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As a manuscript

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**VALENCY-CHANGING DERIVATIONS IN TUNDRA NENETS
IN A TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Dissertation Summary
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Publications

The following six articles have been selected for the defense. All the publications are indexed in the Scopus or Web of Science databases or published in the HSE Journal Lists B, C or D. Two articles are published in the journals included in the second quartile of the Scopus database. The applicant is the sole author in all the papers.

1. Stenin I. A. Grammatika tundrovogo nenetskogo jazyka I. A. Nikolaevoj i problemy opisanija samodijskix jazykov [I. A. Nikolaeva's Tundra Nenets grammar and some issues in Samoyedic descriptive studies]. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 2015, (4): 91–133. (Scopus, Q2; HSE Journal List B)
2. Stenin I. A. Nekauzativnye èffekty kauzativnoj morfologii v severnosamodijskix jazykax [Non-causative effects of causative morphology in the Northern Samoyedic languages]. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana. Transactions of the Institute for Linguistic Studies*, 2015, XI (2): 583–597. (HSE Journal List C)
3. Stenin I. A. Sintaksis kauzativnoj konstruksii v nenetskix jazykax [Syntax of a causative construction in the Nenets languages]. *Tomsk Journal of Linguistics and Anthropology*, 2017, (1): 25–35. (HSE Journal List D)
4. Stenin I. A. Neskol'ko nablyudenij nad prichastnym passivom v tundrovom nenetskom jazyke [A few notes on the participial passive in Tundra Nenets]. *Izvestija Rossijskoj akademii nauk. Serija literatury i jazyka* [Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences: Studies in Literature and Language], 2022, 81 (4): 96–108. (Scopus; HSE Journal List C)
5. Stenin I. A. O passivnykh glagolakh s pokazatelem *-ra / -rye* v tundrovom nenetskom jazyke [On passive verbs with the marker *-ra / -rye* in Tundra Nenets]. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 2023, (4): 21–46. (Scopus, Q2; HSE Journal List B)
6. Stenin I. A. Antipassivnye pokazateli v tundrovom nenetskom jazyke [Antipassive markers in Tundra Nenets]. *Uralo-altajskie issledovanija* [Ural-Altai Studies], 2023, (4): 80–105. (Scopus, Q3; HSE Journal List B)

The results of the present study have also been presented in the following papers:

7. Stenin I. A. [Rev. of:] *Finno-ugorskie jazyki: Fragmenty grammatičeskogo opisanija. Formal'nyj i funktsional'nyj podxody* [Finno-Ugric languages: Fragments of grammatical description. Formal and functional approaches]. Moscow: Rukopisnye pamjatniki Drevnej Rusi, 2012. *Uralo-altajskie issledovanija* [Ural-Altai Studies], 2014, (3): 74–85. (HSE Journal List B)
8. Stenin I. A. Passiv [Passive]. In S. Ju. Toldova, M. A. Xolodilova (editors-in-chief), S. G. Tatevosov, E. V. Kashkin, A. A. Kozlov, L. S. Kozlov, A. V. Kukhto, M. Ju. Privi-

zentseva, I. A. Stenin (eds.), *Èlementy mokšanskogo jazyka v tipologičeskom osveščanii* [Elements of Moksha in a typological perspective]. Moscow: Buki Vedi, 490–545.

9. Stenin I. A. [Rev. of:] Beáta Wagner-Nagy. A grammar of Nganasan. Leiden: Brill, 2018. xviii + 583 p. (Grammars and sketches of the world's languages. Indigenous languages of Russia.) ISBN 978-90-04-38275-6. *Voprosy Jazykoznanija*, 2020, (5): 150–160. (Scopus, Q2; HSE Journal List B)

Conference talks

The main results of the study were presented in the following oral presentations:

— Stenin I. Sredstva detranzitivizatsii v nenetskom jazyke [Detransitivization strategies in Tundra Nenets]. Talk at the 4th International Conference on Samoyedology (University of Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany, 2012);

— Stenin I. Vzaimodejstvie aspektual'noj i aktantnoj derivatsii v nenetskom jazyke [Interaction of aspectual and argument derivations in Tundra Nenets]. Talk at “Linguistic typology: research methods and approaches to the study” (Kamianets-Podilsky Ivan Ohienko National University, Kamianets-Podilsky, Ukraine, 2013);

— Stenin I. Imperfektivirujuščie derivatsii i antipassivnaja konstruktsija v nenetskom jazyke [Imperfectivizing derivations and the antipassive construction in Tundra Nenets]. Talk at “Morphosyntactic Parameters 2013” (Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences / Sholokhov Moscow State University for the Humanities, Moscow, Russia, 2013);

— Stenin I. Nekauzativnye èffekty kauzativnoj morfologii v severnosamodijskix jazykax [Non-causative effects of causative morphology in the Northern Samoyedic languages]. Talk at the Tenth Conference on Typology and Grammar for Young Researchers (Institute for Linguistic Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), St. Petersburg, Russia, 2013);

— Stenin I. Causativization and (a)telicity: A Northern Samoyedic perspective. Talk at the 6th International Conference on Samoyedology (Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia, 2016);

— Stenin I. Resultative in Tundra Nenets. Talk at the 7th International Conference on Samoyed Studies (University of Tartu, Tartu, Estonia, 2018).

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General remarks

The dissertation is devoted to the study of valency-changing derivations and voice in Tundra Nenets. Where possible, data from other Uralic languages (i.e., genealogically related), especially other Northern Samoyed languages (Forest Nenets, Nganasan, Forest Enets and Tundra Enets), other Siberian languages (i.e., areally close), and — as a typological background — available data from any other languages are used for comparison.

Valency-changing derivations and voice represent different, though closely related, verb categories. It is usually believed that valency derivations affect the verb situation by changing the number of participants or redistributing their roles, while voice allows us to look at the same situation from a different perspective (only the communicative redistribution of the participants takes place, while their number and roles remain unchanged). Valency-changing derivations are traditionally attributed to word formation, while voice transformations are, as a rule, attributed to inflection. It should be recognized that this is not always the case. In practice, it is often not so easy to distinguish between these two classes of phenomena. The data of Tundra Nenets and Northern Samoyed languages allow us to speak of valency-changing derivations and voice as phenomena of more or less the same order. In particular, not only is passivization of a causative verb possible in them, which is more or less trivial, but a causative derivative can also be formed from what is appropriately called a passive verb according to most relevant parameters; cf. the following example.

TUNDRA NENETS (Antipayuta village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

- (1) *te-myih* *xa-^o*
deer-POSS.INPL die-GFS.3SG.S
'My deer died.'
- (2) *ti* *xa-da-ra-wi^o-q,* *sarmyik^o* *xa-da-we-da*
deer die-CAUS-PASS-NARR¹-3SG.R wolf die-CAUS-NARR-3SG.O
'The deer turned out to be killed, the wolf had mauled it.'
- (3) *xasawa* *te-m-ta* *xa-da-ra-bta-^o*
man deer-ACC-POSS.3SG die-CAUS-PASS-CAUS-GFS.3SG.S
'A man ruined a deer', lit. caused to be killed.

Example (1) is an underived verb *xa-* 'to die'; example (2) has two finite clauses: the head of the latter is the causative derivative of this verb, the head of the former is the passive of this causative²; finally, in example (3) one observes a derived verb with a long

¹ Glosses are partially simplified, the distinction between the so-called general and special modal subtypes is not reflected. The details of the formal morphology of Tundra Nenets are covered in detail in (Salminen 1997; 1998).

² Both derivatives are in the form of the so-called Narrative (which corresponds to the typological label 'inferential'), in these cases indicating that the speaker did not directly observe the situation, but its consequences.

derivational history. In the latter case, the passive derivative undergoes causativization, and the semantics of the new verb differs from the semantics of the simple causative from the verb *xa-*.

The causative and the passive are the most well-studied in the literature and the most frequently occurring valency-changing and voice phenomena in the world's languages. They are also the focus of this study, although other valency-changing derivations are also discussed. The present paper uses 'valency alternation' as a general concept, and treats 'voice' as a subcategory of 'valency alternation' (rather than the other way around, where the notion 'voice' is used as an umbrella term, as in many traditional grammatical descriptions).

The **relevance** of the study is determined by the fact that valency derivations and voice are among the most actively studied fragments of grammar in the last half century. A vast literature has been devoted to them. The tradition of the typological study of these problems was established by Russian linguists who worked in the Leningrad typological school: first of all, A. A. Kholodovich, V. S. Khrakovsky, V. P. Nedjalkov, and G. G. Silnitsky. These phenomena were studied by B. Comrie, R. M. W. Dixon, T. Givon, M. Haspelmath, L. I. Kulikov, S. S. Say, M. Shibatani, and many other typologists. Within the formal framework, various valency and voice alternations have also been discussed by A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, D. Dowty, H. Harley, B. Levin, E. A. Lyutikova, L. Pylkkänen, G. Ramchand, M. Rappaport Hovav, S. G. Tatevosov, and many other researchers. Despite the considerable scope of research, it cannot be said that the parameters of cross-linguistic variation in this area are reliably known. Of course, linguists need new data on those languages in which the discussed phenomena have not been studied in detail so far. Such are the Northern Samoyed languages and, in particular, Tundra Nenets. Besides, there are only a small number of works in which voice and valency derivations are considered not by themselves, but in their interaction with other grammatical phenomena and zones (aspect and actionality, aspectual and pluractional derivations, verb agreement, differential case marking, etc.) within one language system. The importance of studying the interaction of grammatical phenomena has been specifically emphasized in recent works by A. Y. Aikhenvald, R. M. W. Dixon, A. L. Malchukov, and V. S. Khrakovsky.

Despite the fact that some aspects of the discussed phenomena have been touched upon in Samoyed studies, in particular, by E. A. Helinski, A. I. Kuznetsova, I. A. Nikolaeva, G. N. Prokofiev, N. M. Tereshchenko, B. Wagner-Nagy, in general this problematic has remained rather in the shade in Samoyedology. In this dissertation, this topic is for the first time the subject of a special study, which determines the **novelty** of the dissertation. Besides, the phenomena studied in Tundra Nenets have hardly been compared with the data of other languages so far, and such a comparison may be of interest not only for Samoyed studies, but also for linguistic typology.

The **aim** of the study is to describe valency and voice alternations in Tundra Nenets and to reveal its typological peculiarity in this respect. In accordance with the goal, the thesis sets the following **tasks**:

- clarifying the number, identifying the distribution and meanings of morphological markers from the domain of voice and valency alternations;
- determining the morphosyntactic implications of various operations;
- identifying grammatical and lexical constraints imposed on alternations;
- exploring the relationship between valency derivations, aspect, actionality, aspectual and pluractional derivations;
- determining the place of valency-changing derivations and voice in Tundra Nenets in the general typology of argument alternations.

The **theoretical significance** of the dissertation is determined by the fact that it introduces grammatically relevant facts of Tundra Nenets, which until now were either not known at all, or were overlooked. The study allows oneself to clarify the existing typology of non-causative effects of causative morphology, among which the literature most often refers only to the intensity of action, or iterativity, distributivity, etc. This work is also of interest for the study of causative-applicative syncretism, for clarifying the status of social causation (within the opposition between direct vs. indirect causation), for studies on the interaction of valency-changing and aspectual derivations.

The **practical significance** of the thesis is largely due to its empirical orientation. The facts described in this work and the conclusions obtained here can be used in descriptions of the morphology and syntax of the Tundra Nenets language and in comparative Samoyed studies, as well as in the fieldwork on the Samoyed languages. The material of the study can be used in the preparation of general and special courses on the Uralic languages, typology of valency and voice alternations, verb grammatical systems, etc., and has already been used by the author in teaching the course “Comparative grammar of the Uralic languages” to students of the Department of Finno-Ugric Philology at Lomonosov Moscow State University and the research seminars “Tundra Nenets” and “Valence-increasing derivations” to students of the Bachelor’s Program “Fundamental and Computational Linguistics” at the HSE University.

Published and unpublished texts in Tundra Nenets, as well as in other Northern Samoyed languages, were used as the main **material of the study**. Data from grammars, dictionaries and individual works on these languages were used. In addition, important materials on Tundra Nenets and Forest Nenets were collected by the author personally during fieldwork in the following settlements: Antipayuta village (Tundra Nenets; Tazovsky District, YNAO, 2011), Beloyarsk settlement (Tundra Nenets; Priuralsky District, YNAO, 2012), Khalyasavey village (Forest Nenets; Purovsky District, YNAO, 2012 and 2013), Gyda village (Tundra Nenets; Tazovsky District, YNAO, 2014). Some comparative data on the Nganasan language were also obtained “in the field”, in the process of recording the audio dictionary in Dudinka in 2014.

The following **research statements** are proposed for the defense:

1) In Tundra Nenets (and in Forest Nenets) there are at least 4 different causative markers (with numerous synchronic allomorphs and historically related variants), the distribution of which is not determined by morphophonological factors. There is no pattern like “one base — one causative derivative”: several causative derivatives from the same verb may be distributed territorially or may coexist within the same system and reveal differences in meaning. The co-occurrence of causative markers with different argument classes of verbs can be formulated in the form of tendencies. The main parameter of opposition in this case is the possibility of combining with (agentive) transitive verbs.

2) In the Eastern dialects of Tundra Nenets (and in the studied Pur dialect of Forest Nenets) there are strict restrictions on the formation of causative derivatives from agentive transitive verbs: if they are formed, they are, as a rule, semantically irregular; some of them are not implicative, i.e. they do not presuppose the reality of the caused situation (in the most perfective form with reference to the past).

3) In Tundra Nenets (and in Forest Nenets), causative verbs are perfective and telic, except for causative derivatives of basic verbs of motion, which are imperfective and atelic (applicatives might be also imperfective and atelic). If the causative marker *-TA* is combined with a verb that does not have a perfective use in the finite forms, normally the causative is formed through the inchoative marker *-L*.

4) In the case of causativization of an intransitive one-place verb, the original subject moves into the position of the direct object; in the case of causativization of a transitive agentive verb, the original subject moves into the position of the indirect object (and is expressed by the dative), which in general fits within the famous generalization by (Comrie 1976), known as the ‘paradigm case’.

5) In Tundra Nenets, there are no specialized applicative markers, but in some cases (quasi-)applicative function can be performed by causative markers. Among other non-causative effects of causative derivation, agentivization and marking of converse relations deserve attention first of all.

6) Among other valence-increasing derivations, the dedicated ‘tropative’ / ‘declarative’ / ‘estimative’ marker *-KƏBTA* (\approx ‘consider that P’) stands out.

7) In Tundra (and Forest) Nenets, unlike other Northern Samoyed languages, the non-participial derivational passive marker is unproductive, selectively attaches to transitive and to a number of intransitive verbs, as well as to some nominal stems; the derivative is always perfective, and also, as a rule, implies the undesirable or unfavorable character of the situation for the participant in the subject position (or its possessor).

8) In Tundra (and Forest) Nenets, aspectual / pluractional and valency modification are strongly related. Most of the imperfective derivations can lead to intransitivization of a clause by demoting / removing a P-participant or less often an A-participant

from the surface structure. In addition, there is an antipassive marker modifying only transitive verbs.

Structure and synopsis. The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters, conclusion, references and nine appendices, six of which are articles selected for the defense.

The first two chapters are mainly of an overview nature. Chapter 1 (“General information about the Samoyed languages”) deals with classification problems, the distribution area and dialectal division of the Samoyed languages, the current sociolinguistic situation, as well as a general typological characterization.

Chapter 2 (“Voice and valency derivations: A brief overview”) includes an overview of the most significant concepts and phenomena from the fields of argument structure, event structure, and argument alternations, in particular discussing the differences between manner and result verbs, approaches to lexical decomposition, and introducing the basic concepts of passive, causative, decausative, antipassive, applicative, and other argument alternations.

The next two chapters are devoted to the description of Samoyed data. Chapter 3 (“Causative and other valence-increasing derivations”) focuses on morphological markers of the causative in Tundra Nenets and other Northern Samoyed languages. The problems associated with identifying the distribution of several causative affixes are discussed. The basic syntax of the causative construction and case marking of arguments in causative constructions are considered. The semantics of causative verbs is discussed, in particular, the ways of expressing “contact” vs. “distant” causation, factitive vs. permissive causation. Strict restrictions on distant causativization and reinterpretation of causative derivatives from agentive transitive verbs in the studied idioms of Tundra Nenets and Forest Nenets are considered separately. Special sections are devoted to the description of non-causative uses of causative verbs and the relation between causativization and (a)telicity. In addition to the description of the causative, this chapter also contains observations on verbs marked with the declarative marker (\approx ‘to consider that P’) and on the “objectless” transitive construction.

Chapter 4 (“Passive and valence-decreasing derivations”) contains a consistent description of passive constructions, antipassive constructions, decausative strategies, and uses of the so-called *w-stative. The problematic issue of the functions of reflexive conjugation is also touched upon.

The bibliography contains a list of cited literature (more than 400 items in total).

The first three appendices are intended to illustrate the derivational potential of verb morphology and the lexicalization of causative alternation in Tundra Nenets. The remaining six appendices include the articles in the defense. Appendix 4 supplements Chapter 1, Appendix 5 and Appendix 6 supplement Chapter 3, Appendix 7, Appendix 8 and Appendix 9 supplement Chapter 4. On the other hand, if articles are considered the

main text of the thesis, it can be said that Chapter 3 supplements Appendices 5–6 and Chapter 4 supplements Appendices 7–9.

The article (Stenin 2015a) (= Appendix 4) grew out of an extended review of the first modern English-language grammar of Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014), which addresses many hitherto virtually unexplored issues of the syntax of this language. The article discusses the main features of the grammar of Tundra Nenets, many of which are quite remarkable from the typological point of view. Among other things, the article provides remarks on a number of aspects of verb classes, the functioning of reflexive conjugation and markers of valency derivations. In particular, inaccuracies in the list of transitivizing markers are noted (pp. 119–120), and brief observations are made about the existence in Tundra Nenets of a previously unnoticed valence-increasing derivation, namely ‘declarative’ / ‘tropative’ / ‘estimative’, the meaning of which in the first approximation can be characterized as ‘consider that P’ (pp. 120–121). Given these observations, Tundra Nenets is included among the 36 known examples of languages with morphological estimative in the typological overview (Jacques 2023), where, however, the marker *-kəbta* is erroneously characterized as representing a ‘causative type’. In fact, at the synchronic level *-kəbta* is an indivisible dedicated declarative marker not used in the causative function, although diachronically it is probably complex and related to one of the causative affixes (*-bta*).

In Tundra Nenets, the declarative is normally formed from one-place predicates, primarily from property nouns, and only in isolated cases from intransitive stative verbs. The diathesis in declarative derivation changes almost in the same way as under causativization of an intransitive predicate: the original S-participant takes the position of the direct object, and a new argument is introduced in the subject position (but with the role of Experiencer rather than Agent / Cause). Cf. (4), where a verbal predication is presented and the verb contains markers of the inchoative and declarative attached to the nominal base *səwa* ‘good’.

TUNDRA NENETS (Antipayuta village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

- (4) *wíŋ-ki*^o *mənc^oya-m* *səwu-l-kəbta-ə-w*^o
 tundra-ADJ work-ACC good-INCH-DECL-GFS-1SG.O
 ‘I liked the tundra work’, lit. I found the tundra work good.

Chapter 3 also contains observations on the declarative stative, which shows a number of differences from the ordinary declarative, in particular, it is formed mainly from verb or bound stems and never contains the inchoative marker. In this case an intransitive verb is formed, which nevertheless retains in its semantics usually the indication of external evaluation; cf. *nənc^o-kəbtə- ~ nənc^o-kəbtyo-* ‘to be disgusting, causing squeamishness’ < *nənc^o-kəbta-* ‘to cause squeamishness, disgust’. Declarative statives more often denote emotions, feelings, inner sensations, but can also characterize human activity (behavior); cf. *yísy^okəbtə- ~ yísy^okəbtyo-* ‘to dabble, get into mischief’.

The article (Stenin 2015b) (= Appendix 5) examines such uses of causative markers in the Northern Samoyed languages that do not have a proper causative semantics. The detected secondary effects of causative morphology include, in particular, applicativization, agentivization and deagentivization, i.e. the expression of unintentional causation; cf. *xaqw^o-ra-bta-* ‘to drop down (inadvertently), to let fall’ < *xaqw^o-ra-* ‘1) to bring down, move down’. The marking of converse relations deserves special attention (6).

TUNDRA NENETS (Antipayuta village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

(5) *maly^ocya-myih* (*nyana-nyih*) *nyudyilye-y^o-q*
malitsa-POSS.1NPL about.LOC-OBL.POSS.1NPL become.small-SFS-3SG.R
‘The malitsa has become too small for me.’

(6) *ɲəcyeki^o* *tyuku^o* *po-h*
child this year- GEN
maly^ocya-m-ta *nyudyilye-btye-^o*
malitsa-acc-poss.3SG become.SMALL-CAUS-GFS.3SG.S
‘The child this year grew out of the malitsa’, lit. made it small.

Converse pairs in which both verbs are transitive and one is formally a causative of the other (like *matoq-ləbta-* ‘to lose’ < *matoq-* ‘to win’) are the furthest from true causatives: of the five properties of the prototypical causative formulated in (Ljutikova et al. 2006 : 53), they possess none in the strict sense.

At the same time, the examples in which the causative marks converse relations or agentivization have, unlike most applicative uses of causatives and derivatives of the basic verbs of motion ‘to go’ and ‘to walk’, one important property that brings them closer to true causatives — the finite predications with them are perfective and telic.

The Northern Samoyed data allow us to supplement and refine the typology of non-causative uses of causative markers (Aikhenvald 2011; Kittilä 2009, 2013). In (Aikhenvald 2011) it is proposed to categorize the effects associated with the use of causatives that do not change the valence of the original verb into three groups: 1) A-participant-related (increase in manipulative effort, intentionality, volition, and control); 2) action-related (intensification or iterativization); and 3) P-participant-related (increase in involvement, multiple or large P-participants). It is argued that the meanings from the first and third groups are expressed only in those languages in which secondary uses of causatives that do not increase valence are possible only from transitive and ambitransitive verbs, whereas the meanings from the second group are expressed in all languages in which causatives have non-valency-increasing uses.

In the Northern Samoyed languages, non-valency-increasing uses of causatives are possible both from transitive and ambitransitive verbs and from intransitive verbs. At the same time, in these languages, secondary uses of causatives affecting the properties of

the S/A-participant are regularly found, and there are practically no uses related, for example, to the intensification of action. On the other hand, A. Y. Aikhenvald's classification needs to be supplemented. Examples in which converse relations are expressed by means of causative morphology are found not only in the Northern Samoyed languages, but also in existing descriptions of Dagestani, Turkic and other languages. Finally, the attempt to link almost all secondary uses of causative markers with the increase of semantic transitivity excludes from consideration such complex cases as unintentional causation.

The article (Stenin 2017) (= Appendix 6) analyzes the argument structure of causative verbs in Tundra Nenets and Forest Nenets. The main attention is paid to the marking of the initial subject. The changes in the syntactic status of predicate arguments that occur during causativization are generally expected and correspond to the generalization in (Comrie 1976), known as the 'paradigm case', according to which the initial subject shifts to the nearest free position on the hierarchy of syntactic relations.

Of interest is the basic ingestive verb ('to eat'), which is transitive in Nenets languages and does not allow the omission of the direct object. Nevertheless, its causativization normally follows an intransitive scenario, which allows us to see its non-prototypical semantic transitivity. In many other languages, ingestive verbs also behave in a special way compared to the behavior of other transitive verbs; see especially (Næss 2007: 52ff.; Næss 2009) for a typology. At the same time, in Nenets languages there is a possibility of causativization of the verb 'to eat' according to the transitive scenario, but only with a non-human animate causee. In this case, the derivative gets a meaning close to that of the Russian verb *skormit* 'to feed something to somebody'.

The article (Stenin 2022) (= Appendix 7) is devoted to two strategies of the participial passive in the Tundra Nenets language, one of which allows the expression of the agent, and the other one does not. The participial passive is a standard and absolutely productive means of passivization in Tundra Nenets. The passive does not imply a construction with a passive participle. In Tundra Nenets, unlike Nganasan, there are no participles that could be called passive. All participles in Tundra Nenets, including the perfective participle, are voice-neutral (Tereshchenko 1956). Thus, in attributive position, the perfective participle can relativize both the S-, P-, and (at least theoretically) the A-participle. In predicative position, however, the perfective participle of transitive verbs is P-oriented. The participial passive is not restricted to constructions with the perfective participle in predicative position and can also be formed with the imperfective participle, the prospective participle and the negative participle, i.e. all four participles.

The first strategy (agentive passive) is considered mainly on the example of the perfective participle construction (7). The agreement patterns of this construction and the limited admissibility of first and second person subjects are discussed.

TUNDRA NENETS (Gyda village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

- (7) *tyiki*^o *xənə-r*^o *syən*^o *te-w*^o*na* *temta-we-r*^o?
 this sledge-POSS.2SG how.many deer-PROL buy-PT.PFV-POSS.2SG
 ‘How many reindeer did you buy this sled for?’, lit. this sled was bought by you
 for how many reindeer.

According to (Nikolaeva 2014: 244), the Tundra Nenets participial passive denotes the event, not the result of the event, because it is compatible only with adverbial modifiers characterizing the manner of action, not the result, and the time of the (dynamic) event, not the time of its result. In (8), one of the three examples given by I. A. Nikolaeva in support of this point of view is presented.

TUNDRA NENETS

- (8) *xarəd*^o *nyísya-nyi* *yənampo-w*^o*na* *syerta-wi*^o
 home father-GEN.POSS.1SG slow-PROL make-PT.PFV[3SG]
 ‘The house was slowly built by my father’ (ibid.).

The characterization of the Tundra Nenets participial passive only as eventive and having no resultative uses seems too radical. The properties of a participial passive with an expressed agent, on the one hand, and a participial passive without an expressed agent, on the other hand, may partially differ. In any case, it is relatively easy to find examples in which the adverbial modifier is oriented to the resulting state rather than to the agentive activity or process in the patient (i.e. the subevents preceding the occurrence of the result) — at least among examples without an expressed agent.

TUNDRA NENETS

- (9) *yesya-h* *yutyek*^o *nyarm*^o*bix*^o*nta* *yuda-wi*^o
 iron-GEN piece red.hot.DAT.POSS.3SG heat-PT.PFV[3SG]
 ‘A piece of iron is red-hot’ (Tereshchenko 1965: 357).

The second strategy, which is necessarily imperfective, is discussed using the example of a construction with an imperfective participle. The participle in this construction is formed from the verb through the durative marker. This construction is used in habitual (generic) contexts and does not allow for an expressed agent.

TUNDRA NENETS (Antipayuta village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

- (10) *ɲaw*^o*ka* *nyany*^o-*xəna*, *xalya* *yewey*^o-*xəna* *ɲaw*^o*la-mpə-da*
 awka bread-LOC fish soup-LOC feed-DUR-PT.IPFV[3SG]
 ‘Awka (= a tame reindeer fed near a tent) is (usually) fed with bread, ukha.’
- (11) **ɲaw*^o*ka* *nyebya-nyih* / *nyebya-xə-nyih* /
 awka mother-GEN.POSS.1NPL mother-DAT.POSS-POSS.1NPL
nyebya-xəna-nyih *ɲaw*^o*la-mpə-da*
 mother-LOC-POSS.1NPL feed-DUR-PT.IPFV[3SG]
 Expected meaning: ‘(This) awka is fed by my mom’.

In all the available examples, the imperfective participle is formed from the verb through the durative marker $-(m)pə$, which could, at first glance, be associated with the hypothetical necessity of forming an imperfective participle from an imperfective verb, and since the construction is used to describe typical accomplishments to which perfective verbs correspond in the underived verb lexicon of Tundra Nenets, durative derivation could provide the hypothetically necessary imperfectivization. However, firstly, the imperfective participles from durative derivatives cannot, as part of this construction, have an episodic reading available to the corresponding durative verbs in the finite forms; cf. (12) and (13).

TUNDRA NENETS (Antipayuta village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

(12) *tyuku*^o *myakəna* *tyedah* *lyeska-m* *tal^ota-mpyi-doh*
 this chum.LOC now lyeska-ACC roast-DUR.GFS-3PL.O
 'In this chum (tent) they are now roasting lyeska (flatbread).'

(13) **tyuku*^o *myakəna* *tyedah* *lyeska* *tal^ota-mpə-da*
 this chum.LOC now lyeska roast-DUR-PT.IPFV[3SG]
 Expected meaning: 'The lyeska (flatbread) is being roasted in this chum now'.

Secondly, the durative marker is found in the imperfective participle within an impersonal passive construction in the only example I know of in which the original underivative verb is imperfective and denotes normally a state (not an accomplishment). This is the participle *yaqmi-bə-da* (not.be.able-DUR-PT.IPFV), formed from the verb *yaqmi-bə* 'not to be able, to be unable to do something (many times)' (Tereshchenko 1965: 857), which in turn is formed from the verb *yaqmə* 'not to be able, to be unable to do something'; see the following example.

TUNDRA NENETS

(14) *xəbartə* *ŋin^oxəna* *yaqmi-bə-da*
 moose bow-LOC not.be.able-DUR-PT.IPFV[3SG]
 'One cannot kill a moose with a bow' (ibid.).

It can be assumed that in all cases the function of the durative in an impersonal passive construction with an imperfective participle is to create a habitual (generic) predicate, i.e. the durative marker acts as an indication of the habitual (generic) operator. This operator guarantees the impossibility of an episodic reading and is probably at least partly responsible also for the impossibility of agent expression.

The article (Stenin 2023a) (= Appendix 8) considers intransitive verbs formed with the unproductive marker *-ra* / *-rye*, which has only been mentioned in grammatical descriptions, but has never been the subject of special analysis. Morphosyntactically, the function of this marker in combination with transitive verbs can be described as passive; cf. (15)–(16). In contrast to other Northern Samoyed languages, where cognate markers

are detected, in Tundra Nenets proper passive uses of *-ra* / *-rye* are not productive; only a few dozen passive verbs are formed with it.

TUNDRA NENETS (Beloyarsk settlement, Priuralsky District, YNAO)

- (15) (*məny*^o) *yesya-nyih* *ŋæsya*^o-*m* *talye-wi*^o-*q*
 I iron-[GEN]POSS.1NPL bag-ACC steal-NARR-3PL.S
 ‘My wallet was stolen’, lit. (they) stole my wallet.
- (16) (*məny*^o) *yesy*^o-*nyih* *talye-rye-wiə-d*^o*q*
 I iron.PL-[NOM]POSS.1NPL steal-PASS-NARR-3PL.R
 ‘My money turned out to be stolen.’

Apart from a limited number of transitive verbs, some intransitive verbs and some nominal stems also allow the attachment of presumably the same *-ra* / *-rye*. In the latter case, the derivational history of the verb usually includes an intermediate segment *q* (S), which can be associated with verbalizing / transitivizing morphology. Denominal verbs show a double manifestation of “passive” morphology and allow to promote into the subject position a participant that is absent in the argument structure (17).

TUNDRA NENETS (Gyda village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

- (17) *mənyaq* *sawo-q-la-re-y*^o-*wacy*^o / **sawo-q-le-y*^o-*wacy*^o
 we.PL flood-Q-PASS-PASS-SFS-1PL.R.PST flood-Q-PASS-SFS-1PL.R.PST
 ‘We found ourselves inundated by floodwaters.’

Semantically, the majority of passive derivatives are united by their use mainly in adversative contexts. The unproductive and lexicalized nature of the verbal passive, as well as the existence of a productive alternative strategy of passivization, namely the participial passive with a clear and typologically expected range of uses, suggests that the main content of *-ra* / *-rye* may be not so much the demotion of the agent or topicalization of the patient, as the emphasis on the “affectedness” of one of the participants, either promoted to the position of the subject or connected with it by a possessive relationship. The emergence of adversative uses may be related to the presence of causative-passive syncretism and productive P-lability (through the change of conjugation) in Tundra Nenets.

The article (Stenin 2023b) (= Appendix 9) considers markers whose function can be called antipassive. Their attachment to the verb affects the syntactic status of the P-participant of a two-place transitive verb, and may also impose certain semantic or pragmatic restrictions on the interpretation of the P-participant. Antipassivization in Tundra Nenets is closely related to imperfectivization, which is typologically expected. On the one hand, antipassivization can be brought about by imperfectivizing derivations, primarily from the pluractionality zone. On the other hand, the marker *-ŋko*, which can be called a dedicated antipassive, is attached exclusively to transitive verbs and necessarily leads to imperfectivization and detelicization.

TUNDRA NENETS (Antipayuta village, Tazovsky District, YNAO)

(18) *učityely*^o *xasawa* *ηacyeki*^{o-m} *syidya* *čas*^{o-h} *pyirət*^{o-h}
 teacher man child-ACC two hour-GEN to.DAT
tadey^o *knyiga-m* *tola*^o *tabyeda*^{o-da}
 whole book-ACC read-CVB order-GFS-3SG.O
 ‘The teacher told the boy to read a whole book in two hours.’

(19) *učityely*^o *ηacyeki*^{o-m} *tadey*^o *syidya* *čas*^{o-h}
 teacher child-ACC whole two hour-GEN
tola-ηko^o *tabyeda*^{o-da}
 read-ANTI-CVB order-GFS-3SG.O
 ‘The teacher told the child to read for two whole hours.’

At the same time, *-ηko* is not excluded from episodic contexts, although in most typical uses it implies a low degree of identifiability of the P-participant, its non-referential, indefinite or generic status. The imperfective marker *-tə* / *-nə* brings similar effects in combination with transitive verbs, but it attaches also to intransitive perfective verbs. Data from other Northern Samoyed languages are also commented on. The Forest Nenets system is similar to the Tundra Nenets one. Unlike the Nenets languages, antipassive constructions are few and peripheral in Forest Nenets, while in Nganasan they are not found.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, ACC — accusative, ADJ — adjectivizer, ANTI — antipassive, CAUS — causative, CVB — converb, DAT — dative, DECL — declarative, DUR — durative, GEN — genitive, GFS — general finite stem, INCH — inchoative, IPFV — imperfective, LOC — locative, NARR — narrative (mood), NOM — nominative, NPL — non-plural, O — subject-object series, OBL — oblique series, PASS — passive, PFV — perfective, PL — plural, POSS — possessive, PROL — prolativ, PST — past tense, PT — participle, Q — formant *q*, R — “reflexive” series, S — subject series, SFS — special finite stem, SG — singular

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