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

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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.

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. 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.

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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 Stoynova, 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 examples:\(^3\):

(1) \textit{kasa n'e-ru-b ʃiʔ pertʃuɔ F}  
\text{man child-ONLY-NOM.SG.1SG I.ACC help(IPFV).3SG}  
\text{‘Only my son helps me.’}

(2) \textit{ne-xuru-za d'agu-ʃ tɔ d'obon F}  
\text{woman-EVEN-NOM.SG.3SG be_absent(IPFV)-3SG.PST that at_time}  
\text{‘He even had no wife at that time.’}

(3) \textit{pɛ-ʔ tone-ʔ ... eki d'a-xoo-xon F}  
\text{wood-PL there_is(IPFV)-3PL this land-JUST-LOC.SG}  
\text{‘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 = 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} person, ABL = Ablative, ACC = Accusative, ADV = Adverb, CAUS = Causative, COM = Comitative, COMP = Comparative, CONJ = Conjunctive mood, CONN = Con-negative, 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, SOnsg = subject-object cross-reference for non-singular object, SOpl = subject-object cross-reference for plural object SOsg = subject-object cross-reference for singular object, and TRANSL = Translative.
Table 1
Uses of the Enets emphatic particles with different parts of speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>‘Only’</th>
<th></th>
<th>‘Even’</th>
<th></th>
<th>‘Just’</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F -ru</td>
<td>T -ru</td>
<td>F -xuru</td>
<td>T -xuru</td>
<td>F -xoo</td>
<td>T -xoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postposition</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ne-xon (b) entʃi-gon (c) bi-kon
woman-LOC.SG  person-LOC.SG  water-LOC.SG
‘with a woman’  ‘with a person’  ‘with water’

(5) (a) ne-xuru (b) entʃi-guru (c) bi-kuru
woman-EVEN  person-EVEN  water-EVEN
‘even the woman’  ‘even the person’  ‘even the water’

(6) (a) ne-xoɔ (b) entʃi-goɔ (c) bi-koɔ
woman-JUST  person-JUST  water-JUST
‘even the woman’  ‘even the person’  ‘even the water’

(7) (a) ne-ru (b) entʃi-łu
woman-ONLY  person-ONLY
‘only the woman’  ‘only the person’

‘only the water’

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) bi-lʲiɔ-zi-duʔ piɔ-da-ʔ  T
water-ONLY-DEST.PL-OBL.PL.3PL look_for(IPFV)-FUT-3PL.S
‘They look for vodka only.’

(9) senʲiko-xɔriɔ-nʲiʔ dʲigua-tʃ  T
toy-EVEN-PL.1SG be_absent(IPFV)-3PL.S.PST
‘I even had no toys.’

(10) te-xoɔ-ʔ bun’i  goda-d  an’  F
reindeer-JUST-PL NEG.EMPH.3SG.S collect(PFV)-FUT.CONN
and
‘Of course, it will not collect [just] the reindeer.’

(11) naza-xoa-za oka nʲi-uʔ a-ʔ, naza-saj  T
moss-JUST-NOM.SG.3SG many NEG-3SG.S.CONT be-CONN moss-COM
d’a-xoa-xone  fie n/e a-ʔ jet saluba
land-JUST-LOC.SG matter NEG.3SG.S be-CONN 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-if kan’i-xu-jʔ  F yeah two-ONLY-TRANSL two-TRANSL leave(PFV)-HORT-1DU.S/SOsg ‘Yeah, let’s go only two of us, two.’

(13) niɔ-n’hui? kaji-siʔ nixu-ʃi’-zuʔ  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-xone nे-buʃ seixɔrɔʔ  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) ɛku-ru-xon ad’i-raʔ, mɛ-taʔ 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 nezɔn’huiʔ  T this-JUST-NOM.SG.2SG big I.ABL ‘As for him, he is elder than me.’

(17) teza tɔr-xoa d’ilie-baʔ  F now so-JUST live(IPFV)-1PL.S/SOsg ‘Now we live [just] so.’

(18) tinɔ-xoa-n sɔwa-an ir’iʔ enetʃioʔ  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) $tʃeta$ $ɛku-ru$ $d^{a}-xa-n^{i}$ F
tomorrow this-ONLY place-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.1DU and
$to-n^{i}-j^{i}$
come(PFV)-CONJ-1DU.S/SOSg
‘Let us come tomorrow again to the same place.’

(20) $nɛkuju$ $an^{i}$, $me-ta$ $tfiku-ru-xon$ $ɛ-ta-u^{?}$ 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) $mɔd^{i}$ $an^{i}$ $tea-zɔriɔ$ $tfiki-riɔ-xɔn$ $pɔkɔr-e-b$ 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) $mɔd^{i}$ (b) $mɔd^{i}$-$n^{i}$? (c) $mɔd^{i}$-$n^{a}$? T
I  I-OBL.SG.1DU  I-OBL.SG.1PL
‘I’  ‘we (du)’  ‘we’

(23) (a) $n^{i}tɔ$-$d^{a}$ (b) $n^{i}tɔ$-$d^{i}$? (c) $n^{i}tɔ$-$du^{?}$ T
(s)he-OBL.SG.3SG  (s)he-OBL.SG.3DU  (s)he-OBL.SG.3PL
‘(s)he’  ‘they (du)’  ‘they’

(24) (a) $bu$ (b) $bu$-$d^{i}$? (c) $bu$-$du^{?}$ F
(s)he  (s)he-OBL.SG.3DU  (s)he-OBL.SG.3PL
‘she’  ‘they (du)’  ‘they’

(25) (a) $nɛ$-$nɔ$-$d$ (b) $nɛ$-$nɔ$-$d^{i}$? (c) $nɛ$-$nɔ$-$da^{?}$ T
PRON-LOC-OBL.SG.2SG  PRON-LOC-OBL.SG.2DU  PRON-LOC-OBL..SGL.2PL
‘at you (sg)’  ‘at you (du)’  ‘at you (pl)’

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) ọnɛj ɛntʃiʔ-iʃ  mədʲ-ru-naʔ  ɲa-atisation 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-xon 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)  mədʲ  nɔ-xoɔ-nʲʔ  ɲulʲ sɔjza-f  F 
I PRON-JUST-LOC-OBL.SG.1SG very good-3 SG.S.PST ‘[Just] from my point of view, it was very tasty.’

(29)  mədʲi  nɔ-xoɔ-zɔ-nʲʔ  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)  mədʲi-xuru-nʲʔ  bɔz, bɔz bari-xo-nʲʔ  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  ixuturʔ-?  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  məle 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).
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).

(36) siŋ-noju-ri vət eŋi pən’im-ubi-e? F
snow-ADV-ONLY here these do(IPFV)-HAB-1PL.S/SOSG
‘We use these ones only in winter’

(37) oka-xoa kusə to-za T
many-JUST where-from come-FUT.3SG.S
‘From where will there be many (of them)?’

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.

(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 ləsa-za-ru-f pən’iŋ-i-zu? F
now Russian-CAUS-ONLY-CVB do(IPFV)-SOSPL.3PL.SOSSG
n’i-zu?
child-NOM.PL.3PL
‘Now everyone uses Russian with their children.’
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

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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enets</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əbu ‘what’</td>
<td>anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əbu-ru ‘anything’</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əbu-xuru ‘nothing’</td>
<td>əbu-xoɔ ‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fee ‘who’</td>
<td>anyone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fee-ru ‘anyone’</td>
<td>fee-xuru ‘no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fee-xoɔ ‘someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tundra Enets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enets</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miʔ ‘what’</td>
<td>anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ʃiɔ ‘anything’</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ɡəriɔ ‘nothing’</td>
<td>mi-goa ‘something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiɔ ‘who’</td>
<td>anyone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiɔ-riɔ ‘anyone’</td>
<td>fiɔ-xiɔ ‘no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiɔ-xoɔ ‘someone’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’ > nɛxur ‘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.

REFERENCES