SUBJECT HIERARCHY AND REFERENCE TRACKING
IN ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN SIBERIAN TURKIC

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Siberian Turkic adverbial clauses are normally headed by an infinite verb form, e.g. gerunds, participles in spatial case forms or participles with postpositions governing a certain case form of these participles. Consequently, complex sentences containing such adverbial clauses are of the synthetic type [1].

The majority of these infinite forms are variative-subject ones, i.e. their subject can either coincide with the subject of the matrix clause (1) or differ from it (2). However, a group of same-subject converbs can also be distinguished, the converb -A being a most typical representative of this group. Such converbs serve as reference-tracking markers (3).

There also exist a third group of converbs which are primarily same-subject ones, but are capable of building different-subject complex sentences of specific types [2]: In such constructions, 1) the grammatical subject of the dependent clause denotes an alienable or inalienable part of the subject of the matrix clause; or it can denote one person belonging to a group which is the subject of the matrix clause; or both grammatical subjects denote parts of the same semantic subject, i.e. they are coreferential in a way (4); 2) they both (or the subject of the dependent clause only) do not denote human beings, but natural phenomena (5). Thus, only individual human subjects seem to be treated as “really” different ones in these languages. Similar conditions allow mono-subject converbs to form quasi different subject constructions also in other languages of Siberia.

In Shor, reflexive adverbial forms [3] are distinguished consisting of a participle of a lexical verb and a reflexive or demonstrative pronoun with a possessive affix in the instrumental case form. It can be a structural copy of reflexive converbs known in Mongol, a contact language for Siberian Turkic. Such formations build same-subject constructions and serve as reference tracking markers (6).

Examples

**Khakas**


Eat:GER take:AUX-PF.PART-LOC outside go-PF.PART-1PL

‘After we have eaten, we went outside.’

(2) Azirm-ip al-γan-da, uuča pis-ti taxxar apar-γan.

Eat:GER take:AUX-PF.PART-LOC grandmother we-ACC outside bring-PF

‘After we have eaten, grandmother took us outside.’

**Altay**

(3) Alp čaγsi-nuγ aqs-t süd-ü at üştinde

Warrior good-GEN mouth-POSS3 milk-POSS3 horse POST

‘Best warriors get grown up riding a horse (lit.: dry the milk of their mouth riding a horse).’
Shor

(4) \(Aq\-s\-\text{ip} \-n\-\text{ij} \quad qan\-\text{t} \quad \text{ay\-r} \quad \text{pol}\-\text{ip},\)
mouth-POSS3-GEN blood-POSS3 river become-GER
\(k\-\text{ök}s\-\text{i} \-\text{ni} \-\text{ij} \quad qan\-\text{t} \quad k\-\text{öl} \quad \text{pol}\-\text{ça}.,\)
chest-POSS3-GEN blood-POSS3 lake become-PRS
‘The blood from the mouth turned into a river, the blood from the breast turned into a lake.’

(5) \(Qara\-\text{s} \-\text{qi} \quad \text{pol}\-\text{ip}, \quad \text{iir} \quad \text{tüz\-i} \-\text{übüs}-\text{ken.}\)
darkness be-GER evening fall- PERF-PF
‘The evening came and it got dark.’

(6) \(O\-\text{l} \quad \text{par}\-\text{γan} \quad o\-\text{zi}\-\text{ba/poz\-i} \-\text{ba}, \quad \text{kel}\-\text{be\-d\-i}.\)
he go-PF.PART DEM3-POSS3-INST/self-POSS3-INSTR come-NEG-PST-3
‘He went away and did not come back.’

Abbreviations: ACC = accusative, INST = instrumental, AUX = auxiliary (element); LOC = locative, GER = gerund, NEG = negation, PART = participle, PL = plural, DEM = demonstrative, POSS = possessive, POST = postposition, PERF = perfective (Aktionsart), PF = perfect, PST = past, GEN = genitive, PRS = present, IMPF = imperfect, SG = singular.

REFERENCES

