

PERFECTIVE NOMINALIZATION IN NGANASAN

ПЕРФЕКТИВНОЕ ГЛАГОЛЬНОЕ ИМЯ В НГАНАСАНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

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Uralic languages

Saamic

Finnic

Mordvinian

Permic

Mari

Ugric

Samoyed

Nenets

Enets

Nganasan

Mator

Selkup

Kamas

perfective
nominalization *-kma

Study is based on the INEL Nganasan corpus



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- 5-6 participles
- action nouns

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 - “general nominalization” *-bsa* (action, place, instrument);
 - temporal *-hü?ə*, *-ntu*;
 - volitive and purpose *-nakə*;
 - imperfective action noun *-mun*;
 - perfective action noun *-?muə*.

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Syntax of the infinite forms

Subject as possessor
subject-GEN VN.PF-POSS

Other arguments are marked in the same way as with finite forms.

Verbal aspect in Nganasan

All verbal stems are either perfective or imperfective.

Punctual and telic processes (≈ Vendler's achievements and accomplishments) are perfective and have the Perfect form:

kunda-?a 'felt asleep'

mal'ü-?ə 'made a tent'

Atelic processes and states (≈ Vendler's activities and states) are imperfective and have the Present form:

hoδətə-tu 'writes'

kundua-tu 'sleeps'

Perfective and imperfective action nouns

Perfective and imperfective nominalizations are independent of the PF/IPF opposition in stems:

n'ili- ‘live, IPF’

n'ili-ti ‘he lives, PRS’

n'ili-?miθ ‘life, AN.PF’

n'ili-minθ ‘life, AN.IPF’

koni- ‘go away, PF’

ŋəmu-?ə ‘he left, PF’

kona-?miθ ‘departure, AN.PF’

koni-minθ ‘departure, AN.IPF’

Perfective vs. imperfective action nouns

VN.IPF: refers to the action in progress,
or to a non-referential action,
simultaneous or posterior to the main action:

təni?a heðiti-min-ti *kundə [...] d'ali ɳətum-i-?*
so go-VN.IPF-GEN.SG.3DU during day appear-EP-PF
'Пока они шли, настал день'.
'While they were going, the day came.'

Perfective vs. imperfective action nouns

VN.IPF: refers to the action in progress,
or to a non-referential action,
simultaneous or posterior to the main action:

kou *ŋətum-tə-min-ə* *d'a* [...]
sun.[GEN.SG] appear-IPFV-VN.IPF-EP.[GEN.SG] ALL

d'ir-tiŋ *s'üd'a-?*
fat-3PL finish-PF

‘К появлению солнца жир у них кончился’.
‘As the sun began to appear, they had no fat left.’

Perfective vs. imperfective action nouns

VN.IPF: refers to the action in progress,
or to a non-referential action,
simultaneous or posterior to the main action:

ŋomtüs'a-tu ŋana?san-ə *ŋomtü-mün-ə* *hirə*
seat-3SG person-EP.[GEN.SG] sit-VN.IPF-EP.[GEN.SG] level

‘сиденье на [одного] человека’.

‘the seat is for [one] person.’

mii kat'ətə-miŋ-kətə-tuŋ kuntəgu
we.DU see-VN.IPF-ABL.SG-OBL.3PL far

‘too far for them to see us’

‘слишком далеко, чтобы они нас увидели’

Perfective vs. imperfective action nouns

VN.PF: refers to the action as a whole,
most often anterior to the time of speech

təndə-ti *bia-?*тиə-гətə

that-GEN.SG.3SG go.away-VN.PF-ABL.SG

tibijkia-?ku-gəj təni n'iļi-kə-ti-gəj
boy-DIM-DU there live-ITER-PRS-3DU.S

‘После его ухода мальчик с девочкой все там живут’.
‘Since he has gone away, the boy and the girl live there.’

Perfective action noun denoting an action

*Aba?*a-nu?

elder.sister-GEN.SG.1PL

kontu-ra-?тиə-d'əə

take.away-PASS-VN.PF-NPST

*n'intuut'*ə *kuntəgu.*

not-EMPH far

‘Нашу сестру увезли не так уж давно’.

‘It hasn’t been that long since our sister was taken away.’

Perfective action noun denoting an action

Mirəði-ri-s'iði-t'i tii počta konda-?muə-ri
pay-PASS-FUT-2DU.OP you.DU post take.away-VN.PF-2DU

‘Вам заплатят за то, что вы привезли почту’.
‘You will be paid [for] having brought the post.’

Perfective action noun denoting an action

Huə-btü-kü d'otür-a-?tiə̯-mə mintiagəni
after-SRLAT-DIM walk-EP-VN.PF-NOM.SG.1SG probably

nagür bii-kətə bəta-?a
three ten-ABL.SG be.loose-PF.[3SG.S]

‘С моей последней поездки прошло, наверное,
больше тридцати [лет]’.

‘More than thirty [years] may have passed since my last
journey’.

Perfective action noun denoting an action

Future action

*N'era-?*a *n'iłi-?*m̥ə-đə-m̥i *d'ebtađa-sa*

before live-VN.PF-DST-ACC.SG.3DU tell-INF

d'ürimi-ŋəə-gəj bađə-tə-ndi.

talk-IMP-3DU.S self-LAT.SG-3DU

‘О своей будущей жизни пусть поговорят сами’.

‘Let them talk alone about their future life.’

Perfective action noun denoting an action

Object of a verb of speech or knowledge

mənə tuu-?tuə-mə *maa-gəl’it’ə d’eru-tu-m*
I come-VN.PF-ACC.SG.1SG what-EMPH not.know-PRS-1SG.S
‘Как я пришел, вообще не помню’.
‘I don’t know at all how I came here.’

i-tuə-d’əi-i-t’ü *bən’d’ə-j d’ebtaða-gə-tu*
be-VN.PF-NPST-ACC.PL.3SG all-ACC.PL tell-ITER-PRS
‘Все рассказывает о том, что с ним было раньше.’
‘He tells all about what happened to him before.’

Perfective action noun denoting an action

Attributive use

tu-u-?m̥iə-d'əə-m̥t̥i

come-EP-VN.PF-NPST-ACC.SG.3SG

səd'əə-m̥t̥i

way-ACC.SG.3SG

t'əni-ŋiði n'i-ŋi

know-INDF NEG-INTER

‘Она, наверное, помнит дорогу, по которой пришла’.

‘She probably remembers the road she came on.’

n'in̥i-nə

elder.brother-GEN.SG.1SG

hoð-i-?m̥iə-d'əə

mou s'iə kuniŋu?

dive-EP-VN.PF-NPST earth hole where

‘Где та дыра в земле, куда провалился мой брат?’

‘Where's that hole in the ground my brother fell through?’

Perfective action noun denoting an action

Attributive use

ŋətum-iā-?mɪə familə-mə

appear-EP-VN.PF family.name-NOM.SG.1SG

‘моя девичья фамилия’

‘my maiden name’

Perfective action noun denoting a place

d'ündüa-tu küa-?muə-tənu i-gə-tu

horse-GEN.SG.3SG die-VN.PF-LOC.SG be-ITER-PRS

‘Он оставался на месте, где умерла лошадь’.

‘He stayed on the place where the horse died.’

suəd'-ü-?ə-? ŋaða-?muə-giti-tü

wander-EP-PF-3PL.S spend.summer-VN.PF-ABL.PL-OBL.3DU

muŋkurəi-? d'a

forest-GEN.PL ALL

‘Они аргишили со своей летней стоянки в сторону леса’.

‘The wandered from their summer place towards the forest.’

Perfective action noun denoting a result

koruð-u-? *lujka-?muə-gitə*

house-EP-GEN.PL destroy-VN.PF-ABL.PL

hūaa-ði-t'i *maa-raa-ði-t'i* *n'akəl'i-?ə-gəj*

wood-DST-ACC.PL.3DU what-LIM-DST-ACC.PL.3DU take-PF-3DUS

‘Они от обломков домов взяли себе доски, еще что-то’.

‘They take boards and whatever from the wreckage of the houses.’

bikaa *bi-ti-bti-?miə-d'əə-ði-t'ə*

river.[GEN.SG] water-VBLZ-CAUS-VN.PF-NPST-DST-NOM.PL.2SG

əm-ə-? *huur-mimbia-?*

this-ADJZ-NOM.PL look.for-HAB-IMP.2SG.S

‘Собирай то, что принесено водой [дрова]’.

‘Collect what was brought by the water [wood].’

Perfective action noun denoting a result

təti ḡojbaa-?müü-t'ün *təða-?a-?*

that work-VN.PF-ACC.PL.3PL bring-PF-3PL.S

mii-ni-θ-? *s'üar-u-t'ü*

here-LOCPRON-ADJZ-NOM.PL friend-EP-NOM.PL.3SG

‘Эти вот его товарищи принесли то, что они сделали’.

‘Those friends of theirs brought what they have made.’

ḥojbaa-?muθ-gətə-nə *n'akələ-s'iði-t'i*

work-VN.PF-ABL.SG-OBL.1SG take-FUT-3SG.OP

‘Из моего заработка заберет [долг]’.

‘He will take it [the debt] from my salary.’

Perfective action noun denoting a result

lexicalized nominalizations

*küa?*tuə die-VN.PF ‘труп corpse’

*kabü?*tuə shave.wood-VN.PF ‘стружка wood chips’

*t'eni?*tiə know-VN.PF ‘проводник guide’

*bad'a?*tuə iron-VN.PF ‘железное украшение на одежде
в форме полумесяца
crescent-shaped iron decoration on
women's clothing’

kit'əðəə *süd'a?*tuə thin crescent moon
moon finish-VN.PF

Perfective action noun as a part of analytic forms (use similar to finite forms)

Kunigüi-? *ad'a-ti?*

some-GEN.PL Dolgan-LAT.PL

*tola-?**тиə-ðиŋ i-bahu taa-t'ə*

join-VN.PF-3PL be-NAR domestic.reindeer-2SG

‘[Они, вернувшись, сказали] «К каким-то долганам олени твои прибились, говорят...»’.

‘[They came back and said] “People say, your reindeers joined the herd of some Dolgans...”’

Asyndetic temporal clause

Səmatu-ndü-tü t'üü-?müə-d'əə-đu

Enets-LAT.PL-OBL.3SG arrive-VN.PF-NPST-NOM.SG.3SG

səmatu-ndi? hüə-ti tola-?i-đə

Enets-LAT.PL forever join-PF-3SG.R

‘Как доехал до энцев, навсегда с ними стал жить’.

‘Since he came to the Enets, he lived with them forever.’

Asyndetic temporal clause

ηuə-t'ə n'ili-la-?mɪə-d'əə-điŋ [...]
one-LAT live-INCH-VN.PF-NPST-NOM.SG.3PL

kou-đu məl'i hekə-gi-m-i-?
sun-NOM.SG.3SG totally warm-TRL-EP-PF

‘С тех пор, как они начали вместе так жить, солнце стало совсем горячее’.

‘Since they lived so together, the sun became very warm.’

Perfective action noun as a part of analytic forms

(with *ij-* ‘be’; use similar to finite forms)

ŋahu-ðu təni i-muə-ðu i-bahu

elder.sister-3SG there be-VN.PF-3SG be-NAR

‘Ее сестра, говорят, была там’.

‘Her elder sister is said to have been there.’

n'üə-?kү-nə bəðua-hüʔə-ðə d'a [...]

child-DIM-GEN.SG.1SG grow(intr)-NMLZ.PF-DST.[GEN.SG] ALL

sin'ərir-miə-d'əə-mə i-s'üə

think-VN.PF-NPST-1SG be-PST

‘Я заботился о том, как мой ребенок вырастет’.

‘I thought of how my child would grow up.’

Finite use of the perfective action noun

Verbal-like marking of the subject:

subject-NOM

VN.PF-verbal agreement markers

VN.PF-nominal number markers

only 3rd person forms attested

*Вәðua-?*тиә-d'әә-Ø

grow(intr)-VN.PF-NPST-[NOM.SG/3SG.S] that-NOM.SG.2SG child

*s'i^gi?*ә i-s'a kona-?a-Ø

ogre be-INF go-PF-[3SG.S]

‘Выросла эта девочка и стала людоедкой’.

‘She has grown up and become an ogre.’

təti-rə

n'üә [...]

Finite use of the perfective action noun

ηəm-u-?i-t'i təs'iəðə buə-la-?muə-gəj
eat-EP-PF-3SG.OP now speak-INCH-VN.PF-NOM.DU/3DU.S

‘Выпили, начали разговаривать’.

‘They drank and started talking.’

ηüñüä-? ηana?san-ə-? n'il-?miə-d'əə-?
rich-NOM.PL person-EP-NOM.PL live-VN.PF-NPST-3PL.S

təni-ə-? sitiŋ mou-t'üŋ
there-ADJZ-NOM.PL they.[GEN.SG] earth-NOM.PL.3PL

i-s'üə-? manu-ə-d'əə-?
be-PST-3PL.S earlier-ADJZ-NPST-NOM.PL

‘богатые люди там жили, это раньше были их земли’.
‘Rich people used to live there, formerly it was their land.’

Recapitulation

Perfective action noun -?*muə:*

- completed action
- place of an action
- result of an action
- temporal subordinate clause
- finite-like uses
 - with the auxiliary 'be'
 - as a finite verb