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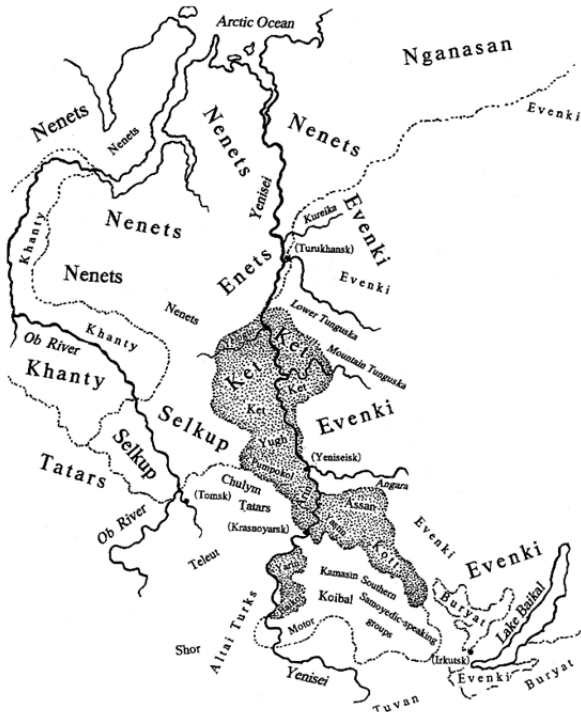
TYPOLOGICAL ACCOMMODATION IN KET:
THE CASE OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

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0. Introduction

Ket:

- an endangered language spoken in Central Siberia (the north of Krasnoyarsk Province)

- the last surviving member of the Yeniseian family

- hard to pigeonhole within a single typological account due to a peculiar process of structural mimicry, or 'typological accommodation'

1. Contact situation in Central Siberia

Five distinct genetic language units:

- Yeniseian

- Samoyedic

- Tungusic

- Turkic

- Ob-Ugric

Yeniseian contacts:

- intensive contacts with *Turkic* tribes (south) and *Selkup* (east)

- sporadic contacts with *Nenets* and *Enets* (north) and *Evenki* (west)

Ethnic groups in Central Siberia (ca. 1600 AD) (Vajda 2004: ix)

2. Core typological features of Yeniseian

Typological profiles in Central Siberia:

Turkic, Tungusic, Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric	*Yeniseian*
✓ non-tonal	✓ tonal
✓ suffixing	✓ prefixing
✓ agglutinating	✓ polysynthetic

- *Phonemic tones*[1]

(1) **Ket**   **Yugh**

    qām   *χām*   'arrow'

    dɛˀ   *dɛˀ*   'lake'

    hɨ̀l   *fɨ̀l*   'gut'

    qɔ̀j   *χɔ̀ʰ·j*   'bear'

- *Possessive prefixes*

(2) **Ket**   (3) **Yugh**   (4) **Kott**

  naquˀsʲ   *dafɨˀp*   *ŋoːp*

  na-quˀs   da-fɨˀb   ŋ-oːp

  3AN.PL-tent   3SG.M-son   1SG.POSS-father

  'their birch-bark tent'   'his son'   'my father'

- *Prefixing verbal morphology*

morphemes outside the phonological verb		**P4**	**P3**	**P2**	**P1**	verb base (bare root or verb deriving prefix *d, l* + root)
Subject NP	verbal complement (adverb, object NP)	shape classifier (*d, n*, h^w, etc.)	animacy classifier: *d* (AN), *b* (N)	tense, mood, aspect (originally auxiliary verb *s, γa, a, o* + suffix *l, n*)	undergoer subject agreement (1 or 2 p)	

Figure 1. Proto-Yeniseian finite verb (Vajda, forthcoming)

- *Polysynthetic verbs*

(5) **Ket**   (6) **Yugh**   (7) **Kott**

  dbilbɛt   *daχusiˑrgɛtʲ*[2]   *bapajaŋ*

  d{i}^{8}-b^3-l^2-bed^0 da^{14}-qus^{13}-d^3-ked^0 b^5-a^4-paj^0-aŋ$^{-3}$

  1SG^8-3N^3-PST^2-make^0 3F^{14}-tent^{13}-PST^3-make^0 3N^5-NPST^4-make^0-1SG^{-3}

  'I made it.'   'She made a birch-bark tent.'   'I make it.'

                                                        (Werner 1997b: 132)

3. Typological accommodation

Unlike 'metatypy' or 'grammatical calquing', **typological accommodation** does not represent a replacement of an original feature but rather its adaptation to a different morphological type creating a rather unique hybrid structure (Vajda, forthcoming)

Typological accommodation at the phonological level

Phonemic tones are restricted to the domain monosyllabic words only (cf. ex. 1 above) and get eroded upon suffixation (8) or compounding (9) under the influence of the root initial agglutinating languages (cf. Vajda, forthcoming).

(8) *báŋkà* 'on the ground' [< *baˀŋ* 'ground'+ *ka* (locative morpheme)].

(9) *bóktìs* 'flint' [< *boˀk* 'fire' + *tɨˀs* 'stone']

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[1] There are no actual audio recordings of the other Yeniseian languages, but systematic peculiarities in the transcription of these languages show rather convincingly that they had at least the high and laryngealized tones (cf. Verner 1990).

[2] The Yugh verb and the Kott verb below are analyzed according to the position model proposed by Werner (1997a: 106-107) and (1997b: 127-129) respectively.

Typological accommodation at the morphological level

Prosodic behavior of the **possessive prefixes** (cf. exs. 2-4 above) is similar to what is called 'ditropic clitics' (cf. Cysouw 2005) mimicking the possessive or genitive suffixes of the surrounding languages (cf. Vajda, forthcoming).

	neutral				*sentence-initial*
(10) *ɔ́pdà#būlʲ*		(11) *ásʲkàrʲa#būlʲ*		(12) *#dabūlʲ*	
ób=dà	būl	aska=da	būl	da=būl	
father=3M.SG	leg	when=3M.SG	foot	3M.SG=foot	
'father's leg'		'when his foot…'		'his foot'	

All the **productive verb patterns** in Modern Ket have their semantic head placed at the left most margin (slot P7), so that the positions that follow it might be regarded as suffixes like in the surrounding languages (cf. exs. 13-14) (cf. Vajda, forthcoming).

P8	P7	P6	P5	P4	P3	P2	P1	P0	P-1
AGR or thematic valence reducing affix	1) left semantic head or 2) noun, adj, or adverb root	AGR	thematic consonant (most are semantically opaque)	*tense/ mood* or AGR	AGR or thematic non-agreement affix	*past tense/ imperative*	AGR or thematic valence reducing affix	1) right semantic head or 2) aspect/voice auxiliary)	AGR (in verbs that use P8 for subject)

Figure 2. *Position classes in Modern Ket*

right-headed

(13) *dáŋɢèj*

d{i}^{8}-aŋ^6-q^2-ej^0

1^8-3AN.PL^6-PST^2-kill^0

'I killed them'

left-headed

(14) *dɛ́jaŋgɔ̀lbɛt*

d{u}^{8}-ej^7-aŋ^6-k^5-o^4-l^2-bed^0

3^8-kill.ANOM^7-3AN.PL^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-ITER^0

'He was killing them.

Typological accommodation at the syntactic level

Polysynthetic languages:

- tend to avoid overt subordination (Heath 1975, Mithun 1984)

- tend not to have truly non-finite forms (cf. Nichols 1992)

Polysynthesis is not compatible with the existence of nonfinite clauses (Baker 1996)

Adverbial clauses

In Turkic, Tungusic, Samoedic and Ob-Ugric languages, various types of adverbial relations are coded by **case-marked non-finite constructions** (cf. Anderson 2004).

- *Participle*

(15) Evenki, Tungusic

    minduk pektureːvunme ganadukin bega ittenen

    min-duk   pektureːvun-me ga-na-duk-in   bega   itten-e-n

    I-ABL   gun-ACC   take-PTCP-ABL-3   month   pass-NFUT-3

    'A month had passed since he took my gun from me.' (Nedjalkov 1997: 51)

(16) Tuvan, Turkic

men kelgenimde ažildaarmen

men	kel-gen-im-de	ažildaarmen
1SG	come-PST.PTCP-1-LOC	work-PRES/FUT1

'When I come (here), I work' (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 73)

- *Verbal noun*

(17) Selkup, Southern Samoyedic

qumitit kit qanti tüptääqin čʲasiq ɛsikka

qum-itit	kit qan-ti	tü-ptää-qin	čʲasiq	ɛs-ikka
person-PL	river bank-ILL	come-VN-LOC	cold	become-HAB.3.PAST

'When the people were approaching the river, it was getting cold.' (Anderson 2004: 67)

- *Bare verb stem*

(18) Enets, Northern Samoyedic

sIraʔ niñ kodiahaðoñ ŋoːñ desumaʔ

sIraʔ	niñ	kodia-haðoñ	ŋo-ːñ desumaʔ
snow.GEN	on	sleep-ABL-PROX.1SG	leg-1SG get.sick-AOR.3SG

'Since I was sleeping on the snow, my leg got sick.' (Künnap 1999: 35)

- *Converb*

(19) Eastern Khanty, Ob-Ugric

tʃimlali amisminnə, ni mənäɣən juɣatə

tʃiml-ali	amis-min-nə	ni	mənä-ɣən	juɣa-tə
a.little-DIM	sit-CVB-LOC	woman	go-PST0.3SG	gather.woods-PST0.3SG

'After sitting awhile, the woman went off to gather firewood' (Filchenko 2010: 470)

In Ket, relational morphemes are attached directly to a **fully finite verb** form

(20) *ām dɔtɔʁɔt-ka ʌtn bɜnʲ dasqansʲan*

ām	da[8]-t[5]-a[5]-qut[0]-ka	ɜtn	bɜn	d{i}[8]-asqan[7]-s[2]-a[0]-n[-1]
mother	3F[8]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-lie[0]-LOC	1PL	NEG	1[8]-stories[7]-NPST[2]-speak[0]-AN.PL[-1]

'When mother sleeps, we don't speak.'

Relative clauses

Turkic, Tungusic, Samoedic and Ob-Ugric languages share a common relativization pattern of **preposed participial relative clauses** with a 'gapped' relativized noun phrase (Pakendorf 2012).

- *Participle*

(21) Evenki, Tungusic

bi Turudu alaguvʤarildu asatkardu meŋurve buːm

bi	Turu-du	alaguv-ʤari-l-du	asatka-r-du	meŋur-ve	bu:-m
1SG	T.-DAT	study-SIM.PTCP-PL-DAT	girl-PL-DAT	money-ACC	give.NFUT-1SG

'I gave money to the girls who study in Tura.' (Pakendorf 2012: 258)

(22) Tuvan, Turkic

bistiŋ düːn čoraːn čerivis čaraš boldu

bistiŋ	düːn	čor-aːn	čer-ivis	čaraš	bol-du
1PL.GEN	yesterday	go-PPT	place-POSS.1PL	beautiful	be-PSTII.3SG

'The place we went yesterday was beautiful.' (Anderson & Harrison 1999: 20)

(23) Enets, Northern Samoyedic

otïdar enčir ni tuʔ

otï-da-r	enči-r	ni	tuʔ
wait-SIM.PTCP-POSS.2SG.NOM	person-POSS.2SG.NOM	NEG.S:3SG	come.CONNEG

'The person you are waiting for didn't come.' (Pakendorf 2012: 263)

(24) Selkup, Southern Samoyedic

qorqit qətpiʎ ɔːtæ

qorqi-t	qət-piʎ	ɔːtæ
bear-GEN	kill-PST.PTCP	reindeer-NOM

'a reindeer killed by a bear' (Spencer 2013: 389)

(25) Eastern Khanty, Ob-Ugric

mä wermäl rɨt

mä	wer-m-äl	rɨt
1SG	do-PP-3SG	canoe

'The canoe that I've made.' (Filchenko 2010: 466)

In Ket, preposed relative clauses with **fully finite verbs** is the major relativization pattern (cf. Nefedov 2012).

(26) *āt āp dutaʁɔt bisɛp tsitɛjqajit*

ād	āb	du^8-t^5-a^4-qut^0	biseb	d{i}^{8}-sitej^7-q^5-a^4-t^0
1SG	1SG.POSS	3M^8-TH^5-NPST^4-be.in.position^0	sibling	1^8-wake^7-TH^5-3M^4-MOM^0

'I wake up my sleeping brother.'

4. Conclusion

Although Ket clearly imitates complex structures of the surrounding languages, it resists accommodating a participle-like morphology and remain fully finite, which reflects the general tendency among polysynthetic languages not to have non-finite forms.

Retaining a fully finite verb in subordinate constructions structurally similar to those with non-finite verbs in the surrounding languages is a further evidence supporting the idea about the hybrid nature of Ket grammatical structure where alongside an overlay of areal features the core features have remained intact.

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Glosses:

1 first person	F feminine	PL plural
2 second person	GEN Genitive	POSS possessive
3 third person	HAB habitual	PPT past participle
ABL Ablative	ILL Illative	PRES present
ACC Accusative	ITER iterative	PTCP participle
AGR agreement	LOC Locative	PST past
AN animate	M masculine	PROX proximate
ANOM action nominal	MOM momentaneous	S subject of intransitive clause
AOR Aorist	N neuter/inanimate	SG singular
CVB converb	NEG negative particle	SIM simultaneous
CONNEG connegative converb	NFUT non-future	TH thematic consonant
DAT Dative	NOM Nominative	VN verbal noun
DIM diminutive	NPST non-past	