin bi-cho-n.
there what-clt no be-pst-3sg
'There was nothing / nobody there.'

As the examples show, the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' is used for verbal negation, whereas *a:chin* 'none' is used for existential negation. That is why these means are not interchangeable (they are in complementary distribution). As for their position in the sentence, negative *e-* is placed, as a rule, immediately before the participial form in *-rA* and the negative noun *a:chin* is placed before the copular predicate. (If the copula in the present tense is omitted *a:chɪn* takes sentence-final position.)

(376) Nungan-dun purta-ja a:chin.
he-dat knife-accin none
'He hasn't a knife.'

The negative auxiliary *e-* may sometimes be separated from the meaningful form in *-rA* by various objects and adverbials or even clauses, as in:

(377) E-kel ure-ve bu eme-ne-ve-vun
neg.aux-2sg.imp mountain-accd we come-part-accd-1pl.exc
ulguchen-e. (*-e* < *-re*)
tell-part
'Don't tell about the mountain to which we came.'

(378) E-gin min-duk o:kin-da ngele-t-te. (*-te* < *-re*)
neg.aux-3sg.imp I-abl when-clt be.afraid-dur-part
'Let him never be afraid of me.'

Negation may also be expressed by the negative modal verbs *alba-* 'not

be able', *dup-* 'not be able', *mullɪ-* 'not be able'/'not to know how to do something', *ba:-* 'not to want' (all these verbs require the converbal form in *-mɪ*), *he-* 'not to dare' (this verb requires the purposive converb in *-dA*). Converbal forms in *-mɪ* and *-dA* stand after the negative modal verbs, for example:

(379) Asatkan pota-va alba-ra-n ugir-mi.
girl bag-accd cannot-nfut-3sg lift-conv
'The girl couldn't lift the bag.'

(380) Etyrken dup-te-n oro-r-vo baka-d'a-mi.
old.man cannot-nfut-3sg reindeer-pl-accd find-impv-conv
'The old man couldn't find the reindeer.'

(381) Asi-n mulli-ra-n ulli-d'a-mi.
woman-3sg.poss not.be.able-nfut-3sg sew-impv-conv
'His wife cannot sew.'

(382) Girki-v ba:-re-n nginakin-il-vi
friend-1sg.poss not.want-nfut-3sg dog-pl-prefl
bu:-d'e-mi.
give-impv-conv
'My friend didn't/doesn't want to give up his dogs.'

(383) Bi he:-0-m agi-tki ngene-d'e-mi.
I not.dare-nfut-1sg forest-locall go-impv-conv
'I was/am afraid to go to the forest.'

There are also negative forms *abul*/*abulkachɪn* 'lack/shortage', *mullɪ*/*mullɪvkɪ*/*mullikan* 'one who is not able to do something', *sa·rep* 'I don't know', *eche* 'no' (the last two words are used as complete sentences) and a negative verb *abul-* 'lack'/'be missing'/'not be enough':

(384) Min-du mo:-l abuli-t-chara-0.
I-dat firewood-pl lack-dur-prs-3pl
'I have not enough firewood.'

(385) Tar beje ulumi-mi mullikan bi-cho-n.
that man hunt.squirrel-conv not.being.able be-pst-3sg
'That man couldn't hunt squirrels.'

There are no negative pronouns or negative particles. Instead of these predicate negation with the negative auxiliary *e-* is used. Thus, instead of the sentence like 'Nobody saw him' the construction 'anybody didn't see him' will be used, compare:

(386) a. Nungan ile-de suru-re-n.
he somewhere-clt go.away-nfut-3sg
'He went (away) somewhere.'

(386) b. Nungan ile-de e-che-n suru-re.
he somewhere-clt neg.aux-pst-3sg go.away-part
'He didn't go anywhere.'

(387) a. Nungan ekun-ma sa:-re-n.
he something-accd know-nfut-3sg
'He knows something.'

(387) b. Nungan ekun-ma e-vki sa:-re.
he something-accd neg.aux-hab.part know-part
'He does not know anything.'/'He knows nothing.'

(388) Min-du avady-l-da dukuvu-r a:chi-r.
I-dat any-pl-clt book-pl none-pl
'I have no books.'/'I haven't any books.'

1.4.2. Constituent negation

The same means are employed for constituent negation: negative noun *a:chɪn* 'none' for existential negation, and negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' for all other cases. The negative element *a:chin* (*a:chɪ-r* (pl)) is employed after nouns which denote missing objects (389), and the negative form *eche* 'no' is positioned before adjectives (391) and participles (see (390)) which denote missing qualities. In general, instead of subject or object negation, verbal negation with *e-* is employed. There are no negative forms of pronominals and adverbials.

(389) Oron-o a:chin beje eme-re-n.
reindeer-accin none man come-nfut-3sg
'A man without reindeer came.'

(390) E-che sa:-v-re asatkan i:-re-n.
neg.aux-part know-pass-part girl enter-nfut-3sg
'An unknown girl entered.'

(391) Bi iche-che-v e-che hegdy bi-si-ve guleseg-ve.
I see-pst-1sg neg.aux-part big be-part-accd village-accd
'I saw the village which was not large.'

Negative elements *a:chɪn/a:chɪr* and *e-che/e-sɪ* (*-si* – marker of the present tense for auxiliaries *bi-* 'be' and *e-* 'not to . . .') may take case affixes while performing different adverbial functions, for example:

(392) Pektyre:vu-r achi-r-du-tyn homo:ty-va
gun-pl none-pl-dat-3pl.poss bear-accd

e-te-nni va:-re.
neg.aux-fut-2sg kill-part
'If/When one has no guns, one will not be able to kill a bear.'

(393) Girki-je a:chin-di o:n homoty-va va:-cha-s?
friend-accin none-instr how bear-accd kill-pst-2sg
'How did you kill the bear without a friend/companion?'

(394) Beje e-si-duk-iv nungan-man alat-te
man neg.aux-part-abl-1sg.poss he-accd wait-part

darigida-duk iche-vu-l-le-n.
side-abl see-pass-inch-nfut-3sg
'The man came in sight (lit. began to be seen) from the side from which I hadn't expected (him).'

1.4.3. More than one negative element in a sentence

There may be two negation elements in a sentence: one constituent negation and the other sentence negation. The result of this is never positive, since in all cases there is only one sentence negation, for example:

(395) Kutu-ja a:chin bejumimni eja-da e-che-n
luck-accin none hunter anything-clt neg.aux-pst-3sg

va:-re.
kill-part
'The unlucky hunter didn't kill anything.'

(396) E-che aja bi-si bejetken e-te-n sin-du
neg.aux-part good be-part boy neg.aux-fut-3sg you-dat

ollo-vo bu:-re.
fish-accd give-part
'The bad boy will not give you fish.'
(lit.) 'The boy who is not good will not give you fish.'

Negative modal verbs (see 1.4.1) do not form analytic negative forms with the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .'.

1.4.4. Negation of coordinated structures

Each element or clause must have its own negation under coordination: either two negative nouns (*a:chin/a:chir*) or two negative analytic forms with the auxiliary *e-*. For example:

(397) Nungan ele e-che-n eme-re, eja-da
he here neg.aux-pst-3sg come-part anything-clt

e-che-n silba-ra.
neg.aux-pst-3sg inform-part
'He didn't come here and didn't report anything.'

(398) Tar beje dere-je a:chin-da se:n-a a:chin bi-si-n.
that man face-accin none-clt ear-accin none be-prs-3sg
'That man is shameless and mischievous.'

1.4.5. Negation of a subordinate clause expressed by negation of the superordinate verb

There are two cases where negation of a subordinate verb form is expressed by negation of the main verb: (a) the subordinate converbal forms of purpose in *-dA* followed by the verbs of movement; and (b) the subordinate participial forms with the desiderative marker *-mu* accompanied by the verbs of thinking, for example:

(399) Bi sine va:-da-vi edu e-che-v eme-re.
I you.accd kill-conv-prefl here neg.aux-pst-1sg come-part
(lit.) 'I came here not to kill you.'
'I didn't come here to kill you.'

(400) Bi e-che-v d'alda-d'e-re
I neg.aux-pst-1sg think-impv-part

suru-mu-d'eri-ve-n.
go.away-vol-part-accd-3sg.poss
'I don't think he wants to go away.'

1.5. ANAPHORA

1.5.1. Means of expressing anaphora

Anaphora is expressed by deletion and the element concerned is marked on the verb by means of agreement markers. Much more rarely other means are employed (e.g. deletion without marking on the verb, ordinary personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns).

1.5.1.1. Deletion

Simple deletion without marking the deleted element on the verb is possible with participles which do not take agreement markers, for example:

(401) Sulaki mu:-je mu:le-vki, mo:-ja
fox water-accin bring.water-hab.part wood-accin
mo:la-vki.
bring.wood-hab.part
'The fox goes and brings water, goes and brings firewood.'

Impersonal or general subject reference (as English 'one') is expressed by ordinary plural (or third person plural *-tyn*) marker *-l*:

(402) Oro-r-vo bolo tangi-vki-l.
reindeer-pl-accd in.autumn count-hab.part-pl
'People count reindeer in autumn.'

1.5.1.2. Deletion with the element concerned marked on the verb

Both subjects and objects may be deleted when they are mentioned/known from the previous context. Verbal inflection almost always contains reference to subjects:

(403) Etyrken suru-sin-e-n sulaki-va gelekte-mi.
old.man go.away-smlf-nfut-3sg fox-accd look.for-conv
Ngene-d'eche-n ngene-d'eche-n, baka-ra-n.
go-impf-3sg go-impf-3sg find-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'The old man went to look for the fox. He went on and on and found.'

1.5.1.3. Ordinary personal pronouns

Independent personal pronouns may be used anaphorically for all three persons and two numbers (see 2.1.2.1). For third person singular and plural the demonstrative pronouns *tar* 'that', *er* 'this', *taril* 'those', *eril* 'these' (see 2.1.2.1.7) may be used, the most frequent of which in this function is *tar/taril* 'that/those'.

1.5.1.4. Reflexive pronoun

Reflexive pronouns *me:nmi* 'oneself-(sg)'/*me:rver* (pl) may be used anaphorically, for example:

(404) Asatkan a:sin-a-n, me:nmi hulla-t das-kaim.
girl fall.asleep-nfut-3sg oneself blanket-instr cover-conv
'The girl fell asleep, covering herself with a blanket.'

1.5.1 5. Special anaphoric pronoun

There are no specialized anaphoric pronouns.

1.5.1.6. Other means

There are very few words which may express anaphora. These include *elekesipty* 'the former'/'the first', *g'e* 'the second'/'the other', *amargu* 'the last'/'the former'. These may be used both attributively and anaphorically.

1.5.2. Means of expressing anaphora in different contexts and their restrictions

1.5.2.1. Within the clause

Possessed forms of nominals (both nouns and nominalized participles) are most frequently found within the clause for the expression of anaphora. Other means mentioned above are used rather rarely. Cataphora occurs seldom both in texts and in speech. Possessive forms may be either personal or reflexive, compare:

(405) a. Nungan asi-vi iche-re-n.
he woman-prefl see-nfut-3sg
'He$_i$ saw his$_i$ wife.'

(405) b. Nungan asi-va-n iche-re-n.
he woman-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-3sg
'He$_i$ saw his$_j$ wife.'

Nominal possession may involve anaphora between two third persons:

(406) Bi iche-0-m amin-mi girki-n
I see-nfut-1sg father-1sg.poss friend-3sg.poss
purta-va-n.
knife-accd-3sg.poss
'I saw my father's friend's knife.'

Participial forms may take possessive inflections used anaphorically. These inflections refer to agents of the action expressed by the participial verb stem:

(407) a. Bejetken ud'a-du va:-ne-vi baka-ra-n.
boy path-dat kill-part-prefl find-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'The boy found the prey killed by himself on the path.'

(407) b. Bejetken ud'a-du va:-ne-va-n baka-ra-n.
boy path-dat kill-part-accd-3sg.poss find-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'The boy$_i$ found the prey killed by him$_j$ on the path.'

1.5.2.2. Between coordinate structures

Both deletion and ordinary personal pronouns are possible between coordinate structures, the former being much more frequent than the latter, especially when the construction includes a converbal form and a finite verb form, as in:

(408) Asi iche-v-re-n, eme-reki-n guni-0-m.
woman see-pass-nfut-3sg come-conv-3sg.poss say-nfut-1sg
(lit.) 'A woman came in sight. When she came near I said.'

For further remarks on anaphoric relations between subjects of two clauses, see 1.3.2.

The subject may be placed either before the converbal form or after it, thus bearing relation either to a converb or to a finite form, compare:

(409) a. I:-kse bejetken tepke-re-n.
enter-conv boy shout-nfut-3sg
'Entering, the boy shouted.'

(409) b. Bejetken i:-kse tepke-re-n.
boy enter-conv shout-nfut-3sg
'The boy entering (the house, room) shouted.'

Deletion is the predominant means of anaphora in cases of coreferential converbal clauses. Personal and demonstrative pronouns are possible in the case of non-coreferential converbal clauses:

(410) Tar i:-reki-n d'a-l-in gun-e-0.
that enter-conv-3sg.poss relative-pl-3sg.poss say-nfut-3pl
(lit.) 'When (s)he entered (her)/his relatives said.'

1.5.2.3. Between superordinate and subordinate clauses

1.5.2.3.1. The order is superordinate clause–subordinate clause

Subordinate clauses with finite verb forms seldom occur. They are found in cases of non-coreferentiality of subjects in the main and subordinate clause. However, constructions with two finite verb forms are possible for coreferential subjects. Anaphora in such cases is expressed by personal pronouns or by deletion of subjects in subordinate clauses which always follow the main clause, for example:

(411) Beje ulguchen-che-n on (nungan) tuge
man tell-pst-3sg how (he) in.winter

ulumi-d'eche-n.
hunt.squirrel-impf-3sg
'The man told how he had been hunting squirrels in winter.'

(412) Bu duku-cha-vun on haval-d'ara-v.
we write-pst-1pl.exc how work-prs-1pl.exc
(lit.) 'We wrote how we worked.'

(413) Asatkan silba-cha-n okin (nungan) eme-d'e-n.
girl inform-pst-3sg when (he/she) come-fut-3sg
'The girl$_i$ told when he/she$_{i/j}$ would come.'

Object subordinate clauses with non-finite (participial) forms almost always follow the superordinate clause. Anaphora in this case is expressed either by deletion with the required possession markers on the participle or by a pronominal element. In the former case, reflexive possession affixes are used in coreferential constructions and personal possession affixes are used in non-coreferential constructions (for further examples see 1.11.2.2.2):

(414) a. *Coreferential subjects*
Girki-v baka-ra-n d'aja-na-vi.
friend-1sg.poss find-nfut-3sg hide-part-prefl
'My friend found what he had hidden.'

(414) b. *Non-coreferential subjects*
Girki-v baka-ra-n (ami-m/he)
friend-1sg.poss find-nfut-3sg (father-1sg.poss/he)

d'aja-na-va-n.
hide-part-accd-3sg.poss
'My friend$_i$ found what (my father/he$_j$) had hidden.'

Nominal possession markers on converbal forms also participate in the distinction between coreference and non-coreference of subjects, and in the case of subject deletion these markers often remove possible ambiguity as regards subject reference, compare:

(415) a. Beje mu:-ve emev-re-n um-da:-vi.
man water-accd bring-nfut-3sg drink-conv-prefl
'The man brought water to drink (himself).'

(415) b. Beje mu:-ve emev-re-n (nungan)
man water-accd bring-nfut-3sg ((s)he)

um-da:-n.
drink-conv-3sg.poss
'The man$_i$ brought water for her/him$_j$ to drink.'

1.5.2.3.2. The order is subordinate clause–superordinate clause

Adverb subordinate clauses with non-finite (converbal) forms most often precede the superordinate clause. In this case both anaphora and cataphora is possible, the latter being much more rare:

(416) a. D'u-la-n i:-reki-n nungan girki-vi
house-all-3sg.poss enter-conv-3sg.poss he friend-prefl

iche-re-n.
see-nfut-3sg
'(He$_i$) Entering his$_j$ house he$_j$ saw his$_j$ friend$_i$.'

(416) b. Nungan-dulan eme-reki-n tar nungan-man
he-all come-conv-3sg.poss that he-accd

hanngukta-ra-n.
ask-nfut-3sg
'When he$_i$ came to him$_j$ he$_j$ asked him$_i$.'

Anaphora in adverb subordinate clauses with converbal forms is usually expressed by deletion of the converbal subject. Converbal forms may take either reflexive possession markers (with coreferential subjects; see 1.1.2.4.2) or personal possession markers (with non-coreferential subjects):

(417) a. Urke-ve anga-kaim, girki-vi gun-e-n.
door-accd open-conv friend-prefl say-nfut-3sg
'Having opened the door, he told his friend.'

(417) b. Dengke-je baka-da:-vi (bi) agi-li girku-d'a-m.
sable-accin find-conv-prefl (I) forest-prol go-prs-1sg
'In order to find a sable I go through the forest.'

(418) a. *Coreferential subjects*
D'u-la is-chele-ver d'ep-cho-tyn.
house-all reach-conv-prefl.pl eat-pst-3pl
'After they$_i$ had come home they$_i$ ate.'

(418) b. *Non-coreferential subjects*
D'u-la is-chele-tyn d'ep-cho-tyn.
house-all reach-conv-3pl.poss eat-pst-3pl
'After they$_i$ had come home they$_j$ ate.'

1.5.2.4. Between different subordinate clauses

What has been said above (see 1.5.2.3) also applies to means of expressing anaphora between different subordinate clauses containing converbs:

(419) Asatkan ekin-dule-vi eme-mi tara-ve gun-e-n
girl sister-all-prefl come-conv that-accd say-nfut-3sg

nungan-man Turu-la ung-mu-vki-l
she-accd Tula-all send-vol-hab.part-pl

tadu alaguv-da:-n.
there study-conv-3sg.poss
'The girl$_i$ came to her elder sister$_j$ and told her$_j$ that they want to send her$_i$ to Tura to study.'

In general, same-subject converbal forms in *-nA/-d'AnA, -mi, -kAnim/ -kAim, -ksA, -mnAk* and *-mnen* (always used without any possession markers) as well as varying-subject converbs with reflexive possession affixes always preserve subject reference, whereas different-subject converbs in *-rAki* and *-d'AnmA* (always used with personal possession markers) as well as varying-subject converbal forms with personal possession markers always change subject reference as regards the subject of the next verb form – both finite and non-finite. Subjects in such complex structures are very often deleted since they are clear from the possession affixes of the non-finite forms (419):

(420) Bumu-l-leki-v girki-v eme-mi
be.ill-inch-conv-1sg.poss friend-1sg.poss come-conv

putegen-me bu:-reki-n avgara-cha-v.
medicine-accd give-conv-3sg.poss recover-pst-1sg
'When I fell ill my friend came, gave me medicine (and) I recovered.'

(421) Upkat-va beje-l-ve umunupki-mi bejumimni
all-accd man-pl-accd gather-conv hunter

nungar-va-tyn gun-eki-n on tar-il
they-accd-they say-conv-3sg.poss how that-pl

haval-da:-tyn nungartyn muchu-cha-tyn.
work-conv-3pl.poss they return-pst-3pl
'Having gathered all the men the hunter told them how they should work (and) they returned.'

1.5.2.5. Between sentences

All means of expressing anaphora (deletion with or without possession markers on the nominal or verbal forms, personal, demonstrative and reflexive pronouns, etc.) are possible here. Cataphoric reference to an overt antecedent in the next sentence is not found. The antecedent of anaphoric pronouns (personal, demonstrative and reflexive) is most likely the last-mentioned nominal phrase of the previous sentence, for example:

(422) Ami-m girki-du-vi purta-vi bu:-re-n. tar
father-1sg.poss friend-dat-prefl knife-prefl give-nfut-3sg that

omakta bi-cho-n.
new be-pst-3sg
'My father$_i$ gave his friend his$_i$ knife$_j$. That$_j$ was new.'

Possible ambiguity of reference may be removed by taking into consideration semantic features of previous arguments:

(423) Aichimni nga:le-vi bumu-d'eri dyl-du-n
doctor hand-prefl be.ill-part head-dat-3sg.poss

ne:-re-n. Tar ete-re-n kelder-d'e-mi.
put-nfut-3sg that stop-nfut-3sg moan-impv-conv
'The doctor put his hand on the head of the patient. He (lit. 'that'; i.e. the patient) stopped moaning.'

1.5.3. Anaphora of elements next to complementizers

As examples (411)–(413) show, elements (subjects of the subordinate clause) located next to complementizers (subordinating conjunctions) are subject to the above anaphoric processes. Either deletion or personal/demonstrative pronouns may be employed for expressing anaphora.

1.6. REFLEXIVES

1.6.1. Means by which expressed

1.6.1.1. Invariable reflexive pronoun

No such pronoun exists.

1.6.1.2. Variable reflexive pronoun

A reflexive relationship is expressed by the use of reflexive pronouns – *me:nmi* 'oneself' (sg), *me:rver* (pl), which can be declined. Both are employed for all persons – first, second or third – the former for the singular subject and the latter for the plural subject. In the plural ambiguity may arise between reflexive and reciprocal interpretations of *me:rver* (compare 1.7.1.):

(424) Nungartyn me:rver va:-re-0.
they themselves kill-nfut-3pl
a. 'They killed themselves.'
b. 'They killed each other/one another.'

The following sentence is also ambiguous:

(425) Nungartyn me:rver hulla-t das-ta-0.
they themselves blanket-instr cover-nfut-3pl
a. 'They covered themselves with a blanket.'
b. 'They covered each other with a blanket.'

The usual reflexive use of *me:nmi* (all persons singular) is illustrated below:

(426) Bulen me:nmi va:-re-n.
enemy oneself kill-nfut-3sg
'The enemy killed himself.'

(427) Asatkan ichevun-du me:nmi iche-re-n.
girl mirror-dat oneself see-nfut-3sg
'The girl saw herself in the mirror.'

(428) En'i me:nmi av-d'ara-n.
mother oneself wash-prs-3sg
'The mother washes herself.'

The ordinary personal (non-reflexive) pronoun can be found only for the first person singular. The other personal pronouns cannot be used instead of reflexive ones, compare:

(429) a. Bi me:nmi va:-0-m.
I oneself kill-nfut-1sg
'I hit/hurt myself.'

(429) b. Bi mine va:-0-m.
I I.accd kill-nfut-1sg
'I hit/hurt myself.'

The antecedent of *me:nmi/me:rver* is always the subject of the same clause, although this subject may be either direct or indirect object of the superordinate clause if the reflexive pronoun is in the subordinate clause, for example:

(430) Ami-m gun-e-n nekun-mi me:nmi
father-1sg.poss say-nfut-3sg brother-1sg.poss oneself
tety-mechin-me-n.
dress-part-accd-3sg.poss
'My father said that my younger brother should dress himself on his own.'

(431) Bi sa:-cha-v beje-ve me:nmi va:-cha-ve.
I know-pst-1sg man-accd oneself kill-part-accd
'I knew the man who killed himself.'

(432) Bi eme-che-v beje-duk me:nmi ajav-d'ari-duk.
I come-pst-1sg man-abl oneself love-part-abl
(lit.) 'I came from the man who loves himself.'

With the majority of transitive verbs *me:nmi/me:rver* is obligatory, as, for instance, with the verbs *ajav-* 'love', *va:-* 'kill' and *av-* 'wash'. However, with a few transitives the reflexive pronoun is optional, reflexive relationship being clear from the context, compare:

(433) a. Eni hunat-vi ajav-d'ere-n.
mother daughter-prefl love-prs-3sg
'Mother loves her daughter.'

(433) b. Hunat me:nmi ajav-d'ere-n. (*Hunat ajav-d'ere-n.)
daughter oneself love-prs-3sg
'Daughter loves herself.' (*'Daughter loves.')

(434) a. Eni n'urikte-l-vi igdy-d'ara-n.
mother hair-pl-prefl comb-prs-3sg
'Mother is combing her hair.'

(434) b. Eni me:nmi igdy-d'ara-n.
mother oneself comb-prs-3sg
(lit.) 'Mother is combing herself.'

(434) c. Eni igdy-d'ara-n.
mother comb-prs-3sg
'Mother is combing (her hair).'

With reflexive reference to the subject of a higher clause, personal pronouns should be used instead of *me:nmi/me:rver*:

(435) Ekin-mi girki-vi gele-re-n nungan-dun
sister-1sg.poss friend-prefl ask-nfut-3sg she-dat

bele-de-n.
help-conv-3sg.poss
'My elder sister$_i$ asked her friend$_j$ to help her$_i$.'

The antecedent always precedes *me:nmi/me:rver* both in the main and in the subordinate clause:

(436) Amarcha gun-e-n girki-n me:nmi
Amarcha say-nfut-3sg friend-3sg.poss oneself

va:-ssa-d'acha-n.
kill-try-impf-3sg
'Amarcha said that his friend had tried to kill himself.'

1.6.1.3. Verbal affixation

There are no specialized reflexive affixes in Evenki, but the productive passive marker *-v(u)-* with three transitives can express not only the passive function but also the reflexive meaning. This probably occurs under Russian influence and is attested only in translations, for example:

(437) a. *aj-* 'save' > *aji-v-* 'be saved'/'save oneself',
(437) b. *typa-* 'make dirty' > *typa-v-* 'be dirtied'/'dirty oneself',
(437) c. *va:-* 'kill/hurt' > *va:-v-* 'be killed/hurt'/'hurt oneself'

1.6.1.4. Other means

There are no other means expressing reflexive meaning.

1.6.2. Reflexivity restricted to the clause

The scope of reflexivity is always restricted to the clause, that is, reflexive pronouns cannot refer anaphorically beyond the clause.

1.6.3. Intraclausal reflexivity where the reflexive element is a verbal affix

1.6.3.1. Possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

1.6.3.1.1. Subject only

Rare cases of passive forms with the reflexive meaning presented in 1.6.1.3 (437) contain an antecedent with the only possible syntactic function – the subject, for example:

(438) Tar beje me:nmi aji-v-cha-n.
that man oneself save-pass-pst-3sg
'That man saved himself.'

1.6.3.1.2. Other possibilities

There is none.

1.6.3.2. Possible syntactic functions of the reflexive marker

As has been stated above, there is no specialized reflexive marker in Evenki, but the reflexive meaning can be expressed by passive forms derived from only three transitives (437). That is why it is impossible to state what syntactic function is performed by the marker in question.

1.6.4. Intraclausal reflexivity where the reflexive element is not a verbal affix

The only reflexive element *me:nmi* (plural *me:rver*) is always positioned after the antecedent expressed by the subject and before the predicate. The reflexive pronoun can be separated both from the subject and from the predicate by other elements of the clause, for example, different adverbials, but the order of the main elements remains the same: subject–antecedent–reflexive pronoun–predicate:

(439) Etyrken umnet me:nmi purta-t-vi va:-re-n.
old.man suddenly oneself knife-instr-prefl kill-nfut-3sg
'The old man suddenly killed himself with his knife.'

1.6.5. Relations between antecedent and reflexive

1.6.5.1. Antecedent as subject, reflexive as direct object

This is the predominant relation between antecedent and reflexive (the examples are given in 1.6.1.1).

1.6.5.2. Antecedent as subject, reflexive as modifier of direct object

This structure is lacking.

1.6.5.3. Antecedent as subject, reflexive as indirect object

The dative case form of *me:nmi/me:rver* is used in this case (*me:n-du-vi/ me:r-du-ver*):

(440) Ollomimni me:n-du-vi purta-va ga-ra-n
fisher.man oneself-dat knife-accd buy-nfut-3sg
'The fisherman bought a knife for himself.'

(441) Atyrka-r unta-l-va me:r-du-ver o:-d'ara-0.
old.woman-pl fur.boot-pl-accd oneselves-dat make-prs-3pl
'The old women are making fur boots for themselves.'

The forms of other cases (e.g. the ablative and the prolative cases) may also appear due to the governing properties of certain verbs:

(442) Kungakan ichevun-dule iche-sini-kse me:n-duk-vi
child mirror-all see-smlf-conv oneself-abl
ngele-l-le-n.
be.afraid-inch-nfut-3sg
'The child looked in the mirror and became frightened of himself.'

(443) Asatkan me:n-duli-vi dukuvun-ma duku-ra-n.
girl oneself-prol letter-accd write-nfut-3sg
'The girl wrote a letter about herself.'

1.6.5.4.–212. Other relations between antecedent and reflexive

Other relations between antecedent and reflexive do not exist.

1.6.6. Reflexives in nominalized clauses

Reflexive elements *me:nmi* and *me:rver* may appear in nominalized clauses involving participial forms with the same semantic and syntactic restrictions as those stated above. *Me:nmi/me:rver* always refer to the semantic subject expressed by the head noun. The latter may be in any case form required by the main verb:

(444) Bi d'oncha-d'a-m me:nmi va:-cha-ve beje-ve.
I remember-prs-1sg oneself kill-part-accd man-accd
'I remember the man who killed himself.'

(445) Me:rver av-d'ari-l asa-l ulguche-met-te-0.
oneselves wash-part-pl woman-pl say-recp-nfut-3pl
'The women (while) washing themselves talked with each other.'

(446) Nungan gun-e-n me:nmi va:-cha-li beje-li.
he say-nfut-3sg oneself kill-part-prol man-prol
(lit.) 'He told about the man who killed himself.'

1.6.7. Reflexives within ordinary noun phrases

Reflexive elements *me:nmi/me:rver* can be freely used within ordinary noun phrases (see (431), (432), (444), (445), (446)).

1.6.8. Reflexive structures without overt antecedent

Such structures are possible in the case of impersonal and elliptic constructions, for example:

(447) Me:nmi va:-mi (tar) erupchu bi-d'anga-n.
oneself kill-conv (that) bad be-fut-3sg
'It is bad to kill oneself.' (impersonal construction)

(448) Me:nmi va:-da-i d'aldat-chacha-n.
oneself kill-conv-prefl think-impf-3sg
'He was thinking of killing himself.'

Construction (448) is elliptic since its subject (= antecedent) *nungan* 'he' is omitted.

1.6.9. Other uses of reflexives

The reflexive element *me:nmi* 'oneself' has no other uses. It cannot be used as an emphatic pronoun or as general detransitivizer. Its plural form *me:rver* may also perform the reciprocal function (see (424) and (425)).

1.7. RECIPROCALS

1.7.1. Means by which expressed

1.7.1.1. Invariable reciprocal pronoun

Such a pronoun is lacking.

1.7.1.2. Variable reciprocal pronoun

Reciprocal function is expressed either by declined reciprocal pronouns *memegilver* 'each other', *memeriver* 'each other', *memegil-du-ver* (dat) 'to each other', *memegil-nun-mer* (*-nun* – comitative marker) 'with each other', *me:rver* 'each other' (for its reflexive use see 1.6.1.2), *memegil-duk-ver* (abl) 'from each other', *memegil-duli-ver* (prol) 'about each other', in conjunction with a plural verb form or/and by derivational means. The latter include principally the use of specialized reciprocal affix *-mAt* (see 1.7.1.3) or the use of affix *-ldy-* whose main function is sociative (comitative) relation (see 2.1.1.4.4). Reciprocal pronouns are obligatory for the expression of the reciprocal meaning if the specialized reciprocal affix *-mAt* is lacking in the verb form and the comitative object is not expressed. Otherwise reciprocal pronouns are, as a rule, optional (cf. (449b)), but if the comitative object is present in the construction the reciprocal pronoun is excluded (450b).

(449) a. Nungartyn memegilver va:-re-0.
they each.other kill-nfut-3pl
'They killed each other.'

(449) b. Nungartyn (memegilver) va:-mat-te-0.
they (each.other) kill-recp-nfut-3pl;
'They killed each other.'

(450) a. Asatka-r memegilver n'ukan-d'ere-0.
girl-pl each.other kiss-prs-3pl
'The girls are kissing each other.'

(450) b. Eni hunat-nun-mi n'ukani-mat-chere-0.
mother daughter-com-prefl kiss-recp-prs-3pl
'Mother and her daughter kiss each other.'

1.7.1.3. Verbal affix

The use of the specialized reciprocal affix *-mAt* is illustrated below:

(451) a. Nungan girki-nun-mi ngorcha-mat-chara-n.
he friend-com-prefl wrestle-recp-prs-3sg
'He is wrestling/struggling with his friend.'

(451) b. Nungan girki-nun-mi ngorcha-mat-chere-0.
he friend-com-prefl wrestle-recp-prs-3pl
'He and his friend are wrestling.'

(452) Bejetken asatkan-nun ure-met-chere-0.
boy girl-com look.alike-recp-prs-3pl
'The boy and the girl look alike.'/The boy and the girl bear a great resemblance to each other.'

1.7.1.4. Other means

Forms with the sociative marker *-ldy* can express the reciprocal meaning:

(453) Nginaki-r memegil-nun-mer kiki-ldy-d'ara-0.
dog-pl each.other-com bite-soc-prs-3pl
'The dogs are biting each other.'

(454) Oro-r memerilver ana-ldy-d'ara-0.
reindeer-pl each.other push-soc-prs-3pl
'The reindeer are pushing each other.'

(455) Bi etyrken-nun/etyrken-me baka-ldy-cha-v.
I old.man-com/old.man-accd find-soc-pst-1sg
'I met an/the old man.'/'I and the old man met each other.'

1.7.2. Reciprocals restricted to the clause

The antecedent of reciprocal elements is always in the same clause and should be overtly expressed.

1.7.3. Intraclausal reciprocal relations where the reciprocal element is a verbal affix

1.7.3.1. Possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

1.7.3.1.1. Subject only

The only possible syntactic function of the antecedent is the subject.

1.7.3.1.2. Other possibilities.

There are no other possibilities for the antecedent.

1.7.3.2. Possible syntactic functions of the reflexive marker

1.7.3.2.1. Direct object

Direct object is the predominant syntactic function:

(456) Nungartyn nga:le-l-ver (usike-r-di) uj-met-te-0.
they arm-pl-prefl (strap-pl-instr) tie-recp-nfut-3pl
'They tied each other's arms (with straps).'

(457) Nungartyn memegilver tykun-mat-ta-0.
they each.other get.angry-recp-nfut-3pl
'They got angry with each other.'

In example (457) reciprocal pronouns with the dative (*memegil-du-ver*) or the comitative (*memegil-nun-mer*) markers are impossible.

1.7.3.2.2. Indirect object

Indirect object is the other possible function of the reflexive marker (451), (452), for example:

(458) Girki-l memegil-du-ver bele-met-te-0.
friend-pl each.other-dat help-recp-nfut-3pl
'The friends helped each other.'

(459) Oro-r ije-l-di-ver kapu-mat-ta-0.
reindeer-pl horn-pl-instr-prefl break-recp-nfut-3pl
'The reindeer fight each other with their horns.'

1.7.4. Intraclausal reciprocal relations where the reciprocal element is not a verbal affix

The reciprocal element (pronoun) is always positioned between the subject and the predicate. The usual place for it is just before the predicate.

1.7.5. Relations between antecedent and the reciprocal element

1.7.5.1. Antecedent as subject, reciprocal pronoun as direct object

This type of reciprocal construction is found with reciprocal pronouns *memegilver* 'each other', *memeriver* 'each other', and also with the reflexive pronoun *me:rver* (lit.) 'oneselves' in the sense of 'each other' (see examples in 1.7.1.2 and 1.7.1.3). Rather seldom the second actor may take the definite accusative case marker, though some speakers find such sentences ungrammatical, for example:

(460) Dylacha-kan dunne-ve memegilver so:t n'ukani-mat-cha-n.
sun-dim land-accd each.other very kiss-recp-pst-3sg
'The sun and the earth kissed each other tenderly.'

A comitative form *dunne-nun* 'with the earth' would be more neutral.

1.7.5.2. Antecedent as subject, reciprocal pronoun as modifier of direct object

This relation is not realized.

1.7.5.3. Antecedent as subject, reciprocal pronoun as indirect object

This type of reciprocal construction is found with pronouns *memegil-du-ver* (dat) 'to each other', *me:r-du-ver* 'to each other', *memegil-duk-ver* (abl) 'from each other', *memegil-nun-mer* 'with each other', *memegil-duli-ver* 'about each other', for example:

(461) Nungartyn sirba-va me:r-du-ver ule-met-te-0.
they soup-accd each.other-dat cook-recp-nfut-3pl
'They cooked soup for each other.'

(462) Asa-l memegil-nun-mer dukuvu-r-ve
woman-pl each.other-com letter-pl-accd
duku-mat-chara-0.
write-recp-prs-3pl
'The women write letters to each other.'

(463) Kungaka-r memegil-duk-ver evike-r-ve
child-pl each.other-abl toy-pl-accd
ty-sse-met-chere-0.
pull-try-recp-prs-3pl
'Two children are trying to take away toys from each other.'

1.7.5.4.–212. Other relations between antecedent and reciprocal

Other relations between antecedent and reciprocal are not realized.

1.7.6. Reciprocal relations in nominalized clauses

Nominalized (= participial) verb forms both with the reciprocal affix and with reciprocal pronouns are possible, for example:

(464) Memegil-nun-mer upchu-met-cheri-l beje-l
each.other-com argue-recp-part-pl man-pl
suru-re-0.
go.away-nfut-3pl
'Men arguing/quarrelling with each other went away.'

(465) Girki-nun ngorcha-mat-cha bejetken buru-che-n.
friend-com wrestle-recp-part boy fall-pst-3sg
'The boy who was fighting with his friend fell down.'

1.7.7. Reciprocal relations within ordinary noun phrases

Deverbal nouns formed on the basis of reciprocal and sociative verb stems are possible, for example:

(466) a. *va:* 'kill' > *va:-ldy-* 'kill together/each other' > *va:-ldy-n* 'battle', *va:-ldy-kit* 'place of battle'

(466) b. *archa-* 'meet' > *archa-ldy-* 'meet each other' > *archa-ldy-n* 'meeting', *archa-ldy-kit* 'place of meeting'

(466) c. *ulguchen-* 'talk' > *ulguche-mech-in* 'conversation/chat/talk'

1.7.8. Reciprocal structures without overt antecedent

Reciprocal structures without overt antecedents occur very seldom and only in impersonal constructions, for example:

(467) Memegil-nun-mer ngorcha-mat-mi eru bi-si-n.
each.other-com fight-recp-conv bad be-prs-3sg
'It is bad to fight with each other.'

(468) Memegilver e-vke va:-mat-ta.
each.other neg.aux-mod.part kill-recp-part
'It is necessary not to kill each other.'

1.7.9. Other uses of reciprocal forms

Reciprocal forms do not have any other uses.

1.8. COMPARISON

1.8.1. Means by which comparison is expressed

1.8.1.1. Comparative particle

There are no comparative particles in Evenki.

1.8.1.2. Comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison, a case associated with the noun forming the standard of comparison

Comparison is expressed by means of a comparative or superlative affix on the adjectival base expressing the parameter of comparison and an ablative case-marked noun expressing the standard of comparison. The comparative morphemes are *-tmAr/-dymAr* 'more' and *-tku/-dygu* 'most'. The latter suffix performs the superlative function, for example:

(469) Murin oron-duk hegdy-tmer.
horse reindeer-abl big-cmpr
'A horse is bigger than a reindeer.'

(470) Minngi pektyre:vun sinngi pektyre:vun-duki-s aja-tmar
my gun your gun-abl-2sg.poss good-cmpr
(bi-si-n).
(be-prs-3sg)
'My gun is better than your gun.'

(471) Er bira g'e-duk hulukun-dymer.
this river other-abl little-cmpr
'This river is smaller than the other.'

(472) Er asatkan tar bejetken-duk sagdy-tmar.
this girl that boy-abl old-cmpr
'This girl is older than that boy.'

(473) Tar beje upkat-tuk engesi-tku/engesi-tmer.
that man all-abl strong-sup/strong-cmpr
'That man is the strongest of all/stronger than everybody.'

(474) Er omolgi upkat-tuk gugda-tku.
this fellow all-abl tall-sup
'This guy is the tallest of all.'

1.8.1.3. Comparative particle associated with the standard of comparison only

This type is lacking.

1.8.1.4. Other means

There are no other means of expressing comparison.

1.8.2. Elements that can be omitted under identity between the comparative and superordinate clauses

The standard of comparison is expressed clausally only by means of nominalized (participial) forms. In the case of identity of subjects the second can be omitted since it is anaphorically expressed by the possessive inflection:

(475) Tyma:tne bi kete-tmer-it o:-d'a-m tynive
tomorrow I much-cmpr-instr do-fut-1sg yesterday
o:-na-duki-v.
do-part-abl-1sg.poss
'I shall do tomorrow more than I did yesterday.'

In the case of identity of actions the second verb form can also be omitted:

(476) Bi nungan-dukin himat-mer-it tuksa-d'a-m.
I he-abl quick-cmpr-instr run-prs-1sg
'I run quicker than he (does).'

Both nouns expressing subjects may be omitted since they are referred to by verbal agreement markers.

1.8.3. Elements that cannot be omitted under identity

In case of 'shared' verbs the main verb cannot be omitted (see (476)).

1.8.4. Elements that must be omitted under identity

No element must be omitted under identity though the second identical subject is almost always omitted, for example:

(477) Tar beje aja-tmar-it haval-d'ara-n tyngaringa
that man good-cmpr-instr work-prs-3dg last.year
haval-na-duki-n.
work-part-abl-3sg.poss
'That man works better than he worked last year.'

1.8.5. Different types of comparative structure

Evenki has only one type of comparative structure (see 1.8.1.2).

1.8.6. Correlative comparison

This is seldom found. In this case two comparative forms are used:

(478) D'u-duk goro-tmor-it hoktoron silimku-tmar bi-cho-n.
house-abl far-cmpr-instr path narrow-cmpr be-pst-3sg
'The farther from the house the narrower was the path.'

(479) Hava-vi himat-mar-it o:-mi aja-tmar-it
work-prefl quick-cmpr-instr do-conv good-cmpr-instr
bi-d'enge-n.
be-fut-3sg
'The sooner you do the job the better it will be.'

1.9. EQUATIVES

1.9.1. Means by which equatives are expressed

1.9.1.1. Equative element associated with the parameter of equation, equative particle associated with the standard of equation

This type is lacking since there are no equative particles in Evenki.

1.9.1.2. Equative element associated with the parameter of equation, a case associated with the noun forming the standard of equation

This type is lacking.

1.9.1.3. Equative marker associated with the standard of comparison only

Equative function is expressed by affixes *-gAchin* 'like'/'as if'/'equal to' and *-dyn* 'equal in size to' attached to the noun forming the standard of comparison (for further examples see 2.1.1.2.7), for example:

(480) Tar bejetken girki-n-ngechin eru bi-si-n.
that boy friend-3sg.poss-eqt bad be-prs-3sg
'That boy is as bad as his friend.'

(481) Tar asàtkan enin-ngechin-in gud'oipchu.
that girl mother-eqt-3sg.poss beautiful
'That girl is as beautiful as her mother.'

(482) Tar gule mo:-dyn bi-si-n.
that house tree-eqt be-prs-3sg
'That house is as high as a tree.'

1.9.1.4. Other means

There are no other means of expressing equation.

1.9.2. Elements that can be omitted between the equative and superordinate clauses

Equative constructions never involve two finite clauses. Complex sentences with participial forms are used, the latter taking the equative affix *-gAchin*. The object of the participial form is, as a rule, omitted if it is coreferential with either the object or the subject of the main verb:

(483) D'u dagadun mo: baldy-d'ara-n ekun-mal
house near tree grow-prs-3sg who-clt

tegevken-ne-gechin-in.
plant-part-eqt-3sg.poss
'The tree grows near the house as if someone planted it.'

(484) Oro-r so: himat hukty-d'ere-0 ngi-de
reindeer-pl very quickly run-prs-3pl who-clt

asakta-d'ari-gachin-in.
chase-part-eqt-3sg.poss
'The reindeer are running very quickly as if somebody is chasing them.'

1.9.3. Elements that cannot be omitted under identity

The subject of the main verb cannot be omitted under identity.

1.9.4. Elements that must be omitted under identity

Shared verbs are never repeated and in the case of subject coreference the second one must be omitted, for example:

(485) Tar beje girki-n-ngechin tuksa-d'ara-n.
that man friend-3sg.poss-eqt run-prs-3sg
'That man is running/runs as fast as his friend.'

(486) Asi omolgi-nun-mi sagdy-gachin-nun-mi
woman son-com-prefl old.man-eqt-com-prefl

ulguche-met-cheche-n.
speak-recp-impf-3sg
'The woman spoke with her son as if with an adult man.'

1.9.5. Different types of equative structure

There is only one equative structure (see 1.9.1.3).

1.10. POSSESSION

1.10.1. Means of expressing possession sententially

Possession is expressed with the help of a verb *bi-* 'be'. The possessed object is expressed by a noun in the nominative case and the possessor is expressed either by the dative case form or by the possessive form with

the affix *-ngi* (unproductive genitive; compare also the attributive use of nominal forms with *-ngi* in 2.1.1.4.6):

(487) Kungaka-r-du aja-l evike-r bi-si-0.
child-pl-dat good-pl toy-pl be-prs-3pl
'The children have good toys.'

(488) Bejumimni-du tamu:ra pektyre:vun bi-cho-n.
hunter-dat expensive gun be-pst-3sg
'The hunter had an expensive gun.'

(489) Tar-il oro-r Amarcha-ngi (bi-si-0).
that-pl reindeer-pl Amarcha-poss (be-prs-3pl)
'Those reindeer are Amarcha's.'

(490) Er-il ije-l hegdy-meme moty-ngi.
this-pl horn-pl big-ints elk-poss
'These horns (antlers) belong to a very big elk.'

(491) Tar purta minngi bi-si-n.
that knife my be-prs-3sg
'That knife is mine.'

Phrasal possession is expressed by means of one of the following affixes: *-nun, -nAn, -gAli, -chi, -lAn, -tAi* (all these affixes express the comitative meaning 'with' with different nuances; see 2.1.1.4.4 –5):

(492) Etyrken av-lan bi-cho-n.
old.man fur.cap-com be-pst-3sg
(lit.) 'The old man was with his fur cap on.'

(493) Bejumimni pektyre:vu-chi / pektyre:vu-tei / pektyrev-len
hunter gun-com/ gun-com/ gun-com
bi-si-n.
be-prs-3sg
'The hunter has a gun.' (lit. 'The hunter is with a gun.')

1.10.2. Alienable and inalienable possession

The nominal affix *-ngi* expresses alienable or temporary possession. It refers to something acquired or killed/caught during hunting, for example, a catch of game (meat, fish), hunted animals and parts of their body, plants, land, rivers, lakes, mountains and natural phenomena bearing relation to the man concerned or involved in the situation of the contextually salient person (see also 2.1.1.1.1.5). Nouns denoting material objects of everyday life may also have the alienable possession marker *-ngi*. This affix is, as a rule, optional and in general it stresses the posses-

sive relation between the object in question and its 'possessor', for example:

(494) Tar munnukan-ngi-v tuksa-malcha-ra-n.
that hare-poss-1sg.poss run-quickly-nfut-3sg
'That hare (which I saw or tried to chase) ran quickly away.'

(495) Moty ulle-ve-n silachi-l-cha-l, d'evu-l-le-0
elk meat-accd-3sg.poss fry-inch-part-pl eat-inch-nfut-3pl
ulle-ng-mer.
meat-poss-prefl
'They began to fry the meat of elk, (and) they began to eat their meat (which they had fried).'

(496) Asatkan tatkit-tula avdanna-ngi-l-vi emev-re-n.
girl school-all leaf-poss-pl-prefl bring-nfut-3sg
'The girl brought the leaves (which she had gathered) to school.'

(497) Asi mu:-ng-ngi ungku-t-te-n. (*-ngɪ* < *-vi*)
woman water-poss-prefl spill-dstr-nfut-3sg
'The woman spilt the water (which she carried).'

(498) Atyrkan avun-ngi-vi pota-du-vi ne:-re-n.
old.woman cap-poss-prefl bag-dat-prefl put-nfut-3sg
'The old woman put her cap into her bag.'

Inalienable possession is expressed by either personal or reflexive possession affixes (see 2.1.1.1.1.3–4).

1.10.3. Temporary and permanent possession

There are no specialized markers expressing either temporary or permanent possession. The marker of alienable possession *-ngi* contextually may denote temporary possession due to semantic proximity of the meanings concerned (compare (496), (497)).

1.10.4. Possession relative to persons, animals and things

The alienable possession suffix *-ngɪ*, attached mainly to inanimate objects or parts of animate objects, always denotes possession relative to persons (compare examples in 1.10.2). There are no special possessive markers which would denote possession relative to animals. Inanimate possessors never take the dative case marker *-du* of the type in (499):

(499) Min-du purta bi-si-n.
I-dat knife be-prs-3sg
'I have a knife.'

Inanimate possessors are in the nominative case and 'take' nominals denoting possessed objects with one of the following suffixes: *-gAli/-kAli/-ngAli, -chi,* or *-tAi,* for example:

(500) a. su:n ukse-l-geli
coat sleeve-pl-com
'a coat with sleeves'

(500) b. gule gugda-chi truba-chi (*truba* 'chimney' is borrowed from Russian)
house high-com chimney-com
'a house with a high chimney'

(500) c. pota burduka-tai
bag flour-com
'a bag with flour'

These suffixes can also denote possession which is relative to persons. Plain possessive markers – both personal and reflexive – may be used for persons, animals or things.

1.10.5. Present, past and future possession

Different temporal meanings pertaining to possession are expressed by different temporal forms of the verb *bi-* 'be':

(501) Nungan-dun d'u bi-si-n/bi-che-n/bi-d'anga-n.
he-dat house be-prs-3sg/be-pst-3sg/be-fut-3sg
'He has/had/will have a house.'

1.11. EMPHASIS

1.11.1. Sentence emphasis

The problem of sentence and constituent emphasis in Evenki has not been treated at all in the existing literature. It is, however, an important issue concerning the influence of pragmatic factors on word order (which is relatively free) and on using numerous enclitics (to say nothing of various changes in intonational contours of utterances which are not treated below). Clefting occurs very seldom, whereas phonological stress is very widespread as a means of emphasis. The most neutral word order is SOV, as discussed in 1.2.1.2.6, with the main verb expressing new information. Generally an emphatic effect is rendered by higher pitch and slower speed on an emphasized constituent. The basic rule, in general,

will be as perhaps in any language with a relatively labile word order: any constituent placed in a position other than expected in a neutral word order may be considered as emphasized.

1.11.1.1. Non-contradictory sentence emphasis

Non-contradictory sentence emphasis is expressed both by prosodic means and by the use of exclamatory enclitics *-dA* 'indeed', *-kA* 'indeed/really', particles *sa:bel* 'indeed'/'without doubt', *ted'e* 'true/really', *tug/tug'e* 'truly'/'without doubt' and emphatic initial pronoun *ekun* 'what a good thing', for example:

(502) Bi-de nungan-tykin gun-che-v!
I-clt he-locall say-pst-1sg
'But I have really told him that!'/'Indeed, I told him that!'

(503) Tar-ka bejetken n'an eme-re-n.
that-clt boy again come-nfut-3sg
'And that boy really came (again)!'

(504) Bi sa:bel tadu bi-che-v!
I really there be-pst-1sg
'I was there indeed!'

(505) Ted'e, nungan tara-ve gun-e-n.
truly he that-accd say-nfut-3sg
'He really said that.'

(506) Ekun aja asatkan!
what good girl
'What a good girl!'

Certain nominal and verbal affixes expressing evaluation, for example, *-mAmA* 'very', *-kAkun* 'very/extremely', *-kAkut-* 'very/excessively' may express sentence emphasis:

(507) Homo:ty eme-kekut-te-n.
bear come-ints-nfut-3sg
'A bear came suddenly/with great noise!'

(508) Hegdy-meme gule (ilit-chara-n)!
large-ints house (stand-prs-3sg)
'What a large house (standing)!'

1.11.1.2. Contradictory sentence emphasis

Contradictory emphasis may be expressed by exclamatory particle *atmama* 'not at all', and pejorative enclitic *-mAt(y)-* 'not even', for example:

(509) Atmama, atmama, e-ta-m eme-re sin-dule!
no no neg.aux-fut-1sg come-part you-all
'No, no, I will not come to you for the world!'

(510) Bi umuke-met-je homo:ty-ja e-che-v va:-re.
I one-clt-accin bear-accin neg.aux-pst-1sg kill-part
'I didn't kill a single bear!'

1.11.2 Means of constituent emphasis

1.11.2.1. Constituent emphasis

Non-contrastive constituent emphasis is concerned with thematization and is expressed, as a rule, by movement (see 1.11.2.1.3). The latter is usually accompanied by higher pitch on an emphasized constituent. Contrastive emphasis is also expressed by one of the enclitics – notably *-dA*, *-kA*, *-mAk* and the particle *ele* 'just/exactly', for example:

(511) (Si min-tyki eja-val e-che-s gun-e →)
you I-locall anything-clt neg.aux-pst-2sg say-part
('You didn't tell me anything' →)

Bi-de sin-e gun-d'eche-v!
I-clt you-accd say-impf-1sg
'But I told you that!'/'But it was me who told you that!'

(512) (Si tara-ve beje-ve e-che-s sa:-re?! →)
you that-accd man-accd neg.aux-pst-2sg know-part
('You don't know that man?!' →)

Bi-ke sa:-0-m-e.
I-clt know-nfut-1sg-clt
'But I do know (him)!'

The particle *ele* 'just/exactly' is used after the word which is contrastively emphasized:

(513) Bi nungan-man ele hanngukta-d'a-m.
I he-accd just ask-fut-1sg
'I shall ask *him*.'

(514) Min-du er ele purta gele-v-d'ere-n.
I-dat this just knife want-pass-prs-3sg
'I need exactly *this* knife.'

1.11.2.1.1. By stress/accent

As has already been mentioned, a constituent may be emphasized by the use of relatively higher pitch only, although this does not have systematic status (see 1.11.2.1). This may coincide with word stress of either nominal or verbal parts of the sentence, but may also cover stretches longer than one word. Sometimes emphasis causes movement of either noun or verb stress.

1.11.2.1.2. By particle

The majority of particles and enclitics listed under 2.1.8 and 1.2.5.2.8 may be used with emphasized nouns. The position of the particles and enclitics is almost always after the emphasized nominal (see (511)–(514)).

1.11.2.1.3. By movement

1.11.2.1.3.1. Initial position An emphasized constituent (object, main verb, adverbial) may be moved to initial position. Other positions for the emphasized elements are less common. As has already been stated, the neutral word order is SOV, as in:

(515) a. Bejumimni moty-va va:-re-n.
hunter elk-accd kill-nfut-3sg
'The hunter killed the/an elk.'

The other five non-elliptic variants of word order are also possible, though they require a specific context and, as a rule, emphasize the element going first (emphasized words are italicized):

(515) b. Bejumimni *va:-re-n* moty-va 'The hunter *killed* the elk.'
(515) c. *Va:-re-n* bejumimni moty-va 'The hunter *killed* the elk.'
(515) d. *Va:-re-n* moty-va bejumimni 'The hunter *killed* the elk.'
(515) e. *Moty-va* va:-re-n bejumimni 'The hunter killed *the elk*.'
(515) f. *Moty-va* bejumimni va:-re-n 'The hunter killed *the elk*.'

The SOV word order variant is a little more frequent in folklore texts than the other main variant SVO. All the other variants occur much more seldom and, as a rule, presuppose contextual support in narration before and/or after the inverted construction. Emphasis is, of course, not the only reason for the occurrence of different word order variants. They may also be used in neutral contexts. For instance, the last four variants (511c–f) may be used as repetitions of the same non-inverted sentence (515a) as the starting point to the next chain of sentences. The last two variants (515e and 515f) can also be interpreted as treating the direct object as

theme. None of the last four sentences (515c–f) can be used in answer to a question as to who performed the action. They may occur only in narration.

The subject always precedes the predicate if the latter is expressed by either a noun or an adjective. Inversion is possible only if the predicate is expressed by a verb. In this case either the direct object or an adverbial or the main verb itself may be given stress:

(516) Goro-lo ejeki d'avra-sin-a-n beje tari.
far-all down.the.river boat-smlf-nfut-3sg man that
'That man boated *far down the river.*'

(517) Pektyre:vu-r-ve e-che-tyn sa:-re utele
gun-pl-accd neg.aux-pst-3pl know-part long.ago
Evenki-l.
Evenki-pl
'The Evenkis didn't know *the guns* in the past.'

(518) Girku-ra-n tar etyrken d'u-la-vi.
go-nfut-3sg that old.man house-all-prefl
'That old man *went* home.'

Movement of the main verb to the first position (cf. (518)) is common. The verb is stressed in such cases, for example:

(519) Avgara-cha hurkeken, suru-re-n chaski.
recover-part boy go.away-nfut-3sg further
'The boy *recovered* and went away.'

(520) Alba-ra-n asatkan su:n-me ulli-d'e-mi,
cannot-nfut-3sg girl coat-accd sew-impv-conv
songo-l-lo-n.
cry-inch-nfut-3sg
'The girl *could not sew* the coat and began to weep.'

In general, this type of coordination without a coordinating conjunction *taduk* 'and then' is frequent.

1.11.2.1.3.2. Final position Movement of an emphasized element to the final position, that is, after the main verb, occurs only with adverbials and is quite exceptional, for example:

(521) Nungan dengk'e-je gelekte-d'eche-n darkin-du.
he sable-accin look.for-impf-3sg frozen.snow.crust-dat
'He hunted sable *when there was frozen snow-crust.*'

(522) Beje-l haval-na-d'acha-tyn tymani-tykin-du.
man-pl work-go-impf-3pl morning-every-dat
'The people went to work *every morning*.'

These ways of expressing constituent emphasis are, of course, not rules but tendencies, since positioning of adverbials is more or less free.

1.11.2.1.3.3. Pre-verbal position This type of constituent-emphasis expression is lacking.

1.11.2.1.3.4. Other positions There are no other types of constituent-emphasis expression.

1.11.2.1.4. Clefting

Clefting is lacking.

1.11.2.1.5. Pseudoclefting

Pseudoclefting is lacking.

1.11.2.1.6. Dislocation

Dislocation is lacking.

1.11.2.1.7. Other possibilities

There are no other possibilities of expressing constituent emphasis.

1.11.2.1.8. Possible combinations of the above means

Higher pitch may combine both with enclitic/particle emphasis and with movement of the emphasized element. As for the two latter ways of expressing emphasis – enclitic/particle and movement – they may combine with each other, though this seldom occurs. The use of only one way (either enclitic/particle or movement) appears to be sufficient for expressing constituent emphasis.

1.11.2.2. Elements which can be emphasized by the various means

1.11.2.2.1. Simple sentence constituents

1.11.2.2.1.1. Noun phrase Noun phrases can be emphasized by any of

the means discussed above: higher pitch, enclitics, particles and movement (examples are given in 1.11.2.1.1–3). See also 2.1.8 and 1.2.5.2.8.

1.11.2.2.1.2. Adjective Predicative adjectives always occupy sentence-final position, whereas attributive adjectives almost always precede nominal heads, that is, they cannot be moved to any other position. Both predicative and attributive adjectives may be emphasized by the intensifying affixes *-mAmA* 'very' and *-kAkun* 'very' accompanied by higher pitch, for example:

(523) a. Tar bira heg*dy-me*me!
that river big-ints
'That river is *very* wide/long.'

(523) b. Tar heg*dy-me*me bira bi-si-n
that big-ints river be-prs-3sg
'That is a very wide/long river.'

1.11.2.2.1.3. Verb A verb may be emphasized by movement to the sentence-initial position (see examples in 1.11.2.1). This does not apply to the imperative and interrogative sentences where the main verb takes the first position in an utterance. Movement of the main verb from the final to the second position (after the subject but before the object) often leads to the emphasis of the object. A verb may also be emphasized by the suffix *-kAkut* 'very/excessively/energetically', enclitics *-kA* (used with the imperative verb forms), *-vit/-mit* (borrowed from Russian; compare Russian *ved'* 'really/truly') 'you know'/'you see', *-kun* 'surely' and particles *sa:bel* 'really/indeed', and *hata* '(and) still', for example:

(524) Bu:-kel-ke min-du mu:-ve.
give-2sg.imp-clt I-dat water-accd
'Give me water (quickly/immediately).'

(525) Bi umuken suru-d'e-m-mit!
I alone go.away-fut-1sg-clt
'I shall go alone, you know!'

(526) Si nungan-man sa:-0-nni? Sa:-kun.
you she-accd know-nfut-2sg know-clt
'Do you know her?' 'Of course, I know.'

(527) Tar asi sa:bel sirba-va kalaru-ra-n.
that woman really soup-accd cook-nfut-3sg
'That woman indeed cooked the soup.'

(528) Tar atyrkan hata in-d'ere-n.
that old.woman still live-prs-3sg
'That old woman is still alive.'

1.11.2.2.1.4. Adverbial Adverbials may be emphasized only by means of movement relative to the verb. This may be accompanied by higher pitch. No enclitics or particles may emphasize adverbials. There are, however, two suffixes which may do this: *-gida* 'right/exactly' (in this/that direction) (for examples see 2.1.1.5) and *-mAmAt* 'very'. The former affix may emphasize only locative adverbials, whereas the latter affix may emphasize only qualitative adverbials, for example:

(529) Gule amar-gida-duki-n iche-v-re-n.
house behind-right-abl-3sg.poss see-pass-nfut-3sg
'He came in sight (lit. was seen) right from behind the house.'

(530) Ekin-in gud'oipchu-memet ulli-d'e-vki.
sister-3sg.poss beautifully-ints sew-impv-hab.part
'His elder sister is very good at sewing'/'His elder sister sews very beautifully.'

For positioning adverbials of different types see 1.2.1.3.2 and for their movement see 1.11.2.1.3.

1.11.2.2.2.. Complex sentences and phrase constituents

1.11.2.2.2.1. Constituents of main clause There are three main means of indicating emphasis of constituents: higher pitch, enclitics/particles and movement. These are applied mainly to those constituents discussed in 1.11.2.2.1.1–4. Other possible constituents of the main clause (numerals, postpositions and clitics) may be emphasized only by the use of higher pitch on them.

1.11.2.2.2.2. Constituents of subordinate clauses All the means listed in the previous section are applicable for emphasis within subordinate clauses, especially movement of emphasized constituents. Subordinate clauses (both finite and non-finite – converbal or participial) usually occur in narration, whereas higher pitch and enclitics obviously characterize speech. That is why the last two means are used very seldom for expressing constituent emphasis in subordinate clauses. Movement of constituents of subordinate clauses may be of two kinds: fronting of a 'subordinate' object to initial position and moving of a 'subordinate' adverbial to sentence-final position:

(531) Homo:ty-va bejumimni va:-ne-ve-n
bear-accd hunter kill-part-accd-3sg.poss

sa:-0-m.
know-nfut-1sg
'I know/learned that the hunter killed the bear.'

(532) Bi d'oncha-d'a-m d'a-l-vi
I remember-prs-1sg relative-pl-prefl

ulguche-mechi-ngki-tyn goro-ko:kun-ma.
speak-recp-hab.pst-3pl far-ints-accd
'I remember that my relatives were speaking with each other *for a very long time.*'

Nominalized participial clauses differ from simple noun phrases as regards emphasis expression: the former never use any clitics but often undergo movement of the attributive participle after the head noun, for example:

(533) Asi-va iche-che-v agi-tki ngene-d'eri-ve.
woman-accd see-pst-1sg forest-locall go-part-accd
'I saw *a/the woman* who was going to the forest.'

1.11.2.2.2.3. Constituents of noun phrases Constituent ordering within a noun phrase is relatively fixed: an attribute almost always goes before the head noun, and the possessor almost always stands before the head noun denoting possessed object. In case of emphasis, inversion is possible with the head noun preceding the adjective and the possessed object preceding the possessor, for example:

(534) Umnet iche-re-n omolgi asatkan-me
suddenly see-nfut-3sg lad girl-accd

gud'oipchu-meme-ve.
beautiful-ints-accd
'Suddenly the lad saw *a very beautiful* girl.'

(535) Beje-l singilgen-du ud'a-l-va-n homo:ty
man-pl snow-dat track-pl-accd-3sg.poss bear

baka-ra-0.
find-nfut-3pl
'The men found *bear* tracks on the snow.'

1.11.2.2.2.4. Constituents of coordinate constructions Coordinate constructions with or without the coordinating element *-dA* may undergo movement for emphasis as a whole accompanied by higher pitch.

(536) Min-du eme-cho-tyn ami-m-da eni-m.
I-dat come-pst-3pl father-1sg.poss-clt mother-1sg.poss
'*My father and my mother* came to me.'

(537) Evenki-l sulaki-l-va d'avucha-d'ara-0 guleke-r-du
Evenki-pl fox-pl-accd keep-prs-3pl little.house-pl-dat
avsaka-r-du.
box-pl-dat
'The Evenkis keep foxes *in little houses and boxes.*'

1.11.2.2.2.5. More than one constituent simultaneously It is impossible to emphasize more than one constituent of a sentence simultaneously by either the same or different means, though various combinations emphasizing one constituent are possible, most frequently enclitics or particles accompanied by higher pitch.

1.11.2.2.3. Material left behind under movement

Nothing is left behind under movement processes.

1.11.3. Focus of yes–no questions

Focus of yes–no questions may be indicated by one of two possible means: the positioning of the focus after the subject; or the attachment of the interrogative particle *-gu/-vu/-ku/-ngu* to the focused element. In both cases focus is expressed by higher pitch (marked in examples by italic), for example:

(538) Si tynive eme-che-s?
you yesterday come-pst-2sg
'Did you come *yesterday*?'

(539) a. Oro-r *lavikta-ja* d'evu-vki-l tugeni-du?
reindeer-pl moss-accin eat-hab.part-pl winter-dat
'Do reindeer eat *moss* in winter?'

(539) b. Oro-r *d'evu-vki-l* lavikta-ja tugeni-du?
reindeer-pl eat-hab.part-pl moss-accin winter-dat
'Do reindeer *eat* moss in winter?'

(539) c. Oro-r *tugeni-du* lavikta-ja d'evu-vki-l?
reindeer-pl winter-dat moss-accin eat-hab.part-pl
'Do reindeer eat moss *in winter*?'

(540) a. Si d'u-*la*-vi-gu ngene-d'e-nni?
you house-all-prefl-clt go-prs-2sg
'Are you going *home*?'

(540) b. Si d'u-la-i ngene-d'e-nni-gu?
you house-all-prefl go-prs-2sg-clt
'*Are* you *going* home (or are you going to stay)?'

(541) a. Si ulle-ve-gu d'ep-che-s?
you meat-accd-clt eat-pst-2sg
'Did you eat *meat/the meat*?'

(541) b. Si ulle-ve d'ep-che-s-ku?
you meat-accd eat-pst-2sg-clt
'*Have* you *eaten* the meat?'

1.12. TOPIC

Evenki is not a 'topic-prominent' language. In the majority of cases, subjects of both transitive and intransitive main verbs express topic (the participant the sentence is about). If the topic is expressed by the direct object the latter may be fronted to the sentence-initial position but this seldom occurs (see (515e), (515f), (517), (533)). It is, however, not obligatory to express topics by fronting them. The topic of the sentence may be optionally marked by various pronouns and enclitics.

1.13. HEAVY SHIFT

1.13.1. Heavy shift processes

1.13.1.1. Structures subject to heavy shift

1.13.1.1.1. Adjective phrases

In general, both written (narrative) and spoken language avoid 'heavy' phrases with a large number of adjuncts. There are, as a rule, not more than two adjuncts (either adjectives or objects or adverbs). Even if there is coordination of more than two adjuncts, they are usually not moved to a position in the sentence other than that which they would normally occupy. There are, however, cases which resemble heavy shift when complex attributive structures are moved to the position after the main verb (i.e. to the end of the sentence) (542). A preposed attributive participial construction is also admissible (543), although the majority of informants considered the form in (542) to be preferable.

(542) Bi archa-0-m asi-va himat tuksa-d'ari-va
I meet-nfut-1sg woman-accd quickly run-part-accd

agi-tki.
forest-locall
'I met a woman who was running quickly to the forest.'

(543) Bi archa-0-m himat agi-tki tuksa-d'ari-va
I meet-nfut-1sg quickly forest-locall run-part-accd

asi-va.
woman-accd
'I met a woman running quickly to the forest.'

1.13.1.1.2. Object noun phrases

Object noun phrases involving participial forms follow the main verb, as compared with the main non-rigid SOV word order of the simple sentence, for example:

(544) Bu iche-re-v agi-du baka-na-l-va-tyn
we see-nfut-1pl.exc forest-dat find-part-pl-accd-3pl.poss

oro-r-vo.
reindeer-pl-accd
'We saw the reindeer which they had found in the forest.'

1.13.1.1.3. Adverb phrases

Heavy shift of this type is lacking.

1.13.2. Position to which structures are moved

1.13.2.1. The end of the constituent

This occurs with the attributive phrases when they follow the head noun (cf. (542)).

1.13 2.2. After the main verb

This occurs with the object noun phrases (544) and with the attributive participles, for example:

(545) Asa-l sulaki-va iche-re-0 mo:-va tukty-d'eri-ve.
woman-pl fox-accd see-nfut-3pl tree-accd climb-part-accd
'The women saw the fox climbing the tree.'

(546) Bejetken ollo-vo emev-re-n tyma:tne
boy fish-accd bring-nfut-3sg in.the.morning
va:-ne-vi.
kill-part-prefl
'The boy brought the fish which had been caught (by him) in the morning.'

1.13.3. More than one heavy phrase moved

This phenomenon is lacking.

1.13.4. Heavy shift with elements located next to complementizers

This phenomenon is lacking.

1.14. OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

There are two syntactic phenomena involving shift of arguments other than those treated above: passivization (see 2.1.3.1.1) and causativization (see 2.1.3.1.3.1.1–3). There are also other non-productive derivational processes involving limited lists of verbal bases. For those see 2.1.3.1.2 (affix *-rgA* and alternation of a stem-final vowel as detransitivizers) and 2.1.3.1.3.1.1 (affixes *-v/-p/-b/-mu*, *-gi/-ki/*, *-lbu* and *-ga* as transitivizers):

(547) a. Nungan mo:-va kapu-ra-n.
he stick-accd break-nfut-3sg
'He broke the stick.'

(547) b. Mo: kapu-rga-ra-n.
tree/stick break-intrzr-nfut-3sg
'The tree/stick broke.'

(548) a. Girki-l umunup-te-0.
friend-pl gather-nfut-3pl
'The friends gathered together.'

(548) b. Etyrken girki-l-vi umunup-ki-re-n.
old.man friend-pl-prefl gather-trr-nfut-3sg
'The old man gathered his friends together.'

1.15. MINOR SENTENCE-TYPES

Various exclamatory sentence types are discussed under 1.1.1.3.3, 1.1.1.4 and 4.2. Other minor sentence types include 'incomplete' sentences with enclitics (see 2.1.8). These include utterances of the following types:

(549) Bejumimni-pun'a!
hunter-clt
(lit.) 'And you can call yourself/him (etc.) a hunter?!'

(550) Si-ket-kenen.
you-clt-clt
'And now you.'/'And now it is your turn.'

(551) Purta-luvar!
knife-clt
'What a bad knife!'

(552) Ulguri-t-luver!
story-instr-clt
'These are only rumours.'/'This is not true.'

See 2.1.8 for further examples.

1.16. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS FOR WORD-CLASSES

Evenki words fall into three major classes: nominals, which take number, case and possession inflections; verbs which take aspect, voice, tense, mood and agreement (person/number) inflections; and uninflected words. It is possible to subdivide these three classes into further subclasses according to various morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. The majority of stems in Evenki belong unambiguously to one or another of the word classes listed below (see 1.16.1–1.16.7). There are, however, exceptions. For example, *abul-* may be either nominal ('lack/shortage/deficiency') or verbal ('lack'/'be short of'), *dolbo-* may be either verbal ('become dark (about night coming)') or adverbial ('at night'/'by night'). Since Evenki has extensive possibilities for derivation (see 2.2) a nominal stem may be converted into a verbal one and the latter in its turn may be converted into another nominal stem. Thus a complete word form may be said to be unambiguously nominal or verbal after the inflection markers are added. (However, the plural marker *-l* may be added both to nominals and to verbals.)

1.16.1. Noun

A noun may be defined as a non-pronominal stem which takes nominal inflections (case, number and possession markers) and functions as head in a nominal phrase (subject, object, oblique argument or complement) and as possessor in apposition to the head.

1.16.2. Pronoun

A pronoun may be defined as a pronominal stem taking nominal inflections with the exception of both personal and reflexive possession markers (except in the case of the reflexive pronoun *me:nmi* (< *me:n-mi*; *-mi* – prefl.sg) 'oneself', which obligatorily takes reflexive possession affixes *-vi* (plural *-ver*) after the case endings).

1.16.3. Verb

A verb may be defined as any stem which takes verbal suffixes and may function as a minimal clause or sentence denoting an action or a state. Nominalized (participial) verb forms which may take both verbal (aspect, modality, voice, valency) and nominal (case, number, possession) affixes present a classificatory problem.

1.16.4. Adjective

An adjective may be defined as any non-verbal stem expressing attributive function which takes nominal inflections with the exception of possession markers, and which may also take specific affixes of comparative/superlative degree and evaluation, for example, affixes *-tmAr*, *-dygu*/*-tku*, *-mAmA*, *-kAkun*, see under 1.8 and 2.1.4.5.

1.16.5. Postpositions

Postpositions in Evenki are a subset of nominal stems (with the exception of *d'arin* 'for'/'because of') expressing relative location and almost never occurring without possession inflections (see in 2.1.1.5) even if they are used without an overt possessor head nominal expressing the point of relative orientation.

1.16.6. Numeral/quantifier

Numerals and other quantifiers may be listed in full by semantic criteria. They do not form a distinct morphological word class, but are rather a subset of nominal stems (they may take case markers).

1.16.7. Particle

A particle may be defined as a stem which cannot be inflected for either nominal or verbal categories. These include conjunctions, exclamatory units and adverbials. The latter may be derivationally extended to produce either nouns or verbs. Adverbs (with certain exceptions) do not form a morphological class. Simple adverbs are in fact particles even if they are diachronically case-marked nouns.

Chapter 2

Morphology

2.1. INFLECTION

Nominal or verbal inflections always follow derivational suffixes and precede enclitics. The morphophonemics of their attachment to stems is conditioned both by vowel harmony and by stem-final consonants. Corresponding rules are presented in sections dealing with different categories (see, for instance, 2.1.1.1.1) and also in 3.4.

2.1.1. Noun inflection

Nominal stems are inflected for number, case and, optionally, for personal or reflexive possession.

2.1.1.1. Means of expressing the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases

2.1.1.1.1. Bound affixes

Nominal inflections form the following number and case paradigms.

2.1.1.1.1.1. Number forms The absolute majority of nouns (except for those ending in *-n*) form their plural by means of the suffix *-l*. If a noun stem ends in a vowel no conjunctive vowel is used, but if a noun stem ends in a consonant other than *-n* a conjunctive vowel *-i-* is used, cf. *bira* 'river' – *bira-l* 'rivers', *sulaki* 'fox' – *sulaki-l* 'foxes', *mo:* 'tree' – *mo:-l* 'trees', but *d'av* 'boat' – *d'av-il* 'boats', *dyl* 'head' – *dyl-il* 'heads', *adyl* 'fishing-net' – *adyl-ıl* 'fishing-nets', *hunat* 'girl' – *hunad-il* 'girls', *umuk* 'nest' – *umuk-il* 'nests'. Nouns ending in *-n* form their plural by means of suffix *-r* instead of stem final *-n*, for example, *oron* 'reindeer' – *oro-r* 'reindeer (pl)', *murin* 'horse' – *muri-r* 'horses', *asatkan* 'girl' – *asatka-r* 'girls', *nginakin* 'dog' – *nginaki-r* 'dogs', *su:n* 'coat' – *su:-r* 'coats'. The plural suffix *-l* with very few stems causes change in the nominal stem (either change of the final

vowel or its reduction), for example, *asi* 'woman/wife' – *asa-l* 'women/wives', *edy* 'husband' – *ede-l* 'husbands', *akin* 'elder brother' – *akn-il* 'elder brothers', *ekin* 'elder sister' – *ekn-il* 'elder sisters'. The last two nouns denoting kinship are the exception to the rule of forming plural on the nouns ending in *-n*, as are some of the nouns given below.

Very restricted groups of nouns (mainly kinship terms; there are not more than a dozen of each group) form their plural by means of suffixes *-(A)sAl, -tyl*, e.g., *bajan* 'a rich man' – *baja-sal* 'rich men', *sama:n* 'shaman' – *sama:-sel* 'shamans', *nekun* 'younger brother' – *nekun-esel* 'younger brothers', *akin* 'elder brother' - *akin-asal* 'elder brothers', *amin* 'father' – *am-tyl* 'fathers', *enin* 'mother' – *en-tyl* 'mothers'. Suffix *-(j)A* with the collective meaning (cf. *Utyska* 'Utyska' (the name of an old man) – *Utyska-ja* 'Utyska and his relatives'; *ami-ja* 'father and his relatives', *Markov-ja* 'the Markovs') can form the plural with very few nouns, e.g. *ama:ka* 'grandfather' – *ama:ka-ja* 'grandfathers', *akin* 'elder brother' – *aki-ja* 'elder brothers', *ekin* 'elder sister' – *eki-je* 'elder sisters'/'aunts' (see 2.1.1.8.4). Forms in *-(j)A* are always used in the subject position, that is, in the nominative case (zero) form.

2.1.1.1.1.2. Case forms

Nominative	-0	
Definite accusative	*-vA*	*-ma* after stem final *-m, -n, -ng*
Indefinite accusative	*-jA*	*-A* after stem final *-n*
Instrumental	*-(i)t*	*-di* after stem-final *-n*
Dative	*-du*	*-tu* after stem-final *-k, -s, -t, -p*
Allative	*-lA*	*-dulA/-tula* after consonants
Locative-allative	*-tki*	*-tyki* after consonants
Prolative	*-li*	*-duli/-tuli* after consonants
Locative-directive	*-(i)klA*	
Allative-prolative	*-(i)kli*	
Ablative	*-duk*	*-tuk* after stem-final *-k, -s, -t, -p*
Elative	*-git*	*-kit* after stem-final *-k, -s, -t, -p*
		-ngit after stem final *-m, -n, -ng*

These are non-possessed number/case noun forms. There are also personal possession and reflexive possession markers which are optionally added to number/case forms.

2.1.1.1.1.3. Personal possession markers

Possessor		*Singular possessum*	*Plural possessum*
1sg	'my'	*-(i)v* (*-mi* after *-n*)	*-vi*
2sg	'your'	*-(i)s* (*-ni* after *-n*)	*-li* (after *-l*); *-ri* (after *-r*)
3sg	'his/her'	*-(i)n*	*-in*
1pl.exc	'our'	*-vun* (*-mun* after *-n*)	*-vun*
1pl.inc	'our'	*-(i)t* (*-ty* after *-n*)	*-ty*
2pl	'your'	*-sun* (*-nun* after *-n*)	*-lun* (after *-l*); *-run* (after – *r*)
3pl	'their'	*-tyn*	***-tyn***

Plural forms in *-(j)A* do not take possession markers. (553) gives the paradigms of personal possession forms for nouns of two types: *d'u* 'house' ending in a vowel and *oron* 'reindeer' ending in *-n* (conjunctive vowel *-i-* for the singular possessum forms appears if a noun ends in a consonant other than *-n*):

(553) a. *Singular possessum*

1sg	*d'u-v* my house	*oron-mi* my reindeer
2sg	*d'u-s* your house	*oron-ni* your reindeer
3sg	*d'u-n* his/her house	*oron-in* his/her reindeer
1pl.exc	*d'u-vun* our house	*oron-mun* our reindeer
1pl.inc	*d'u-t* our house	*oron-ty* our reindeer
2pl	*d'u-sun* your house	*oron-nun* your reindeer
3pl	*d'u-tyn* their house	*oron-tyn* their reindeer

(553) b. *Plural possessum*

1sg.	*d'u-l-vi* my houses	*oro-r-vi* my reindeer (pl)
2sg	*d'u-l-li* your (sg) houses	*oro-r-ri* your (sg) reindeer (pl)
3sg	*d'u-l-in* his/her houses	*oro-r-in* his/her reindeer (pl)
1pl.exc	*d'u-l-vun* our houses	*oro-r-vun* our reindeer (pl)
1pl.inc	*d'u-l-ty* our houses	*oro-r-ty* our reindeer (pl)
2pl	*d'u-l-lun* your (pl) houses	*oro-r-run* your (pl) reindeer (pl)
3pl	*d'u-l-tyn* their houses	*oro-r-tyn* their reindeer (pl)

2.1.1.1.1.4. Reflexive possession markers

Possessor	*Singular possessum*	*Plural possessum*
Singular	*-vi* (*-mi* after *-n*)	*-vi*
Plural	*-vAr* (*-mAr* after *-n*)	*-vAr*

(554) gives the paradigms for two types of noun stems: ending in a vowel (*girki* 'friend') and in a consonant *-n* (*oron* 'reindeer'):

(554) a. *Singular possessum*

Singular possessor	*girki-vi* 'one's own (my/your/his/her) friend'	*oron-mi* 'one's own (my/your/his/her) reindeer'
Plural possessor	*girki-ver* 'our/your/their friend'	*oron-mor* 'our/your/their reindeer'

(554) b. *Plural possessum*

Singular possessor	*girki-l-vi* 'one's own (my/your/his/her) friends'	*oro-r-vi* 'one's own (my/your/his/her) reindeer (pl)'
Plural possessor	*girki-l-ver* 'our/your/their friends'	*oro-r-vor* 'our/your their reindeer (pl)'

Nouns possessing only reflexive possession markers of the type in (554) (i.e. without any case markers) can function only as direct objects of the sentence, but never as subjects, for example:

(555) a. Bi oro-r-vi etejet-che-m.
I reindeer-pl-prefl guard-prs-1sg
'I guard my reindeer (pl)'

Compare:

(555) b. Si oro-r-vi etejet-che-nni
'You (sg) guard your reindeer (pl)'

(555) c. Nungan oro-r-vi etejet-chere-n
'(S)he guards (her)/his reindeer (pl)'

(555) d. Bu oro-r-vor etejet-chere-v
'We guard our reindeer (pl)'

(555) e. Su oro-r-vor etejet-chere-s
'You (pl) guard your reindeer (pl)'

(555) f. Nungartyn oro-r-vor etejet-chere
'They guard their reindeer (pl)'

2.1.1.1.1.5. Alienable possession This is marked by means of the suffix *-ng(i)*, for example:

(556) a. Minngi halgan-mi enu-d'ere-n.
my leg-1sg.poss ache-prs-3sg
'My leg aches.'

(556) b. Minngi halgan-ngi-v tadu bi-si-n
my leg-alien.poss-1sg.poss there be-prs-3sg
'My leg (i.e. of an animal which I killed and cut off) lies there.'

The suffix of alienable possession *-ng(i)* can combine not only with the markers of personal possession (as in (556b)), but also with the markers of reflexive possession, as in (557b):

(557) a. Bejetken halgan-mi va:-re-n
boy leg-prefl hurt-nfut-3sg
'The boy hurt his own leg.'

(557) b. Bejetken halgan-ing-mi ga-ra-n.
boy leg.alien.poss-prefl take-nfut-3sg
'The boy took his leg (of an animal, i.e. prey).'

The order of nominal suffixes is the following: alienable possession + number + case + personal/reflexive possession, for example:

(558) a. Nungan halgan-il-va-v ga-ra-n.
he leg-pl-accd-1sg.poss take-nfut-3sg
'He took (i.e. touched) my (own) legs.'

(558) b. Nungan halgan-ngi-l-va-v ga-ra-n.
he leg-alien.poss-pl-accd-1sg.poss take-nfut-3sg
'He took the legs (i.e. of some animal (e.g. reindeer, sable, bear, wolf) which I killed and cut off its legs), which belong to me.'

Kinship terms do not have alienable possession forms. Kinship terms are almost always used with either personal or reflexive possession markers. However, when they are used vocatively (e.g. *Ama!* 'Father!') they never take any possession suffixes. Parts of the body are almost always used with either personal or reflexive/alienable possession suffixes. Words denoting rivers, lakes, mountains, animals, plants or birds usually do not have any suffixes of possession, but whenever they are considered to be involved in the speaker's situation as important participants they acquire either personal or reflexive/alienable possession markers, for example:

(559) a. uluki-ngi-v
squirrel-alien.poss-1sg.poss
'my squirrel (i.e. which I noticed/pursued/killed, etc.)'

(559) b. mo:-ngi-l-vi
tree-alien.poss-pl-prefl
'(my/your(sg)/his/her) firewood'/'trees which were hewed by me/you/ him/her'

2.1.1.1.2. Morphophonemic alternations alone

These are not used in Evenki.

2.1.1.1.3. Clitic particles

These are not used in Evenki.

2.1.1.1.4. Postpositions

Postpositional phrases involve locational nouns with the markers of locative cases + personal possession suffix. Such phrases are adverbial in function, for example,

(560) bira daga-du-n
river vicinity-dat-3sg.poss
'near the river'

Postpositional phrases denoting more specific locative meanings than case forms are described in sections 1.2.4 and 2.1.1.5.

2.1.1.1.5. Word order

Word order being non-rigid SOV is not used to express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases.

2.1.1.1.6. Derivational processes

These means are not used for expressing the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases.

2.1.1.1.7. Other means

There is none.

2.1.1.1.8. Combination of bound affixes and postpositions

Postpositions themselves always involve the use of case and personal possession markers, but not vice versa.

2.1.1.2. The expression of syntactic functions

2.1.1.2.1. Subject of intransitive verb

The subject of an intransitive verb is always expressed by a nominative case nominal, and there is no distinction between the agentive and non-agentive character of the subject.

2.1.1.2.2. Subject of transitive verb

The subject of a transitive verb is always expressed by a nominative case nominal. There is no distinction between the agentive and non-agentive character of the subject.

2.1.1.2.3. Subject of copular construction

The subject of a copular construction with *bi-* 'be' and *o:-* 'become' is always in the nominative case, for example:

(561) a. Tar beje ollomimni bi-si-n.
that man fisherman be-prs-3sg
'That man is a fisherman.'

(561) b. Er beje bejumimni o:-da-n
this man hunter become-nfut-3sg
'This man became a hunter.'

2.1.1.2.4. Direct object

A nominal in the function of the direct object of a transitive verb may be in one of three forms: (a) definite accusative case form (*-vA/-mA*), if the object is considered to be definite or at least it is not explicitly marked as indefinite (this is the predominant form for direct objects); (b) indefinite accusative case form (*-(ɟ)A*), if the direct object is explicitly marked as indefinite or not yet made or part of material substance, e.g. water, firewood, milk, etc.; (c) the reflexive possession markers *-vi/-mi* (singular possessor), *-vAr/-mAr* (plural possessor) 'one's own' when used without any case markers (555). There is no change in inflection if the subject is expressed as a free element or as a bound (affixal) element only (i.e. in the main verb) or if the subject is left unexpressed.

If the indefinite accusative case form takes personal or reflexive possession markers then the resulting nominal form expresses an object which is either made or destined for a certain person expressed by the possession marker. In other words, a nominal which takes the indefinite accusative marker plus the possession ending expresses both the direct object and the indirect object with the benefactive function, for example:

(562) a. D'av-ja-v o:-kal.
boat-accin-1sg.poss make-2sg.imp
'Make a boat for me.'

(562) b. Su unta-ja-n o:-kallu.
you-pl fur.boots-accin-3sg.poss make-2pl.imp
'You (pl) make fur boots for him.'

(562) c. D'eptyle-je-ver ga-kaim suru-che-tyn
food-accin-prefl.pl take-conv go.away-pst-3pl
'Taking food (nourishment) for themselves, they went away.'

2.1.1.2.5. Indirect object

An indirect object is, as a rule, in the dative case or more rarely in the locative-directive, locative-allative (and with verbs of speech even definite accusative) case. The choice of case form depends upon the particular verb and in the case of several possibilities there seem to be no semantic differences (different dialects opt for different case forms), compare:

(563) Purta-va-s min-du bu:-kel.
knife-accd-2sg.poss I-dat give-2sg.imp
'Give me your knife.'

(564) Ama:ka kungakani-kla evike-r-ve o:-ra-n.
grandfather child-locdir toy-pl-accd make-nfut-3sg
'The grandfather made toys for the child.'

(565) a. Gu:-kel min-tyki.
say-2sg.imp I-locall
'Tell me.'

(565) b. Sinngi-ve gerbi-ve mine-ve gu:-kel.
your-accd name-accd I-accd say-2sg.imp
'Tell me your name.'

2.1.1.2.6. Object of comparison

An object of comparison is in the ablative case, for example:

(566) Bi girki-duk-iv sagdy-tmar bi-si-m.
I friend-abl-1sg.poss old-cmpr be-prs-1sg
'I am older than my friend.'

(567) Tar gule mo:-duk gugda-tmar bi-si-n.
that house tree-abl high-cmpr be-prs-3sg
'That house is higher than the/a tree.'

(568) Nungartyn ollo-vo va:-re-0 d'a-l-duk-tyn
they fish-accd kill-nfut-3pl relative-pl-abl-3pl.poss
kete-tmer-ve.
many-cmpr-accd
'They caught more fish than their friends.'

2.1.1.2.7. Object of equation

An object of equation is expressed either by a nominal with the suffix *-gAchin* (*-ngAchin* after stem final *-m, -n, -ng,* and *-kAchin* after voiceless consonants), or by a nominal with the suffix *-dyn* when equation of objects in their size is presupposed, e.g. *beje-gechin* 'like a/the man', *oron-ngochin* 'like a reindeer', *chipicha-gachin* 'like a bird', *amut-kachin* 'like a lake', *oron-dyn* 'like a reindeer in size', *beje-dyn* 'like a man in size', *ure-dyn* 'like a mountain in size'. Compare also:

(569) Murin edyn-ngechin bira-tki hukty-d'ere-n.
horse wind-eqt river-locall run-prs-3sg
'The horse is running to the river like the wind.'

(570) Tar amut lamu-gachin albin bi-si-n.
that lake sea-eqt wide be-prs-3sg
'That lake is as wide as the sea.'

(571) Nunganngin nginakin-in hegdy-kekun, oron-dyn
his dog-3sg.poss large-ints reindeer-eqt
bi-si-n.
be-prs-3sg
'His dog is very large, it is as large as a reindeer.'

2.1.1.2.8. Other objects governed by verbs

Object expressing substitution ('instead of') is expressed by the locative-directive case form, for example:

(572) Bi amini-kla-vi tatkit-tu haval-d'a-m.
I father-locdir-prefl.sg school-dat work-prs-1sg
'I work at school instead of for my father.'

Object which is paid for, exchanged or taken for is expressed either by the prolative or by the instrumental case markers, for example:

(573) a. Tar tolgoki-li oron-mi bu:-che-v.
that sledge-prol reindeer-prefl give-pst-1sg
'I gave my reindeer for that sledge.'

(573) b. A:vun-di-s kokollo-l-vi
fur.cap-instr-2sg.poss mitten-pl-prefl

d'uget-che-m. (*-che* < *-d'e*)
change-fut-1sg
'I will change my fur mittens for your fur cap.'

Objects expressing cause with the verbs *ngele-* 'be afraid of' and *inekte-* 'laugh at' take either the instrumental case marker or the ablative case marker, compare:

(574) a. Nungan homo:ty-t ngele-d'ere-n.
she bear-instr be.afraid-prs-3sg
'She is afraid of bears.'

(574) b. Bi homo:ty-duk so:t ngele-l-che-v.
I bear-abl very be.afraid-pst-1sg
'I got frightened of the bear.'

(575) a. Kungaka-r girki-l-di-ver inekte-d'ere-0.
child-pl friend-pl-instr-prefl laugh-prs-3pl
'The children are laughing at their friends.'

(575) b. Upkat tar bejetken-duk inekte-d'eche-tyn.
all that boy-abl laugh-impf-3pl
'All the people were laughing at that boy.'

Objects expressing reference (content of speech) take the prolative case marker (*-li*), for example:

(576) Alagumni hava-li-tyn gu:n-d'ere-n.
teacher work-prol-3pl.poss say-prs-3sg
'The teacher is speaking about their work.'

Objects expressing source of information take the ablative case marker:

(577) Si eva amin-duki-s hanngukta-kal.
you this father-abl-2sg.poss ask-2sg.imp
(lit.) 'You ask this from your father.'

Nouns denoting objects which are either taken by the hand or to which other objects are fixed may take the ablative case marker, for example:

(578) Atyrkan gara-duk d'ava-cha-n.
old.woman branch-abl take-pst-3sg
'The old woman snatched the branch of the tree (i.e. trying not to fall).'

(579) Bejumimni oron-mo halgan-duki-n uj-re-n.
hunter reindeer-accd leg-abl-3sg.poss tie-nfut-3sg
'The hunter tied the reindeer by its leg.'

2.1.1.2.9. Complement of copular construction

A complement in the copular constructions with *bi-* 'be' and *o:-* 'become' is in the nominative case (see 2.1.1.2.3), both when it is defining and when it is expressing identity or role.

2.1.1.2.10. Subject complement

The subject complement is in the dative case and denotes either occupation or profession of a person expressed by the subject, as in:

(580) Nungartyn ungi-v-che-l bi-cho-tyn alagumni-l-du
they send-pass-part-pl be-pst-3pl teacher-pl-dat
haval-da-tyn
work-conv-3pl.poss
'They were sent to work as teachers.'

2.1.1.2.11. Object complement

The object complement is in the dative case with such transitives as *o:-* 'make (into)', *alagu-* 'teach', for example:

(581) Etyrken nungan-man bejumimni-du o:-ra-n.
old.man he-accd hunter-dat make-nfut-3sg
'The old man made him (into) a hunter.'

2.1.1.2.12. Objects governed by adjectives

Some adjectives may govern a nominal argument either in the definite accusative case (e.g. *ure:ri/ure:vki/ure:ldy* 'alike/resembling') or in the ablative case (*hungtu/hungtudy/hungtutmer* 'different'), for example:

(582) Sekala:n so:-mat koshka-va ure:ri.
lynx very-ints cat-accd similar
'Lynx is very much like a cat.'

(583) Tar beje d'a-l-duki-n hungtu(-tmer)
that man relative-pl-abl-3sg.poss different(-cmpr)
(bi-si-n).
(be-prs-3sg)
'That man differs from/is different from his relatives.'

2.1.1.2.13. Agent in passive and impersonal constructions

The agent in passive constructions is seldom expressed and in the impersonal constructions is almost never expressed (with some of the impersonal forms the agent is impossible; see 2.1.3.1.1 for personal and impersonal passive forms). However, in those cases when the agent is possible it is expressed by a nominal in the dative case, for example:

(584) Homo:ty bejumimni-du va:-v-cha (bi-si-n).
bear hunter-dat kill-pass-part (be-prs-3sg)
'The bear is/was killed by the hunter.'

(585) Murin-du sungta-li singilgen-duli urgepchu hukty-d'e-mi.
horse-dat deep-prol snow-prol difficult run-impv-conv
'It is difficult for a horse to run in deep snow.'

(586) Bejumimni-l-du ingi-kakun-du ulumi-d'e-mi erupchu.
hunter-pl-dat frost-ints-dat hunt-impv-conv bad
'It is bad for the hunters to hunt in cold weather.'

2.1.1.2.14. Topic

Topic does not have a specific means of expression: in the majority of cases it is expressed by the subject in the nominative case (cf. section 1.12).

2.1.1.2.15. Emphasized element

Emphasized elements may be specially marked either by higher pitch or by enclitics (see 1.11 and 2.1.8).

2.1.1.3. Syntactic functions of non-finite/nominalized verbs

There are no differences in the expression of syntactic functions with finite and non-finite/nominalized (= participial) verbs.

2.1.1.3.1. 'Absolute' construction

The only equivalent to an absolute construction involves converbal forms in *-mi* (same-subject) or *-rAkı* (different-subject) (see 1.1.2.4.2). The subject in such constructions is in the nominative case. Objects and oblique arguments (if expressed at all) remain in the same case form as in the finite clause.

2.1.1.3.2. Infinitive construction

The subjects and other arguments of the purposive converbal constructions involving converbs in *-dA* and *-vunA* retain their case forms as in the finite clause (see 1.1.2.4.2.3).

2.1.1.3.3. Gerund (verbal noun)

The subjects and other arguments in the constructions involving verbal nouns (= participles) retain their case forms (see 1.1.2.2).

2.1.1.3.4. Nominalization

The subjects of nominalized constructions involving participles retain their nominative case form. Objects and oblique arguments remain in the same case form as in the finite clause, compare:

(587) Nekn-il oron-mo va:-ne-ver hig-dere-0.
brother-pl reindeer-accd kill-part-prefl skin-prs-3pl
'Younger brothers are skinning the reindeer which they killed.'

(588) Nungan girki-du-vi ulle-ve bu:-ri-ve-n
he friend-dat-prefl meat-accd give-part-accd-3sg.poss
sa:-0-m.
know-nfut-1sg
'I know that he gave meat to his friend.'

2.1.1.4. Non-local semantic functions

2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

A benefactive function may be expressed by means of (a) the dative case (563), (589); (b) the locative-directive case (564), (590); or (c) personal or reflexive possession markers attached to the indefinite accusative case form expressing the direct object (see comments on (562), and (591)), for example:

(589) a. Nungan amin-du-vi haval-d'ara-n.
he father-dat-prefl work-prs-3sg
'He works/is working for his father.'

(589) b. Bi girki-l-du-n d'u-va o:-d'a-m.
I friend-pl-dat-3sg.poss house-accd make-fut-1sg
'I shall make a house for his friends.'

(590) a. Nungan upkat-ja o:-vki muni-kle.
he all-accin make-hab.part we-locdir
'She does everything for us.'

(590) b. Hurkeke-r nunga-gla-tyn dikte-l-ve emev-re-0
boy-pl they-locdir berry-pl-accd bring-nfut-3pl.
'The boys brought berries for them.'

(591) a. D'av-ja-tyn o:-kallu.
boat-accin-3pl.poss make-2pl.imp
'You (pl) make a boat for them.'

(591) b. D'av-ja-var o:-d'ara-s.
boat-accin-prefl make-fut-2pl.
'You (pl) will make a boat for yourselves.'

2.1.1.4.2. Source

Source is expressed by the ablative case (cf. (577)):

(592) a. Nungan purta-va girki-duk-vi ga-ra-n.
he knife-accd friend-abl-prefl take-nfut-3sg
'He took a knife from his friend.'

(592) b. Su ere burduka-l-duk kolobo-ngi-kallu
you this flour-pl-abl bread-make-2pl.imp.
'You (pl) make bread from this flour.'

2.1.1.4.3. Instrument

The instrumental case is always used for this function:

(593) Bejumimni mo:-va suke-t ive-d'ere-n.
hunter tree-accd axe-instr hew-prs-3sg
'The hunter is hewing firewood with an axe.'

A negative instrumental relation is expressed by means of the analytic form composed of the negative noun *a:chin* 'none' in the instrumental case which follows a meaningful noun in the indefinite accusative case, compare:

(594) Bejumimni mo:-va suke-je a:chin-di ive-d'ere-n.
hunter wood-accd axe-accin none-instr hew-prs-3sg
'The hunter is hewing firewood without an axe.'

2.1.1.4.4. Comitative

A comitative relation may be expressed by one marker (*-ldy*) on the verb (see 1.7.1.3) and one of seven markers on the noun: *-nun* (the predominant way of marking comitative), *-nAn, -gAli, -chi, -lAn, -tAi* and also the instrumental case marker (see (597)). The first two affixes (*-nun* and *-nAn*) always express a comitative function with an animate comitant. Affixes *-gAli, -chi, -lAn* and *-tAi* rarely express this relation and usually express circumstance (see 2.1.1.4.5) or possessive relation (see 1.10 and 2.1.1.4.6). The comitant in *-nun* always denotes an animate participant with the same semantic and pragmatic status as the participant – 'syntactic possessor'. The comitative group, as a rule, occupies the position next to the subject:

(595) Eni hunat-nun-mi
mother daughter-com-prefl

ngene-d'ere-n/ngene-ldy-d'ere-n.
go-prs-3sg/go-com-prs-3sg
'Mother is going with her daughter.'

The comitative group may occupy the position of the direct object or the adverbial of place, but this is rare, for example:

(596) a. Bi kiran-ma munnukan-nun-me iche-0-m.
I crane-accd hare-com-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw a crane with a hare.'

(596) b. Nungartyn eme-re-0 asatkan-dula nginakin-nun-dule
they come-nfut-3pl girl-all go-com-all
'They came to the girl with a dog.'

(597) Tar beje enin-di-vi nulgi-re-n.
that man mother-instr-prefl travel-nfut-3sg
'That man set off to travel with his mother.'

The comitant in *-nAn* always denotes a person who is related in kinship with the participant expressed by 'syntactic possessor', for example:

(598) Bejumimni asi-nan suru-re-n.
hunter wife-com go.away-nfut-3sg
'The hunter went away with his wife.'

The other four suffixes, as a rule, are added to inanimate nouns (see 2.1.1.4.6), and seldom combine with animate nouns, as in:

(599) a. asa-l hute-l-geli-ver
woman-pl child-pl-com-prefl
'women with their children'

(599) b. hute-chi asi
child-com woman
'a woman with a child'

(599) c. atyrkan hute-tei
old.woman child-com
'an old woman with a granddaughter'

(599) d. hute-len ollomimni
child-com fisherman
'a fisherman with a child'

Except for semantic differences (different possessive markers opt for different lexical noun classes), suffixes *-gAli, -chi, -tAi* and *-lAn* form comitative, circumstantial and possessive forms with different syntactic peculiarities. Forms in *-gAli* are positioned after the syntactic possessor. Quite often the latter is lacking, which is impossible with nominals having other possessive suffixes, compare:

(600) Eme-kel min-dule girki-geli-vi.
come-2sg.imp I-all friend-com-prefl
'Come to me with your friend.'

Forms in *-gAli* often function predicatively, which seldom occurs with other possessive forms, for example:

(601) Kungakan su:n-in kokollo-l-goli (bi-che-n).
child coat-3sg.poss mitten-pl-com (be-pst-3sg)
(lit.) 'The child's coat was with fur mittens.'

As has been stated above, forms with the possessive suffixes *-chi, -tAi* and *-lAn* seldom involve animate nouns of the type in (599). The comitant denoted by nouns with these suffixes does not take an active part in the action fulfilled by 'syntactic possessor'.

A negative comitative relation is expressed by means of an analytic construction involving the negative auxiliary noun *a:chin* 'none' preceded by the meaningful noun in the indefinite accusative case (and sometimes also the auxiliary *bi-* 'be' in the converbal form *bi-ne* 'being'), for example:

(602) a. Bejetken girki-ja a:chin-di homo:-ty-va va:-re-n.
boy friend-accin none-instr bear-accd kill-nfut-3sg
'The boy killed the bear without a / the friend.'

(602) b. Bejumimni nginakin-a a:chin suru-re-n
hunter dog-accin none go.away-nfut-3sg
'The hunter went away without a dog.'

(602) c. Nungartyn nginaki-r-a a:chi-r bi-ne-l
they dog-pl-accin none-pl be-conv-pl
suru-re-0.
go.away-nfut-3pl
'They went away without dogs.'

2.1.1.4.5. Circumstance

Circumstance is expressed by means of the markers given in 2.1.1.4.4 (*-gAli, -chi, -tAi, -lAn*) as well as by the forms with the instrumental case marker *-t/-di*. Forms in *-gAli* are much more independent syntactically from the 'syntactic possessor' than the other possessive forms, since only forms in *-gAli* may occur without the 'syntactic possessor' and can also function predicatively, as in:

(603) Er d'ahik torga-l-gali.
this box cloth-pl-com
(lit.) 'This box is with cloth.'

Forms with the suffix *-chi* denote long-term or continuous qualities of objects, unlike the forms in *-tai* and *-chi* which do not have this meaning, compare:

(604) Amut-va gugda-chi ugu-chi-ve ngene-re-0.
lake-accd high-com bank-com-accd go-nfut-3pl
'They passed the lake with high banks.'

(605) Atyrkan tyjevu-chi bi-ne aran-aran girku-d'ara-n.
old.woman staff-com be-conv hardly go-prs-3sg
'The old woman using a staff is going with difficulty.'

Forms in *-tAi* (of Mongolian origin) and in *-lAn* are very close in meaning, but forms in *-tAi*, as a rule, follow the 'syntactic possessor', whereas forms in *-lAn*, as a rule, precede it, for example:

(606) a. bejumimni pektyrevu-tei
hunter gun-com
'a hunter with a gun'

(606) b. pektyrev-len bejumimni
gun-com hunter
'a hunter with a gun'

The instrumental case form is rare:

(607) Asatkan songo-cho-l-di e:sa-l-di-vi teget-cheche-n.
girl cry-part-pl-instr eye-pl-instr-prefl sit-impf-3sg
'The girl was sitting with tearful eyes.'

The corresponding negative form is formed by means of the negative noun *a:chin* 'none' preceded by the indefinite accusative nominal, as in (608)

(608) pektyrevun-a a:chin bejetken
gun-accin none boy
'a boy without a gun'

2.1.1.4.6. Possession

Personal possession is expressed by the nominative case on the possessor nominal plus the marker of possession on the possessum (see 2.1.1.1.1.3), as in:

(609) ollomimni-0 d'av-in
fisherman-nom boat-3sg.poss
'the boat of a/the fisherman'

Reflexive possession is marked by the possession markers *-vi* (sg)/*-vAr* (pl) (see 2.1.1.1.1.4), for example:

(610) Ollomimni d'av-vi girki-du-vi bu:-re-n.
fisherman boat-prefl friend-dat-prefl give-nfut-3sg
'The fisherman gave his (own) boat to his friend.'

The possessive relation may be expressed by means of the suffix *-ngi* affixed to the possessor, but this is rare. In this case the possessum has the marker of personal possession, for example:

(611) a. atyrkan-ngi gerbi-n
old.woman-poss name-3sg.poss
'the name of the old woman'

(611) b. Ivul-ngi oro-r-in
Ivul-poss reindeer-pl-3sg.poss
'the reindeer (pl) of Ivul'

This type of possessive construction with the 'old genitive' was preferable some fifty years ago, as the folklore texts show, but nowadays people use such possessive phrases mostly without the suffix *-ngi*, as in (609).

The possessive relation may also be expressed by suffixes *-gAlı*, *-chi*, *-lAn* and *-tAi* added to the noun expressing possessum (see 2.1.1.4.4 and 2.1.1.4.5), for example:

(612) muri-chi beje
horse-com man
'a man with a horse'/'a horseman'

2.1.1.4.6.1. Alienable vs inalienable possession Alienable possession is marked by the suffix *-ng(ı)* added to the possessum (see 2.1.1.1.5). The noun with the alienable possession marker obligatorily must also have the possession marker of either personal or reflexive possession, as in:

(613) bejumimni ulle-ngi-n
hunter meat-alien.poss-3sg.poss
'the hunter's meat (i.e. which he got during hunting)'

2.1.1.4.6.2. Temporary vs permanent possession This opposition is not expressed morphologically.

2.1.1.4.6.3. Present vs past possession This opposition can only be expressed lexically.

2.1.1.4.7. Possessed

This function has no special marking other than that given in 2.1.1.4.6.

2.1.1.4.8. Quality

Quality is expressed either by means of one of the comitative affixes (*-chı* or *-lAn*), or by means of various denominal adjectives (see 2.2.3.1):

(614) a. d'ali-chi beje
mind-com man
'a clever man'

(614) b. gurga-lan/gurgakta-chi etyrken (*gurgakta* 'beard/moustache')
beard-com/beard-com old.man
'the old man with a beard'

Negative quality is expressed with the help of the negative noun *a:chin* 'none' which follows the noun in the indefinite accusative case, for example:

(615) a. d'al-ja a:chin beje
intellect-accin none man
'a man without intellect'

(615) b. s'en-a a:chin bejetken
ear-accin none boy
'a boy playing pranks'/'a frolicsome fellow' (lit. 'a boy without an ear')

(615) c. dere-je a:chin beje
face-accin none man
'an unscrupulous/shameless man' (lit. 'a man without a face')

Reference quality is expressed by ordinary possessive phrases, as in

(616) beje sagdan-in
man old.age-3sg.poss
'old age of the man'

2.1.1.4.9. Quantity

Quantity is expressed by the possessive constructions in which any modifying complement has the suffix *-chi*, for example:

(617) a. d'ur anngani-chi hute
two year-com child
'the child of two years' (lit. 'the child two years')

(617) b. d'ar kilometri-chi hokto
ten kilometre-com road
'the road ten kilometres long'

Reference quality is expressed by appositional phrases:

(618) d'ur kilogramm-il sahar
two kilo-pl sugar
'two kilos of sugar'

2.1.1.4.10. Material

Material is expressed by the ablative case (denominal adjectives of the type *sele* 'iron' > *sele-me* 'made of iron', *d'olo* 'stone' > *d'olo-mo* 'made of stone', *altan* 'gold' > *alta-ma* 'golden'/'made of gold', *ulukukse* 'squirrel's skin' > *ulukikse-me* 'made of squirrel's skin' are dealt with in 2.2.3.1):

(619) a. d'uke-duk o:-v-cha d'u
ice-abl make-pass-part house
'the house made of ice'

(619) b. Er berken mo:-duk o:-v-cha-n.
this bow tree-abl make-pass-pst-3sg
'This bow is/was made of wood.'

Apposition of two simple nominals is impossible here.

The negative equivalent of such constructions requires the use of the negative auxiliary verb *e-* 'not to . . .', for example:

(620) Er d'u d'uke-duk e-che-n o:-v-ra.
this house ice-abl neg.aux-pst-3sg make-pass-part
'This house is not made/built of ice.'

The negative noun *a:chin* 'none' (compare (621)) is not used in this case, since this will express lack of material rather than negative material:

(621) d'uke-je a:chin-di
ice-accin none-instr
'without ice'

2.1.1.4.11. Manner

Manner is expressed either by the comitative suffix *-chi* (see 2.1.1.4.4) or by the suffix of equation *-gAchin* (see 2.1.1.2.7), for example:

(622) engesi-chi ngorcha-d'ari beje
strength-com fight-part man
'the man fighting with all his might'

(623) Oron edyn-ngechin hukty-d'ere-n.
reindeer wind-eqt run-prs-3sg
'The reindeer is running like the wind.'

Negative manner is expressed by means of the negative converbal form *e-ne* 'not being', i.e. with the help of the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' (see 1.4).

2.1.1.4.12. Cause

Cause is expressed either by the ablative case or by the instrumental case. The choice of case form depends on the verb proper, and sometimes on the meaning of a noun expressing cause. Thus, the ablative case is used with such nouns as *ingin* 'frost', *enumuk/kamaga* 'illness', *tykin* 'anger/malice', for example:

(624) Ingin-duk dyl-iv enu-l-le-n.
frost-abl head-1sg.poss ache-inch-nfut-3sg
'My head began to ache from the frost.'

(625) Tykin-duk dere-l-tyn horga-cha-tyn.
anger-abl face-pl-3pl.poss turn.red-pst-3pl
'Their faces turned red from anger.'

The verbs *ngele-* 'be afraid of' and *inekte-* 'laugh at' require nouns expressing cause of fear or laughter either in the ablative or in the instrumental case (see (574), (575)).

2.1.1.4.13. Purpose

Purpose is expressed either by the postposition *d'arin* 'for' or by the dative case form, compare:

(626) a. tang-in d'arin dukuvun
read-nr for book
'a book for reading'

(626) b. Asi togo-du mo:-va tav-d'ara-n.
woman fire-dat firewood-accd gather-prs-3sg
'The woman is gathering firewood for a campfire.'

2.1.1.4.14. Function

Function is expressed by the instrumental case:

(627) Bi mo:-va halka-t ityv-d'a-m.
I tree-accd hammer-instr use-prs-1sg
'I use a piece of wood as a hammer.'

2.1.1.4.15. Reference

Reference is expressed either by the definite accusative case or by the prolative case, for example:

(628) Nungan ulguchen-d'eche-n asi-vi in-me-n.
he tell-impf-3sg wife-prefl life-accd-3sg.poss
'He was telling about the life of his wife.'

(629) Bi Evenki-l bini-li-tyn ulguchen-d'enge-v.
I Evenki-pl life-prol-3pl.poss tell-fut-1sg
'I shall tell about the life of the Evenkis.'

2.1.1.4.16. Essive

The essive function, as a rule, requires the verb *bi-* 'be' and either the nominative or the dative case of the complement, for example:

(630) Minngi eni-m alagumni bi-cho-n.
my mother-1sg.poss teacher be-pst-3sg
'My mother was a teacher.'

(631) Tugeni-du nungan alagumni-du tatkit-tu
winter-dat he teacher-dat school-dat

havali-l-cha-n.
work-inch-pst-3sg
'In winter he began to work as a teacher at school.'

2.1.1.4.17. Translative

Translative function always requires a complement in the dative case (compare 2.1.1.4.16):

(632) Amin-mi mine tule-re-n ollomimni-du
father-1sg.poss I.accd send-nfut-3sg fisherman-dat

haval-da-v.
work-conv-1sg.poss
'My father sent me to work as a fisherman.'

(633) Alaguvumni-l-va ung-d'e-ngki-tyn alagumni-l-du
pupil-pl-accd send-impv-hab.pst-3pl teacher-pl-dat

haval-da-tyn.
work-conv-3pl.poss
'They usually sent pupils to work as teachers.'

2.1.1.4.18. Part–whole

In this case ordinary possessive constructions are used (see 2.1.1.1.1.3):

(634) a. beje halgan-in
man leg-3sg.poss
'the leg of the man'

(634) b. ure ojo-n
mountain peak-3sg.poss
'the peak of the mountain'

2.1.1.4.19. Partitive

A partitive relation is expressed by means of a nominal stem *ha:-* 'part of' forming the head noun of the possessive construction, for example:

(635) a. pektyre:vun ha:-n
gun part-3sg.poss
'part of the gun'

(635) b. du:nne ha:-n
land part-3sg.poss
'part of the land'

2.1.1.4.19.1. Partitive numeral This function always requires the ablative case:

(636) upkat-tuk beje-l-duk umuken (d'ur, etc.)
all-abl man-pl-abl one (two, etc.)
'one (two, etc.) of the men'

2.1.1.4.19.2. Non-partitive numeral The ordinary non-partitive numeral is not specifically marked, compare:

(637) a. *umun beje* 'one man'
(637) b. *d'ur beje-l* 'two men', etc.

2.1.1.4.19.3. Partitive quantifier Nominal stem *hadyltyn* 'some of'/'several of' is used only with countable nouns taking the plural marker plus the ablative case marker:

(638) hadyltyn student-yl-duk
some.of student-pl-abl
'some of the students'

Partitive quantification with non-count nouns does not have this type of construction and can be expressed only by simple apposition of a quantifier and a noun (639c).

2.1.1.4.19.4. Non-partitive quantification Non-partitive quantification is expressed by simple apposition of such quantifiers as *ha:dyltyn* 'some (of)', *adykar* 'several', *adykan* 'some', *ugukun* 'few', *asun/asukan* 'some', *adykan/adykun* 'a few (of)', for example:

(639) a. ha:-dy-l-tyn bejetke-r
part-adjzr-pl-3pl.poss boy-pl
'some boys'/'some of the boys'

(639) b. adyka-r ile-l
some-pl man-pl
'several people'

(639) c. adykan kolobo
some bread
'some bread'

2.1.1.4.19.5. Partitive negative quantifier There are no negative equivalents of such quantifiers as 'none (of)', 'no', etc. This function is conveyed by means of such positive pronouns as *ekun-da* 'somebody/something/anything', *ngi-de* 'somebody/anybody' and the negative form of the finite verb, for example:

(640) Ngi-de bejetke-r-duk eja-da e-che-n
who-clt boy-pl-abl anything-clt neg.aux-pst-3sg
sa:-re.
know-part
'None of the boys knew anything about it.'

2.1.1.4.19.6. Non-partitive negative quantifier Constructions with 'no' (for example, 'no boys', 'no cheese') correspond to ordinary negative sentences in Evenki (see 1.4) involving either the negative auxiliary verb *e-* 'not to . . .' or the negative noun *a:chin* 'none'.

2.1.1.4.20. Price

This construction involves the predicate expressed by the comitative form of the noun *taman* 'cost' – *tama-chi* (lit.) 'with the cost'. The object whose cost is presented is expressed by subject in the nominative case, for example:

(641) Tar ulle ilan rubli-l tama-chi.
that meat three rouble-pl cost-com
'That meat costs three roubles.'

With the verbs *ga-* 'buy/take', *unije-* 'sell' either the instrumental or the prolative case occurs, for example:

(642) Bejumimni pektyre:vun-me d'ur n'ama:di-l-duli
hunter gun-accd two hundred-pl-prol
rubli-l-duli ga-ra-n.
rouble-pl-prol buy-nfut-3sg
'The hunter bought a gun for two hundred roubles.'

(643) Tar asi kalan-me ilan-di rubli-l-di unije-re-n.
that woman pot-accd three-instr rouble-pl-instr sell-nfut-3sg
'That woman sold the pot for three roubles.'

2.1.1.4.21. Value

The noun *taman* may denote both 'price/cost' and 'value', so the construction in (641) may also be used for the expression of value. *Taman* may be the subject itself, for example:

(644) Oron taman-in d'ur-d'a-r rubli-l (bi-si-n).
reindeer cost-3sg.poss two-ten-pl rouble-pl (bi-prs-3sg)
'The reindeer is worth twenty roubles.'

Value may also be expressed by means of the verbs *tamav-* 'cost'/'be worth' and *tamachi bi-* 'be worth'/'cost', for example:

(645) Nungarngityn irekse-tyn d'ur tys'acha-l rubli-l
their hide-3pl.poss two thousand-pl rouble-pl
tamav-d'ara-n.
be.worth-prs-3sg
'Their hide (i.e. which belongs to them) is worth two thousand roubles.'

2.1.1.4.22. Distance

The definite accusative case is used in this function, for example:

(646) Dygin-me kilometr-il-va ngene-kse-l, nungartyn
four-accd kilometre-pl-accd go-conv-pl they

derumkitche-che-tyn.
have.rest-pst-3pl
'Having gone four kilometres, they had a rest.'

(647) Bejetken hegdy-ve ngene-ve ngene-re-n.
boy long-accd distance-accd go-nfut-3sg
'The boy (has) covered a long distance (on foot).'

The construction with the nominative case is also possible here:

(648) Tar-il guleseg-il gorogi-tyn ilan kilometr-il
that-pl village-pl distance-3pl.poss three kilometre-pl

(bi-si-n).
(be-prs-3sg)
'The distance between those villages is three kilometres.'

2.1.1.4.23. Extent

This function is always expressed by the construction with the nominative case of the numeral with the help of such abstract nouns (coinciding with adjectives) as *gugda* 'high/height', *sungta* 'deep/depth', *ngonım* 'long/length', *albin* 'wide/width', *urge* 'heavy/weight', compare:

(649) a. gugda gule
high building
'a high building'

(649) b. Gule gugda-n dygin-d'a-r metra-l (bi-si-n).
house height-3sg.poss four-ten-pl metre-pl (be-prs-3sg)
'The height of the house is forty metres.'/'The house is forty metres high.'

(650) a. urge idege
heavy luggage
'heavy luggage'

(650) b. Idege-l urge-tyn ilan-d'a-r kilogramm-il
luggage-pl weight-3pl.poss three-ten-pl kilo-pl

(bi-si-0).
(be-prs-3pl)
'The weight of this luggage is thirty kilos.'

For the expression of age the construction with the comitative form in

-chi is used. It is also possible with other quantifiers expressing extent, for example:

(651) a. Nungan ilan-d'a-r nadan anngani-chi bi-si-n.
she three-ten-pl seven year-com be-prs-3sg
'She is thirty-seven years old.'

(651) b. D'ur tonna-l-chi tevu tadu bi-si-n.
two ton-pl-com load there be-prs-3sg
(lit.) 'The load of two tons is there.'

Expression of temperature requires the construction with the nominative case of the numeral:

(652) Tulile ingin dygin-d'a-r gradus-il (bi-si-n).
outside frost four-ten-pl degree-pl (be-prs-3sg)
(lit.) 'It is forty degrees of frost outside.'

2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

Concession is expressed only clausally (see 1.1.2.4.2.9).

2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

This function may be expressed either by means of the comitative forms with the suffixes *-nun, -nAn, -chi, -gAli* (see 2.1.1.4.4) or by the conjunction *taduk* 'and (then)':

(653) Upkat ile-l taduk Amarcha
all man-pl and Amarcha
'all people including (lit. and) Amarcha'

2.1.1.4.26. Exclusion

This function is expressed either with the help of the negative noun *a:chin* 'none' in the dative case or by means of a phrase consisting of a nominal in the definite accusative case and the negative converbal form *e-ne tang-na* (lit.) ' not taking into consideration', for example:

(654) a. nungan a:chin-du-n
he none-dat-3sg.poss
'in his absence' / 'without him'

(654) b. Nungan-man e-ne tang-na upkat ile-l
he-accd neg.aux-conv consider-part all man-pl
eme-che-tyn.
come-pst-3pl
'All the people excluding him (except him) came.'

2.1.1.4.27. Addition

This function is expressed by means of the conjunction *taduk* 'and' (see 2.1.1.4.25). Constructions with the comitative forms in *-nun, -nAn, -gAli* and *-chi* (see 2.1.1.4.4) or with the word *umundu* 'together' are also possible, for example:

(655) Amarcha upkat-nun umundu suru-cho-n.
Amarcha all-com together go.away-pst-3sg
'Amarcha went away together with all the people.'

(656) Bi nungan-nun umundu d'uta-d'a-m.
I he-com together live-prs-1sg
'I live together with him in one tent.'

2.1.1.4.28. Vocative

There is a vocative enclitic *-jA/(j)Aj* which may be attached to common and proper nouns, but not to pronouns. This enclitic is not obligatory, for example:

(657) a. Asi-jaj!
woman-voc
'(My dear) wife!'

(657) b. Murin-ej.
horse-voc
'(My) horse!'

2.1.1.4.29. Citation form

The nominative case is used as a citation form of nominals. Verbal bases are given in most dictionaries in the converbal form with the marker *-mi* (same-subject taxis-conditional converb), e.g. *ngene-mi* 'go'.

2.1.1.4.30. Label form

The nominative case is used for all kinds of labels, e.g. *Turu* 'Tura' (name of the village), *Kolobo* 'bread' (a label in a shop).

2.1.1.5. Local semantic functions

All nominal forms presented below may be used adverbially either as clause modifiers or within noun phrases. Most of the postpositional stems cited can be extended by *-gidA* defining location or direction more precisely, compare:

(658) a. gule do:-lo-n
house interior-all-3sg.poss
'into the house'

(658) b. gule do:-gida-la-n
house interior-ints-all-3sg.poss
'right into the house'

2.1.1.5.1. General local functions

2.1.1.5.1.1. At rest The dative case is the most general means of expressing location, regardless of the size or orientation of the location, e.g. *Turu-du* 'in Tura', *lamu-du* 'in the sea', *tatkit-tu* 'at/in school', *ure-l-du* 'in the mountains', *d'av-du* 'in the boat', *oron-du* 'on a reindeer', *chuka-du* 'on the grass', *bira-du* 'on the river'. Note that this case form is also used with indirect objects (see 2.1.1.2.5) and with benefactives (see 2.1.1.4.1).

The ablative case may also indicate general location with very few verbs (the dative case form is also possible in these cases): *baka-* 'find', *tevle-* 'gather berries', *tule-* 'set a snare', for example:

(659) Bi tar ure-duk/ ure-du kete-ve
I that mountain-abl/mountain-dat much-accd

himmikte-ve tevle-che-v.
cowberry-accd gather-pst-1sg
'I gathered a lot of cowberry on (lit. from) that mountain.'

(660) Nungan tar berken-me hokto-duk/hokto-du baka-ra-n.
he that bow-accd road-abl/road-dat find-nfut-3sg
'He found that bow on the road.'

The prolative case may be used to indicate location of state or action over some bounded locality, although this is rare, for example:

(661) Ure ojo-li-n ngi-de e-vki
mountain top-prol-3sg.poss who-clt neg.aux-hab.part

iche-v-re.
see-pass-part
'Nobody is seen on the top of the mountain.'

(662) Beje-l bejusini-vki-l dagal-duli.
man-pl hunt-hab.part-pl vicinity-prol
'The men usually hunt in the vicinity.'

2.1.1.5.1.2. Motion to Either the allative or the locative-allative case is used. The latter is preferable when the motion is directed towards, but not exactly up to, the place of destination, compare:

(663) a. ure-l-dule
mountain-pl-all
'to the mountains'

(663) b. ure-l-tyki
mountain-pl-locall
'in the direction of the mountains'/'towards the mountains'

(664) Asatkan mu:-le buru-re-n.
girl water-all fall-nfut-3sg
'The girl fell in the water.'

(665) Bejumimni hokto-tki tuksa-d'ara-n.
hunter road-locall run-prs-3sg
'The hunter is running to(wards) the road.'

(666) Atyrkan d'u-la-vi/d'u-tki-vi ngene-d'ere-n.
old.woman house-all-prefl/house-locall-prefl go-prs-3sg
'The old woman is going to/in the direction of her own house.'

The dative case is also used to indicate the place of destination with such verbs as, for instance, *ne:-* 'put (down)', *tetyv-* 'put on', *iniv-* 'load', *tu-* 'step on', *ilke-* 'try on' (of clothes, shoes, etc.), *kumule-* 'put on (a head)', *dy-* 'hide/thrust', *loko-* 'hang', *buru-* 'fall', for example:

(667) Hurkeken purta-vi du:nne-du ne:-re-n.
boy knife-prefl ground-dat put-nfut-3sg
'The boy put (laid) down his knife on the ground.'

(668) Bejetken gara-du tu-re-n.
boy twig-dat step-nfut-3sg
'The boy stepped on a twig.'

The ablative case (!) is possible with such verbs as *d'ava-* 'take/seize' and *uj-* 'tie to', although this is seldom found:

(669) Kungakan enin ngale-duk-in d'ava-cha-n.
child mother hand-abl-3sg.poss seize-pst-3sg
'The child seized his mother by the hand.'

(670) Amin-mi inmek-pe locho:ko-duk uj-re-n.
father-1sg.poss pack-accd saddle-abl tie-nfut-3sg
'My father tied the packed things to the saddle (of his reindeer).'

2.1.1.5.1.3. Motion from Either the ablative (*-duk*) or the elative (*-git*) case is used. The former is used when the exact point of issue is meant, whereas the latter is used when the action (motion) proceeds from some location, the point of issue being not precise. (I have preserved here the accepted terminology for these two cases, although it is in a way misleading, compare: Lebedeva, Konstantinova and Monakhova 1985: 44):

(671) a. Nungan bira-duk ju-re-n.
he river-abl come.out-nfut-3sg
'He went out of the river.'

(671) b. Bira-git edyn edyn-d'ere-n
river-elat wind blow.wind-prs-3sg
'The wind is blowing from the river.'

(672) a. Bejumimni-l agi-duk eme-re-0.
hunter-pl forest-abl come-nfut-3pl
'The hunters came from the forest.'

(672) b. Agi-git pektyren doldy-v-ra-n.
forest-elat shot hear-pass-nfut-3sg
'A shot of a gun was heard from the forest.'

2.1.1.5.1.4. Motion past Either the prolative (*-lı/-dulı*) or the allative-prolative (*-kli*) case is used. The latter is used much more seldom than the former and expresses the motion past the object along the edge of it:

(673) D'av-il ejen-d'ere-0 bira-li.
boat-pl go.down.the.river-prs-3pl river-prol
'The boats float/drift along the river.'

(674) Nungartyn urke-li i:-re-0.
they door-prol enter-nfut-3pl
(lit.) 'They entered through the door.'

(675) Oron bira-kli hukty-re-n.
reindeer river-allprol run-nfut-3sg
'The reindeer ran along the bank of the river.'

(676) Kergen dety-kli ngene-che-n.
family tundra-allprol go-pst-3sg
'The family went past the edge of the tundra.'

2.1.1.5.2. Proximate

The stem *daga-* 'vicinity' is used postpositionally in one of the locative case forms depending on the direction of the action/motion (at/to/from or past; see 2.1.1.5.1), for example:

(677) Mo: daga-du-n beje hukle-d'ere-n.
tree vicinity-dat-3sg.poss man lie-prs-3sg
'The man is lying near the tree.'

(678) Ure daga-la-n suru-d'e-p.
mountain vicinity-all-3sg.poss go.away-fut-1pl.inc
(lit.) 'We shall go to near the mountain.'

(679) Amut daga-duk-in eme-0-m.
lake vicinity-abl-3sg.poss come-nfut-1sg
'I came from near the lake.'

2.1.1.5.3. Interior

The stem *do:-* 'interior' is used postpositionally in one of the locative case forms depending on the direction of motion (inside/into/out of or through; see 2.1.1.5.1), for example:

(680) D'u do:-du-n teget-chere-n.
house interior-dat-3sg.poss sit-prs-3sg
'He is sitting in(side) the house.'

(681) D'u do:-la-n ngene-re-n.
house interior-all-3sg.poss go-nfut-3sg
'He went into the house.'

(682) D'u do:-duk-in ju:-re-n.
house interior-abl-3sg.poss go.out-nfut-3sg
'He went out of the house.'

2.1.1.5.4. Exterior

The adverbial stem *tuli-* 'outside' is used in one of the locative case forms as the adverbial modifier of place, e.g. *tuli-git* (elat) 'from the outside', *tuli-gide-duk* (abl) 'from the outside', *tuli-le* (all) 'outside', *tuli-du* (dat) 'outside', *tuli-li* (prol) 'along the street'.

2.1.1.5.5. Anterior

The postpositional stem *d'ule-* 'in front of' is used to express location or direction in front of the point of orientation. The case form attached to *d'ule-* depends on the direction of the motion, for example:

(683) Nginakin upkat d'ule-du-tyn tuksa-d'acha-n.
dog all in.front-dat-3pl.poss run-impf-3sg
'The dog was running in front of all (the people or other dogs).'

(684) Ure-l d'ule-li-tyn amut iche-v-d'ere-n.
mountain-pl in.front-prol-3pl.poss lake see-pass-prs-3sg
'The lake is seen in front of the mountains.'

(685) Nungan d'ule-duk-in uluki mikcha:n-e-n.
he in.front-abl-3sg.poss squirrel jump-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'A squirrel jumped from in front of him.'

Note adverbial *d'ule-ski* 'forward' which is frequently used with the verbs *ngene-* 'go', *giran-* 'step', *hukty-* 'run', *iche-* 'look at' (adverbs with the non-productive marker *-ski* 'forward' with stems *do:-* 'interior' (*do:ski* 'into the interior') and *tuli-* 'outside' (*tuliski* 'out of the interior'/'out into the street') are quite common in written and oral language). There are also adverbials *d'ule-le* (all) 'in front of' and *d'ule-git* (elat) 'from in front of' derived from the stem *d'ule-*. Forms *d'ule-du* (dat) 'in front of' and *d'ule-li* (prol) 'along the side in front of' may be used adverbially without any noun denoting point of orientation. The same holds true for the other forms cited in 2.1.1.5.2, 2.1.1.5.3 and this section, e.g. *daga-du* 'near'/'in the vicinity', *daga-duk* 'from the nearby place', *daga-tki* 'to the nearby place', *daga-li* (lit.) 'along the nearby place', *do:-du* 'inside', *do:-duk* 'from inside', *do:-la* 'inside'/'into the interior', *do:-li* 'along the interior', *do:-git* 'from the interior', *do:-kla* 'into the interior'.

2.1.1.5.6. Posterior

Postpositional stems *amar-* and *chagi(da)-* are used in one of the locative case forms depending on the direction of the motion. *Chagi(da)-* expresses more distant location than the *amar-*, compare:

(686) Beje guleseg chagida-la-n suru-re-n.
man village behind-all-3sg.poss go.away-nfut-3sg
'The man went away beyond/to the other side of the village.'

(687) Etyrken urke amari-la-n ju:-re-n.
old.man door behind-all-3sg.poss go.out-nfut-3sg
'The old man went out behind the door.'

Both stems may be used either adverbially (i.e., without any noun expressing the point of orientation) or postpositionally. The former usage does not involve personal possession markers, e.g. *amar-du* (dat) 'behind', *amaski* 'behind' (motion to), *amari-li* (prol) 'behind' (motion past/along), *amar-git* (elat)/*amar-duk* (abl) 'from behind', *chagi-du* 'behind (over there)', *chaski* 'behind/further' (motion to), *chagi-la* 'behind' (motion to), *chagi-git/chagi-duk* 'from behind'/'from over there', *chagi-li* 'behind' (motion past, e.g. beyond the mountain, the lake).

The postpositional usage of these stems always involves personal possession markers, compare:

(688) a. Nungan amar-du ilit-chara-n.
he behind-dat stand-prs-3sg
'He is standing behind.'

(688) b. Bejetken nungan amar-du-n ilit-chara-n.
boy he behind-dat-3sg.poss stand-prs-3sg
'The boy is standing behind him.'

The dative case form of these postpositions may occur both with location 'at rest' and with location of motion, for example:

(689) Kungaka-r bu amar-du-vun eme-d'ere-0.
child-pl we behind-dat-1pl.poss come-prs-3pl
'The children are coming behind us.'

(690) Nungan d'aja-cha-n nungartyn chagi-du-tyn.
he hide-pst-3sg they behind-dat-3pl.poss
'He hid himself behind them.'

The stem *amar-* is preferred with animate and proximate points of orientation, whereas the stem *chagi-* is preferred with inanimate and distant points of orientation, for example:

(691) Dylacha agi chagida-la-n buru-re-n.
sun forest behind-all-3sg.poss fall-nfut-3sg
'The sun set behind/beyond the forest.'

(692) Bi amar-du-v bejetken-me iche-0-m.
I behind-dat-1sg.poss boy-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw a boy behind me.'

2.1.1.5.7. Superior

Postpositional stems *ojo-* 'above/over' and *ugi-/uvi-* 'above/over' are used in one of the locative cases to express position above the object of orientation without contact with it. As a simple noun, *ojo* means 'upper part of' (e.g. a mountain, a building, a tree, land, milk, clothes, water) and the noun *ugi/uvi* in some dialects may mean 'height'. The difference between these two stems lies in their semantic and syntactic properties: (a) semantically the stem *ojo-* may denote the superior surface location, whereas the stem *ugi-* cannot; (b) for the superior location without contact the stem *ugi-* seems to denote superiority perceived 'higher' than superiority denoted by the stem *ojo-*; (c) syntactically, the stem *ojo-* is preferred for postpositional use, whereas the stem *ugi-/uvi-* is preferred for adverbial

use, e.g. *ugi-du* 'above', *ugi-ski* 'above' (motion to), *ugi-le/ugi-li* 'above' (motion past), *ugi-git/ugi-duk/ojo-git* 'from above'. Postpositional use requires personal possession markers:

(693) Degi ojo-lo-v deg-d'ere-n.
bird above-all-1sg.poss fly-prs-3sg
'A bird is flying above/over me.'

(694) Kumalan sektevun ojo-li-n loku-cha-d'ara-n.
carpet bed above-prol-3sg.poss hang-res-prs-3sg
'The carpet is hanging above/over the bed.'

2.1.1.5.8. Superior contact/surface

The postpositional stem *ojo-* 'upper part of' (see 2.1.1.5.7) is used in this function in one of the locative case forms with possessive suffixes, for example:

(695) Asatkan d'olo ojo-du-n tege-re-n.
girl stone upper.part-dat-3sg.poss sit.down-nfut-3sg
'The girl sat down on the stone.'

(696) Bi ure ojo-duk-in evu-0-m.
I mountain upper.part-abl-3sg.poss descend-nfut-1sg
'I came down/descended from the top of the mountain.'

(697) Beje ure ojo-lo-n is-ta-n.
man mountain upper.part-all-3sg.poss reach-nfut-3sg
'The man reached the top/summit of the mountain.'

(698) Ure ojo-li-n so:t edyn-d'ere-n.
mountain upper.part-prol-3sg.poss very blow.wind-prs-3sg
(lit.) 'Strong wind is blowing on top of the mountain.'

Superior contact or location is also frequently expressed by the dative case:

(699) Nungan tegenki-du teget-chere-n.
he chair-dat sit-prs-3sg
'He is sitting on the chair.'

(700) Asatkan amkin-du hukle-d'ere-n.
girl bed-dat lie-prs-3sg
'The girl is lying on the bed.'

2.1.1.5.9. Inferior

Inferior position, both with and without contact, is expressed by the postpositional stem *hergi(de)-* 'space below' in one of the locative cases:

(701) Etyrken homo:ty hergide-le-n mo:-va
old.man bear inferior-all-3sg.poss tree-accd
noda:-re-n.
throw-nfut-3sg
'The old man threw the tree under the feet of the bear.'

(702) Asi mo: hergi-li-n tege-re-n.
woman tree inferior-prol-3sg.poss sit.down-nfut-3sg
'The woman sat down under the tree.'

There are a few adverbs formed on this stem, for example: *hergi-du* 'below/under', *hergi-ski* 'below/under' (motion to), *hergi-le/hergi-li* 'below/under' (motion past), *hergi-git/hergi-duk* 'from under'.

With some verbs referring to actions under the surface of the sea/lake/river/land, e.g. *ollomi* 'fish', *ule-* 'dig', either the dative case (*-du*) or the postpositional stem *do:-* 'interior' is used, for example:

(703) Bejetke-r mu: do:-gida-li-n tysa-kta-d'ara-0.
boy-pl water interior-ints-prol-3sg.poss swim-dstr-prs-3pl
'The boys are swimming under the water.'

(704) Havamni-l du:nne do:-du-n/du:nne-du
worker-pl ground interior-dat-3sg.poss/ground-dat
haval-d'ara-0.
work-prs-3pl
'The workers work/are working under the ground.'

2.1.1.5.10. Inferior contact

The postpositional stem *hergi(de)-* 'under' is used (see 2.1.1.5.9):

(705) Inmek locho:ko hergide-du-n bi-d'ere-n.
pack saddle under-dat-3sg.poss be-prs-3sg
'The pack is under the saddle.'

2.1.1.5.11. Lateral

The stem *dar(gida)-*; (*-gida* is an intensification marker meaning 'exactly') 'lateral side' may be used either adverbially, e.g. *daran* 'beside/near'/'next to', *dargida-du* 'beside/next to', *dargida-la* 'beside' (motion to), *dargida-li* 'beside' (motion past), or postpositionally, for example:

(706) Nungan teget-chere-n dargida-du-v.
he sit-prs-3sg beside-dat-1sg.poss
'He is sitting beside me.'

(707) Bejetken darigida-li-tyn ngene-d'ere-n.
boy beside-prol-3pl.poss go-prs-3sg
'The boy goes past them.'

2.1.1.5.12. Lateral contact

The stem *oldon-* 'side' in the dative case form *oldon-du-* 'on' or simple case forms (either dative or allative) are used for this function, for example:

(708) D'u oldon-du-ni chuka baldy-d'ara-n.
house side-dat-3sg.poss grass grow-prs-3sg
'Grass grows on the outer side of the house.'

(709) Asi on'ovun-ma stena-du loko-ro-n.
woman drawing-accd wall-dat hang-nfut-3sg
'The woman hung the picture on the wall.'

(710) D'av-va uge-l-di d'apka-la agi-vkan-e-n.
boat-accd wave-pl-instr bank-all land-caus-nfut-3sg
'The boat was drifted to the bank by the waves.'

2.1.1.5.13. Citerior

The citerior sense both without and with contact may be expressed either by the postpositional stem *daga-* 'vicinity' (see 2.1.1.5.2) or by means of adverbs formed on the stem *e-* 'here'/'this side': *e-du* 'here', *er-tyki* 'here' (motion to), *e-le/e-li* 'here'/'in this place' (motion to or past this place), *er-git/e-duk* 'from here'/'from this place' without naming the point of orientation.

2.1.1.5.14. Citerior contact

The adverbs given in 2.1.1.5.13 may be used for this function. There is also a descriptive way to express this sense:

(711) er bira(-ngi) d'apka-du-n
this river(poss) bank-dat-3sg.poss
'on this bank of the river'

2.1.1.5.15. Ulterior

Adverbs formed on the stem *ta-* 'there'/'that side of' are used for this

function: *ta-du* 'there', tar-tyki 'there'/'in that direction', *ta-la* 'there' (motion to), *ta-li* 'there'/'along that place/side', *tar-git/ta-duk* 'from there'.

2.1.1.5.16. Ulterior contact

The stem *bargı(da)*- 'the other side of (the river)' may be used either adverbially (*bargi-ski* 'to the other side of the river', *bargi-la* 'on/to the other side of the river', *bargi-li* 'along the other side of the river', *bargi-git* 'from the other side of the river') or postpositionally:

(712) a. bira bargida-du-n
river far.side-dat-3sg.poss
'on the far side of the river'

(712) b. bira bargida-li-n
river far.side-prol-3sg.poss
'along the far side of the river'

2.1.1.5.17. Medial (among/between two)

The postpositional stem *sigdyle*- 'between/among' expresses both position between two objects and among several objects. This stem takes either dative or prolative case marker, for example:

(713) Nungan hennge-r-vi sigdyle-du-tyn pektyre:vun-mi
he knee-pl-prefl between-dat-3pl.poss gun-prefl
ne:-che-n.
put-pst-3sg
'He put his gun between his knees.'

(714) Ure-l sigdyle-li-tyn bira ejen-d'ere-n.
mountain-pl between-prol-3pl.poss river flow-prs-3sg
'The river flows between two/among many mountains.'

2.1.1.5.18. Medial (among/between three or more)

This function is also expressed by the postpositional stem *sigdyle*- 'between/among' (see 2.1.1.5.17), for example:

(715) Tar beje sigdyle-du-tyn bi-cho-n.
that man among-dat-3pl.poss be-pst-3sg
'That man was among them.'

(716) Albin aglan d'u-l sigdyle-du-tyn bi-si-n.
wide glade house-pl among-dat-3pl.poss be-prs-3sg
'A wide glade is between (lit. among) the houses.'

2.1.1.5.19. Circumferential

Postpositional stem *mureli-* 'around' is used either with or without possessive affixes. The point of orientation may have either the definite accusative case marker (717) or the nominative case marker (718), for example:

(717) Etyrken mo:-l-va gule-ve mureli baldy-vkan-e-tyn.
old.man tree-pl-accd house-accd around grow-caus-nfut-3pl
'The old man planted trees around the house.'

(718) Kungaka-r nginaki-r mureli-tyn teget-cheche-tyn,
child-pl dog-pl around-3pl.poss sit-impf-3pl
'The children were sitting around the dogs.'

Note also the forms of *mureli-* 'around' with the personal possession suffixes: e.g. *mureli-v* (1sg.poss) 'around me', *mureli-s* (2sg.poss) 'around you', *mureli-n* (3sg.poss) 'around him/her'.

The word *mureli* 'around' may be used adverbially without any additional point of orientation, compare:

(719) Mureli aja bi-cho-n.
around good be-pst-3sg
(lit.) 'It was beautiful around.'

2.1.1.5.20. Citerior–anterior

The postpositional stem *bargi(da)-* 'the opposite side of' in the dative or in the prolative case is used for this function (see 2.1.1.5.16), for example:

(720) Nungan bargida-du bi-d'ere-n.
he opposite.side-dat be-prs-3sg
'He lives across the river/lake/road/street.'

(721) Klub tatkit bargida-li-n bi-si-n.
club school opposite.side-prol-3sg.poss be-prs-3sg
'The clubhouse is situated opposite the school.'

The locative-directive case can also be used in this function:

(722) Togo-klo tege-kel.
fire-locdir sit-2sg.imp
(lit.) 'Sit down opposite to the fire.'

(723) Asatkan mo:-kla il-la-n.
girl tree-locdir stand.up-nfut-3sg
'The girl stood still opposite the tree.'

2.1.1.5.21–9. Motion past a long object

No difference from the motion past short objects is attested. The prolative case is generally used in all these functions (see 2.1.1.5.1.4), for example:

(724) Beje-l hokto-li ngene-d'eche-tyn.
man-pl road-prol go-impf-3pl
'The men were going along the road.'

(725) Mo:-li mata-p-cha-li ngene-re-n.
tree-prol bend-pass-part-prol go-nfut-3sg
'He went over / under / across the bent tree.'

The definite accusative case is used with very few verbs of motion, for example: *dag-* 'cross' (river, road), *bargisin-* 'cross' (river, road), *mikcha:n-* 'jump (over)', for example:

(726) Ollomimni bira-va dag-re-n.
fisherman river-accd cross-nfut-3sg
'The fisherman crossed the river.'

(727) Asi hokto-vo bargisin-a-n.
woman road-accd cross-nfut-3sg
'The woman crossed the road.'

(728) Nginakin votar-va mikcha:n-e-n.
dog fence-accd jump-nfut-3sg
'The dog jumped over the fence.'

2.1.1.6. Location in time

The expressions discussed below are used adverbially in the dative case form. They are not used attributively, but may appear as complements with the copula *bi-* 'be'.

2.1.1.6.1. General

2.1.1.6.1.1. Time of day Clock time is expressed using Russian loanwords, *chas* 'hour', *minuta* 'minute', *sekunda* 'second'; and Evenki numerals. For the hours the verb *bi-* 'be' is used which may be omitted, for example:

(729) Tykin ilan chas-il (bi-si-0).
now three hour-pl (be-prs-3pl)
'It is three o'clock now.'

The dative case is used in adverbial expressions:

(730) d'ur-du chas-tu
two-dat hour-dat
'at two o'clock'

For clausal expression of the half-hours nouns *kaltaka* 'half' or *dulin* 'half / middle' are used. Numerals expressing the preceding whole hour are in the ablative case form, for example:

(731) Tykin dygin-duk chas kaltaka-n/dulin-in
now four-abl hour half-3sg.poss/half-3sg.poss

(bi-si-n).
(be-prs-3sg)
'It is half past four now.' (lit. 'Now it is half an hour from (i.e. after) four.')

To express a point in time adverbially, the possessed ablative case form of *kaltaka/dulin* 'half' is used:

(732) dygin-duk chas kaltaka-du-n/ dygin-duk chas
four-abl hourhalf-dat-3sg.poss/four-abl hour

dulin-du-n
half-dat-3sg.poss
'at half past four' (lit. 'at half an hour from four')

For smaller divisions of clock time the words *minuta* 'minute' and *sekunda* 'second' are used in either the dative case when used adverbially, or in the nominative case when used as complements. The negative noun *a:chin* 'none' (in the sense of 'without/lacking') in the instrumental case is used if there are less than thirty minutes left before the hour (733), (734). If there are more than thirty minutes left before the hour the noun *a:chin* is not used. Instead numerals expressing the preceding hour are used with the ablative case marker (735):

(733) Nungan eme-re-n d'ur minuta-l a:chin-di-tyn
he come-nfut-3sg two minute-pl none-instr-3pl.poss

egin-du (chas-tu).
nine-dat (hour-dat)
'He came at two minutes to nine.' (lit. 'He came at nine without two minutes.')

(734) Tykin d'a-r minuta-l a:chin-di-tyn ilan.
now ten-pl minute-pl none-instr-3pl.poss three
'It is ten minutes to three.' (lit. 'It is three without ten minutes.')

(735) Tykin d'ur d'a-r minuta-l nadan-duk.
now two ten-pl minute-pl seven-abl
'It is twenty minutes past (lit. from, i.e., after) seven.'

Note that the word order given in (736) is also possible:

(736) Tykin nadan-duk d'ur d'ar minuta-l.

Two constructions are used to express quarter-hours. One to express a quarter past the hour (738); and one, using the negative noun *a:chin* 'none' to express a quarter to the hour (737):

(737) Esikeken d'an tunnga minuta-l a:chin-di-tyn chas.
now ten five minute-pl none-instr-3pl.poss hour
'It is a quarter to one now.' (lit. '(one) hour without fifteen minutes')

(738) Esikeken dygin chas-il, d'an tunnga minuta-l.
now four hour-pl ten five minute-pl
'It is a quarter past four now.' (lit. 'It is four o'clock, fifteen minutes.')

2.1.1.6.1.2. Period of day Expressions which refer to the present day are:

(739) tegemi esi tyrga
in.the.morning this day
'this morning' (cf: *tyma:tne* 'in the morning/tomorrow morning')

(740) esi tyrga dulin-du-n
this day middle-dat-3sg.poss
'this afternoon'

(741) dolboltono esi tyrga
in.the.evening this day
'this evening'

(742) er dolboni-du
this night-dat
'tonight' (lit. 'this night')

Reference to the following day is expressed by: *tyma:tne* (*tegemi*) 'tomorrow morning', *tyrga tegemi* 'tomorrow afternoon' (lit. 'in the afternoon'). The stems *dolbo* 'at night' and *tyrga* 'day' may be used as verbs:

(743) Tyrga-ra-n.
dawn-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'It has dawned.' / 'It is broad daylight.'

(744) Dolbo-ro-n.
night-nfut-3sg
'It has become dark.' / 'The night has come.'

2.1.1.6.1.3. Days of the week Russian names of days of the week are used: *pon'edel'nik* 'Monday', *vtornik* 'Tuesday', *sreda* 'Wednesday', *chetverg* 'Thursday', *p'atnitsa* 'Friday', *subbota* 'Saturday', *voskresen'e* 'Sunday'. When they are used adverbially, they have the dative form: (*-du/-tu*). The nominative case is used when days of the week are in the subject or in the complement position:

(745) a. Tyma:tne sreda bi-d'anga-n.
tomorrow Wednesday be-fut-3sg
'It will be Wednesday tomorrow.'

(745) b. Tynive subbota bi-cho-n.
yesterday Saturday be-pst-3sg
'It was Saturday yesterday.'

To specify a particular future day, *g'e* 'next/another' is used:

(746) g'e-du vtornik-tu
next-dat Tuesday-dat
'the next Tuesday'

To specify a particular day in the past, *amaskipty* 'last' is used:

(747) amaskipty-du p'atnitsa-du
last-dat Friday-dat
'last Friday'

Note also the adverbials *tyma:tne chagudu/tegemi chagudu* 'the day after tomorrow', *tynive* 'yesterday', *tynive chagudu* 'the day before yesterday', *esityrga* 'today', *g'e nadalla-du* (dat) 'next week', *amaskipty nadalla-du* 'last week'.

2.1.1.6.1.4. Months of the year There are both Russian loan-words (Latin by origin) and also indigenous Evenki names for the months or, more accurately, various periods of the year. Periods denoted by Russian terms coincide only approximately with the indigenous Evenki terms. Traditional Evenki terms cannot be considered as attempted indigenous equivalents to the Russian terms. Both systems function independently. Some of the Evenki terms are clearly motivated, whereas others do not have corresponding verbal or nominal bases, i.e. the semantic path of

their origin is lost. May is the only month term which has no Evenki correspondent. The month terms belonging to the two systems are: *janvar'/mire* (lit. 'shoulder') 'January', *fevral'/ giravun* 'February', *mart/ ektengkire* (lit. 'the period when snow falls from the branches of the trees'; *ektengki-* 'to fall' (of snow from the branches of the trees)) 'March', *aprel'/ turan* ('the period when crows return'; cf. *turaki* 'a crow') 'April', *maj* 'May', *ijun'/muchun* (lit. 'return' (verbal noun)) 'June', *ijul'/iri:n* (lit. 'the period when berries become ripe'; cf. *ir-* 'become ripe')/*irkin* (verbal noun in *-n* from the verb *irki-* 'tear off the skin of the horns (said of a reindeer before pairing)) 'July', *avgust/irkin* 'August', *sentjabr'/siru:d'an* or *siru:lasani* (lit. 'the period of reindeer pairing'; cf. *siru:* 'a wild deer or a reindeer in the period of pairing') 'September', *oktjabr'/ugun* (the period of thin snow and frozen water near the banks of rivers and lakes) 'October', *nojabr'/ hugdarpi* or *ho:gdarpi* 'November' (in some villages *hogdarpi* can also refer to October), *dekabr'/hegdyg* (cf. *hegdy* 'big/large') or *otki:* ('the period of severe frosts') 'December'. When used adverbially these nouns take the dative case, e.g.: *mire-du* 'in January'. Phrases involving months and dates include month terms in the nominative case, for example:

(748) a. Mart d'apkin tyrgani-n-du
march eighth day-3sg.poss-dat
'on the eighth of March'

(748) b. Maj egi tyrgani-n - Davdyn tyrgani-n.
may ninth day-3sg.poss victory day-3sg.poss
'The ninth of May is Victory Day.'

Note also *g'e bega* 'next month', *amaskipty/goropty bega* 'last month'.

2.1.1.6.1.5. Year Numeral expressions in the dative case (*-du*) are most frequently used. Nominative case is found when used as the subject or as the complement, for example:

(749) Tys'acha egin n'ama:di d'ur d'a-r-du anngani-du nungan
thousand nine hundred two ten-pl-dat year-dat he

baldy-cha-n,
be.born-pst-3sg
'He was born in 1920.'

Note also the adverbials *er anngani-du* 'this year', *tyngaringna* 'last year', *gochin/gochin-du* 'next year', *g'e anngani* '(for) the second year', *ilan-duli anngani-l-duli* (*-duli* (prol)) 'in three years', *mudavsipty-l-du anngani-l-du* 'these past few years', *mudavsipty-du anngani-du* 'during the last year'.

2.1.1.6.1.6. Festivals Names of festivals are usually used in the dative case. When used as complements of copular constructions they take the nominative case.

(750) a. Omakta-du Anngani-du
new-dat year-dat
'in the New Year'

(750) b. Davdyn Tyrgani-n-du
victory day-3sg.poss-dat
'on Victory Day'

2.1.1.6.1.7. Seasons Adverbials expressing the seasons are either in the 'pure' form or in the dative case form of the corresponding nouns, e.g. *nelki/nelki-ni-du* 'earlier in spring' (e.g. 'in March'), *n'engne/n'engne-ni-du* 'later in spring' (e.g. 'in May'), *d'uga/d'uga-ni-du* 'in summer', *bolo/bolo-ni-du* 'in autumn', *tuge/tuge-ni-du* 'in winter'. The pronoun *er* 'this' is added to refer to the current season, cf. *er tugenidu* 'this winter'. An adjective *tyngaripty* 'last year's' is used when referring to a previous season and the adverb *gochin* 'next year' is used when referring to the coming year, for example:

(751) Tar tyngaripty-du d'ugani-du bi-cho-n.
that last.year-dat summer-dat be-pst-3sg
'That was (happened) last summer.'

(752) Nungan gochin boloni-du eme-d'enge-n.
he next.year autumn-dat come-fut-3sg
'She will come next autumn.'

When used adverbially, several dative case forms may be used. The nominative case is used when the noun of the season is used as the subject or a complement:

(753) Tugeni o:-ra-n.
winter become-nfut-3sg
'Winter has come.'

The definite accusative case is used with such verbs as *in-* 'live' and *bi-* 'live' (also in the sense 'spend (time)'), for example:

(754) Nungan upkat-va d'ugani-va guleseg-du in-d'eche-n.
he whole-accd summer-accd village-dat live-impf-3sg
'He has lived/spent the whole summer in the village.'

See 5.1.5.1 for a list of season expressions.

2.1.1.6.2. Frequentative

The dative case with the plural form of the noun is used: *boloni-l-du* 'in the autumn'/'every autumn', *sreda-l-du* 'on Wednesdays', *mire-l-du* 'every January', *tyma:tne-l-du* 'in the mornings'. With names denoting days of the week and seasons of the year the nominative case is used in combination with the suffix *-tykin* 'every', e.g. *tyrgani-tykin* 'every day', *sreda-tykin* 'every Wednesday', *boloni-tykin* 'every autumn'.

2.1.1.6.3. Punctual-future

The prolative case is used:

(755) Bi umun chas-tuli/bega-li/nadalla-li/anngani-li
I one hour-prol/month-prol/week-prol/year-prol
eme-d'e-m.
come-fut-1sg
'I shall come in one hour/in one month/in a week/in a year.'

2.1.1.6.4. Punctual-past

A postpositional construction with *amaski* 'back/ago' with the definite accusative case of the noun is used:

(756) Tar beje ilan-ma tyrgani-l-va amaski suru-che-n.
that man three-accd day-pl-accd back go.away-pst-3sg
'That man left three days ago.'

2.1.1.6.5. Duration

Duration (past or present) is expressed by the definite accusative case of the time expression, for example:

(757) Bi alachi-0-m dolboni-va.
I wait-nfut-1sg night-accd
'I have been waiting for the whole night.'

(758) Nungan tyrgani-va ngene-d'eche-n.
he day-accd go-impf-3sg
'He went/was going for a whole day.'

(759) Asatkan tunnga-va anngani-l-va alaguv-d'acha-n.
girl five-accd year-pl-accd study-impf-3sg
'The girl studied for five years.'

(760) Nungartyn haval-d'acha-tyn upkat-va-n chas-ve.
they work-impf-3pl whole-accd-3sg.poss hour-accd
'They worked/have been working for a whole hour.'

2.1.1.6.6. Anterior-duration-past

Anterior duration, both past and future, is expressed either by the allative case or by a clausal construction with the converbal form expressing posteriority in *-dAlA* 'before/until' of the auxiliary verb *o:-* 'become' – *o-dala-n* 'until certain time came', for example:

(761) Nungan tang-d'acha-n ilan-dule chas-il-dula.
he read-impf-3sg three-all hour-pl-all
'He read/had been reading until three o'clock.'

2.1.1.6.7. Anterior-duration-future

The allative case is used:

(762) Tymani-la bi nungan-man alat-changa-v.
morning-all I he-accd wait-fut-1sg
'I shall wait for him until morning.'

(763) Bi muchu-d'anga-v sreda o-dala-n.
I return-fut-1sg Wednesday become-conv-3sg.poss
'I shall return before Wednesday (comes).'

2.1.1.6.8. Posterior-duration-past

Posterior duration, both past and future, is expressed either by the ablative case (*-duk*) or postpositionally by means of the stem *amar-* 'behind' in the dative (*amar-du*) or the ablative (*amar-duk*) case. These forms mean 'after', but not 'since' or 'from', which are expressed by the ablative case:

(764) Nungan haval-d'acha-n tymani-duk dolbo-dolo-n.
he work-impf-3sg morning-abl night-conv-3sg.poss
'He worked from morning till night.'

(765) Bejetken boloni-duk alaguvu-l-cha-n.
boy autumn-abl study-inch-pst-3sg
'The boy has begun to study since autumn.'

(766) Tar anngani-duk bi haval-d'acha-v bejumimni-du.
that year-abl I work-impf-1sg hunter-dat
'I have worked as a hunter since/from that year.'

(767) Bi nungan-man e-che-v iche-re subbota
I she-accd neg.aux-pst-1sg see-part Saturday
amar-duk-in.
behind-abl-3sg.poss
'I haven't seen her since / after Saturday.'

Note also adverbials *e-duk* 'from this time on', *ta-duk* 'from that time on' (also 'from that place / then / after that').

2.1.1.6.9. Posterior-duration-future

Either the ablative case or the postpositions *amar-du-n/amar-duk-in* 'after' are used. See 2.1.1.6.8.

2.1.1.6.10. Anterior-general

The converbal form of posteriority *o:-dala-n* (lit.) 'before becoming' is used, for example:

(768) Tar etyrken baldy-cha-n revol'utsija
that old.man be.born-pst-3sg revolution
o:-dala-n.
become-conv-3sg.poss
'That old man was born before the revolution.'

(769) Bi Moskva-du bi-cho-v vojna o:-dala-n.
I Moscow-dat be-pst-1sg war become-conv-3sg.poss
'I was in Moscow before the war.'

Sometimes instead of *odalan* 'before', the negative form of the verb *o:-* 'become' (*e-deli-n o:-ra* (lit.) 'not before (it) happened') is used:

(770) Vojna e-deli-n o:-ra bud-de-n.
war neg.aux-conv-3sg.poss become-part die-nfut-3sg
'He died before the war.'

2.1.1.6.11. Posterior-general

Posterior-general is expressed either postpositionally (by means of *amar-dukin* 'after'; see 2.1.1.6.8) or by means of a converbal form in *-chAlA* 'after-doing' of such verbs as *etev-* 'finish / end', *manav-* 'finish / end', *ilten-* 'pass / elapse':

(771) Mire ilten-chele-n suru-che-n.
January pass-conv-3sg.poss go.away-pst-3sg
'He left after January.'

(772) Urok etev-chele-n bi d'u-la-vi tuksa-cha-v.
lesson finish-conv-3sg.poss I house-all-prefl run-pst-1sg
'After the lesson I ran home.'

2.1.1.6.12. Point in period-past

The dative case is used in this function:

(773) Umun-du chas-tu nungan ilara
one-dat hour-dat he three-times
eme-d'e-ngki-n.
come-impv-hab.pst-3sg
'He came (here) three times in one hour.'

(774) Tugeni-du chipicha-l bu-cho-tyn.
winter-dat bird-pl die-pst-3pl
'The birds died in winter.'

2.1.1.6.13. Point in period-future

The dative case is used in this function:

(775) Bi muchu-d'anga-v mire-du bega-du.
I return-fut-1sg January-dat month-dat
'I shall return in/during January.'

2.1.1.7. Double case marking

There is no double case marking in Evenki.

2.1.1.8. Number-marking system

2.1.1.8.1. Types of number-marking systems

2.1.1.8.1.1. Singular–plural All nominals are marked for singular or plural number. Different classes of nouns (e.g. animate vs inanimate) do not behave differently in number marking. Nouns after numerals higher than 'one' stand in the plural.

2.1.1.8.1.2–5. Dual–trial–paucal–other There are no number forms other than the singular–plural opposition.

2.1.1.8.2. Obligatory nature of number marking

Number marking is obligatory (for the plural markers see 2.1.1.1.1), with the one exception: when the nouns are used in a generalized sense as direct objects. In such cases the indefinite accusative case may be used instead of the plural suffix marker. The semantic motivation for this is connected with the use of the indefinite accusative case to express the partitive meaning which allows this case form to express a generalized sense:

(776) a. Nungan kete-je dikte-je ga-d'a-vki.
she many-accin berry-accin gather-impv-hab.part
'She usually gathers a lot of berries.'

(777) a. Atyrkan unta-ja, kokollo-jo, avun-a
old.woman fur.boot-accin mitten-accin fur.cap-accin
ulli-d'e-vki.
sew-impv-hab.part
'The old woman sews fur boots, mittens and fur caps.'

(778) a. Bi uluki-je, sulaki-ja va:-d'a-m.
I squirrel-accin fox-accin kill-prs-1sg
'I kill/hunt for squirrels and foxes.'

The same meaning can be expressed by a construction using the nominal form with the plural marker (*-l/-r*) and the definite accusative marker (*-vA*):

(776) b. Nungan kete-ve dikte-l-ve ga-d'a-vki.

(777) b. Atyrkan unta-l-va, kokollo-l-vo, avu-r-va ulli-d'e-vki.

(778) b. Bi uluki-l-ve, sulaki-l-va va:-d'a-m.

The majority of non-count nouns of other languages are count nouns in Evenki. These plurals indicate either a large quantity of the phenomenon or many pieces of it, e.g. *se:kse* 'blood' – *se:kse-l* 'a lot of blood', *singilgen* 'snow' – *singilge-r* 'lots of snow', *ulle* 'meat' – *ulle-l* 'a lot of meat'/'several pieces of meat'.

2.1.1.8.3. Other means of indicating number

Evenki has no other number-marking system in the noun.

2.1.1.8.4. Distinction between collective and distributive plural

A collective meaning is expressed by the suffix *-jA* with personal nouns denoting names, family names and some kinship terms, e.g. *amin* 'father'

– *ami-ja* 'father and his relatives', *enin* 'mother' – *eni-je* 'mother and her relatives', *Hovoko* 'Hovoko' – *Hovoko-jo* 'Hovoko and his relatives'. In all such cases the finite verb is in the plural form:

(779) Eni-je guleseg-du bi-d'ere-0.
mother-com village-dat be-prs-3pl
'Mother and her relatives are in the village.'

2.1.1.8.5. Singulatives from collective nouns.

This phenomenon is lacking.

2.1.1.8.6. Realization of number marking on nouns

Singular number is indicated by -0, and plural number for the majority of nouns by *-l* and for nouns with stem-final *-n* by the suffix *-r* which is attached in place of *-n*, compare: *oron* 'reindeer' – *oro-r* 'reindeer' (pl). See also 2.1.1.1.1.

2.1.1.8.7. Number marking of foreign words

Loan-words (almost all from Russian) take the usual Evenki plural marker *-l* (also when the noun stem ends in *-n*), e.g. *televizor* 'TV set' – *televizor-il* 'TV sets', *urok* 'lesson' – *urok-il* 'lessons', *motor* 'engine' – *motor-il* 'engines', *zhurnal* 'magazine' – *zhurnal-il* 'magazines', *vagon* 'car(riage)' – *vagon-il* 'cars/carriages'. The collective morpheme *-jA* may also be used on loan-nouns denoting names of persons, e.g. *Petrov* 'Petrov' (family name) – *Petrov-ja* 'the Petrovs'/'Petrov and his relatives' (see 2.1.1.8.4).

2.1.1.9. Noun classes

The only division of nouns into classes is by morphophonemic variation under inflection. This variation depends upon the final phoneme of a noun stem (see the conditions for choosing the proper variant of number/case/possession suffixes in 2.1.1.1.1). There are no semantic criteria for distribution between these classes. Evenki has neither genders nor noun classifiers.

2.1.1.10. Definiteness in noun phrases

Definiteness may be marked in noun phrases only if they are in object position. In this case definiteness/indefiniteness is marked by the definite accusative (*-vA/-mA*) or indefinite accusative (*-(ɟ)A*) case forms respectively In all the other cases definiteness/indefiniteness is not marked.

2.1.1.10.1. Means of definiteness marking

The choice between definite accusative and indefinite accusative case is determined by the definiteness (or referential status)/ indefiniteness (or non-referential status) of the object noun phrase (776a)–(778b). The definite accusative case is much more frequent than the indefinite accusative case both in written and spoken language. It seems likely that indefinite accusative case forms are used only in cases when the speaker wants to stress the indefinite, partitive or non-referential status of the object, but more research is needed on this question. If the object has clear referential status either for the speaker or for any participant of the situation, the indefinite accusative base form is impossible, compare:

(780) a. Bejetken va:-v-cha-va degi-ve baka-ra-n.
boy kill-pass-part-accd bird-accd find-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'The boy found the killed bird.'

Since the 'bird' has clear referential status for the boy, it would be impossible to use in this sentence the indefinite accusative case form:

(780) b. *Bejetken va:-v-cha-ja degi-je baka-ra-n.

A nominal phrase containing a demonstrative pronoun is, of course, always definite.

2.1.1.10.2. Obligatory marking of definiteness

If the object is definite then it can be expressed either by the definite accusative case form or by a noun with the reflexive possession marker (*-vi* for the singular possessor; *-vAr* for the plural possessor; see 2.1.1.1.1.4). In the latter case the definite accusative case marker cannot be used. The definite object cannot be expressed by the indefinite accusative case form.

2.1.1.10.3–4. Variation of the form of the definiteness marker

The form of the definiteness marker does not vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act.

2.1.1.10.5–6. Indication of definiteness with proper names and abstract nouns

Proper names in the object position relevant to the expression of definiteness are always expressed with the definite accusative case marker. The

indefinite accusative case marker cannot be added to proper nouns in the object position, for example:

(781) Bejetken Amarcha-va iche-re-n.
boy Amarcha-accd see-nfut-3sg
'The boy saw Amarcha.'

2.1.1.11. Indefiniteness marked in noun phrases

This is only relevant for direct objects (see 2.1.1.10).

2.1.1.11.1. Marking of indefiniteness

The marker of the indefinite accusative case is *-(j)A*; the variant *-A* is used after the noun stem final *-n* and with plural forms, for example:

(782) a. Oron-o d'ava-kal.
reindeer-accin take-2sg.imp
'You (sg) catch/take a/any reindeer.'/'Catch yourself one reindeer.'

Compare

(782) b. Oron-mo d'ava-kal.
reindeer-accd take-2sg.poss
'Catch that (definite) reindeer.'

(783) Beje mo:ka-r-e genne:-vki
man stick-pl-accin bring-hab.part
'The man usually brings firewood.'

2.1.1.11.2. Optional marking of indefiniteness

The marking of indefiniteness in the noun phrase seems to be optional, since the definite accusative case may be freely used instead of almost any indefinite accusative case form (e.g. (782b) may be used in the meaning of (782a)), for example:

(784) Beje-l d'u-l-va o:-d'anga-tyn.
man-pl house-pl-accd build-fut-3pl
'The men will build houses.'

(785) Tar asi kniga-va tang-d'ara-n.
that woman book-accd read-prs-3sg
'That woman is reading a/the book.'

It seems to be a rule that the definite accusative case is used with all past tenses, while for future and imperative forms, the indefinite accusative forms are optional when the direct object is neither definite nor specific.

2.1.1.11.3–4. Variation of the form of the indefiniteness marker

The form of the indefiniteness marker does not vary according to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act.

2.1.1.11.5–6. Indication of indefiniteness with non-singular nouns and mass nouns

Plural and mass nouns can take the indefinite accusative case marker, for example:

(786) Min-du ulle-je, kolobo-jo bu:-kel.
I-dat meat-accin bread-accin give-2sg.imp
'Give me (some) meat and (some) bread.'

2.1.1.12. Referential and non-referential indefiniteness

Referential and non-referential indefiniteness are not distinguished. In both cases the indefinite accusative forms can be used.

2.1.1.13. Genericness in noun phrases

This category is not marked.

2.1.1.14. Relative importance of noun actors

The relative importance of noun actors is not marked.

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Free personal pronouns

There are free personal pronouns for the first, second and third person, singular and plural (first person plural – both inclusive and exclusive). These pronouns are declined and can function as subjects (nominative case), direct objects (definite accusative case), indirect objects (dative

or locative-allative case) and in other positions (e.g. attributive or adverbial).

2.1.2.1.1.1. Obligatory free pronouns With the indicative mood verb forms free personal pronouns are, as a rule, obligatory in all persons as subjects, and both direct and indirect objects. Cases of their ellipsis are rare and their omission often makes the sentence ungrammatical, compare

(787) a. Bi nungan-man sa:-0-m.
I he-accd know-nfut-1sg
'I know him.'

(787) b. * Nungan-man sa:-0-m lit. 'Him know-I.'

(787) c. * Bi sa:-0-m lit. 'I know-I.'

2.1.2.1.1.2. Optional free pronouns Free pronouns are, as a rule, obligatory in all persons (see 2.1.2.1.1.1).

2.1.2.1.1.3. Occurrence of free pronouns

2.1.2.1.1.3.1. In non-contrastive non-emphatic contexts: Free personal pronouns occur in non-contrastive non-emphatic contexts.

2.1.2.1.1.3.2. In contexts where referents of the pronoun are emphasized: Free pronouns occur in contexts where the referent(s) of the pronoun is/are emphasized.

2.1.2.1.1.3.3. In unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs: Free pronouns may not be used in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs.

2.1.2.1.1.3.4. In imperative contexts with referent emphasized: Free pronouns are, as a rule, used with emphatic imperatives, especially when the referent of the pronoun (the addressee) is emphasized, for example:

(788) a. Nungartyn edu tege-ktyn.
they here sit-3pl.imp
'Let them sit down here.'

(788) b. (Nungan) tyma:tne eme-gin.
(he) tomorrow come-3sg.imp
'Let him/her come tomorrow.'

2.1.2.1.1.3.5. In answer to questions: Free personal pronouns are used in answer to questions of the type 'who is that?' (i.e., '(It is) I.'), for example:

(789) Tar ekun? Nungan bi-si-n.
that who he be-prs-3sg
'Who is that?' (lit.) 'That's he.'

2.1.2.1.1.3.6. In cleft or pseudocleft constructions: Free personal pronouns with various enclitics may be used in the function of cleft/ pseudocleft constructions:

(790) Si-de tar-va min-tyki gun-che-s.
you-clt that-accd I-locall say-pst-2sg
'It was you who told me that.' (lit. 'Exactly you told me that.')

2.1.2.1.1.4. Free pronouns in emphatic/non-emphatic contexts There is no difference in form between emphatic and non-emphatic uses of the free personal pronouns (see 2.1.2.1.1.3.6).

2.1.2.1.1.5. Reduced pronouns There are no reduced forms of free personal pronouns.

2.1.2.1.2. Person distinction in pronouns

The following personal pronouns are distinguished.

2.1.2.1.2.1. First vs second vs third person

	Singular	*Plural*
first person	bi	bu (exc); mit (inc)
second person	si	su
third person	nungan	nungartyn

2.1.2.1.2.2. First vs non-first person See 2.1.2.1.2.1.

2.1.2.1.3. Inclusive vs exclusive

2.1.2.1.3.1. Inclusive vs exclusive There is a distinction between first plural inclusive and exclusive: *bu* 'we without/excluding you(sg)/ you(pl)' and *mit* 'we with/including you(sg)/ you(pl)'.

2.1.2.1.3.2. Other combinations There are no other combinations of inclusive vs exclusive and general pronouns.

2.1.2.1.4. Number in pronouns

2.1.2.1.4.1–5 Number marking of pronouns See 2.1.2.1.2.1.

2.1.2.1.4.6. Pronouns associated in noun phrases with numerals In this function numerals with the suffixes *-kte* (attached only to *d'u* 'two') or *-ni* (is attached to numerals from three to ten) are used, for example:

(791) a. bu d'u-kte
we two-com
'we two'

(791) b. bu ila-ni/dygi-ni/n'ungu-ni/nada-ni/d'apku-ni/
we three-com/four-com/six-com/ seven-com/eight-com/
jegi-ni /d'a-ni.
nine-com/ten-com
'we three/four/six/seven/eight/nine/ten'

2.1.2.1.4.7. Collective vs distributive plurals There is none.

2.1.2.1.4.8. Different types of non-singular Such forms are lacking.

2.1.2.1.5. Different status of various third-person actors

Pronouns show no distinction of third-person status.

2.1.2.1.6. Different degrees of proximity in the third-person pronouns

Different degrees of proximity to the participants in the speech act are not marked in third person pronouns.

2.1.2.1.7. Anaphoric third-person pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns *er* 'this', *er-il* 'these', *tar* 'that', *tar-il* 'those' may be used pronominally in the sense 'the thing or person just mentioned' situated either here, closer to some point of orientation or farther from the point of orientation.

2.1.2.1.8. Gender and class distinctions in pronouns

There are no markings for gender or class, cf. *nungan* 'he/she'.

2.1.2.1.9. Special pronominal forms

There are no special pronominal forms indicating the tribal, sectional, or family relationships of the referents.

2.1.2.1.10. Intersection of the pronominal categories

There are no pronominal forms other than those stated in 2.1.2.1.2. There are no variants or reduced forms.

2.1.2.1.11. Tense agreement of pronouns

Pronouns do not agree with the verb in tense. Any tense marking (or any other verbal category) in the pronouns is excluded.

2.1.2.1.12. Status distinction in pronouns

The language does not mark status distinction in the pronouns (for example, family, honorific, etc.).

2.1.2.1.13. Non-specific indefinite pronouns

There are no non-specific indefinite personal pronouns as such. The pronoun *ngɪ* 'who' with the concessive particle *-vel* may be used in this function, cf. *ngi-vel* 'somebody / anybody', for example:

(792) Ngi-vel eme-re-n.
somebody come-nfut-3sg
'Somebody has come.'

Other forms of the personal pronoun system (e.g. *si* 'you') cannot be used as non-specific indefinite pronouns.

2.1.2.1.14. Specific indefinite pronouns

Pronouns *ngɪ-vel* 'somebody / anybody' and *ekun-mal* 'something / anything / someone' are used in this function. The latter pronoun usually indicating an inanimate object may also indicate an animate referent, thus being synonymous with the pronoun *ngi-vel*. *Ekun-mal* can be used even if the referent is known to be human, for example:

(793) Ekun-mal iche-v-d'ere-n.
something-clt see-pass-prs-3sg
'Something / somebody is seen.'

2.1.2.1.15. Special emphatic pronouns

There are no such special forms. Emphasis with pronouns is expressed by ordinary emphatic particles *-dA*, *-kA* and *-ngAn*.

2.1.2.1.16. Complex pronouns

Complex pronouns do not occur.

2.1.2.1.17. Pronoun–noun combinations

Any personal pronoun may be combined with a noun mostly denoting activity or profession, although this type of construction is not attested in written form and is very rare in speech, for example:

(794) a. Bu bejumimni-l eme-re-0.
we hunter-pl come-nfut-3pl
'We, hunters, came.'

(791) b. Si beje mine-ve sa:-0-nni.
you man I-accd know-nfut-2sg
(lit.) 'You, man, (should) know me.'

2.1.2.1.18. Special coordinating constructions with pronouns

There are three types of coordinating constructions which are also the normal coordinators for noun phrases. The most common involves the comitative suffix *-nun* affixed to a noun or a pronoun; the second type involves the particle *-dA* affixed to a noun or a pronoun; and the least frequent type uses the conjunction *taduk* 'and (then)'. Coordination of these types occurs both with a pronoun and a noun and with pairs of pronouns:

(795) a. si min-nun/alagumni-nun
you I-com/teacher-com
'you and me'/'you and the teacher'

(795) b. nungan bi-de/alagumni-da
he I-clt/teacher-clt
'he and I'/'he and the teacher'

(795) c. bi taduk amin-mi/nungartyn
I and.then father-1sg.poss/they
'I and my father'/'I and they'

2.1.2.1.19. Secondary pronoun system

Evenki has no secondary pronominal system, by which it would be possible to specify in greater detail the precise composition of various non-singular combinations of persons.

2.1.2.1.20. Case system in pronouns

All pronouns are inflected for case. The case paradigm for personal pronouns consists of ten case forms.

(796) a. *Singular*

nom	*bi* 'I'	*si* 'you'
accd	*mine-ve / mine*	*sine-ve / sine*
dat	*min-du*	*sin-du*
instr	*min-di*	*sin-di*
all	*min-dule*	*sin-dule*
locall	*min-tyki*	*sin-tyki*
abl	*min-duk*	*sin-duk*
elat	*min-ngit*	*sin-ngit*
prol	*min-duli*	*sin-duli*
locdir	*min-ikle*	*sin-ikle*

nom	*nungan* 'he' / 'she'
accd	*nungan-ma-n*
dat	*nungan-du-n*
instr	*nungan-di-n*
all	*nungan-dula-n*
locall	*nungan-tyki-n*
abl	*nungan-duk-in*
elat	*nungan-ngid-in*
prol	*nungan-duli-n*
locdir	*nungan-ikla-n*

(796) b. *Plural*

nom	*bu*	'we (exc)'	*mit*	'we (inc)'
accd	*mune-ve / mune*		*mit-ve / mit-pe*	
dat	*mun-du*		*mit-tu*	
instr	*mun-di*		*mit-it*	
all	*mun-dule*		*mit-tule*	
locall	*mun-tyki*		*mit-tyki*	
abl	*mun-duk*		*mit-tuk*	
elat	*mun-ngit*		*mit-kit*	
prol	*mun-duli*		*mit-tuli*	
locdir	*muni-kle*		*mit-ikle*	

nom	*su*	'you'	*nungartyn*	'they'
accd	*sune-ve / sune*		*nungar-va-tyn*	
dat	*sun-du*		*nungar-du-tyn*	
instr	*sun-dı*		*nungar-di-tyn*	
all	*sun-dule*		*nungar-dula-tyn*	
locall	*sun-tyki*		*nungar-tyki-tyn*	
abl	*sun-duk*		*nungar-duk-tyn*	
elat	*sun-ngit*		*nungar-gidı-tyn*	
prol	*sun-duli*		*nungar-duli-tyn*	
locdir	*sun-ikle*		*nungar-ikla-tyn*	

2.1.2.1.20.1. Deviations from a case system in nouns

2.1.2.1.20.1.1. Additional cases and their functions: Additional case forms are lacking.

2.1.2.1.20.1.2. Absent cases: Two 'noun' cases are lacking – the indefinite accusative case and the allative-prolative case (*-kli*).

2.1.2.1.20.1.3. Different uses of the cases: Case forms of personal pronouns have the same uses as those of nouns. There are however some restrictions on functions, which can be semantically accounted for. Thus the instrumental case form of personal pronouns does not have the function of 'instrument', but has either the meaning of cause or the comitative meaning, for example:

(797) Bi nungan-di-n so:t nge:let-che-m.
I he-instr-3sg.poss very be.afraid-prs-1sg
'I am very much afraid of him.'

(798) Etyrken nungar-di-tyn nulgi-kte-d'ere-n.
old.man they-instr-3pl.poss nomadize-dstr-prs-3sg
'The old man travels here and there with them.'

2.1.2.1.20.1.4. Different markers for the cases: Pronouns take the same case markers as nouns.

2.1.2.1.20.1.5. Irregular forms of cases: Personal pronouns of the third-person singular and plural have irregular case forms. The pronoun *nungan* '(s)he' after the case suffix also takes the marker *-n* which is homonymous with the personal possession marker *-n* (3sg; see (796)). The pronoun *nungartyn* 'they' takes the case suffixes after the stem *nungar-* and the suffix *-tyn* (3pl) is attached after the case marker (see (796), cf. also (798)).

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

2.1.2.2.1. Special reflexive pronouns

For a discussion of the forms and functions of reflexive pronouns *me:nmi* 'oneself' and (pl) *me:rver* see 1.6.1. There are also two kinds of anaphoric reflexive pronouns (see 2.1.2.2.2.6).

2.1.2.2.2. Subcategories of pronouns

2.1.2.2.2.1–2. Person and inclusion These subcategories are not distinguished by the reflexive pronouns *me:nmi* 'oneself' / *me:rver* 'oneselves'. However, person is distinguished by anaphoric reflexive pronouns (see 2.1.2.2.2.6).

2.1.2.2.2.3. Number Reflexive pronouns distinguish number of a noun phrase to which they refer: *me:nmi* refers to the singular entity, *me:rver* refers to the plural entity, compare:

(799) a. Nungan me:nmi hulla-t das-ta-n.
he oneself blanket-instr cover-nfut-3sg
'He covered himself with a blanket.'

(799) b. Nungartyn me:rver hulla-l-di-ver das-ta-0.
they oneselves blanket-pl-instr-prefl cover-nfut-3pl
'They covered themselves with their blankets.'

2.1.2.2.2.4–5. Obviation and proximity These categories are not distinguished by reflexive pronouns.

2.1.2.2.2.6. Anaphora There are two kinds of anaphoric reflexive pronouns which occur in apposition and usually have emphatic usage: personal and indefinite personal. There are seven personal pronouns formed from the reflexive stem *me:n-* (sg)/*me:r-* (pl) plus the personal possession markers used after noun stems finishing in *-n*: *me:n-mi* 'I myself' (cf. *oron-mi* 'my reindeer'), *me:n-ni* 'you yourself' (cf. *oron-ni* 'your reindeer'), *me:n-in* 'he himself'/'she herself' (cf. *oron-in* 'his/her reindeer'), *mer-vun* 'we (exc) ourselves' (cf. *oro-r-vun* 'our reindeer (pl)'), *me:r-ty* 'we (inc) ourselves' (cf. *oro-r-ty* 'our reindeer (pl)'), *me:r-sun* 'you (pl) yourselves' (cf. *oro-r-run* 'your (pl) reindeer (pl)), *me:r-tyn* 'they themselves' (cf. *oro-r-tyn* 'their reindeer'). Indefinite personal anaphoric pronouns include two forms: (*bi/si/nungan*) *me:neken* (sg) '(I) myself, (you) yourself, (he) himself, (she) herself and (*bu/mit/su/nungartyn*) *me:neke-r* (pl) '(we) ourselves, (you) yourselves, (they) themselves', for example:

(800) Girki-v me:nin/me:neken d'u-va o-ra-n.
friend-1sg.poss himself/oneself house-accd make-nfut-3sg
'My friend built himself a house.'

2.1.2.2.2.7–9. Gender/class, kinship and status These subcategories are not distinguished by reflexive pronouns.

2.1.2.2.3. Forms resulting from the intersection of subcategories

Three types of reflexive pronouns (specialized *menmi/merver;* personal and indefinite personal anaphoric reflexive pronouns) are in complementary distribution.

2.1.2.2.4. Case system in reflexive pronouns

2.1.2.2.4.1. Means of expressing case in the reflexive Case for reflexive pronouns is indicated in the same way as that used in nouns and personal pronouns. However, some case forms of reflexive pronouns are missing (see 2.1.2.2.4.2).

2.1.2.2.4.2. Differences of expressing case The case paradigm of the specialized reflexive pronouns (*me:nmi/me:rver*) consists of nine forms: unlike the personal pronouns it lacks the nominative case form. The case marker is attached to the stem *me:n-/me:r-* and the markers of reflexive possession *-vi* (sg)/*-ver* (pl) are attached after the case suffix (see (440)–(443)):

(801)

	Singular	*Plural*
accd	me:nmi	me:rver
dat	me:n-du-vi	me:r-du-ver
instr	me:n-di-vi	me:r-di-ver
all	me:n-dule-vi	me:r-dule-ver
locall	me:n-tyki-vi	me:r-tyki-ver
abl	me:n-duk-vi	me:r-duk-ver
elat	me:n-ngit-vi	me:r-git-ver
prol	me:n-duli-vi	me:r-duli-ver
locdir	me:n-ikle-vi	me:r-ikle-ver

Personal forms of anaphoric reflexive pronouns have eleven case forms: as compared with the case paradigm of nouns pronouns of this type lack the indefinite accusative case form. As in the previous case (see (801)), the case marker is attached to the stem *me:n-/me:r-* and the corresponding personal possession marker is attached to the case suffix of the pronoun:

(802) a.

	1st singular	*2nd singular*	*3rd singular*
nom	me:nmi	me:nni	me:nin
accd	me:n-me-v	me:n-me-s	me:n-me-n
dat	me:n-du-v	me:n-du-s	me:n-du-n
instr	me:n-di-v	me:n-di-s	me:n-di-n
all	me:n-dule-v	me:n-dule-s	me:n-dule-n
locall	me:n-tyki-v	me:n-tyki-s	me:n-tyki-n
abl	me:n-duk-iv	me:n-duk-is	me:n-duk-in
elat	me:n-ngid-iv	me:n-ngid-is	me:n-ngid-in
prol	me:n-duli-v	me:n-duli-s	me:n-duli-n
locdir	me:n-ikle-v	me:n-ikle-s	me:n-ikle-n
allprol	me:n-ikli-v	me:n-ikli-s	me:n-ikli-n

(802) b.

	1st plural exclusive	*1st plural inclusive*
nom	me:rvun	me:rty
accd	me:r-ve-vun	me:r-ve-t
dat	me:r-du-vun	me:r-du-t
instr	me:r-di-vun	me:r-di-t
all	me:r-dule-vun	me:r-dule-t
locall	me:r-tyki-vun	me:r-tyki-t
abl	me:r-duk-vun	me:r-duk-it
elat	me:r-gid-ivun	me:r-gid-it
prol	me:r-duli-vun	me:r-duli-t
locdir	me:r-ikle-vun	me:r-ikle-t
allprol	me:r-ikli-vun	me:r-ikli-t

	2nd plural	*3rd plural*
nom	me:r-sun	me:r-tyn
accd	me:r-ve-sun	me:r-ve-tyn
dat	me:r-du-sun	me:r-du-tyn
instr	me:r-di-sun	me:r-di-tyn
all	me:r-dule-sun	me:r-dule-tyn
locall	me:r-tyki-sun	me:r-tyki-tyn
abl	me:r-duk-sun	me:r-duk-tyn
elat	me:r-gid-isun	me:r-gid-ityn
prol	me:r-duli-sun	me:r-duli-tyn
locdir	me:r-ikle-sun	me:r-ikle-tyn
allprol	me:r-ikli-sun	me:r-ikli-tyn

The indefinite personal anaphoric reflexive pronouns *me:neken / me:neke-r* are always used only in apposition to the subject, i.e. only in the nominative case, for example:

(803) Mit me:rty d'u-va o:-d'anga-t.
we ourselves house-accd make-fut-1pl.inc
'We shall build the house ourselves.'

(804) Me:n-du-v pektyre:vun bi-si-n.
oneself-dat-1sg.poss gun be-prs-3sg
'I have a gun myself.'

2.1.2.2.5–6. Expression of reflexivity if there is no reflexive pronoun

Evenki has three kinds of reflexive pronouns (see 2.1.2.2.1). Reflexive pronouns are the only way of expressing reflexivity.

2.1.2.2.7. Other uses of the reflexive pronoun

The plural form of the reflexive pronoun *me:rver* 'oneself' and some of its case forms (dative, allative, ablative and instrumental) can also denote the reciprocal meaning (see 1.6.1.1 and 1.7.1.1). Thus, (805) may have either the reflexive or the reciprocal interpretation:

(805) Nungartyn me:rver va:-re-0.
they oneselves kill-nfut-3pl
a. 'They killed themselves.' ((lit. 'Each person killed himself.')
b. 'They killed each other.'

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns

2.1.2.3.1. Special reciprocal pronouns

For the reciprocal use of plural reciprocal pronouns *memegi-l-ver* 'each other'/'one another', *memegi-l-nun-mer* 'with each other', *memegi-l-du-ver* 'to each other', *memegi-l-duk-ver* 'from each other', *memeri-l-ver* 'each other', and reflexive pronoun *me:rver* 'themselves' in the reciprocal meaning, see 1.7.

2.1.2.3.2. Subcategories of reciprocal pronouns

None of the categories given under 2.1.2.3.2–7 are distinguished by the reciprocal pronouns (person, inclusion, obviation, proximity, gender/class, kinship/tribal affiliation, status) with the exception of number and anaphoricity. All the reciprocal pronouns have the plural suffix *-l* and are always used anaphorically.

2.1.2.3.3. Intersection of subcategories

There are no forms resulting from the intersection of the subcategories given in 2.1.2.3.2–7.

2.1.2.3.4. Case system in reciprocal pronouns

2.1.2.3.4.1. Means of expressing case in the reciprocal Case in the reciprocal is expressed in the same way as for nouns.

2.1.2.3.4.2. Differences of expressing case Reciprocal pronouns have only six case forms by comparison with twelve in the noun case paradigm and ten in the personal pronoun case paradigm:

(806)
accd *memegi-l-ver*
dat *memegi-l-du-ver*
instr *memegi-l-di-ver*
all *memegi-l-dule-ver*
abl *memegi-l-duk-ver*
prol *memegi-l-duli-ver*

2.1.2.3.5. Expression of reciprocity if there is no reciprocal pronoun

Evenki has reciprocal pronouns.

2.1.2.3.6. Other ways of expressing reciprocality

Reciprocality is expressed by the specialized verbal reciprocal marker *-mAt/-mAch* or by the sociative marker *-ldy* (see 1.7.1.3).

2.1.2.3.7. Other uses

There are no other uses for reciprocal pronouns.

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

2.1.2.4.1. Special possessive pronouns

There are three classes of possessive pronouns (possession may also be marked by nominal possessive suffixes, as described in 2.1.1.1.1): personal possessive, reflexive possessive and relative possessive.

2.1.2.4.2. Types of possession

There is no distinction between the given types of possession (alienable/inalienable; temporary/permanent; persons/animals/things; present/past).

2.1.2.4.3. List of possessive pronouns

There are seven personal possessive pronouns: *minngi* 'my/mine', *sinngi* 'your/yours (sg)', *nungan-ngı-n* 'his/her/hers', *mun-ngı* 'our/ours', *mit-ngı* 'our/ours', *sun-ngi* 'your/yours' (pl), *nungar-ngi-tyn* 'their/theirs'. Personal possessive pronouns are formed on the basis of oblique stems of the personal pronouns with the help of the possessive suffix *-ngı* (see 2.1.1.4.6). The pronoun of the third-person singular has the additional marker *-n*, homonymous with the personal possession suffix of the third-person singular. As for the pronoun *nungartyn* 'they', the possessive suffix

-ngi is attached to its stem *nungar-* and before the suffix *-tyn*, homonymous with the personal possession marker of the third-person plural.

There are two reflexive possessive pronouns: *menngivi* 'one's own' (belonging to one person) and *merngiver/menngiver* 'their (pl) own' (belonging to more than one person). These pronouns are formed on the basis of reflexive pronouns *me:nmi* 'oneself', (pl) *me:rver'* (see 2.1.2.2) with the possessive suffix *-ngi* attached to the stems *me:n-/me:r-* before the reflexive possession markers *-vi/-ver*.

There are seven relative possessive pronouns: *menngi-v* 'my own', *menngi-s* 'your (sg) own', *menngi-n* 'his/her own', *merngi-vun* 'our (exc) own', *merngi-t* 'our (inc) own', *merngi-sun* 'your (pl) own', *merngi-tyn* 'their own'. These are formed, like the previous group of reflexive possessive pronouns, on the basis of the stems of reflexive pronouns *me:n-/me:r-*, but unlike reflexive possessive pronouns relative possessive pronouns require suffixes of personal possession *-v* 'my', *-s* 'your (sg)', *-n* 'his/her', *-vun/-t* 'our', *-sun* 'your (pl)', *-tyn* 'their'.

2.1.2.4.4. Case system in possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns of all the three groups are marked for case.

2.1.2.4.4.1. Means of expressing case in the possessive pronouns The means of expressing case in the possessive pronouns is the same as in the noun.

2.1.2.4.4.2. Differences in case paradigms Personal possessive pronouns, like nouns, have the forms of all the twelve cases. Below I present the case paradigm of personal possessive pronouns *minngi* 'my/mine', *nunganngin* 'his/her(s)' and *nungarngityn* 'their(s)'. The pronouns *sinngi* 'your(s) (sg)', *munngi/mitngi* 'our(s)' and *sunngi* 'your(s) (pl)' are declined exactly as the pronoun *minngi* 'my/mine'.

(807)

nom	*min-ngi*	*nungan-ngi-n*	*nungar-ngi-tyn*
accd	*minngi-ve*	*nunganngi-va-n*	*nungarngi-va-tyn*
accin	*minngi-je*	*nunganngi-ja-n*	*nungarngi-ja-tyn*
dat	*minngi-du*	*nunganngi-du-n*	*nungarngi-du-tyn*
instr	*minngi-t*	*nunganngi-di-n*	*nungarngi-di-tyn*
all	*minngi-le*	*nunganngi-la-n*	*nungarngi-la-tyn*
locall	*minngi-tki*	*nunganngi-tki-n*	*nungarngi-tki-tyn*
abl	*minngi-duk*	*nunganngi-duk-in*	*nungarngi-duk-tyn*
elat	*minngi-git*	*nunganngi-gid-in*	*nungarngi-gid-ityn*
prol	*minngi-li*	*nunganngi-li-n*	*nungarngi-li-tyn*
locdir	*minngi-kle*	*nunganngi-kla-n*	*nungarngi-kla-tyn*
allprol	*minngi-kli*	*nunganngi-kli-n*	*nungarngi-kli-tyn*

Personal possessive pronouns of the third-person singular and plural, unlike other pronouns after case suffixes take the possession markers *-n* (3sg) and *-tyn* (3pl), respectively (807).

The case paradigm of the reflexive possessive pronouns consists of eleven cases (lacking the nominative case). The case marker is added to the stem *menngi-* before the affix of reflexive possession *-vi* (sg)/*-ver* (pl):

(808)

accd	*menngi-vi*	*menngi-ver*
accin	*menngi-je-vi*	*menngi-je-ver*
dat	*menngi-du-vi*	*menngi-du-ver*
instr	*menngi-t-vi*	*menngi-t-ver*
all	*menngi-le-vi*	*menngi-le-ver*
locall	*menngi-tki-vi*	*menngi-tki-ver*
abl	*menngi-duk-vi*	*menngi-duk-ver*
elat	*menngi-git-vi*	*menngi-git-ver*
prol	*menngi-li-vi*	*menngi-li-ver*
locdir	*menngi-kle-vi*	*menngi-kle-ver*
allprol	*menngi-kli-vi*	*menngi-kli-ver*

The case paradigm of relative possessive pronouns consists of twelve forms, i.e. it is equal to the case paradigm of nouns. The case marker is added to the stem *menngi-* (sg)/*merngi-* (pl.) before the suffix of personal possession. Below paradigms of two first person pronouns are given: one for the singular and the other for the plural. Other personal forms are derived by means of adding different personal possession markers instead of *-v* (1sg) and *-vun* (1pl.exc) respectively:

(809)

nom	*menngi-v*	*merngi-vun*
accd	*menngi-ve-v*	*merngi-ve-vun*
accin	*menngi-je-v*	*merngi-je-vun*
dat	*menngi-du-v*	*merngi-du-vun*
instr	*menngi-di-v*	*merngi-di-vun*
all	*menngi-le-v*	*merngi-le-vun*
locall	*menngi-tki-v*	*merngi-tki-vun*
abl	*menngi-duk-iv*	*merngi-duk-ivun*
elat	*menngi-gid-iv*	*merngi-gid-ivun*
prol	*menngi-li-v*	*merngi-li-vun*
locdir	*menngi-kle-v*	*merngi-kle-vun*
allprol	*menngi-kli-v*	*merngi-kli-vun*

2.1.2.4.5. Expression of possession if there are no possessive pronouns

Evenki has possessive pronouns.

2.1.2.4.6. Alternative ways of expressing possession with pronouns

In the eastern dialects, personal pronouns are used instead of possessive pronouns in the attributive function, compare:

(810) a. *Southern and northern dialects*
minngi d'u-v
my house-1sg.poss
'my house'

(810) b. *Eastern dialects*
bi d'u-v
I house-1sg.poss
'my house'

There are no other alternative ways of expressing possession with pronouns.

2.1.2.4.7. Reflexive possessive pronouns

There are two reflexive possessive pronouns (see 2.1.2.4.3 and 2.1.2.4.4.2).

2.1.2.4.8–10. Other types of possessive pronouns

There are no other types of possessive pronouns (e.g. reciprocal possessive or emphatic possessive).

2.1.2.4.11. Adjectival use of possessive pronouns

All the possessive pronouns can be used adjectivally, i.e. as modifiers of nominal constructions, agreeing in number and case with the head noun, for example:

(811) Mitngi-l-du tatkit-yl-du-t aja-l alagumni-l.
our-pl-dat school-pl-dat-1pl.inc good-pl teacher-pl.
'Teachers in our schools are good.'

(812) Bejumimni menngivi nginakin-mi uli:-re-n.
hunter one's.own dog-prefl feed-nfut-3sg
'The hunter fed his own dog.'

(813) Tykin bejumimni-l-du merngi-l-tyn pektyre:-vu-r
now hunter-pl-dat own-pl-3pl.poss gun-pl
o:-ra-0.
become-nfut-3pl
'Nowadays the hunters have their own guns.'

(814) Mit merngi-l-du-t d'u-l-du-t
we own-pl-dat-1pl.inc.poss house-pl-dat-1pl.poss

upkat-va merty o:-ra-p.
all-accd ourselves make-nfut-1pl.inc
'In our own houses we did everything ourselves.'

2.1.2.4.11.1. Separate adjectival forms Reflexive possessive pronouns cannot be used as separate adjectival forms, whereas personal possessive pronouns and relative possessive pronouns can. In such cases the possessive pronoun agrees with the subject in number, for example:

(815) a. Er pektyre:vun nunganngin (bi-si-n).
this gun his (be-prs-3sg)
'This gun is his.'

(815) b. Er-il pektyre:vu-r nungarngi-l-tyn (bi-si-0).
this-pl gun-pl their-pl-3pl.poss (be-prs-3pl)
'These guns are theirs.'

(816) Tar-il oro-r merngi-l-vun.
that-pl reindeer-pl one's.own-pl-1pl.exc.
'These are our own reindeer.'

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns

2.1.2.5.1. Parameters involved in the demonstrative pronouns

2.1.2.5.1.1. Relative distance from the speaker There are only two demonstrative pronouns in Evenki *er(i)* 'this' and *tar(i)* 'that'. The distinction between these two demonstrative pronouns involves only one parameter: relative distance of the object concerned from the speaker. *Er(i)* 'this' is used if the object referred to is near the speaker, whereas *tar(i)* 'that' is used if the object referred to is not considered by the speaker to be near.

2.1.2.5.1.2–26. Other parameters involved in the demonstrative pronouns The demonstrative pronouns do not express parameters other than relative distance from the speaker (2.1.2.5.1.1), although many such distinctions might be inferred from the context in which the pronouns are used.

2.1.2.5.2. Combinations of the above parameters

No demonstrative pronouns result from the employment of the parameters given in 2.1.2.5.1.2–26 since the only relevant parameter for the Evenki demonstrative pronouns *er(i)* 'this' and *tar(i)* 'that' is relative distance of the object from the speaker.

2.1.2.5.3. Iconic variation of demonstrative pronouns

There is none.

2.1.2.5.4. Number marking on demonstrative pronouns

The means of expressing number in the demonstrative pronouns is the same as that used with nouns: suffix *-l* is added in both cases: *er* 'this' – *eri-l* 'these', *tar* 'that' – *tari-l* 'those'.

2.1.2.5.5. Class or gender marking on demonstrative pronouns

There is none.

2.1.2.5.6. Case marking on demonstrative pronouns

Case marking for demonstrative pronouns is the same as that for nouns, but without an indefinite accusative case for these pronouns:

(817)

	'this'		'that'		'these'
nom	*er*	*tar*		*eri-l*	
accd	*ere-ve*	*tara-va*		*eri-l-ve*	
dat	*e-du*	*ta-du*		*eri-l-du*	
instr	*eri-t*	*tari-t*		*eri-l-dı*	
all	*e-le*	*ta-la*		*eri-l-dule*	
locall	*er-tyki*	*tar-tyki*		*eri-l-tyki*	
abl	*e-duk*	*ta-duk*		*eri-l-duk*	
elat	*er-git*	*tar-git*		*eri-l-git*	
prol	*e-li*	*ta-li*		*eri-l-duli*	
locdir	*eri-kle*	*tari-kla*		*eri-l-ikle*	
allprol	*eri-kli*	*tari-kli*		*eri-l-ikli*	

nom	*tari-l*	'those'
accd	*tari-l-va*	
dat	*tari-l-du*	
instr	*tari-l-di*	
all	*tari-l-dula*	
locall	*tari-l-tyki*	
abl	*tari-l-duk*	
elat	*tari-l-git*	
prol	*tari-l-duli*	
locdir	*tari-l-ikla*	
allprol	*tari-l-ikli*	

2.1.2.5.7. Other categories marked in the demonstrative

No other categories are marked in the demonstrative.

2.1.2.5.8. Demonstrative pronouns used adjectivally

Demonstrative pronouns *er/eril, tar/taril* are used adjectivally. These pronouns agree in number and case as adjectival forms do, for example:

(818) Tar beje bumu-d'ere-n.
that man be.ill-prs-3sg
'That man is ill.'

Much more rarely these pronouns function as subjects, objects or adverbials:

(819) Tar hokto-li ngene-re-n.
that road-prol go-nfut-3sg
'That (man) went along the road.'

(820) Bi sin-du tara-va bu:-d'e-m.
I you-dat that-accd give-fut-1sg
'I shall give you that (object).'

(821) Tari-t bi eme-0-m.
that-instr I come-nfut-1sg
'I came because of that.'

2.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question words

2.1.2.6.1. Interrogative pronouns

2.1.2.6.1.1. List of interrogative pronouns

ngi? 'who?'
ngingɪ? 'whose?'
ekutai? 'with what?'
ekunngali? (sg)/*ekurgali?* (pl) 'with what?'/'with whom?'
ekunngachin? 'like what?'/'like whom?'
ekundyn? 'like what in size?'
ekudy? 'what kind of?'
anty? 'which?'
oki? 'how much?'/'how many?'
asun? 'how many?'
avady? 'which?'
adytal? 'by what number?'
ir? 'which?'
ekun? 'what?/who?'
ekunngi? 'whose?'
ekuchɪ? 'with what?'
ekunnun? 'with whom?'
ekupty? 'what?'/'at what time?'/'in what order?'
ekuma? 'what (pl) quality?'
ady? 'how much?'
o:kin? 'when?'
idyvu? 'which one?'
avgu? 'what?/which?' (by place)
adyra? 'how many times?'
idu? 'where?' (stative)
ile/irtyki? 'where to?'
iduk? 'where from?'

For examples of these interrogative pronouns and other question words see 1.1.1.2.2.

2.1.2.6.1.2. Number marking of interrogative pronouns Almost all interrogative pronouns may be marked for number with the exception of the pronouns *oki?, asun?, adytal?, adyra?, ekutai?* The means of expressing number in the interrogative is the same as that for nouns. The pronouns having the stem *ekun-* 'what?' in the singular change it for *eku-r?* in the plural due to the stem-final *-n* (cf. *oron* 'reindeer' – *oro-r* 'reindeer (pl)'). All the other pronouns add the plural suffix *-l* which also marks the plural in the majority of nouns, e.g. *ngi-l?* 'who (pl)?', *ekudy-l?* 'what kind of (pl)?', *ekuma-l?* 'what (pl) (quality)?', *anty-l?* 'what (pl)', *ady-l?* 'how much (pl)?', *ngingi-l?* 'whose (pl)?', *avady-l?* 'what (pl)?' *irɪ-l?* 'which (pl)?', etc.

2.1.2.6.1.3. Class/gender marking of interrogative pronouns These categories are not marked in interrogative pronouns.

2.1.2.6.1.4. Case marking of interrogative pronouns All interrogative pronouns listed in 2.1.2.6.1.1 except those possessing comitative or case markers (e.g. *eku-tai?* 'with what?', *eku-chi?* 'with what?', *ekun-nun?* 'with whom?', *ɪ-du?* (dat) 'where?', *i-duk?* (abl) 'from where?', *i-le?* (all)/*ir-tyki?* (locall) 'where to?') and also *adyra?* 'how many times?' are declined and

have the case paradigm consisting of all twelve cases. The means of expressing case in the interrogative pronouns is the same as that in nouns. The difference between the definite and indefinite accusatives of the interrogative pronouns is the same as that of nouns: the entities referred to are considered to be either definite (referential) or indefinite (non-referential). Example (822) gives case paradigms of the most frequent interrogative pronouns. The declension of other pronouns is similar to these paradigms.

(822)

nom	*ekun?* 'what?'	*eku-r?* 'what? (pl)	*ngɪ?* 'who?'
accd	*ekun-ma?*	*ekur-va?*	*ngi-ve?*
accin	*ekun-a?*	*ekur-a?*	*ngi-je?*
dat	*ekun-du?*	*ekur-du?*	*ngɪ-du?*
instr	*ekun-di?*	*ekur-di?*	*ngi-t?*
all	*ekun-dula?*	*ekur-dula?*	*ngi-le?*
locall	*ekun-tyki?*	*ekur-tyki?*	*ngi-tki?*
abl	*ekun-duk?*	*ekur-duk?*	*ngi-duk?*
elat	*ekun-ngit?*	*ekur-git?*	*ngi-git?*
prol	*ekun-duli?*	*ekur-duli?*	*ngi-li?*
locdir	*ekun-ikla?*	*ekur-ikla?*	*ngi-kle?*
allpro	*ekun-ikli?*	*ekur-ikli?*	*ngi-kli?*

nom	*ngɪ-l?* 'who? (pl)'	*ir?* 'which?'
accd	*ngi-l-ve?*	*ire-ve?*
accin	*ngi-l-e?*	***ir-e?***
dat	*ngi-l-du?*	*i-du?*
instr	*ngi-l-di?*	*iri-t?*
all	*ngi-l-dule?*	*i-le?*
locall	*ngi-l-tyki?*	*ir-tyki?*
abl	*ngi-l-duk?*	*i-duk?*
elat	*ngi-l-git?*	*ir-git?*
prol	*ngi-l-duli?*	*i-li?*
locdir	*ngi-l-ikle?*	*ir-ikle?*
allprol	*ngi-l-ikli?*	*ir-ikli?*

2.1.2.6.1.5. Other grammatical categories Other grammatical categories are not marked in the demonstrative.

2.1.2.6.1.6. Interrogative pronouns used adjectivally The following interrogative pronouns may be used adjectivally: *ekun?* 'what?', *ekunngi?* 'whose?', *ekuma?* 'what (pl) quality?', *avady?* 'what?', *avgu?* 'what?', *ekudy?* 'what kind of?', *anty?* 'what?/which?', *ady?* 'how much?'/'how many?', *adytal?* 'by what number?', *ngingi?* 'whose?', *idyvu/idygu?* 'which one?', for example:

(823) Ady-l-va d'u-l-va o:-cha-s?
how.many-pl-accd house-pl-accd make-pst-2sg
'How many houses did you build?'

(824) Avady-l tyrgani-l d'ugani-du bi-vki-l?
what-pl day-pl summer-dat be-hab.part-pl
'What kind of days do we have in summer?'/'What are the days like in summer?'

(825) Avgu-va oron-mo tyn-che-s?
what-accd reindeer-accd let.go-pst-2sg
'Which reindeer did you let out?'

2.1.2.6.2. Other question-words

There are the following question-words: *o:n?* 'how?', *o:kin?* 'when?', *evunan/eda?* 'why?'/'for what purpose?'. See 1.1.1.2.2 for examples of their use. All these words are used both in direct and indirect speech – see 1.1.2.2.4.

2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns

2.1.2.7.1. Special relative pronouns

Evenki does not have specialized relative pronouns. A large group of interrogative pronouns may also function as relative pronouns, e.g. *ngi* 'who', *anty* 'what/which', *idu* 'where', *ile* 'where to', *iduk* 'where from', *o:kin* 'when', *ekuma* 'what', *ady* 'how much'/'how many', *asun* 'how many', *ekun* 'what/who', *ngingi* 'whose', *idyvu/idygu* 'which'. See the discussion of relative clauses involving relative pronouns in 1.1.2.3.1.

2.1.2.7.1.1. Relative pronouns listed For the list of interrogative pronouns see 2.1.2.6.1.1. The majority of these can function as relative pronouns.

2.1.2.7.1.2. Number marking of relative pronouns The following relative-interrogative pronouns have the plural form: *ngi* 'who' – *ngi-l* 'who (pl)', *ekun* 'what/who' – *eku-r* 'what (pl)/who (pl)', *anty* 'what' – *anty-l* 'what (pl)', *o:kin* 'when' – *o:ki-r* 'when (pl)', *ngingi* 'whose' – *ngingi-l* 'whose (pl)'.

2.1.2.7.1.3. Class/gender marking of relative pronouns These categories are not marked in relative pronouns.

2.1.2.7.1.4. Case marking of relative pronouns Only the relative pronouns *ngi* 'who', *ekun* 'what/who', *anty* 'what', *ngingi* 'whose' are declined and have the same means of expressing case as the noun (see 2.1.2.6.1.4). Other relative pronouns are either invariable (*o:kin/o:kir* 'when', *asun* 'how many', *oki* 'how much'/'how many', *idyvu/idygu* 'which') or already have a case suffix (*i-du, i-le, i-duk*).

2.1.2.7.1.5. Other grammatical categories Other grammatical categories are not marked in relative pronouns.

2.1.2.7.1.6. Relative pronouns used adjectivally Specialized relative pronouns are lacking in Evenki. See 2.1.2.6.1.6 for interrogative pronouns used adjectivally.

2.1.2.7.2. Other relative words

These are *o:n* 'how', *eda* 'why', *etpar* 'why', *emi-val* 'because'. See 1.1.2.3.1 for examples of their use.

2.1.2.7.3. Relative pronouns corresponding to 'where' and 'when'

The words *bikit/bile/du:nne* 'place' and *teru* 'time' take relative pronouns *idu* 'where' and *o:kin* 'when' respectively.

2.1.3. Verb morphology

Verb morphology is predominantly a matter of suffixal derivation. As for verbal inflection, it is found in the system of fused tense/indicative mood markers and person/number markers occurring in pre-final and final positions respectively before any enclitics.

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

2.1.3.1.1.1. Personal passive

2.1.3.1.1.1.1. The direct object of the active as subject of the passive: This is the most common type of personal passive construction. Passive constructions differ from the corresponding active constructions only in the topicalized element: active constructions involve topicalized agents expressed by subjects, whereas personal passive constructions involve topicalized patients which are also expressed by subjects (cf. (826a) and

(826b)). Passivization is accomplished by means of the suffix *-v* (or its variants *-p/-b/-mu/-vuv/-muv/-mup* depending on the preceding or the following consonants). Active transitive verbs are the most commonly passivized, e.g. *va:-* 'kill' – *va:-v-* 'be killed', *o:-* 'make/build' – *o:-v-* 'be made'/'be built', *misɪn-* 'cut off' - *misɪn-mu* 'be cut off', *ete-* 'finish' – *ete-v-* 'be finished', *uj-* 'tie' – *ui-v-* 'be tied to', *baka-* 'find' – *baka-v-* 'be found', *ne-* 'put/lay' – *ne-v-* 'be put down'/'be laid', *ɪche-* 'see' – *ɪche-v-* 'be seen'. The direct object of the active verb appears as the subject of the derived passive verb and the subject (agent) of the active verb (if expressed at all) appears in the dative case in the corresponding passive construction. This agentive object is usually missing in personal passive constructions as it is either not known or pragmatically irrelevant ((829)–(830)):

(826) a. Hurkeken uluki-ve va:-re-n/va:-cha-n.
boy squirrel-accd kill-nfut-3sg/kill-pst-3sg
'The boy killed a squirrel.'

(826) b. Uluki (hurkeken-du) va:-v-re-n/va:-p-cha-n.
squirrel (boy-dat) kill-pass-nfut-3sg/kill-pass-pst-3sg
'The squirrel was killed (by the boy).'

(827) Oron Evenku-l-du bira daga-du-n
reindeer Evenki-pl-dat river near-dat-3sg.poss

baka-p-cha-n.
find-pass-pst-3sg
'The reindeer was found by the Evenki men near the river.'

(828) Pektyre:vun mo: hergide-du-n bejumimni-du
gun tree bottom-dat-3sg.poss hunter-dat

dy-p-che.
thrust-pass-part
'The gun was thrust (stuck) under the tree by the hunter.'

(829) Lang-il tule-p-che-l.
trap-pl set-pass-part-pl
'The traps are set.'

(830) Nungan universitet-tula ungi-p-che-n
she university-all send-pass-pst-3sg

alaguvu-l-da:-vi.
study-inch-conv-prefl
'She was sent to the university to study.'

Lately due to the influence of the Russian language the agent in personal passive constructions is sometimes expressed by the instrumental case instead of the dative, compare:

(831) Tar d'u-l bejumimni-l-di o:-v-cha-l.
that house-pl hunter-pl-instr make-pass-part-pl
'Those houses are/were built by the hunters.'

The instrumental case may be used for the expression of the inanimate agent, for example:

(832) Horoki-l avlan-du garpa-l-di
blackcock-pl glade-dat sunbeam-pl-instr

garpa-v-d'ara-0.
light.up-pass-prs-3pl
'Blackcocks (black grouse) are sunlit by sunbeams on the glade.'

The dative case may also express the instrument in personal passive constructions. In (833) the subject known from the context is omitted:

(833) (Nungartyn) e-d'enge-l n'ur-du va:-v-re
(they) neg.aux-part-pl arrow-dat kill-pass-part

o:-da-0.
become-nfut-3pl
(lit.) 'They became such people, whom it is impossible to kill with arrows.'

2.1.3.1.1.1.2. The indirect object of the active as subject of the passive: Indirect objects of such verbs as *bu:-* 'give', *gun-* 'say/tell', *ung-* 'send', *emev-* 'bring' cannot be promoted to the subject position of personal passives. The only verb which allows this type of movement is the intransitive base *eme-* 'come'. This passive construction has an adversative meaning presupposing that somebody's arrival is either dangerous or at least unpleasant. The agent in such passive constructions must be obligatorily expressed, for example:

(834) a. Homo:ty mun-dule eme-che-n.
bear we-all come-pst-3sg
'A bear came to us.'

(834) b. Bu homo:ty-du eme-p-che-l bi-si-p.
we bear-dat come-pass-part-pl be-prs-1pl.exc
(lit.) 'We are come by the bear.'/'The bear's coming is not good for us.'

2.1.3.1.1.1.3. Other constituent of the active as subject of the passive: The subject of the active may appear as subject of the passive with two intransitive verbs *eme-* 'come' and *suru-* 'go away' implying that the agent fulfils the action not on his/her own but under somebody's influence, for example:

(835) a. Asatkan tatkit-tula eme-che-n.
girl school-all come-pst-3sg
'The girl came to school.'

(835) b. Asatkan tatkit-tula (ekin-du-n)
girl school-all (elder.sister-dat-3sg.poss)

eme-p-che-n.
come-pass-pst-3sg
'The girl was brought to school (by her elder sister).'

Example (835b) means that the girl came to school not by herself, as in (835a), but with the help of her elder sister. Compare the following:

(836) a. Hovoko nekun-in suru-re-n
Hovoko younger.brother-3sg.poss go.away-nfut-3sg

Nirumn'a-l-dula.
Nirumn'a-pl-all
'Hovoko's younger brother went to the Nirumnyals' (kin's name).'

(836) b. Hovoko nekun-in suru-v-re-n
Hovoko younger.brother-3sg.poss go.away-pass-nfut-3sg

Nirumn'a-l-du.
Nirumn'a-pl-dat
'Hovoko's younger brother was led away by the Nirumnyals.'

The passive form in (836b) means that Hovoko's brother went away under the influence of some other people involved in the situation of his departure. Such passive forms as in (835b) and (836b) now seldom occur but are attested in written texts recorded in the first decades of this century. It is now more natural to derive passive forms from derived non-productive ('old') causatives, e.g., *eme-* 'come' – *eme-v-* 'bring' – *eme-vu-v-che-n* 'was brought', *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-v-* 'lead away' – *suru-vu-v-re-n* 'was led away'.

Much more frequent are personal passive constructions formed from seven intransitive weather verbs. There is a crucial semantic and syntactic difference between intransitive verbs of this type and their derivatives with the passive suffix *-v:* while the former verbs do not contain any 'animate' semantic roles in their predicate frames, the latter obligatorily

include an animate patient, i.e. the person who is subject to a certain atmospheric phenomenon considered as adversative to this person. The group of weather verbs includes the following bases and derived passive forms:

(837) a. *udun-* 'rain' → *udun-mu-* 'be caught by the rain'

(837) b. *tygde-* 'rain' → *tygde-v-* / *tygden-mu* 'be caught by the rain'

(837) c. *imanna-* 'snow' → *imanna-v-* 'be caught by the snow-storm'

(837) d. *edyn-* 'blow (of wind)' → *edyn-mu-* 'be caught by the wind'

(837) e. *dolbo-* 'become dark' / 'come (of night)' → *dolbo-v-* 'be caught by darkness' / 'be caught by night' / 'come home late at night'

(837) f. *tyrga-* 'become light' / 'come (of morning)' → *tyrga-v-* 'be caught by sun-rise'

(837) g. *ingin-* 'come (of frost)' → *ingin-mu-* 'be caught by frost'

It is ungrammatical (or at least highly marked) to use the active construction containing both the weather verb and the animate patient expressed by a nominal in one of the oblique cases. (Compare (838b) and (839b)):

(838) a. (Udun) udun-d'ere-n (the subject is usually omitted)
(rain) rain-prs-3sg
'It is raining.' (lit.) 'Rain rains.'

(838) b. *Mine-ve / min-dule udun-d'ere-n.
I-accd / I-all rain-prs-3sg
(lit.) 'It rains on me.'

(838) c. Bi udun-mu-0-m.
I rain-pass-nfut-1sg
'I got soaked in the rain.' (lit.) 'I was rained.'

(839) a. (Edyn) edyn-d'eche-n.
(wind) blow.wind-impf-3sg
'The wind was blowing.'

(839) b. ?(Edyn) min-dule / n'urikte-l-dule-n edyn-d'eche-n.
(wind) I-all / hair-pl-all-3sg.poss blow.wind-impf-3sg
(lit.) 'The wind was blowing on me / on his hair.'

(839) c. Bi (edyn-du-v) edyn-mu-d'eche-v.
I (wind-dat-1sg.poss) blow.wind-pass-impf-1sg
(lit.) 'I was blown upon by my wind.'

(839) d. N'urikte-l-in amaski edyn-du-n
hair-pl-3sg.poss backwards wind-dat-3sg.poss
edyn-muv-d'ere-0.
blow.wind-pass-prs-3pl
(lit.) 'His hair are blown backwards by the wind.'

Lexicalization is possible in case of passivization. Compare:

(840) a. Minngi dyl-iv edyn-mup-cho bi-si-n.
my head-1sg.poss blow.wind-pass-part be-prs-3sg
'My head aches because of the wind.'
(lit.) 'My head is blown upon by the wind.'

(840) b. Se:-m edyn-mup-cho bi-si-n.
ear-1sg.poss blow.wind-pass-part be-prs-3sg
'My ear aches because of the wind.'

(841) a. Dolbo-ro-n.
come.night-nfut-3sg
'Night came.'/'It became dark.'

(841) b. Bi dolbo-vu-0-m.
I come.night-pass-nfut-1sg
'I was caught by night/darkness.'/'I came home late at night.'

With weather verbs *dolbo-* 'come (of night)' (841a), *tyrga-* 'come (of morning)' and *ingin-* 'come (of frosty weather)' in the active form neither the explicit subject nor animate patient in the oblique case is possible, for example:

(842) a. Ingini-l-le-n.
become.frosty-inch-nfut-3sg
'It became frosty.'

(842) b. Ingini-v-re-n.
become.frosty-pass-nfut-3sg
'He began to feel cold.'

2.1.3.1.1.2. Impersonal passive Impersonal passive constructions, that is, constructions where no constituent appears in subject position, are formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs denoting actions of active animate agents. Thus, for instance, stative verbs, negative modal verbs and weather verbs do not form impersonal passives. Positive impersonal passives are formed by two modal impersonal participles (in *-d'AngA* and in *-vkA*). There are also three forms for the negative involving the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' (in *e-d'enge*, in *e-vke* or in *e-ngi*). All impersonal passive forms always have modal meanings: either of necessity or of (im)possibility and do not take any tense markers.

2.1.3.1.1.2.1. Impersonal passive from verbs with direct object in the active: This is the predominant type of impersonal passive. It has two forms for the positive (impersonal modal participles in *-d'AngA* or in *-vkA*) and three forms for the negative (the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' with the markers of the impersonal modal participles *e-d'enge* or *e-vke*, and the negative particle *engi* which consists of the negative auxiliary *e-* and the suffix *-ngi*, which is no longer used with other verbs). Direct objects of the active retain their accusative case marking in impersonal passive constructions, for example:

(843) a. Bejumimni umun-du tyrgani-du tunnga-va dengk'e-l-ve
hunter one-dat day-dat five-accd sable-pl-accd

va:-d'anga-n.
kill-fut-3sg
'A hunter will (be able to) kill five sables in one day.'

(843) b. Umun-du tyrgani-du tunnga-va dengk'e-l-ve va:-v-d'anga.
one-dat day-dat five-accd sable-pl-accd kill-pass-part
'It is possible to kill five sables in one day.'

(844) Kungaka-r-ve ajat alagu-vu-vka.
child-pl-accd good teach-pass-part
'It is necessary to teach children well.'

Forms in *-d'AngA* have not only impersonal use, never taking any agreement markers (cf. (843b)), but also personal use, almost always taking agreement markers (843a). Forms in *-vkA* have only impersonal use but unlike modal participles in *-d'AngA* froms in *-vkA* in this function may be used without the passive marker, for example:

(845) Er aja-va kniga-va tangi-vka/tangi-vu-vka.
this good-accd book-accd read-part/read-pass-part
'It is necessary to read this good book.'

Negative impersonal passives with preserved direct objects are also quite common. The passive marker is attached not to the negative verb but to the lexical verb which also takes the participial marker *-rA* conditioned by the presence of the negative auxiliary verb *e-* 'not to . . .', for example:

(846) Ure-du d'u-ja e-d'enge havali-v-ra.
mountain-dat house-accin neg.aux-part work-pass-part
'It is impossible to build a tent on the mountain.'

(847) Ulukikse-ve e-vke togo daga-du-n
squirrel.hide-accd neg.aux-part fire near-dat-3sg.poss
olgi-chi-v-ra.
dry-proc-pass-part
'It is impossible (not good) to dry a squirrel-hide near the fire.'

(848) Er oron-mo engi d'ava-v-ra.
this reindeer-accd impossible take-pass-part
'It is impossible to catch this reindeer.'

(849) Tar bira-va engi elbeskechi-v-re.
that river-accd impossible swim-pass-part
'It is impossible to swim across that river.'

2.1.3.1.1.2.2. Impersonal passive from verbs with an indirect object in the active: The impersonal passive from such verbs as *bu:-* 'give', *gun-* 'say/tell', *ung-* 'send' and *ichevken-* 'show' can be formed by means of one of two modal participles (in *-d'AngA* and in *-vkA*) for the positive and three negative forms involving the negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' (see 2.1.3.1.1.2). All nominals involved in impersonal passive constructions retain their case marking of the active construction, for example:

(850) Tar purta-va nungan-dun ichevken-mu-vke.
that knife-accd he-dat show-pass-part
'It is necessary to show him this knife.'

(851) Er pektyre:vun-mę bejetken-du e-d'enge bu:-v-re.
this gun-accd boy-dat neg.aux-part give-pass-part
'It is impossible (not good) to give this gun to the boy.'

2.1.3.1.1.2.3. Impersonal passive from verbs having other objects: No impersonal passive constructions formed from verbs having objects are possible other than those presented in 2.1.3.1.1.2.1 and 2.1.3.1.1.2.2.

2.1.3.1.1.2.4. Impersonal passive from verbs having no object in the active: Intransitive verbs denoting situations which involve animate agents form impersonal passive forms (both positive and negative) with the modal meanings of necessity or (im)possibility of all the five formal types (see 2.1.3.1.1.2). Such constructions always require some adverbial component, generally that of location, for example:

(852) a. Oron sungta-li singilgen-duli ngene-d'enge-n.
reindeer deep-prol snow-prol go-fut. mod.-3sg
'A reindeer will (be able to) go in deep snow.'

(852) b. Sungta-li singilgen-duli ngene-v-d'enge.
deep-prol snow-prol go-pass-part
'It is possible/necessary to go in deep snow.'

(853) Tar sektevun-du a:-v-d'anga.
that bed-dat sleep-pass-part
'It is possible/allowed/necessary to sleep on that bed (made of either an animal skin or fur, or fir-tree branches).'

(854) Er amut-tu eje-b-d'enge.
this lake-dat drown-pass-part
'It is possible to drown in this lake.'

(855) Tegemi tatkit-tula ngene-vu-vke/ngene-vke.
tomorrow school-all go-pass-part/go-part
'It is necessary to go to school tomorrow.'

Forms in *-vkA* forming only impersonal constructions may function with or without the passive marker (855). Negative impersonal passives are also quite common, for example:

(856) Tar d'av-du e-d'enge tegechi-v-re.
that boat-dat neg.aux-part sit-pass-part
'It is impossible to sit in that boat.'

(857) Levere-du e-vke ilichi-v-ra.
swamp-dat neg.aux-part stand-pass-part
'It is impossible to stand on (the surface of) the swamp.'

2.1.3.1.1.3. Expression of agent (subject of the active) in passive constructions The subject of the active in personal passive constructions can be expressed by the nominal in the dative case (826)–(828)). Much more rarely, under the influence of Russian the instrumental case is used for the expression of the agent (831). The active subject cannot be expressed in impersonal passive constructions (see 2.1.3.1.1.2.1–4).

2.1.3.1.1.4. Passive and other categories

2.1.3.1.1.4.1. Tenses and aspects with passive: The personal passive has the same tenses as the active. There are considerable restrictions on the formation of the aspectual forms of distributive/dispersive (in *-ktA*), iterative (in *-vAn/-vAt*), habitual (in *-ngnA*) and semelfactive (in *-sin/-sn/-s*) passive forms. The impersonal passive has no tense forms and has the same restrictions on formation of aspectual forms as the personal passive.

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. Distinction between dynamic and stative passive: Passive forms may denote both dynamic and stative situations. See, for example:

(830) and (832) for dynamic passive, (829) and (831) for stative passive, and (826b) and (828) for passive where both readings are possible. In general, personal passive forms have the stative meaning, for example:

(858) D'u-la-ver i:-re-0, kalan-du-tyn
house-all-prefl enter-nfut-3pl pot-dat-3pl.poss

sile ule-v-che, huju-d'ere-n.
soup cook-pass-part boil-prs-3sg
'They entered their house, soup has been cooked (= is ready) in their pot, it is boiling.'

(859) Nungan iche-re-n – d'u-n ai-p-cha,
he see-nfut-3sg –house-3sg.poss repair-pass-part

oron-in a:chin.
reindeer-3sg.poss none
'He saw that his house had been repaired, his reindeer was missing.'

(860) Asi iche-che-n- tyge-l-in typa-v-cha-l,
woman see-pst-3sg plate-pl-3sg.poss soil-pass-part-pl

usegeni-v-che-l.
throw-pass-part-pl
'The woman saw that her plates had been dirtied/dirty and scattered about.'

There is a specialized resultative form in *-chA* for the expression of the stative passive (see 2.1.3.1.2.1 and 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.4), compare the following sentences with the passive and the resultative forms expressing the same situation:

(861) a. Tadu kalan loko-v-cho bi-si-n.
there pot hang-pass-part be-prs-3sg
'There is a pot hung over there.'

(861) b. Tadu kalan loku-cha-d'ara-n.
there pot hang-res-prs-3sg
'A pot is hanging over there.'

2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing the valency of a verb

All the morphological means of decreasing the valency of a verb other than passive occur with a limited group of verb stems involving from several dozen to less than ten stems.

2.1.3.1.2.1. Formation of intransitive verb from transitive by not specifying subject There are three main suffixes other than passive which produce intransitive derivatives from the transitive bases: (a) the marker of the stative/resultative aspect *-chA*, which may be added to about 90 transitive bases (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.4); (b) the anticausative marker *-v*, homonymous with the passive marker and its variants (*-v/-p/-mu*), which may be added to about 30 transitive bases; (c) the anticausative marker *-rgA* which is added to not more than 20 transitive bases. Derivation of these three types, like the personal passive, leads to the promotion of the semantic object (direct object of the active) to subject position, but unlike personal passive constructions, the agent cannot be expressed by any of the derived verb forms in *-chA*, anticausative *-v* or *-rgA*.

2.1.3.1.2.1.1. Stative/resultative forms in *-chA*: Stative/resultative forms in *-chA* are formed, for instance, from the following transitives: *loko-* 'hang' – *loku-cha-* 'be hung'/'hang (intr)' (861), *uj-* 'tie' – *ui-che-/uju-che-* 'be tied to', *ini-* 'load something on one's back' – *ini-che-* 'be fixed to a board (used for carrying things on one's back)', *dy-* 'hide/thrust' – *dy-che-* 'be put into (a bag, etc.)', *be:-* 'put into a cradle' – *be:-che-* 'lie in a (baby's) cradle', *d'aja-* 'hide' – *d'aju-cha-* 'be hidden', *lapku-* 'insert' (e.g. a branch in a tree trunk as a sign) – *lapku-cha-* 'stick out' (e.g. of a branch as a path-marker), *lo:van-* 'hang (fish or meat on a special rope to cure in the sun)' – *lo:van-cha-* 'hang (intr) on a rope for curing', *ne:-* 'put' – *ne:-che-* 'lie'/'be put down', *elbe-* 'cover (the frame of a tent)' – *elbe-che-* 'be covered (about a tent)', *ulgun-* 'hang on a hook (about a cradle)' – *ulgun-che-* 'be hung on a hook', *udy-* 'decorate' – *udy-che-* 'be dressed up', *chakil-* 'wrap up'- *chakıl-cha-* 'be wrapped up', *anga-* 'open' – *anga-cha-* 'be open(ed)', *som-* 'close' – *somı-cha-* 'be closed', *haku-* 'close' – *haku-cha-* 'be closed', *ni:-* 'open' – *ni:-che-* 'be widely opened', *dalı-* 'close' – *dalı-cha-* 'be closed', *kata-* 'lock' – *katav-che-* 'be locked', *tyn-* 'unharness (reindeer)'/'let go' – *tyn-che-* 'graze (said of reindeer)', *chovokolot-* 'grasp' (with claws; of birds) – *chovokolot-cho-* 'be in the claws (of a bird)', *sangap-* 'make holes' – *sangap-cha-* 'have holes'/'be with holes',

(862) a. Asatkan dukuvun-ma duku-d'ara-n.
girl letter-accd write-prs-3sg
'The girl is writing a letter.'

(862) b. Tar dukuvun (*tar asatkan-di) ajat duku-cha-d'ara-n.
that letter (*that girl-instr) good write-res-prs-3sg
'That letter is written well (*by that girl).'

Stative/resultative forms are not derived from such transitives as *o·-* 'make/build', *ule-* 'cook', *d'ep-* 'eat', *va:-* 'kill', *kapu-* 'break', *bu:-* 'give', *noda·-* 'throw', *duku-* 'write' – *duku-cha-* 'be written', for example:

2.1.3.1.2.1.2. Anticausative forms in *-v/-p/-mu*: Anticausative forms in *-v/-p/-mu* are formed, for instance, from the following transitives: *mana-* 'finish' – *mana-v-/mana-p-* 'finish (intr)', *ula-* 'soak' – *ula-v-/ula-p-* 'soak (intr)', *ni-* 'open' – *ni-v-* 'open (intr)', *sukcha-* 'break' – *sukcha-v-* 'break (intr)', *das-* 'close' – *dasi-v-* 'close (intr)', *uchi-* 'twirl'/'roll up'/'wind' – *uchi-v-* 'wind (intr)', *soli-* 'mix (up)' – *soli-p-* 'become mixed up/confused', *si:-* 'put/blow out (fire)' – *si:-v-* 'go out' (of fire), for example:

(863) a. Tar beje d'av-va sukcha-ra-n.
that man boat-accd break-nfut-3sg
'That man broke the boat.'

(863) b. D'av sukcha-v-ra-n.
boat break-anticaus-nfut-3sg
'The boat broke.'

2.1.3.1.2.1.3. Anticausative forms in *-rgA*: Anticausative forms in *-rgA* are formed from the following transitive bases mostly denoting destruction or change of state, e.g. *kapu-* 'break' – *kapu-rga-* 'break (intr)', *sukcha-* 'break/destroy' – *sukcha-rga-* 'break (intr)'/'become destroyed', *beldu-* 'break' (ice, glass) – *beldu-rga-* 'break (intr)/crack' (of ice, glass), *kolto-* 'beat with a fist' – *kolto-rgo-* 'become broken', *suv-* 'untie/unbind' – *suvi-rga-* 'get untied'/'become scattered', *teke-* 'tear' – *teke-rge-* 'tear (intr)'/become torn', *telle-* 'break/destroy' – *telle-rge-* 'become broken/destroyed', *ety-* 'tear- – *ety-rge-* 'tear (intr)', *jangu-* 'break' – *jangu-rga-* 'break (intr)', *hilty-* 'tear' – *hilty-rge-* 'tear (intr)/burst/crack', *kasi-* 'tear'/'wear out' – *kasi-rga-* 'tear (intr)'/'become worn out', *luk-* 'untie' – *luki-rga-* 'come untied', for example:

(864) a. Bejetken purta-va-v sukcha-ra-n.
boy knife-accd-1sg.poss break-nfut-3sg
'The boy broke my knife.'

(864) b. Minngi purta-v sukcha-rga-ra-n.
my knife-1sg.poss break-anticaus-nfut-3sg
'My knife broke.'

A few transitive verbs may be used intransitively without any morphological changes, for example: *baldy-* 'give birth to a child'/'be born', for example:

(865) a. Asi hute-vi baldy-ra-n.
woman child-prefl give.birth-nfut-3sg
'The woman gave birth to a child.'

(865) b. Hute baldy-ra-n.
child be.born-nfut-3sg
'A child was born.'

2.1.3.1.2.2. Formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive verb by not specifying the direct object There are no clear cases of this formation implying that semantics of the subject is not affected (cf. 'He is eating fish'/'He is eating'). However, there are very few transitive stems which may function as reflexives, e.g. *av-* 'wash'/'wash oneself', *hulit-* 'warm something'/'warm oneself':

(866) a. Asatkan tyge-l-ve av-ra-n.
girl cup-pl-accd wash-nfut-3sg
'The girl washed the cups.'

(866) b. Asatkan av-ra-n.
girl wash-nfut-3sg
'The girl washed (herself).'

2.1.3.1.2.3. Formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb This occurs with a limited group of transitive stems which take the reciprocal marker *-mAt*, e.g. *gun-* 'tell/say' – *gu-met-* 'converse'/'come to an agreement', *asila-* 'marry (a woman)' – *asila-mat-* 'exchange women as wives', *detum-* 'mutter' – *detum-met-* 'quarrel' (see 1.7.1.3 for examples).

2.1.3.1.2.4. Other means of decreasing the valency of a verb There are no other means of decreasing the valency of a verb.

2.1.3.1.3. Means of increasing the valency of a verb

Evenki has a number of productive and non-productive suffixes which increase the valency of a verb.

2.1.3.1.3.1. Causative

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. Causativization of an intransitive verb: The productive causative marker is *-vkAn/-pkAn/-mukAn* which may be added both to intransitive and to transitive bases with very few restrictions conditioned by semantic reasons. (Causative forms, for instance, are not formed from weather verbs, negative modal verbs and anticausatives in *-b/-p/-mu* and in *-rgA*.) For example: *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-pken-* 'lead away'/'let someone go away', *a:sin-* 'fall asleep' – *a:sin-mukan-* 'put to bed', *il-* 'stand up' – *ilı-vkan-* 'stand something (up)'/'make someone get up/stand up':

(867) a. Asatkan suru-re-n.
girl go.away-nfut-3sg
'The girl went away.'

(867) b. Atyrkan asatkan-me suru-pken-e-n.
old.woman girl-accd go.away-caus-nfut-3sg
'The old woman made the girl go away.'

Other causative suffixes for intransitive verbs are non-productive, that is, they are attached to limited groups of bases. There are five such suffixes.

1 *-v/-p/-mu* (homonymous with the passive marker) is attached to about 50 intransitive bases, mostly denoting motion, e.g. *eme-* 'come' – *eme-v-* 'bring', *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-v-* 'lead away'/'take away', *il-* 'stand up' *-ili-v-* 'put up', *i:-* 'enter' – *i:-v-* 'bring into (the room, the house)', *ju-* 'go out' – *ju-v-* 'take out' (e.g. of the room), *ngene-* 'go' – *ngene-v-* 'carry', *aru-* 'come to life' – *aru-v-* 'revive', *tege-* 'sit down' – *tege-v-* 'seat someone down', *d'avra-* 'move in a boat' – *d'avra-v-* 'carry in a boat', *ug-* 'sit on a reindeer/horse' – *ugi-v-* 'seat someone on a reindeer/horse', *tukty-* 'go up'/'climb' – *tukty-v-* 'lift'/'carry up the hill/mountain', *muchu-* 'return' – *muchu-v-* 'return (tr)':

(868) a. Beje eme-re-n.
man come-nfut-3sg
'A/The man came.'

(868) b. Beje mo:-l-va eme-v-re-n.
man tree-pl-accd come-caus-nfut-3sg
'The man brought firewood.'

2 *-gi/-ki/-i* is attached to about 20 intransitive bases. (With a few stems it leads to the omission of the stem-final vowel.) For example, *deru-* 'get tired' – *deru-gi-* 'tire someone', *ngungne-* 'stand erect' – *ngungne-gi-* 'straighten something', *sapka-* 'get used to' – *sapka-gi-* 'train someone to (do) something', *hekul-* 'become warm/hot' – *hekul-gi-* 'make something warm/hot', *jembu-* 'become weak' – *jembu-gi-* 'weaken something', *kese-* 'worry (intr)' – *kese-gi-* 'worry (tr)', *ngeril-* 'lighten (intr)' – *ngeril-gi-* 'light something up', *d'alup-* 'become full' – *d'alup-ki-* 'fill something', *umunup-* 'unite (intr)' – *umunup-ki-* 'unite (tr)', *ulap-* 'get wet/soaked' – *ulap-ki-* 'wet/soak something', *olgo-* 'dry (intr)' – *olg-i-* 'dry something', *eje-* 'flow/drown (intr)' – *ej-i-* 'drown (tr)':

(869) a. Tyge d'alup-ta-n.
cup become.full-nfut-3sg
'The cup became full./The cup filled.'

(869) b. Asatkan tyge-ve d'alup-ki-ra-n.
girl cup-accd become.full-caus-nfut-3sg
'The girl filled the cup.'

3 *-An* is added to about a dozen intransitive bases, e.g. *korchoro-* 'pucker (intr)' – *korchoro:-n-* 'pucker (tr)', *murdure-* 'bend down (intr)' – *murdure:-n* 'bend down (tr)', *urpira-* 'bend'/'go down' – *urpira:-n-* 'lower something', *umbire-* 'become infected' – *umbire:-n-*, 'infect someone', *kotyra-* 'dry up (intr)' – *kotyra:-n-* 'overdry something', *n'okchoro-* 'bend (intr)' – *n'okchoro:-n-* 'bend something down', *eltere-* 'become visible' – *eltere:-n-* 'make visible'.

4 *-lbu* is added to about 10 intransitive bases, e.g. *somna-* 'stir (intr)' (of part of the body) – *somna-lbu-* 'stir (tr)' (of parts of the body), *tungku-* 'shake/move oneself' – *tungku-lbu-* 'shake/touch someone'.

5 *-ga* is added to less than 10 intransitive bases, e.g. *tat-* 'get used to' – *taty-ga-* 'learn'/'train someone', *baldyv-* 'be brought up' – *baldyv-ga-* 'bring up'.

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. Causativization of a transitive verb: The productive causative marker *-vkAn/-pkAn/-mukAn* is used in this function. A few transitive verb bases also take non-productive causative suffixes *-v/-p/-mu* (about a dozen bases), *-gi/-ki/-i* (not more than 5 verbs) and *-ga* (3 bases), e.g. *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-pkan-* 'make someone take/seize', *iche-* 'see' – *iche-vken-/iche-pken-* 'show', *baka-* 'find' - *baka-pkan-* 'make someone find', *um-* 'drink' - *umi-v-* 'give to drink', *tet-* 'put on (clothes on oneself)' – *tety-v-* 'dress someone'/'make someone dress', *uku-* 'suck the breast' (of a baby) – *uku-v-* 'give a baby the breast' (of a mother), *ini-* 'carry on one's back' – *ini-v-* 'load someone'/'put load on another person's back', *mede-* 'feel/notice/learn' – *mede-v-* 'inform'/'let know', *bodo-* 'follow someone' – *bodo-v-* 'make someone follow', *ir-* 'carry/drag'- *ir-uv-* 'carry/drag on a sledge behind oneself'; *ini-* 'carry on one's back' – *ini-gi-* 'fix a pack to one's back' (either a person or an animal), *sekte-* 'make the bed with branches'/'lay branches on the ground in order to make the bed' – *sekte-gi-* 'order someone to make the bed with branches'; *baldy-* 'give birth' – *baldy-ga-t-* 'bring up', *kapu-* 'break (tr)' – *kapu-ga-* 'break (tr)', *sukcha-* 'break (tr)' – *sukcha-ga-* 'break (tr)'.

The causee takes either the definite accusative (870), or the dative ((871), (872)) or the personal reflexive marker (873):

(870) Alagumni bejetken-me unta-l-va-n
teacher boy-accd fur.boot-pl-accd-3sg.poss

olgi-vkon-e-n.
dry-caus-nfut-3sg
'The teacher made the boy dry his fur boots.'

(871) Etyrken min-du uluki-l-ve ga-pkan-e-n.
old.man I-dat squirrel-pl-accd take-caus-nfut-3sg
'The old man let/made me take the squirrels.'

(872) Nungan min-du sulaki-l-ve iche-vken-e-n.
he i-dat fox-pl-accd see-caus-nfut-3sg
'He showed me foxes.'

(873) Amin-in hute-vi avun-mi baka-pkan-e-n.
father-3sg.poss child-prefl cap-prefl find-caus-nfut-3sg
'The father made his child find his fur cap.'

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. Causativization of a ditransitive verb: Ditransitive verbs (e.g. *bu:-* 'give', *ung-* 'send', *gun-* 'tell') are causativized only by means of the productive causative suffix *-vkAn/-pkAn/-mukAn*. The causee may be expressed by the definite accusative case form but it is, as a rule, omitted, for example:

(874) a. Nungan min-du oron-mo bu:-re-n.
he i-dat reindeer-accd give-nfut-3sg
'He gave me a/the reindeer.'

(874) b. Nungan (beje-ve) min-du oron-mo bu:-vken-e-n.
he (man-accd) I-dat reindeer-accd give-caus-nfut-3sg
'He made the man give me a/the reindeer.'

2.1.3.1.3.2. Formal difference depending on the agentivity of the causee Causatives from verbs of motion (and a few verbs from other semantic groups) which may take the unproductive causative marker *-v/-p/-mu* take the suffix *-vkAn/-pkAn/-mukAn* if the causation is not contact (distant), that is, if the causee who is caused to move moves on his own, but they have the suffix *-v/-p/-mu* in the case of contact causation, i.e. if the causee is moved by the causer of the movement, e.g. *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-vken-* 'make/let go away' – *suru-v-* 'lead someone/carry someone/something away', *eme-* 'come' – *eme-vken-* 'make/let come' – *eme-v-* 'bring someone/something', *il-* 'stand up' – *ili-vkan-* 'make someone stand/stop'/'wake up' – *ili-v-* 'put up' (usually said of an inanimate object), *tege-* 'sit down' – *tege-vken-* 'make/let someone sit down' – *tege-v-* 'sit someone down' (e.g. a baby), *um-* 'drink' – *umi-vkan-* '(lit.) give someone to drink' – *umi-v-* '(lit.) give to drink (by putting a glass to someone's lips)', *tet-* 'put on' – *tety-vken-* 'make/let someone dress' – *tety-v-* 'dress someone' (e.g. a baby):

(875) a. Asi hute-vi suru-pken-e-n.
woman child-prefl go.away-caus-nfut-3sg
'The woman made/let her child go away.'

(875) b. Asi hute-vi suru-v-re-n.
woman child-prefl go.away-caus-nfut-3sg
'The woman carried her child away.'

2.1.3.1.3.3. Omission of the causee The causee may be omitted if its expression is irrelevant. With ditransitive causatives ambiguity may arise if one of the objects is omitted, since the causee may also be expressed by the definite accusative case. In this case the expressed object may be understood as either the causee or the patient, for example:

(876) Nungan oro-r-vo d'evu-vken-e-n.
he reindeer-pl-accd eat-caus-nfut-3sg
a. 'He fed the reindeer.' 'He gave food to the reindeer.'
b. 'He made someone eat the reindeer.'

2.1.3.1.3.4. Other means of increasing the valency of a verb The suffix *-v/-p/-mu*, homonymous with the productive passive marker and the unproductive transitivizing marker, may increase the valency of two very restricted groups of verbs without causativization. The first group comprises three intransitive verbs of motion to which the suffix in question adds the valency involving 'means of transport(ation)': *olo-* 'go on foot across the river' – *olo-v-* 'go on horseback or on a reindeer across the river', *deg-* 'fly' – *degi-v-* 'fly in a plane/helicopter'/'fly on a magic carpet', *hukty-* 'run' – *hukty-v-* 'ride on horseback/on a reindeer', for example:

(877) a. Nungan hukty-sin-e-n.
he run-smlf-nfut-3sg
'He left running.'

(877) b. Nungan (murin-du/oron-du) hukty-vu-sin-e-n,
he (horse-dat/reindeer-dat) run-trr-smlf-nfut-3sg
'He set off at a gallop (on horseback/on a reindeer).'

The second group includes about 15 resultative forms derived from transitive bases by means of the suffix *-chA* (see 2.1.3.1.2.1 and 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.4), e.g. *loko-* 'hang (tr)' – *loku-cha-* 'hang (intr)', *uj-* 'tie' – *uju-che-* 'be tied to', *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'avu-cha-* 'hold/keep'. The suffix *-v* if added to the resultative forms in question not only opens the valency for an agent/instrument or location, depending on the meaning of the transitive base, but implies that expression of this valency is obligatory. Agentive valency should be obligatorily expressed with the stative form *duku-cha-v-* 'be written by' (< *duku-* 'write'; (878c)) if the latter takes the suffix *-v*, whereas the agent cannot be expressed with the resultative form *duku-cha-* without the suffix *-v* (878b):

(878) a. Tar beje dukuvun-ma duku-d'ara-n.
that man letter-accd write-prs-3sg
'That man is writing a letter.'

(878) b. Tar dukuvun (*tar beje-du) ajat duku-cha-d'ara-n.
that letter (*that man-dat) good write-res-prs-3sg
'That letter is written well (* by that man).'

(878) c. Tar dukuvun tar beje-du duku-cha-v-d'ara-n.
that letter that man-dat write-res-pass-prs-3sg
'That letter was written by that man.'

Instrumental valency is obligatorily required by the forms in *-v* of the resultative forms derived from such transitives as *som-* 'close', *haku-* 'close', *kata-* 'close' and *anga-* 'open':

(879) a. Nungan urke-ve (mo:-t) som-d'ara-n.
he door-accd (tree-instr) close-prs-3sg
'He is closing the door (with a stick).'

(879) b. Urke (mo:-t) somi-cha-d'ara-n.
door (tree-instr) close-res-prs-3sg
'The door is closed (with a stick).'

(879) c. *Urke somi-cha-v-d'ara-n.
door close-res-pass-prs-3sg
'The door is closed.'

(879) d. Urke mo:-t somi-cha-v-d'ara-n.
door tree-instr close-res-pass-prs-3sg
'The door is closed with a stick.'

It is impossible to add the agentive noun phrase, e.g. *nungan-du-n* (dat) 'by him' in (879b). The instrumental noun phrase *mo:-t* 'with a stick' is optional both in (879a) and in (879b), whereas it is obligatory in (879d) but cannot be changed for the agentive noun phrase, e.g. *nungan-du-n* 'by him', in (879d).

The locative valency is required by the forms in *-v* of the resultative forms in *-chA* derived from such transitive bases as *uj-* 'tie', *herke-* 'tie', *loko-* 'hang', *d'aja-* 'hide', *ne:-* 'put', *dy-* 'thrust', for example:

(880) a. Asi kalan-me loko-d'oro-n.
woman pot-accd hang-prs-3sg
'The woman is hanging the pot.'

(880) b. Kalan (tadu) loku-cha-d'ara-n.
pot (there) hang-res-prs-3sg
'A pot is hanging over there.'

(880) c. *Kalan loku-cha-v-d'ara-n.
pot hang-res-pass-prs-3sg
*'A pot is hanging.'

(880) d. Kalan usi-du loku-cha-v-d'ara-n.
pot strap-dat hang-res-pass-prs-3sg
'A pot is hanging on a strap.'

Thus, the obligatory valency of the passive forms derived from resultatives in *-chA* (e.g. *loku-cha-v-* 'be hung somewhere' (880d)) exceeds by one the obligatory valency of the non-passive resultative forms (for example: *loku-cha-* 'hang (intr)' (880b)).

2.1.3.1.4. Special reflexive and reciprocal verb forms

Specialized reflexive verb forms are lacking in Evenki. For special reciprocal forms with the suffix *-mAt/-mAch*, see 1.7.1. Special reciprocal forms have no uses other than reciprocal.

2.1.3.2. Tense

There are twelve tense forms in Evenki: eight synthetic and four analytic. Basic meanings and frequency of the tense forms are given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Basic meanings and frequency of Evenki tense forms

Time	*Tense form*	*Basic meaning*	*Narration (%)*	*Dialogue (%)*
Past	Non-future (*-rA*)	Recent past	80.0	19.0
	Past indefinite (*-chA*)	Past	7.0	23.0
	Past iterative (*-ngki*)	Past iterative	0.3	1.0
	Imperfect (*-d'AchA*)	Imperfect	1 8	4.0
	Perfect (*-chA bi-si-*)	Perfect	0 3	3.0
	Pluperfect (*chA bi-che-*)	Pluperfect	2.0	3.0
	Past habitual (*-vki bi-che-*)	Past habitual	0.2	0.0
Present	Present indefinite (*-d'ArA*)	Present	5 4	24.0
	Habitual (*-vki bi-si-*)	Present habitual	3 0	1.0
Future	Future indefinite (*-d'AngA*)	Future	0.0	1.9
	Future contact (*-d'A*)	Immediate future	0.0	20.0
	Nearest future (*-d'AllA*)	Nearest future	0 0	0.1
Total			*100.0*	*100.0*

Note Figures in the fourth and fifth columns represent percentages of 3,000 finite verb forms each for both dialogue and narration counted separately

2.1.3.2.1. Formal tense distinctions

2.1.3.2.1.1. Universal This function is expressed by the habitual participle in *-vki* and the optional auxiliary verb form *bi-si-* (*bi-* 'be' in the present tense), for example:

(881) Nelki du:nne in-in aru-vki.
in.spring earth life-3sg.poss come.to.life-hab.part
'In spring nature (lit. land's life) awakens (comes to life).'

(882) Dylacha du:nne-le garpa-d'a-vki (bi-si-n).
sun earth-all shine-impv-hab.part (be-prs-3sg)
'The sun shines above the earth.'/'The sun's rays fall on the earth.'

(883) Nungan tatkit-tu haval-d'a-vki (bi-si-n).
she school-dat work-impv-hab.part (be-prs-3sg)
'She works at school.'

Forms in *-vki* can also express the potential meaning, for example:

(884) Nungan tangi-vki bi-si-n.
he read-hab.part be-prs-3sg
a. 'She usually reads (books, etc.).'
b. 'She can read.'

2.1.3.2.1.2. Present The present-tense suffix *-d'ArA* is historically a combination of the imperfective aspect marker *-d'A* (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.2) and the non-future tense marker *-rA* (see 2.1.3.2.1.3). Now the forms in *-d'ArA* are fully grammaticalized and can themselves be added (though very seldom) to the verb stems with the imperfective marker *-d'A*, thus giving a sequence *-d'A-d'ArA-*. The basic meaning of the form in *-d'ArA* in dialogue is present progressive:

(885) E:da songo-d'oro-n?
why cry-prs-3sg
'Why is she crying?'

Forms in *-d'ArA* can also express a habitual meaning and quite often only context can help to choose the proper reading, compare:

(886) Bejumimni (esityrga/o:kin-da) agi-li girku-d'ara-n.
hunter (today/always) forest-prol walk-prs-3sg
'The hunter wanders in the forest (today/always).'

In narration the present-tense forms can also express the following meanings: meaning of simultaneity with some other situation expressed by the main verb (887); the potential meaning (887); the meaning of historic (narrative) present (888):

(887) D'u-la suru-re-n, is-ta-n. Asi bi-d'ere-n,
house-all go.away-nfut-3sg reach-nfut-3sg woman be-prs-3sg

a:-d'ere-n, asi-kakun, aja-mama ulli-d'ere-n.
sleep-prs-3sg woman-ints good-ints sew-prs-3sg
'He reached the house. A woman lives there, she was sleeping, a good woman, she is very good at sewing.'
(lit.) 'He went to the house, he reached (it). A woman lives (there), she is sleeping, a good woman, (she) sews beautifully.'

(888) Bi tynive d'u-la-vi ngene-d'eche-v, umnet
I yesterday house-all-prefl go-impf-1sg suddenly

girki-v min-dule dagama-d'ara-n, gun-d'ere-n.
friend-1sg.poss I-all approach-prs-3sg say-prs-3sg
'I was going home yesterday (when) suddenly my friend approached me and said (lit. approaches me and says . . .).'

2.1.3.2.1.3. Past

Past may be expressed by one of the seven tense aspect forms given in Table 2.1.

Non-future tense forms in *-rA* (and its variants *-lA/-tA/-A/-nA/-dA* conditioned by the final consonant of the verb stem) have four meanings: (a) aoristic (a single perfective recent past action), with verbs of achievement, accomplishment and activity; (b) present of prolonged state, with verbs of state; (c) present habitual, with verbs having the habitual aspect marker *-ngnA*; (d) past imperfective, with a few activity verbs. Meaning (a) is the most frequently realized:

(889) Ami-m eme-re-n.
father-1sg.poss come-nfut-3sg
'My father has come.'

Meaning (b) is found with forms in *-rA* derived from such verbs as *sa:-* 'know' (e.g. *sa:-re-n* 'knows'), *ajav-* 'love/like' (e.g. *ajav-re-n* 'loves/likes'), *ngele-* 'be afraid of' (e.g. *ngele-re-n* 'is afraid of'). Meaning (c) (of forms in *-ngnA-rA*) is opposed to the temporal meaning of forms in *-rA* without the habitual aspect marker *-ngna*. Compare:

(890) a. Nungartyn amin-du-ver bele-re-0.
they father-dat-prefl help-nfut-3pl
'They helped their father.'

(890) b. Nungartyn amin-du-ver bele-ngne-re-0
they father-dat-prefl help-hab-nfut-3pl

solo-s-toki-n.
boat.up.stream-smlf-conv-3sg.poss
'They always help their father when he goes upstream in a boat.'

In (890b), forms in *-ngnA-rA* compete with the habitual participle in *-vkı* (see 2.1.3.2.1.1) and with the present indefinite forms in *-d'ArA* with the habitual meaning (see 2.1.3.2.1.2).

The fourth meaning of forms in *-rA* (past imperfective) is found rather rarely with a few verbs of activity *loke jaja-* 'sing', *suru-* 'go away', *solo-* 'boat up the river', for example:

(891) Saman jaja-l-la-n, jaja-re-n, jaja-re-n,
shaman sing-inch-nfut-3sg sing-nfut-3sg sing-nfut-3sg

gun-e-n.
say-nfut-3sg
'The shaman began to sing (conjure), he sang, he sang, (then) he said . . .'

(892) Bu nadalla-va solo-ro-v.
we seven.days-accd boat.up.the.river-nfut-1pl.exc
(lit.) 'We boated up the river seven days.'

In narration, forms in *-rA* perform the narrative function, i.e. they denote chains of past actions. About 98 per cent of forms in *-rA* in narration denote brief or momentary past actions.

The past indefinite in *-chA* originated from past participles. It is characteristically used with the perfect meaning in dialogue (this constitutes about 80 per cent of its use in recorded direct speech). Less frequently forms in *-chA* express the general-factual meaning, for example:

(893) *Perfect*
Bi koj-cha-v.
I lose.way-pst-1sg
'I have lost my way.'

(894) *General-factual*
Bi-keim sin-e gun-che-v.
I-clt you-accd say-pst-1sg
'But I have told you (about it).'

In narration, forms in *-chA* are used for the expression of either brief or prolonged past situations. If the context shows that the result of the past (even recent past) action is absent in the present, then only the form in *-chA* (but not that in *-rA*) is possible, compare:

(895) Nungan eme-che-n (*eme-re-n), esikeken a:chin.
he come-pst-3sg (*come-nfut-3sg) now none
'He came (here), but now he is not here.'

Forms in *-chA* may also denote recent past situations which were not witnessed by the speaker, while forms in *-rA* denote recent past actions witnessed by the speaker. In (896a), for example, the speaker may have not seen the mother's coming, but learned it from somebody else, whereas in (896b) the speaker himself saw mother's coming:

(896) a. Eni eme-che-n.
mother come-pst-3sg
'Mother came.'

(896) b. Eni eme-re-n.
mother come-nfut-3sg
'Mother came.'

When forms in *-chA* denote past repeated situations they must have one of the aspectual markers expressing iterativity (*-ngnA* – see 2.1.3.3.2.1.3; *-vAn* – see 2.1.3.3.2.1.8; *-ktA* – see 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.1), for example:

(897) Tar beje (ketere/o:kin-da) eme-kte-che-n
that man (many.times/usually) come-dstr-pst-3sg
(*eme-che-n).
(*come-pst-3sg)
'That man came (here) (many times/usually).'

Forms in *-chA* (both finite – with the agreement markers, and participial – without the agreement markers), like forms in *-rA*, can be used in narration. In my folklore sample forms in *-rA*, *-chA* with agreement markers and *-chA* without agreement markers in narration make up 30 per cent, 3 per cent and 67 per cent respectively. (In dialogue these forms have a quite different proportion: 42 per cent, 48 per cent and 10 per cent respectively.)

(898) Asa-l do:-cha-l (do:-cha-tyn), d'u-la
woman-pl go.down-part-pl (go.down-pst-3pl) house-all
i:-che-l (i:-che-tyn).
enter-part-pl (enter-pst-3pl)
'Women went down, (and) entered the house.'

Forms in *-rA* and *-chA* very rarely co-occur in one sentence or in one narrative chain. If a speaker chooses one of these forms for narration (e.g. *-rA*) it will continue to be used throughout the narrative. If the forms co-occur then the form in *-chA* either denotes a pragmatically important result (899) or expresses a situation prior to that of the main verb (900):

(899) Atyrkan kalan-di-vi kumty-re-n, umuken
old.woman pot-instr-prefl cover-nfut-3sg alone

sulap-cha-n.
remain-pst-3sg
'The old woman covered herself with her pot, (and) remained alone.'

(900) Amarcha homo:ty-va va:-re-n on amin-in
Amarcha bear-accd kill-nfut-3sg how father-3sg.poss

gu-cha-n (*gun-e-n).
say-pst-3sg (*say-nfut-3sg)
'Amarcha killed the bear as his father had told him (to do).'

If the context shows explicitly that a situation occurred long ago then only forms in *-chA* are possible:

(901) Bejetken amin-nun-in ile-tala ngene-kte-d'eche-n,
boy father-com-3sg.poss here-there go-dstr-impf-3sg

oki-va-da kusi-r-ve iche-che-n (*iche-re-n).
many-accd-clt battle-pl-accd see-pst-3sg (*see-nfut-3sg)
'The boy travelled with his father here and there, and saw many battles.'

Verbs of achievement (unlike verbs of other Vendlerian types) can combine with adverbs of iterativity (e.g. *d'ure* 'twice', *ilara* 'three times', *adyrada* 'several times', *adyrakanme* 'seldom', *dolboltonol* 'in the evenings', *tyrganitykin* 'every day') without any aspectual markers of iterativity:

(902) a. Nungan sulaki-va va:-cha-n/va:-re-n.
he fox-accd kill-pst-3sg/kill-nfut-3sg
'He killed a/the fox.'

(902) b. Nungan d'ure (ilara/keteve/o:kin-da) sulaki-l-va
he twice (three.times/many/usually) fox-pl-accd

va:-cha-n (*va:-re-n).
kill-pst-3sg (*kill-nfut-3sg)
'He killed (many) foxes twice (three times/usually).'

Past iterative forms in *-ngki* denote repeated past situations (both actions and states). All the forms in *-ngki* optionally may take the imperfective marker *-d'A* which has no semantic influence on these forms:

(903) Bajan min-du eru-ve tety-l-ve
rich.man I-dat bad-accd clothes-pl-accd

bu:-(d'e)-ngki-n.
give-(impv)-iter.pst-3sg
'The rich man repeatedly gave me bad clothes.'

(904) Enin-mi moty-l-ve
mother-1sg.poss elk-pl-accd

va:-ngki-n/va:-d'e-ngki-n.
kill-iter.pst-3sg/kill-impv-iter.pst-3sg
'My mother many times killed elks.'

(905) Nungan tar deptyle-l-ve ajavu-ngki-n.
she that food-pl-accd like-iter.pst-3sg
'She always/usually liked this/such food.'

The marker of the imperfect tense *-d'AchA* is a combination of the imperfective aspect marker *-d'A* and the marker of the past indefinite tense *-chA*. The forms in *-d'AchA* express either the imperfective or the iterative meaning of the past situation. Only contextual factors (e.g. adverbials) help to realize one of these meanings:

(906) Nungan tynive/tyrgani-tykin mo:la-d'echa-n.
he yesterday/day-every hew.firewood-impf-3sg
'He hewed firewood yesterday/every day.'

Verbs of state can also take the imperfect tense marker:

(907) Nungan o:kin-da (*tyrgani-tykin) ile-duk
he always (*day-every) people-abl

ngele-d'eche-n.
be.afraid-impf-3sg
'He was always (*every day) afraid of people.'

There are two analytic tense forms involving the past participle in *-chA* and the auxiliary *bi-* 'be': the perfect, which requires the present tense form of this auxiliary (*bi-si-*; see (908)), and the pluperfect, which requires the past indefinite tense form of the auxiliary *bi-* 'be' (*bi-che-*; see (909)). These are discussed in 2.1.3.3.1.2 and 2.1.3.2.1.3.2 respectively.

(908) Bejumimni eme-che bi-si-n.
hunter come-part be-prs-3sg
'The hunter has come.'

(909) Ollomimni tynive eme-che bi-che-n.
fisherman yesterday come-part be-pst-3sg
'The fisherman had come yesterday.'

The past habitual tense form is also analytic: it consists of the habitual participle in *-vkɪ* and the auxiliary *bɪ-* 'be' in the past indefinite tense (*bɪ-che-*). This tense form expresses habitual situations in the past:

(910) Sulaki mo:-ja-vi mo:la-vki bi-che-n.
fox tree-accin-prefl bring.firewood-hab.part be-past-3sg
'The fox usually / repeatedly brought firewood for itself.'

The auxiliary *bɪ-* 'be' can also take the past iterative marker *-ngkɪ* but this form is a free collocation and cannot be considered a full grammaticalized analytic tense form as it seldom occurs, and there are no contexts in which it is obligatory in this function:

(911) Er bira-li nungan tuge ketere
this river-prol he in.winter many.times
girku-kta-vki bi-ngki-n.
walk-dstr-hab.part be-iter.pst-3sg
'In winter he used to walk along this river frequently.'

2.1.3.2.1.3.1. Further subdivision of past according to degree of remoteness: Past situations expressed by non-future forms in *-rA* are conceived as more recent with reference to the moment of speech by comparison with past situations expressed by other past tenses (e.g. forms in *-chA* and *-ngkɪ*), compare:

(912) a. Iduk eme-che-s? Bi eme-che-v ugi-git.
from.where come-pst-2sg I come-pst-1sg above-elat
'Where have you come from?' 'I have come from above.'

(912) b. Iduk eme-0-nni? Bi eme-0-m ugi-git.
from.where come-nfut-2sg I come-nfut-1sg above-elat
'Where have you come from?' 'I have come from above.'

The choice of (912a) or (912b) is conditioned by the degree of proximity of the past event to the moment of speech, and is largely subjective: both forms in *-rA* and forms in *-chA* can combine with adverbs *tynɪve* 'yesterday' (except for those forms in *-rA* from verbs of state which express the present meaning), *tynɪve chagudu* 'the day before yesterday', *umnet* 'suddenly', but only forms in *-chA* combine with adverbs *gorodu* 'long ago', *tyngaringna* 'last year':

(913) a. Nungan tynive eme-che-n / eme-re-n.
he yesterday come-pst-3sg / come-nfut-3sg
'He came yesterday.'

(913) b. Nungan gorodu eme-che-n (*eme-re-n).
he long.ago come-pst-3sg (*come-nfut-3sg)
'He came long ago.'

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Relative past-tense markers: The pluperfect analytic form in *-chA bi-che-* consisting of the past participle and the auxiliary *bi-* 'be' in the past indefinite tense denotes past-in-the-past or perfect-in-the-past situations:

(914) Tyma:tne bi iche-ne-che-v berken-mi,
in.the.morning I see-go-pst-1sg cross.bow-prefl

tari-ngi-v tylpe-che bi-che-n. Munnukan
that-poss-1sg.poss loosen-part be-pst-3sg hare

hanga-d'ene suru-che bi-che-n.
bleed-conv go.away-part be-pst-3sg
(lit.) 'In the morning I went to see (and check) my cross-bow. It (lit. that-mine) was loose (i.e. had shot). The hare bleeding had gone away.'

Passive participles are frequent in this tense form denoting the resultative meaning, that is, the state of an object which is a result of a prior action:

(915) Locho:ko-l-tyn igd'ama-duk tergekse-duk
saddle-pl-3pl.poss yellow-abl leather-abl

o:-v-cha-l bi-che-tyn.
make-pass-part-pl be-past-3pl
'Their saddles were made of yellow leather.'

2.1.3.2.1.4. Future Three suffixes indicate future tense: *-d'A*, *-d'AngA* and *-d'AllA*.

2.1.3.2.1.4.1. Modal and/or aspectual values of future forms: No explicit modal value is attached to the forms *-d'A* and *d'AllA*. *-d'AngA* expresses categoricity or assuredness. These future forms have no definite aspectual values.

2.1.3.2.1.4.2. Subdivision of future forms according to degree of remoteness: The three future tense forms are described by informants (and in grammars) in terms of the degree of proximity of a future situation to the moment of speech, but this degree of proximity is subjective. The speaker evaluates the future situation as due to occur in the nearest (*-d'AllA*), near (*-d'A*) or any future period or moment of time. All forms freely substitute for each other in most contexts, but different future forms cannot co-occur in one sentence. Each combines with the adverbs *esitken* 'and now', *esikeken* 'in a minute'/'in a moment', *amakan* 'soon', *dolboltono* 'tonight', *tyma:tne* 'in the morning', *tegeltene* 'in the morning'/'tomorrow morning', *tegemi chagudu* 'the day after tomorrow'. It should be noted that the higher

the degree of formal complexity (*-d'A* → *-d'A-ngA* → *-d'A-l-lA*) the lower their frequency in texts (20 per cent – 1.9 per cent – 0.1 per cent respectively).

Future tense forms in *-d'A* are the most frequent for the expression of future situations:

(916) Bi sin-e ngene-b-d'e-m.
I you-accd go-caus-fut-1sg
'I shall take you away.'

Future tense forms in *-d'AngA* (based on future participles) taking agreement markers express either a purely temporal meaning of the future, or a future situation with various modal connotations, most frequently – assuredness or necessity (see 2.1.3.5):

(917) Mit bajandi-tmar-il engesi-tmer-il o:-d'anga-t.
we rich-cmpr-pl strong-cmpr-pl become-fut-1pl.inc
'We must become richer and stronger.'

Future forms in *-d'AllA* denote future situations conceived as nearest to the moment of speech, which are on the point of taking place:

(918) a. Esitken eme-d'eli-m.
in.a.moment come-fut-1sg
'I shall come in a moment.'

(918) b. Tygde-l-d'elle-n.
rain-inch-fut-3sg
'It will rain in a moment.'

2.1.3.2.1.4.3. Relative future: Analytic forms consisting of the past participle in *-chA* and the future tense form of the auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be' (*bi-d'enge-*) are used in the function of future perfect:

(919) Bi tyma:tne d'ur chasi-du eme-che bi-d'enge-v.
I tomorrow two hour-dat come-part be-fut-1sg
'Tomorrow by two o'clock I shall have already arrived (lit. come).'

2.1.3.2.2. Tense distinctions obtaining in moods and non-finite forms

Tense distinctions presented above (see 2.1.3.2) obtain only in one mood – the indicative, and do not obtain in non-finite forms. For non-finite (e.g. converbal and participial) verb forms, tense (or rather taxis) distinctions are not absolute but relative to another situation and involve such meanings as simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority.

2.1.3.2.3. The absolute/relative nature of tenses

2.1.3.2.3.1. Mood Tenses in the indicative mood are absolute in the majority of cases. The relative nature of some of the present tense forms in narration is discussed in 2.1.3.2.1.2. Past and future tenses are always absolute. Tenses do not obtain in other moods (see 2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3).

2.1.3.2.3.2. Finiteness Tense forms do not obtain in non-finite forms. The latter may express relative tense meanings, e.g. simultaneity and anteriority (see 1.1.1.1, 1.1.2.2, 1.1.2.4.2, 1.1.2.4.3).

2.1.3.2.3.3. Main vs subordinate clause Past and future are always absolute both in main and in subordinate clauses involving finite verb forms. The present indefinite tense may express the relative temporal meaning of simultaneity with some other situation (see 2.1.3.2.1.2), but this is rare.

2.1.3.3. Aspect

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect

2.1.3.3.1.1. Perfect aspect There is no specialized derivational verb morpheme expressing perfect aspect. The perfect meaning (present relevance of a past situation) is expressed by the analytic form *-chA bi-* consisting of the past participle in *-chA* and the auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be', taking the present tense marker (*bi-si-*).

2.1.3.3.1.2. Tenses of the perfect aspect form The auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be' of the analytic perfect form can take three tense markers – *chA* (producing the pluperfect – see 2.1.3.2.1.3.2), *-d'AngA* (producing the future perfect – see 2.1.3.2.1.4.3), and *-sı* producing the present perfect. The basic meaning of the present perfect (*-chA bi-si-*) is that of indicating the present relevance of a past situation:

(920) Bi tara e-ne sa:-ra duku-cha bi-si-m.
I that neg.aux-conv know-part write-part be-prs-1sg
'I have written it without knowing that.'

(921) Bi guni-0-m, ilan-ma anngani-l sokor-cho bi-si-n.
I say-nfut-1sg three-accd year-pl lose-part be-prs-3sg
'I say (that he) has been (lit. is) lost for three years.'

The perfect forms in *-chA bı-si-* do not combine with adverbs like *d'ure* 'twice', *ilara* 'three times', *o:kin-da* 'always/often/usually', whereas these adverbs freely combine with pluperfect forms:

(922) a. Nungan ulle-ve (*d'ure; *o:kin-da) loko-cho bi-si-n.
she meat-accd (*twice; *often) hang-part be-prs-3sg
'She has (lit. is) hung the meat (*twice; *often/*usually).'

(922) b. Nungan ulle-ve (d'ure/o:kin-da) loko-cho bi-che-n.
she meat-accd (twice/often) hang-part be-prs-3sg
'She had hung the meat (twice/usually).'

2.1.3.3.1.3. Functions of perfect

2.1.3.3.1.3.1. Present result of a past situation: This is the main function of the perfect forms (see (908), (921), (922)).

2.1.3.3.1.3.2. General-factual meaning: The perfect forms can express the general-factual meaning, that is, a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present:

(923) Bejetken d'uga homo:ty-va iche-che bi-si-n.
boy in.summer bear-accd see-part be-prs-3sg
'The boy has seen a bear in summer.'

2.1.3.3.1.3.3. Past situation which is still continuing: Perfect forms in *-chA bi-si-/bi-che-* cannot indicate a situation that began in the past and is still continuing.

2.1.3.3.1.3.4. Other functions: Perfect forms cannot indicate either a situation completed a short time ago or a situation that will shortly be completed.

2.1.3.3.1.4. Expression of perfect aspect and recent past tense There are no similarities between the expression of perfect aspect (*-chA bi-*) and recent past tense (*-rA*).

2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation

There are about 10 productive suffixes concerned with aspect as different ways of viewing the duration of a situation (see 2.1.3.3.2.2.2 for their relative position and suffix-ordering rules). These suffixes may be added to any semantically suitable verbal stem but none of them represents an obligatory category.

2.1.3.3.2.1. Formally marked aspects

2.1.3.3.2.1.1. Perfective (aoristic) aspect: This category is lacking.

2.1.3.3.2.1.2. Imperfective aspect: The suffix *-d'A* indicates imperfective aspect opposed to common (not perfective!) aspect. The latter is unmarked, i.e. 'pure' verb bases are of common aspect, e.g. *girku-* 'go' – *girku-d'a-* 'go for some time', *haval-* 'work' – *haval-d'a-* 'work for some time', *ngene-* 'go' – *ngene-d'e-* 'go for some time', *va:-* 'kill' - *va:-d'e-* 'kill'/'hunt/kill repeatedly':

(924) a. Beje agi-tki girku-d'a-n.
man forest-locall go-fut-3sg
'The man will go to the forest.'

(924) b. Beje agi-tki girku-d'a-d'a-n.
man forest-locall go-impv-fut-3sg
'The man will be going to the forest.'

The imperfective marker *-d'A* with verbs denoting momentary actions expresses iterative meaning, e.g. *asaga-* 'flap (once with the wings)' – *asagi-d'a-* 'flap (many times with the wings)', *mikchan-* 'jump (once)' – *mikchan-d'a-* 'jump (several times)', *nasana-* 'wave (once with a hand)' – *nasana-d'a-* 'wave (with a hand several times)', *gillen-* 'flash/glitter' (momentarily) – *gillene-d'e-* 'sparkle/glitter (for some time)', *hogin-* 'kick (once)' – *hogni-d'a-* 'kick (repeatedly several times)', *noda:-* 'throw' – *nodu-d'a-* 'throw several times'/'throw here and there'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. Habitual aspect: This aspect is expressed by the specialized suffix *-ngnA* (compare the habitual participle in *-vki;* see 2.1.3.2.1.1). The habitual aspect marker can be added to almost any verb base without any restrictions. With the non-future tense marker *-rA* the habitual marker *-ngnA* changes the temporal characteristics of the verb form from recent past to the present habitual:

(925) a. Bu enin-du-ver bele-re-v.
we mother-dat-prefl help-nfut-1pl.exc
'We helped our mother.'

(925) b. Bu enin-du-ver bele-ngne-re-v.
we mother-dat-prefl help-hab-nfut-1pl.exc
'We usually/always help our mother.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. Continuous aspect: The affix *-t* (and its variant *-chi* before some affixes, e.g. the ingressive marker *-l*) is the continuous aspect marker, i.e. it expresses non-habitual imperfective meaning, e.g. *tege-* 'sit down' – *tege-t-* 'sit for a while'/'be sitting', *il-* 'stand up' - *il-it-* 'stand for a while'/'be standing', *doldy-* 'hear' – *doldy-t-* 'be listening', *iche-* 'see' – *iche-t-* 'watch'/'be looking at', *togo-* 'lie down' – *togo-t-* 'lie for a while', *ollomo-*

'fish' - *ollomo-t-* 'be fishing for some time', *d'ogo-* 'need' – *d'ogo-t-* 'need for some time':

(926) Asatkan d'u-du tege-t-chere-n.
girl house-dat sit.down-cont-prs-3sg
'The girl is sitting at home.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. Progressive aspect: There is no specialized suffix for progressive aspect. This function is expressed by the tense forms containing the imperfective marker *-d'A*: present in *-d'ArA*, imperfect in *-d'AchA* and future in *-d'AngA*. Forms in *-d'ArA* and *-d'AchA* may also express habitual situations (see 2.1.3.2.1.2 and 2.1.3.2.1.3).

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. Ingressive aspect: The affix *-l* is the only specialized marker expressing this meaning. This affix can be added to almost every verb base, e.g. *d'ev-* 'eat' – *d'evu-l-* 'begin to eat', *ıke-* 'sing' – *ıke-l-* 'begin to sing', *haval-* 'work' – *havali-l-* 'begin to work', *duku-* 'write' – *duku-l-* 'begin to write', *enu-* 'be ill' – *enu-l-* 'fall ill', *ngele-* 'be afraid' – *ngele-l-* 'get frightened', *tyku-* 'be angry' – *tyku-l-* 'get angry', *gelekte-* 'look for' – *gelekte-l-* 'begin looking for', *deg-* 'fly' – *degi-l-* 'start flying', *tygde-* 'rain' – *tygde-l-* 'begin raining', *iche-* 'see' – *iche-l-* 'begin to see', *iche-v-* 'be seen' – *iche-vu-l-* (lit. 'begin to be seen') 'become visible'/'appear', *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-l-* 'start going', *ba:-* 'not to want' – *ba:-l-* 'begin not to want', *hanngukta-* 'ask' – *hanngukta-l-* 'begin asking', *d'egde-* 'burn' – *d'egde-l-* 'begin to burn'.

The ingressive marker belongs to the group of the most frequent derivational verbal suffixes. Sometimes its use seems to be redundant:

(927) Asa-l eme-re-0/eme-l-le-0.
woman-pl come-nfut-3pl/come-inch-nfut-3pl
'Women came.'

(928) Beje kongko-ro-n/kongko-l-lo-n.
man knock-nfut-3sg/knock-inch-nfut-3sg
'A/The man knocked (began knocking) at the door.'

Compare:

(929) Bi edu haval-il-cha-v, ollomi-l-cha-v,
I here work-inch-pst-1sg fish-inch-pst-1sg
mo:la-l-cha-v.
bring.firewood-inch-pst-1sg
'I began to work here, began to fish and began to bring firewood.'

(930) Dolbo ingini-l-le-n, tygde-l-le-n.
at.night become.cold-inch-nfut-3sg rain-inch-nfut-3sg
'At night it became cold and it began to rain.'

(931) Sulaki etyrken-du bi-l-le-n.
fox old.man-dat be-inch-nfut-3sg
'The fox began to live at the old man's place.'

With a very few verb stems the ingressive meaning may also be expressed by means of the semelfactive aspect marker *-sin* (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.9), e.g. *a:-* 'sleep' – *a:-sin-* 'fall asleep' / 'begin sleeping' (the stem *a:-* 'sleep' unexpectedly does not take the ingressive marker *-l*, i.e. the derived stem *a:-l-* is unattested), *d'avra-* 'go by boat' – *d'avra-sin-* 'start going by boat', *tuksa-* 'run' – *tuksa-sin-* 'begin running', *ngene-* 'go' – *ngene-sin-* 'start going' / 'set out'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.7. Terminative aspect: This aspect is lacking.

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. Iterative aspect: This aspect is expressed by the suffix *-vAn* (*-vAt* before affixes having initial consonants *t-*, *ch-*) which can be added to the majority of verb bases: *loko-* 'hang (tr)' – *loko-vot-* 'hang repeatedly', *girku-* 'walk' – *gorku-van-* 'walk many times'. A few stems do not take this suffix, e.g. negative modal verbs and some verbs of state: *he-* 'be unable' / 'not to dare', *ba:-* 'not to want', *ilit-* 'be standing'.

(932) a. Girki-v min-du oro-r-vi bu:-re-n.
friend-1sg.poss I-dat reindeer-pl-prefl give-nfut-3sg
'My friend gave me his reindeer.'

(932) b. Girki-v min-du oro-r-vi bu:-vet-te-n.
friend-1sg.poss I-dat reindeer-pl-prefl give-iter-nfut-3sg
'My friend gave me his reindeer several times/more than once.'

Some verbs of motion with the iterative aspect marker express iterative actions involving more than one object which leads to the distributive interpretation of such forms, cf.: *juv-* 'carry out (of the house)' – *juv-vet-* 'carry something out (of the house) several times', (i.e. 'carry out several objects'), *i:v-* 'carry/bring into (the room, the house)' – *iv-vet-* (lit.) 'carry/bring into (the room, the house) several times' (i.e. 'carry/bring into (the room, the house) several objects'):

(933) a. Nungan mo:-l-va i:v-re-n.
he tree-pl-accd bring.into-nfut-3sg
'He brought firewood into the house.'

(933) b. Nungan mo:-l-va i:v-vet-te-n.
he tree-pl-accd bring.into-iter-nfut-3sg
'He brought firewood into the house several times.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.9. Semelfactive aspect: Some of the derived forms below may also be treated perhaps as punctual aspect forms. Suffix *-sin* (and its contracted forms *-sn/-s* used in rapid speech and with verb stems consisting of more than one syllable) is the only means of expressing this, e.g. *agdy-* 'thunder' – *agdy-sin-/agdy-s-* 'thunder briefly (lit. momentarily)', *ana-* 'push' – *ana-sin-* 'give a push', *arpul-* 'wave (with a hand)' - *arpuli-s-* 'make a wave', *ikegde-* 'hiccup' – *ikegde-sɪn-* 'hiccup once', *inekte-* 'giggle' – *inekte-s-* 'giggle once', *gogo-* 'bark' – *gogo-sin-* 'bark once', *jeke-* 'shout' – *jeke-s-* 'cry out momentarily', *kingi-* 'tinkle' – *kingɪ-s-* 'produce a tinkle', *kongko-* 'knock' – *kongko-s-* 'knock once', *silgin-* 'shiver' – *sɪlgi-sin-* 'shiver once', *sivuta-* 'whisper' – *sivuta-sin-/sivuta-s-* 'whisper briefly (lit. momentarily)', *simkit-* 'cough' – *simki-sin-* 'cough once', *mikchan-* 'jump' – *mikcha-sin-/mikcha-s-* 'jump once', *tokto-* 'hew/hack' (firewood) – *tokto-sin-/tokto-s-* 'hew once', *chonki-* 'peck' – *chonki-s-* 'peck once', *emuket-* 'swing' – *emuke-sin-* 'swing once', *eri-* 'breathe/sigh' – *eri-sin-/eri-s-* 'breathe once'/'heave (lit. make) a sigh'. Semelfactive forms in *-sin* are formed from approximately 50 multiplicative verbs, for example: verbs of phonation, phosphorescent phenomena or motion:

(934) a. Agdy agdy-ra-n.
thunder thunder-nfut-3sg
'It has just been thundering.'

(934) b. Agdy agdy-s-ta-n.
thunder thunder-smlf-nfut-3sg
'There has just been a thunderclap.'

(935) a. Nungan nga:le-t-vi arpul-la-n.
she hand-instr-prefl wave-nfut-3sg
'She waved with her hand.'

(935) b. Nungan nga:le-t-vi arpuli-s-ta-n.
she hand-instr-prefl wave-smlf-nfut-3sg
'She waved with her hand once.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.10. Punctual aspect: A specialized marker for this function is lacking. However, see 2.1.3.3.2.1.9.

2.1.3.3.2.1.11. Durative aspect: There is no specific marker for durative aspect.

2.1.3.3.2.1.12. Simultaneous aspect: Simultaneity with some other situation can be expressed only by converbs (see 2.1.3.5).

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. Other aspects: Other aspectual affixes include: *-ktA* – dispersive aspect; *-ty* – distributive aspect; *-mAlchA* – aspect of quick action; *-chA* – resultative/stative aspect. There are also very restricted groups of non-productive derivatives expressing iterative and multiplicative meanings.

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.1. Dispersive aspect

The suffix *-ktA*, expresses the dispersive meaning ('here and there'/'to and fro'/'in different directions'). Depending on the lexical meaning of verbs this suffix may also express either distributive or multiplicative meanings. The suffix *-ktA* most frequently is added to verbs of motion, more rarely to verbs of other semantic groups, e.g. *d'avra-* 'go by boat' – *d'avra-kta-* 'travel by boat in different places', *degi-* 'fly' – *degi-kte-* 'fly here and there, in different places', *girku-* 'walk' – *girku-kta-* 'walk here and there', *nulgi-* 'travel' – *nulgi-kte-* 'travel in different places', *tuksa-* 'run' – *tuksa-kta-* 'run here and there'/'run in different places', *beju-* 'hunt' – *beju-kte-* 'hunt in different places', *sura-* 'ask' – *sura-kta-* 'ask (several questions, or several persons)':

(936) a. Nginaki-r d'ule-du-v girku-d'acha-tyn.
dog-pl in.front-dat-1sg.poss go-impf-3pl
'The dogs were running in front of me.'

(936) b. Nginaki-r d'ule-du-v girku-kta-d'acha-tyn.
dog-pl in.front-dat-1sg.poss go-dstr-impf-3pl
'The dogs were running to and fro in front of me.'

There are about 24 verbs (those of motion and phonation) which can express repeated action. These take the suffix *-ktA*: *ana-* 'push' – *ana-kta-* 'push several times', *nasana-* 'wave (with a hand once)' – *nasana-kta-* 'wave (with a hand) several times', *in'e-* 'laugh' (briefly) – *in'e-kte-* 'smile for some period of time'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.2. Distributive aspect

The affix *-t(y)* expresses this function with verbs of motion, fixing or attaching an object somewhere (not more than 100 verbs), e.g. *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-ty-* 'take/seize several objects one by one', *buri-* 'lose' – *buri-t-* 'lose several objects one by one', *bu:-* 'give' – *bu:-t-* 'give (several objects to several people)', *ga-* 'take/receive' – *ga-t-* 'take away several objects', *loko-* 'hang' – *loko-t-* 'hang several objects', *luptu-* 'pull out/pluck (a feather)' – *luptu-t-* 'pull out/pluck feathers', *lo:van-* 'hang (meat or fish for drying)' – *lo:va-t-* 'hang (pieces of meat or fish for drying) here and

there, in different places', *garpa-* 'shoot (with an arrow)' – *garpa-t-* 'shoot (with arrows many times)'/'kill (many people with arrows)', *kasi-* 'tear' – *kasi-t-* 'tear (several objects or one object in several places)', *ne:-* 'put' – *ne:-t-* 'put (several objects in different places one by one)', *ij-* 'tie' – *uj-ty-* 'tie/bind (several objects)', *va:-* 'kill' – *va:-t-* 'kill (several people or animals one by one)', *tyn-* 'unleash' – *ty-t-* 'unleash (several dogs, reindeer or horses)':

(937) a. Asi hulla-va loko-ro-n.
woman blanket-accd hang-nfut-3sg
'The woman hung a blanket.'

(937) b. Asi hulla-l-va loko-t-to-n.
woman blanket-pl-accd hang-dstr-nfut-3sg
'The woman hung blankets in different places/here and there.'

(938) a. Bejumimni ulle-ve lo:van-e-n.
hunter meat-accd hang.for.drying-nfut-3sg
'The hunter hung meat for drying.'

(938) b. Bejumimni ulle-ve (ulle-l-ve)
hunter meat-accd (meat-pl-accd)

lo:va-t-te-n.
hang.for.drying-dstr-nfut-3sg
'The hunter hung meat for drying in different places.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.3. Aspect of quick action

This aspect is expressed by the suffix *-mAlchA*, e.g. *tuksa-* 'run' – *tuksa-malcha-* 'run quickly', *il-* 'stand up' – *il-malcha-* 'stand up quickly', *ju-* 'go out (e.g. of the house)' – *ju-melche-* 'go out quickly'/'rush out', *hing-* 'skin (an animal)' – *hig-melche-* 'skin (an animal) quickly', *sa:-* 'know/learn' – *sa:-malcha-* 'get to know quickly/suddenly/immediately':

(939) Bejetken il-malcha-ra-n,
boy stand.up-quickly-nfut-3sg

tuksa-s-malcha-ra-n.
run-smlf-quickly-nfut-3sg
'The boy quickly got up and set out running quickly.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.4. Resultative/stative aspect

This aspect is expressed by the suffix *-chA*, which may also be used for decreasing the valency of a transitive verb (see 2.1.3.1.2.1). A number of verb bases in the resultative form undergo a morphonological change, e.g.

loko- 'hang (tr)' – *loku-cha-* 'hang (intr)', *uj-* 'tie' – *uju-che-* 'be tied to', *ugir-* 'lift' – *ugiri-che-* 'hold in a lifted position'. The resultative/stative forms are of three syntactic types: (a) derived from intransitive verb bases with the subject of the resulting state coreferential with the subject of a prior action (940); (b) derived from transitive verb bases with the subject of the resultative construction coreferential with the object of the basic actional construction (941); and (c) derived from transitive verb bases with the subject of the resultative construction coreferential with the subject of the basic non-resultative construction (942):

(940) a. Beje oron-dula ug-d'ara-n.
man reindeer-all sit-prs-3sg
'The man is mounting a reindeer.'

(940) b. Beje oron-du ugu-cha-d'ara-n.
man reindeer-dat sit-res-prs-3sg
'The man is sitting on (is astride) a reindeer.'

(941) a. Asi kalan-me loko-d'oro-n.
woman pot-accd hang-prs-3sg
'The woman is hanging a pot.'

(941) b. Kalan tadu loku-cha-d'ara-n.
pot there hang-res-prs-3sg
'The/A pot is hanging (hangs) there.'

(942) a. Bejetken mo:kan-me d'ava-d'ara-n.
boy stick-accd take-prs-3sg
'The boy takes (is taking) a stick.'

(942) b. Bejetken mo:kan-me d'avu-cha-d'ara-n.
boy stick-accd take-res-prs-3sg
'The boy holds (is holding) a stick.'

All resultative/stative forms freely collocate with adverbials of duration:

(943) Iche-re-0– murin-tyn mo:-duk bega
see-nfut-3pl – horse-3pl.poss tree-abl month

dulin-ma-n uju-che-d'ere-n.
half-accd-3sg.poss tie-res-prs-3sg
'They saw (that) their horse had been tied to a tree for a fortnight/two weeks (lit. half a month).'

Intransitive resultative forms derived from transitive bases which mainly express fixing or attaching an object somewhere with the subject of the resultative construction coreferential with the object of the basic actional construction (941) are given in 2.1.3.1.2.1. The most frequent of

them are derived forms *loku-cha-* 'hang (intr)' (from *loko-* 'hang (tr)' and *uju-che-* 'be tied to' (from *uj-* 'tie'):

(944) Tar ekun irgi-du-s uj-che-re-n?
that what tail-dat-2sg.poss tie-res-nfut-3sg
'What is tied to your tail?'

There are no more than 30 intransitive resultative/stative forms derived from intransitive verbs of motion and emotion, e.g. *ug-* 'mount (a reindeer, horse)' – *ugu-cha-* 'ride, sit on (a reindeer, horse)', *urin-* 'pitch a nomad camp' – *urin-che-* 'live in a nomad camp', *n'urkun-* 'stumble and fall' – *n'urkun-cha-* 'be lying prone after falling down', *nengi-* 'bend (oneself)' – *nengu-che-* 'be in a bent position', *chuchin-* 'stand up on hind paws' – *chuchin-che-* 'stand on hind paws', *kaptara-* 'prostrate oneself' – *kaptaru-cha-* 'lie flat against the ground', *do:-* 'perch' (e.g. of a bird) – *do:-cha-* 'be perching' (e.g. of a bird), *itka-* 'acquire a steady position (before shooting an arrow or firing a gun)' – *itku-cha-* 'stand (with one's bow or gun ready to shoot)'/'be pointing a gun', *sirkun-* 'stretch one's legs (sitting or lying on the ground)' – *sirkun-cha-* 'sit or lie with one's legs stretched', *chekchehin-* 'squat (oneself) down' – *chekchehin-che-* 'be squatting', *ju-* 'go out' – *ju-che-* 'be visible'/'stick out', *ongkan-* 'fall down on one's back' – *ongkan-che-* 'lie on one's back', *bali-* 'go blind'/'shut one's eyes' – *bali-cha-* 'have one's eyes shut', *lavan-* 'put its tongue out (of a dog)' – *lavan-che-* 'have its tongue hanging out', *avla-* 'put a cap on' – *avla-che-* 'be with one's cap on'/'have a cap on', *tykul-* 'get angry' – *tykul-cha-* 'be angry', *jon-* 'become surprised' – *jon-cha-* 'be surprised', *bolgo-* 'get frightened' – *bolgo-cho-* 'be frightened'/'be afraid', *ajiv-* 'eat one's fill' – *ajiv-cha-* 'be full up (with eating)':

(945) Degi-l mo:-du do:-cha-d'ara-0.
bird-pl tree-dat perch-res-prs-3pl
'Birds are perching in the tree.'

(946) a. Atyrkan ajiv-cha-n.
old.woman be.satisfied.with.eating-pst-3sg
'The old woman has eaten her fill.'

(946) b. Atyrkan ajiv-cha-cha-n.
old.woman be.satisfied.with.eating-res-pst-3sg
(lit.) 'The old woman was full with eating.'

Transitive resultative/stative forms having subjects coreferential with the subjects of the basic non-resultative constructions are derived from not more than 20 transitive bases, e.g. *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'avu-cha-* 'hold in one's hand'/'keep (reindeer, household)', *kumle-* 'take in one's arms' – *kumle-che-* 'hold in one's arms', *ne:-* 'put down' – *ne:-che-* 'keep/store', *ugir-* 'lift/raise' – *ugiri-cha-* 'hold high (raised)', *tet-* 'put on (clothes)' –

tety-che- 'wear (clothes)', *dungki-* 'lower one's head' – *dungki-che-* 'keep one's head lowered', *nimni-* 'shut one's eyes' – *nimni-che-* 'keep one's eyes shut', *d'on-* 'recollect' – *d'on-cha-* 'remember', *mede-* 'feel' – *medu-che-* 'feel (over a period of time)', *doldy-* 'hear' – *doldy-cha-/dol-cha-* 'listen', *tyl-* '(come to) understand' – *tyli-che-* 'understand':

(947) a. Kungakan dyl-vi dungki-re-n.
child head-prefl lower-nfut-3sg
'The child lowered his/her head.'

(947) b. Kungakan dyl-vi dungki-che-re-n.
child head-prefl lower-res-nfut-3sg
'The child holds his/her head lowered.'

In a few cases it is hard to discern the semantic relation 'action > state' between the base form and that with the resultative marker, cf.: *derumki-* 'have a rest' – *derumki-che-* 'rest', *it-* 'growl' (e.g. of an animal) – *it-che-* 'growl', *kampa-* 'be/come in time' – *kampu-cha-* 'be ready'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.5. Non-productive iterative/multiplicative forms

There are two unproductive morphological means of forming derived verb stems with either the iterative or the multiplicative meaning: (a) suffix *-lbu*, e.g. *chimbuso-* 'shake one's head' – *chimbu-lbu-* 'shake one's head several times', *kongana-* 'ring (the bell)' – *konga-lbu-* 'ring the bell for some time', *kik-* 'bite' – *kik-ty-lbu-* 'snap (with one's teeth) several times'; and (b) stem-final narrow vowel (opposed to stems with broad vowels expressing the semelfactive meaning): *ikte-* 'kick/knock' – *iktu-* 'kick/knock several times', *adaga-* 'dodge/evade' – *adagu-* 'dodge/evade several times', *pektyre-* 'fire a gun' – *pektyru-* 'fire a gun several times', *ana-* 'push' – *anu-* 'push several times', *usende-* 'throw' – *usendu-* 'throw several times':

(948) a. Nungan mo:-va ikte-re-n.
he tree-accd kick-nfut-3sg
'He kicked the tree.'

(948) b. Nungan mo:-va iktu-re-n.
he tree-accd kick.repeatedly-nfut-3sg
'He kicked the tree several times.'

(949) a. Beje d'av-va ana-ra-n.
man boat-accd push-nfut-3sg
'The man pushed the boat.'

(949) b. Beje d'av-va anu-ra-n.
man boat-accd push.repeatedly-nfut-3sg
'The man pushed the boat several times.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.14. Indication of the logical conclusion of a situation: There are no ways of indicating overtly a situation that leads to a logical conclusion, as opposed to one that does not.

2.1.3.3.2.2. Combination of aspectual forms with other categories

2.1.3.3.2.2.1. Combination of aspectual values: The only constraints on the combination of more than one aspectual affix are of purely semantic nature. For instance, the semelfactive marker *-sin* never combines with the resultative aspect marker *-chA*, and cannot combine with either the distributive (*-ty*) or iterative (*-vAn*), or dispersive (*-ktA*) markers. The distributive marker *-ty* and also the markers of quick action *-mAlchA* and resultative aspect *-chA* are most often the only aspectual markers in a verb form due to the semantic sufficiency of the verb forms in question. The imperfective marker *-d'A* can freely combine with all the other aspectual markers. The most common aspectual combinations found in texts are: *-t-chA* (*-chA* < *-d'A*) continuous-imperfective, *-vAn-d'A* iterative-imperfective, *-ktA-d'A* dispersive-imperfective, *-chi-l* (*-chi* < *-t*) continuous-ingressive, *-chi-ngnA* continuous-habitual:

(950) Etyrken pota-l-va-n uga-kta-d'a-ngki-n.
old.man bag-pl-accd-3sg.poss carry-dstr-impv-hab.pst-3sg
'The old man carried her bags here and there many times.'

Quite acceptable, though rare, are combinations *-ktA-vAt* dispersive-iterative, *-ktA-ngnA* dispersive-habitual and *-vAt-che-ngne* iterative-imperfective-habitual:

(951) Nungartyn agi-li nulgi-kte-vet-chere-0.
they forest-prol nomadize-dstr-iter-prs-3pl
'They usually travel across the forest in different places.'

(952) Nungan ulle-ve tulile lo:van-d'e-ngne-re-n.
she meat-accd outdoors hang-impv-hab-nfut-3sg
'She usually hangs meat outdoors for some time (for drying).'

There are even combinations of the habitual (*-ngnA*) and iterative (*-vAn*) markers:

(953) a. girku-vat-*che*-ngne-re-n (*-che* < *-d'e*)
walk-iter-impv-hab-nfut-3sg
'(s)he usually walks from time to time'

(953) b. eme-vet-che-ngne-re-n
come-iter-impv-hab-nfut-3sg
'(s)he usually / regularly comes from time to time'

(953) c. ajavu-vat-che-ngne-re-n
like-iter-impv-hab-nfut-3sg
(lit.) '(s)he usually likes from time to time' (for example: certain food or clothes)

Such a form as *in'e-kte-d'e-ngne-re-n* (lit.) '(s)he usually smiles for some time' is an example of the combination of the multiplicative (*-ktA*), imperfective (*-d'A*) and habitual (*-ngnA*) markers.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Restrictions on the combination of aspectual values

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.1. Voice

There are restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with personal and especially impersonal passive conditioned by semantic reasons. These voice forms do not combine with the aspectual markers expressing iterative (*-vAn*), habitual (*-ngnA*), semelfactive (*-sin*) and dispersive (*-ktA*) meanings and also the meaning of quick action (*-mAlchA*). The listed categories presuppose active situations with explicit agents, whereas passive constructions very rarely (and impersonal passives never) contain explicit agents. Causative (*-vkAn*), reciprocal (*-mAt*) and comitative (*-ldy*) forms do not combine with the distributive marker *-ty* which implies the plurality of inanimate objects, whereas the above-mentioned voice forms presuppose animate participants.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. Tense

There are almost no restrictions here, except that (a) the resultative/stative forms in *-chA* are never used with future tense forms; (b) the habitual aspect forms in *-ngnA* do not occur with the past indefinite and pluperfect markers; (c) the marker of quick action (*-mAlchA*) tends not to combine with the imperfect marker (*-d'AchA*); (d) the dispersive aspect (*-ktA*) with verbs of achievement (e.g. *va:-kta-* 'kill here and there/in different places', *baka-kta-* 'find here and there/in different places') freely combines only with the imperfect (*-d'AchA*), past iterative (*-ngki*) and future categorical (*-d'AngA*) tense markers; the other tense forms are either impossible or highly marked. The most frequent additional combinations of tense-aspect markers are the iterative (*-vAn*), habitual (*-ngnA*) and dispersive (*-ktA*). These tend to be used with tense forms which either have or may have iterative interpretation (tense forms in *-d'ArA*, *-d'AchA*, *-vki*, *-ngki*; see 2.1.3.2.1–3):

(954) Oro-r o:kin-da sucha-van-d'e-vki-l.
reindeer-pl always break.loose-iter-impv-hab.part-pl
'Reindeer always try to break loose.'

(955) Nungan sulaki-l-ve va:-ngna-d'e-ngki-n.
he fox-pl-accd kill-hab-impv-iter.pst-3sg
'He usually hunted foxes.'

The verb forms in (954) and (955) have two markers expressing the iterative meaning ('several times'/'repeatedly') one of the markers being aspectual (*-van* and *-ngna* respectively) and the other one being temporal (*-vki* and *-ngkɪ* respectively). The combination of the iterative marker *-van* and past iterative tense *-ngkɪ* is also common:

(956) Beje-l er hokto-li girku-vani-ngki-tyn.
man-pl this road-prol go-iter-iter.pst-3pl
(lit.) 'The men walked-repeatedly-usually-in-the-past along this road.'

It should be noted that habitual aspect forms (in *-ngnA*) almost obligatorily must contain the imperfective marker *-d'A* before the tense affixes *-vkɪ* and *-ngki*, e.g. forms *va:-ngna-vkɪ* '(s)he usually kills' or *va:-ngna-ngkɪ-n* '(s)he usually killed' sound strange without the imperfective marker *-d'e*, whereas corresponding forms with the same meanings *va:-ngna-d'e-vki* and *va:-ngna-d'e-ngkɪ-n* are quite normal. The suffix *-ngnA* seems semantically superfluous in the latter verb forms, since the forms *va:-ngna-d'e-vkɪ* and *va:-d'e-vkɪ* have the same meaning '(s)he usually hunts' (cf. *va:-ngna-d'e-ngki-n* and *va:-d'e-ngki-n* which both mean '(s)he usually hunted').

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3. Mood

The restrictions here are mainly with the imperative (no resultative/stative and iterative aspect forms), imperative-monitory (no aspect forms at all), subjunctive (only semelfactive, dispersive, ingressive and imperfective forms are acceptable), debitive (only imperfective, semelfactive and ingressive forms are possible) and with forms expressing various degrees of certainty (only imperfective, semelfactive and ingressive forms are appropriate here). Further investigation is required here.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.4. Non-finite forms

The restrictions here are mainly conditioned by semantic incompatibility. Thus the participle of simultaneity in *-d'Arɪ* has only ingressive, semelfactive, continuous and dispersive forms; the participle of anteriority in *-chA* has imperfective, semelfactive, ingressive, continuous and resultative/stative forms and also the form of quick action aspect; the participle of result in *-nA* has no aspectual forms at all; habitual participles in *-vkɪ* and future participles in *-d'AngA* have all aspectual forms with the exception of the aspect of quick action and the distributive aspect; the debitive participle in *-mAchɪn* has only semelfactive, ingressive and dispersive forms. For

converbs, the only aspects which are possible are imperfective (with certain exceptions), ingressive, continuous, and rarely semelfactive (see 2.1.3.5).

2.1.3.4. *Mood*

Mood and modality should be distinguished in Evenki. Mood is an obligatory category and is a matter of inflectional paradigm, while modality is indicated by such verbal suffixes as *-mu* 'want' and *-ssa* 'try' (see 2.1.3.4.15), which must be followed either by the mood marker or by the non-finiteness (participial or converbal) marker.

2.1.3.4.1. Indicative

The indicative mood has no specialized marking but is signalled by the obligatory presence of the tense marker and one of the three sets of fused person – number inflections used both with transitive and with intransitive verb bases. Thus there are three types of conjugation in Evenki.

Type 1: personal endings added to tense forms in *-d'Ara* (present), *-rA* (non-future) and *-d'A* (future) are given in (957) (the same endings are also added to the future forms in *-d'AllA*). These tense paradigms are characterized by the irregularity of the presence of suffix *-rA* which is missing in the first person singular and second person singular forms (its absence is marked by -0). Paradigms of the verb *baka-* 'find' are given.

(957) *Type 1: Paradigms of the forms in* -rA, -d'ArA *and* -d'A

	Non-future (-rA)	*Present* (-d'ArA)
1sg	baka-0-m 'I have found'	baka-d'a-m 'I find'
2sg	baka-0-nni	baka-d'a-nni
3sg	baka-ra-n	baka-d'ara-n
1pl.exc	baka-ra-v	baka-d'ara-v
1pl.inc	baka-ra-p	baka-d'ara-p
2pl	baka-ra-s	baka-d'ara-s
3pl	baka-ra	baka-d'ara

	Future (-d'A)
1sg	= baka-d'a-m 'I will find'
2sg	= baka-d'a-nni
3sg	= baka-d'a-n
1pl.exc	= baka-d'ara-v
1pl.inc	= baka-d'a-p
2pl	= baka-d'a-s
3pl	= baka-d'ara

It is significant that four forms in *-d'ArA* (present) and *-d'a* (future) out of seven coincide. Thus, in Evenki among the other tense forms there

co-exist two verbal paradigms: on the one hand, non-future forms in *-(d'A)rA* expressing either recent past (*-rA*) or present situations (verbs of state in *-rA* and all verbs in *-d'ArA*), and on the other hand, non-past forms in *-d'A(rA)* expressing either present (in *-d'ArA*) or future (*-d'A*) situations.

Type 2: personal endings added to tense forms in *-chA* (past indefinite), *-ngki* (past iterative) and *-d'AngA* (future categorical) coincide with personal possessive nominal endings, e.g. 1sg *baka-cha-v* 'I found', 2sg *baka-cha-s* 'you (sg) found', 3sg *baka-cha-n* '(s)he found', 1pl.exc *baka-cha-vun* 'we found', 1pl.inc *baka-cha-t* 'we found', 2pl *baka-cha-sun* 'you (pl) found', 3pl *baka-cha-tyn* 'they found'. (Forms in *-ngki* and *-d'AngA* take the same agreement endings.)

Type 3 includes conjugation of analytic tense forms involving participles in *-chA* and *-vki* which can take the plural suffix *-l*. The auxiliary verb *bi-* 'be' in the present tense form (*bı-si-*) used in the perfect and the present habitual tenses is conjugated according to type 1 (except for first and second person plural when it is conjugated according to type 2). This auxiliary in the past tense form (*bi-che-*) used in the pluperfect and the past habitual tense is conjugated according to type 2. The auxiliary may be omitted in the third person singular and plural both in the present and past perfect. Paradigms of the verb *baka-* 'find' for the perfect (*baka-cha bi-si-*) and pluperfect (*baka-cha bi-che-*) tenses are given in (958). Habitual forms in *-vki bı-sı-* (present habitual) and *-vki bi-che-* (past habitual) have the same agreement endings.

(958) *Paradigms of forms in* -chA bi-si-/bi-che-

Perfect (-chA bi-si-*)*

1sg	baka-cha bi-si-m	'I have found'
2sg	baka-cha bi-si-nni	
3sg	baka-cha bi-si-n	
1pl.exc	baka-cha(-l) bi-si-vun	
1pl.inc	baka-cha(-l) bi-si-t	
2pl	baka-cha(-l) bi-si-sun	
3pl	baka-cha(-l) bi-si	

Pluperfect (-chA bi-che-*)*

1sg	baka-cha bi-che-v	'I had found'
2sg	baka-cha bi-che-s	
3sg	baka-cha bi-che-n	
1pl.exc	baka-cha(-l) bi-che-vun	
1pl.inc	baka-cha(-l) bi-che-t	
2pl	baka-cha(-l) bi-che-sun	
3pl	baka-cha(-l) bi-che-tyn	

Conditional mood agreement endings are parallel to the indicative (type 2 for the synthetic conditional and type 3 for the analytic conditional

mood). Debitive mood agreement endings are parallel to the indicative (first-, second- and third-person singular to type 1; first-, second- and third-person plural to type 2). Optative mood agreement endings are parallel to the endings of type 2 of the indicative. Mood forms expressing degrees of certainty have agreement endings parallel to type 1 (forms in *-nA* and in *-rgu*) and type 2 (forms in *-rkA*).

2.1.3.4.2. Conditional

The conditional mood is marked by the suffix *-mchA* for all persons and numbers and either type 2 conjugation for synthetic forms expressing present situations or type 3 conjugation for analytic forms (with auxiliary *bi-* 'be') expressing prior situations. Synthetic and analytic conditional mood forms of the verb *baka-* 'find' are given in (959):

(959) *Conditional mood forms*

Synthetic

1sg	baka-mcha-v	'I would find'
2sg	baka-mcha-s	
3sg	baka-mcha(-n)	
1pl.exc	baka-mcha-vun	
1pl.inc	baka-mcha-t	
2pl	baka-mcha-sun	
3pl	baka-mcha-tyn	
	baka-mcha-l	

Analytic

1sg	baka-cha bi-mche-v	'I would have found'
2sg	baka-cha bi-mche-s	
3sg	baka-cha bi-mche(-n)	
1pl.exc	baka-cha-l bi-mche-vun	
1pl.inc	baka-cha-l bi-mche-t	
2pl	baka-cha-l bi-mche-sun	
3pl	baka-cha-l bi-mche-tyn / bi-mche-l	

(960) Si dukuvun-ma tang-mi, tara-ve sa:-mcha-s.
you letter-accd read-conv that-accd know-cond-2sg
'If you read the letter, you would know (about) that.'

(961) Bi nungan-man iche-che bi-mi, nungan-dun tara gun-che
I he-accd see-part be-conv he-dat that say-part
bi-mche-v.
be-cond-1sg
'If I had seen him, I would have told him that.'

2.1.3.4.3. Imperative

2.1.3.4.3.1. Persons and numbers of the imperative The imperative has special forms in all persons and numbers. There are two paradigms of imperative mood – one for the nearest future imperatives, and the other one for remote future imperatives:

(962)

	Nearest future imperative	
1sg	*baka-kta*	'let me find'
2sg	*baka-kal*	'find!'
3sg	*baka-gin*	'let him/her find'
1pl.exc	*baka-kta-vun / baka-vvun*	'let us find'
1pl.inc	*baka-gat*	'let us find'
2pl	*baka-kallu*	'(you pl.) find!'
3pl	*baka-ktyn*	'let them find'

	Remote future imperative	
1sg	*baka-ngna:-m*	'let me find afterwards'
2sg	*baka-da:-vi*	'find afterwards!'
3sg	*baka-ngna:-n*	'let him/her find then'
1pl.exc	*baka-ngna:-v*	'let us find then'
1pl.inc	*baka-ngna:-p*	'let us find then'
2pl	*baka-da:-ver*	'find afterwards/then!'
3pl	*baka-ngna:-tyn*	'let them find then'

(963) Si duku-kal.
you write-2sg.imp
'You, write!'

(964) Tyma:tne eme-gin.
tomorrow come-3sg.imp
'Let him come tomorrow.' / 'He should come tomorrow.'

(965) D'u-la-ver eme-mi d'u-dy-va hava-ve
house-all-prefl come-conv house-adjzr-accd work-accd

o:-da:-ver.
do-2pl.imp-prefl
(lit.) 'On coming to your houses do housework (the work about the house).'

(966) Bira-va dag-mi guluvun-ma ila-da:-vi.
river-accd cross-conv fire-accd burn-2sg.imp-prefl
'(Upon) crossing the river make a fire.'

2.1.3.4.4. Optative

The optative mood is expressed by the marker *-ngaty* for all persons and numbers and type 2 conjugation (this form in the northern and eastern dialects sometimes has the debitive meaning):

(967) *Optative mood forms*

	Singular	
first	baka-ngaty-v	'I would like to find'/'It would be good for me to find'
second	baka-ngaty-s	'I would like you to find'
third	baka-ngaty-n	'I would like him/her to find'/'It would be good if (s)he found (this)'
	Plural	
first exc	baka-ngaty-vun	
first inc	baka-ngaty-p	
second	baka-ngaty-sun	
third	baka-ngaty-n	

(968) Ollomo-s-ngoty-n min-nun tyma:tne.
fish-smlf-opt-3sg I-com tomorrow
'I'd like him to go fishing with me tomorrow.'/
'It would be good if he went fishing with me tomorrow.'

2.1.3.4.5. Intentional mood

This mood is lacking.

2.1.3.4.6. Debitive

The debitive mood has the marker *-mAchin* for all persons and numbers and mixed (type1/type 2) conjugation. There are both synthetic (for obligation in the present) and analytic (for obligation in the past, present and future) forms. The latter, as always, involve the auxiliary *bi-* 'be' in the past (*bi-che-*) or the present (*bi-sɪ-*) tense forms. Since the debitive mood form comes from the debitive participle in *-mAchin* (see 2.1.3.5) the latter can have the plural form in *-mAchɪ-r* (cf. *oron* 'reindeer' – *oro-r* 'reindeer (pl)').

(969) *Debitive mood forms*

	Synthetic	
1sg	baka-machi-m	'I must find'
2sg	baka-machin-ni	
3sg	baka-machin-in	
1pl.exc	baka-machin-mun	
1pl.inc	baka-machin-ty	
2pl	baka-machin-sun	
3pl	baka-machin-tyn	
	baka-machi-r	

	Analytic	
1sg	baka-machin bi-si-m	'I (will) have to find'
	baka-machin bi-che-v	'I had/was to find'
2sg	baka-machin bi-si-nni/bi-che-s	
3sg	baka-machin bi-si-n/bi-che-n	
1pl.exc	baka-machir bi-si-vun/bi-che-vun	
1pl.inc	baka-machir bi-si-t/bi-che-t	
2pl	baka-machir bi-si-sun/bi-che-sun	
3pl	baka-machir bi-si-tyn/bi-che-tyn	

(970) Minngi girki-v ilan-duli chas-tuli
My friend-1sg.poss three-prol hour-prol
suru-mechin-in.
go.away-oblg-3sg
'My friend must go/leave in three hours.'

(971) Asa-l d'u-la-ver suru-mechi-r bi-che-tyn.
woman-pl house-all-prefl go.away-oblg-pl be-pst-3pl
'The women had/were to go to their homes.'

The analytic debitive form with the auxiliary in the present tense form *bi-si-* denotes obligation of the future action:

(972) Su edu upkat-va tugeni-ve in-d'e-mechi-r bi-si-sun.
you here all-accd winter-accd live-impv-oblg-pl be-prs-2pl
'You (pl) will have to live here the whole winter.'

2.1.3.4.6.1. Moral and physical obligation There is no formal distinction between the expression of moral and physical obligation.

2.1.3.4.6.2. Different degrees of obligation There is no expression of different degrees of obligation.

2.1.3.4.7. Potential

There is no potential mood. Its functions are performed either by the posterior modal participle in *-d'AngA* (see 2.1.3.5 below) or by the future tense in *-d'AngA* (see 2.1.3.2.1.4).

2.1.3.4.8. Degrees of certainty

There are three suffixes (*-nA, -rkA* and *-rgu*) expressing the degree of certainty with which the speaker makes an assertion. Forms in *-nA* express probability of a situation which either takes place in the present or took place recently, forms in *-rkA* express probability of a situation which might have taken place in the past, forms in *-rgu* express probability of a situation which takes place habitually. Forms in *-nA* and *-rgu* are conjugated according to type 1 and forms in *-rkA* according to type 2 (see 2.1.3.4.1):

(973) *Forms expressing degrees of certainty*

1sg	*ga-na-m*	'maybe I take/ took recently'	*ga-rka-v*	'maybe I took'
2sg	*ga-na-nni*		*ga-rka-s*	
3sg	*ga-na-n*		*ga-rka(-n)*	
1pl.exc	*ga-na-re-v*		*ga-rka-vun*	
1pl.inc	*ga-na-p*		*ga-rka-t*	
2pl	*ga-na-s*		*ga-rka-sun*	
3pl	*ga-na-re*		*ga-rka-tyn/ ga-rka-l*	

1sg	*ga-rgu-m*	'maybe I usually take'
2sg	*ga-rgu-nni*	
3sg	*ga-rgu-n*	
1pl.exc	*ga-rgu-vun*	
1pl.inc	*ga-rgu-t*	
2pl	*ga-rgu-sun*	
3pl	*ga-rgu-ra*	

(974) Su tar asatkan-me sa:-na-s.
you that girl-accd know-prob-2sg
'You (pl) probably know that girl.'

(975) Si tar ure-le tevle-rgu-nni.
you that hill-all gather.berries-prob-2sg
'Perhaps you (sg) gather berries on that hill.'

Forms in *-nA* and *-rkA* can be not only synthetic but also analytic. The latter forms consist of the participles in *-chA* (of anteriority), in *-vkı*

(habitual) or in *-d'AngA* (posterior/modal) and the auxiliary *bi-* 'be' taking the suffix *-ne* or *-rke* expressing degree of certainty:

(976) Si er dukuvun-ma tang-cha bi-ne-nni.
you this letter-accd read-part be-prob-2sg
'Probably you (have) read this letter.'

(977) Asatkan duku-d'anga bi-ne-n.
girl write-part be-prob-3sg
'Probably this girl will be able to write (it).'

(978) Bejumimni tyma:tne suru-che bi-rke-n.
hunter in.the.morning go.away-part be-prob-3sg
'The hunter probably left in the morning.'

(979) Girki-v tyma:tne min-dule eme-vki
friend-1sg.poss in.the.morning I-all come-hab.part
bi-rke-n.
be-prob-3sg
'Probably my friend comes to me in the mornings.'

2.1.3.4.9. Authority for assertion

There are no specialized forms expressing personal witnessing of situation or reliable/unreliable second-hand information.

2.1.3.4.10. Hortatory

This mood is lacking.

2.1.3.4.11. Monitory

Monitory-imperative paradigm has only two forms – for second-person singular (*-nA*) and second-person plural (*-nAl*; *-l* is a plural marker):

(980) Er-tyki, tar-tyki iche-t-ne.
this-locall that-locall-locall see-cont-monimp
'(Be careful and) look in different directions.'

(981) Inginipchu o-da-n, su:-r-ver tet-ne-l.
cold become-nfut-3sg coat-pl-prefl put.on-monimp-pl
'It has become cold, put on your coats (or else you will catch cold).'

2.1.3.4.12. Narrative

This mood is lacking.

2.1.3.4.13. *Consecutive*

This mood is lacking.

2.1.3.4.14. Contingent

This mood is lacking.

2.1.3.4.15. Other forms expressing modal meanings

There are five derivational suffixes expressing various kinds of volition to perform an action and related meanings:

affix *-mu* expresses wish to perform an action, e.g. *suru-* 'go away' *-suru-mu-* 'want/wish to go away', *d'ev-* 'eat' – *d'em-mu-* 'want to eat/be hungry', *duku-* 'write' – *duku-mu-* 'want to write', *haval-* 'work' – *haval-mu-* 'want to work', cf. also *bud-* 'die' – *bu-mu-* 'be ill' (lit. 'want to die')

affix *-ssA* expresses an attempt to perform an action, e.g. *duku-* 'write' – *duku-ssa-* 'try to write', *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-ssa-* 'try to catch', *il-* 'stand up' – *ili-ssa-* 'try to stand up'

affix *-ksi* expresses desire or aspiration to perform an action, e.g. *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-ksi-* 'try to bite' (e.g. of a dog), *tyl-* 'understand' – *tyli-ksi-* 'aspire to understand', *alaguvu-* 'study' – *alaguvu-ksi-* 'strive to study' (forms in *-ksi* are nowadays going out of use)

affix *-nA* expresses departure to perform an action, e.g. *d'ev-* 'eat' – *d'ev-ne-* 'go and (lit. to) eat', *duku-* 'write' – *duku-na-* 'go to write', *baka-* 'find' – *baka-na-* 'go to find', *tege-* 'sit down' – *tege-ne-* 'go and (lit. to) sit down', *bele-* 'help' – *bele-ne-* 'go and (lit. to) help'

affix *-lAkAn* expresses pretence or simulation to perform an action, e.g. *d'ev-* 'eat' – *d'ev-leken-* 'pretend to have eaten', *a:sin-* 'fall asleep' – *a:s-leken-* 'pretend to have fallen asleep'.

2.1.3.5. Finite and non-finite forms

Forms analysed in 2.1.3.4.1–11 are finite. There are also more than two dozen non-finite forms: more than 10 participial and about 15 converbal forms. Some of them are used frequently whereas others are rare. There is also considerable variation in the lists of participles and converbs attested in different dialects. For detailed description of participial use see 1.1.2.2.2, 1.1.2.2.3 and 1.1.2.2.6. For detailed description of the use of converbs see 1.1.2.4.1–9. Participial and converbal forms with their semantic and syntactic properties and examples are given below. The main syntactic function of participles is attributive, whereas the main syntactic function of converbs is adverbial. Both participles and converbs are syntactically and semantically subordinate and cannot function as the only

verb form in a simple non-elliptic sentence, i.e. they should always be accompanied by at least one finite verb form.

The participle of simultaneity in *-d'Ari* is used as an attribute (982a), an object (982b) and – with case markers – as an adverbial modifier (982c):

(982) a. Haval-d'ari-va beje-ve iche-0-m.
work-part-accd man-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw the working man (i.e. the man who was working).'

(982) b. Beje haval-d'ari-va-n iche-0-m.
man work-part-accd-3sg.poss see-nfut-1sg
'I saw that the man was working.' (lit. 'I saw the working of a man.')

(982) c. Haval-d'ari-la-n eme-che-tyn.
work-part-all-3sg.poss come-pst-3pl
'They came to the place where he was working.'

The form in *-d'Ari* and the next five participial forms ((984)-(988)) are the most frequent in written language, whereas the last five forms are used very seldom.

The participle of anteriority in *-chA* is used as an attribute (983a), an object (983b) and as a predicate (see 2.1.3.2.1.3). On its basis the converb in *-chAlA* (*-lA* is the allative case marker) is formed; see this section below:

(983) a. D'u-la eme-che beje gun-e-n
house-all come-part man say-nfut-3sg
'said a man who came home.'

(983) b. Beje-l gelekte-l-le-0 tuksa-cha-l-va.
man-pl look.for-inch-nfut-3pl run-part-pl-accd
'The men began to look for those who had run away.'

The perfect participle in *-nA* is used as an attribute (984a) and also has all nominal functions, for example, (984b):

(984) a. Baka-na-l-tyn oro-r eme-re-0.
find-part-pl-3pl.poss reindeer-pl come-nfut-3pl
'The reindeer which had been found by them came.'

(984) b. Bi duku-na-va-n ketere tang-cha-v.
I write-part-accd-3sg.poss many.times read-pst-1sg
'I read many times what had been written by him/her.'

The habitual participle in *-vki/-pki* is used as an attribute (985a), an object (985b) and a predicate (see 2.1.3.2.1.1):

(985) a. Havali-vki beje suru-re-n.
work-part man go.away-nfut-3sg
'The man who usually works went away.'

(985) b. Aichimni bumu-d'e-vki-ve aj-ra-n.
doctor be.ill-impv-part-accd cure-nfut-3sg
'The doctor healed the person who was often ill.'

The participle of posteriority in *-d'AngA* is used as an attribute (986a), an object (986b) and as a predicate (see 2.1.3.2.1.4). Participles in *-d'AngA*, as a rule, have modal meanings of possibility or necessity:

(986) a. Ulguchen-d'enge bejetken amakan eme-d'e-n.
tell-part boy soon come-fut-3sg
'The boy who will be able to tell (it) will come soon.'

(986) b. Asi gun-e-n haval-na-sin-d'anga-li-vi.
woman say-nfut-3sg work-go-smlf-part-prol-prefl
'The woman said about her possibility / ability / necessity to go to work.'

The participle in *-rA*, homonymous with the 3rd person plural of the non-future tense is used as a fixed form with all the forms of the conjugated negative auxiliary *e-* 'not to . . .' in all syntactic functions (see 1.4 for examples).

Two debitive participles in *-mAchin* and in *-ngAt* are used as an attribute, an object and also predicatively as mood forms (see 2.1.3.4.6 and 2.1.3.4.4 respectively), for example:

(987) a. Eme-mechin asatkan amakan eme-d'enge-n.
come-part girl soon come-fut-3sg
'The girl who must come will come soon.'

(987) b. Nungan eme-mechin-me-n sa:-l-cha-v.
he come-part-accd-3sg.poss know-inch-pst-1sg
'I learned (lit. 'began to know') that he should come.'

(988) a. Bele-nget mata eme-che-n.
help-part neighbour come-pst-3sg
'The neighbour who should help came.'

(988) b. Minngi eme-nget-yv tegemi chagudu (bi-si-n).
my come-part-1sg.poss tomorrow next.to (be-prs-3sg)
'I must come the day after tomorrow.' (lit. 'My coming is due the day after tomorrow.')

Impersonal-debitive participle in *-vkA/-pkA* is used as a predicate (see 2.1.3.1.1.2):

(989) Tegemi agi-la ngene-vke.
tomorrow forest-all go-part
'It is necessary to go to the forest tomorrow.'

(990) Kungaka-r-ve ken'e-vke.
child-pl-accd praise-part
'It is necessary to praise children.'

The participle of fictitious action in *-gsAn* is used attributively and very rarely predicatively:

(991) a. D'evu-gse-r ile-l tadu tege-t-chere-0.
eat-part-pl man-pl there sit.down-cont-prs-3pl
'The people who pretend to be eating are sitting there.'

(991) b. Kungaka-r a:-d'e-gse-r bi-d'eche-tyn.
child-pl sleep-impv-part-pl be-impf-3pl
'The children pretended to be sleeping.'

The participle of contact posteriority in *-ltAk* is used attributively and predicatively:

(992) a. Buru-ltek-il mo:-l edu ili-t-chara-0.
fall-part-pl tree-pl here stand.up-cont-prs-3pl
'The trees which are on the point of falling down stand here.'

(992) b. Bi d'u-la-vi eme-ltek bi-si-m.
I house-all-prefl come-part be-prs-1sg
'I shall come home very soon.'

Converbal forms most often perform the adverbial function of the modifier of relative time (simultaneity, anteriority or posteriority with another situation expressed by the main verb form). Referentially, converbs are subdivided into same-subject (the subjects of the actions expressed by a converb and a finite form are coreferential), different-subject (the subjects of the actions expressed by a converb and a finite form are always non-coreferential), and varying-subject (the subjects of the converbal and the main action may be either coreferential or non-coreferential). Semantically, converbs may be subdivided into contextual (or polysemous) and specialized. The former may fulfil more than one semantic function, whereas the latter have one clear-cut meaning. Specialized converbs in their turn may be subdivided into specialized taxis expressing relative tense and specialized non-taxis expressing non-temporal functions. The converbal system on the basis of these semantic and referential properties is given in (993).

(993) *Converbal system*

	Same-subject	*Varying-subject*	*Different-subject*
Contextual simultaneity	-d'AnA	–	–
anteriority	-mi	–	-rAki
posteriority	–	-dAlA	
Contact anteriority	-nA	-ktAvA	–
Exact simultaneity	-mnAk, -mnen	-ngAsi	-d'AnmA
Anteriority proper	-ksA, -kA(n)im	-chAlA	–
Purposive	–	-dA, -vunA	–
Result	–	-knAn	–

These converbal forms express the following meanings:

contextual simultaneity: form in *-d'AnA*, e.g. *baka-d'ana* '(while) finding . . .'
contextual anteriority: temporal-conditional converbs in *-mi* and *-rAki* (see 1.1.2.4.2.4, 1.1.2.4.2.5 and 1.1.2.4.2.9)
contextual posteriority: form in *-dAlA* (see 1.1.2.4.2.1), e.g. *baka-dala-n* 'before / until (s)he found'
contact anteriority: forms in *-nA* and *-ktAvA*, e.g. *tege-ne* 'getting up', *baka-ktava-n* 'as soon as (s)he found'
exact simultaneity: forms in *-mnAk, -mnen, -ngAsi* and *-d'AnmA*, e.g. *baka-mnen / baka-mnak* '(while) finding / (and immediately) found', in *-d'e-ngesi-n* 'when (s)he was living (there) in the past', *baka-d'anma-n* 'while (s)he was finding something (someone else did something)'
anteriority proper: forms in *-ksA, -kAnim/-kAim* and *-chAlA* (see 1.1.2.4.2.1), e.g. *baka-ksa / baka-kaim* 'having-found . . .', *baka-chala-n* 'having-found-(s)he . . .'
purposive meaning: forms in *-dA* and *-vunA* (see 1.1.2.4.2.3)
meaning of result: form in *-knAn* (see 1.1.2.4.2.6), e.g. *deru-knen-tyn* '(they went) until-they-got-tired'.

All same-subject converbal forms (in *-d'AnA, -nA, -ksA, -kA(n)im, -mi, -mnen* and *-mnAk*) can take the optional plural marker *-l* only in the case of plurality of the converbal agent. These converbs cannot take any personal (agreement) markers. Two different-subject converbs (in *-rAki* and *-d'AnmA*) obligatorily take personal possession markers. All the other converbal forms (which are varying-subject) (in *-dAlA, -chAlA, -ktAvA, -ngAsi, -dA, -vunA* and *-knAn*) obligatorily take either the personal possession markers in the case of non-coreferential subjects or the reflexive possession markers *-vi* (sg) / *-vAr* (pl) in the case of coreferential subjects:

(994) Kungakan silgin-d'ene songo-d'oro-n.
child tremble-conv cry-prs-3sg
'The child is crying trembling.'

(995) Ele eme-keim(-il) nungartyn bira-va dag-re-0.
here come-conv(-pl) they river-accd cross-nfut-3pl
'(On) coming here they crossed the river.'

(996) Bi goro-vo tang-cha-v haktyrapchu o-dala-n
I far-accd read-pst-1sg dark become-conv-3sg.poss

e:sa-l-vi enu-li-knen-tyn.
eye-pl-prefl ache-inch-conv-3pl.poss
'I read for a long time till it became dark (and) my eyes began to ache.'

(997) Suru-reki-s tygde-l-le-n.
go.away-conv-2sg.poss rain-inch-nfut-3sg
'After you went away it began raining.'

2.1.3.5.1. Overt expression of various voices

Non-finite forms can contain the causative (*-vkAn*), reciprocal (*-mAt*) and sociative (*-ldy*) markers, but only very rarely the passive marker *-v(u)*, which is possible only with participles in *-chA, -d'Ari, -d'AngA* and *-vkA*.

2.1.3.5.2. Overt expression of various tenses

Non-finite verb forms in general cannot have overt expression of various tenses with the exception of participles in *-d'AngA, -d'Arı, -vkı, -mAchin, -ngAt, -gsAn* and *-ltAk* which can be accompanied by the auxiliary *bı-* 'be' in different analytic forms (see 2.1.3.5).

2.1.3.5.3. Overt expression of various aspects

Non-finite forms can take various aspectual markers and restrictions here are conditioned by semantic reasons only, e.g. perfective non-finite forms (in *-nA*, in *-chAlA* or in *-ngAt*) cannot take imperfective/iterative/continuous/habitual aspectual markers. Further investigation is needed into the possible combinations of aspectual suffixes with various non-finite forms.

2.1.3.5.4. Overt expression of various moods

Non-finite forms cannot have overt expression of various moods.

2.1.3.6. Person/number, etc.

2.1.3.6.1. Categories which must/may be coded in the verb

2.1.3.6.1.1. Subject The subject is the only category which may be cross-referenced by the inflection in the verbal form, both finite and the majority of non-finite forms (see 2.1.3.5).

2.1.3.6.1.2–5. Direct/indirect objects and benefactive Other categories (direct and indirect objects, benefactives, etc.) cannot be coded in the verb.

2.1.3.6.2. Marking of agreement

2.1.3.6.2.1. Marker on verb The subject is marked by the special markers attached to the verb. For the person/number marking of all mood forms see 2.1.3.4.1

2.1.3.6.2.2–3. Pronouns and other means Pronouns being optional cannot be considered as a grammatical means of marking agreement on the verb. There are no other means of marking agreement.

2.1.3.6.3. Conditioning factors of coding subject in the verb

Subject (person and/or number) is obligatorily marked on the verb in all the mood forms except the monitory-imperative forms in *-nA* (see 2.1.3.4.11). For non-finite verb forms, subject marking depends on the concrete grammatical form: (a) no participles in the attributive function take agreement markers if the head noun expresses the agent; (b) habitual (*-vki*) and impersonal-debitive (*-vkA*) participles never take agreement markers; (c) same-subject converbs (in *-mi, -nA, -d'AnA, -ksA, -kA(n)im* (the *n* is optional), *-mnen, -mnAk*) never take personal markers but may take the plural marker *-l*, although this is rare.

2.1.3.6.3.1–6. Other factors conditioning subject coding Other factors, e.g., word order, topic/comment structure, definiteness/animacy of noun phrase, or deletion (non-occurrence) of a noun phrase do not condition the subject coding in the verb.

2.1.3.6.4. Features in the noun phrase coded in the verb

Only number/person and subject function are encoded in the verb. Verbal inflection is a matter of pronominal reference. External noun phrase arguments, as a rule, are optional. The subject coding is strictly syntactic, regardless of its semantic function.

2.1.3.6.5. Agreement of coordinated noun phrases and the verb

Two singular coordinated noun phrases (or a singular noun phrase plus a plural one) require plural marking in the verbal inflection. So the finite verb inflection agrees with the total combination of the subject noun phrases by person and number (see 1.3.1.2).

2.1.3.6.6. Agreement in different categories

2.1.3.6.6.1. Agreement in different voices Agreement is the same in all voices.

2.1.3.6.6.2. Agreement in different tenses There are three types of agreement for different tense forms: (a) purely verbal (e.g. for the non-future tense in *-rA* and the present in *-d'ArA*); (b) homonymous with the nominal personal possession markers (used with tense forms which originated from participles, e.g. past indefinite in *-chA*, future in *-d'AngA*); and (c) the mixed type which is a combination of types (a) and (b) (used for analytic tense forms). See 2.1.3.4.1 for a detailed account.

2.1.3.6.6.3. Agreement in different aspects Agreement is the same in different aspects.

2.1.3.6.6.4. Agreement in different moods Agreement in different moods may be of the three types existing in tenses (see 2.1.3.6.6.2). See 2.1.3.4.1 for a detailed account.

2.1.3.6.6.5. Agreement in different non-finite forms Subject agreement in converbs depends on the subjects coreference/non-coreference. Consequently varying-subject converbs take either reflexive possession or personal possession markers respectively. Same-subject converbs never take personal markers and optionally take the plural marker *-l*. Different-subject converbs always take personal possession markers. See 2.1.3.5 and 2.1.3.6.3 for detailed accounts.

2.1.3.6.7. Identity/non-identity between subjects of successive verbs

Identity or non-identity between the subject of a verb and the subject of the following verb is indicated only in converbs. Seven varying-subject converbs (in *-dAlA, -chAlA, -ktAvA, -ngAsı, dA, -vunA* and *-knAn*) take either reflexive possession markers in case of subject identity or personal possession markers in case of subject non-identity (see 2.1.3.5 and 2.1.3.6.3 for detailed accounts). Different-subject converbal forms in *-rAkı* and *-d'AnmA*, being characterized by subject non-identity, obligatorily take

personal possession markers. In the case of the last two converbs even if the agreement markers of the converb and the finite form coincide (e.g. third person singular *-n*), the converbal form itself shows that the subjects are non-coreferential:

(998) Akin-in suru-reki-n ilan
brother-3sg.poss go.away-conv-3sg.poss three

tyrgani-l-va emukin bi-che-n.
day-pl-accd alone be-pst-3sg
'After his brother$_i$ went away, he$_j$ (non-identical subject) was alone for three days.'

(999) Amin-in hunat-nun d'ulele ju-rek-tyn,
father-3sg.poss daughter-com forward go.out-conv-3pl.poss

karamna-l-cha-tyn.
envy-inch-pst-3pl
'After her father with the daughter went forward, they (the brothers) began to be envious.'

2.1.3.6.8. Special reflexive forms of the verb

Special reflexive verb forms are lacking. Reflexivity is expressed by specialized pronouns (see 1.6.1.3).

2.1.3.6.9. Special reciprocal forms of the verb

Reciprocal verb forms are formed by means of the specialized reciprocal marker *-mAt*, e.g. *ıche-* 'see' – *ıche-met-* 'look at each other', *n'ukan-* 'kiss' – *n'ukanı-mat-* 'kiss each other', *ulguchen-* 'tell' – *ulguche-met-* 'talk with each other', *tykun-* 'be angry' – *tykun-mat-* 'be angry with each other', *tanchen-* 'pull' – *tanchen-mat-* 'pull in different directions' (of two and more persons), *borıt-* 'divide' – *borit-mat-* 'divide among several persons'. See 1.7.1 for a detailed account.

2.1.3.6.10. Distinctions between actions of different orientation

There are no agreement distinctions made between actions towards the speaker/ hearer/a third person, away from the speaker/hearer/a third person or other kinds of directionals.

2.1.3.6.11. Distinction between different modes of body orientation

There is no distinction made between different modes of body orientation, for example: standing up, sitting down, with hands, etc.

2.1.3.6.12. Incorporation

2.1.3.6.12.1. Elements incorporated in the verb Incorporation in the strict sense is lacking in Evenki. There is denominal verbal derivation involving such verbalizing afffixes as *-mA* (e.g. *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-mo-* 'to fish'), *-lA* (e.g. *dikte* 'berry' – *dikte-le-* 'go to gather berries') (see 2.2.2.1–4). There are also several adverbial affixes modifying the verbal base for manner and degree. These forms are treated together with other derivational affixes in 2.2.2.2. Some productive derivational affixes attachable to verbal bases, such as *-mu* 'want' and *-ssA* 'try' have already been dealt with in 2.1.3.4.15.

2.1.3.7. Strings of verbs within a construction

There are no serial verbs in Evenki.

2.1.4. Adjectives

Attributive forms may be subdivided into three subclasses: 'true' adjectives, e.g. *aja* 'good', *eru* 'bad' which have forms expressing degrees of comparison, and attributes which do not have forms expressing degrees of comparison: verbal attributes (i.e. participles, see 2.1.3.5), e.g. *duku-d'ari alaguvumni* 'a pupil writing something' and denominal adjectives (see 2.2.3.1 for adjectivizing suffixes operating on nominal bases), e.g. *mo:* 'tree' > *mo:-ma* 'wooden'. For the last two types of attributive forms, only participles but not denominal adjectives can take personal and reflexive possession markers.

2.1.4.1. Predicative and attributive forms of adjectives

There is no distinction between predicative and attributive forms with the exception that only adjectives in the attributive function may take case markers agreeing with the head noun. For the verbal adjectives (participles), only three forms (in *-chA, -d'AngA, -mAchin*) freely function both as attributes and as predicates. Other participles are heavily restricted in attributive use (e.g. forms in *-vkA, -vki* and *-ngAt*) or in predicative use (e.g. forms in *-d'Ari* and *-nA*). For example, the participle of simultaneity in *-d'Ari* (e.g. *duku-d'ari* 'writing') can function as a predicate only with the auxiliary *bi-* 'be'. As for the three participles in *-chA, -d'AngA, -mAchin*, the distinction between their attributive and predicative forms concerns their personal marking, i.e. only predicative participles take subject agreement markers.

2.1.4.2. Difference between absolute and contingent state

There is no distinction between absolute and contingent state.

2.1.4.3. Agreement of adjectives

2.1.4.3.1. Agreement between nouns and adjectives

2.1.4.3.1.1. Number Both attributive and predicative adjectives agree with nouns in number (either with the head noun or with the subject of the sentence):

(1000) a. Mit aja-l-du omakta-l-du d'u-l-du bi-d'ere-t.
we good-pl-dat new-pl-dat house-pl-dat be-prs-1pl.inc
'We live in good new houses.'

(1000) b. Tari-l oro-r burgu-l (bi-si-0).
that-pl reindeer-pl fat-pl (be-prs-3pl)
'Those reindeer are fat.'

2.1.4.3.1.2. Person Attributive and predicative adjectives (with the exception of participles) do not agree with nouns in person.

2.1.4.3.1.3. Gender/class There are no categories for gender and class.

2.1.4.3.1.4. Case Only attributive adjectives (and participles) agree with the head noun in case (1000a).

2.1.4.3.1.5. Definiteness/indefiniteness Attributive adjectives with the head noun in the accusative case may agree with this noun in definiteness/indefiniteness:

(1001) a. Bi omakta-va d'u-va iche-0-m.
I new-accd house-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw the new house.'

(1001) b. Nungan gochin omakta-ja d'u-ja o:-d'anga-n.
he next.year new-accin house-accin make-fut-3sg
'He will build a new house next year.'

2.1.4.3.2. Dependence of agreement

2.1.4.3.2.1. On relative position of noun and adjective Agreement does not depend on the relative position of noun and adjective. It should be noted that head nouns very seldom precede adjectives.

2.1.4.3.2.2. On whether or not the noun is overtly expressed Agreement does not depend on whether or not the head noun is overtly expressed:

(1002) Sin-du oro-r bi-si-0. Burgu-ve bu:-kel.
you-dat reindeer-pl be-prs-3pl fat-accd give-2sg.imp
'You have reindeer. Give me a fat (one).'

2.1.4.3.3. Agreement affectedness

Agreement is not affected by either the conflict between grammatical and semantic category values or the presence of coordinated nouns some of which belong to different classes.

2.1.4.4. Comparison

2.1.4.4.1. Equality

Equality is expressed by one of the affixes *-gAchın* 'like/equal to' or *-dyn* 'equal in size to' added to the nominal standard. An adjective itself remains unchanged (see 1.9.1.3–1.9.2 and (480)–(486)):

(1003) Tar asatkan ekin-ngechin aja bi-si-n.
that girl sister-eqt good be-prs-3sg
'That girl is as good as her elder sister.'

2.1.4.4.2. Comparative

The comparative function is expressed by the affix *-tmAr/-dymAr* added to the adjective (see 1.8.1–6 for examples). A noun expressing the standard of comparison takes the ablative case marker *-duk*:

(1004) Tar oron murin-duk hegdy-tmer.
that reindeer horse-abl big-cmpr
'That reindeer is bigger than a horse.'

2.1.4.4.3. Superlative

2.1.4.4.3.1. Compared to other entities The superlative function is expressed by the suffix *-tku/-dygu* added to the adjective, e.g. *aja* 'good' – *aja-tku* 'the best', *hegdy* 'big' – *hegdy-tku* 'the biggest', *ngonım* 'long' – *ngonım-dygu* 'the longest' (see 1.8.1 for examples). The standard of comparison *upkat-tuk* (*upkat* 'all' + the ablative case marker) (lit.) 'from all' may precede the adjective with the superlative marker:

(1005) Tar mo: upkat-tuk gugda-tku.
that tree all-abl high-sup
'That tree is the highest of all.'

2.1.4.4.3.2. Compared to itself at other points/times Suffix *-tku/-dygu* is also used for this subtype of superlative:

(1006) Er bira tadu albin-dygu bi-si-n.
this river there wide-sup be-prs-3sg
'This river is widest there.'

2.1.4.5. Degrees of quality

2.1.4.5.1. In large measure

This may be expressed either by the suffix *-mAmA* (which cannot be used as a separate word) or by the suffix *-kAkun*, e.g. *baı* 'rich' – *bai-meme* 'very rich', *une* 'early' – *une-meme* 'very early', *hima(t)* 'quick' – *hıma-meme* 'very quick', *aja* 'good' – *aja-mama/aja-kakun* 'very good'/'excellent', *dagama* 'near' – *dagama-kakun* 'very near'. Note also adverbials *so:t/so:ma/so:mat* 'very', e.g. *so:mat une* 'very early'.

2.1.4.5.2. In superabundance

Adverbials *engeni* 'too' and *so:* 'very' are used for this function, e.g. *so: gugda* 'very high'/'too high'. More often these adverbials indicate high degree.

2.1.4.5.3. In small measure

This meaning is expressed either by adverbials *adykan* 'a little', *aran* 'a little' or by the suffix *-kAn* which has such shades of meaning as diminutive, endearment or incompleteness of quality, e.g. *aja-kan* 'a little good (one)', *gud'oı-ken* 'a little beautiful (one)', *ngonim-kan* 'a little long'.

2.1.4.6. Predicative adjectives and the verbal morphology

2.1.4.6.1. Verbal categories are expressed in the adjective morphology

Categories that characterize the verbal morphology are never expressed in the adjective morphology.

2.1.4.6.2. Verbal categories are expressed by means of a copular verb

This type of construction is quite common:

(1007) Tar hava urgepchu bi-che-n.
that work difficult be-pst-3sg
'That was a difficult job.'/'That job was difficult.'

2.1.5. Postpositions

2.1.5.1. List of postpositions

The majority of postpositions is dealt with in 2.1.1.5.2–20. They are based on nominal or adverbial stems which take one of the locative case markers (namely the dative marker *-du*, the ablative marker *-duk* or the allative marker *-(du)lA*) plus the optional possessive suffix referring to the person of the (pro)noun they govern. The list of nominal stems expressing location and forming postpositions includes the following: *daga* 'vicinity' (cf. *mo*: *daga-du-n* 'near the tree'; see 2.1.1.5.2), *do*:- 'interior' (see 2.1.1.5.3), *tuli-* 'outside' (see 2.1.1.5.4), *d'ule-* 'in front of' (see 2.1.1.5.5), *amar-/chagi-* 'behind' (see 2.1.1.5.6), *ojo/ugi-* 'above' (see 2.1.1.5.7–8), *hergi* 'space below'(see 2.1.1.5.9), *dar(gida)-* 'lateral side' (see 2.1.1.5.11), *bargi-* 'the other side of the river' (see 2.1.1.5.16), *sigdyle-* 'space between' (see 2.1.1.5.17), *mureli* 'around' (see 2.1.1.5.19), *dulin* 'middle' (see 2.1.1.6.1.1). These nominal stems together with case markers but without the possession markers function as adverbs, e.g. *amar-du* 'behind', *d'ule-du* 'in front', *ojo-li* (*-li* – prol) 'along the upper part'. Adverbials *ejeki* 'downstream/down the river' and *soloki* 'upstream'/'up the river' can function as postpositions requiring the definite accusative case form from the name of the river:

(1008) a. Katanga-va soloki
Katanga-accd upstream
'up the river Katanga'

(1008) b. bira-va ejeki
river-accd downstream
'down the river'

The only non-locative postposition is *d'arin* 'for someone/something'/'because of' which is almost always unchangeable. Only rarely can it take the third person plural possession marker *-tyn*, for example:

(1009) a. tang-in d'arin
read-nr for
'for reading'

(1009) b. kungaka-r d'ari-tyn
child-pl for-3pl.poss
'for children'

2.1.5.2. Agreement of postpositions with the nouns they govern

Postpositions do not agree for any grammatical category with the nouns they govern; but compare the use of possessive suffixes discussed in 2.1.5.1.

2.1.5.3. Series of personal forms

Postpositions do not combine with the personal pronouns they govern to form series of personal forms.

2.1.5.4. Combination with articles

Articles are lacking in Evenki.

2.1.6. Numerals/quantifiers

2.1.6.1. Numerals used in counting

Native terms exist for all numerals except *tysicha* 'thousand', *million* 'million' and *milliard* 'billion' which were borrowed from Russian. These terms are: 1 – *umun/umuken*, 2 – *d'ur*, 3 – *ilan*, 4 – *dygin*, 5 – *tunnga*, 6 – *n'ungun*, 7 – *nadan*, 8 – *d'apkun*, 9 – *egin*, 10 – *d'an*. There are at least three dialectal variants within the southern dialectal area for cardinal numerals from 11 to 19. Two predominant ones are based either on simple juxtaposition of the numeral *d'an* '10' and the numeral from 1 to 9, or on the ablative case form of the numeral *d'an* '10' (*d'an-duk* (lit.) 'from 10') plus the numeral from 1 to 9: 11 – *d'an(duk) umun*, 12 – *d'an(duk) d'ur*, 13 – *d'an(duk) ilan*, 14 – *d'an(duk) dygin*, 15 – *d'an(duk) tunnga*, 16 – *d'an(duk) n'ungun*, 17 – *d'an(duk) nadan*, 18 – *d'an(duk) d'apkun*, 19 – *d'an(duk) egin*, 20 – *d'ur d'a-r* (lit. 'two tens'), 21 – *d'ur d'ar umun*, 22 – *d'ur d'ar d'ur*, 23 – *d'ur d'ar ilan*, etc., 30 – *ilan d'a-r* (lit. 'three tens'), 40 – *dygin d'ar*, 50 – *tunnga d'ar*, 60 – *njungun d'ar*, 70 – *nadan d'ar*, 80 – *d'apkun d'ar*, 90 – *egin d'ar*, 100 – *n'ama:di*, 200 – *d'ur n'ama:di*, 300 – *ilan n'ama:di*, 400 – *dygin n'ama:di*, 1000 – *umun tysicha*, 2000 – *d'ur tysicha*, etc. New numerals for numbers more that 20 are created by mere juxtaposition of words denoting 'tens', 'hundreds' and 'thousands' plus numerals from 1 to 9:

(1010) d'an ilan tysicha dygin n'ama:di egin d'a-r tunnga
ten three thousand four hundred nine ten-pl five
'13,495'

Note also *kaltaka* 'half' and *dulin* 'middle/half', e.g. *g'e dulin-in/g'e kaltaka-n* (lit. 'another half (3sg.poss)') 'one and a half', etc.

2.1.6.2. Cardinal numerals as attributes

All numerals may be used attributively preceding and agreeing with their head noun in case:

(1011) Bi ilan-ma oro-r-vo iche-0-m.
I three-accd reindeer-pl-accd see-nfut-1sg
'I saw three reindeer.'

There are no distinct numerals used as attributes.

2.1.6.3. Distinct numerals for counting different kinds of objects

There are no distinct numerals used for counting different kinds of objects.

2.1.6.4. Ordinal numerals

Ordinals beginning from 'third' are formed on cardinals with the help of the suffix *-gi/-ki/-i* (final nasals of the numerals *ilan* 'three', *dygin* 'four', *n'ungun* 'six', *nadan* 'seven', *d'apkun* 'eight' and *egin* 'nine' together with the preceding vowel are dropped; see (1012)). For 'first', a borrowing from Russian is used (*pervaj* < Russian *pervyj* 'first-masc'). There are also Evenki words *n'ogu* 'first' when speaking about moving objects, e.g. animals or people, and *elekesipty* 'first' when speaking about time, e.g. *elekesipty Maj* 'the first of May'. Instead of 'second' the word *g'e* '(an)other' is used. The list of ordinals from 'third' to 'fiftieth' is given in (1012):

(1012) *il-i* 'third', *dyg-i* 'fourth', *tunng-i* 'fifth', *n'ung-i* 'sixth', *nad-i* 'seventh', *d'apk-i* 'eighth', *eg-i* 'ninth', *d'a-gi* 'tenth', *d'an umuke-gi* 'eleventh', *d'an d'u-gi* 'twelth', *d'an il-i* 'thirteenth', etc., *d'ur d'a-gi* 'twentieth', *d'ur d'ar umuke-gi* 'twenty-first', *d'ur d'ar d'u-gi* 'twenty-second', *d'ur d'ar il-i* 'twenty-third', etc., *ilan d'a-gi* 'thirtieth', *dygin d'a-gi* 'fortieth', *tunnga d'a-gi* 'fiftieth', etc.

The ordinals are used only attributively and agree in case with the head noun:

(1013) Bi edu ili-va-tyn tyrgani-va bi-d'e-m.
I here third-accd-3pl.poss day-accd be-prs-1sg
'I live here for the third day (running).'

(1014) Nungan dygi-du d'av-du teget-chere-n.
he fourth-dat boat-dat sit-prs-3sg
'He is sitting in the fourth boat.'

2.1.6.5. Other derivatives of numerals

Collective numerals for counting people are formed only from numerals from 'two' to 'ten' (suffixes *-kte* and *-(n)i*: are used for this function): *d'u-kte* 'two (together)'/'(we, you, they) two', *ilan-i*: 'three (together)', *dygin-i*: 'four (together)', *tunnga-ni*: 'five (together)', *n'ungun-i*: 'six (together)', *nadan-i*: 'seven (together)', *d'apkun-i*: 'eight (together)', *egin-i*: 'nine (together)', *d'an-i*: 'ten (together)'. The suffix *-(n)i*: comes from the Pratungus noun **ni* 'man/human being'.

Collective numerals for counting objects (and also people) are formed with the help of suffix *-gdA/-ngnA* from numerals from 'two' to 'ten' (final nasals of numerals are dropped in this case): *d'ure-gde* 'two (together)', *ila-ngna* 'three (together)', *dygi-ngne* 'four (together)', *tungna-gda* 'five (together)', *n'ungu-ngna* 'six (together)', *nada-ngna* 'seven (together)', *d'apku-ngna* 'eight (together)', *egi-ngne* 'nine (together)', *d'a-ngne* 'ten (together)'.

Numerals from 'three' to 'ten' form derivatives in *-llA* denoting the number of days (cf. *nada-lla* 'seven days'/'a week'), in *-nu/-pu* denoting the number of tents, e.g. *ilan-nu* (*-nu* < *d'u* 'tent/house') 'three tents' and in *-musA* denoting the number of places or directions, e.g. *dygin-muse* 'four places/directions'.

Adverbial derivatives in *-rA* denote the number of times an action occurs up to one hundred (final nasals are dropped), e.g. *d'u-re* 'two times'/'twice', *ila-ra* 'three times', *dyg-re* 'four times', *tungna-ra* 'five times', *n'ungu-re* 'six times', *nada-ra* 'seven times', *d'apku-ra* 'eight times', *egi-re* 'nine times', *d'a-re* 'ten times', *d'an umuke-re* 'eleven times', *d'an d'u-re* 'twenty times', *ilan d'ar ila-ra* 'thirty-three times', etc.

Distributive derivatives in *-tAl* denote the quantity of objects or persons partaking in each of the sequence of situations, e.g. *umu-tel* 'singly'/'one by one', *d'u-tel* 'in twos', *ila-tal* 'in threes', *dygi-tel* 'in fours', *tungna-tal* 'in fives', etc. up to 'in tens', for example:

(1015) Beje-l d'av-il-du-tyn ilatal tege-re-0.
man-pl boat-pl-dat-3pl.poss in.threes sit.down-nfut-3pl
'The men sat in their boats in threes (i.e. three in each boat).'

(1016) Asi kungaka-r-du dygitel-ve evike-r-ve bu:-re-n.
woman child-pl-dat in.fours-accd toy-pl-accd give-nfut-3sg
'The woman gave each child four toys.'

Multiplicative numerals in *-mAn* denote objects which either lie in layers upon each other or are situated near each other, e.g. *umun-men* 'individual/solitary', *d'un-men/d'ur-men* 'twofold/double', *ilan-man* 'threefold/triple' *dygin-men* 'fourfold', *tungnan-man* 'fivefold', etc. up to *d'an-man* 'tenfold'. (There are also variants *ilar-man* 'threefold', *dygir-men* 'fourfold', etc.) For example:

(1017) Torga dygin-men-di chakil-iv-cha.
cloth four-dstr-instr roll.up-pass-part
'The cloth is rolled up in four layers.'

The use of fractions is very limited. Fractions are expressed by adding the ordinal to the cardinal numeral: *umuken ili:-tyn* (*-tyn* – 3pl.poss) 'one third', *d'ur ili:-tyn* 'two thirds', *d'ur nadi:-tyn* 'two sevenths'. Whenever 'a half' is meant the nouns *dulin* 'middle' or *kaltaka* 'a half' are used, e.g. *kolobo dulin-in* (*-(i)n* – 3sg.poss) 'half of the bread', *b'ega dulin-in* 'the middle of the month', *b'ega kaltaka-n* 'half of the month'. Mixed numbers are formed by addition of a fraction to whole numbers:

(1018) a. ilan dygi:-tyn dulin-in
three fourth-3pl.poss half-3sg.poss
'three and a half'
(lit.) 'three fourth half-of-it'

(1018) b. dygin taduk d'ur tunngi:-tyn
four and.then two fifth-3pl.poss
'four and two fifths'

2.1.6.6. Quantifiers

The following quantifiers occur: *adykan/adykar* 'several'/'some'/'a few', *g'e* '(an)other', *d'ukte* 'both', *ngitykın* 'each', *upkat* 'all'/'whole'/'all sorts of'. These are almost always used attributively.

2.1.6.6.1. Quantifier compounds

The only quantifier compounds are formed with the enclitic *-vAl*, giving indefinite sense, e.g. *ngi-vel* 'anyone/somebody/anybody', *o:kir-val* 'once (upon a time)', *ekun-mal* 'anything/somebody', *o:kin-mal* 'whenever', *ile-vel* 'wherever/anywhere', *irtyki-vel* 'anywhere', *i:du-vel* 'wherever/everywhere'.

2.1.6.6.2. Other means

There is no other means of expressing quantification.

2.1.7. Adverbs

Adverbs are listed under 1.2.1.3.1.1.

2.1.7.1. Kinds of comparison

2.1.7.1.1. Equality

This function is expressed by adverbials *er-gechin* (lit. 'this-similar') or *tar-gachin* (lit. 'that-similar') 'such as . . .', e.g. *targachin himat* 'just as quickly'. Most frequently the suffix *-gAchin* 'as if'/'similar' is added to the noun which denotes the standard of comparison:

(1019) Oron hukty-d'ere-n himat murin-ngachin.
reindeer run-prs-3sg quickly horse-eqt
'A/The reindeer runs as quickly as a horse.'

2.1.7.1.2. Comparative

The suffix *-tmAr* (which is used with qualitative adjectives in comparative constructions) is added to adverbs:

(1020) Si min-duk aja-tmar-it ulli-d'e-nni.
you I-abl good-cmpr-instr sew-prs-2sg
'You sew better than me.'

2.1.7.1.3. Superlative

In this function the same suffix *-tmAr* is used (see 2.1.7.1.2) together with the ablative form of the quantifier *upkat* 'all/everybody':

(1021) Tar bejetken upkat-tuk gugda-tmar-it mikcha:n-e-n.
that boy all-abl high-cmpr-instr jump-nfut-3sg
'That boy jumped higher than all.'

2.1.7.2. Degrees of a quality

All degrees of a quality are expressed lexically: *so:*/*so:t* (*-t* – instr)/*engeni* 'very' (it can also have the interpretation 'too') and *aran/adykandi* 'rather'/'a little'.

2.1.8. Clitics

There are about 50 uninflectable enclitics, 20 of which always follow complete inflected word-forms and about 30 of which are independent particles. Some of the clitics may have several interpretations. See 2.1.8.1–9.

2.1.8.1. Types of clitic elements

2.1.8.1.1–4. Pronouns as clitic elements

Pronouns (personal, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal) are not used as clitic elements.

2.1.8.1.5. Auxiliary verbs as clitic elements

Auxiliary verbs are not used as clitic elements.

2.1.8.1.6. Sentence particles

2.1.8.1.6.1. Modal particles

2.1.8.1.6.1.1. With expressive and emotional sense: About half of enclitics attached to notional words belong to this group. Such words with clitics are spelled with a hyphen.

-ngnA 'exactly'

(1022) Nungan tadu-ngna buru-re-n.
he there-clt fall-nfut-3sg
'He fell down exactly/just there.'

(1023) Teli-ngne bi mel-cha-v.
then-clt i awake-pst-1sg
'I awoke just then.'

-vAlin 'namely/exactly'

(1024) Si-velin davla-kal.
you-clt sing-2sg.imp
'And now you sing!'

-kAn/-kAnAn 'first'/'and now'

(1025) Sin-du-ken bu:-d'e-m.
you-dat-clt give-fut-1sg
'I shall give you as the first.'/(lit.) 'You will be the first whom I'll give it.'

-ngAn 'but why' (surprise is expressed)

(1026) Bi-ngen guni-0-m sin-tyki.
I-clt say-nfut-1sg you-locall
'But I have told you that!'/'Why, I told you (that)!'

-mAk 'exactly/just'

(1027) Nungan eme-re-n teli-mek.
he come-nfut-3sg then-clt
'He came exactly/just then.'

-vAr/-pAr/-kAr 'exactly/just'

(1028) Ta-var gun-e-n.
that-clt say-nfut-3sg
'It was he (i.e. that man) who said (it).'

-kA 'exactly/just/namely'

(1029) Suru-d'e-p-ke!
go.away-fut-1pl.inc-clt
'Well, let us go!'

-dA 'exactly/just'

(1030) Si-de gun-che-s!
you-clt say-pst-2sg
'But it was you who said (it)!'/'Exactly you said (it).'

-sA 'exactly/just'

(1031) Bi ergechin-me-se d'u-va o:-d'a-m.
I similar-accd-clt house-accd make-fut-1sg
'I shall build the house (tent) exactly/just like this one.'

-tA 'but' (categorical meaning is expressed)

(1032) Bu:-kel-te!
give-2sg.imp-clt
'Give (it to me)!'

(1033) Si-de-te aja-kakun bi-si-nni!
you-clt-clt good-ints be-prs-2sg
'But you are really very good!'

-kun 'surely'/'of course' (added to the verb stem)

(1034) Si nungan-man sa:-0-nni-gu? Sa:-kun.
you he-accd know-nfut-2sg-clt know-clt
'Do you know him/her?' – 'Of course, I do (lit. know).'

-mAt 'if only'

(1035) Kolobo-mot min-du bi-mche!
bread-clt i-dat be-subj
'If only I had bread!'

-nun 'exactly / only'

(1036) Nungan-man-nun ala:t-che-m. (*-che* < *-d'e*)
he-accd-clt wait-prs-1sg
'I am waiting only (lit. exactly) for him.'

2.1.8.1.6.1.2. With pejorative meaning: Three enclitics are used for this function: *-luvAr, -vAsi, -pun'a*:

(1037) Si-luver e:-va o:-d'a-nni?!
you-clt what-accd make-fut-2sg
'But what will you (be able to) do?! (with the implication 'when you are so small and weak')

(1038) Si-vesi simula-d'a-kal!
you-clt be.silent-impv-2sg.imp
'Well, you, keep silent!'

(1039) A:chin-ma va:-cha-s?! Bejumimni-pun'a!
none-accd kill-pst-2sg hunter-clt
'You have killed nothing, haven't you?! And you call yourself a hunter?! / A hunter too!'

2.1.8.1.6.1.3. With affirmative sense: Two particles are used for this function: *tug(e)* 'really' and *sa:bel* 'really':

(1040) Tug eme-re-n.
clt come-nfut-3sg .
'He really came.'

(1041) Sa:bel ngene-d'ere-0.
really go-prs-3pl
'They really are going / coming.'

2.1.8.1.6.1.4. With suppositional sense: Enclitic *-dAk* is used:

(1042) Goro-duk-dek eme-re-0.
far-abl-clt come-nfut-3pl
'They have probably come from afar.'

2.1.8.1.6.2. Interrogative particles There is only one interrogative clitic *-gu/ku/-ngu* which may attach to any notional part of the sentence (subject, object, predicate, attribute, adverbial modifier). This clitic is not obligatory and sometimes only intonation shows that the sentence is interrogative, for example:

(1043) Si edu goro-vo(-gu) teget-che-nni?
you here far-accd(-clt) sit-prs-2sg
'Have you been sitting here for a long time?'

(1044) D'u-du-s pektyre:vun(-ngu) bi-si-n?
house-dat-2sg.poss gun(-clt) be-prs-3sg
'Do you have a gun at home/in your tent?'

2.1.8.1.6.3. Negative particles There are no negative clitics in Evenki. This function is performed by negative words used separately: *eche* 'no' and *atmama* 'no'/'not in the least', *sa:rep* 'I do not know it':

(1045) Eche-che, bi mulli-0-m.
no no I cannot-nfut-1sg
'No, I cannot/couldn't do it.'

(1046) Atmama, nungan e-te-n bu:-re.
no he neg.aux-fut-3sg give-part
'No, he will not give (it).'

(1047) Sa:rep, i:du bi-d'eri-ve-tyn.
I.do.not.know where be-part-accd-3pl.poss
'I do not know, where they are (now).'

2.1.8.1.7. Sentence connectives

The enclitic *-dA* is used as word and sentence connective:

(1048) D'ep-che-n-de e-che-n aiv-ra.
eat-pst-3sg-clt neg.aux-pst-3sg eat.one's.fill-part
(lit.) 'He ate, but didn't eat to satiety.'

(1049) Esikeken eme-re-p, si-de suru-mu-d'e-nni
and.now come-nfut-1pl.inc you-clt go.away-vol-prs-2sg
amaski.
back
'We have just come, and/but you (already) want to go back.'

2.1.8.1.8. Anaphoric particles

These are lacking.

2.1.8.1.9. Others

There is a small group of enclitics and particles with the limitative meaning ('only') and related senses: *-riktA*, e.g. *beje-rikte-l* 'only men',

-mAju (used with numerals), e.g. *ilan-maju* 'only three', *ele* 'only', for example:

(1050) Tadu ele singilgen-de singilgen.
there only snow-clt snow
'There is only snow there.'

There are also the following enclitics and particles: *-tykin* 'every/each', e.g. *tyrgan-tykin* 'every day', *-vAl* 'any' (see 2.1.6.6.1), *angi* (kataphoric particle), *ke* 'well', for example:

(1051) Ke, ngene-get!
well go-1pl.imp
'Well, let us go!'

There are also about ten particles borrowed from Russian e.g. *-li* 'or/whether', *nushele* (< *neuzheli*) 'really', *ushe* (< *uzhe*) 'already', *toshe* (< *tozhe*) 'also', *ipsjoramno* (< *vs'o ravno* lit. 'all equal') 'it is all the same (to me)'.

2.1.8.2. Positions occupied by enclitics

The enclitics in section 2.1.8.1. which are preceded by a hyphen are attached either post-verbally or post-nominally, i.e. their position depends on the notional element of the sentence they are attached to (see examples (1021)–(1051)). Particles which are spelled separately either stand sentence-initially or occupy pre-verbal position (see examples in 2.1.8.1.6–9).

2.1.8.3. The relative order of enclitics

Enclitics are almost never used in succession (i.e. more than two enclitics never occur). There seem to be only two possible combinations of clitics: *-vAl-dA* and *-dA-tA* (1033):

(1052) Goro-vo busse-che-vel-de avgara-cha-v.
far-accd be.ill-part-clt-clt recover-pst-1sg
'Though I had been ill for a long time, I recovered.'

(1053) Nungan-da-ta hegdy-kekun bi-si-n!
he-clt-clt big-ints be-prs-3sg
'He is really very big!'

Other combinations of clitics do not occur.

2.1.8.4. Restrictions on possible combinations of clitics

There are only two allowable combinations of clitics: *-vAl-dA* and *-dA-tA* (see 2.1.8.3). All the other combinations are excluded.

2.1.8.5. Means of expressing meanings of excluded combinations

Since one enclitic together with the required intonational contour is sufficient to express meaning, there is no need for means of expressing excluded combinations of clitics.

2.2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Derivation by means of suffixes is important for the morphology of all Altaic languages. Evenki is rich in productive affixes: there are no less than 100 derivational suffixes. One verb form may have at most two different voice markers and at most three different aspectual markers. Iteration of one and the same affix occurs very seldom and is possible only with the ingressive marker *-l* and imperfective marker *-d'A* when the second occurrence of *-d'A* is accounted for by its participation in the temporal marker (e.g. the present tense marker *-d'ArA* or the imperfect marker *-d'AchA*). The nominal form may have at most four suffixes, and the verbal form, at most six suffixes, but usually these forms have not more than two to three affixes, both derivational and inflectional. The complete morpheme ordering of Evenki noun form is:

(1054) stem – derivational affix(es) – number – case – alienable possession – personal/reflexive possession – clitic.

(1055) a. mo:-la-kit-tula-tyn-da
tree-vr-nr-all-3pl.poss-clt
'and also to their place where they gather firewood'

(1055) b. tat-kit-il-du-var
study-nr-pl-dat-prefl
'in our/your (pl)/their schools'

The canonical categorial ordering of verbal suffixes expressing different categories is given in (1056):

(1056) stem – derivational affix – valency – voice – modality – aspect – evaluation – aspect – tense/non-indicative moods/non-finite forms – agreement – similarity.

The maximal morphemic ordering of Evenki verb form includes the following 19 positions (the slash between categories implies that the respective markers are additionally distributed):

(1057) Verb stem (stem forming affix) –

1 dispersive *-ktA*
2 causative *-vkAn*
3 sociative *-ldy*
4 reciprocal *-mAt*
5 passive *-v(u)*
6 directive *-nA* ('go')
7 conative *-ssA* ('try')
8 semelfactive *-sin*
9 desiderative *-mu* ('want')
10 continuous *-t/-chi*
11 iterative *-vAt*
12 quick action marker *-mAlchA*
13 evaluation (*-kAkut/-kAt/-vlA/-mAty/-mA*)
14 ingressive *-l*
15 imperfective *-d'A*
16 habitual *-ngnA*
17 tense/non-indicative moods/non-finite forms (converbs/participles)
18 agreement (personal/reflexive)
19 similarity marker *-gAchin*

The maximal morphemic chain presented in (1057) shows that some aspectual markers tend to occur closer to the verb stem (*-ktA, -sin, -t/-chi, -vAt, -mAlchA*) whereas other aspectual markers tend to immediately precede the markers of obligatory position (17) (*-l, -d'A, -ngnA*). Positions (17) (tense/non-indicative moods/non-finite forms) and (18) (agreement) must be filled obligatorily. All the other positions are optional. The verb form may be formed either from the verbal root plus verb-modifying suffixes or from the nominal root verbalized by a verbalizing affix (see 2.2.2.1) plus verb-modifying markers, for example:

(1058) a. Iche-vken-mu-d'ere-n.
see-caus-vol-prs-3sg
'(s)he wants to show (something)'

(1058) b. D'u-ngi-l-d'acha-v.
house-vr-inch-impf-1sg
'I was beginning to build the house/to erect the tent.'

(1058) c. Ngene-kte-d'e-ngki-tyn.
go-dstr-impv-hab.pst-3pl
'They were usually going here and there.'

(1058) d. Suru-vke-ldy-vet-che-n.
go.away-caus-soc-iter-pst-3sg
'(S)he with someone else usually made (somebody) go away.'

(1058) e. Eme-re-n-ngechin.
come-nfut-3sg-sim
'It seems as if/that he came.'/'He seems to have come.'

Suffixes expressing categories of obligatory positions (17) and (18) (tense or non-indicative mood or non-finite form and agreement) almost always occur verb-finally (for the only exception involving the marker *-gAchın* with the meaning of similarity 'as if' see (1058e)) and cannot exchange places with any of the optional categories. Suffixes which can exchange places with respect to each other belong to the following categories: the productive causative *-vkAn* (with respect to the reciprocal (*-mAt*) and the sociative (*-ldy*) markers; see (1062)–(1065)); the ingressive *-l* (with respect to the desiderative marker *-mu*, see (1059)); the imperfective *-d'A* with respect to the habitual *-ngnA*, see (1060)); for example:

(1059) a. Nungan hereket in-mu-l-che-n.
she separately live-vol-inch-pst-3sg
(lit.) 'She began to want to live separately/on her own.'

(1059) b. Nungan kete-li sa:-l-mu-d'acha-n.
she much-prol know-inch-vol-impf-3sg
(lit.) 'She wanted to begin to know (about) many things.'

(1060) a. Bu amin-du-ver bele-d'e-ngne-re-v.
we father-dat-prefl help-impv-hab-nfut-1pl.exc
'We always/usually help our father.'

(1060) b. Nungan min-dule eme-ngne-d'e-vki.
he I-all come-hab-impv-hab.part
'He usually comes to me.'

In examples (1059a) and (1059b) the main verbs contain the desiderative (*-mu*) and the ingressive (*-l*) markers which take different positions with respect to each other. Their different placement is conditioned semantically: the scope of each of these suffixes is the word or part of the word to its left. This gives different meanings, cf. 'began to want' and 'wanted to begin' respectively. In (1060) change in the relative position of two aspectual affixes (imperfective *-d'A* and habitual *-ngnA*) does not produce obvious semantic changes in aspectual characteristics. Other pairs of suffixes which may (though very seldom) exchange places with respect to each other involve, for instance, the continuous marker *-t/-chı* and the passive marker *-v(u)*:

(1061) a. Urke-l somi-vu-t-cha-tyn.
door-pl close-pass-cont-pst-3pl
'The doors were closed (for some time).'

(1061) b. Tar amut-tu kolemte-l ollomo-chi-vu-vki-l.
that lake-dat crustacean-pl fish-cont-pass-hab.part-pl
'Crustaceans are (may be) fished in that lake.'

Change in the ordering of the causative suffix *-vkAn* and the reciprocal (*-mAt*) or sociative (*-ldy*) markers leads to a more significant change in meaning: either change in the number of actants fulfilling different semantic roles (1062) or change in the number of situations expressed by related verb forms with respective suffixes (1063)–(1065).

A. Change in the number of actants fulfilling different semantic roles

(1062) a. Nungan tari-l-va beje-l-ve suru-vke-ldy-re-n.
he that-pl-accd man-pl-accd go.away-caus-soc-nfut-3sg
'He-together-with-someone-else made those people go away.'

(1062) b. Nungan tari-l-va beje-l-ve suru-ldy-vken-e-n.
he that-pl-accd man-pl-accd go.away-soc-caus-nfut-3sg
'He made those people go away together.'

The morphemic sequence *-vke-ldy* (causative–sociative) in (1062a) implies that the situation involves more than one causer, whereas the sequence of affixes in (1062b) *-ldy-vken* (sociative–causative) implies that the number of causees is more than one. The causative suffix *-vken* in (1062a) has in its scope only the verb stem *suru-* 'go away', whereas in (1062b) the causative suffix has in its scope all the verb form to its left: *suru-ldy-* 'go away together'.

B. Change in the number of situations expressed by related verb forms

This type includes cases of positional variability of the following pairs of suffixes: the causative *-vkAn* plus the sociative *-ldy* from the transitive bases (1063) and the causative *-vkan* plus the reciprocal from both intransitive (1064) and transitive (1065) bases:

(1063) a. Asi kungakan-me iche-vken-e-n.
woman child-accd see-caus-nfut-3sg
'The woman showed the child.'

(1063) b. Asi kungakan-me iche-vke-ldy-re-n.
woman child-accd see-caus-soc-nfut-3sg
(lit.) 'The woman showed-together-with-someone-else the child.'

(1063) c. Asi kungaka-r-ve iche-ldy-vken-e-n.
woman child-pl-accd see-soc-caus-nfut-3sg
'The woman permitted the children to meet each other.'

Example (1063b) with the sequence 'causative–sociative' denotes one causative situation 'a woman with at least one (unexpressed) companion showed the child to somebody', whereas (1063c) with the sequence 'sociative–causative' denotes two situations: one causative 'a woman permitted the children to meet each other' and the other non-causative 'children met each other'. In the following pairs of sentences there is analogous difference in meaning:

(1064) a. Nungartyn ngorcha-vkan-mat-chere-0.
they struggle-caus-rec-prs-3pl
'They provoke each other to fight.' (lit.) 'They make each other fight with one another.' (one situation)

(1064) b. Nungartyn ngorcha-machi-vkan-d'ere-0,
they struggle-rec-caus-prs-3pl
'They make others fight with each other.'
(two situations: (i) the situation of causation of fighting, and (ii) the situation of fighting itself)

(1065) a. Bejumimni-l purta-l-var iche-vke-met-te-0.
hunter-pl knife-pl-prefl see-caus-rec-nfut-3pl
'The hunters showed each other their knives.' (one situation)

(1065) b. Bejumimni-l kungaka-r-ve iche-mechi-vken-e-0.
hunter-pl child-pl-accd see-rec-caus-nfut-3pl
'The hunters permitted their children to meet each other.' (two situations)

Examples (1064) and (1065) exhibit a further important difference. In the constructions expressing one (causative) situation (1064a), (1065a), there are at least two participants, each fulfilling two semantic roles – the causer and the causee; but in the constructions expressing two situations (1064b, 1065b), there are at least three participants each fulfilling a single semantic role – one as the causer, and the remaining two as causees acting reciprocally.

The sequence of morphemes 'causative (either productive *-vkAn* or non-productive *-v*) – passive *-v*' is quite common (see (1066a) and (1067a)), whereas the reverse sequence 'passive *-v*–causative' is practically impossible. Only two examples of the sequence 'passive–causative' were found (see (1066b) and (1067b)). These are probably attempts to express Russian constructions through Evenki morphology.

(1066) a. Tar pektyre:vun bejumimni-l-du iche-vken-muv-d'ere-n.
that gun hunter-pl-dat see-caus-pass-prs-3sg
'That gun was shown to the hunters.'

(1066) b. Tar dukulan dukuvun-du-vi mitngi dunne-ve-t
that writer book-dat-prefl our land-accd-1pl.inc

iche-vu-vken-d'ere-n,
see-pass-caus-prs-3sg
'That writer shows in his book the beauty of our land.' (lit. 'That writer [referring to a famous Evenki writer] in his book causes to be seen (the beauty of) our land.')

(1067) a. Nungan institut-tula i:vu-vken-muv-d'ere-n.
he institute-all admit-caus-pass-prs-3sg
'He is/was admitted to the institute [thanks to somebody's help].'

(1067) b. Nungan me:nmi institut-tula i:vu-vu-vken-d'ere-n.
he oneself institute-all admit-pass-caus-prs-3sg
(lit.) 'He causes himself to be admitted to the institute.'

Such constructions as (1066b) and (1067b) are considered marginal by some informants, and by other informants as ungrammatical.

Double occurrence in one verb form of one and the same category is possible, but with heavy restrictions: for the causative when the first causative is non-productive *-v* and the second is productive *-vkAn* (1068); for ingressive *-l* (1069); and for imperfective *-d'A* (1070) when the second *-d'A* is incorporated in the tense marker (so the last marker is not a clear case):

(1068) a. *i:-* 'enter' – *i:-v-* 'bring in(to the house)'

(1068) b. Bejetken mo:-l-va i:-v-re-n.
boy wood-pl-accd enter-caus-nfut-3sg
'The boy brought firewood into the house.'

(1068) c. Amin bejetken-me mo:-l-va i:-vu-vken-e-n.
father boy-accd wood-pl-accd enter-caus-caus-nfut-3sg
'The father made the boy bring firewood into the house.'

(1069) a. *deg-* 'fly' – *degi-l-* 'fly up'/'take off (of a plane)'

(1069) b. Asa-l degi-li-chi-l-le-0.
woman-pl fly-ingr-cont-ingr-nfut-3pl
'The women began to fly up.' (from a fairy tale)

(1070) a. Nungan agi-li girku-d'a-d'a-n.
he forest-prol walk-impv-fut-3sg
'He will walk through the forest for a long time.'

(1070) b. Nungan agi-li girku-d'a-d'ara-n.
he forest-prol walk-impv-prs-3sg
'He walks in the forest for a long time.'

2.2.1. Derivation of nouns

2.2.1.1. Nouns from nouns

There are the following affixes:

-ruk 'receptacle'/'box/case for something': *dukungki* 'pencil' – *dukungki-ruk* 'pencil-case', *inme* 'needle' – *inme-ruk* 'needle case'
-ksA 'pelt/hide': *sulaki* 'fox' – *sulaki-ksa* 'fox-pelt'
-mAn 'fan/having predilection': *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-mon* 'man having predilection for fishing'
-g/-sAg 'place where something grows or is situated': *chuka* 'grass' – *chuka-g* 'meadow', *gule* 'house' – *gule-seg* 'village'
-mkurA 'bush': *dikte* 'blueberry' – *dikte-mkure* 'blueberry bush'
-tkAn 'child/cub/calf': *beje* 'man' – *beje-tken* 'boy', *oron* 'reindeer' *-orot-kon* 'reindeer-calf/young reindeer'
-ptun (object which is put on a part of the human body): *ngale* 'hand' – *ngale-ptun* 'bracelet', *un'akan* 'finger' – *un'aka-ptun* 'finger-ring'
-ngnA (geographical denomination connected with certain characteristics of the place): *gutken* 'pike' (fish) – *gutke-ngne* 'Pike river', *tukala* 'clay/loam' – *Tukala-ngna* 'Tukalanda' (name of the village)
-gAn 'permanent resident': *bira* 'river' – *bira-gan* 'man who lives near the river', *Moskva* 'Moscow' – *moskva-gan* 'Muscovite'
-rAn 'fake'/'not genuine object': *purta* 'knife' – *purta-ran* 'fake knife'/'something like/resembling knife', *hokto* 'road' – *hokto-ron* 'path/track', *amin* 'father' – *ami-ran* 'stepfather'
-ngAt (material for something): *kolobo* 'bread' – *kolobo-ngot* 'dough', *d'av* 'boat' – *d'av-ngat* 'material/boards for a boat'
-ty (animal which usually eats something): *mo*: 'tree' – *mo:-ty* 'elk', *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-ty* 'seagull'
-mAgin (a man having some predilection): *hute* 'child' – *hute-megin* 'a man who loves children'
-lAsA (period of the season): *nangmakta* 'gnats/mosquitoes' - *nangma-lasa* 'a period in summer and autumn when there are a lot of gnats', *engneken* 'young reindeer' – *engneke-lese* 'period of reindeer calving' (see 2.1.1.6.1.7)
-ngAsa 'dead/late relative': *amin* 'father' – *ami-ngasa* 'dead father', *eni* 'mother' – *eni-ngese* 'dead mother'
-sik 'clothes': *d'u* 'house' – *d'u-sik* 'clothes for house-wear', *saman* 'shaman' – *sama-sik* 'clothes of shaman'/'shaman's clothing'

-nAk 'plurality': *irikte* 'ant' – *iri-nek* 'anthill', *d'uvukte* 'bee/wasp' – *d'uvu-nek* 'honeycombs'
-rAk (space for something): *kedere* 'instrument for dressing leather' – *kedere-rek* 'bag for the instrument used for dressing leather', *udun* 'rain' – *udu-rek* 'rainy/bad weather'
-kAkun 'very big': *mo:ty* 'elk' – *mo:ty-kakun* 'a very big elk'
-pchAne 'huge/enormous': *bira* 'river' – *bira-pchane* 'a very wide (or long) river', *asi* 'woman' – *asi-pchane* 'a very tall (and/or stout) woman'
-kAn (diminutive meaning): *tolgoki* 'sledge' – *tolgoki-kan* 'little sledge', *abdu* 'property/belongings' – *abdu-kan* 'a toy'
-chAn (pejorative meaning): *atyrkan* 'old woman' – *atyrka-chan* 'wicked old woman', *asi* 'woman' – *asi-chan* 'vicious woman'
-mi 'old/shabby': *gule* 'house' – *gule-mi* 'old, shabby house', *su:n* 'coat' – *su:-mi* 'shabby coat'
-gidA (side of an object): *amar* 'back' – *amar-gida* 'back of an object', *here* 'bottom' – *her-gide* 'lower part of an object'

2.2.1.2. Nouns from verbs

There are the following nominalizing affixes:

-mni 'agent'/'-er': *duku-* 'write' – *duku-mni* 'writer', *ollomi-* 'fish' – *ollomi-mni* 'fisherman'
-d'A 'agent'/'-er': *bejumi-* 'hunt' – *bejumi-d'e* (cf. *bejumi-mni*) 'hunter', *tevli-* 'gather berries' – *tevli-d'e* 'a person gathering berries'
-lAn 'experienced agent': *va:-* 'kill' – *va:-lan* 'a good hunter', *ike-* 'sing' – *ike-len* 'a good singer'
-kit 'place of action': *tang-* 'read' – *tang-kit* 'library', *aj-* 'heal' – *ait-kit* 'hospital'
-d'Ak 'place of past action': *icheldy-* 'meet each other' – *icheldy-d'ak* 'place of past meeting', *baldy-* 'be born' – *baldy-d'ak* 'place of birth'
-vun 'instrument': *eri-* 'dig' – *eri-vun* 'spade', *evi-* 'play' – *evi-vun* 'toy'
-vun 'result of an action': *duku-* 'write' – *duku-vun* 'book/letter', *ityv-* 'organize' – *ity-vun* 'organization'
-ngki 'instrument': *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-ngki* 'tongs', *duku-* 'write' – *duku-ngki* 'pencil'
-n 'nomen actionis': *davdy-* 'win' – *davdy-n* 'victory', *kusi-* 'fight' – *kusi-n* 'a fight'
-muk 'physiological state': *enu-* 'be ill' – *enu-muk* 'illness', *inje-* 'laugh' – *in'e-muk* 'laughter'
-sAmnA 'remainder/remains/leavings': *huna-* 'saw' – *huna-samna* 'sawdust', *noda:-* 'throw' – *noda:-samna* 'garbage', *huju-* 'boil' – *huju-semne* 'scum'
-r 'process or result of an action': *songo-* 'weep/cry' – *songo-r* 'weeping/crying', *ulli-* 'sew' – *ulli-r* 'seam'

-ktA 'result of an action': *gira-* 'make a step' – *gira-kta* 'step', *va:-* 'kill/maim' – *va:-kte* 'wound'
-ptyn 'object for covering or wrapping up': *dal-* 'cover' – *dali-ptyn* 'lid/cover', *chakchiran* 'cork up' – *chakchira-ptyn* 'cork'
-ptyn 'material or instrument of an action': *ila-* 'kindle' – *ila-ptyn* 'kindling/firewood', *av-* 'wash' – *avu-ptyn* 'towel'
-mAktA 'result of a recent action': *baldy-* 'be born' – *baldy-makta* 'new-born child', *asila-* 'marry' – *asila-makta* 'recently married man'
-nngA 'instrument or result of an action': *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-nnga* 'tongs', *hileke-* 'melt' – *hileke-nnge* 'thawed patch', *ichev-* 'be seen/visible' – *ichevu-nnge* 'appearance' (face expressing emotions)
-ptun 'result of an action': *gir-* 'cut' – *giri-ptun* 'scrap/shred/rag', *ula-* 'moisten/make wet' – *ula-ptun* 'ferment for dressing leather'
-ksAn 'location of action': *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-ksan* 'door handle', *chokon-* 'aim (at)' – *choko-kson* 'sight of a gun'
-ngA 'agent': *tuksa-* 'run' – *tuksa-nga* 'runaway/fugitive', *enel-* 'be lazy' – *enel-nge* 'lazy person/lazy bones'

2.2.1.2.1. The syntax of deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns function exactly like other nominals as regards inflection and syntax.

2.2.1.3. Nouns from adjectives

There are no affixes forming nouns from adjectives. Adjectives become nominalized by appearing in the syntactic nominal positions. Compare:

(1071) a. gugda ure
high mountain
'a high mountain'

(1071) b. Ure gugda-n umun kilometer bi-si-n,
mountain high-3sg.poss one kilometre be-prs-3sg
'The height of this mountain is one kilometre.'

(1072) a. aja beje
good man
'a good man'

(1072) b. Bi tar beje aja-va-n sa:-0-m.
I that man good-accd-3sg.poss know-nfut-1sg
'I know that this man is good/kind.'/'I know the kindness of that man.'

Adjectives in the function of nominals may be declined and have a full case paradigm consisting of 12 case forms. In addition, adjectives in the

nominal syntactic functions have markers of personal possession (1071b), and (1072b).

2.2.1.3.1. Syntax of de-adjectival nouns

The syntax of de-adjectival nouns is similar to that of a non-derived noun. (See 2.2.1.3 for the nominalization of adjectives.)

2.2.1.4. Nouns from adverbs

Nouns may be formed from adverbs only by suffixing *-ni* which may be added to adverbs denoting parts of the day or seasons of the year, e.g. *tyrga* 'by day'/'in the day-time' – *tyrga-ni* 'day', *dolbo* 'at night' – *dolbo-ni* 'night', *dolboltono* 'in the evening' – *dolboltono-ni* 'evening', *nengne* 'in spring' – *nengne-ni* 'spring', *d'uga* 'in summer' – *d'uga-ni* 'summer', *bolo* 'in autumn' – *bolo-ni* 'autumn', *tuge* 'in winter' – *tuge-ni* 'winter'.

Note also three terms for meals in *-ksAn*: *tyrga* 'by day' – *tyrga-ksan* 'midday/early afternoon meal', *tyma:tne* 'in the morning' – *tyma-ksan* 'breakfast', *dolbo* 'at night' – *dolbo-kson* 'evening meal'

2.2.1.5. Nouns from numerals

There are four suffixes here which are added to numerals from 'two' to 'nine':

-llA 'number of days': *d'ur* 'two' – *d'u-lle* 'two days', *ilan* 'three' – *ila-lla* 'three days' (here as in other cases the stem-final nasal is omitted), *nadan* 'seven' – *nada-lla* 'seven days'/'a week'

-nu/-pu (number of tents in a nomad camp): *d'ur* 'two' – *d'ur-pu* 'two tents in a camp', *ilan* 'three' – *ilan-nu* 'three tents in a camp'

-musA 'number of places or directions': *d'ur* 'two' – *d'un-muse* 'two places or directions', *ilan* 'three' – *ilan-musa* 'three places or directions'

-vnA 'number of calvings of reindeer doe': *ili:* 'third' – *ili:vna* 'reindeer doe which has calved three times', *dygi:* 'fourth' – *dygi-vne* 'reindeer doe which has calved four times'

2.2.2. Derivation of verbs

2.2.2.1. Verbs from nouns

There are the following suffixes:

-mA: 'hunt': *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-mo:-* 'to fish', *mo:ty* 'elk' – *mo:ty-ma:-* 'hunt elk'

-ma 'go and bring': *taman* 'cost/price' – *taman-ma-* 'pay', *uluki* 'squirrel' – *ulu-me-* 'hunt squirrel'

-mi 'hunt': *bejun* 'wild reindeer' – *beju-mi-* (stem-final *-n* is omitted) 'hunt wild reindeer', *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-mi-* 'to fish'

-la: 'go and gather': *dikte* 'berries' – *dikte-le:-* 'go to gather berries', *mo*: 'tree' – *mo:-la:-* 'go to gather firewood'

-la '(gather and) bring': *mu*: 'water' – *mu:-le-* 'bring water', *dikte* 'berries' – *dikte-le-* 'gather and bring berries'

-li: 'go and gather/bring': *n'ute* 'sulphur' – *n'ute-li:-* 'gather sulphur', *mo*: 'tree' – *mo:-li:-* 'gather firewood'

-ng(i) 'make/build/cook/sew': *gule* 'house' – *gule-ng-* 'build a house', *kolobo* 'bread' – *kolobo-ng-* 'bake bread', *sirba* 'soup' – *sirba-ng-* 'cook soup'

-tA 'live in'/'use an object for one's advantage': *d'u* 'house/tent' – *d'u-ta-* 'live in a tent', *belege:-* 'help' – *belege:-te* 'profit by somebody's help', *ilken* 'doll' – *ılken-te-* 'play with a doll'

-tA (different meanings): *amin* 'father' – *amin-ta-* 'consider somebody as one's father', *gerbi* 'name' – *gerbi-te-* 'be named', *daptu* 'issue of a river *-daptu-ta-* 'fall into' (of a river), *d'uke* 'ice' – *d'uke-te-* 'become covered with ice'

-dA (perform an action with the object expressed by the root): *suke* 'axe' – *suke-de-* 'hew/hack', *d'al* 'thought' – *d'al-da-* 'think', *sekte* 'branches' – *sekte-de-* 'cover with branches'

-ty 'eat': *ulle* 'meat' – *ulle-ty-* 'eat meat', *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-ty-* 'eat fish', *chaj* 'tea' – *chaj-ty-* 'drink tea'

-mu 'smell': *ulle* 'meat' – *ulle-mu-* 'smell of meat', *chuka* 'grass' – *chuka-mu-* 'smell of grass', *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-mu-* 'smell of fish'

-v (*-mu* after stem-final *-n*) (act with an object expressed by the root): *amnga* 'mouth' – *amnga-v-* 'open the mouth', *ilbin* 'bait' – *ilbin-mu-* 'set the bait'/'to bait'

-l (different meanings): *hava* 'work' – *hava-l-* 'to work', *teru* 'term' – *teru-l-* 'settle/fix the date'

-mAt (reciprocal meaning): *dyl* 'head' – *dyl-mat-* 'wrestle setting heads against each other' (about men)/'pull each other by the hair' (about women), *turen* 'word/speech/language' – *turet-met-* 'talk with each other'/'swear at each other'

-ldy (reciprocal meaning); the only example: *mire* 'shoulder' – *mire-ldy-* 'marry each other'

-kAt 'play': *abdu* 'property/belongings' – *abdu-kat-* 'toys', *ollo* 'fish' – *ollo-kot-* 'play fish'

-gA (act with the object expressed by the root): *kolto* 'fist' – *kolto-go-* 'hit with the fist', *ity* 'business' – *ity-ga-* 'set things going/organize'

-mkA 'test': *ity* 'business' – *ity-mka-* 'investigate the business/case', *urge* 'weight' – *urge-mke-* 'test the weight'

-rA (perform an action which involves an object expressed by the root): *d'apka* 'bank/shore' – *d'apka-ra-* 'go along the bank/shore', *d'uke* 'ice' – *d'uke-re-* 'go on the ice', *d'av* 'boat' – *d'av-ra-* 'go by boat'

-nA (perform an action involving an object expressed by the root): *sangar* 'hole' – *sanga-ne-* 'to make a patch', *hukite* 'belly' – *hukite-ne-* 'cut the belly'

Almost all verbalized stems may be further nominalized using affixes listed in 2.2.1.2.

2.2.2.2. *Verbs from verbs*

Deverbal verbal suffixes may be divided into at least six large semantic sub-groups (apart from the sentential suffixes discussed under Tense and Mood – see 2.1.3.2 and 2.1.3.4 respectively):

2.2.2.2.1. Modal

-mu 'want': *bu-* 'die' – *bu-mu-* 'be ill', *d'ep-* 'eat' – *dem-mu-* 'be hungry', *inekte-* 'laugh' – *ine-mu-* 'smile'

-ssA 'try': *bu-* 'die' – *bu-sse-* 'be ill', *d'ava-* 'take/seize' - *d'ava-ssa-* 'try to seize/grasp'

-nA 'go': *va:-* 'kill' – *va:-na-* 'go to kill/hunt', *haval-* 'work' – *haval-na-* 'go to work'

-ksɪ 'long for/strive for': *d'ava-* 'take/seize' – *d'ava-ksi-* 'try to bite/snap' (of a dog), *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-ksi-* 'want to leave very much'

2.2.2.2.2. Evaluative

-kAkut/-kut (intensive meaning): *tuksa-* 'run' – *tuksa-kakut-* 'run very quickly', *tygde-* 'rain' – *tygde-kekut-* 'rain cats and dogs'

-kAt (endearment to the addressee): *a:sin-* 'go to bed'/'fall asleep' – *A:sin-kat-kel!* (*-kel* – 2sg.imp) 'Go to bed, my dear!'

-mA (certainty/intensity): *eme-* 'come' – *eme-me-* 'come without fail', *ichet-* 'look at' – *ichet-me-* 'look at something intently'

-vlA (pejorative, derogatory meaning): *ngene-* 'go' – *ngene-vle-* 'go very slowly', *pektyre:n-* 'fire a gun' – *pektyre-vle-* 'fire badly'

2.2.2.2.3. Voice

-vkAn (causative) (see 2.1.3.1.3.1): *iche-* 'see' – *iche-vken-* 'show', *a:sin-* 'go to bed' – *a:sin-mukan-* 'put to bed'

-v (passive) (see 2.1.3.1.1.1): *sokor-* 'lose' – *sokori-v-* 'get lost'/'die/disappear', *supty-* 'outrun'/'leave behind' – *supty-v-* 'lag behind' (lit. 'be left behind')

-rgA (anticausative) (see 2.1.3.1.2.1): *teke-* 'tear (tr)' – *teke-rge-* 'tear (intr)', *jangu-* 'break (tr)' – *jangu-rga-* 'break (intr)'

-mAt (reciprocal) (see 1.7.1.3): *gun-* 'say/tell' – *gu-met-* 'make arrangements'/'negotiate with each other'
-ldy (comitative) (see 1.7.1.4): *baka-* 'find' – *baka-ldy-* 'meet each other'

2.2.2.2.4. Aspectual

-cha (resultative/stative): *loko-* 'hang (tr)' – *loku-cha-* 'hang (intr)'/'be suspended', *d'ava-* 'take' – *d'avu-cha-* 'hold/keep'
-t (*-chi* before some suffixes, e.g. ingressive *-l* and habitual *-ngnA*) (process or result of an action): *tege-* 'sit down' – *tege-t-* 'be sitting', *il-* 'stand up' – *ili-t-* 'be standing'
-mAlchA (quick action): *il-* 'stand up' – *il-malcha-* 'jump/leap up', *ga-* 'take' – *ga-malcha-* 'snatch'
-sin (and its contracted variants *-sn/-s*) (semelfactive): *iche-* 'see' – *iche-sin-* 'cast a glance'

2.2.2.2.5. Reverse action

-lgA: *alagi-* 'harness' – *alagi-lga-* 'unharness', *tev-* 'load' – *tevu-lge-* 'unload', *uj-* 'tie' – *ui-lge-* 'untie'
-rgA: (anticausative): *luk-* 'untie/undo' – *luki-rga-* 'get untied'

2.2.2.2.6. Other meanings

-kAt (act as if for amusement): *d'aja-* 'hide' – *d'aju-kat-* 'playing at hiding', *tyru-* 'press' – *tyru-ket-* 'press a little'
-mkA (an action made on purpose): *archa-* 'meet' – *archa-mka-* 'go out specially to meet somebody', *kej-* 'go astray' – *kei-mke-* 'go astray on purpose'

2.2.2.3. *Verbs from adjectives*

There are the following suffixes:

-rgA: *hulama/hularin* 'red' – *hula-rga-* (intr) 'redden/turn red', *kongnomo/kongnorin* 'black' – *kongno-rgo-* (intr) 'turn black'
-ng: *aja* 'good' – *aja-ng-* 'improve'
-v: *hegdy* 'big' – *hegdy-v-* 'grow/increase'
-mkA: *ure* 'equal' – *ure-mke-* 'make equal'/'equalize', *manga-* 'firm' – *manga-mka-* 'test firmness', *burgu* 'fat' – *burgu-mke-* 'test fat'
-kAt: *burgu* 'fat' – *burgu-ket-* 'fatten', *hegdy* 'big' – *hegdy-ket-* 'boast'/'feel proud'

2.2.2.4. Verbs from adverbs

The following affixes are used:

-d'An 'spend': *d'uga* 'in summer' – *d'uga-d'an-* 'spend summer', *bolo* 'in autumn' – *bolo-d'on-* 'spend autumn', *tuge* 'in winter' – *tuge-d'en-* 'spend winter', *n'engn'e* 'in spring' – *n'engn'e-d'en-* 'spend spring'
-ng: *kete* 'many / much' – *kete-ng-* 'increase'

2.2.2.5. Verbs from other categories

2.2.2.5.1. Verbs from numerals

There is only one suffix here *-v* which is added to the ordinal numerals from 'second' to 'ninth': *ge*: 'second' – *ge:-v-* 'do something for the second time' / 'do something twice', *ili*: 'third' – *ili:-v-* 'do something for the third time', *dygi*: 'fourth' – *dygi:-v-* 'do for the fourth time' / 'do four times', *tunngi*: 'fifth' – *tunngi:-v-* 'do for the fifth time' / 'do five times', *n'ungi*: 'sixth' - *n'ungi:-v-* 'do for the sixth time' / 'do six times', *nady*: 'seventh' – *nady:-v-* 'do for the seventh time' / 'do seven times', *d'apki*: 'eighth' – *d'apki:-v-* 'do for the eighth time' / 'do eight times', *egi*: 'ninth' – *egi:-v-* 'do for the ninth time' / 'do nine times'. The grammatical form of these verbs coincides with that of the main verb. This is the only case when Evenki syntax allows mere juxtaposition of two finite forms in one simple sentence (cf. (1073)):

(1073) Bejumimni ge:v-ra-n̩ pektyren-e-n.
hunter do.second.time-nfut-3sg fire-nfut-3sg
'The hunter fired a gun for the second time.'

(1074) Bi ili:vu-ksa pektyre-kse suru-0-m.
I do.third.time-conv fire-conv go.away-nfut-1sg
'After having shot three times / for the third time I went away.'

2.2.2.5.2. Verbs from image-bearing words

Image-bearing words including ideophones form verbs by means of the auxiliary verb *o:-* 'make / do', which is spelled together with the image-bearing word. There are no more than 20 such verbs, e.g. *d'eris* 'in passing' / 'appearing for a moment' – *d'eriso:-* 'flash / gleam' / 'appear for a moment', *pes/pek/pah* 'bang!' (sound of gunshot) – *peso:-* / *peko:-* / *paho:-* 'fire / shoot', *kachus* 'hush!' – *kachuso:-* 'make a noise', *n'elbus* 'quickly becoming visible' / 'becoming visible for a moment' – *n'elbuso:-* 'flit past', *tas* 'cracking / crackling' – *taso:-* 'crack' (of ice), *d'user* 'flashing' – *d'usero:-* 'flash'.

2.2.3. Derivation of adjectives

2.2.3.1. Adjectives from nouns

There are the following affixes:

-mA (a quality denoting material expressed by the base root): *altan* 'gold' – *alta-ma* 'golden', *d'uke* 'ice' – *d'uke-me* 'icy', *chuka* 'grass' – *chuka-ma* 'grassy'

-dy/-ty (a quality conditioned by the object expressed by the base root): *lamu* 'sea' – *lamu-dy* 'sea (attr)/naval', *kungakan* 'child' – *kungaka-dy* 'childish/child's', *Evenki* 'Evenki person' – *eve-dy* 'Evenki (attr)', e.g. *Eve-dy turen* 'the Evenki language'

-pty (temporal quality): *b'ega* 'month' – *b'ega-pty* 'monthly'

-gu/-vu (locative meaning): *amar* 'back/rear/background' – *amar-gu* 'backward', *do:* 'interior' – *do:-gu/do:-vu* 'inner'

-gdA (a quality conditioned by an object expressed by the base root): *sangar* 'hole' – *sanga-gde* 'holey', *njute* 'pitch/tar' – *njute-gde* 'resinous'

-rAgdA (quality involving an object expressed by the base root): *choli* 'tongue' – *choli-ragda* 'talkative', *ije* 'horn' – *ije-regde* 'horned'/'with long horns'

-migdA (possessing an object expressed by the base root): *dyl* 'head' – *dyli-migda* 'with a big head'

-kturA (possessing an object expressed by the base root): *esa* 'eye' – *esa-ktura* 'big-eyed'/'sharp-eyed', *mire* 'shoulder' – *mire-kture* 'broad-shouldered'

-riktA (possessing an object expressed by the base root): *esa* 'eye' – *esa-rikta* 'big-eyed', *ongokto* 'nose' – *ongokto-rikta* 'big-nosed'

-rA (possessing a quality conditioned by the object expressed by the base root): *dylgan* 'voice' – *dylgu-ra* 'loud-voiced', *taman* 'cost/price' - *tamu-ra* 'expensive/costly'

2.2.3.2. Adjectives from verbs

There are the following affixes here forming deverbal adjectives denoting a quality conditioned by the action or state expressed by the verb stem:

-mA: *omngo-* 'forget' – omngo-mo 'forgetful/absent-minded', *tuksa-* 'run' – *tuksa-ma* 'running'

-mAktA: *o-* 'become' – *o-makta* 'new', *baldy* 'be born' – *baldy-makta* 'new-born'

-kin: *aiv-* 'eat to satiety' – *aivu-kin* 'satisfied'/'full up', *d'emmu-* 'be hungry' – *d'emmu-kin* 'hungry'

-rA: *langa-* 'break a tooth' – *langa-ra* 'toothless'

-kAs: *tykul-* 'be angry' – *tykul-kas* 'angry', *ngele-* 'be afraid' – *ngele-kes* 'timid/timorous'

-vsɪ: *hald'a-* 'be shy/ashamed' – *hald'a-vsɪ* 'diffident/modest', *urun-* 'rejoice' – *uru-vsi* 'joyous/joyful'
-gin: *in'ekte-* 'laugh' – *in'e-gin* 'funny/laughable'
-ki: omngo- 'forget' – *omngo-ki* 'forgetful', *ngele-* 'be afraid' – *ngele-kɪ* 'fearful'/'easily frightened'/'scared'
-kA: *chulbin* 'grow thin' – *chulbi-ka* 'thin/meagre', *upchu-* 'argue/dispute' – *upchu-ke* 'disputable'
-pchu: *urun-* 'be glad'/'rejoice' – *uruni-pchu* 'glad/joyous', *ngo:-* 'smell badly' – *ngo:-pchu* 'stinking', *sevd'en-* 'make merry'/'enjoy oneself' – *sevd'e-pchu* 'merry/funny'
-ty: *n'ekchere-* 'bend/stoop' – *n'ekchere-ty* 'stooping'

2.2.3.3. Adjectives from adjectives

There is only one affix *-pchu* which may form adjectives from qualitative adjectives. There seems to be no semantic difference between such double forms of adjectives, cf.: *aja/aja-pchu* 'good', *eru/erupchu* 'bad', *gud'oi/ gud'oi-pchu* 'beautiful/handsome', *burgu/burgu-pchu* 'fat', *heku/heku-pchu* 'hot', *ngonim/ngonimi-pchu* 'long', *n'ama/n'ama-pchu* 'warm', *hungtu/ hungtu-pchu* 'foreign/alien'. There are no less than 100 such double adjectival forms.

2.2.3.4. Adjectives from adverbs

There are three suffixes forming adjectives from adverbs (these adjectives denote properties expressed by adverbs):

-pty: *d'uleski* 'forward/henceforth' – *d'uleski-pty* 'future', *amaski* 'backwards' – *amaski-pty* 'former/backward'
-gu/-vu: *soloki* 'up the river'/'upstream' – *solo-gu* 'up-river', *dyski* 'uphill/upwards' – *dy-gu* 'mountaineous'
-r: *tyma:tne* 'in the morning' – *tyma-r* 'morning (attr)', *d'uga* 'in summer' – *d'uga-r* 'summer (attr)'

2.2.3.5. Adjectives from other categories

Adjectives are not formed from other categories.

2.2.4. Derivation of adverbs

2.2.4.1. Adverbs from nouns

A small group of nouns denoting location and with locative case markers forming about two dozen postpositions (see 2.1.5.1) can also form adverbs by means of case markers *-du* (dat), *-(du)lA* (all), *-li* (prol), *-git* (elat) and

-duk (abl) and also adverbial affixes *-ski* and *-lAk*. Such adverbs differ from corresponding postpositions in that they never take any possession markers, e.g. *amar* 'back/rear' – *ama-ski* 'back(wards)', *amar-duk* 'from the rear', *amari-la* 'from behind'/'afterwards', *amar-du* 'behind', *d'ule* 'front/forepart' – *d'ule-ski* 'forward', *d'ule-du* 'in front'/'before', *d'ule-le* 'in(to) the front', *d'ule-duk* 'from the front side', *here* 'bottom' - *hergi-ski* 'downwards', *hergi-du* 'below'/'at the bottom of', *hergi-le* 'in(to) the bottom', *hergi-duk/hergi-git* 'from below'/'from the bottom', *do:* 'interior' – *do:-ski* 'in(to)/inside', *do:-du* 'inside', *do:-la* 'inside', *do:-li* 'along the inner part', *do:-duk/do:-git* 'from inside', *do:-lak* 'from inside'.

2.2.4.2. *Adverbs from verbs*

There are three affixes here forming adverbs which denote properties conditioned by the state or action expressed by the verb:

-nA: *ajav-* 'love' – *ajav-ne* 'lovingly', *helinche-* 'hurry/hasten' – *helinche-ne* 'in a hurry', *bulid'e-* 'be sad'/'grieve' – *bulid'e-ne* 'sadly'

-ptyкı: *ongkan-* 'fall down on one's back' - *ongka-ptyki* 'flat on one's back', *asa-* 'pursue' – *asa-ptyki* 'right in one's direction'/'after/in pursuit of'

-mnAk: *ilten-* 'pass by' – *ilte-mnek* 'passing (someone/something)/by', *lupuro:-* 'go through' – *lupu-mnek* 'through'

2.2.4.3. *Adverbs from adjectives*

The only suffix here is the marker of the instrumental case *-t* (*-di* after stem-final *-n*): *aja/ajapchu* 'good' – *aja-t/ajapchu-t* 'well/good (adv)', *eru/erupchu* 'bad' – *eru-t/erupchu-t* 'badly', *hima* 'quick' – *hima-t* 'quickly', *gugda* 'high' – *gugda-t* 'highly', *manni* 'strong' – *mannı-t* 'strongly', *urgepchu* 'difficult' – *urgepchu-t* 'with difficulty', *haktyrapchu* 'dark' – *haktyrapchu-t* 'darkly', *hergın* 'low' – *hergin-di* 'low (adv)'. There are no less than 100 adverbs in *-t/-di* formed on the basis of qualitative adjectives.

Some adjectives may function as adverbs without any markers:

(1075) a. Heku tyrgani bi-si-n.
hot day be-prs-3sg
'It is a hot day (today).'

(1075) b. Tuli:le heku bi-si-n.
outside hot be-prs-3sg
'It is hot outside.'

2.2.4.4. *Adverbs from adverbs*

Adverbs cannot be formed from adverbs.

2.2.4.5. Adverbs from numerals

Adverbs may be derived from cardinal numerals from 'two' to 'ten' with the help of the suffix *-rA* which denotes the number of times of the occurrence of a situation, e.g. *d'ur* 'two' – *d'u-re* 'twice', *ilan* 'three' – *ıla-ra* 'three times', *dygin* 'four' – *dyg-re* 'four times', etc. (For more adverbial derivatives of numerals see in 2.1.6.5.)

2.2.5. Further possible derivations

There are no further means of deriving members of one category from the same or a separate category.

2.2.6. Adpositions and compounds

2.2.6.1. Complex postpositions

There are no complex postpositions.

2.2.6.2. Simple derived prepositions

There are no prepositions in Evenki.

2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

There are no compound words in Evenki. The only exceptions are *esityrga* 'today' (*esi* 'now' + *tyrga* 'by day') and verbs involving image-bearing words plus the auxiliary *o:-* 'make', e.g. *tas* 'cracking' – *tas-o:-* 'crack (of ice)' (see 2.2.2.5.2).

Chapter 3

Phonology

3.1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

3.1.1. Distinctive segments

The distinctive segments of Evenki comprise 13 vowels and 18 consonants:

(1076) *Vowel inventory*

	Front		*Back*	
	unrounded	*rounded*	*unrounded*	*rounded*
high (close)	ɪ, ɪː	–	ɯ	ʊ, ʊː
middle	je, jeː	–	ɛ, ɛː	o, oː
low (open)	a, aː	–	–	–

(1077) *Consonant Inventory*

	labial	*dental*	*palatal*	*alveolar*	*velar*
plosives					
voiceless	p	t	tʃ		k
voiced	b	d	d'		g
fricatives					
voiceless				s	h
voiced	v				
sonants			j		
nasals	m	n	ɲ		ŋ
liquids		l			
trills				r	

3.1.2. Distinctive elements

3.1.2.1. Non-syllabics

3.1.2.1.1. Plosives and affricates

All consonantal segments are pulmonic egressives. All plosives and affricates are phonetically unaspirated.

Labio-labial voiceless plosive /p/.
Labio-labial voiced plosive /b/. In some dialects alternates with /v/, cf: *abgara/avgara* 'healthy'.
Lamino-dental voiceless plosive /t/.
Lamino-dental voiced plosive /d/.
Dorso-velar voiceless plosive /k/.
Dorso-velar voiced /g/.
Dorso-palatal voiceless plosive /tʃ/.
Dorso-palatal voiced /d'/.

3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

Labio-dental voiced /v/; its word-final allophone is [f], e.g. [bakachav/bakachaf] 'I found', [d'av/d'af] 'boat'. /v/ in intervocalic position may be pronounced as labio-labial /w/, e.g. [d'avaran/d'awaran] '(s)he took'.
Lamino-alveolar voiceless /s/; in intervocalic position in some dialects it alternates with /h/, e.g. [asɪ/ahɪ] 'woman'.
Dorso-velar voiceless /x/.
Dorso-palatal voiced /j/.

3.1.2.1.3. Nasals

Labio-labial /m/.
Lamino-alveolar /n/.
Dorso-velar voiced /ŋ/.
Dorso-palatal voiced /ɲ/; in examples it is rendered as *n'*, but as *n* before *ɪ*.

3.1.2.1.4. Liquids.

Lamino-alveolar voiced /l/.
Apico-alveolar voiced trill /r/.

3.1.2.1.5. Glides/semivowels

Glides or semivowels are lacking.

3.1.2.2. Syllabics

3.1.2.2.1. Vowels

There are six oppositions of short and long vowels: /ɪ~ɪː/, /ʊ~ʊː/, /je~jeː/, /ɛ~ɛː/, /o~oː/, /a~aː/. The vowel /ɯ/ has no long counterpart.

Close front unrounded vowels /ɪ/, /ɪː/: the length of the vowel correlates with the stress, cf. [ɪl-0-ˈɪm] (the stress falls on the last syllable) 'I stood up' and [ˈɪː-l-0-ɪm] (the stress falls on the first syllable) 'I began to enter.'

Close back unrounded vowel /ɯ/ which has no long counterpart.

Close back rounded vowels /ʊ/,/ʊː/, cf. [ʊnɛ] 'early' – [ʊːn-ɛ] 'they melted'.

Mid-front unrounded vowels /je/,/jeː/, cf. [ɪje] 'horn', [bjeːga] 'month'; after /d/ and /n/ it is written *'e*.

Mid-back unrounded vowels /ɛ/,/ɛː/, cf. [ɛrˈɪ-0-m] (the stress falls on the vowel /ɪ/) 'I breathed', ['ɛːrɪ-m] (the stress falls on the vowel /ɛː/) 'I called'.

Mid-back rounded vowels /o/,/oː/, cf. [osɪːkta] 'claw', but [oːsɪkta] 'star'.

Open front unrounded vowels /a/,/aː/, cf. [asˈɪːkta] (with the stress on the second syllable) 'fir tree' and [aːsˈɪkta] 'I'll go to bed'.

3.1.2.2.2. Others

There are no other syllabics.

3.1.2.3. Segments occurring only in loan-words

Six consonantal segments /ʒ/, /z/, /f/, /t͡s/, /ʃ/ and /ʃtʃ/ occur only in Russian borrowings, although in some dialects segments [f] and [ʃ] are also found in native words as allophones of /v/ and /s/ respectively.

3.1.2.4. Restrictions of segments to particular word classes

There are no such restrictions.

3.2. PHONOTACTICS

3.2.1. Phonotactics of consonants

3.2.1 1. Word-final consonants

Evenki admits word-final consonants with some restrictions.

3.2.1.1.1. Restrictions on word-final consonants

All [redacted] plosives may be in word-final position except /b/ and /d/. Consonants /tʃ/, /d'/, /h/ and /ɲ/ never occur in word-final position.

3.2.1.2. Word-initial consonants

Almost all consonants may be in word-initial position.

3.2.1.2.1. Restrictions on word-initial consonants

Only trill /r/ cannot be in word-initial position.

3.2.2. Consonant clusters

3.2.2.1. Position of consonant clusters

3.2.2.1.1. Word-initial consonant clusters

Consonant clusters do not occur in native words. If a loan-word has a consonant cluster then a vowel is either inserted between the consonants or added to the first consonant, e.g. *kilup* (< Russian *klub* 'club'), *ispis'ka* (< Russian *spichka* 'match'), peresedalel' (< Russian *predsedatel'* 'chairman').

3.2.2.1.2. Word-final consonant clusters

They do not occur.

3.2.2.1.3. Word-medial consonant clusters

The most common consonant clusters that occur morpheme-internally are /ld/ (cf. comitative *-ldy*), /vk/ (cf. habitual participle marker *-vki* and impersonal participle marker *-vkA*), /kt/ (cf. dispersive marker *-ktA*), /ŋk/ (cf. past habitual tense marker *-ngki*), /ltʃ/ (cf. marker of quick action *-mAlchA*), /ŋn/ (cf. habitual aspect marker *-ngnA*), /ks/ (cf. modal marker *-ksi*), /lg/ (cf. the marker of reverse action *-lgA*), /rg/ (cf. the anti-causative marker *-rgA*) and /rk/ (compare the mood marker *-rkA*). These consonant clusters and also clusters /tp/, /nd/, /stʃ/, /mt/, /gd/, /nm/, /vs/, /gl/, /lb/, /nt/, /rp/ and /rb/ can occur at morpheme boundaries, e.g. *hunat-pa* 'the girl (accd)', *oron-mo* 'reindeer (accd)', *etyrken-du* (dat) 'to the old man', *atyrkan-duk* (abl) 'from the old woman', *is-changa-s* 'you will reach', *um-da:-n* '(in order) for him to drink', *som-na-n* 'he closed'.

Consonant clusters within word stems are quite common, e.g. *girkı* 'friend', *amnga* 'mouth', *amtan* 'taste', *anngani* 'year', *doldy-* 'hear', *aksa-* 'become angry', *avdu* 'property', *avsa* 'box', *agdy* 'thunder', *avgara*

'healthy', *aglan* 'meadow', *alba-* be 'unable', *anty* 'right (-hand side)', *arba* 'shallow', *archa-* 'meet', *atyrkan* 'old woman', *bagdaka* 'wild reindeer', *bargı* 'the opposite bank of the river/lake', *bilga* 'throat', *burgu* 'fat', *gugda* 'high', *garpa-* 'shoot', *gurgakta* 'moustache', *gerbi-* 'name', *davdy-* 'win', *davla-* 'sing', *dasna* 'roof', *d'egde-* 'burn', *d'ongkit* 'memory', *dolbo* 'at night', *dylgan* 'voice', *dengke* 'sable', etc.

3.2.3. Phonotactics of vowels

3.2.3.1. Word-final vowels

Any long or short vowel may appear word-finally.

3.2.3.2. Word-initial vowels

Any long or short vowel except the vowel /ɯ/ may appear word-initially.

3.2.3.3. Sequences of vowels

These may appear only as a result of the omission of intervocal consonants /g/ or /v/, e.g. *ugi/uvi/ui* 'upper part', *d'uga/d'uva/d'ua* 'in summer', *hute-vi/hute-i* 'one's own child', *d'u-du-vi/d'u-du-i* 'in one's own house/tent'.

3.2.4. Correspondence of the structure of lexical morphemes with the possibilities for word structure

The structure of lexical morphemes fully corresponds with the possibilities for word structure.

3.2.5. Syllabic types

3.2.5.1. Syllabic division of medial clusters

Two adjacent consonants may either belong to one syllable (e.g. the dispersive marker *-kta* or the habitual participle marker *-vki* in the verb form *girku-kta-d'a-vki* 'he usually goes here and there') or be assigned to the preceding and the following syllable in the majority of nominal or verbal stems consisting of more than one syllable, cf. *ag-lan* 'meadow', *gir-ku-* 'go', *ag-dy* 'thunder', *gar-pa-* 'shoot'. Consonants of medial clusters much more often belong to two different syllables also in the case of complex morphological forms, for example:

(1078) a. bira-kan-duli-vi (bi-ra-kan-du-li-vi)
river-little-prol-prefl
'along the little river'

(1078) b. amut-ka-r-tyki-tyn (a-mut-kar-ty-ki-tyn)
lake-little-pl-locall-3pl.poss
'to their little lakes'

3.2.5.2. The canonical syllable type

The canonical syllable structure is CV, where the vowel may be either long or short, e.g. *bi-ra* 'river', *bo:-na* 'hail', *ne-ku-ke* 'little boy', *u-lu-me-si-ne* 'they went to hunt squirrel'. Other syllable structures are also possible:

V: e.g. *a:-re-n* 'he slept', *i:-re* 'they entered'
VC: e.g. *ag-re* 'they came to the shore', *ug-cha* 'he mounted a reindeer'
CVC: e.g. *deg-re* 'they flew by', *gun-d'e-ren* 'he says'
VCV: e.g. *ana-ran* 'he pushed', *ure-ken* 'little mountain'.

Non-lexical morphemes may be of the type C (*-l* – ingressive marker; *-t* – continuous marker).

3.2.6. Restrictions between word/syllable units/clusters and vowels or syllabic elements

3.2.6.1. Restrictions between word-/syllable-initial units and the following vowels

Any syllable-initial consonant segment may be followed by any vowel.

3.2.6.2. Restrictions between word-/syllable-final units and the preceding vowels

Any syllable-final consonant may be preceded by any vowel.

3.2.6.3. Restrictions between syllable-initial units/clusters and syllable-final units/clusters

There are no restrictions between syllable-initial units or clusters and syllable-final units or clusters, or next-syllable-initial units or clusters.

3.2.6.4. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony in Evenki applies across morpheme boundaries. There seem to be no exceptions to cross-morpheme vowel harmony. The maximal scheme of vocalic variants is triple: *-a/-e/-o* (cf. the definite accusative case marker *-va/-ve/-vo* or the non-future tense marker *-ra/-re/-ro*). The

majority of suffixes have three vocalic variants. There are, however, suffixes which have only two variants (e.g. stative/resultative marker *-cha/-che* or the locative intensifier *-gida/-gide*). About two dozen affixes have only one vocalic element (these affixes often involve vowel /ɪ/), e.g. *-vi* (reflexive possession marker), *-(du)li* (the prolative case marker), *-duk* (the ablative case marker), *-vki* (the marker of habitual participle), *-chi* (the comitative marker), *-mu* (the marker of volition).

The choice of vowel variants in affixes depends upon the vowels of the word stem. If a word stem contains vowels /a/, /je/, /je:/, /o:/, /ɛ:/ then the suffix variant with the vowel /a/ is chosen, e.g. *ana-ra-n* 'he pushed', *m'e:l-la-n* 'he woke up', *so:-kakun* 'very much', *E:-d'ara-n?* 'What does he do?' If a word stem contains vowels /ɛ/, /a:/, /ɯ/, /ʊ:/, /ɪ:/ then the suffix variant with the vowel /ɛ/ is chosen, e.g. *eme-re-n* 'he came', *sa:-re-n* 'he knows', *tyl-le-n* 'he understood', *bu:-re-n* 'he gave', *i:-re-n* 'he entered'. If a word stem contains the vowel /ɒ/ then the suffix variant with the vowel /ɒ/ is chosen, e.g. *omngo-ro-n* 'he forgot'; but /a/ is chosen if vowels other than /ɒ/ intervene, e.g. *on'ovun-ma* 'drawing (accd)'. The most complicated problem concerns stems with short vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ since some stems opt for the suffix variants with the vowel /a/, whereas other stems opt for the suffix variants with the vowel /ɛ/, cf. *duku-ra-n* 'he wrote', but *suru-re-n* 'he went away', *kingi-ra-n* 'he/it rang', but *kirit-te-n* 'he shrank'. In these cases two factors may condition the choice of the suffix variant: either the consonants which are involved in the stem or the vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ themselves (specialists on Tungusic phonology and some informants say that there are two kinds of both /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ one of which is more narrow than the other). More research on vowel harmony is needed.

3.2.6.5. Consonant harmony.

This phenomenon is lacking.

3.2.6.6. Other restrictions between adjacent or non-adjacent units/clusters

There are no other restrictions between adjacent or non-adjacent units or clusters.

3.2.6.7. Differences between phonotactic patterns allowed with different word-classes

There are no such differences. Some fricatives (/f/, /ts/,/z/, /ʒ/, /ʃtʃ/) are found only in loan-words.

3.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

3.3.1. Distinctive degrees of length

3.3.1.1. Vowels

All vowels except /ɯ/ may be long, cf. *asi* 'woman' – *a:chin* 'none'.

3.3.1.2. Other syllabics

There are no other syllabics.

3.3.1.3. Glides/semivowels

There are no glides or semivowels.

3.3.1.4. Liquids

Gemination is only possible as regards /l/, cf. *ilalla* 'three days', *il-la* 'they stood up'/'they stopped'.

3.3.1.5. Nasals

Nasals /m/, /ŋ/ and /n/ may be geminated (very often due to progressive or regressive assimilation), e.g. *d'ep-* 'eat' – *d'em-mu-* 'want to eat'/'be hungry', *nginakin-ni* (*-ni* < *-si*) 'your dog', *lang-ngachin* 'like a trap'.

3.3.1.6. Fricatives

Fricatives /v/, /s/ and /j/ may be geminated, e.g. *d'av* 'boat' – *d'av-va* 'boat (accd)', *i:-sse-d'ere-n* 'he is trying to enter', *uj-je-n* 'he tied something to something'.

3.3.1.7. Plosives

Plosives /k/ and /t/ may be geminated, e.g. *loko-t-to-n* 'he hung several objects here and there', *dak-kal!* 'Cross (the river)!', *baka-vvun!* 'Let us find!'

3.3.2. Stress

3.3.2.1. The role of stress

Much basic research on the problem of stress is required. However, it is possible to state that stress in Evenki is not constant: its position in differ-

ent words (and word forms) may vary from the first to the last syllable. (Position of main stress in the following examples is marked by ˈ before the stressed syllable, and of secondary stress by ˌ before the stressed syllable.)

3.3.2.2. Phonetic correlates of stress

Stress in Evenki is predominantly dynamic and to a lesser degree quantitative.

3.3.2.3. Different levels of stress

Different levels of stress are lacking.

3.3.2.4. Position of stress

Position of stress is not constant.

3.3.2.5. Stress and phonotactic structure of the word

Position of stress is predictable in terms of the phonotactic structure of the concrete word. In words consisting of two syllables with two short vowels, stress may fall either on the first syllable (e.g. *ˈulle* 'meat', *ˈollo* 'fish') or more often on the second syllable (e.g. *biˈra* 'river', *giˈran* 'step', *oˈron* 'reindeer', *nuˈngan* '(s)he', *muˈrin* 'horse', *uˈdun* 'rain', *tygˈde* 'rain', *te-ˈtym* 'I put on'). If a word or a word form has more than two syllables with short vowels the stress falls on the last syllable (e.g. the ablative and the elative case forms of nouns or tense forms in *-rA, -chA, -ngki, -vki* and *-d'A*), e.g. *giramˈna* 'bone', *bakaˈran* 'he found', *emeˈren* 'he came', *emeˈchen* 'he came', *emeˈd'en* 'he will come', *biraˈduk, biraˈgit* 'from the river'. If a disyllabic word has either a long vowel or a cluster of consonants in the middle of the stem then the stress falls on the first syllable, e.g. *ˈhul-la* 'blanket', *ˈnan-na* 'hide/pelt', *ˈhal-ka* 'hammer', *ˈi:-kte* 'tooth', *ˈi:-ren* 'he entered', *ˈsa:-ren* '(s)he knows'. In a disyllabic word with two long vowels the stress falls on the second syllable, e.g. *sa:ˈcha:s* 'you knew', *mo:ˈka:n* 'stick', *ne:ˈche:n* 'he put'. Some polysyllabic words may have two stressed syllables, the main stress falling on the last syllable, and the secondary stress falling on the first syllable or, in a four-syllable word, the second syllable: *ˌbo-koˈnon* ' he caught up with someone', *ˌngi-naˈkin* 'dog', *silˌki-d'aˈran* 'she washes up', *hukˌty-kteˈchen* 'he was running'. If a polysyllabic word with short vowels has a consonant cluster then the stress falls on the syllable preceding this cluster, e.g. *sɪˈngilgen* 'snow', *ɪˈn'e-kte-d'e-ren* '(s)he is laughing'. Certain suffixes are always stressed, e.g. the suffixes marking the causative (*-vkAn*) and volition (*-mu*), e.g. *ˌulliˈvkenen*

'she made someone sew', *gir-ku'mu-d'a-ran* 'he wants to go', *,ulle'ty-d'e-ren* (*-ty 'eat'*) 'he is eating (the) meat'.

3.3.3. Pitch and tone

3.3.3.1. Distinctive use of pitch

Pitch is not distinctive in Evenki.

3.3.4. Intonation

3.3.4.1. Major types of intonation pattern

Basic research is still required into the major types of intonation patterns. There is one, brief, account of intonation patterns by Kolesnikova (1966: 76, 85, 90, 94, 97–8). According to her description, there is one type of phrase-final intonation contour, namely falling. The major difference in intonation patterns between declarative statements, yes–no interrogative constructions and imperative or exclamatory utterances, concerns their relative pitch height. The basic declarative intonation pattern is low –medium high–low, for example,

(1079)

Sula'ki-va va:-re-0.
fox-accd kill-nfut-3pl
'They killed a fox.'

The intonation contour begins at about 230 Hz, gradually rises to the height of about 260 Hz on the first stressed syllable and then gradually falls to the height of approximately 170–200 Hz.

The same intonation contour characterizes questions without question-words and interrogative particles. The only difference is in the height of the pitch peak: about 290–300 Hz on the stressed syllable. The contour itself begins at the height of 240 Hz rises then and falls to 210–230 Hz (the stressed syllable of the verb is pronounced with low rise):

(1080)

Sula'ki-va va:-re-0?

In questions with question-words the pitch peak rises above the stressed syllable of the question-word:

(1081)

Ngi tar beje-ve sa:-re-n?
who that man-accd know-nfut-3sg
'Who knows that man?'

There are variants to the intonation pattern. Imperatives and exclamations have the highest possible pitch – just over 300Hz – rising on the stressed syllable of the verb form:

(1082)

Bu:-kel min-du purta-va-s!
give-2sg.imp I-dat knife-accd-2sg.poss
'Give me your knife!'

The intonation contour of imperatives is differentiated from that of statements and questions by the gradient of rise and fall. The contour for imperatives rises and falls sharply: while that of statements and questions is more gradual.

Vocative phrases have an intonation contour much the same as that for imperatives. The pitch is about 300Hz, and the contour rises and falls sharply:

(1083)

Do'rovo, beje!
'Hello, man!'

3.3.4.2. *Position of the intonation peak*

The position of the intonation peak is described in 3.3.4.1. The highest pitch, as a rule, occurs on the stressed syllable of the subject of declarative statements with intransitive verbs or of the direct object of declarative statements with transitive verbs, on question-words of interrogatives and on the stressed syllable of the imperative verb form of imperatives. In all cases the highest pitch rises above the stressed vowel. A final rise never occurs in any intonation contour.

3.3.4.3. *Emphatic intonation*

There are no special intonational contours associated with emphatic sentences, apart from 'exaggerated' declarative or interrogative/imperative intonation patterns characterized by higher pitch than that of non-emphatic sentences.

3.3.4.4. Contrastive stress

Contrastive stress is lacking.

3.3.4.5. Subtypes of the major intonation types

These seem to be lacking. This problem needs further investigation.

3.3.4.6. Interaction of intonation patterns with the patterns in tone height due to stress phenomena

The pitch peak always rises above the stressed syllable of either the nominal constituent (subject or object of the declarative statements) or the question-word of interrogatives or the verbal form of imperatives.

3.3.4.7. Effects on segmental units due to the position of intonation peak

There are no effects on segmental units due to the position of the intonation peak or the type of intonation contour.

3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SEGMENTAL)

3.4.1. Assimilation and dissimilation processes

3.4.1.1. Assimilatory processes

The constraints on consonant clusters described in 3.2.2.1.3 apply at morpheme boundaries. Final voiced consonants of the stem /d/,/g/,/v/ become voiceless before initial voiceless consonants of suffixes, e.g. *suruv-re-n* 'he took out/led away', but *Surup-kel!* 'Take out!', *da:g-re-n* 'She crossed the river', but *Dak-kal!* 'Cross the river!' And similarly voiced consonants of suffixes /d/,/g/,/v/ become voiceless after stem-final voiceless consonants /k/,/s/,/t/,/p/,/tʃ/, e.g. *det*, 'tundra' – *det-tu* (*-du* – dat) 'in the tundra', *is-changa-n* (*-d'AngA* – fut) 'he will reach', *hunat-pa* (*-vA* – accd) 'the girl', *inmek-kechin* (*-gAchin* – sim) 'like a bag'. Voiced consonants of the suffixes /g/,/v/ and also voiceless /s/ after stem-final /n/,/ŋ/,/m/ become nasal: *oron-mo* (*-vA* – accd) 'the reindeer (accd)' *oron-ngachin* (*-gAchin* – sim) 'like a/the reindeer', *nginakin-ni* (*-ni* < *-si;* 2sg.poss) 'your dog'.

The non-future tense marker *-rA* after stem-final *-l* produces the variant *-lA*, e.g. *il-la-n* 'he stood up'/'he stopped', *sa:-l-le-n* 'he learned'/'he got to know'. The same temporal suffix *-rA* may have variants depending on the stem-final consonants: *-tA* (after stem-final /s/,/t/, e.g. *is-ta-n* 'he reached', *lokot-to-n* 'he hung here and there'), *-dA* (after stem-final /d/,

e.g. *bud-de-n* 'he died'), *-nA* (after stem-final /m/,/n/, e.g. *um-na-n* 'he drank', *gu-ne-na* 'he said').

3.4.1.2. Dissimilatory processes

There are no dissimilatory processes in Evenki.

3.4.1.3. Other alternations between segments

Consonant clusters /nm/,/ŋm/,/vm/ alternate with geminated variant /mm/, as in *g'ev-* 'do something the second time' – *g'ev-mi/g'em-mi* (*-mi* – converbal marker) 'having done something the second time', *hunadin-mar/ hunadim-mar* (*-vAr* – reflexive possession marker) 'one's (pl) own daughter'.

3.4.2. Metathesis

Metathesis is found very seldom. It occurs only in the presence of suffixes ending in *-k* (e.g. the ablative marker *-duk* or the nominalizing marker *-d'Ak*). Such consonant clusters as /kp/ and /kv/ alternate with the cluster /pk/, as in *d'a-l-duk-var/d'a-l-duk-par* vs *d'a-l-dupkar* 'from our/your/their friends', *d'a-l-duk-vi/d'a-l-duk-pi* vs *d'a-l-dupkı* 'from my/your (sg)/his/her friends', *baka-d'ak-pa-n* vs *baka-d'apkan* 'the place (accd) where (s)he found something'.

3.4.3. Coalescence

This process occurs very seldom. Verbal stems ending in *-n* when taking non-future tense marker *-rA* produce the combination without the initial suffix consonant, as in *emen-e-n* 'he left something behind', *bokon-o-n* 'he caught up with someone'. Note also separate words *d'ure* 'twice' (from *d'ur* 'two' plus the adverbial suffix *-re*), *ilanı:* 'three together' (from *ilan* 'three' plus the suffix *-ni:* denoting 'person').

3.4.4. Deletion and insertion processes

3.4.4.1. Deletion

Fricatives /v/ and /ɣ/ (intervocalic variant of the stop /g/) are sometimes omitted in intervocal position, as in *ugi/uvı/ui* 'the upper part', *uguchak/uvuchak/u:chak* 'saddle-reindeer', *asɪ-vi/asi-i* 'one's wife', *d'u-la-vı/ d'u-la-i* 'to one's house/home', *Eme-de:-vi/Eme-de:-i* 'Come!' Nasal *-n* is often omitted in derived numeral and nominal forms, e.g. *ilan* 'three' – *ila-taldı* 'in threes'/'in groups of three', *kungakan* 'child' – *kungaka-dy* (adj)

'childish/child's', *oron* 'reindeer' – *oro-chi* (*-chi* – com) 'with a reindeer'/'having reindeer'. Some nouns ending in *-n* together with the personal possession marker *-v* (1sg) 'my' in certain dialects change the cluster /nv/ for the nasal /m/, cf. *oron* 'reindeer' – *oro-m/ oron-mi* 'my reindeer', *amin* 'father' – *ami-m/amin-mi* 'my father', *akın* 'elder brother' – *aki-m/akin-mı* 'my elder brother', *nekun* 'younger brother' – *neku-m/nekun-mi* 'my younger brother', *nginakin* 'dog' – *nginaki-m/ nginakin-mi* 'my dog'. The comitative suffix *-lAn* may also lead to the deletion of a preceding stem-final consonant, as in *avun* 'hat' – *av-lan* 'with one's hat on', *murin* 'horse' – *mur-lan* 'on horseback'/'rider'.

3.4.4.2. Insertion

The only possible process of this kind is epenthesis of the vowels /ɪ/ or /ʊ/. ɪ-epenthesis occurs in all cases when a noun ending in a consonant takes number, case or possession markers, e.g. the plural marker *-l*, as in *adyl* 'fishing net' – *adyl-i-l* 'fishing nets', *dyl* 'head' – *dyl-ɪ-l* 'heads', *ber* 'bow' – *ber-i-l* 'bows', *lang* 'trap' – *lang-ɪ-l* 'traps', *umuk* 'nest' – *umuk-i-l* 'nests', *gag* 'swan' – *gag-i-l* 'swans'. The same occurs when the personal possession suffixes are added to the ablative and elative case markers, e.g. *oron-duk* 'from the reindeer' – *oron-duk-i-n* 'from his/her reindeer', *oron-duk-i-v* 'from my reindeer', *d'u-git* 'from the house' – *d'u-gɪd-i-vun* 'from our house'. ʊ-epenthesis occurs with passive forms in *-v* when they take further suffixes beginning with a consonant (see section 3.4.5).

3.4.5. Reduplication

The only instance of word-internal reduplication concerns the repetition of two passive affixes -v. There are two semantic subtypes of this process: in the first case the first marker is homonymous with the passive marker but is in fact a (non-productive) causative marker, e.g. *suru-* 'go away' – *suru-v-* 'lead/take someone or something away' – *suru-vu-v-che-n* 'it/(s)he was taken/led away', *i:* 'enter' – *i:-v-* 'bring into' – *ɪ:-vu-v-re-n* 'it/(s)he was brought into (the room/house)'. The second subtype involves two passive markers proper. In both cases vowel /ʊ/ epenthesis occurs. Verbal forms with two passive suffixes (*-vu-v-*) both having the passive function are synonymous with verbal forms having only one passive marker *-v* (though some informants say that passive forms with two passive markers express actions which either took place long ago or were not witnessed by the speaker), cf.: *ga-* 'take' – *ga-v-cha* (*-cha* – past participle marker)/*ga-vu-v-cha* 'was taken', *va:-* 'kill' – *va:-v-cha/ va:-vu-v-cha* 'was killed'.

3.5. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SUPRASEGMENTAL)

3.5.1. Position of stress

3.5.1.1. Nature of stress

The stress is not constant under morphological processes.

3.5.1.2. Changes in stress assignment

The stress of nouns and verbs may shift from the stems to the case and temporal markers. Nouns and verbs with long vowels, as a rule, do not allow such shift of stress, e.g. *'d'u:-va* 'house-accd', *'va:-re-n* '(s)he killed', whereas nouns and verbs with short vowels may allow such change, e.g. *bira* 'river' – *bira-'va* 'river (accd)', *bira-'duk* 'from the river (abl)', *eme-'re-n* '(s)he came', *baka-'ra-n* '(s)he found'. Case markers which can attract stress are *-vA* (accd), *-ɟA* (accin), *-du* (dat), *-tki* (locall), *-(du)lA* (all), *-duk* (abl), *-git* (elat), *-(du)li* (prol) and *-kli* (allprol). Verbal forms with both short and long root vowels undergo various changes in stress-assignment if they take markers of causative (*-vkAn*), volition (*-mu*), motion (*-nA* 'go'), e.g. *va:-'vkan-d'ere-n* 'he makes someone kill', *va:-'na-d'ere-n* 'he goes to kill', *va:-'mu-d'eche-n* 'he wanted to kill' (see also 3.3.2.1). The suffix expressing volition *-mu* attracts stress to itself if several markers of this kind co-occur in one verb form, e.g. *va:-na-ssa-'mu-d'ere-n* 'he wants to try to go and kill', *iche-vken-'mu-d'ere-n* 'he wants to show'.

3.5.1.3. Conditions for stress-assignment

The position of the stress is predictable in terms of the phonological structure of the noun or verb stem (short vs long vowels of the stem) and the morphological processes the stems undergo (case and tense markers and also suffixes expressing causation, volition and motion) (see 3.5.1.2).

3.5.2. Tonal structure of the stem

This phenomenon is lacking.

Chapter 4

Ideophones and interjections

4.1. IDEOPHONES

Evenki has a much smaller number of ideophones than such cognate languages as Nanai and Manchu, both of which have several hundred such words. The reason for this difference in numbers is not known. The list of Evenki ideophones includes the following:

ang-ang sounds produced by geese
dik/dyk/hik beating of one's heart
go-go barking of a dog
h'e-h'e-h'e/ha-ha-ha sound of laughter
be-e-ba sounds produced while nursing a baby
hro-hro sounds produced by reindeer
keng-keng/king-king/kingis/kinges/kengus sound of clinking
kapus sound of a breaking object, e.g. a twig
k'ep sound of cracking of branches during frosty weather
kur sound produced by a fire when it suddenly breaks out
laspas 'slap/plump' (sound of an object which fell down flat)
ku-ku sound of a cuckoo
n'anir-kyk sound of a raven
pah/peh/pes sound of a gun-shot
peg sound of falling down
pung-pung sound of a stroke on shaman's tambourine
ototok-ototok/oholdok-oholdok sounds of ducks
peng sound of a *vargan*, a national musical instrument
tuk-tuk (1) sound of a woodpecker, (2) sounds of strokes during forging
r-r-r growling of a dog
u-u-u howling of a wolf
chipche-chipche/chip-chip chirping of birds
tap-tap/typ-typ sounds of slapping palms
tajtu-tajtu sounds of steps of a man walking far
chanes-chenes sounds produced by a bear
chop sound of an object falling into water
chongish-topush sound and image of a man chewing food
chuhir sound of a flash

4.2. INTERJECTIONS

The following are the most frequently used interjections:

Ke! 'Well!' (with the imperative meaning 'go on saying')
Ma! 'Here it is!' / 'Take it!',
Che! 'Go away!',
Mod-mod! (said to the reindeer while riding with the meaning 'Keep on running!'),
Ej/Erej/Ek! 'Ah' / 'Oh'
O-o 'Really!'
E-e 'Yes'
Hoj 'I am here'
Huvar'e: 'There is a draught here!'
Enu! 'I feel pain!'
Ke-ty! 'It's a pity!'
Kapus! 'Bang!'
Nasar'e:! 'Leave me alone!'
Chivir'e: 'Hush'
Kachus! 'Hush!' / 'Be silent'
Ku! 'Hi'
Hej/Hoj 'Oh'
Ebej 'Oh' (meaning 'I am frightened')
Hos'e 'Leave it!'
Eseg! 'I'll punish you now!'
Cha-cha 'Stop!' (to a reindeer)
Sit!/Chet! 'Get away!' (to a dog)
Kir'e: 'What a bad thing!' / 'Ugh!'
*Kandar'*e: 'I am sick and tired!'
Ngokk'e:! 'It smells bad!'
Inginik'e: 'I am cold'
Mul'e!: 'It's a pity!'.

Chapter 5

Lexicon

5.1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

5.1.1. Kinship terminology

Any relative is referred to as *d'a* (usually with the plural and possessive suffixes, e.g. *d'a-l-vi* one's own relatives), relatives by blood (father, mother, brothers and sisters) are referred to as *n'ad'u*. The following kinship terms are mostly found in possessive forms (i.e. when not used in direct address).

5.1.1.1. By blood

akin	elder brother, uncle (father's or mother's younger brother)
ama:ka	grandfather, uncle (father's or mother's elder brother)
amın	father
amtyl	parents
ekin	elder sister, aunt (father's or mother's younger sister)
en'eke	grandmother, aunt (father's or mother's elder sister)
enın	mother
entyl	parents
hunat	daughter
hute	child, son, daughter, grandchild, grandgrandchild
kungakan	baby, child
nekun	younger sibling, nephew, niece
omolgi	son
ungeke	aunt (father's or mother's older sister)

5.1.1.2. By half-blood/affiliation

amiran	step-father
eniren	step-mother
huteren	step-son, step-daughter

5.1.1.3. By marriage

asi	wife (also 'woman')
asingat	bride
atki	spouse's mother
atyrkan	(lit. 'old woman') wife
atyrkanngat	bride
edy	husband
etki	spouse's father
etyrkennget	bridegroom
ibd'e	older sister's husband
kukın	son's or brother's wife

5.1.1.4–6. Other parameters

There are no other kinship terms.

5.1.2. Colour terminology

bagdamassa/bagdamassincha	whitish
bagdarin/bagdama	white
chulama/chulbama	green
churin	green
dikteme	blue
diktemesinche	bluish
dylbirin	very black
horın	crimson
hulama/hularin	red
igd'ama/igd'arin	grey
kongnomo/kongnorin	black
lupchume/lupchurin	blackish, almost black
singgama/singgarin	yellow, brown

5.1.3. Body parts

aju	ankle, instep
amnga	mouth
anchan	cheek
arkan	back
bisime	ring-finger
bokan	thigh, hip
bosokto	kidney
cha:	cervical tendon
chilki	upper arm, biceps

choli	tongue
chungure	navel
dagan'a	thigh bone
d'alan	joint
dalu	shoulder blade (of a reindeer or an elk)
darama	loins, pelvic girdle
d'eg	chin
dere	face
d'og	lower jaw
do:ptun	womb
dulug	middle finger
dyl	head
dylba	abdominal muscle
elle	skull
emugde	stomach
engen'e:	waist
engeni	armpit
engki	thumb
eninin	womb
erun	forearm
e:sa	eye
evtel	lungs
evtyle	rib
gedymuk	back of neck
giramna	bone
gudyge	peritoneum
gulluka	muscle
gurgakta	beard / moustache
hagdyki	foot, sole
hakin	liver
halgan	leg
hannga	hand, palm
he:chan	temple
hed'un	lip
hemun	lower lip
henngen	knee
henngen sirekten	hamstring
hiken	chest
hogoki	windpipe
hojo	forehead
horon	crown of head
hukite	belly, abdomen
hutuka	spinal cord
i:	blind gut, appendix

ichen	elbow
ichenken	elbow
iken	lower jaw
ikeri	vertebrae, spine
ikte	tooth
iktel	gum
ille	body
irge	brain
kalbika	shoulder blade
kengtyre	chest, ribcage
mengu	neck
me:van	heart
mire	shoulder
moman'a	rectum
mukete	anus
nga:le	arm
nikimna	neck
nimngengki	throat, gullet
ningty	heel
n'uni	shin
n'urikte(l)	hair
ogo	hip
ogoni	armpit
omkoto	forehead
ongokto	nose
orokon	collarbone
osikta	nail
pachi	female sexual organs
poro	penis
sarimikta	(eye)brow
sarimiktal	eyelashes
se:kse	blood
se:n	ear
s'elun	nostril
silukta	gut
silukta-l	guts/intestines
sirekte	tendon
sogdonno	upper part of back
surchan	big toe
tepku	womb
tunulken	crown of head
tyd'aki	calf
tykikta	skin
tyngen	ribcage

udik	bladder
ukun	woman's breast
ulle	flesh
umukechen	finger, index finger, toe, big toe
un'akan	finger
un'akachan	little finger
ungikta	vein
ur	belly
urigde	abdomen
urumngakte	middle ear
utumuk	back of neck

5.1.4. Cooking terminology

cook	*iri (d'e)-*
boil (meat)	*ule:(d'e)-*
cook (soup)	*sileng(d'e)-*
cook (porridge)	*chupan(d'a)-*
cook (tea)	*chajing(d'a)-*
simmer	*hujuv-(d'e)-*
fry / roast (in a frying-pan)	*iri(d'e)-*
roast (on hot coals)	*bula(d'a)-, dalgat(cha)-*
roast (on a spit)	*sila(d'a)-*
prepare food	*iri(d'e)-, kalura(d'a)-*
flense	*hig-*
steep / soften	*ulapkı(d'a)-*
cut into pieces	*mine-, melege-* (with a knife); *hog-, hongni-* (with an axe)
separate (for example, meat from sinew / tendon)	*kachalga-*
slice	*mine-*
cut into two	*d'unmendı borit-*
cleave / split	*melepte-*
hang (fish or meat) out to dry	*lovan(d'e)-*
dry (fish or meat for winter in the sun)	*dylacha(d'e)-, chapiran(d'e)-*
dry (fish or meat on the fire)	*buchi(d'e)-*
grease with animal fat / vegetable oil	*imu(d'e)-*
heat up	*hekulgi(d'e)-*
be burnt	*enggurev-*
bake bread	*kolobong-*
to skin	*hig(d'e)-*
smoke (fish or meat)	*sangnja(d'a)-*

leave to ferment (dough)	*kosna(d'e)-*
brew	*bege(d'e)-*
ladle / dish out / serve food	*tuju-*
gut (fish, fowl)	*telget-*
let congeal	*dongoton(d'o)-*
peel	*ile(d'e)-, kangna(d'e)-*
put (kettle on the fire)	*hige(d'e)-*
scale (fish)	*eki-*
salt	*turukede-*
pound (vegetables in a dish)	*dukte(d'e)-*
mix vegetables with berries or crushed animal bones)	*soli:-*

5.1.5. Other structured semantic fields

5.1.5.1. Seasons

spring	*nelki* (in March), *evilese* (in April), *n'engn'eni* (in May)
summer	*d'ugani*
autumn	*boloni*
winter	*tugeni*

5.1.5.2. Snow and ice

ice	*d'uke*
ice on the banks during ice drifting	*tutasel*
snow (on the ground)	*singilgen, imanna*
slush (on the ground)	*chumcha ımanna*
first (new-fallen) snow	*livge/libge*
wet snow falling	*n'engte*
hard grains of snow	*butari*
hoar frost / rime	*suvgıkse, singikse*
icicle	*dongotovcho churgisamna*
little snow-flakes in air / falling	*hepke*
feathery clumps of falling snow	*lupara*
grainy sparkling snow on the frozen snow-crust	*alunte*
snow on the tree branches	*ungkakta/umkakta/ungkeke*
deep snow	*imanmu/imanme*

5.1.5.3. Boat and its equipment

boat made of birch	*d'av*
boat made of boards/hollowed-out boat	*kongat*
stern of a boat	*d'av amarin*
keel	*d'av d'ulen*
paddle	*ulivun, gevun*
helm paddle	*amarmachivun*
punt pole	*tulguvun*
harpoon	*kiramki*
lance	*gida, koto*
fishing-rod	*hinna, kamda*

5.1.5.4. Traditional dwellings

The term *d'u* covers any kind of dwelling, including the traditional hide-walled hut.

traditional tent, dwelling	*d'u*
pole for a dwelling	*s'erang*
pole for hanging hooks	*ikeptyn*
outlet/hole for smoke	*so:na*
three main poles of the traditional tent	*so:na*
hide for a dwelling	*ɪrekse*
birch bark covering a dwelling	*tyksa*
honourable place for guests	*malu*
wooden house	*gule*
door	*urke*
threshold	*kultyr*
floor	*napolu* (< Russian *na polu* 'on the floor')
hook for hanging pots	*ollon*
frame of a dwelling	*d'ukija*
barn/granary/warehouse	*delken, ne:ku*
window	*okosko* (< Russian)
ceiling	*potolok* (< Russian)
entrance	*i:kit*
exit	*ju:kɪt*
sleeping platform	*a:mkɪn*
lower part of the hut covering	*ellun*
winter hut/dwelling	*uten, golomo*
shadow hut	*uten kaltakan*
place in a hut for personal things	*bilek*

5.1.5.5. Reindeer and other animals

reindeer	*oron*
saddle reindeer	*uguchak, u:chak*
reindeer harnessed on the left-hand side of a sledge-team	*kostur*
leading reindeer in a sledge team harnessed on the right-hand side	*n'ogu, n'ogusik, n'ogarkan, sa:pka*
reserve reindeer	*delemin*
wild reindeer	*bagdaka:*
reindeer which became wild	*gelu:n*
castrated (gelded) reindeer	*aktaki*
reindeer without horns/ hornless reindeer	*malnga*
reindeer with a skewbald patch/spot on a muzzle	*ongkovor, ongoskocho*
reindeer with white hooves	*kokchavar, kokchakacha*
male reindeer in the period of of pairing	*siru*
not completely castrated reindeer	*nara*
reindeer which cannot be trained	*mullikan*
new-born calf-reindeer	*songgachan*
young calf-reindeer	*engneken*
less than 1-year-old male reindeer	*evkan*
1-year-old reindeer	*avlakan*
2-year-old reindeer	*ektana*
2–3-year-old reindeer	*gerbichen*
4-year-old reindeer	*n'ogarkan, n'ovarkan*
5-year-old reindeer	*amarkan*
6-year-old reindeer	*aminan*
6–7-year-old reindeer	*gilge*
female reindeer	*n'ami*
female reindeer with a calf	*engungge*
female reindeer without a calf	*umiri*
less than 1-year-old female reindeer	*epkacha:n*
1-year-old female reindeer	*sachari*
1–2-year-old female reindeer	*g'evd'ani* (<*g'e* 'second')
3-year-old female reindeer	*ilivd'ani* (*ili:* 'third')
4-year-old female reindeer	*dygivd'ani* (*dygi:* 'fourth'), etc.

wild calf-reindeer	*bagdakatkan*
buck reindeer	*irun*
hide / pelt	*nanna*
hide from the head of a reindeer	*m'eta*
hide from the lower part of reindeer's legs	*o:sa*
hide from reindeer's body (curried and dressed)	*irekse*
hide from reindeer's neck	*muka*
hide from reindeer's sides	*bokoli*
hide from the upper part of reindeer's legs	*samngan*
hide from reindeer's horns	*nirgekte*
pieces of hide near reindeer's hoofs	*hema, hachan*
reindeer's pelt curried into shammy / suede	*tergekse*
recently skinned reindeer's hide	*hivche*
wild reindeer's hide	*multaksa*
reindeer's hide for sacrifice	*bugady*
smoked reindeer's hide	*n'echukse*
elk	*mo:ty, toki, bejun*
red deer	*kumaka*
roe deer	*givchen*
Siberian hornless deer	*mekchen*
bear	*homo:ty, ama:ka, ebej, kulikan, amika:n*
wolf	*irgichi, guske*
fox	*sulaki*
sable	*dengke, chipkan*
ermine / stoat	*d'elekı*
lynx	*s'ekalan*
hare	*tuksaki, munnukan*
squirrel	*uluki, keremun*
wolverene	*d'antaki, mukevki*

5.2. BASIC VOCABULARY

5.2.1.	all	*upkat*
5.2.2.	and	*-da, taduk* (compare 1.3.1.1.1)
5.2.3.	animal	*bejnge, bejun*
5.2.4.	ashes	*hulepten*
5.2.5.	at	*-du/-tu* (dative case; see 2.1.1.5.1)
5.2.6.	back	*amar* (back part of an object) *sogdonno/arkan* back of a human being

5.2.7.	bad	*eru, erupchu*
5.2.8.	bark (of a tree)	*uldaksa* (bark of fir tree) *talu* (bark of birch tree)
5.2.9.	because	*tarit*
5.2.10.	belly	*hukıte, ur*
5.2.11.	big	*hegdy*
5.2.12.	bird	*degi*
5.2.13.	bite	*kik-, kikisin-*
5.2.14.	black	*lupchurin*
5.2.15.	blood	*se:kse*
5.2.16.	blow	*huv(d'e)-*
5.2.17.	bone	*giramna*
5.2.18.	breast	*hiken* *ukun* (woman's breast)
5.2.19.	breathe	*eri(d'e)-*
5.2.20.	burn	*d'egde-* (intr) *ila-* (tr)
5.2.21.	child	*kungakan, hute*
5.2.22.	claw	*chovomo* (of a bird) *osi:kta* (of an animal)
5.2.23.	cloud	*tuksu*
5.2.24.	cold	*hemur/hemuripchu* (of water) *inginipchu* (of weather)
5.2.25.	come	*eme-*
5.2.26.	count	*tang-*
5.2.27.	cut	*gır(d'a)-, kaitcha-/kaikcha-* (with scissors) *hog(d'a)-, hogni(d'a)-* (with an axe) *mi:-, mıne-, melege-, melepte-, sir(d'e)-* (with a knife) *telget-* (cut meat for sun-curing)
5.2.28.	day	*tyrgani*
5.2.29.	die	*bu(d)- ulbin(d'e)-* (die of hunger)
5.2.30.	dig	*ule:-*
5.2.31.	dirty	*n'angn'achi*
5.2.32.	dog	*nginakin*
5.2.33.	drink	*um-* *chaj-ty-* (drink tea < *chaj* 'tea'; for *-ty* 'eat' see 5.2.39)
5.2.34.	dry	*olgokın*
5.2.35.	dull	*mongnon, dulbun*
5.2.36.	dust	*na:mne*
5.2.37.	ear	*se:n*
5.2.38.	earth	*dunne* *tukala* (ground)

5.2.39.	eat	*d'ev-/d'ep-* *-ty* (non-productive suffix; cf. 2.2.2.1)
5.2.40.	egg	*umukta*
5.2.41.	eye	*e:sa*
5.2.42.	fall	*buru-* *o:ngkan-* (on one's back)
5.2.43.	far	*goro, gorodu, gorolo*
5.2.44.	fat/grease	*imukse, imuren, burgu;* *semesik* (of a bear)
5.2.45.	father	*amin*
5.2.46.	fear	(*n*) *nge:le nge:lege, nge:lelikte, nge:lenge* *nge:le(tche)* (*v*)
5.2.47.	feather	*dektenne*
5.2.48.	few	*ugukun, adykan*
5.2.49.	fight	*kusi-, ngorcha-*
5.2.50.	fire	*togo* *guluvun* ('fireplace')
5.2.51.	fish	*ollo*
5.2.52.	five	*tunnga*
5.2.53.	float	*ejen(d'e)-* (downstream) *solo(d'o)* (up the river)
5.2.54.	flow	*ejen(d'e)-*
5.2.55.	flower	*tsvetok* (< Russian); *chuka(n)* (grass)
5.2.56.	fly	*deg-, degikte-*
5.2.57.	fog	*tamŋaksa*
5.2.58.	foot	*halgan* *hagdyki* (sole)
5.2.59.	four	*dygin*
5.2.60.	freeze	*dongoto(tcho)-*
5.2.61.	fruit	*frukty* (< Russian)
5.2.62.	full	*d'alum*
5.2.63.	give	*bu:-*
5.2.64.	good	*aja(pchu)*
5.2.65.	grass	*chuka*
5.2.66.	green	*churin, chulama, chularin*
5.2.67.	guts	*siluktal*
5.2.68.	hair	*n'urikte(l)*
5.2.69.	hand	*nga:le*
5.2.70.	he	*nungan*
5.2.71.	head	*dyl*
5.2.72.	hear	*doldy-, dolchat-*
5.2.73.	heart	*me:van*
5.2.74.	heavy	*urge(pchu)*

5.2.75.	here	*edu*
5.2.76.	hit	*ikte-, dug-, kolto-, idaka-, tokto-, chongkisin-, sukede-, guja-, tapta(sin)-, ngingtydu-, tuka-*
5.2.77.	hold	*d'avucha-* *d'ava-, ga-* ('take')
5.2.78.	horn	*ije*
5.2.79.	how	*o:n*
5.2.80.	hunt	*bejukte-, bejumi-, bulta-*
5.2.81.	husband	*edy*
5.2.82.	I	*bi*
5.2.83.	ice	*d'uke*
5.2.84.	if	converbal forms in *-mi* and *-rAki* (see 1.1.2.4.2.5 and 2.1.3.5)
5.2.85.	in	dative case forms in *-du/tu* (see 2.1.1.5.1) and postposition *do:du-* 'inside' (see 2.1.1.5.3)
5.2.86.	kill	*va:-*
5.2.87.	knee	*henngen*
5.2.88.	know	*sa:-*
5.2.89.	lake	*amut*
5.2.90.	laugh	*in'ekte(d'e)-*
5.2.91.	leaf	*avdanna*
5.2.92.	(the) left side	*d'eginngu*
5.2.93.	leg	*halgan*
5.2.94.	lie/be lying	*hukle(d'e)-*
5.2.95.	live	*in(d'e)-, bi(d'e)-, bodo(d'o)-*
5.2.96.	liver	*hakin*
5.2.97.	long	*ngonim(ipchu)*
5.2.98.	louse	*kumke*
5.2.99.	man/male	*beje, ile*
5.2.100.	many	*kete*
5.2.101.	meat/flesh	*ulle*
5.2.102.	moon	*b'ega*
5.2.103.	mother	*enin*
5.2.104.	mountain	*ure, kadar*
5.2.105.	mouth	*amnga*
5.2.106.	name	*gerbi*
5.2.107.	narrow	*silimkun*
5.2.108.	near	*daga(dy)*
5.2.109.	neck	*nikimna*
5.2.110.	new	*omakta*
5.2.111.	night	*dolboni*
5.2.112.	nose	*ongokto*

5.2.113. not	conjugated negative auxiliary verb *e-*; negative noun *a:chin* ('none') (see all sections under 1.4)
5.2.114. old	*sagdy*
5.2.115. one	*umun*
5.2.116. other	*g'e, hereke* *hungtu* (different)
5.2.117. person	*ile*
5.2.118. play	*evi-*
5.2.119. pull	*tan-, iru-*
5.2.120. push	*ana-, anu-*
5.2.121. rain	(*n*) *tygde, udun* (*v*) *tygde-, udun-*
5.2.122. red	*hularin, hulama*
5.2.123. right / correct	*ted'e(me)*
5.2.124. (the) right side	*anngu*
5.2.125. river	*bira*
5.2.126. road	*hokto, ngenekit*
5.2.127. root	*ngingte* *nelge* (on the ground)
5.2.128. rope	*usi, herkevun*
5.2.129. rotten	*munu(che)*
5.2.130. round	*murume, muruki:, munguma, murukte*
5.2.131. rub	*siki-, hiki-*
5.2.132. salt	*turuke*
5.2.133. sand	*inga, sirugi:*
5.2.134. say	*gun-, hengket-*
5.2.135. scratch	*osi:-*
5.2.136. sea	*lamu*
5.2.137. see	*iche-*
5.2.138. seed	*che:me*
5.2.139. sew	*ulli-*
5.2.140. sharp	*emer*
5.2.141. short	*urumkun*
5.2.142. sing	*ike-, davla-*
5.2.143. sit	*teget-* (be in sitting position) *tege-* (assume sitting position)
5.2.144. skin	*irekse, nanna* (of an animal) *tykikta* (of a human being)
5.2.145. sky	*n'angn'a*
5.2.146. sleep	*a:-*
5.2.147. small	*hujukun*
5.2.148. smell	*ngo:-* (smell bad), *unngu-* (smell pleasant) (intr) *ngosu(kta)-* (tr)

5.2.149. smoke	*sangn'an, suvgin*
5.2.150. smooth	*kapchaka, kapcharin, kapcharaty, naptama, nepteme*
5.2.151. snake	*kulin*
5.2.152. snow	(n) *singılgen, imanna* (v) *imanna-, livgen-*
5.2.153. some	*ady:-val, asun-mal, adykan-mel* *haltyn* ('some of them')
5.2.154. spit	*tumnı-*
5.2.155. split	*ive-, pesige-*
5.2.156. squeeze	*tyre:-, dapchu-*
5.2.157. stab/pierce	*gidala-, gidasin-, arkisin-, lupa-, tepe-, lidyren-*
5.2.158. stand	*il-* (assume standing position) *ilit-* (be in standing position)
5.2.159. star	*o:sikta*
5.2.160. stick	*mo:kan*
5.2.161. stone	*d'olo*
5.2.162. straight	*ngungne*
5.2.163. suck	*uku-, nupku-*
5.2.164. sun	*dylacha*
5.2.165. swell	*kurbe-, aval-, kepe-*
5.2.166. swim	*elbesket(che)-* (of a man) *tysakta(d'a)-* (of an animal)
5.2.167. tail	*irgı*
5.2.168. that	*tar(i)*
5.2.169. there	*tadu, tala, tali*
5.2.170. they	*nungartyn*
5.2.171. thick	*dyram, burgu*
5.2.172. thin	*nemkun*
5.2.173. think	*d'alda:- ilge-, gunche-*
5.2.174. this	*er(ı)*
5.2.175. thou	*si*
5.2.176. three	*ilan*
5.2.177. throw	*noda:-, useget-, usende-*
5.2.178. tie	*(v) uj-*
5.2.179. tongue	*choli*
5.2.180. tooth	*ıkte*
5.2.181. tree	*mo:*
5.2.182. turn	*horol(isin)-* (intr) *horolivkan-, horolisinmukan-* (tr) (*-vkan/-mukan* caus)
5.2.183. two	*d'ur*
5.2.184. vomit	*iserı-*
5.2.185. walk	*girku-, ngene-*
5.2.186. warm	*n'ama(pchu)*

5.2.187. wash — *silki-, av-*
5.2.188. water — *mu:*
5.2.189. we — *mit* (inc) *bu* (exc)
5.2.190. wet — *ulapkun*
5.2.191. what — *e:kun, e:, angi*
5.2.192. when — *o:kin, o:kindu, o:kir* (pl)
5.2.193. where — *i:du, i:le*
5.2.194. white — *bagdama, bagdarin*
5.2.195. who — *ngi*
5.2.196. wide — *albin*
5.2.197. wife — *asi*
5.2.198. wind — *edyn*
5.2.199. wing — *asaki, dektenne*
5.2.200. wipe — *tesi-*
5.2.201. with — *-nun, nAn, tAi, lAn, gAli* (comitative suffixes; see 2.1.1.4.4)
5.2.202. woman — *asi*
5.2.203. woods — *mo:sa, agi, hargi, d'agdag*
5.2.204. worm — *kulikan, ikiri, ure:*
5.2.205. ye — *su*
5.2.206. year — *anngani*
5.2.207. yellow — *singama, singarin, o:lacha, avdannama*

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