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THE PLURAL FORMATION OF NOUNS IN YUKAGHIR.  
 IN SEARCH OF A HISTORICAL EXPLANATION FOR A SYNCHRONIC IRREGULARITY

(2) Nikolaeva & Xelims kij (1997: 155)

TY	KY	gloss
<i>mōrqōn'</i>	<i>irkēj</i>	'one'
<i>kijōn'</i>	<i>ataqlōj</i>	'two'
<i>imbal'd'an'</i>	<i>in'han'bōj</i>	'five'
<i>lawjəŋ</i>	<i>ōdī</i>	'water'
<i>al'həŋ</i>	<i>anil</i>	'fish'
<i>sal'hərīŋ</i>	<i>todī</i>	'tooth'
<i>t'ijit'əl</i>	<i>emil</i>	'night'

(3) Krejnovič (1958: 9, 1968: 435-6), Nikolaeva & Xelims kij (1997: 156-7), Maslova (2003a: 29-30; 2003b: 3), Nikolaeva (2006: 29-31)

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(4) FUT /-tə-/ = [-te-], [-ta-]  
 PL /-pə-/ = [-pe-], [-pa-]

(5)

	KY				TY			
labials	p	b	m		p	b	m	
dentals	t	d	n		t	d	n	
			n'		t'	d'	n'	
velars	k	g	ŋ		k	g	ŋ	
uvulars	q	h			q	h		
resonants	r	l	w	j	r	l	w	j
		l'				l'		
sibilants	š	ž			s			
affricates	č	d'						

(6)

KY	TY	
<i>murge</i>	<i>murge</i>	'forest'
<i>čilge</i>	<i>t'ilge</i>	'branch'
<i>kind'e</i>	<i>kind'e</i>	'moon'
	but	
<i>kučē</i>	<i>kit'e</i>	'mosquito'
<i>numø</i>	<i>nime</i>	'tent', 'dwelling'
<i>mided'e</i>	<i>murid'e</i>	'nail'

(1) Kolyma (= KY) ca. 50 speakers in 1987  
 Tundra (= TY) ca. 150 speakers in 1987

(7) inflection of nouns in the dialects of Yukaghir  
 (KY *āčə*, TY *ilə* 'domestic reindeer')

	KY	TY
NOM	<i>āčə</i>	<i>ilə</i>
COM	<i>āčə-n'e</i>	<i>ilə-n'e</i>
DAT	<i>āčə-ŋin</i>	<i>ilə-ŋin'</i>
COM POSS	<i>āčə-de-n'e</i>	<i>ilə-de-n'e</i>
DAT POSS	<i>āčə-de-ŋin</i>	<i>ilə-de-ŋin'</i>

(8) stem-Cə-C-Cə- or stem-C-Cə-C-  
 -sə- CAUS, -tə- FUT, -mə- TRANS

TY	<i>lohə-</i> 'boil'	⇒	<i>lohə-s-</i> CAUS <i>lohə-s-tə-</i> CAUS + FUT <i>lohə-s-tə-m-</i> CAUS + FUT + TRANS
TY	<i>sahu-</i> 'disappear'	⇒	<i>sahu-sə-</i> CAUS <i>sahu-sə-t-</i> CAUS + FUT <i>sahu-sə-t-mə-</i> CAUS + FUT + TRANS.

(9) inflection of the possessive plural in the dialects of Yukaghir  
 (KY *n'ēr* 'garment' and *šoromə* 'person')

NOM	<i>n'ēr-pə-gi-Ø</i>	<i>šoromə-p-ki-Ø</i>
LOC	<i>n'ēr-pə-de-ge</i>	<i>šoromə-p-te-ge</i>
ABL	<i>n'ēr-pə-de-get</i>	<i>šoromə-p-te-get</i>
COM	<i>n'ēr-pə-de-n'e</i>	<i>šoromə-p-te-n'e</i> .

(TY *nime* 'dwelling' and *t'amd'ə* 'oar')

NOM	<i>nime-pə-gi-Ø</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-p-ki-Ø</i>
ACC	<i>nime-pə-da-hane</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-p-ta-hane</i>
PROL	<i>nime-pə-da-han</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-p-ta-han</i>
LOC	<i>nime-pə-de-ha</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-p-te-ha</i>

(10) inflection of the non-possessive plural in the dialects of Yukaghir

KY	NOM	<i>n'ēr-pə-Ø</i>	<i>šoromə-pul-Ø</i>
	LOC	<i>n'ēr-pə-ge</i>	<i>šoromə-pul-ge</i>
	ABL	<i>n'ēr-pə-get</i>	<i>šoromə-pul-get</i>
	COM	<i>n'ēr-pə-n'e</i>	<i>šoromə-pul-n'e</i>

TY	NOM	<i>nime-pə-Ø</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-pul-Ø</i>
	ACC	<i>nime-pə-hane</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-pul-hane</i>
	PROL	<i>nime-pə-han</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-pul-han</i>
	LOC	<i>nime-pə-ha</i>	<i>t'amd'ə-pul-ha</i>

(11) TY POSS ACC *joqodilə-pul-da-hane* beside ACC *joqodilə-pul-hane* of *joqodilə* 'horse'  
 model: POSS ACC *nime-pə-da-hane* beside ACC *nime-pə-hane* of *nime* 'dwelling'

KY POSS DAT *āčə-pul-de-ŋin* beside DAT *āčə-pul-ŋin* zu *āčə* 'reindeer' (Jochelson 1905: 383)

(12) KY, TY *-pul-* = *-p(ə)-* + *-ul-*?

(13) KY ABL *šoromə-p-ul-get* or TY PROL *t'amd'ə-p-ul-han*  
 POSS KY *-de-*, TY *-de-*, *-da-*  
 RES PART KY, TY *-ō(l)-*  
 exception: multiplicative aktionsart in KY *-uj-*, TY *-ūji-*

(14) KY *leŋ-də-* 'eat' > DESID *leŋ-d-ōl'* 'be hungry'  
*ør-n'ə-* 'shout' > INGR *ør-n'-ē-* 'begin to shout'

(15) underlying structure of the non-possessive PL NOM in *-pul*

KY *šoromə-p-ul-Ø* 'persons' /*šoromə-p-lə-Ø*/  
 TY *t'amd'ə-p-ul-Ø* 'oars' /*t'amd'ə-p-lə-Ø*/

(16) KY *šorilə-* 'paint' > /*šorilə-* + *-šə-* + *-mə*/ > 3SG. in *-Ø* *šorilə-š-um*  
 CAUS + TRANS  
 /*šorilə-* + *-šə-* + *-tə*/ > 3SG. in *-Ø* *šorilə-š-ut*  
 CAUS + FUT

(17) KY NOM COM  
 SG *āčə* ~ *āčə-n'e*  
 PL *āčə-pul* ~ *āčə-pul-n'e*

(18) Conclusion: KY, TY *-pul* < *-pə-* + *-lə-*

(19) information structure in the NOM of the Yukaghir personal pronouns

NEUTRAL	KY, TY 1SG <i>met</i> 'I', 1PL <i>mit</i> 'we'	subject
FOCUS	KY, TY 1SG <i>met-ek</i> 'me', 1PL <i>mit-ek</i> 'us'	object of a transitive verb
TOPIC	KY, TY 1SG <i>met-ul</i> 'me', 1PL <i>mit-ul</i> 'us'	object of an intransitive verb

(20) 1SG TOPIC *met-ul* = /*met-lə*/ cf. 3SG NEUTRAL *tudə* ~ TOPIC *tudə-l*  
 1PL TOPIC *mit-ul* = /*mit-lə*/ 3PL NEUTRAL *tittə* ~ TOPIC *tittə-l*

(21) inflectional behaviour of nouns with NOM SG in *-l* in KY  
 (cf. Krejnovič 1958: 3, 1982: 85-6, Maslova 2003a: 78)

KY	NOM SG	NOM PL	GLOSS
	<i>odul</i>	<i>odu-pə</i>	'Yukaghir'
	<i>qojl</i>	<i>qoj-pə</i>	'god'
	<i>šāl</i>	<i>šā-pə</i>	'tree'
	NON-POSS	POSS	GLOSS
	<i>anil</i>	<i>ani-gi</i>	'fisch'
	<i>laqil</i>	<i>laqi-gi</i>	'tail'
	<i>čül</i>	<i>čü-gi</i>	'meat'

(22) cf. TY (data from Kurilov's 2001 diacnionary)

<i>t'ül</i> ~ POSS ABL <i>t'ü-da-hat</i>	'meat', 'body'
<i>loqil</i> ~ POSS PROL <i>loqi-da-han</i>	'tail'
<i>sāl</i> ~ PRED PL <i>sā-pə-leŋ</i>	'tree'

(23) compounds (Krejnovič 1982: 85-6)

KY *šā-n-har* 'tree-bark' (*šāl* 'tree' and *qar* 'skin'),  
*lep-u-n-čugə* 'vascular system' (*lepul* 'blood' and *čugə* 'way')  
*mahi-d-albə* 'winter-coat' (*mahil* 'coat' and *albə* 'bottom');

TY *sā-d-oŋoj* 'casket' (*sāl* 'tree', 'wood' and *oŋoj* 'sack'),  
*qoj-d-ile* 'best mail reindeer' (*qojl* 'god' and *ile* 'reindeer')  
*t'oh-d-amun* 'shin-bone' (*t'ohul* 'marrow' and *amun* 'bone').

(24) resultative verbal nouns with NOM POSS in *-gi* (Maslova 2003a: 78):

KY	<i>ūj̄-</i> 'work'	<i>ūj-gi</i> 'his working'	<i>ūj-l-gi</i> 'his job'
	<i>jan-nə-</i> 'send'	<i>jan-n-ə-gi</i> 'what he has sent'	<i>jan-n-əl-gi</i> 'his request'

(25) hypothetical original inflection of nouns in Yukaghir  
 (KY *āčə*, TY *ilə* 'domestic reindeer')

		SG		PL	
		KY	TY	KY	TY
NOM NEUTR		<i>āčə-gi</i>	<i>ilə-gi</i>	<i>āčə-p-ki</i>	<i>ilə-p-ki</i>
NOM TOPIC		<i>āčə-l-gi</i>	<i>ilə-l-gi</i>	* <i>āčə-p-lə-gi</i>	* <i>ilə-p-lə-gi</i>
COM		<i>āčə-de-n'e</i>	<i>ilə-de-n'e</i>	<i>āčə-p-te-n'e</i>	<i>ilə-p-te-n'e</i>
DAT		<i>āčə-de-ŋin</i>	<i>ilə-de-ŋin'</i>	<i>āčə-p-te-ŋin</i>	<i>ilə-p-te-ŋin'</i>
		NON-POSS		PL	
		KY	TY	KY	TY
NOM NEUTR		<i>āčə-Ø</i>	<i>ilə-Ø</i>	* <i>āčə-Ø-p</i>	* <i>ilə-Ø-p</i>
NOM TOPIC		* <i>āčə-l</i>	* <i>ilə-l</i>	<i>āčə-p-ul</i>	<i>ilə-p-ul</i>
COM		<i>āčə-n'e</i>	<i>ilə-n'e</i>	* <i>āčə-p-n'e</i>	* <i>ilə-p-n'e</i>
DAT		<i>āčə-ŋin</i>	<i>ilə-ŋin'</i>	* <i>āčə-p-ŋin</i>	* <i>ilə-p-ŋin'</i>

(26) TY *ū-* 'go', 'walk'

		S-TOPIC		S-FOCUS
SG	AORIST	FUTURE	AORIST	FUTURE
1.	<i>ū-jə-ŋ</i>	<i>ū-tə-jə-ŋ</i>	<i>ū-l</i>	<i>ū-tə-l</i>
2.	<i>ū-jə-k</i>	<i>ū-tə-jə-k</i>	<i>ū-l</i>	<i>ū-tə-l</i>
3.	<i>ū-j-Ø</i>	<i>ū-tə-j-Ø</i>	<i>ū-l</i>	<i>ū-tə-l</i>
PL				
1.	<i>ū-jə-l'i</i>	<i>ū-tə-j-l'i</i>	<i>ū-l</i>	<i>ū-tə-l</i>
2.	<i>ū-jə-mut</i>	<i>ū-tə-j-mut</i>	<i>ū-l</i>	<i>ū-tə-l</i>
3.	<i>ū-ŋi-Ø</i>	<i>ū-ŋu-tə-j-Ø</i>	<i>ū-ŋu-l</i>	<i>ū-ŋu-tə-l</i>

KY *šohē-* 'go', 'walk'

		S-TOPIC		S-FOCUS
SG	AORIST	FUTURE	AORIST	FUTURE
1.	<i>šohē-jə-Ø</i>	<i>šohē-tə-jə-Ø</i>	<i>šohē-l</i>	<i>šohē-tə-l</i>
2.	<i>šohē-jə-k</i>	<i>šohē-tə-jə-k</i>	<i>šohē-l</i>	<i>šohē-tə-l</i>
3.	<i>šohē-j-Ø</i>	<i>šohē-tə-j-Ø</i>	<i>šohē-l</i>	<i>šohē-tə-l</i>
PL				
1.	<i>šohē-jə-l'i</i>	<i>šohē-tə-j-l'i</i>	<i>šohē-l</i>	<i>šohē-tə-l</i>
2.	<i>šohē-jə-met</i>	<i>šohē-tə-j-met</i>	<i>šohē-l</i>	<i>šohē-tə-l</i>
3.	<i>šohē-ŋi-Ø</i>	<i>šohē-ŋi-tə-j-Ø</i>	<i>šohē-ŋi-l</i>	<i>šohē-ŋi-tə-l</i>

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