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ON THE USE OF VERBAL NOUN \*V-śV 'BEING'  
IN THE SAMOYED LANGUAGES

1. In his recently published article Timothy Riese has given a fairly reasonable survey about the Samoyed translative forms and their origins (Riese 1993 : 10—19). While observing these North-Samoyed translative forms obtained from the noun form \*V-śV 'being' of the auxiliary 'to be' he somehow entirely eliminates the fact that \*V-śV has yielded case endings also in the South-Samoyed languages. In most cases they result in the Selkup and Kamass instrumental-comitative-instructive case but there are also other functions, those of translative-essive among them. I have drawn attention to these phenomena earlier already (Künnap 1971 : 132—155; Кюннап 1971).

At that time I gave only one example (borrowed from Aulis J. Joki): *limbe-se pigelžena* 'kotkaksi muutti itsensä, in einen Adler verwandelte er sich' (Künnap 1971 : 134; Кюннап 1971 : 205). In fact, Castrén presented three examples all together (parallel to the translative with *-t-ko*): *pūm isay, kagle-se (kagle-t-ko) mēsam* 'ich nahm den Baum, machte ihn zum Schlitten', *tebep mē kōk-se (kō-t-ko) mēsemen* 'wir haben ihn zum Fürsten gemacht', *limbe-se (limbe-t-ko) pigelžena* 'er verwandelte sich in einen Adler' (Castrén 1855 : 395).

The only example about an essive found in Kamass by Kai Donner was presented by Riese, appropriately referring to the fact that it could also be interpreted as a translative (Riese 1993 : 18—19): *māna jīt h<sup>o</sup>l l ā-z<sup>o</sup>t<sup>o</sup>* etc. 'nimm mich als Kamerad'.

Considering all this we get a slightly different picture from the one suggested by Riese: the translative formed by \*V-śV is familiar to the whole family of the Samoyed languages, not only to North-Samoyed. The problem is not really so much in the translative than in the fact that the whole family of the Samoyed languages is acquainted with \*V-śV-constructions which has very different functions, including case functions, one of which is translativity-essivity.

2. Obviously the same \*V-śV, combining with personal endings of a verb has yielded various verb forms, including a past tense in North-Samoyed which has a definite equivalent also in Kamass.

Looking for etymological analogues in different Samoyed languages to such Nenets and Enets preterite verb forms where the \*ś-suffix follows personal endings and which, to my firm conviction, have a compound starting point — the participle form with the suffix \**-mV-jV* + \*V-śV 'being' —, I have not found them in Nganasan before (in an article of mine for the last time — Künnap 1992 —

too). But now I have had a possibility of getting acquainted with N. Kovalenko's article about the usage of the auxiliary 'to be' in the Nganasan sentence and here the author gives examples about the Nganasan verb construction consisting of a main verb form with the suffixes *-mätuma'a*, *-mätumea* followed by the Gerund *i-ša* of the auxiliary 'to be' (Kovalenko 1991).

I forward these examples (transliterating Russian transcription and translating Russian renderings into English): *so čeləmətuma'a i-ša lū, čent-rjrih'andj̄m tajəj* 'Before sewing the clothes I prepare threads', *büü-mətuma'a i-ša, mənə ɲəmnamuom* 'Before going for a ride, I eat', *buo gal mjtumea i-ša, bajka'a kuntaki'a* 'Before speaking, the old men smoked for a long time (in general)'.

In Kovalenko's treatment the main part of the sentence including such a construction is in aorist. When the main part of the sentence is in the present or preterite, other forms of the auxiliary 'to be' will be used, e.g. *buo gal matjmea i-čütə -ndə, bajka'a kintelaptjkusi'* 'Until they do not speak, the old men smoke' (a definite action in the present). Thus, here the main part of the sentence is in the present and therefore *i-ša* is replaced by *ičütəndə* (the stem *i-* + the participle suffix *-čü-* + the dative-locative suffix *-tə-* + the possessive suffix *-ndə*). A more exact translation of the sentence according to Kovalenko's scheme would be 'Having-not-spoken until-they-being, the old men smoke'.

Based on Natalija Tereščenko's Nganasan grammar the *-čü-* of the auxiliary 'to be' is a suffix of the aorist participle (Терешенко 1979 : 266—268), but the *-mätuma'a* of the main verb is regarded as a suffix of the caritive participle (270). However, we can see that here, in fact, the caritivity is expressed only by *-tu-*, cf. the Nenets *hašalmd'e-* 'to make deaf, to deafen' ('make earless', to be more precise). N. Kuznecova analyzes the Nenets form as follows: *ha* 'ear' + the caritive suffix *-ša-* + the suffix of state *-l-* + the suffix for attaining a quality or a state *-m-* + the suffix *-d'e-*, cf. also the Selkup caritive compound suffix *-kV-lV-m-čV-* (Kuznecova 1990).

The final *-ma'a* and *-mea* of the Nganasan main verb presumably emphasize the preterite participle.

Toivo Lehtisalo reconstructed an earlier etymological equivalent (Castrén) *-ma'a* of the suffix *-ma'a* in the form of *\*-maju* (see Кюннап 1976 : 142—145; Кюннап 1978 : 181). The development of *\*-j-* > the present-day recording *-ʔ-* is in Nganasan rather a problematic suggestion (see Janhunen 1986 : 154—155, 164). The reconstruction *\*-mV-jV* is more reliable in the case of *-mea* (cf. also the Nganasan (Castrén) *ńate-beá* 'nass' < *\*-βejju* — Lehtisalo 1936 : 258).

Thus it could be associated with an exact equivalent of a Kamass form in the Nganasan language. This is a Kamass preterite form of the so-called Gerund III, e.g. (Donner) *ma'andə šō b ī z e 'jandə n̄r̄b'ʔà* 'n a c h d e m e r n a c h H a u s e g e k o m m e n w a r, erzählt er seiner Mutter', where *šōbīze* < the so-called Gerund II *šō-bi* + the form *\*ize* of the auxiliary 'to be' (see more closely about the Kamass Gerund III in Donner, Joki 1944 : 172, 176). The suffix *-bi* of the Kamass Gerund II has probably been developed from the compound suffix *\*-mV-jV* and/or *\*-pV-jV* (see more closely in Künnap 1978 : 180—182, 186—187). We can observe that the Kamass Gerund III expresses an action prior to another action which is temporally more distant.

Kazys Labanauskas has indicated that the Nenets and Enets preterite verb forms where the *\*š-* suffix follows personal endings, the latter, following *\*m-* participle marker in their turn, can express a pluperfect, temporally more distant ac-

tion, preceding another action, e.g. the Nenets (Lehtisalo) *tēkkot'sā'jāñny' ā'ny* χ ä ě -β β ĩ -t' -ś, *ā'vmmny jāderyāmmāžě pšēdajjīb'* 'unsere Renttiere w a r e n weit w e g g e w a n d e r t, ich ging weit, wurde müde; the Enets Bai (Mikola) *moloś ituza sjl'ajguoś k a n i - b i - t' . mod' naśil tudāboś* 'Sein Haar i s t schon weiss g e w o r d e n. Ich habe ihn kaum erkannt' [-t' < \*-t-ś — A.K.] (Labanauskas 1982).

Essentially a similar action is expressed in the Nnganasan verb constructions consisting of the participle of the main verb with the suffix *-mea* and the following Gerund *i-śa* of the auxiliary 'to be' as suggested by Kovalenko. A more exact translation of the sentence *b u o g a l m j t u m e a i - ś a, bajka'a kuntaki'a* would rather be 'B e i n g n o t - s p e a k i n g the-old-men smoked-long(-in-general)'. (Peculiarly, the formation of such constructions in Nnganasan is known only in the case of caritive verbs.)

Based on all that which has been said before these Nnganasan constructions could be regarded as direct etymological equivalents of the mentioned Nenets and Enets pluperfect verb forms, cf. e.g., the Nenets *pin-βj-ś* 'he had been afraid', the Enets Maddu *kodē-bi-śi* 'he had been frozen' (Labanauskas 1982). At any rate, they seem to confirm the interpretation of the suffix \*ś of these Nenets and Enets forms as a trace of the form \*V-śV of the auxiliary 'to be'. Until now the interpretation has primarily been based on the Kamass Gerund II.

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АГО КЮННАП (Тарту)

К УПОТРЕБЛЕНИЮ ОТГЛАГОЛЬНОГО ИМЕНИ \*V-šV 'БУДУЧИ'  
В САМОДИЙСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

1. Автор показывает, что это отглагольное имя образовало падежное окончание транслатива не только в северосамодийских языках, как считает Т. Ризе, но и в южносамодийских.
2. Приводятся примеры из нганасанского материала Н. Коваленко, подтверждающие предположение о том, что ненецкие и энецкие формы типа нен. *p̄in-β̄j-š* 'он боялся' образованы при помощи явно того же отглагольного имени \*V-šV.