NOMINALIZATION IN ALUTOR

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Alutor has a rich set of deverbal nominalizers, which are often followed by the absolutive case marker. Following the classification of Comrie and Thompson, Alutor nominalizers and the corresponding nominalized forms can be divided into four groups: (i) action/state nominalizations; (ii) instrumental nominalizations; (iii) locative nominalizations; and (iv) agentive/objective nominalizations. In this paper, I will introduce these various types of nominalization. As will be seen, in Alutor the same nominalizer is used for both transitive and intransitive verbs, while in Chukchi, a language related to Alutor, different nominalizers are used for transitives and intransitives.

В алюторском языке есть большое число глагольных номинализаторов, за которыми часто следует падежный маркер абсолютива. В соответствии с классификацией Комри и Томпсон, алюторские номинализаторы и соответствующие номинализированные формы можно разделить на четыре группы: (i) акциональные/стативные, (ii) инструментальные, (iii) локативные и (iv) агентивные/объектные номинализации. В настоящей статье рассматриваются данные типы номинализаций. Как будет показано, в алюторском языке один и тот же номинализатор используется как для транзитивных, так и для интранзитивных глаголов, тогда как в родственном алюторскому чукотском языке для транзитивов и интранзитивов используются различные номинализаторы.

1. INTRODUCTION

Alutor is a language of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan (Kamchukotic) family. It is closely related to Koryak and Chukchi. Alutor is spoken by approximately 200 persons in northern Kamchatka, most of whom live in the former Koryak Autonomous Region. Like the other languages of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan family, Alutor has a rich set of deverbal nominalizers, which are often combined with the absolutive case marker.

Following the classification of Comrie & Thompson (1995/2007), Alutor deverbal nominalizers and the corresponding nominalized forms can be divided into four groups: (i) action/state nominalizations, as in *junat-* 'to live' > *junat-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'life' (live-NMLZ-e-ABS.SG); (ii) instrumental nominalizations, as in *tiv-* 'to row' > *tiv-inaŋ* 'oar' (row-NMLZ); (iii) locative nominalizations, as in *anutva-* 'to spend summer' > *anutva-nə* 'summer camp' (spend.summer-NMLZ)'; and (iv)

agentive/objective nominalizations, that is, participles, as in *jat-* 'to come (Vi)' > *jat-ə-lʔ-ə-n* 'the one who comes' (come-e-PTCP-e-ABS.SG) (agentive), *java-* 'to use (Vt)' > *java-lʔ-ə-n* 'the one that is used' (use-PTCP-e-ABS.SG) (objective). Participles retain verbal properties and may select their underlying core arguments with their matrix case marking.

In previous studies (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 266) agentive/objective nominalizations have been described as "participles" when they have a head noun (1) and as "nominalized participles" when they do not have a head noun (2).

(1)   Participle with a head noun:
       (Nagayama 2015: 69)

mej	*m-ə-n-ə-kjav-ə-n*		*pəsa*	*qoq,*
hey	1SG.A.OPT-E-CAUS-E-wake.up-E-3SG.P		for.a.while	INTRJ

ana	*ɣətʔav-ə-tkə*	*jəlq-ə-lʔ-ə-n*	*unʲunʲu-pilʲ*
maybe	be.hungry-E-IPFV:3SG.S	sleep-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG	child-DIM:ABS.SG

'Hey, I shall awaken my child, who is sleeping, maybe s/he is hungry.'

(2)   Participle without a head noun:
       (Matrena Ivnako, pers. comm. 10 March 2002)

to	*ənɣin*	*na-mal-ɣita-n*	*ənʲanʲnʲus*	*aɣinməsʔat-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
and	INTRJ	INV-good-see-3SG.P	by.oneself	talk-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

'Then (the parents) saw (their daughter) who was talking alone.'

However, in languages that allow free omission of head nouns, it is not possible to make a clear distinction between "nominalized" and "non-nominalized" participles. Thus, in this paper, I leave this problem aside for the moment, and aim to show the general characteristics of various nominalizers and nominalized forms, and conclude that Alutor participles, despite their verb-like properties, have much in common with nominals.

2. BASIC STRUCTURES

All nouns and subclasses of nouns – pronouns, adjectives, and numerals – inflect by case. Common nouns can take the following cases: absolute, instrumental (= ergative), locative, dative, prolative, contactive, essive, comitative, and associative. There are three numbers – singular, dual, and plural — but they are distinguished only in the absolute case (Table 1).

Table 1 Nominal inflection

	Common Noun			Proper Name		
	SG	DU	PL	SG	DU	PL
Absolutive	zero or *-n*	*-t(i)*	*-u(wwi)/-w(wi)*	zero or *-n*	*-nti*	*-u(wwi)/-w(wi)*
Instrumental	*-(t)a*			*-nak* (SG)	*-tək* (PL)	
Locative	*-k*					
Dative	*-ŋ*					
Prolative	*-jpəŋ*			*-jpəŋ*		
Contactive	*-jit*			—		
Causal	*-kjit*			—		
Essive	*-(n)u*			—		
Comitative	*ɣa-....-(t)a* *ɣeqə-....-(t)a*			—		
Associative	*awən-....-(m)a*			*awən-....-(m)a*		

Table 2 Person-number markers for predicates

	SG	DU	PL
1	*-jɣəm*	*-muri*	*-muru*
2	*-jɣət*	*-turi*	*-turu*

Nominals, including adjectives and pronouns, can also be combined with a person-number marker in the predicative position (Table 2). Person-number markers, which are almost identical with the personal pronouns, are used only for the first and second person (3–4).

(3)   (Kilpalin 1993: 14)

ɣəmmə   anʲa-jɣəm
1SG.ABS.SG PSN-1SG.PRED

'I am Ania.'

(4)   (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 28 Feb. 2012)

mik-ine-ɣət   ɣəttə   unʲunʲu-jɣət
who-POSS-2SG.PRED   you.ABS.SG   child-2SG.PRED

'Whose child are you?'

Predicates with a third person subject do not use any special marker and instead take the absolutive case (5).

(5)   (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 28 Feb. 2012)

ɣəmnin   *ənŋin*   *unʲunʲu*
my>3SG   that>3SG   child:ABS.SG

'That is my child.'

Alutor has two different types of verb inflection: transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs may have two arguments, and they agree with both the agent (A) and the direct object (O), which stand in the ergative and absolutive cases, respectively. Intransitive verbs may have only one argument, and they agree with the subject (S), which stands in the absolutive case. Labile verbs may be used as either intransitive or transitive.

In transitive clauses, the agent stands in the ergative case, while the direct object stands in the absolutive case (6). In intransitive clauses, the subject stands in the absolutive case (7).

(6)   (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 198)

əllaʔ-a   *tu-nina*   *wapaq-u*   *to*   *jəlq-ə-lqiv-i*
mother-ERG   eat-3SG.A>3PL.P   fly.agarics-ABS.PL   and   sleep-E-INCH-3SG.S.PFV

'(My) mother ate fly-agarics and fell asleep.'

(7)   (Maria Chechulina, pers. comm. 22 July 2001)

ten   *amamqutikəlʔ-ə-n*   *awwav-i*
then   PSN-E-ABS.SG   go-3SG.S.PFV

'Then Amamqutikalan set off.'

As Dunn (1999: 81) points out for Chukchi, in most cases core arguments are omitted in narratives. Thus, sentences without any overt argument, as in (8), are quite natural in spontaneous speech.

(8)   (Maria Pritchina, pers. comm. 22 July 2001)

juɣ-ə-nin,   *tantivŋ-ə-nin,*   *jəp-nin*   *ŋanin*
reach-E-3SG.A>3SG.P   shake.off-E-3SG.A>3SG.P   wear-3SG.A>3SG.P   that>3SG

'(Amamqutikalan) came to (the lizzard), shook it (to undress), (then) put on that (= clothing which he took off from the lizzard).'

Transitive verbs can be detransitivized by means of incorporation and antipassivization. Below, (9a) and (10a) exemplify transitive verbs, while (9b) and (10b) exemplify detransitivization by incorporation and antipassivization, respectively. In the transitive clauses the agent stands in the ergative case and the direct object stands in the absolute case, while in the detransitivized clauses the subject stands in the absolutive case.

(9a)   (Nagayama 2003: 145)

kalilʔ-a   *jəp-nina*[1]   *l̡əl̡əkv-u…*
spotted.seal-ERG   wear-3SG.A>3PL.P   glasses-ABS.PL

'The spotted seal put on glasses.'

(9b)   (Kilpalin 1993: 53)

rəvraŋa   *ajusq-ə-k*   *ilɣətav-i*
PSN:ABS.SG   spring-E-LOC   wash.oneself-3SG.S.PFV

tu   *nəməlʔ-ə-ŋ*   *kimitʔ-ep-i*[2]
and   nymylan-E-DAT   clothing-wear-3SG.S.PFV

'Ryvrana washed herself in a spring and got dressed in Nymylan style.'

(10a) (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 200)

qamav-ə-nak   *akmin-nin*   *milɣəʕər*   *nutalq-ə-k*   *rəltil-ləʔ-ə-n*
PSN-E-ERG.SG   take-3SG.A>3SG.P   rifle:ABS.SG   ground-E-LOC   lie-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

'Qamav took the rifle, (which was) lying on the ground.'

(10b) (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 201)

jattiɣ-ə-n   *janut*   *in-akmit-i*   *utt-ə-k…*
PSN-E-ABS.SG   at.first   ANTI-take-3SG.S.PFV   bush-E-LOC

'At first Yattige held onto a bush …'

3. THE MORPHOLOGY OF DEVERBAL NOMINALIZERS

As already mentioned earlier, Alutor deverbal nominalizers can be divided into four groups, corresponding to (i) action nominalizations; (ii) instrumental nominalizations; (iii) locative nominalizations; and (iv) agentive/objective nominaliza-

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1 The form *jəp-* with an epenthetic vowel is an allomorph of the stem *jp-* 'to wear' (Vt).
2 The underlying form is **kimitʔa-jp-j* (clothing-wear-3SG.S.PFV).

tions. Type (iv) can also be used as clausal nominalization in the function of a core argument or adverbial modifier. In the following, the four types are examined in more detail with the focus on their morphological structure.

Action nominalizations

Action nouns are formed by attaching the suffix *-ɣərŋ* to a verbal stem (11). Nouns derived by this suffix often indicate abstract concepts. The underlying verbal stems may be intransitive, transitive, or labile. Such nouns can take case markers, which in the absolutive case are different for singular (a, c) and plural (b). However, a tense/aspect marker cannot be attached to them.

(11)   verbal stem + suffix *-ɣərŋ*

a. *junat-ə-k* 'to live' → *junat-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'life'
   live-E-INF   live-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG

b. *tek-ə-k* 'to make' → *tek-ə-ɣərŋ-u* 'products' (*lit.* 'things that were made')
   make-E-INF   make-E-NMLZ-ABS.PL

c. *waŋi-sit-ə-k* 'to compete on sewing' → *waŋi-sit-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'sewing competition'
   sew-intensively-E-INF   sew-intensively-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG

Action nouns cannot have core arguments; instead, as in (12), the subject of the nominalized verb stands in the possessive form.

(12)   (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 30)

awən   kalaʔaŋəlʔ-in   iv-ɣərŋ-ə-n   n-ip-ə-qin
indeed   magical.spirit-POSS>3SG say-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG ADJ-true-E-ADJ

'Indeed, the speech of the magical spirit is true.'

Action nouns may inflect for case. In narrative texts, there are examples of action nouns in the locative (13), instrumental (14), and causal (15) cases.

(13)   (Kilpalin 1993: 20)

ŋitaqav-kina-k   kiv-ɣərŋ-ə-k   vasqin
second-POSS-LOC spend.a.night-NMLZ-E-LOC other>3SG

ljaŋi   təlajj-i
girl:ABS.SG   come-3SG.S.PFV

'The second night (lit. at the second overnight stop), another girl came.'

(14)   (Dariia Mulinaut, pers. comm. 27 Feb. 2002)

am-kərvi-ʔiməlʲ-waŋqu-ɣərŋ-a   *tən-nin,*
only-cheerful-water-take.smt.into.one's.mouth-NMLZ-INST do-3S.a>3SG.p

am-kərvi-talʲu-waŋqu-ɣərŋ-a   *tən-nin,*
only-cheerful-chew-take.smt.into.one's.mouth-NMLZ-INST do-3SG.a>3SG.p

akka-pilʲ
son-DIM:ABS.SG

'(Since he was ill,) the little son could not take a mouthful of water,
nor have a bite of any food.'

(15)   (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 86)

...mənʔ-ə-ɣvu-n   *muri*   *umakaŋ*   *təvitɣəlʔav-ə-k*
OPT.1NSG.A-E-begin-3SG.P   we.ABS.DU   together   consult-E-INF

ənŋin   *junat-ɣərŋ-ə-kjita*
that>3SG   live-NMLZ-E-CSL

'... Shall we begin to discuss this matter (= this life) together?'

The same suffix -*ɣərŋ* is attached to adjectival and nominal stems. Nouns derived from adjectival stems form nouns indicating quality (16).

(16)   adjectival stem + suffix -*ɣərŋ*

a. *n-ə-kərvi-qin* 'cheerful'   →   *kərvi-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'cheerfulness'
   ADJ-E-cheerful-ADJ>3SG   cheerful-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG

b. *n-ə-katɣu-qin* 'strong'   →   *katɣu-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'power'
   ADJ-E-strong-ADJ>3SG   strong-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG

Nominal stems (nouns) with the suffix -*ɣərŋ* indicate a lump of the item expressed by the stem (17).

(17)   nominal stem + suffix -*ɣərŋ*

a. *rəwi-wwi* 'willow branches' → *rəwi-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'willow bush'
   willow-ABS.PL   willow-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG

b. *jaqjaq* 'seagull'   →   *jaq-ɣərŋ-ə-n* 'bird colony'
   seagull:ABS.SG   seagull-NMLZ-E-ABS.SG

Instrumental nominalizations

Nouns indicating instrument are derived from verbal stems by the suffix *-inaŋ* (18a). The initial vowel *i* is dropped when the verbal stem ends in a vowel (18b).

(18)   verbal stem + suffix -(*i*)*naŋ*

a. *ujisvat-ə-k* 'to play'   →   *ujisv-inaŋ* 'toy'
   play-E-INF   play-NMLZ

b. *kaŋu-k* 'to gaff'   →   *kaŋu-naŋ* 'gaff, hook'
   gaff-INF   gaff-NMLZ

Instrumental nouns derived from a verbal stem may take the plural marker (19) or, rarely, a case marker. Only the instrumental case is found in narrative texts (20).

(19)   *tiv-ə-k* 'to row'   →   *tiv-inaŋ-u* 'oar/s'
        row-E-INF   row-NMLZ-ABS.PL

(20)   (Kilpalin 1993: 13)

anʲa-nak   jajar   malita jajar-kəpl-inaŋ-a   kəpl-ə-tku-nin
PSN-ERG.SG drum:ABS.SG slowly drum-hit-NMLZ-INST   hit-E-ITER-3SG.A>3SG.P

'Anya hit the drum slowly with a drumstick.'

Locative nominalizations

Location nouns, that is, nouns indicating the place where an action is conducted, are derived from verbal stems by the suffix *-nə/-nv-* (21). They may also be derived from verbal stems with the iterative marker (22), or they may inflect for case, such as locative (23) or dative (24).

(21a) verbal stem + suffix *-nə/-nv-*

a. *anutva-nə* 'summer camp'
   spend.summer-NMLZ.ABS.SG

b. *milɣəlʔat-ə-nə* 'place for making a fire'
   make.a.fire-E-NMLZ.ABS.SG

(22) (Mariia Pritchina, pers. comm. 22 July 2001)

al   tin   tin   winnə,
NEG   what   what   road.ABS.SG

al   tin   jəlq-ə-tɬ-ə-tku-nə   *it-ka*
NEG   what   reindeer.stomach.content-E-pour-E-ITER-NMLZ.ABS.SG be-NEG

'There is no track at all where (people) poured reindeer stomach content
many times.'

(23) (Maria Chechulina, pers. comm. 19 Oct. 2001)

ənkət   ɣa-nŋa-laŋina   wapaq-u   oji-nv-ə-k
like.this   RES-grow-RES.3PL.S   fly.agarics-ABS.PL   eat-NMLZ-E-LOC

'Like this, fly agarics had grown by the fireside (lit. in the place for eating).'

(24) (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 173)

to   mitiv   ɣa-kjav-laŋ   (...)   *ɣ-awwav-laŋ   umakat-ə-nv-ə-ŋ*
and   next.day   RES-wake.up-RES.3PL.S   RES-go-RES.3PL.S   gather-E-NMLZ-E-DAT

'And on the next day they woke up (...) (and) went to a place of meeting.'

Agentive/objective nominalizations

Agentive/objective nouns, traditionally known as participles (as opposed to
other types of nominalized forms), are derived from verbal stems by the suffix
-lʔ. Agentive nouns are derived from transitive verbs, while objective nouns are
derived from intransitive verbs. All nouns derived by the suffix *-lʔ* take the abso-
lutive case marker. The coding patterns for transitive and intransitive verb argu-
ments are retained: nouns derived from intransitive verbs indicate the subject
that conducts the action (25), while nouns derived from transitive verbs indicate
the direct object (26). In both types, the participle stands in the absolutive case.

(25) intransitive verbal stem + suffix *-lʔ*

jat-ə-k 'to come' → *jat-ə-lʔ-ə-n* 'the one who comes/is coming'
come-E-INF   come-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

(26) transitive verbal stem + suffix *-lʔ*

java-k 'to use'   → *java-lʔ-ə-n* 'the one which is used'
use-INF   use-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

Kibrik et al. (2000/2004) point out that the participle in *-lʔ* functions like a rela-
tive modifier, for example *piɲinaŋ para-lq-ə-k it-ə-lʔ-ə-n* (PSN.ABS.SG pole-on-E-LOC
be-PTCP-E-ABS.SG) '(they began to shoot at) Piɲinaŋ (who was) standing on the top
of the pole'. The suffix *-lʔ*, when attached to an intransitive verbal stem, produc-
tively forms a participle correlating with the subject of the verb (the one who
V-s). In contrast, when attached to a transitive verbal stem, it forms a participle
correlating with the object (the one which is/was V-ed). When formed from a
labile verbal stem, the participle in *-lʔ* correlates with the subject, for example
imti- 'to carry on one's shoulders' (Vi/Vt) : *imti-lʔ-ə-n* (carry-PTCP-E-ABS.SG) 'the
one carrying smt. on his shoulders', or, rarely, with either the subject or the object
of the verb, for example *juqa-* 'to dye with alder dyestuff' (Vi/Vt) : *juqa-lʔ-ə-n*
(dye-PTCP-E-ABS.SG) 'the one who dyes, the one which was dyed'.

  To repeat: agentive/objective nouns derived from a labile verbal stem may
correlate with both an intransitive subject and a transitive object, as in (27). In
(28), the participle agrees with the subject, while in (29), the same participle
agrees with the direct object.

(27)   labile verbal stem + suffix *-lʔ*

  ujp-ə-k   →   *ujp-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
  prick-E-INF   prick-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

  'to prick oneself/smt'   'the one who pricked, the one that was pricked'

(28)   (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 8 March 2013)

  tirŋat-ə-tkə   *qajunʲunʲu*   *ujp-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
  cry-E-IPFV:3SG.S   boy:ABS.SG   prick-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

  'The boy pricked who pricked himself is crying.'

(29)   (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 8 March 2013)

  aŋe   *təlɣ-ə-lŋən*   *təʕəl-ə-tkən*   *ujp-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
  hard   finger-E-ABS.SG   cry-E-IPFV:3SG.S   prick-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

  'The finger that was pricked pains hard.'

In contrast to Alutor, Chukchi uses different nominalizers for transitive and
intransitive verbal stems. The suffix *-lʔ* forms active participles (*deistvitel'nye
prichastiia*) from intransitive verbal stems, while passive participles from transi-
tive stems are formed by the suffix *-jo* (Skorik 1961; Iailetkan 1980; Dunn 1999).
Therefore, active participles from transitive verbal stems have to be marked by
the antipassivizing prefix *ine-/ena-* (Iailetkan 1980: 204).

4. THE SYNTAX OF PARTICIPLES

Apart from bearing nominal case marking, participles may have verbal arguments or adverbial modifiers. In addition, participles can be used as predicates in matrix clauses. The nominal case marking patterns of participles have already been described in previous studies on Chukchi and Koryak (Skorik 1961: 351–353; Iailetkan 1980; Kibrik et al. 2000/2004; Kurebito 2008).

   The basic principles of participle syntax, as described in the above-mentioned works, may be summarized as follows: (1) participles are used both as head nouns (nominalized participles) and attributives; (2) only participles in head noun function may inflect for case; (3) attributive participles agree with their head noun in person and number, and are used only in the absolutive case; (4) head nouns of attributive participles can be omitted. In the following, the noun-like and verb-like properties of participles will be examined in more detail.

Noun-like properties of participles

Previous studies on participles in Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages suggest that only participles without a head noun, that is, nominalized participles, inflect for case. However, there are some examples in Alutor where participles with a head noun (attributive participles) can also occur in an oblique case. In (30), the participle modifies the head noun and both words stand in the dative case. Thus, the criterion of case marking is not decisive for distinguishing between nominalized participles and attributive participles in Alutor, although attributive participles with overt head nouns tend to be more restrictive with regard to taking case markers than nominalized participles.

(30)   (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 30 Aug. 2013)

muru	*mət-valumtil-la*	*paninat-ə-lʔ-ə-ŋ*	*ənpəsʔ-ə-ŋ*
we.ABS.DU	1NSG.S-listen.to-PLUR	tell.stories-E-PTCP-E-DAT	elder-E-DAT

‘We listened to the elder(s) who told stories.’

As is the case with common nouns, participles are used in the core argument position in clauses with either a transitive or an intransitive predicate verb. In (31), the participle is the subject of an intransitive verb, while in (32) the participle is the direct object of a transitive verb.

(31)   (Tatiana Golikova, pers. comm. 1 March 2005)

to   ənɣin ana   qura-lʲəʕu-sqiv-ə-lʔ-uwwi
and   well   maybe   domestic.reindeer-look.for-E-go.for-PTCP-ABS.PL

ənɣin ɣ-iv-laŋ
well   RES-say-RES.3PL.S

'And, well, those who went to look for reindeer said.'

(32)   (Nagayama 2015: 6)

ŋanək əntawət   ənɣina   kənmat-ə-lʔ-uwwi
there   afterwards   that>3PL   have.an.abortion-E-PTCP-ABS.PL

qətəmmə itənv-a   n-ə-n-iwʔis-at-ə-tkə-nin.
NEG.FUT   master-ERG   OPT.3SG.A-E-CAUS-drink-CAUS-E-IPFV-3SG.A>3SG.P

'The Author of our Being will not give water to those who have aborted
their own babies.'

However, in contrast with common nouns, participles are never incorporated into
verbal stems. This fact accords with the nature of Alutor incorporation whereby
verbs normally incorporate only indefinite nouns or nouns with lower animacy.

Verb-like properties of participles

The verb-like properties of participles include the following: (1) participles may
have an ergative agent; (2) participles can be modified by adverbs; and (3) parti-
ciples may have a locative complement. In contrast to verbs in finite functions,
however, participles cannot have tense/aspect markers. Tense in participles is
mostly understood by context. In (33), the participle indicates simultaneous
action with the main verb, while in (34) the same participle indicates an action
that will occur after the action indicated by the main verb.

(33)   (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 28 Feb. 2012)

nitkə   ənɣin jəʕilŋ-ə-nak   valum-nin   ənɣin
DUMMY.ABS.SG   well   PSN-E-ERG   hear-3SG.A>3SG.P   well

qəlʲiktumɣ-ə-n   jat-ə-lʔ-ə-n
brother-E-ABS.SG   come-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

'Well, Ihilnyn heard her brother was coming.'

(34)   (Nagayama 2012: 134)

kristina	*ityəpat-i*	*akinʔat*	*jat-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
PSN:ABS.SG	be.known-3SG.S.PFV	soon	come-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

'It is known that Kristina will come (to the village) soon.'

Participles retain verbal properties and may select their underlying core arguments with their matrix case marking. In most cases, participles agree with nouns in the absolutive case, functioning as either the subject of an intransitive verb (35) or the direct object of a transitive verb (36). In such examples, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between a nominal clause and the juxtaposition of two nominals both of which retain the underlying core argument of the verbal stem.

(35)   (Matrena Ivnako, pers. comm. 10 March 2002)

ana	*ɣətʔav-ə-tkə*	*jəlq-ə-lʔ-ə-n*	*unʲunʲu-pilʲ*
maybe	be.hungry-E-IPFV:3SG.S	sleep-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG	child-DIM:ABS.SG

'… my child, who is sleeping, may be hungry.'

(36)   (Nagayama 2012: 133)

təlqətat-ə-lʔ-u	*kanvit-u*	*škaf-ə-k*	*t-ə-ntilpat-ə-na*
take.along-E-PTCP-ABS.PL	candy-ABS.PL	cupboard-E-LOC	1SG.A-E-hide-E-3PL.P

'I hid the candies that should be taken along in the cupboard.'

Participles derived from transitive verbal stems may occasionally have ergative arguments as agents of the verbal stem. In my database there are only three examples of this: (37) is cited from narrative texts, while (38) and (39) were obtained by elicitation. In (38), the participle has an ergative agent and an absolutive object with which the participle agrees with regard to case.

(37)   (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 43)

ətɣənan	*sissəŋ-quli-javasʔat-ə-lʔ-u*
they.ERG	mockingly-song-use-E-PTCP-ABS.PL

'They used (my) melody mockingly.'

(38)   (Nagayama 2012: 131)

artista-ta	*na-java-tkə-na*	*pəlak-u*	*ɣəmna*	*java-lʔ-u*
dancer-ERG	INV-use-IPFV-3PL.P	boot-ABS.PL	1SG.ERG	use-PTCP-ABS.PL

'Dancers use boots that I use.'

(39)   (Nagayama 2012: 123)

mitiv　　　*juʕ-ə-lʔ-ə-turu*　　　　　*čikako-nak*
tomorrow　　visit-E-PTCP-E-2PL.PRED　　PSN-ERG.SG

iɣənɲinak　*kətvəl*　*maŋkət*　*a-lqəl-la-ka*
therefore　PROH　where　　NEG-go-PLUR-NEG

'Chikako will visit you tomorrow; therefore do not go anywhere!'

Like finite verbs, but unlike common nouns, participles may take adverbial modifiers (40–41).

(40)   (Maria Chechulina, pers. comm. 19 Oct. 2001)

pəsa　　　*van*　*ən*　*ɲanək*　*a-mal-ka*　　*junat-ə-lʔ-u*
for.a.while　EMP　INTRJ　there.LOC　ADV-good-ADV　live-e-PTCP-ABS.PL

'(They) lived there well for a while.'

(41)   (Nagayama 2015: 57)

pəkir-ə-lʔ-ə-n　　　　　*nurala*
arrive-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG　in.a.hurry

'(He) is coming in a hurry.'

A locative complement very often precedes a participle (42). In narrative texts, sequences of a head noun and a participle accompanied by a locative complement have a strong tendency to occur in the sentence final position (43).

(42)   (Nagayama 2015: 51)

nik　　　*ənɲin*　*ŋəpa-tkə*　　　　　　　　*ŋan*
DUMMY　that　　go.out.from.water-IPFV:3SG.S　there

[*ɣətɣə-lʲq-ə-k*　　　　*it-ə-lʔ-ə-n*]　　　　　*tiniʕaŋawət*
lake-surface-E-LOC　be-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG　PSN:ABS.SG

'Well, Tinianaut, who was on the surface of the lake, got out (from the lake).'

(43)   (Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 90–91)

ətɣənan　*allə*　*liɣi*　　　　*a-lŋ-ə-ka*　　*ɣa-nt-ə-lqiv-lin*
they.ERG　NEG　know.ANAL　NEG-do-E-NEG　RES-AUX.VT-E-INCH-RES.3SG.P

vasqin　　　　*rara-ŋa*　　　　　[*mal'l'aval*　　　　*it-ə-lʔ-ə-n*]
other>3SG　　　dwelling-ABS.SG　a.little.further　be-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

'They didn't know about another dwelling (yaranga) that was located a little further away.'

In (44), taken from a narrative text, the unit with a head noun and a participle accompanied by a locative complement occurs in a non-sentence-final position. This may be due to the presence of a demonstrative, which occupies the initial position of the following clause and combines the two clauses.

(44)　(Kibrik et al. 2000/2004: 96)

...[*ɣarɣən*　*rəltil-ləʔ-uwwi*]　*ʕujamtawilʔ-uwwi*　[*təm-ə-tku-lʔ-uwwi*]
　outside　lie-PTCP-ABS.PL　　person-ABS.PL　　　　kill-E-ITER-PTCP-ABS.PL

ŋanina-wwi　*ɣa-ŋvu-laŋ*　　　　*miml-ə-ŋ*　　*ɣətɣ-ə-ŋ*　*siŋsətku-k...*
that-ABS.PL　RES-begin-RES.3PL.P　water-E-DAT　lake-E-DAT　throw.away-INF

'... (they) threw (the exterminated) people lying outside into the water, into the lake ...'

Participles can also function as predicates of a matrix clause. In some cases, participles are equivalent to finite verbal predicates (45).

(45a)　(Tatiana Golikova, pers. comm. 16 Sept. 2000)

ənŋin　*taq-ə-lʔ-u*　　　　　*qa*　　*paninalʔ-u*
well　　what.do-E-PTCP-ABS.PL　EMP　ancestor-ABS.PL

'Well, what did (our) ancestors do?'

(45b)　(Aleksei Uichan, pers. comm. 15 April 2000)

taq-ə-tkən　　　　　*ɣəttə*
what.do-E-IPFV:2SG.S　you.ABS.SG

'What are you doing?'

In cases where the underlying subject of the verb is the first or the second person, participles in the predicative use take a person-number marker that is identical with the person-number marker for nominal predicates (46).

(46a) (Dariia Popova, pers. comm. 1 April 2000)

awanni-lʔ-iɣəm,   *ta-ratam-ŋ-ə-lʔ-iɣəm*
sew-PTCP-1SG.PRED   make-fur.tent.covering-make-E-PTCP-1SG.PRED

'I was sewing and making a fur tent covering.'

(46b) (Kilpalin 1993: 14)

ɣəmmə   *anʲa-jɣəm*
1SG.ABS.SG   PSN-1SG.PRED

'I am Ania.'

Negation in Alutor is formed differently for nominals (47) and verbs (50). Participles use the negative form *a-…-kəlʔin* (49), which is also used with adjectives (48), a subclass of nominals. However, at the same time, participles require the negative particle *al*, which is obligatorily used for the negation of verbs.

(47)   Negation of nouns:
       (Nagayama 2015: 66)

alva-lʔ-in   *lawət*
different-PROP-3SG   head.ABS.SG

'It is/was not a (fish) head.'

(48)   Negation of adjectives:
       (Vladimir Nutayulgin, pers. comm.)

a-ʕum-kə-lʔ-in   *utt-ə-ʔut*
NEG-new-NEG-PROP-3SG tree-E-RDP

'not a thick tree'

(49)   Negation of participles:
       (Lidiia Chechulina, pers. comm. 28 Feb. 2012)

ənŋin   *ŋavəsqatpilʲ*   *al*   *a-valum-kə-lʔ-in*
that>3SG   girl.ABS.SG   NEG   NEG-hear-NEG-PTCP-3SG

'That girl was naughty (lit. did not hear).'

(50) Negation of transitive verbs:
(Nagayama 2003: 185)

al   *a-ɣita-ka*   *tə-nt-ə-ɣət*
NEG   NEG-see-NEG   1SG.A-AUX-E-2SG.P

'I did not see you.'

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have described four deverbal nominalizers of Alutor and examined, especially for participles, their general characteristics at the morphological and syntactical level. The data may be summarized as follows:

1. As shown in section 3, all deverbal nouns have nominal case marking, such as for the absolutive, instrumental, locative, dative, and causal cases, and there is no doubt that they are nouns.

2. Participles share with nouns the property that they can take person-number markers for nominal predicates.

3. Participles cannot take any tense-aspect markers, which are normally attached to all finite verbal stems in verb clauses. Thus, participles have obvious differences from verbs. In some cases, however, participles can retain their underlying ergative agent, adverbial modifier, or locative complement, which can all be taken by finite verbs but not by nouns.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person		DU	dual
2	second person		E	epenthesis
3	third person		EMP	emphasis
A	agent		ERG	ergative
ABS	absolutive		FUT	future
ADJ	adjective		INCH	inchoative
ADV	adverb		INF	infinitive
ANAL	analogical		INST	instrumental
ANTI	antipassive		INTRJ	interjection
AUX	auxiliary		INV	inverse
CAUS	causative		IPFV	imperfective
CSL	causal case		ITER	iterative
DAT	dative		LOC	locative case
DIM	diminutive		NEG	negative

NMLZ	nominalizer	PROP	proprietive
NSG	non-singular	PSN	personal name
OPT	optative	PTCP	participle
P	patient	RDP	reduplicated
PFV	perfective	RES	resultative
PL	plural	S	subject
PLUR	pluralizer	SG	singular
POSS	possessive	Vi	intransitive verb
PRED	predicate marker	Vt	transitive verb
PROH	prohibitive		

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