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**Emphatic transcategorial morphology:
a cross-linguistically rare phenomenon in Enets**

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores data from Enets, a highly endangered Northern Samoyedic language spoken in the North of Siberia. The two dialects of this language will be discussed: Forest Enets (F) and Tundra Enets (T); the total number of speakers does not exceed 50 people. Our corpus of transcribed Forest Enets texts amounts to 21.5 hours, and our corpus of transcribed Tundra Enets texts amounts to 9.5 hours.¹

The goal of this paper is to bring to the attention of typology and general linguistic theory a cross-linguistically rare phenomenon observed in Enets and other Northern Samoyedic languages.² The pragmatics of emphasis, often expressed by particles in other languages of the world (including most neighboring and related languages), is expressed by morphology in Enets. Moreover, this morphology is derivational by all its formal properties.

Enets has three emphatic affixes:

1. F *-ru-* / T *-riɔ-* as in (1). Its main function is close to English ‘only’, cf. Horn (1969) and subsequent literature;
2. F *-xuru-* / T *-xɔriɔ-* as in (2). Its main function is similar to the functions of English ‘even’; see also Horn (1969) and the subsequent literature,
3. F *-xoɔ-* / T *-xoa-* as in (3). Its main function is to single out an element of the clause. F *-xoɔ-* / T *-xoa-* has no close English counterpart, ‘just, precisely’ being probably the closest equivalents.

¹ This paper reports some results of the project ‘Documentation of Enets: digitization and analysis of legacy materials and fieldwork with the last speakers’ supported in 2008-2011 by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme. Our corpus consists of modern recordings made by the authors with Maria Ovsjannikova, Natalya Stoyanova, and Sergey Trubetskoy in 2005-2010 in the villages of Potapovo, Vorontsovo, and in the Tukhard tundra, as well as legacy recordings of the previous generation of Enets speakers, kindly provided by the Dudinka branch of GTRK ‘Noril’sk’, Tajmyr House of Folk Culture, Dar’ja S. Bolina, Oksana E. Dobzhanskaja, Irina P. Sorokina, and Anna Ju. Urmanchieva. The authors express their deepest gratitude to all who contributed to this collection and to the Enets speakers we have had the privilege to work with.

² There is a brief report on this phenomenon in other Northern Samoyedic languages (Ždanova 2000).

Consider the following examples³:

- (1) *kasa n'e-ru-b* *ʃiʔ* *pertʃuə* F
 man child-ONLY-NOM.SG.1SG I.ACC help(IPFV).3SG
 ‘Only my son helps me.’
- (2) *nε-xuru-za* *dʲagu-f* *tə* *dʲobon* F
 woman-EVEN-NOM.SG.3SG be_absent(IPFV)-3SG.PST that at_time
 ‘He even had no wife at that time.’
- (3) *pε-ʔ* *təne-ʔ* ... *eki* *dʲa-xoə-xon* F
 wood-PL there_is(IPFV)-3PL this land-JUST-LOC.SG
 ‘As for this land, there is wood (in there).’

The emphatic affixes can be combined with numerous parts of speech, with the clear majority of their uses attested with nouns. Table 1 provides information on how often each of the three emphatic particles was attested with different parts of speech in our corpora of Forest Enets and Tundra Enets. Apart from minor deviations, the frequencies of usage of these particles are rather uniform across the two dialects of Enets.

³ The abbreviations used in this paper are 1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, ABL = Ablative, ACC = Accusative, ADV = Adverb, CAUS = Causative, COM = Comitative, COMP = Comparative, CONJ = Conjunctive mood, CONN = Connegative, CONT = Contrastive, CVB = Converb, DAT = Dative, DEST = Destinative, DU = Dual, FUT = Future, HAB = Habitual, HORT = Hortative, HYPOT = Hypothetical, INC = Inceptive, IPFV = imperfective, LOC = Locative, M = Middle cross-reference, MULT = Multiplicative, NEG = negative verb, NEG.EMPH = emphatic negative verb, NMLZ = Nominalization, NOM = Nominative, OBL = Oblique, PASS = Passive, PFV = perfective, PL = Plural, PLC = placeholder, PROB = Probabilitive, PROL = Prolative, PRON = pronoun, PST = Past, PTCP.ANT = Anterior participle, S = subject cross-reference, SG = Singular, SO_{ns}g = subject-object cross-reference for non-singular object, SO_{pl} = subject-object cross-reference for plural object SO_{sg} = subject-object cross-reference for singular object, and TRANSL = Translative.

Table 1
Uses of the Enets emphatic particles with different parts of speech

		‘Only’		‘Even’		‘Just’	
		F <i>-ru</i>	T <i>-riɔ</i>	F <i>-xuru</i>	T <i>-xɔriɔ</i>	F <i>-xoɔ</i>	T <i>-xoa</i>
Noun		109 52%	34 63%	46 58%	16 60%	110 41%	39 39%
Numeral		15 7%	12 22%	13 16%	7 26%	1 <1%	4 4%
Pronoun	Demonstrative	52 25%	3 6%	4 5%	0 0%	43 16%	11 11%
	Personal	12 6%	3 6%	4 5%	1 4%	50 19%	7 7%
Adverb		9 4%	0 0%	4 5%	0 0%	42 16%	19 19%
Verb		2 1%	0 0%	9 11%	3 11%	17 6%	13 13%
Postposition		12 6%	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	2 1%	2 2%
Adjective		0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	3 1%	6 6%
Total number		211	54	80	27	268	101

In addition to being used with the parts of speech listed in Table 1, the Enets emphatic particles are also used with interrogative pronouns, but these uses stand clearly apart from all the others and are discussed separately in Section 4.

2. MORPHOLOGY OF EMPHATIC AFFIXES

The emphatic affixes fill the slot of derivational affixes: they appear after the root and after any possible derivational affixes, and before any inflectional affixes. This morphological pattern is observed for all parts of speech, even though the nature of affixes that can follow the emphatic affixes is obviously different for different parts of speech. In theory, a resulting stem with an emphatic affix has a complete inflectional paradigm built from it in a regular way. However, in natural texts only the most frequent forms for each part of speech are attested in abundance, all other forms being rare, though definitely possible.

The emphatic affixes are subject to standard morphophonological processes observed in Enets affixes, as demonstrated with nouns of the three inflectional classes of Enets in examples (4)-(7).

(4)	(a) <i>ne-xon</i> woman-LOC.SG 'with a woman'	(b) <i>entfi-gon</i> person-LOC.SG 'with a person'	(c) <i>bi-kon</i> water-LOC.SG 'with water'	F
(5)	(a) <i>ne-xuru</i> woman-EVEN 'even the woman'	(b) <i>entfi-guru</i> person-EVEN 'even the person'	(c) <i>bi-kuru</i> water-EVEN 'even the water'	F
(6)	(a) <i>ne-xoɔ</i> woman-JUST 'even the woman'	(b) <i>entfi-goɔ</i> person-JUST 'even the person'	(c) <i>bi-koɔ</i> water-JUST 'even the water'	F
(7)	(a) <i>ne-ru</i> woman-ONLY 'only the woman'	(b) <i>entfi-ʔu</i> person-ONLY 'only the person'	(c) <i>bi-ʔu</i> water-ONLY 'only the water'	F

The next sections provide examples and, where necessary, some explanatory notes for all parts of speech that can be used with the emphatic affixes.

3. EMPHATIC AFFIXES WITH DIFFERENT PARTS OF SPEECH

3.1. *Emphatic affixes with nouns*

See (1)-(3) above for additional examples from Forest Enets of the emphatic affixes with nouns.

(8)	<i>bi-ʔiɔ-zi-duʔ</i> water-ONLY-DEST.PL-OBL.PL.3PL 'They look for vodka only.'	<i>piɔ-da-ʔ</i> look_for(IPFV)-FUT-3PL.S	T			
(9)	<i>senʔiko-xɔriɔ-nʔiʔ</i> toy-EVEN-PL.1SG 'I even had no toys.'	<i>dʔigua-tʃ</i> be_absent(IPFV)-3PL.S.PST	T			
(10)	<i>te-xoɔ-ʔ</i> reindeer-JUST-PL	<i>bunʔi</i> NEG.EMPH.3SG.S	<i>ŋɔda-d</i> collect(PFV)-FUT.CONN	<i>anʔ</i> and	F	
(11)	<i>naza-xoa-za</i> moss-JUST-NOM.SG.3SG	<i>oka</i> many	<i>nʔi-uʔ</i> NEG-3SG.S.CONT	<i>a-ʔ,</i> be-CONN	<i>naza-saj</i> moss-COM	T
	<i>dʔa-xoa-xɔne</i> land-JUST-LOC.SG	<i>ʃie</i> matter	<i>nʔe</i> NEG.3SG.S	<i>a-ʔ</i> be-CONN	<i>jet saluba</i> and_so ice	
	'As for the moss, there is a lot of it, [just] on the land with moss, the ice is not a problem.'					

3.2. Emphatic affixes with numerals

Consider the following examples:

- (12) *axa, fizi-ru-uf, fizi-ij kanⁱ-xu-j?* F
 yeah two-ONLY-TRANSL two-TRANSL leave(PFV)-HORT-1DU.S/SOsg
 ‘Yeah, let’s go only two of us, two.’
- (13) *niɔ-nⁱ? kaji-si-? nixu-^liɔ-zu?* T
 child-NOM.PL.1SG stay(PFV)-PTCP.ANT-3PL.S three-ONLY-NOM.PL.3PL
 ‘Only three of my children left.’
- (14) *ŋo-kɔriɔ-xɔne nⁱe-buf seixɔɔ-?* T
 one-EVEN-LOC.SG NEG-1SG.SOsg see(PFV)-CONN
 ‘I have never (lit. even once) seen her.’

3.3. Emphatic affixes with pronouns

3.3.1. Emphatic affixes with demonstrative pronouns

Examples (15)-(16) show the emphatic affixes used with adjective-like demonstrative pronouns, while examples (17)-(18) show the emphatic affixes used with adverb-like demonstrative pronouns.

- (15) *eku-ru-xon adⁱ-ra?, me-ta? min* F
 this-ONLY-LOC.SG sit(IPFV)-2PL.S/SOsg tent-OBL.SG.2PL in(LOC)
 ‘Sit only here, in the tent.’
- (16) *tfike-xɔa-r aga nezɔnⁱ?* T
 this-JUST-NOM.SG.2SG big I.ABL
 ‘As for him, he is elder than me.’
- (17) *teza tɔr-xoɔ dⁱirie-ba?* F
 now so-JUST live(IPFV)-1PL.S/SOsg
 ‘Now we live [just] so.’
- (18) *tinɔ-xoa-n sɔwa-an irⁱ-? enet^ʃio-?* T
 there-JUST-LOC good-PROL.SG live(IPFV)-CONN person-PL
 ‘[Just] there people live fine.’

When the ‘only’ emphatic affix is used with a demonstrative pronoun, a remarkable semantic effect is observed. This affix may have the restrictive function, as in (15), but it can also have a function of reinforcing the identity of the referent, as in (19)-(21). Moreover, the vast majority of the *-ru-* uses in Forest Enets (45 out of 52) show the identity reinforcement meaning, not the restrictive meaning.⁴

⁴ There are only three instances of *-riɔ-* used with demonstrative pronouns in Tundra Enets, so no

- (19) *tfeta eku-ru dʷa-xa-nʷi anʷ* F
 tomorrow this-ONLY place-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.1DU and

to-nʷi-jʷ
 come(PFV)-CONJ-1DU.S/SOSg
 ‘Let us come tomorrow again to the same place.’
- (20) *nekuju anʷ, me-ta tʃiku-ru-xon e-ta-uʷ* F
 other and tent-NOM.SG.3SG this-ONLY-LOC.SG be-PROB-3SG.S.CONT
 ‘The other one also, his home is also here (lit. at the same place).’
- (21) *mɔdʷi anʷ tea-zɔriɔ tʃiki-riɔ-xɔn pɔkɔr-e-b* T
 I and reindeer-COMP this-ONLY-LOC.SG climb_into(PFV)-M-1SG.M
 ‘Me also, I climbed into the same place as the reindeer.’

3.3.2. Emphatic affixes with personal pronouns

Enets personal pronouns consist in the Nominative of a root showing the person of the pronoun and of a possessive affix showing the number of the pronoun. The possessive affix is always used in dual and plural, but in singular its presence depends on the grammatical person and on the dialect⁵, as seen in examples (22)-(24). In locative cases, a postpositional root is used, the same for all persons and numbers, and it is only a possessive affix that shows the person and number of the possessor, as in example (25).

- | | | | | |
|------|--|---|--|---|
| (22) | (a) <i>mɔdʷi</i>
I
‘I’ | (b) <i>mɔdʷi-nʷiʷ</i>
I-OBL.SG.1DU
‘we (du)’ | (c) <i>mɔdʷi-naʷ</i>
I-OBL.SG.1PL
‘we’ | T |
| (23) | (a) <i>nʷitɔ-da</i>
(s)he-OBL.SG.3SG
‘(s)he’ | (b) <i>nʷitɔ-dʷiʷ</i>
(s)he-OBL.SG.3DU
‘they (du)’ | (c) <i>nʷitɔ-duʷ</i>
(s)he-OBL.SG.3PL
‘they’ | T |
| (24) | (a) <i>bu</i>
(s)he
‘(s)he’ | (b) <i>bu-dʷiʷ</i>
(s)he-OBL.SG.3DU
‘they (du)’ | (c) <i>bu-duʷ</i>
(s)he-OBL.SG.3PL
‘they’ | F |
| (25) | (a) <i>ne-nɔ-d</i>
PRON-LOC-OBL.SG.2SG
‘at you (sg)’ | (b) <i>ne-nɔ-dʷiʷ</i>
PRON-LOC-OBL.SG.2DU
‘at you (du)’ | (c) <i>ne-nɔ-daʷ</i>
PRON-LOC-OBL.SG.2PL
‘at you (pl)’ | T |

meaningful statistics can be discussed for this corpus.

⁵ Personal pronouns of second and third person do not have cognate roots in the two Enets dialects.

As expected, the emphatic affixes are inserted immediately after the root: before possessive affixes in Nominative (26)-(27) and before case affixes in locative cases (28)-(29).

- (26) *ɔnej entʃiʔ-ijʃ modʲ-ru-naʔ ɲa-atʃ* F
 true person-TRANSL I-ONLY-OBL.SG.1PL exist(IPFV)-1PL.S/SOSG.PST
 ‘The Enets people there were only us.’
- (27) *nʲitɔ-xoa-da kudaxan ...dʲazu-ɲa-f ekɔ-xɔn* T
 (s)he-JUST-OBL.SG.3SG long_ago go(IPFV)-MULT-3SG.S.PST this-LOC.SG
 ‘As for her, she came here long ago.’
- (28) *modʲ nɔ-xoɔ-ni-nʲʔ ɲulʲ sɔʒza-f* F
 I PRON-JUST-LOC-OBL.SG.1SG very good-3SG.S.PST
 ‘[Just] from my point of view, it was very tasty.’
- (29) *mɔdʲi nɔ-xoa-zɔ-nʲiʔ uze* T
 I PRON-JUST-ABL-OBL.SG.1SG younger
 ‘As for me, he is younger than me.’

Those singular pronouns which normally do not take possessive affixes, such as those exemplified in (22a) and (24a) still take them with emphatic affixes, as in (30)-(32).

- (30) *modʲi-xuru-nʲiʔ bɔz, bɔz bari-xo-nʲiʔ* F
 I-EVEN-OBL.SG.1SG only only effort-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.1SG
biiʔ-i-n teza
 remember(IPFV)-SOpl-1SG.SONsg now
 ‘Even myself I only hardly remember them now.’
- (31) *bu-xoɔ-da nʲi ixutur-ʔ* F
 (s)he-JUST-OBL.SG.3SG NEG.3SG.S smoke(IPFV)-CONN
 ‘As for him, he does not smoke.’
- (32) *tɔdʲi-xoa-d mi-r tara mɔle* T
 you-JUST-OBL.SG.2SG what-NOM.SG.2SG be_necessary(IPFV).3SG.S already
 ‘As for you, what do you need already?’

In the forms of the first person singular pronoun, an irregular phonetic reduction to [n] from [nʲʔ] in Forest Enets and to [nʔ] or [n] from [nʲiʔ]/[nʲʔ] in Tundra Enets is observed. It is attested in all examples in Tundra Enets as in (33), and only occasionally in Forest Enets, as contrasted in (30) and (34). In Forest Enets, with the affix -xoɔ- there is a further peculiarity for the first person singular pronoun: most often it is idiosyncratically used without the possessive affix, as in example (35).

- (33) *tə d'ubɔn mɔd'i-riɔ-n ne-zo-jʔ* T
 that at_time I-ONLY-OBL.SG.1SG woman-DEST.SG-OBL.SG.1SG
mɔa-zɔdʲ
 take(PFV)-1SG.S.PST
 'Only me I got married at that time.'
- (34) *mɔd'i-xoɔ-n piida-zʔ* F
 I-JUST-OBL.SG.1SG be_afraid(IPFV)-1SG.S
 'As for me, I am afraid.'
- (35) *mɔd'i-xoɔ mɔtuʔ poga pɔn'iŋa-zutʃ tonin* F
 I-JUST six fishing_net do(IPFV)-1SG.S.PST there(loc)
 '[Just] me, I used six nets there.'

3.4. *Emphatic affixes with adverbs*

- (36) *sir-noju-ri vɔt etʲi pɔn'im-ubi-eʔ* F
 snow-ADV-ONLY here these do(IPFV)-HAB-1PL.S/SOsg
 'We use these ones only in winter'
- (37) *oka-xoa kunɔz to-za* T
 many-JUST where_from come-FUT.3SG.S
 'From where will there be many (of them)?'

When the 'only' emphatic affix is used with adverbs, the same semantic effect as with demonstrative pronouns is observed. This affix may have not only the restrictive function, as in example (36), but also a function of reinforcing the identity of the referent as in example (38).

- (38) *u te-d kaza-da-a teza-ri* F
 you reindeer-OBL.SG.2SG kill(PFV)-FUT-1SG.SOsg now-ONLY
 'I will kill your reindeer right now.'

3.5. *Emphatic affixes with verbs*

When the emphatic affixes are used with verbs, two morphosyntactic patterns are possible. The first is the most transparent, though the less frequent one: it consists of an emphatic affix used before inflection, as with all other parts of speech.

- (39) *teza lɔsa-za-ru-f pɔn'iŋ-i-zuʔ* F
 now Russian-CAUS-ONLY-CVB do(IPFV)-SOpl-3PL.SONsg
nʲi-zuʔ
 child-NOM.PL.3PL
 'Now everyone uses Russian with their children.'

- (40) *kumən kane-xərio-jʔ, dʲaxara-zʔ* T
 where leave(PFV)-EVEN-1SG.M not_know(IPFV)-1SG.S
 ‘I don’t know where I collapsed.’

The second and the more frequent pattern consists of a repetition of the verb: it is used first with an emphatic affix followed by the Converb marker (in Forest Enets) or by the Nominalization marker (in Tundra Enets), and then without the emphatic affix in its full finite form. The dialectal difference in the grammatical marker following an emphatic affix is expected: in many other contexts these two forms behave in a similar way, i.e. where Forest Enets uses the Converb, Tundra Enets uses the Nominalization marker.⁶

- (41) *kaza-xaru-f fit nʲe-zʔ kaza-d* F
 kill(PFV)-EVEN-CVB you.ACC NEG-1SG.S kill(PFV)-FUT.CONN
 ‘I even will not kill you.’
- (42) *dʲiri-xoo-f dʲiri-ʔ nʲe-bamʔ* F
 live(IPFV)-JUST-CVB live-CONN NEG-1SG.CONT
 ‘As for just living, we do live.’
- (43) *nooɔ enetʃiʔ sɔɔ-gərio nʲe sɔɔ-d* T
 you.DAT person look(IPFV)-EVEN.NMLZ NEG.3SG.S look(IPFV)-FUT.CONN
 ‘People even will not look at you.’
- (44) *seʔo klas dʲudʲi-zɔɔʲ tin dʲudʲi-xoa* T
 seven grade finish(PFV)-1SG.S.PST so finish(PFV)-JUST.NMLZ
 ‘I [just] finished seven grades.’

3.6. Emphatic affixes with postpositions

- (45) *ker-tuʔ aju-duʔ dʲez-ru dʲuzere-dkoda-ʔ* F
 self-OBL.PL.3PL body-OBL.SG.3PL to-ONLY listen(IPFV)-HYPOT-3PL.S
 ‘They will listen only to their body.’
- (46) *kutɔ enetʃiu-naʔ tʃinadʲ farka-riɔ nɔ-riɔ sɔɔŋa-ʔ* T
 some person-NOM.PL.1PL now vodka-ONLY at-ONLY look(IPFV)-3PL.S
 ‘Some of our people now look only at vodka.’

3.7. Emphatic affixes with adjectives

- (47) *nekuju-goɔ kudaxa-an dʲagu-ma-f* F
 other-JUST for_a_long_time-PROL.SG be_absent(IPFV)-INC-3SG.S.PST
 ‘One of them died long ago.’

⁶ The Tundra Enets Nominalization marker is a vowel which is often reduced to zero: so far not a single form has been attested with an emphatic marker where the Nominalization marker would be clearly pronounced.

- (48) *tfike ten'e-ɔ, aga-riɔ mu* T
 this know(IPFV)-1SG.SOSg big-ONLY PLC
 'I know for this (type of scales), only the big one.'
- (49) *mɔd'in'i? kɔztuŋa-j?, tinon l'ɔtʃa* T
 we(du) scratch_oneself(IPFV)-1DU.S/SOSG then Russian
ma-da, adu-saj-xoa
 say(PFV)-FUT.3SG.S louse-COM-JUST
 'We (du) scratch ourselves, then the Russian will say: [just] lousy'.

4. EMPHATIC AFFIXES WITH INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The Enets emphatic affixes are also used to derive universal (with 'only'), negative (with 'even'), and indefinite (with 'just') pronouns from interrogative ones, as the following examples illustrate.

Forest Enets

<i>ɔbu</i> 'what'	<i>ɔbu-ru</i> 'anything'	<i>ɔbu-xuru</i> 'nothing'	<i>ɔbu-xoɔ</i> 'something'
<i>ʃee</i> 'who'	<i>ʃee-ru</i> 'anyone'	<i>ʃee-xuru</i> 'no one'	<i>ʃee-xoɔ</i> 'someone'

Tundra Enets

<i>mi?</i> 'what'	<i>mi-l'io</i> 'anything'	<i>mi-gɔriɔ</i> 'nothing'	<i>mi-goa</i> 'something'
<i>ʃio</i> 'who'	<i>ʃio-riɔ</i> 'anyone'	<i>ʃio-xɔriɔ</i> 'no one'	<i>ʃio-xoa</i> 'someone'

Uses of the emphatic affixes within these pronouns stand apart from their other uses. First, the emphatic affixes have different meanings when used with interrogative pronouns in comparison to their uses with all other parts of speech. Second, here they clearly function as derivational affixes, unlike the uses discussed in Section 3 above. The semantics of the words they form do not depend on the pragmatic context, but refer to extralinguistic reality, not to the communicative setting, as happens when the emphatic affixes are used with all other parts of speech. Finally, frequencies of the uses of the emphatic affixes with interrogative pronouns are significantly higher than with anything else, e.g. with interrogative pronouns, there are 273 uses of *-xuru-* 'even' in the Forest Enets corpus, and 93 uses of *-xɔriɔ-* 'even' in the Tundra Enets corpus, while there are only 80 other uses of *-xuru-* 'even' in the Forest Enets corpus, and 27 other uses of *-xɔriɔ-* 'even' in the Tundra Enets corpus.

5. PLACE OF EMPHATIC AFFIXES IN ENETS GRAMMAR

The Enets emphatic affixes described in this paper are usually treated as nominal affixes, with a separate description of their usage with interrogative pronouns (Sorokina 2010, Siegl 2011). However, our data shows that their use is much broader: in roughly half of the cases they are indeed attested with nouns, but there are also other attestations not with nouns. Note, however, that no other single part of

speech is used as frequently with the emphatic affixes as the nouns are, so there is some logic in treating them as nominal.

The emphatic affixes pose a further descriptive problem which represents a challenge for common theoretical assumptions. It is clear that we are dealing with affixes, and not clitics or particles. But what kind of affixes? Based on their linear position in a word, they must be analyzed as derivational (e.g. *ne* ‘woman’ > *nexuru* ‘even woman’), however their usage depends on the pragmatic context of a clause and not on the referential semantics of a noun, so a derivational affix analysis is clearly inadequate. An inflectional affix analysis is not possible either, as these affixes are not governed syntactically, and they can be used with numerous parts of speech. Indeed, there are no other Enets affixes that would be transcategorial to such an extent as the emphatic affixes which can be used with all possible parts of speech before their respective inflection. This Enets data shows that the morphological status and the morphological slot of a marker may be significantly independent of its meaning.

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