Resultative in Tundra Nenets

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Despite the large number of both typological and theoretical accounts of resultative in recent decades since Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1983), the Northern Samoyedic languages, as far as I know, have never been investigated in this respect, although some comments can be found in the literature. For example, Shluinsky (2017: 151) claims that Anterior and Passive Anterior participles[1] derived from transitive verbs and used in the predicative position are the only means to express 'objective resultative' in Enets. Derived from intransitive verbs, Anterior participles can also express 'subjective resultative' (ibid.: 156). Resultative (and / or perfect) meaning of the form with the suffix *-mi°/-wi°* was observed for Tundra Nenets in Burkova (2006; 2010)[2]. The resultative function of passive, past and perfective participles is not uncommon cross-linguistically; there are, however, also other means of building a resultative meaning in Tundra Nenets.

In addition to Perfective participle (1), Tundra Nenets uses also Stative (2), Imperfective (3) and Durative (4) as various types of resultative; cf. the next examples.

(1)   *loxomi°*   *yiq*   *ŋayabey° yik°na*   *yew°l-mi°*
       come.to.a.boil.PT.PFV   water   raw   water.LOC   mix(.up)-PT.PFV.3SG
       'A boiled water is mixed with a raw one' (Tereščenko 1965: 85).

(2)   *sax°r*   *syay°-xəna*   *yew°li*
       sugar   tea-LOC   mix(.up).STAT.GFS.3SG.S
       'The sugar is melted into the tea' (ibid.: 86).

(3)   *yewey°*   *yik°na*   *yew°l-tə-°*
       yewey   water.LOC   mix(.up)-IPFV-GFS.3SG.S
       'The yewey is mixed with some water' (ibid.: 85).

(4)   *tyiki°*   *nyenecy°h*   *yone-xənanta*   *syidya*   *loki°-m*   *nyəqm°-byi*
       this   man   belt-LOC.POSS.3SG   two   arrow-ACC   take-DUR.GFS.3SG.S
       'This man keeps two arrows at his belt' (ibid.: 123).

Durative is the only form that allows deriving transitive resultatives in Tundra Nenets. All other strategies always result in detransitivization and promotion of the object to the subject position. However, such use of Durative is lexically restricted in Tundra Nenets, and productive transitive resultatives on the whole are very rare across languages (for some explanation see e. g. Kozinsky 1988). On the other hand, Durative combines with some intransitives as well, deriving resultatives mostly from verbs ending in *-m*, *-ləm*, and *-xəm*, e. g. *loxom-pə-* 'to be boiling' < *loxom-* 'to come to a boil', *sæw°syal°mpə-* 'to

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[1]   Anterior participles have the suffix *-j* in Forest Enets and different suffixes in Tundra Enets. Passive Anterior participles are found only in Forest Enets and use the suffix *-duuj / -tuuj*.

[2]   There are at least two forms with the suffix *-mi°/-wi°* in Tundra Nenets: Narrative, or Inferential mood, and Past, or Perfective participle. Obviously, only the last one is considered here.

be blind' < *sæw°syaləm-* 'to become blind' < *sæw°syə-* 'to be eyeless / one-eyed, to be blind'. Interestingly, Stative does not combine with these classes of verbs.

I have no reliable data regarding the possibility of combining Imperfective with transitive predicates[3] in a resultative function. In standard Tundra Nenets, detransitive uses of Imperfective are presumably restricted to the demotion of P.

As for Perfective participle and Stative, they both combine with intransitive as well as transitive verbs and accept manner adverbs modifying a resulting state. However, only Perfective participles are found with an expressed agent when formed from transitive verbs (cf. the noun phrase in Genitive in 5). Thus, Perfective participle can function not only as a resultative but also as an eventive passive (on the participial passive in Tundra Nenets see Nikolaeva 2014: 239–249).

(5) *tyiki° xən°   myeləd°h   syerta-wi°*
     this   sledge   expert.GEN   make-PT.PFV.3SG
     'This sledge is made by an expert' (Tereščenko 1965: 247).

Samoyedic 'statives' were discussed in Gusev (2010) who claims that they can be derived only from telic perfective verbs and denote either a resulting state (with all intransitive predicates and those transitive ones which cannot express spontaneous events) or an entry into a state (with those transitive verbs which can express spontaneous events), the latter case thus being a decausative.

Some remarks can be made with respect to the interpretations of Stative. First, Gusev (2010) does not notice that Stative can denote not only resulting states but also resulting processes, e. g. with verbs of oscillation (cf. intransitive atelic *məncabtyo-* 'to stir' < transitive telic *məncabta-* 'to stir'), which are prototypical verbs of process[4]. Second, the possibility of a resultative interpretation of Stative from a transitive predicate depends not only on the possibility of a spontaneous character of an event but probably on some paradigmatic issues too. For example, in Tundra Nenets Stative is imperfective and atelic if a transitive verb it is based on can inflect in reflexive conjugation; cf. intransitive atelic *xoxoqlə-* 'to be inflated' < transitive-intransitive telic *xoxoqla-* 'to inflate (tr., II conj.); to inflate (intr., III conj.)'[5]. There are also some other problematic cases concerning possible interpretations of Stative.

Taking into account that both Statives and Perfective participles regularly form transitive as well as intransitive resultatives, the key question now is what are the differences between these strategies and where they come from. While I have no exact and full answer to this question, I will try to touch some relevant parameters in the talk.

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[3] This does not count for labile (transitive-intransitive) verbs like *yewəl-* 'to mix; to become mixed' above.

[4] There is a broadly discussed distinction between manner and result verbs in the literature. Verbs of process can be added to this typology since they specify only the process which takes place in the patient argument, neither the activity of the agent nor the resulting state.

[5] However, there is a possibility that in such cases Stative is derived from an intransitive variant.