RELATIVE CLAUSES AND NOMINALIZATIONS IN KOLYMA YUKAGHIR

Iku Nagasaki

National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

This paper deals with the strategies of relativization and nominalization in Kolyma Yukaghir with the focus on the functions of the suffix *-je*. In the present-day language this suffix is widely used as a relativizer, while examples of its use as a nominalizer are non-productive and have been regarded as lexicalized nouns based on the relativizing function. However, data from earlier periods contain a number of examples of the suffix *-je* in both functions, with relative clauses exhibiting a nominal property, and with the nominalizing function appearing more frequently than in the present-day data. This suggests that the relativizing function of the suffix *-je* developed from a primary nominalizing function.

В статье рассматриваются стратегии релятивизации и номинализации при помощи суффикса *-je* в колымском диалекте юкагирского языка. В современном языке этот суффикс широко употребляется как релятивизатор, в то время как примеры его употребления в качестве номинализатора являются непродуктивными и считаются лексикализованными именами, основанными на релятивизации. Однако, более ранние материалы содержат примеры суффикса *-je* в обеих функциях. В этих материалах номинализирующая функция встречается чаще, чем в современном языке, и примеры релятивизации имеют свойства номинализации. Можно предположить, что суффикс *-je* исходно служил для номинализации и только впоследствии стал показателем релятивизации.

1. INTRODUCTION

Kolyma Yukaghir is one of two languages forming, together with Tundra Yukaghir, a small unaffiliated language family in Northeast Siberia.[1] In terms of their basic typology, as Comrie (1981: 258) points out, the Yukaghir languages are close to the general type represented by the "Altaic" and Eastern Uralic languages: they exhibit agglutinating (partially fusional) and suffix-dominant morphology,

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head-final NP structure, and verb-final constituent order with dominant SOV in positioning of arguments. There is little written attestation of Yukaghir prior to the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, texts collected at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century by Waldemar Jochelson (1900; 1926) show notable differences from the data collected in and after the Soviet period with regard to phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. This facilitates to some extent the internal reconstruction of the diachronic background of Yukaghir.

This paper focuses on the suffix *-je*, which has the allomorphs *-j(e)*,[2] *-d'e*, and *-t'e*. This suffix has two functions: relativization and nominalization. In the present-day language, this suffix is widely used in the former function, that is, as a relativizer, while in the latter function it is non-productive. Examples of the relativizing function cited in linguistic literature have so far been regarded as nouns resulting from the lexicalization of the nominalized forms. However, Jochelson's data contain a number of examples of the suffix *-je* in both functions. This suggests an alternative view: *-je*-marked relative clauses may actually originate from a primary function of *-je*-marked clauses as nominalizations. Below, after an overview of the current uses of the suffix *-je*, two major differences between contemporary and earlier data will be illustrated, followed by a discussion concerning the general relationship of relativization and nominalization.

2. DATA FROM THE PRESENT-DAY LANGUAGE

As mentioned above, in present-day Kolyma Yukaghir the suffix *-je* normally expresses relativization. It is one of the suffixes used to form attributive forms (or "participles") of verbs, that is, to build relative clauses (Kreinovich 1979; Maslova 2003; Nagasaki 2014). There are, however, also a number of nouns derived from verbs by the same suffix. In previous literature on Yukaghir these have been regarded as examples of lexicalized attributive forms of verbs (Kreinovich 1982: 90–93; Maslova 2003: 137–138).

Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Kolyma Yukaghir allow the relativization of a variety of syntactic positions across the Accessibility Hierarchy as proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977). There appear to be few restrictions on the syntactic role of the

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2 The final vowel /e/ of the allomorph *-je* is often dropped when the suffix is used in a relative clause (in the relativizing function before a head noun).

head noun within the relative clause, though it may be noted that examples of the relativization of the object of comparison have not been attested so far. Examples (1) and (2) show relativization of intransitive and transitive subjects. Note that "adjectives" in Yukaghir are a subclass of intransitive verbs. Therefore, the "adjectival" intransitive verbs that modify nouns may also be analysed as forming relative clauses, as in (1a), (5), and (6). For ease of reference, the gloss "JE" will be used for the suffix *-je* and its variants throughout the paper.[3]

(1a) [*omo-t'e*]   *t'uge*
       be.good-JE   route

       'a/the good route'

(1b) [*kel-te-j*]   *ʃoromo*
       come-FUT-JE   person

       'a/the person who will come'

(1c) (Nagasaki 2015: 77)

       taŋ   [*el=l'en-d'e*]   *ʃoromo-pul*
       that   NEG=be.seen-JE   person-PL

       'those invisible people'

(2)   [*mit-kele*   *zyrjanka-ge*   *joq-to-je*]   *ʃoromo*
       1PL-ACC   TOPONYM-LOC   arrive-CAUS-JE   person

       'the person who brought us to Zyrjanka'

Examples (3), (4), and (5) show examples of objective, instrumental, and locative relative clauses, respectively.

(3)   [*mit-ket*   *min-d'e*]   *poŋdo*
       1PL-ABL   take-JE   money

       'the money taken from us'

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3 Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this paper are from the author's unpublished field notes and were obtained by direct elicitation. As for published sources, the texts in Nagasaki (2015), Nikolaeva (1989), and Jochelson (1900; 1926) were used. In the examples taken from Nagasaki (2015) and Nikolaeva (1989), the Cyrillic transcription has been transliterated into a Roman one. The glosses and English translations are the author's own.

(4) *kiʃe-k*   [*tet   loťil   ťine-je*]   *n'umuďii!*
     show-IMP.2   2SG   firewood chop-JE   axe

     'Show [me] the axe which you chopped wood with!'

(5) *mit   nug-i*   [*lebejdii   ninge-j*]   *mieste.*
     1PL   find-IND.TR.1PL   berry   be.many-JE   place

     'We found the place with a lot of berries.'

As is shown in the above examples, Kolyma Yukaghir relative clauses are basi-cally gapped: a relative clause does not contain an overt expression for the head noun referent and its function in the relative clause. However, a possessor rela-tive clause is always accompanied by the retention of the third-person possessive suffix on the possessee noun inside the relative clause, which cross-references the head noun (i.e. possessor) (6). Furthermore, when the third-person singular/plural pronouns, or also nouns with the third-person possessive suffix, appear as the subject in a relative clause, they optionally stand in the genitive case: *tudel* 3SG(NOM) vs. *tude* SG:GEN, *tittel* 3PL(NOM) vs. *titte* 3PL:GEN, and *-gi* POSS.3(NOM) vs. *-de* POSS.3:GEN. Other types of nominals do not have distinct genitive forms and always appear in the nominative (zero-marked) case in the subject position of a relative clause.

(6) [*majle-gi   ~   majle-de   ťitne-j*]   *pajpe*
     hair-POSS.3   ~   hair-POSS.3:GEN be.long-JE woman

     'a/the woman with long hair'

With regard to the marking of verbal categories, the verb in a relative clause can take not only derivational suffixes marking the category of valency/aspect (2), but also inflectional suffixes such as tense (1b) and the proclitic of negation (1c).

Lexical nominalizations

Lexicalized nouns containing the suffix *-je* involve mainly participant or argu-ment nominalizations (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993; Comrie & Thompson 2007). Patientive/theme nouns derived from intransitives are predominant among them (7b-1), although other types of participant/argument nominalization are also attested (7b-2, 7c).

(7a)   Agentive nouns

(7a-1)   From intransitive verbs

anted'aa-je [conjure-JE] 'wizard', *mido-t'e* [roam-JE] 'one who is roaming', *uke-t'e* [go.out-JE] 'plant, beam'

(7a-2)   From transitive verbs

kudet'ii-je [kill-JE] 'killer', *lejdii-je* [know-JE] 'wise man', *qaŋi-t'e* [pursue-JE] 'hunter'

(7b)   Patientive/theme nouns

(7b-1)   From intransitive verbs

emi-d'e [be.dark-JE] 'point, spot', *emi-t'e* [be.dark-JE] 'dark, dark place', *er-t'e* [be.bad-JE] 'bad luck, misfortune', *jeroo-d'e* [be.shallow-JE] 'ford', *jɵmgi-je* [whirl-JE] 'whirlpool', *porqo-je* [be.bent-JE] 'steep', *t'en-t'e* [be.funny-JE] 'cheer, beauty', *t'ie-d'e* [be.cold-JE] 'cold, winter', *t'oŋ-t'e* [be.tasty-JE] 'fat', *tɵnbe-je* [be.strong-JE] 'strong warrior, hero'

(7b-2)   From transitive verbs

men-d'e [inform-JE] 'news'

(7c)   Instrumental nouns

jeŋʒoo-d'e [sleep-JE] 'blanket', *egie-d'e* [lead-JE] 'rein, lead', *t'oʁo-je* [cut-JE] 'knife'

(7d)   Others

puge-d'e [be.hot-JE] 'sweat'

Some of the nominalized verbs contain a verbal derivational suffix, as in *t'irt'eget-t'e* [jump-CAUS-JE] 'gun,' *ʃoj-l-oo-d'e* [roast-E-RES-JE] 'roast (meat)', see also (9a). However, unlike in relative clauses, the future tense suffix and the negative proclitic do not occur. Basically, these cases can be treated as simple deverbal nouns, which behave like common nouns both morphologically and syntactically, as illustrated in (8):

(8a)   (Nikolaeva 1989/I: 94)

taat	*ejre-t*	*joulud'e-j*	*lige-je*	*pulut-pe-get,*
then	walk-CVB	ask-IND.INTR.3	be.aged-JE	old.man-PL-ABL

'Then (he) walked and asked the aged men,

anted'aa-je-pul-get,	*alme-pul-get,*	*lejdii-je-pul-get …*
conjure-JE-PL-ABL	shaman-PL-ABL	know-JE-PL-ABL

wizards, shamans, and wise men.'

(8b)   (Nikolaeva 1989/I: 44)

   mit-ek   *aŋsii-ŋile*   *n'an'ulben-pe* *kudet'ii-je-pe-gi.*
   1PL-FOC   search-PL:ME.3   devil-PL   kill-JE-PL-POSS.3

   'The killers of the devils are looking for us.'

However, in the database on contemporary Yukaghir (the author's field materials), there are two elicited examples of instrumental nouns formed from a verb phrase consisting of a verb and its object (9):

(9a)   *n'aat'e*   *juɵ-nu-je*
      face   see-IPFV-JE

      'mirror' (lit. 'something for seeing face')

(9b)   *joo-d*   *anʁii-je*
      head-ATTR   scrape-JE

      'comb' (lit. 'something for scraping head')

With regard to the marking of the objects in (9), it may be noted that (9a) appears without any suffix on the object noun, while in (9b) the object is accompanied by the nominal attributive suffix *-d/-n*. These two types of object marking are parallel to those observed in the marking of nominal modifiers in the N + N type of noun phrase, as shown in the contrast between (10a) and (10b).

(10a)   *meemee*   *t'uge*
      bear   track

      'track(s) of a/the bear; a/the bear's track(s)'

(10b)   *meemee-n*   *t'uge*
      bear-ATTR   track

      'a/the bear track(s)'

The nominal attributive *-d/-n* is available only for common nouns and the interrogative pronoun *leme* 'what'. It is optionally added when the modifying noun does not refer to a specific individual but, rather, denotes a generic kind, such as the kind of 'bears' in (10b), compare Maslova (2003: 117), see also the examples in (11a). The suffix *-d/-n* also denotes the "whole" in a whole-part relationship, as in the examples in (11b).

(11a)   *odu-n aӡuu* [Yukaghir-ATTR word] 'the Yukaghir language', *t'oʁoje-d abut* [knife-ATTR case] 'knife case', *jedu-n tibo* [thunder-ATTR rain] 'thunderstorm', *aat'e-n ønt'ie* [reindeer-ATTR male] 'male reindeer'

(11b)   *pie-d iit'e* [mountain-ATTR top] 'mountain top', *pie-d albe* [mountain-ATTR bottom] 'mountain foot', *mure-d arime* [shoe-ATTR sole] 'shoe sole', *mure-d igeje* [shoe-ATTR string] 'shoe string'

3. DATA FROM EARLIER MATERIALS

In Jochelson's data, collected at the end of nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the suffix *-je* is used for both relativization and nominalization. However, Jochelson's data reveal two differences as compared with the present-day language. First, in relative clauses the suffix *-je* can be accompanied by the nominal attributive suffix *-d/-n*. Second, the number and variety of nominalizations from verb phrases is much larger than today.

Relative clauses with nominal attributive marker

Following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the suffix *-je* in combination with the nominal attributive suffix *-d/-n* (12):[4]

(12a)   (Jochelson 1900: 181)

Хоіл	тýдін	омóчäд	õнмäгäлä	таді́гäн.
qoil	*tud-in*	[*omo-t'e*]*-d*	*ønme-gele*	*tadi-gen.*
god	3SG-DAT	be.good-JE-ATTR	mind-ACC	give-IMP.3

'May God give him a good mind!'

(12b)   (Jochelson 1926: 262)

Cā′yed-	ā′cek	ta′diñimeḷe.
[*t'aa-je*]*-d*	*aat'e-k*	*tadi-ŋi-mele.*
be.little-JE-ATTR	reindeer-FOC	give-PL-ME.3

'A few of the reindeer were given to them.'

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4 For the data taken from Jochelson (1900; 1926), both the original notation and a normalized Roman transcription are provided in the first and second lines of each example. The hyphens between two words in the original notation have been removed in the normalized version.

(12c) (Jochelson 1926: 313)

Ni´ñeyed-	o´mni	ca´xaĭibege
[*niŋe-je*]-*d*	*omni*	*ʃaqadʼibe-ge*
be.many-JE-ATTR	people	gathering.place-LOC

uḷe´ge-co´rxogo	la´xadeḷle ...
ulege-tʼorqo-ʁo	*lʼaqa-delle ...*
grass-field-LOC	reach-CVB.SEQ

'A lot of people, when they arrive at the gathering place, the Grass-Field, ...'

(12d) (Jochelson 1900: 150)

Нýмунä	н̇ýт̣нäjäд̣	ýнуӈ	хоӈídä	хóнут̣?
[*numune*	*nʼutne-je*]-*d*	*unuŋ*	*qoŋide*	*qon-u-t?*
formerly	stand-JE-ATTR	river	where	go-E-FUT:INTERR.3

'Where will the river that flew (here) before be able to go?'

(12e) (Jochelson 1900: 82)

Хóд̣омäц̣ä	мiãбäлä	мiãбäн̇ц̣äн
[*qodome-dʼe*	*miebe-le*	*miebe-nʼ-dʼe*]-*n*
what.kind.of-JE	custom-INS	custom-PROP-JE-ATTR

óмнiӈолäлӈi?
omnii ŋo-lʼel-ŋi?
people be-INFR-PL:IND.INTR.3

'What kind of customs do they have?' (lit. 'They are people having what kind of customs?')

It may be seen that the nominal attributive suffix -*d*/-*n* co-occurs with stative intransitive verbs, especially with "adjectival" verbs. This preference for "adjectival" verbs seems to be related to the functions of the nominal attributive suffix mentioned above, in that both nominal modifiers and "adjectival" verbs marked by -*d*/-*n* denote a timeless feature. However, the suffix -*d*/-*n* is optional for "adjectival" verbs. As may be seen from the examples in (13), verbs similar to those in the above examples can also appear without it.

(13a) (Jochelson 1900: 108)

Тіӈ   мархílпäгäлä   тамітäӈам,
tiŋ   *marqil'-pe-gele*   *tami-te-ŋam,*
this   girl-PL-ACC   dress.oneself-CAUS-PL:IND.TR.3

'They dressed the girls;

омóчä   н̇ä'рä   тамітäӈам.
[*omo-t'e*]   *n'er-e*   *tami-te-ŋam.*
be.good-JE   cloth-INS   dress.oneself-CAUS-PL:IND.TR.3

they dressed them in good clothes.'

(13b) (Jochelson 1900: 81)

Ai   чájä   шорóмо   лãӊі.
[*ai*   *t'a-je*]   *ʃoromo,*   *l'e-ŋi.*
also   be.little-JE   person   exist-PL:IND.INTR.3

'There are still a little more people.'

(13c) (Jochelson 1900: 91)

Нумóгäꞇ   нíӈäjä   шорóмо   укä'іӈі.
numo-get   [*niŋe-je*]   *ʃoromo*   *ukei-ŋi.*
house-ABL   be.many-JE   person   go.out-PL:IND.INTR.3

'A lot of people went out of the house.'

(13d) (Jochelson 1900: 76)

Jýоӈам   –   íӈäрун   н̇ýꞇн̇äjä   нýмох;
juo-ŋam   –   [*iŋerun*   *n'utn'e-je*]   *numo-x ...*
see-PL:IND.TR.3   apart   stand-JE   house-FOC

'They saw that it was a house that stood in a special manner.'

On the other hand, we cannot find any examples where the nominal-attributive suffix *-d/-n* would co-occur with action verbs. As can be seen in (14), action verbs always occur without *-d/-n*. Verbs marked for tense and negation are not accompanied by the suffix *-d/-n*, either (15).

(14a) (Jochelson 1900: 47)

... , шоро́мо—ті́тä   áӈ̀ӈ̀äjä   тобо́кох   läл.
... , [ʃoromo   tite   an'n'e-je]   toboko-q   l'e-l.
   person   like   speak-JE   dog-FOC   exist-AN

'There was a dog that spoke like a human being.'

(14b) (Jochelson 1900: 24)

Мäҭ   ку́дäдäjä   чуᴧ   шубо́ӈбäläл.
[met   kudede-je]   t'ul   ʃubonbe-l'el.
1SG   kill-JE   meat   be.fat-INFR:IND.INTR.3

'The meat (i.e. the reindeer) which I killed is fat.'

(15a) (Jochelson 1900: 000)

... , кудä'дäтäjäбон   áӈчі́к.
... , [kudede-te-je]=bon   aŋt'i-k.
   kill-FUT-JE=BN   search-IMP.2

'Look for something to eat!'

(15b) (Jochelson 1900: 10)

Кі́ттä   (кічі́ᴧдä)   ä'ljäнцä   шáᴧӈот   ку́дäҟ.
[kit-te   (kit'il-de)   el'=jen-d'e]   ʃal-ŋot   kude-k.
edge-POSS.3:GEN   (id.)   NEG=be.seen-JE   tree-TRANS   become-IMP.2

'Turn into a tree whose top is out of sight!'

Nominalizations from verb phrases

Nominalizations with *-je* are used much more frequently in Jochelson's data than in the present-day data. In addition to agentive, patientive/theme and instrumental nouns, there are also some examples of locative nouns. It is noteworthy that we can find relatively many examples of nouns formed from verb phrases, and that they contain not only instrumental nouns formed from object-verb phrases (16), similar in type to those in examples (9a–b), but also agentive nouns formed from object-verb phrases (17) and locative nouns formed from subject-verb phrases (18). Both the object and subject in a nominalized verb phrase appear either with or without the nominal attributive suffix *-d/-n*.

(16a) (Jochelson 1900: 166)

Iгӓјӓʌӓ,	а́чӓн	мӓінујӓгӓʌӓ	н̇ӑргӓ	ку́діӓн̇ам.
igeje-le,	*[aťe-n*	*mei-nu-je]-gele*	*n'er-ge*	*kudie-yam.*
string-INS	reindeer-ATTR	take-IPFV-JE-ACC	skin-LOC	put-PL:IND.TR.3

'(They) put strings and lassoes (lit. those for catching reindeer) on the skins.'

(16b) (Jochelson 1900: 117)

… , пугóц̣ӓ	пӓ'ліӓн̇оʌ	кӓ'ін̇ік.
… , [pugoďe	*peli-e]-yol*	*kei-yi-k.*
sweat	wipe-JE-ESS	give-PL-IMP.2

'… , give (it to me) to wipe sweat off (lit. as the one for wiping sweat off)!'

(17a) (Jochelson 1900: 226)

Tíнӓтан̇	ац̣у̃ʌ—	ã урӓштӓ	ну́мон̇ін ко́бӓц̣.
tinetay	*[aďuu-d*	*eure-ʃ-ťe]*	*numo-yin kobe-ť.*
aforementioned	word-ATTR	walk-CAUS-JE	house-DAT go.away-IND.INTR.3

'The matchmaker (lit. the one who carries the word) went home.'

(17b) (Jochelson 1900: 19)

Mã туʌ	тӓц̣	му́рӓ	кãіʌӓшчӓн̇оʌ	мін̇к̣.
met-ul	*[tet*	*mure*	*keiľe-ʃ-ťe]-yol*	*min-k.*
1SG-ACC	2SG	boots	get.dry-CAUS-JE-ESS	take-IMP.2

'Take me as the one who dries your boots!'

(18a) (Jochelson 1900: 70)

… , тóʌон	ні́н̇ӓјӓрӓ l	а́хаі, …
… , [tolo-n	*niye-je]-ge*	*ľaqa-i, …*
wild.reindeer-ATTR	be.many-je-LOC	arrive-IND.INTR.3

'… , (and he) arrived at a herd of wild reindeer (lit. a place with a lot of wild reindeer), …'

(18b) (Jochelson 1900: 5)

Hу́мӓ-	моʌ̦ҕодóҕо	а́н̇чím,
nume	*molҕo-do-ҕo*	*ayťi-m,*
house	inside-POSS.3-LOC	search-IND.TR.3

лóчіл-   пäдіjä-   joлā   áꜧчім.
[*lot'il*   *pedi-je*]   *jolaa*   *aŋt'i-m.*
fire   burn-JE   behind   search-IND.TR.3

'(He) looked (for it) in the center of the house, looked (for it) behind the fireplace' (lit. 'the place where the fire burns').

These nominalized verb phrases seem to follow an "ergative" pattern: the object can be expressed in nominalizations of transitive verb phrases and the subject in those of intransitive verb phrases (an observation of John Whitman, pers. comm.). In either case, only the theme argument is realized.

4. RELATIVIZATION VS. NOMINALIZATION

It was pointed out above that there are two major differences between the earlier and present-day data in the uses of the suffix *-je*. The first concerns the ability of the *-je*-marked relative clause to take the attributive suffix *-d/-n*. The second is the frequency of argument nominalizations, especially argument nominalizations from VPs, by *-je*. These differences are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Uses of the suffix *-je* in earlier and present-day data

	Earlier data	Present-day data
Relative clauses without *-d/-n*	Possible	Possible
Relative clauses with *-d/-n*	Possible	Impossible
Frequency of argument nominalization	More frequent	Less frequent

In view of these differences, it is plausible to assume that relative clauses marked by the suffix *-je* have, in fact, emerged from argument nominalizations used for noun modification. In other words, the direction of the relationship between the two is not from relative clause to nominalization, as has been assumed in previous studies of Kolyma Yukaghir, but from nominalization to relative clause. This is in agreement with the situation in many other languages in which relativization is not structurally distinct from nominalization (cf. e.g. Comrie & Thompson 2007: 378–379). What has happened in Kolyma Yukaghir is the following: the *-je*-marked nominalizations have gone out of use, and the *-je*-marked relative clauses have become incompatible with the nominal attributive *-d/-n*. These two processes appear to have taken place simultaneously.

   As for productive argument nominalizations, their equivalents are realized by placing the bound form *=bed/=ben* (< *=bod/=bon*) of the light noun *ped/pen* (<

pod/pon) 'world, nature, thing' after relative clauses.[5] This construction is found both in contemporary (19) and earlier data (20). It might have gradually replaced the *-je*-marked nominalization.

(19a) (Nikolaeva 1989(1): 94)

[*nume molʁo-de-ge   l'e-j*]=*ben*
house inside-POSS:3-LOC   exist-JE=BN

'the people who were in the house'

(19b) (Nagasaki 2015: 103)

... , [*nugen-ge   morie-nu-j*]=*ben-gele,   t'ie-d'e-ge* ... ,
    hand-LOC put-IPFV-JE=BN-ACC   be.cold-LOC

'something that is worn in hand in winter'

(20a) (Jochelson 1900: 8)

Мäт   ýо   нóiдä   омóчäбодäк   кä'чiläлмäлä.
met   uo   [noi-de   omo-t'e]=*bod-ek   ket'i-l'el-mele.*
1SG   child   leg-POSS.3:GEN   be.good-JE=BN-FOC bring-INFR-ME.3

'My child brought one with good legs.'

(20b) (Jochelson 1900: 21)

... , yóрпä-   лä'ктäjäбодäк   áнчíjiмä, ...
... , [*uor-pe   lek-te-je*]=*bod-ek   aŋt'i-ji-me,* ...
    child-PL   eat-FUT-JE=BN-FOC   look.for-go-ME.1SG

'I'm going to look for something that my children will eat.'

It is still unclear whether clausal features such as the ability to take tense, negation and case-marked nominal arguments, were gained after the grammaticalization of nominalizations by *-je* as relative clauses, or nominalization by *-je* itself was a process extending over both the phrase and clause levels in times past. Example (12e) might be a piece of indirect evidence for the latter assumption, since the relative clause in this example takes *-d/-n*, a nominal feature, and at the same time it contains an instrumental argument, a clausal feature. However, neither of

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5 The bound form =*bed/*=*ben* (< =*bod/*=*bon*) of the light noun *ped/pen* (< *pod/pon*) 'world, nature, thing' has been regarded as a "semi-suffix" forming "participles" (Kreinovich 1979: 367), or as a "nominalizer" (Maslova 2003: 148). However, in most cases when it occurs after a relative clause it may more properly be regarded as an actual head noun that refers to a participant in the event described by the relative clause.

the two assumptions is backed by any direct evidence, and further investigation from diachronic and typological perspectives will be needed.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, the two functions, relativization and nominalization, of the suffix *-je* in Kolyma Yukaghir have been discussed in the light of data from both the present-day language and earlier materials. The possibility of co-occurrence with the nominal attributive suffix and the productive uses of argument nominalization in the earlier period suggest that the *-je*-marked relative clauses in this language originally involved nominalization.

This conclusion is supported by Kazama's (2003: 325) discussion, which shows that the same verbal forms appear in both relative clauses and nominalizations in most Tungusic and Mongolic languages. A similar situation is valid for Japanese, as well as for Old and Middle Korean (Ito 2012). In terms of areal typology, Kolyma Yukaghir once had a system of nominalization-relativization similar to these other languages of Northeast Asia. The loss of this feature in Yukaghir seems to have taken place in a not too distant past.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person		IND	indicative
2	second person		INFR	inferential
3	third person		INS	instrumental
ABL	ablative		INTERR	interrogative
ACC	accusative		INTR	intransitive
AN	action nominal		IPFV	imperfective
ATTR	attributive		LOC	locative
BN	bound noun		ME	passive attributive
CAUS	causative		NEG	negative
COND	conditional		NOM	nominative
CVB	converb		PL	plural
DAT	dative		POSS	possessor
E	epenthesis		PROP	proprietive
ESS	essive		RES	resultative
FOC	focus		SEQ	sequential
FUT	future		SG	singular
GEN	genitive		TR	transitive
IMP	imperative			

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