Clause Linkage In Ket

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Chapter 6. Adverbial relations

The aim of this chapter is to describe the coding of adverbial relations in the Ket language. Unlike the types of relations discussed in the two previous chapters which are predominantly asyndetic, adverbial relations in Ket can be coded by a rather wide range of overtly marked strategies.

The chapter is organized in the following way. In section 6.1, we provide an outline of the general typology of adverbial relations. Section 6.2 describes morphosyntactic properties of adverbial subordinators in Ket. In Section 6.3, we survey various semantic types of adverbial relations in the language. Section 6.5 provides a summary and conclusions to the chapter.

6.1 Typology of adverbial relations

Similar to complement and relative relations, the traditional definition of adverbial relations is heavily based on the embedding criterion (see Chapter 3). This criterion assumes that an adverbial clause is an embedded clause functioning as an adverb to its main clause; compare the following examples.

(6.1) Russian

   On priedet <zavtra>
   'He will come tomorrow.'

(6.2) Russian

   On priedet, <kogda nastupit utro>
   'He will come, when the morning starts.'

Both *<zavtra>* and *<kogda nastupit utro>* in the examples, as well as their English counterparts, function as time adverbials to the verb *priexat'* 'come'. The embedded status of the adverbial clause in (6.2) is overtly marked by the presence of the adverbial connective *kogda* 'when'. As with the other types of relations, the traditional approach to adverbial clauses runs into problems when applied to cross-linguistic data, since in many languages, for example, Creole languages or some Australian languages, adverbial meanings can be conveyed by the simple juxtaposition of non-embedded clauses, i.e. asyndetically (Cristofaro 2003: 155). Even in English, two

juxtaposed clauses can convey an adverbial meaning, provided that they have a unified intonation contour (cf. Lehmann 2013). Compare, for example, the sentences in (6.3) and (6.4) below.

(6.3) *I couldn't come earlier, because the train was late*.
(6.4) *I couldn't come earlier, the train was late*.

The adverbial clause in (6.3) conveys causal meaning explicitly marked by the presence of the connective *because*. The same meaning can be inferred from (6.4), although only in a proper context and with a proper intonation. A similar situation can be found in the Ket language. Therefore in order to account for all the types of syntactic structures conveying adverbial meanings, we will follow the functional definition according to which adverbial relations are the relations that link two states of affairs with one of them (the dependent one) corresponding to the circumstances under which the other one (the main one) takes place (Cristofaro 2003: 155).

Adverbial relations can be divided into several types based on their semantics. In what follows we will consider the following semantic types based on Cristofaro (2003), Givón (1990: 827–37), and Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007):

    (1) temporal relations;
    (2) conditional relations;
    (3) purpose relations;
    (4) reason relations;
    (5) locative relations;
    (6) manner relations.

Temporal adverbial relations involve two states of affairs one of which (the dependent one) is used as a temporal reference to the other (the main one). This semantic type of adverbial relations can be further subdivided into posteriority (6.5), anteriority (6.6) and overlap (6.7) relations (cf. Cristofaro 2003: 156).

(6.5) Russian

  Ja uvižu ego <do togo, kak on uedet>
  'I will see him, before he leaves.'

(6.6) Russian

Ja pogovoril s nim <posle togo, kak on vernulsja>

'I talked to him, after he returned.'

(6.7) Russian

Ja vstretil ego, <kogda on prišël>

'I met him, when he came.'

In the posteriority relations, the dependent state of affairs is located in time after the one in the main clause, and is unrealized when the main state of affairs takes place, as exemplified in (6.5). The anteriority relations in (6.6) represent the opposite case: the state of affairs in the dependent clause takes place before the main one, and is realized and completed at the time the main one takes place. In the overlap relations both the dependent state of affairs and the main one are overlapping in their realization. The exact extent of the overlapping can vary. Following Givón (2001), we can distinguish the following more fine-grained types of overlapping: simultaneity (6.8), point coincidence (6.9), terminal boundary (6.10), initial boundary (6.11), and intermediacy (6.12).

(6.8) Russian

<Poka ja rabotal>, ona spala

'While I was working, she was sleeping.'

(6.9) Russian

Ja uvidel eë, <kogda ona šla vniz po ulice>

'I saw her, as she was walking down the street.'

(6.10) Russian

Ja rabotal, <poka ona ne prišla>

'I was working, until she came.'

(6.11) Russian

Ja perestal rabotat' <s tex por, kak ona prišla>

'I stopped working, since when she came.'

(6.12) *<Between her starting the project and her quitting in a huff>, nobody slept*

(Givón 2001: 330)

It is also important to mention that in some languages temporal relations can be expressed by a construction identical to a relative clause in a given language. In this case, the head of such a relative clause is a noun with temporal semantics like 'time', 'day', etc. Consider example (6.13) from Hausa, a Chadic language, where a relative clause with the noun *locaci* 'time' functions as a temporal adverbial clause. A similar construction can be found in Ket as well (see Section 6.2.1.1.12).

(6.13) Hausa

Yaran sun ga sarki <locacin da suka shiga birni>

yara-n	sun	ga	sarki	locaci-n	da	suka	shiga	birni
kids-the	they.COMPL	see	king	time-the	REL	they.REL.COMPL	enter	city

'The kids saw the king, when they visited the city.'

(Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 246)

In condition relations the dependent state of affairs sets an antecedent situation which is the condition for a consequent situation represented by the main state of affairs. Conditional relations can be subdivided into two basic semantic types: reality conditionals and unreality conditionals (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 255). Reality conditionals refer to 'real' antecedent situations that can occur in the present or in the past. The examples below illustrate this type of conditionals.

(6.14) Russian

<Esli idёt sneg>, to na ulice xolodno
'If it snows, then it is cold outside.'

(6.15) Russian

<Esli on prixodil včera>, to on nas videl
'If he came here yesterday, then he saw us.'

In (6.14), we can see a present reality conditional, while in (6.15), the reality conditional is in the past.

Unreality conditionals refer to 'unreal' situations. Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 255) define two types of unreal situations: imaginative, i.e. those in which one can imagine what might be (6.16a) or might have been (6.16b) and predictive (6.17), i.e. those in which one can predict what will be.

(6.16a) Russian

> *<Esli by ja uvidel ego>, ubil by*
> 'If I saw him, I would kill him.'

(6.16b) Russian

> *<Esli by ty prišël včera>, ty by ego uvidel*
> 'If you had come yesterday, you would have seen him.'

(6.17) Russian

> *<Esli on pridët>, my budem očen' rady*
> 'If he comes, we will be very happy.'

The two imaginative conditional subtypes are also traditionally called hypothetical (6.16a) and counterfactual (6.16b). It should be mentioned that Givón (1990: 829) subsumes the predictive type of unreality conditionals illustrated in (6.17) under the general definition of reality conditionals.

It should also be noted that in many languages, there is no formal distinction between reality conditionals and temporal overlap relations, as illustrated by the example from Vai, a Mande language of Liberia in (6.18).

(6.18) Vai

> *À à ná 'éè íì à fé'ɛ́'à*
>
> | à | à | ná | 'éè | í-ì | à | fé'ɛ́-'à |
> |----|------|------|------|---------|-----|---------|
> | he | COND | come | COND | you-FUT | him | see-FUT |
>
> 'If he comes, you will see him.' or 'When he comes, you will see him.'

> (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 257)

This neutralization can be accounted for by the fact that the semantics of the two are quite similar (Cristofaro 2003: 161).

In purpose relations, the main state of affairs is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of the dependent one (Cristofaro 2003: 157). Typical cases of purpose relations are represented by motion predicates, as in (6.19), although other predicates as in (6.20) are possible as well.

(6.19) Russian

    Ja pošël v universitet, <čtoby učit'sja>

    'I went to the university in order to study.'

(6.20) Russian

    Ja sdelal seti, <čtoby rybačit'>

    'I made a net, in order to fish.'

The semantics of purpose relations implies that the instigator of the action in the main clause has the intention that the situation in the dependent clause should come about. In this respect, purpose relations are quite similar to the complement relations established by desiderative predicates (Cristofaro 2003: 157). Therefore, in many languages these kinds of relations are often coded by the same morphological means. For example, in Guugu Yimidhirr, an Australian language, the purposive mood marker can be used both for purpose relations (6.21) and desideratives (6.22).

(6.21) Guugu Yimidhirr

    Nyulu gabiirr gadaalmugu <mayi baawanhu>

nyulu	gabiirr	gada-almugu	mayi	baawa-nhu
3SG.NOM	girl.ABS	come-PAST.NEG	food.ABS	cook-PURPV

    'The girl didn't come to cook the food.'

                             (Haviland 1979: 135, cited from Cristofaro 2003: 158)

(6.22) Guugu Yimidhirr

    Ngayu wawudhirr <mayi budanhu>

ngayu	wawu-dhirr	mayi	buda-nhu
1SG.NOM	want-COM.ABS	food.ABS	eat-PURPV

    'I want to eat food.' (Haviland 1979: 135, cited from Cristofaro 2003: 158)

Reason relations are the relations in which the dependent state of affairs represents the reason for the main one to take place. Example (6.23) illustrates this type of adverbial relations.

(6.23) Russian

On kupil gamburger, <potomu čto xotel est'>

'He bought a hamburger, because he wanted to eat.'

The semantics of reason relations may also partially coincide with that of other adverbial relations like purpose, temporal overlap and anteriority, which is why they often share the same morphology in many languages (Cristofaro 2003). Consider, for example, the expression of the reason relation (6.24) and the purpose relation (6.25) in Ngizim, a Chadic language.

(6.24) Ngizim

Ata abən <gàadà aci nga>

ata	abən	gàadà	aci	nga
eat.PRF	food	SBRD	he	well

'He ate because he was well.' (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 250)

(6.25) Ngizim

Vəru <gàadà dà ši səma>

vəru	gàadà	dà	ši	səma
go.out.PRF	SBRD	SJNCT	drink	beer

'He went out to drink beer.' (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 250)

As we can see, the subordinating marker *gàadà* can be used in both types of relations.

In locative relations, the dependent state of affairs provides a locative reference to where the main state of affairs takes place, as in (6.26).

(6.26) Russian

My stojali, <gde ne bylo snega>

'We were standing where there was no snow.'

Locative adverbial relations can also be coded by a relative clause in a similar way as temporal relations, the only difference being the use of a head noun with locative semantics like 'place'. The Turkish sentence in (6.27) illustrates this case.

(6.27) Turkish

Sen <Erolun oturduğu yere> otur

sen	Erol-un	otur-duğ-u	yer-e	otur
2SG	E.-GEN	sit-OBJ-POSS	place-DAT	sit

'You sit where Erol was sitting.'

The last type of adverbial relations to be considered here is manner relations. In manner relations the dependent state of affairs describes the manner in which the main state of affairs is performed, as exemplified in (6.28) below.

(6.28) Russian

Ja sdelal vsë, <kak mne skazali>

'I did everything as I was told.'

As with temporal and locative relations, manner relations can have the shape of relative clauses in some languages (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007: 249). The head noun in this case often has the meaning of 'way' or 'manner', as in (6.29).

(6.29) *He acts <the way I told him to>*.

The semantics of adverbial relations that we described above can play an important part in the choice of a particular morphosyntactic means to code a certain adverbial relation (cf. Cristofaro 2003). In the first place, this concerns the way the two clauses are connected together. It can be done either syndetically or asyndetically. The latter implies that there is no overt marking between two clauses apart from the intonation. This case was illustrated by example (6.4) above. The former involves the use of a special element connecting the two clauses in adverbial relations. This element can be a bound or a free morpheme. Free morphemes that can be used to connect clauses in subordinate relations are traditionally referred to as 'conjunctions'. Another term used in the literature is 'adverbial connectives'[84] (cf. Kortmann 1997). In what follows, we

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[84] The term 'connective' is often used as the umbrella term referring to all morphemes, free and bound, that are used to connect coordinate or subordinate clauses (cf. Givón 2001).

will refer to both bound and free morphemes that are used to connect clauses in adverbial relations in Ket as 'subordinators' (as opposed to the term 'coordinators' used in Chapter 4).

There are several morphosyntactic parameters that can characterize a subordinator. First of all, there is morphological complexity. Based on this criterion, Kortmann (1997: 78) establishes the following six classes of subordinators for the European languages.

(1) single monosyllabic subordinators (English *as*, *since*)

(2) single polysyllabic subordinators (English *before*, *after*)

(3) single word subordinators consisting of more than one morpheme
   (English *whereas*)

(4) phrasal subordinators (English *as soon as*)

(5) discontinuous subordinators (English *the…the*)

(6) subordinators forming patterns (the English *wh-ever* series)

A slightly different classification that combines morphological complexity and bondedness is given in Lehmann (2013):

(1) phrasal subordinator

(2) one-word subordinator

   (i) complex subordinator

      (a) compound subordinator

      (b) derived subordinator

   (ii) simple subordinator

      (a) subordinator out of a paradigm

      (b) universal subordinator

(3) bound subordinator

   (i) affixal subordinator

   (ii) other

Another important criterion in the classification of subordinators is the linear order in which they occur with the connected clauses. In the majority of languages

subordinators tend to occur either at the clause-initial margin or at the clause-final margin, as illustrated in (6.30).

(6.30) Japanese

<Andy ga kuru maeni> Jenna ga kuru

Andy	ga	kuru	mae-ni	Jenna	ga	kuru
A.	NOM	come	front-LOC	J.	NOM	come

'Jenna comes before Andy comes.'

As we can see, the Japanese subordinator *maeni* appears on the dependent clause in the clause-final position, while its equivalent *before* in the English translation is in the clause-initial one. Interestingly, there seem to be a cross-linguistic correlation between the position of subordinators and the ordering of main and dependent clauses in adverbial constructions. In languages with a final subordinator, dependent clauses tend to precede the main clause, whereas in languages with an initial subordinator, dependent clauses commonly occur in both sentence-initial and sentence-final position (Diessel 2001).

Finally, adverbial subordinators can be analyzed as to the exact nature of its formatives and the syntactic polyfunctionality that they have in a language (Kortmann 1997: 77ff). The former emphasizes the role of etymology which may shed some additional light on the functions of a subordinator (cf. Lehmann 1984: 165). The latter concerns whether a subordinator also belongs to other syntactic categories (noun, adposition, verb, etc) in a language at the synchronic level.

6.2 Morphosyntactic properties of subordinators in Ket

As we already mentioned in the beginning, unlike other types of relations which have a rather poor set of formal connective devices, the adverbial relations in Ket can be coded by a wide range of various subordinators. In what follows we will describe them according to the parameters outlined in the previous section.

6.2.1 Clause-final subordinators

The clause-final subordinators represent the majority of the subordinators in Ket. They originate from the class of postpositional relational morphemes including both

semantically bleached members (i.e. 'case markers') and those whose etymology is quite transparent (i.e. 'postpositions').[85] The only exception is the subordinator *baŋ* 'where, when' which is the functional extension of the noun *baʔŋ* 'soil, ground'. Cross-linguistically, it is quite common for the class of adpositions to be a grammaticalization source for adverbial connectives (cf. Kortmann 1997). Ket also conforms to the universal tendency that in languages with postpositions adverbial subordinators tend to be clause-final (Dryer 1992: 56). All of the clause-final subordinators are polyfunctional, except the subordinator *dukde*.

6.2.1.1 Simple clause-final subordinators

We define this subtype of subordinators in Ket as one-word items which represent either a single indivisible morpheme, or a hardly etymologizable combination of morphemes that occur in the clause-final posititon.

6.2.1.1.1 The subordinator *diŋa*

The subordinator *diŋa* is the functional extension of the dative relational morpheme in its inanimate form.[86] The dative marker has no clear etymology, which is also true for the other members of the group of semantically bleached relational markers in Ket (i.e. traditional "cases").

When used with nominals, the dative marker denotes either the direction of a movement (6.31) or the recipient of an object given or a message told (6.32).

(6.31) *āt bɔ́ɣɔn árʲɛndiŋa*

ād	bo^6-k^5-o^4-{de}n^0	aden-di-ŋa
1SG	1SG^6-TH^5-PST^4-go^0	forest-N-DAT

'I went to the forest.'

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[85] In Georg (2007: 159-160), it is argued that there are two postpositional elements, *daan* and *dukde*, that are used only in adverbial clauses. Still, we were able to find examples in which both items can be seen functioning as postpositional relational markers on temporal nouns (see 6.2.1.1.9 and 6.2.1.1.11).

[86] As we already mentioned in Section 2.2.6, the dative marker belongs to the relational morphemes that require the presence of a possessive augment marked for the gender/animacy class on the noun they modify (cf. Section 2.2.1). As a subordinator, the marker has been grammaticalized in its inanimate form with the augment *di-*.

(6.32) *āt háŋtip kɛ́tdaŋa tqʌrʲuksibɛt*

ād	haŋ-tib	ked-da-ŋa	d{i}^{8}-qəd^7-u^6-k^5-s^4-bed^0
1SG	female-dog	person-M-DAT	1^8-gift^7-3F^6-TH^5-NPST^4-make^0

'I give a dog to the man.'

In adverbial clauses, *diŋa* is used to mark the locative relations of 'motion to(wards)' (6.33).

(6.33) *hʌ́mgan dɔlʲín-diŋa, ə̄t dʌŋɔn īn ɛ́kŋ dúgdɛ*

həmga-n	d{u}^{8}-o^4-l^2-{daq^0}-in^{-1}-diŋa	ə̄t	dəŋ^6-o^4-{n^2}-{de}n^0	īn	ekŋ	dugde
Evenk-PL	3^8-PST^4-PST^2-live^0-AN.PL^{-1}-DAT	2PL	2PL^6-PST^4-PST^2-go^0	two	day.PL	during

'We walked for two days to where the Evenks lived.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

6.2.1.1.2 The subordinator *diŋal*

The subordinator *diŋal* is the functional extension of the ablative relational morpheme in its inanimate form which, first of all, marks the spatial source (6.34), or temporal starting-point of an action (6.35).

(6.34) *āt bɔɣɔn arʲɛndiŋalʲ*

ād	bo^6-k^5-o^4-{de}n^0	aden-di-ŋal
1SG	1SG^6-TH^5-PST^4-go^0	forest-N-ABL

'I went from the forest.'

(6.35) *qɔ́nɔksʲdiŋalʲ ūsʲ údbɛj uɣɔ́n*

qonoks-di-ŋal	ūs	udbej	u^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2}-{de}n^0
morning-N-ABL	warm	south.wind	3N^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'A warm south wind has been blowing since the morning.'

(Georg 2007: 111)

Other nominal uses include denoting the material from which an object is made and the basis of a comparison (Georg 2007: 111).

When used as a subordinator, *diŋal* is used in its inanimate form and can mark the initial boundary type of temporal overlap relations (6.36) and the reason relations (6.37).

(6.36) *āb ām daɔnarij-diŋalʲ, sʲɨ̀ uɣɔn*

āb	ām	da^8-o^4-n^2-a^1-dij^0-diŋal	sɨ̀	u^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2}-{de}n^0
1SG.POSS	mother	3F^8-PST^4-PST^2-3SS^1-come^0-ABL	year	3N^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'A year has passed, since our mother came.'

<div align="right">(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)</div>

(6.37) *bū dutaʁɔt buda ū binɔʁɔt-diŋalʲ*

bū	du^8-t^5-a^4-qut^0	bu-da	ū	b{in}^{7}-{b^3}-in^2-{q}ut^0-diŋal
3SG	3^8-TH^5-NPST^4-lie^0	3SG-M.POSS	strength	self^7-3N^3-PST^2-finish^0-ABL

'He is lying, because he is tired (lit. his strength is finished).'

6.2.1.1.3 The subordinator *diŋta*

The subordinator *diŋta* (also *diŋten*) originates from the inanimate form of the adessive marker which denotes the location where an action or process takes place, or an object is located (6.38).

(6.38) *kə̄t dɛʔŋ lʲesdiŋta dassanɔɣɔlʲbɛtin*

kə̄t	dɛʔŋ	les-di-ŋta	d{u}^{8}-assano^7-k^5-o^4-l^2-bed^0-in^{-1}
winter	people	forest-N-ADESS	3^8-hunt.ANOM^7-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-ITER^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'In winter people hunted in the forest.' (Werner 1997: 114)

When used on temporal nouns, it conveys temporal reference (6.39).

(6.39) *tud qibdaŋtɛ bʌn dɔnnɛdi*

tū-d	qib-da-ŋte	bə̄n	d{u}^{8}-o^4-n^2-a^1-di^0
this-M	month-M-ADESS	NEG	3^8-PST^4-PST^2-3SG.SS^1-come^0

'He didn't come that month.' (Vall and Kanakin 1985: 33)

Finally, it is also used to mark the possessor in "have"-constructions like in (6.40).

(6.40) *ɔ́bdaŋt bɔ́gdɔm úsʲaŋ*

ob-da-ŋt	bokdom	usaŋ
father-M-ADESS	rifle	be.present

'The father has a rifle.'

As a subordinator, the inanimate form *diŋta* can mark two semantic types of adverbial relations: locative (6.41) and reason (6.42).

(6.41) *būŋ duɣín-diŋt, sēsʲ bʌ́nsʲaŋ*

bū-ŋ	du[8]-{a[4]-daq[0]}-in[-1]-diŋt	sēs	bənsaŋ
3-PL	3[8]-NPST[4]-live[0]-AN.PL[-1]-ADESS	river	not.be.present

'Where they live, there is no river.'

(6.42) *burɛ ū binɔt-diŋti baŋlɔrɔn*

bu-da	ū	b{in}[7]-{b[3]}-n[2]-{q}ut[0]-diŋt	{du[8]}-baŋ[7]-l[2]-a[1]-don[0]
3-M.POSS	strength	self[7]-3N[3]-PST[2]-finish[0]-ADESS	3[8]-ground[7]-PST[2]-RES[1]-fall[0]

'He fell down, because he is tired (lit. his strength is finished).'

<div align="right">(Grišina 1979: 40)</div>

6.2.1.1.4 The subordinator *dita*

The subordinator *dita* originates from the inanimate form of the benefactive relational marker. On nominals the benefactive usually marks animate or human beneficiary of an action (6.43).

(6.43) *kírɛ ítn ād díbbɛt díĺʲdat*

ki-de	itn	ād	di[8]-b[3]-bed[0]	dil-da-t
this-N	jukola	1SG	1[8]-3N[3]-make[0]	child-M-BEN

'I make this jukola for the child.'

It can also be used to mark an object about which a story is told (or a song is sung and the like), or a person or object which is thought of, as in (6.44).

(6.44) *bu daqimdita danʲsʲivɛt*

bū	da-qim-di-ta	d{u}[8]-an[7]-s[4]-bed[0]
3SG	M.POSS-woman-F-BEN	3[8]-thought[7]-NPST[4]-make[0]

'He thinks about his wife.' (Werner 1997: 114)

When used with adverbial clauses, *dita* can denote purpose relations (6.45) and reason relations (6.46).

(6.45) *iŋɢusʲ díbbɛt-dita āt lʲésdiŋalʲ aˀq ttáŋuksibɛt*

iŋqus	di[8]-b[3]-bed[0]-dita	ād	les-di-ŋal	aˀq	d{i}[8]-taŋ[7]-u[6]-k[5]-s[4]-bed[0]
house	1[8]-3N[3]-make[0]-BEN	1SG	forest.RUS-N-ABL	wood	1[8]-drag[7]-3N[6]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-ITER[0]

'To build a house I bring wood from the forest.'

(6.46) *bū ūlʲ bǝnʲ dabdɔp dasʲēŋ arʲat-dita*

bū	ūl	bǝn	d{u}⁸-a⁴-b³-dob⁰	da-sēŋ	ad⁷-a⁴-d{en}⁰-dit
3SG	water	NEG	3⁸-NPST⁴-3N³-drink⁰	M.POSS-liver	be.sick⁷-NPST⁴-go⁰-BEN

'He doesn't drink vodka, because his liver hurts.'

6.2.1.1.5 The subordinator *ka*

The subordinator *ka* is the functional extension of the locative marker which is used to denote location in space and time for inanimate nouns only (6.47).

(6.47) *āt bɔɣɔn arʲɛnʲga*

ād	bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-{de}n⁰	aden-ka
1SG	1SG⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-go⁰	forest-LOC

'I walked in the forest.'

As a subordinator, *ka* is used to mark temporal relations (6.48).

(6.48) *ām dɔtɔʁɔt-ka ʌtn unat daːsχansʲan*

ām	da⁸-t⁵-a⁵-qut⁰-ka	ɔ̄tn	unat	d{i}⁸-asqan⁷-s²-a⁰-n⁻¹
mother	3F⁸-TH⁵-NPST⁴-lie⁰-LOC	1PL	quiet	1⁸-story.PL⁷-NPST²-speak⁰-AN.PL⁻¹

'When mother sleeps, we speak in hushed tones.' (Grišina 1979: 48)

It can also be used in coding all the types of conditionals. Example (6.49) illustrates the real subtype of conditional relations.

(6.49) *bū ɔɣɔt-ka āt bʌn kastiʁus*

bū	o⁶-k⁵-o⁴-d{en}⁰-ka	ād	bǝn	{du⁸}-kas⁷-di¹-qos⁰
3SG	3M⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-go⁰-LOC	1SG	NEG	{3⁸}-limb⁷-1SG¹-take⁰

'If he leaves, he won't take me.' (Grišina 1979: 58)

6.2.1.1.6 The subordinator *bes*

The subordinator *bes* originates from the prosecutive relational marker. When used on nominals, it marks objects through which, or along which an action or process is proceeding (6.50).

(6.50) *āt bɔ́ɣɔn árʲɛnbɛsʲ*

ād	bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-{de}n⁰	aden-bes
1SG	1SG⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-go⁰	forest-PROS

'I walked through the forest.'

When used as a subordinator, *bes* denotes the simultaneity type of temporal overlap relations.

(6.51) *bū dbíl'ɛl' ɔ́ɣɔn'-bɛs'*

bū	d{u}^{8}-b^3-l^2-il^0	o^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0-bes
3SG	3^8-3N^3-PST^2-sing^0	3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0-PROS

'He sang walking.'

6.2.1.1.7 The subordinator *esaŋ*

The subordinator *esaŋ* is the functional extension of the translative marker. With nominals it is used to mark an object as the "goal" of a verbal action (with verbs of producing, becoming, transforming and the like) (6.52).

(6.52) *bū ɛr'ɛs'aŋ atɔnɔq*

bū	ed-esaŋ	a^6-t^5-o^4-n^2-oq^0
3SG	sable-TRANSL	3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-become.PST^0

'He turned into a sable.'

As a subordinator, it marks purposive relations (6.53).

(6.53) *būŋ muzɛjaŋdiŋa tajaŋgɔtn istɔr'ija aqta itaŋl'am-ɛs'aŋ*

bū-ŋ	muzej-aŋ-di-ŋa	{du^8}-taj^7-aŋ^6-k^5-o^4-qutn^0
3-PL	museum.RUS-PL-N-DAT	3^8-R^7-3AN.PL^6-TH^6-NPST^4-walk.many^0
istorija	aqta	it^7-aŋ^6-l^2-am^0-esaŋ
history.RUS	good	know^7-3AN.PL^6-PST^2-R^0-TRANSL

'They visit museums in order to know the history well.'

6.2.1.1.8 The subordinator *às / ās*

The subordinator *às / ās* originates from the relational morpheme which has the meaning of 'as, like'. As we already mentioned in Section 4.2.2.2, it is sometimes confused with the comitative relational morpheme *as* in the Ket literature. But unlike the comitative marker, which attaches directly to the noun stem, *às / ās* requires the presense of a possessive augment on the head, cf. (6.54) and (6.55).

(6.54) *opda ās^j*

ōb-da   ās
father-M.POSS   like

'like the father' (Werner 1997: 312)

(6.55) *ap bɛs^{j}am ki bɛs^{j}amd ās^j dibbɛt*

āb   besam   kī   besam-d   ās   di^8-b^3-bed^0
1SG.POSS   hare.fur.coat   this   hare.fur.coat-N.POSS   like   1^8-3N^3-make^0

'I make my hare fur-coat like this hare fur-coat.' (Werner 1997: 312)

As a subordinator, *às* / *ās* is used to mark several types of temporal relations, like English *when*. It can be attached to both action nominals (6.56) and finite clauses (6.57). Note that this subordinator requires the presense of the inanimate form of the possessive augment *d-* even when it is used with finite clauses.

(6.56) *hʌl^{j}sɛj-das^j āt dbíl^{j}ɛl^j*

həlsej-das   ād   d{i}^{8}-b^3-l^2-il^0
sew.ANOM-when   1SG   1^8-3N^3-PST^2-sing^0

'While sewing I sang (it).'

(6.57) *buŋsɔʁɔ-dās^j, bū kɛʔt hāj duɣajɛj*

{du^8}-bu^6-ŋ^5-s^4-qo^0-das   bū   keʔd   hāj   du^8-a^4-ej^0
3^8-3SS^6-TH^5-NPST^4-search.for^0-when   3SG   person   also   3^8-3M^4-kill^0

'When he looks, he can even kill a man.' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

6.2.1.1.9 The subordinator *qon(e)*

The subordinator *qon(e)* originates from the relational morpheme with the meaning 'up to, until'. Although it has been traditionally referred to the class of "postpositions", i.e. the relational morphemes with more or less transparent etymology, its origin seems to be quite obscure. Like some of the relational markers above, *qon(e)* requires the possessive augment when used with nominals, as illustrated in (6.58).

(6.58) *hissɨjd qɔn dɛjtɔlut*

hissij-d   qon   d{u}^{8}-ej^7-t^5-o^4-l^2-{q}ut^0
forest-N.POSS   to   3^8-run^7-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-R^0

'He ran up to the forest.' (Georg 2007: 161)

Unlike in the case of *diŋa*, *diŋal* and a few other subordinators, the possessive augment is not present when *qon(e)* is used with adverbial clauses, cf. example (6.59).

(6.59) *āt kʌnɔːvɔn-qɔnʲɛ, halʲtɛsʲ*

āt	kən^7-o^4-b^3-{q}on^0-qone	{di^8}-hal^7-t^5-es^0
1SG	dawn^7-PST^4-3n^3-INCH.PST^0-until	1SG^8-R^7-TH^5-be.up^0

'I'll get up by [the time] it has dawned.' (Krjukova 2007: 37)

As we can see, as a subordinator, *qon(e)* marks the temporal boundary type of the temporal overlap relations.

6.2.1.1.10 The subordinator *daan*

The subordinator *daan* (other possible variants are *daqan* and *dān*) originates from the relational morpheme which has the meaning of 'during', therefore it is found only with temporal nouns or nouns denoting some natural phenomenon, as in (6.60). The morpheme itself is possibly of some verbal origin (Grišina 1979: 130).

(6.60) *ulʲɛsʲd daan ɛlʲtij bɔ̄nʲ taraŋɢɔtin*

ules-d	dān	eltij	bɔ̄n	{di^8}-t^5-a^4-daŋ^1-qutn^0
rain-N.POSS	during	berries.pick.ANOM	NEG	1^8-TH^5-NPST^4-1PL.SS^1-many.walk^0

'We don't go to pick berries during the rain.'

As a subordinator, *daan* marks temporal simultaneity relations.

(6.61) *bū āt beʔk dɛsʲkɛjqadda āt lʲɔvɛravɛt-daan*

bū	ād	beʔk	d{u}^{8}-eskej^7-q^5-a^4-d{i}^{1}-da^0		ād	{di^8}-lobed^7-a^4-bed^0-daan
3SG	1SG	always	3^8-throw.ANOM^7-CAUS^5-NPST^4-1SG^1-ITER.TR^0		1SG	1^8-work^7-NPST^4-ITER^0-while

'He is always disturbing me, while I'm working.' (Grišina 1979: 29)

6.2.1.1.11 The subordinator *dokot*

The subordinator *dokot* (another possible variant is *doqot*) originates from the relational marker meaning 'instead of, because of, like' (6.63). The marker is the functional extension of the noun *dokot* '(one's) share, part' (6.62). The initial *d-* seems to be the fossilized possessive morpheme used as a derivational element (cf. Vajda 2003: 15).

(6.62) *āb dɔɣɔt ū kasʲnam*

āb   dokot   ū   kas^7-n^2-am^0

1SG.POSS   share   2SG   limb^7-IMP^2-take^0

'Take my share!'

(6.63) *dɛjbuɣɔlʲbɛtin qurida kʌjga dɔɣɔt*

d{u}^{8}-ej^7-bu^6-k^5-o^4-l^2-bed^0-in^{-1} qudi-da   kəjka   dokot

3^8-kill.ANOM^7-3SS^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-ITER^0-AN.PL^{-1} pike-F.POSS   head   because.of

'They were fighting for/because of the pike's head.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

As a subordinator, *dokot* is used to code reason relations (6.64).

(6.64) *qibɔ ārʲ ū tpɔsɔbatkuɣavɛt-dɔɣɔt ū asʲkʌʔt tanʲgi*

qib-o   ād   ū   d{i}^{8}-posobad^7-ku^6-k^5-a^4-bed^0-dokot

old.man-VOC   1SG   2SG   1^8-help.RUS.ANOM^7-2SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-make^0-because.of

ū   askəʔd   t^5-a^4-n^2-ki^0

2SG   fairy-tale   TH^5-NPST^4-IMP^2-tell^0

'Grandfather, in return for my helping you, you tell a fairy-tale!'

(Werner 1997: 349)

6.2.1.1.12 The subordinator *dukde*

The subordinator *dukde* originates from the relational morpheme *dukde* 'during' which is etymologically derived from the spatial adjective *ukd(a)* 'long' with a fossilized possessive marker (cf. Georg 2007: 160). As a relational morpheme, *dukde* is similar to *daan* 'during', since it is used with temporal nouns and nouns denoting a natural phenomenon, as in (6.65).

(6.65) *sirʲukdɛ*

si-dukde

night-during

'During the night'

As a subordinator, *dukde* is used to mark the simultaneity type of the temporal relations.

(6.66) *qima dauklʲivɛt-dugdɛ dilʲgat tɔlʲdamin*

qima	da⁸-uk⁷-l²-bed⁰-dukde	dilkad	{du⁸}-t⁵-o⁴-l²-dam⁰-in⁻¹
grandma	3F⁸-soup⁷-PST²-make⁰-while	children	3⁸-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-sleep⁰-AN.PL⁻¹

'While the grandmother was making soup, the children were sleeping.'

6.2.1.1.13 The subordinator *baŋ*

The subordinator *baŋ* is the only subordinator originating directly from a content noun. The original meaning of the noun *baʔŋ* is 'ground, soil' (6.67), which has also become expanded to mean more general concepts like 'place' and 'time'; the latter meaning can usually be found only in set phrases like in (6.68).

(6.67) *bɔgdɔm baŋga tavut*

bokdom	baŋ-ka	t⁵-a⁴-b³-{q}ut⁰
rifle	ground-LOC	TH⁵-NPST⁴-3N³-lie⁰

'The rifle lies on the ground.'

(6.68) *tudɛ baŋga āt tɔlɔʁɔt*

tude	baʔŋ-ga	ād	{di⁸}-t⁵-o⁴-l²-qut⁰
this	ground-LOC	1SG	1⁸-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-lie⁰

'I was sleeping at that time' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

As a subordinator, *baŋ* can be used in locative (6.69) and temporal (6.70) adverbial clauses. Note that, in this case, such an adverbial clause is structurally identical to prenominal relative clauses with *baŋ* as a head noun (cf. 6.2.1).

(6.69) *hissɛjdiŋa hɨbʌnʲ dijaq, ajti qɔ̀j tajɣɛ-baŋ*

hissej-di-ŋa	hɨ	bān	di⁸-aq⁰	ajti	qòj	t⁵-a⁴-ka⁰-baŋ
forest-N-DAT	yet	NEG	1⁸-go⁰	evil	bear	TH⁵-NPST⁴-walk⁰-where

'I still don't go to the forest, where the evil bear walks.' (Grišina 1979: 79)

(6.70) *quʔsʲ dugdɔvut-baŋ, ɛʔp dilunbɛt*

quʔs	d{i}⁸-ukd⁷-o⁴-b³-qut⁰-baŋ	eʔb	d{i}⁸-il⁷-o⁴-n²-bed⁰
tent	1⁸-dig⁷-PST⁴-3N³-R⁰-when	shovel	1⁸-small⁷-PST⁴-PST²-make⁰

'When I was digging round the birch bark tent, I broke the shovel.'

6.2.1.2 Compound clause-final subordinators

Compound clause-final subordinators are defined here as one-word subordinators consisting of two or more morphemes whose etymology is more or less transparent. Most subordinators in this group represent a combination of a content noun and a relational morpheme, often referred to as 'postpositional nouns' in the previous treatments of Ket literature (cf. Šerer 1983).

6.2.1.2.1 The subordinator *kubka*

The form *kubka* represents a combination of the content noun *kub* 'beak' and the locative relational morpheme *ka*. It is a polyfunctional morpheme that can be used as an adverb with the meaning 'before, ahead, at first' (6.71) and as a postposition 'in front of' (6.72). In the latter case, it requires the presence of a possessive marker.

(6.71) *āt kupka bɔɣɔt*

ād   kubka bo^6-k^5-o^4-$d\{en\}^0$

1SG   before $1SG^6$-TH^5-$NPST^4$-go^0

'I go ahead.'

(6.72) *āb kupka kɛʔt ɔɣɔtn*

āb   kubka   ke'd o^6-k^5-a^4-den^0

1SG.POSS   before   person $3M^6$-TH^5-$NPST^4$-go^0

'A man walks in front of me.'

As a subordinator, *kubka* marks posteriority relations (6.73)

(6.73) *at qarʲe ɛŋŋuŋ bɔɣɔtnʲ-kupka at qasʲɛŋ kiʔ iŋɢusʲ thaptɔ*

ād qade   eŋquŋ bo^6-k^5-o^4-den^0-kubka

1SG   that   house.PL $1SG^6$-TH^5-$NPST^4$-go^0-before

ād   qasén   ki'   iŋqus $d\{i\}^8$-h^5-a^4-b^3-to^0

1SG   there   new   house 1^8-TH^5-$NPST^4$-$3N^3$-put^0

'Before I move to that village, I will build a house there.' (Werner 1997: 350)

6.2.1.2.2 The subordinator *kɨka*

The subordinator *kɨka* originates from a combination of the noun *kɨ̄* 'middle' and the locative relational morpheme *-ka*. It can be used both as an adverb (6.74) and a postposition (6.75) with the meaning 'in the middle'. Like many other Ket

postpositional morphemes, when used in this function, *kɨka* requires the possessive augment on the preceding noun (cf. 6.75).

(6.74) *tɔˀl tāt kɨɣa usʲnɛ*

toˀl	tāt	kɨka	us[7]-n[2]-a[0]
table.RUS	straight	in.the.middle	R[7]-IMP[2]-ACTIVE[0]

'Put the table straight in the middle.' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.75) *lʲamd kɨɣa balʲtij ujbaʁɔt*

lam-d	kɨka	baltij	uj[7]-b[3]-a[1]-qut[0]
table-3N.POSS	in.the.middle	box	R[7]-3N[3]-RES[1]-lie[0]

'A box is situated in the middle of the table.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

When used as a subordinator, *kɨka* marks various type of temporal relations, like English *when*, for example, anteriority (6.76), as well as conditional relations (6.77).

(6.76) *ū kʌt qaŋgasɛtin-kɨɣɛ abɨŋa qan diksivisin*

ū{k}	kə̄d	{du[8]}-qaŋ[7]-k[5]-a[4]-set[0]-in[-1]-kɨka
2SG.POSS	children	3[8]-big.PL[7]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-change[0]-AN.PL[-1]-when

ab-iŋa	qān	d{u}[8]-ik[7]-s[4]-(i)-bes[0]-in[-1]
1SG.POSS-DAT	OPT	3[8]-here[7]-NPST[4]-move[0]-AN.PL[-1]

'When your children grow up, may they come to me.' (Grišina 1979: 111)

(6.77) *bū bʌn ɔɣɔtn-kɨɣɛ ā bin bɔɣɔtn*

bū	bə̄n	o[6]-k[5]-o[4]-den[0]-kɨka		ā{d}	bīn	bo[6]-k[5]-o[4]-den[0]
3SG	NEG	3SG.M[6]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-go[0]-when		1SG	self	1SG[6]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-go[0]

'If he doesn't come I will go myself.' (Grišina 1979: 114)

6.2.1.2.3 The subordinator *qaka*

The morpheme *qaka* represents a combination of the noun *qa* 'inside, home' and the locative morpheme *ka*. It can function both as an adverb (6.78) and a postposition (6.79). Note that in the latter case it does not require the presence of the possessive marker on the noun it modifies.

(6.78) *bɔgdɔm iŋusdiŋa qaɣa at katn*

bokdom	iŋus-diŋa	inside	PROH	bring.IMP
rifle	house-DAT	inside	PROH	bring.IMP

'Don't bring the rifle to the house inside.' (Grišina 1979: 92)

(6.79) *āb tʌˀq qáɣa iˀn uɣɔ́ndɛn*

āb	təˀq	qaka	iˀn	u^6-k^5-o^4-n^2-den^0
1SG.POSS	finger	inside	needle	3N^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'The needle went into my finger.' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

As a subordinator *qaka* is, in many respects, similar to *kika* and marks various temporal relations, for example, anteriority (6.80) and conditional relations (6.81).[87]

(6.80) *kàlʲ binɔʁɔt-qaɣa, āp hɨˀp usʲka dímbɛsʲ*

kàl	b{in^7-b^3}-{n^2}-qut^0-qaka	āb	hiˀb	uska	di^8-ik^7-n^2-bes^0
war	self^7-3N^3-PST^2-finish^0-when	1SG.POSS	son	back	1^8-here^7-PST^2-move^0

'When the war was over, my son went back home.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.81) *ísʲqɔ bɔ́ɣɔt-qaɣa, kúŋa qáːksaq*

isqo	bo^6-k^5-o^4-d{en}^{0}-qaka	ku-ŋa	{di^8}-qa^7-k^5-s^4-aq^0
fish.	1SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0-when	2SG-DAT	1^8-inside^7-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0

'If I go fishing, I will come to you.'

6.2.1.2.4 The subordinator *baŋqone*

The subordinat(6.168)or *baŋqone* is the functional extension of the postposion with the meaning 'until'. Etymologically, it is a combination of the noun *baˀŋ* 'soil, place, time' and the postposition *qon(e)* 'up to'. Since there is no possessive marking between *baŋ* and *qon(e)*, this combination cannot be analyzed as a postpositional phrase (cf. 6.2.1.1.9). It also should be noted that, unlike *qon(e)*, the postposition

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[87] Grišina (1979: 106-107) claims that the use of these two relational morphemes seem to depend on which one of the two moieties of Ket, Qéntan and Bógdideŋ, the speaker belongs to. Although historically these two groups lived together, the Qéntan group is traditionally associated with the Jelok and the Imbak rivers, i.e. Southern Ket settlements like Kellog, Verxneimbatsk, etc. The Bógdideŋ people are associated with the territories along the Podkamennaya Tunguska and the Baxta rivers, i.e. Southern Ket settlements like Sulomaj, Baxta, etc. (Werner 2006: 75-76). According to Grišina (1979: 107) the speakers she worked with that belonged to the Qéntan group used mostly *qaka*, whereas *kika* was mostly used by the representatives of the second group. Our primariry language assistant, Valentina Romanenkova (nee Tyganova), belongs to the Qéntan moiety and prefers to use *qaka*, although she recognized the form *kika* as well.

baŋqone is used only with nouns of temporal semantics (i.e. morning, night, day, etc.) and does not require any possessive marking on the preceding nominal (6.82).

(6.82) *qɔnɔksʲ baŋqɔnɛ sɛsʲɔlʲta*

qonoks	baŋqone	{di[8]}-ses[7]-o[4]-l[2]-ta[0]
morning	until	1[8]-place[7]-PST[4]-PST[2]-be.in.position[0]

'I sat until the morning.' (Krjukova 2007: 33)

The function of *baŋqone* as a subordinator is similar to that of *qon(e)*, i.e. it is also used to mark the temporal boundary type of the temporal overlap relations (6.83).

(6.83) *āt isɔʁɔbaɣaʁan, ū bimbaʁɔt-baŋqɔn*

ād	isoqo[7]-ba[6]-k[5]-a[4]-qan[0]		ū	bin[7]-b[3]-qut[0]-baŋqon
1SG	fish.ANOM[7]-1SG[6]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-INCH.NPST[0]	strength	self[7]-3N[3]-finish[0]-until

'I will be fishing until my strength is finished.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

6.2.1.2.5 The subordinator *baŋdiŋa*

The form *baŋdiŋa* is another instance of a postposition originating from the combination of the noun *baˀŋ* and a relational marker; in this case it is the dative relational morpheme *diŋa* (cf. 6.2.1.1.13).

As a postposition, the form *baŋdiŋa* conveys the meaning of 'until'. Like *baŋqone*, it is used only with temporal nouns (6.84).

(6.84) *bisʲdiŋal qɔnoksʲ baŋdiŋa ɔváŋ loveravetin*

bis-di-ŋal	qonoks	baŋdiŋa	ob-áŋ	{du[8]}-lobed[7]-a[4]-bed[0]-in[-1]
evening-N-ABL	morning	until	father-PL	3[8]-work.RUS.ANOM[7]-NPST[4]-ITER[0]-AN.PL[-1]

'The parents work from evening till morning.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

At the same time, the use of *baŋdiŋa* as a subordinator is more diverse than that of *baŋqone*. In addition to marking temporal boundary (6.85), *baŋdiŋa* can mark locative relations (6.86). In the latter case, it requires the presence of a correlative element in the main clause like, for example, *tuniŋa* 'there' in (6.86).

(6.85) *ū abɨŋa diksʲibɛsʲ-baŋdiŋa āt kisʲaŋ as diɣɛdɔq*

ū	ab-iŋa	d{i}^{8}-ik^7-s^4-bes^0-baŋdiŋa			ād	kisén	as	di^8-k^5-a^4-doq^0
1SG	1SG.POSS-DAT	1^8-here^7-NPST^4-move^0-when			1SG	here	FUT	1SG^8-TH^5-NPST^4-live^0

'I will be living here, until you come to me.' (Grišina 1979: 86)

(6.86) *tīp sʲɛsɔlʲta baŋdiŋa, būŋ tuniŋa diːmɛsin*

tīb	{du^8}-ses^7-o^4-l^2-ta^0-baŋdiŋa			būŋ	tuniŋa	d{u}^{8}-ik^7-n^2-bes^0-in^{-1}
dog	3^8-place^7-PST^4-PST^2-be.in.position^0-where			3-PL	there	3^8-here^7-PST^2-move^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'[Up to] where the dog sat, [up to] there they came.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

6.2.1.2.6 The subordinator *qadika*

Unlike the etymology of the other subordinators in this subsection, the origin of *qadika* is rather non-transparent at the synchronic level. The only element that can be easily identified is the locative relational morpheme *-ka*, while the root morpheme *qadi* cannot function on its own. According to Werner (2002, II: 60), it originates from the Proto-Yeniseian adverbial root **qatʲi-* /**qadʲi-* 'then, after'.

The form *qadika* is a polyfunctional one. It can function both as the adverb 'then' (6.87) and the postpostion 'after' (6.88).

(6.87) *qáriga bū dɔˀn dɔ́vinij*

qadika	bū	dɔˀn	d{u}^{8}-o^4-b^3-n^2-ij^0
then	3SG	knife	3^8-PST^4-3N^3-PST^2-sharpen^0

'Then he sharpened the knife.' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.88) *úlɛsʲda qáriga aqtam*

ules-da	qadika	aqta-m
rain-M	after	good-N.PRED

'After the rain is nice.'

As a subordinator, *qadika* is used for marking the anteriority type of temporal relations (6.89).

(6.89) *qima qibas^j du·nɔn-qar^jiɣa ɔ̄tn bīk ɛŋŋuŋdiŋta dɔl^j i·n^j*

qima   qib-as   du[8]-n[2]-{q}o[0]-n[-1]-qadika,

grandma   grandfather-COM   3[8]-PST[2]-die[0]-AN.PL[-1]-after

ɔ̄tn   bīk   ɛŋquŋ-di-ŋta   d{u}[8]-o[4]-l[2]-{daq[0]}-in[-1]

1PL   other   village-N-DAT   3[8]-PST[4]-PST[2]-live[0]-AN.PL[-1]

'After grandmother and grandfather died, we lived in another village.'

(Werner 1997: 349)

6.2.1.2.7 The subordinator *asqa*

The etymology of the form *asqa* which functions as a postposition with the meaning 'like, similar to' is even less transparent than that of *qadika*. While it seems quite plausible to state that the meaning of the morpheme *as-* is related to the Ket postposition *às* 'like, similar to' (cf. Georg 2007: 158), the meaning of the element -*qa* remains obscure.

When used as a postposition, *asqa* does not require the presence of the possessive marking on the preceding noun (6.90).[88]

(6.90) *qɔjba:t kɛr^j asqa ɔɣɔtn^j*

qoj-baad   ke'd   asqa   o[6]-k[5]-o[4]-den[0]

bear-old.man   person   like   3M[6]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-go[0]

'The bear walks like a man.' (Werner 1997: 312)

As a subordinator, *asqa* is used to encode manner relations (6.91).

(6.91) *bū bɔ̄n^j tɔ'n dal^jɔ́vɛravɛt, āt l^jɔ́vɛravɛt-asqa*

bū   bɔ̄n   to'n   da[8]-lobed[7]-a[4]-bed[0]

3SG   NEG   so   3F[8]-work.RUS.ANOM[7]-NPST[4]-ITER[0]

ād   {di[8]}-lobed[7]-a[4]-bed[0]-asqa

1SG   1[8]-work.RUS.ANOM[7]-NPST[4]-ITER[0]-like

'She doesn't work like I work.'

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[88] Interestingly, the postposition *às* which is the most likely source of *asqa* does require a possessive augment.

6.2.2 Clause-initial subordinators

Another source of subordinators in Ket, although for a rather small number of items, is the class of interrogative adverbs. However, it seems plausible to claim that the use of interrogative adverbs as subordinators in Ket is a calque from the Russian language in which it represents a common strategy. This claim can be further corroborated by the fact that only this small set of subordinators occurs clause-initially, whereas the other Ket subordinators are clause-final (the only exception being the native *eta qode*, see Section 6.2.2.3.1).

6.2.2.1 Simple one-word clause-initial subordinators

This subtype includes subordinators that occur clause-initially and represent either a single indivisible morpheme, or a combination of morphemes that is hard to etymologize.

6.2.2.1.1 The subordinator *biséŋ*

The subordinator *biséŋ* is the functional extension of the interrogative adverb *biséŋ* 'where'. As can be seen from the examples below, the position of the adverb in a clause is rather free: it can be placed either in clause-initial position (6.92) or in immediately preverbal position (6.93).

(6.92) *āb dɔʔn biséŋam? biséŋ āt dɛsɔ́mdaq?*

āb	doʔn	biséŋ-am	biséŋ	ād	d{i}^{8}-es^7-o^4-b^3-n^2-daq^0
1SG.POSS	knife	where-N.PRED	where	1SG	1^8-up^7-PST^4-3N^3-PST^2-daq^0

'Where is my knife? Where did I put it?' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.93) *ū biséŋ kúɣaraq?*

ū	biséŋ	ku^8-k^5-a^4-daq^0
2SG	where	2^8-TH^5-NPST^4-live^0

'Where do you live?' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

As a subordinator, *biséŋ* marks locative relations (6.94). Note that in this case it always occurs in clause-initial position.

(6.94) *āt bɔ́ɣɔn bisɛ́ŋ dɛ'ŋ dɔlín*

ād	bo^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0	bisɛ́ŋ	de'ŋ	d{u}^{8}-{k^5}-o^4-l^2-{daq^0}-in^{-1}
1SG	1SG^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0	where	people	3^8-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-live^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'I went where people lived.'

6.2.2.1.2 The subordinator *bila*

Another simple clause-initial subordinator is *bila* 'like' which represents the functional extension of the interrogative adverb *bila* 'how'. The position of this interrogative adverb in a clause is likewise rather free, as shown in examples (6.95)-(6.96).

(6.95) *bilʲa ū kúɣadaq?*

bila	ū	ku^8-k^5-a^4-daq^0
how	2SG	2^8-TH^5-NPST^4-live^0

'How do you live?'

(6.96) *bū bílʲa dɛsɔ́ɣɔliɣin?*

bū	bila	d{u}^{8}-es^7-o^6-k^5-o^4-l^2-ij^0-in^{-1}
3SG	how	3^8-R^7-3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-name^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'How did they name him?'

In a subordinate clause, *bila* always assumes clause-initial position, as in (6.97). It is used to mark manner relations.

(6.97) *āt díbbɛt bíla āb ōb dúbbɛt*

ād	di^8-b^3-bed^0	bila	āb	ōb	du^8-b^3-bed^0
1SG	1^8-3N^3-make^0	how	1SG.POSS	father	3^8-3N^3-make^0

'I make it like my father makes it.'

6.2.2.2 Compound one-word clause-initial subordinators

This subtype clause-initial subordinators includes subordinators which consist of two or more morphemes with more or less transparent etymology.

6.2.2.2.1 The subordinator *aska*

The source of the subordinator *aska* is the interrogative adverb *aska* 'when'. The etymology of the adverb is not entirely clear, but it seems fair to assume that it can be a combination of the interrogative pronoun *as* 'what kind of' and the locative relational marker *-ka*.

Like the other interrogative adverbs, *aska* has no obligatory position in a clause, as can be seen in (6.98) and (6.99).

(6.98) *ásʲka ū qīp káʁij?*

aska	ū	qīb	k{u}^{8}-a^4-q^2-ej^0
when	2SG	grandfather	2^8-3M^4-PST^2-kill^0

'When did you kill the bear (lit. grandfather)?'

(6.99) *bu asʲka diksʲivɛsʲ*

bū	aska	d{u}^{8}-ik^7-s^4-bes^0
3SG	when	3^8-here^7-NPST^4-move^0

'When will he come?' (Werner 1997: 72)

As a subordinator, *aska* is used to encode various kinds of temporal overlap relations like, for example, point coincidence in (6.100) and in (6.101).

(6.100) *at tɔn tɔlut askə ulʲísʲ qɔmdaχ*

ād	toʔn	{di^8}-t^5-o^4-l^2-{q}ut^0	aska	ules	q^5-o^4-b^3-n^2-daq^0
1SG	so	1^8-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-lie^0	when	rain	TH^5-PST^4-3N^3-PST^2-R^0

'I was lying this way, when the rain stopped.' (Dul'zon 1971b: 126)

(6.101) *bu dimbɛsʲ asʲka, ʌtn sʲɛsʲdiŋa dʌŋɔtnʲ*

bū	d{u}^{8}-i{k}^{7}-n^2-bes^0	aska	ətn	ses-diŋa	dəŋ^6-o^4-den^0
3SG	3^8-here^7-PST^4-move^0	when	2PL	river-DAT	2PL^6-NPST^4-go^0

'When he comes, we will go to the river.' (Werner 1997: 72)

Interestingly, unlike the other clause-initial subordinators in Ket, the subordinator *aska* can in principle occur in clause-final position, as exemplified in (6.101). It seems plausible to assume that this can be accounted for by the presence of the locative relational morpheme *-ka* which can be used as a clause-final temporal subordinator and also forms several other clause-final temporal subordinators like

kɨka 'when', *qaka* 'when' and *qadika* 'after'. At the same time it should be noted that examples with the clause-final *aska* are very infrequent in the Ket texts.

Another interesting fact to be mentioned is that the subordinator *aska* can coocur with the aforementioned clause-final subordinators that encode similar type of temporal relations, as, for example, in (6.102).

(6.102) *asʲka tsijɛn-ka, baːt isʲna kʌjɣɛn kʌma dɛsʲkava*

aska	d{u}^{8}-sij^0-en^{-1}-ka	báàd	is-na	kəjk-en	kəma	d{u}^{8}-es^7-k^5-a^4-b^3-a^0
when	3^8-eat^0-AN.PL^{-1}-when	old.man	fish-AN.PL.POSS	head-PL	away	3^8-up^7-TH^5-NPST^4-3N^3-R^0

'When they eat, the old man throws fishes' heads away.' (Grišina 1979: 49)

This can be accounted for by the fact that the use of interrogative adverbs in the function of subordinators represents a calque from the Russian language, which makes such pleonastical cooccurence of the synonymous means, one of which is original (i.e. by a postpositional relational morpheme) and the other is borrowed (i.e. by an interrogative adverb), in one sentence quite possible.[89]

6.2.2.3 Phrasal clause-initial subordinators

Phrasal subordinators are defined here as subordinators consisting of two or more words. The only phrasal subordinator in Ket is *eta qode* 'as if'.

6.2.2.3.1 The subordinator *eta qode*

The subordinator *eta qode* represents the functional extension of the preposition *eta qode* 'like, as' which is the only prepositional relational morpheme in Ket (apart from the frequently used Russian borrowing *bes* 'without'). The etymology of the preposition is rather obscure. Werner (2002, II: 93) cites examples in which it is shown that both *eta* and *qod(e)* can be used separately as prepositional elements conveying the meaning of 'like, as', as can be seen in example (7.25) (cf. also Section 7.2.3 for more discussion on *qode*).

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[89] Another frequent example of pleonastical marking is the use of the borrowed Russian preposition *bes* 'without' with a noun marked by the caritive marker (the original means), for example, *bes oban* [bes ob-an without father-CAR] 'without the father'.

Example (6.103) illustrates the prepositional function of *eta qode*.

(6.103) *turʲɛ sʲulʲɛmam ɛta qɔrʲa sʲūlʲ*

ture	sulem-am	eta qode	sūl
this	red-3N.PRED	as.if	blood

'This is red like blood.' (Werner 1997: 348)

When used as a subordinator, *eta qode* marks manner relations, as exemplified in (6.104).

(6.104) *tajɔbɔn ɛta qɔrʲa bɛrʲɛta*

taj⁷-o⁴-b³-{q}on⁰	eta qode	bed⁷-a⁴-ta⁰
cold⁷-PST⁴-3N³-become⁰	as.if	snow⁷-NPST⁴-EXTEND⁰

'It turned as cold as if snow is falling.' (Werner 1997: 348)

6.3 Semantic types of adverbial relations

In this section, we will consider semantic types of adverbial relations in the Ket language and what morphosyntactic strategies they employ. As already mentioned in Section 6.1, adverbial relations can be divided into the following general semantic types: temporal, conditional, purpose, reason, locative and manner. They will be discussed in this order.

6.3.1 Temporal relations

As we outlined in Section 6.1, temporal relations can be divided into posteriority, overlap and anteriority relations. Many of the subordinators involved in temporal relations are capable of coding more than one type of these relations.

6.3.1.1 Posteriority relations

Posteriority in Ket is usually expressed with the help of the subordinator *kubka* 'before'. It can be combined both with finite verb forms (6.105) and action nominals (6.106). Note that in the latter case the subordinator does not require the possessive marking on the preceding action nominal.

(6.105) *kɛʔt quʔsʲ dubbɛt-kubka ʌŋnɛŋ haraŋistɔ*

keʔd	quʔs	du⁸-b³-bed⁰-kubka	əŋn-eŋ	{du⁸}-ha/d⁷-aŋ⁶-s⁴-to⁰
person	tent	3⁸-3N³-make⁰-before	pole-PL	{3⁸}-cut/AC⁷-3AN.PL⁶-NPST⁴-R⁰

'Before one sets a birchbark tent, he prepares (lit. cuts down) tent poles.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.106) *aslɛnaŋas ɛjiŋ-kupka, aslɛnaŋd ūl kʌma nara tij*

aslenaŋ-as	ejiŋ-kubka	aslenaŋ-d	ūl	kəma	nada	tij
boat-COM	go.ANOM-before	boat-N.POSS	water	away	need	scoop.ANOM

'Before going by boat, it is necessary to bail water out of the boat.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

The dependent clauses with *kubka* usually tend to precede the main clause, but they can be in principle placed after the main clause as well, see (6.107)-(6.108) with a finite clause and an action nominal, respectively.

(6.107) *hʌlʲsij āt díŋa dʌːtʲkìmna, āt hʌlʲsijqìtna-kupka*

həlsij	ād	di-ŋa	d{i}^{8}-əət^7-k^5-b^3-n^2-a^0
sew.ANOM	1SG	3SG.F-DAT	1^8-visible^7-TH^5-3N^3-PST^2-MOM.TR^0

ād	{di}^{8}-həlsij^7-q^5-it^4-n^2-a^0-kubka
1SG	1^8-sew.ANOM^7-CAUS^5-3F^4-PST^2-MOM^0-before

'I showed her how to sew, before I made her sew.'

(6.108) *kušʲ ɔːl bu dɔːgdəp ɛiŋ qupkə*

qūs	ɔ̀l	bū	da^8-o^4-b^3-n^2-dob^0	ejiŋ-kubka
one.N	bottle	3SG	3F^8-PST^4-3N^3-PST^2-drink^0	go.ANOM-before

'She drank one bottle, before leaving.' (Kotorova and Porotova 2000: 42).

In addition to *kubka*, posterior relations can also be expressed by constructions, both finite (6.109) and non-finite (6.110), marked with the purposive subordinator *esaŋ*. In this case, however, posterior relations are accompanied by a purposive secondary meaning, and the clause marked by *esaŋ* always precedes the main clause.

(6.109) *āt bɔ́ɣɔtn-ɛsʲaŋ, dulʲɔ́lʲdɛŋ*

ād	bo^6-k^5-o^4-den^0-esaŋ	d{i}^{8}-ul^7-o^4-l^2-d{i^1-k}aŋ^0
1SG	1SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0-TRANSL	1^8-water^7-PST^4-PST^2-1SG.SS^1-wash^0

'Before going, I washed myself.'

(6.110) *lɔvɛt-ɛsʲaŋ, sajdɔulʲvɛt*

lobed-esaŋ	{du^8}-sajdo^7-o^4-l^2-bed^0
work.RUS.ANOM-TRANSL	3^8-tea.drink.ANOM^7-PST^4-PAST^2-ITER^0

'Before working, he drank tea.' (Belimov 1973: 24)

6.3.1.2 Overlap relations

The overlap relations attested in Ket can be subdivided into several subtypes. These include: simultaneity, terminal boundary and initial boundary.

6.3.1.2.1 Simultaneity relations

The coding of simultaneity in Ket involves the largest number of subordinators, four of which are dedicated to expressing only this type of adverbial relations. These are the subordinators *bes, ās*, *dukde* and *daan*. The main difference between them is that *bes* and *ās* are restricted to clauses that share the same-subject participant, while the other two can be used with the different-subject clauses.

Example (6.111) illustrates a finite simultaneity clause marked by *bes*. As we can see, the subject of the dependent verb is coreferent with the subject of the verb in the main clause.

(6.111) *bū dbílʲɛlʲ ɔɣɔ́nʲ-bɛsʲ*

bū   d{u}^{8}-b^3-l^2-il^0 o^6-k^5-o^4-{de}n^0-bes

3SG   3^8-3N^3-PST^2-sing^0 3SG.M^6-TH^5-PST^4-go^0-while

'He sang walking.'

This subordinator can also be combined with an action nominal, as illustrated in (6.112).

(6.112) *kij-bɛs diliŋqimna*

kij-bes   d{u}^{8}-iliŋ^7-q^5-b^3-n^2-a^0

tell-while   3^8-eat^7-CAUS^5-3N^3-PST^2-MOM.TR^0

'While talking he began eating.' (Zinn 2006)

The other same-subject subordinator that codes simultaneity, *ās*, shows similar behaviour, cf. (6.113)-(6.114).

(6.113) *dīlʲ tílʲtɛrabɛt-dasʲ dáʁaj*

dīl   {du^8}-tilted^7-a^4-bed^0-das   {du^8}-daq^7-aj^0

child   3^8-bathe.ANOM^7-NPST^4-make^0-while   3^8-laugh.ANOM^7-ACTIVE^0

'While bathing, the child is laughing.'

(6.114) *bū kʌj-dasʲ súùlʲ dugdaptaŋ*

bū	kəj-das	súùl	du⁸-u⁶-k⁵-d/a⁴-b³-taŋ⁰
3SG	travel.hunt.ANOM-while	sled	3^8-$3N^6$-TH^5-AT/NPST^4-TH^3-drag^0

'As he goes hunting, he drags the sled along' (Zinn 2006).

The subordinator *dukde* is usually used when one needs to specify simultaneity between clauses with different subjects, as in (6.115) and (6.116). Although it can mark clauses that share the subject participant with the main clause, as in example (6.117), such cases are less frequent.

(6.115) *qíma daúklʲivɛt-dugdɛ dílʲgat tɔ́lʲdamin*

qima	da⁸-uk⁷-l²-bed⁰-dukde	dilkad	{du⁸}-t⁵-o⁴-l²-dam⁰-in⁻¹
grandmother	$3F^8$-soup^7-PST^2-make^0-while	children	3^8-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-sleep^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'While the grandmother was making soup, the children were sleeping.'

(6.116) *ūlʲ ɛsʲaŋ digdɛlʲaq-dugdɛ, tīp āb naʔnʲ bīlʲ*

ūl-esaŋ	d{i⁸}-ik⁷-d⁵-l²-aq⁰-dugde	tīb	āb	naʔn	{du⁸}-b³-l²-{a⁰}
water-TRANSL	1^8-here^7-TH^5-PST^2-go^0-while	dog	1SG.POSS	bread	3^8-$3N^3$-PST^2-eat^0

'While I was going out for water, the dog ate my bread.'

(6.117) *bū ɛtta ɔ́vildɛ-dugdɛ, isʲnanʲ dabérʲuɣɔ̀lʲbɛt*

bū	et-da	obilde-dukde	isnan	da⁸-bed⁷-u⁶-k⁵-o⁴-l²-bed⁰
3SG	alive-F.PRED	be.PST-while	fish.bread	$3F^8$-make.ANOM^7-$3N^6$-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-ITER^0

'While she was alive, she made fish pies.'

The subordinator *dukde* can be used with action nominals as well, as exemplified in (6.118). If the subject in the complement clause is different from the subject in the main clause, it is marked as a possessor (6.119)

(6.118) *hʌ́lʲsɛj-dugd āt díbɛl*

həlsej-dugde	ād	di⁸-b³-il⁰
sew.ANOM-while	1SG	1^8-$3N^3$-sing^0

'While sewing I sang.'

(6.119) *āt díbɛlʲ ámd hʌ́lʲsɛj-dugd*

ād	di⁸-b³-il⁰	ām-d	həlsej-dugde
1SG	1^8-$3N^3$-sing^0	mother-F.POSS	sew.ANOM-while

'I was singing during mother's sewing.'

The subordinator *daan* (*daqan* in Nothern Ket) is another dedicated simultaneity marker that can be used with both different-subject and same-subject clauses, cf. (6.120) and (6.121) respectively.

(6.120) *bū āt bɛʔk dɛsʲkɛjqadda, āt lʲɔvɛravɛt-daan*[90]

    bū   ād   beʔk $d\{u\}^8$-eskej^7-q^5-a^4-d$\{i\}^1$-da^0

    3SG   1SG   always 3^8-throw.ANOM^7-CAUS^5-NPST^4-1SG^1-ITER.TR^0

      ād $\{di^8\}$-lobed^7-a^4-bed^0-daan

      1SG 1^8-work.RUS.ANOM^7-NPST^4-ITER^0-while

    'He is always disturbing me, while I'm working' (Grišina 1979: 29)

(6.121) *sújat āt hʌ́laŋɔnʲsaŋ-daan āt dbílʲɛlʲ*

    sujad   ād   həlaŋ^7-Ø^6-o^4-n^2-saŋ^0-daan   ād   d$\{i\}^8$-b^3-l^2-il^0

    dress   1SG   sew^7-3N^6-PST^4-PST^2-R^0-while   1SG 1^8-3N^3-PST^2-sing^0

    'While I was sewing a dress, I was singing.'

Like *dugde*, the subordinator *daan* tends to be used with finite clauses, but it can also attach to an action nominal, as in (6.122).

(6.122) *but hʌ́lʲsɛj-daan āt dbílʲɛlʲ*

    bū-d   həlsej-daan   ād   d$\{i\}^8$-b^3-l^2-il^0

    3SG-F   sew.ANOM-while   1SG 1^8-3N^3-PST^2-sing^0

    'I was singing during her sewing.'

A rather interesting feature of these four dedicated subordinators, first noted in Grišina (1979: 131) for the finite *daan*-clauses (6.123), is that when the action or process described in the main clause occurs at a single point in time during the duration of the verbal action or process in the dependent one, the former tends to be expressed by a verb in the past tense, while the latter is in the present tense. Examples (6.123)-(6.126) show that it is also the case with the rest of the dedicated simultaneity subordinators.

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[90] Repeated from example (6.61) above.

(6.123) *bīs ī dɨnsut-daan taʔj bēj ɔɣɔn*

bīs	ī	d{u}^{8}-in^7-s^4-{q}ut^0-daan	taʔj	beʔj	o^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0
evening	sun	3^8-set^7-NPST^4-R^0-while	cold	wind	3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'In the evening, when the sun was setting (lit. is setting), a cold wind blew.'

(Grišina 1979: 132)

(6.124) *bū tɔʔj sɛ́sta-bɛsʲ dɔ́nnɛdij*

bū	toʔj	{du}^{8}-ses^7-ta^0-bes	d{u}^{8}-o^4-n^2-a^1-dij^0
3SG	top	3^8-place^7-be.in.position^0-while	3^8-PST^4-PST^2-3SS^1-come^0

'He came sitting on the top.' (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.125) *āt árʲenʲa dʌ́ttiŋ-das jéèl dímijak*

ād	aden-ka	də^8-d{i}^{1}-tiŋ^0-das	jéèl	di^8-b^3-{n^2-b}ək^0
1SG	forest-LOC	3N^8-1SG^1-turn^0-while	berry	3^8-3N^3-PST^2-find^0

'While I was wandering (lit. am wandering) in the forest, I found berries.'

(6.126) *bud bísʲɛp dúnɔ, bū uɣɔ́tn-dugdɛ*

bū-d	biseb	d{u}^{8}-o^4-n^2-qo^0	bū	u^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0-dukde
3SG-F	sibling	3^8-PST^4-PST^2-die^0	3SG	3F^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0-while

'Her brother died while she was walking (lit. is walking).'

It should be noted that dependent clauses marked by *bes*, *ās*, *dukde* and *daan* can in principle both follow and precede the main clause.

In addition to the specific simultaneity subordinators, this type of adverbial relations can be coded by a number of more generic temporal subordinators. These include *ka*, *qaka*, *kɨka* and *aska*; their function in many respects is similar to that of 'when' in English. The simultaneity semantics of the temporal relation in this case is inferred from other information present in the two clauses like, for example, tense-aspect-modality of the clauses or the lexical-semantic specificity of the verbs (Givón 1993: 288).

The following examples illustrate the use of the subordinator *ka* in the coding of simultaneity relations.

(6.127) *ām dɔtɔʁɔt-ka, ʌtn unat dasqansʲan*

ām	da^8-t^5-a^5-qut^0-ka		ətn	unat	d{i}^{8}-asqan^7-s^2-a^0-n^{-1}
mother	3F^8-TH^5-NPST^4-lie^0-when		1PL	quiet	1^8-story.PL^7-NPST^2-speak^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'When mother is sleeping, we are speaking in hushed tones.'

(Grišina 1979: 48)

(6.128) *kɛʔt bɔgdɔm tannɔulʲbɛt-ka, assɛlʲ ɔɣɔn*

keʔd	bokdom	{du}^{8}-tanno^7-Ø^6-o^4-l^2-bed^0-ka		assel	o^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0
person	rifle	3^8-aim^7-3N^6-PST^4-PST^2-ITER^0-when		animal	3SG.M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'When the man was aiming (his) rifle, the animal went.' (Grišina 1979: 49)

The dependent clauses marked by *ka* tend to be placed before the main clause, although there are a few examples in which the *ka*-clauses follow the main one.

Both *qaka* and *kika* behave similarly to *ka*. The examples below illustrate the use of these subordinators in simultaneity adverbial clauses.

(6.129) *ítiŋ hɨ árʲatn-qaɣa aːŋ ulʲ dábrʲɔp*

it-iŋ	hɨ	ad^7-Ø^6-a^4-den^0-qaka		áàŋ	ūl	d{i}^{8}-a^4-b^3-dob^0
tooth-PL	still	hurt^7-3N^6-NPST^4-go^0-when		hot	water	1^8-NPST^4-3N^3-drink^0

'When the teeth still hurt, I'm drinking hot water.' (Grišina 1979: 90)

(6.130) *dilʲduksɛtin-qaɣa ulɛsʲ datpijaq*

{du}^{8}-dil^7-d^5-o^4-kset^0-in^{-1}-qaka		ules	d{u}^{8}-at^7-b^3-j^2-aq^0
3^8-dress^7-TH^5-PST^4-R.PST^0-AN.PL^{-1}-when		rain	3^8-pour^7-3N^3-PST^2-MOM^0

'When we were dressing, it rained.' (Grišina 1979: 95)

(6.131) *āt lʲɔvɛravɛt-kɨɣa, bū āt bɛʔk dɛsʲkɛjqadda*

ād	{di^8}-lobed^7-a^4-bed^0-kika
1SG	1^8-work.RUS.ANOM ^{7}-NPST^4-ITER^0-when

	bū	ād	beʔk	d{u}^{8}-eskej^7-q^5-a^4-d{i}^{1}-da^0
	3SG	1SG	always	3^8-throw.ANOM^7-CAUS^5-NPST^4-1SG.SS^1-ITER.TR^0

'When I'm working, he is always disturbing me' (Grišina 1979: 109)

(6.132) *buŋ bilʲdɛlʲɛɣin-kɨɣa, buŋna qa bisʲɛp daqaujaq*

bū-ŋ	{du}^{8}-b^3-l^2-dil^0-ekin^{-1}-kika
3-PL	3^8-3N^3-PST^2-sing^0-AN.PL^{-1}-when

	bu-ŋ-na	qā	biseb	da^8-qa^7-o^4-j^2-aq^0
	3-PL-AN.PL.POSS	inside	sibling	3F^8-inside^7-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'When they were singing, the sister entered their house.' (Grišina 1979: 110)

These subordinators can also be combined with action nominals to express simultaneity, as illustrated below.

(6.133) *Átna úška éjiŋ-ga qónijɔ̀bɔn*

ət-na	uska	ejiŋ-ka	qonij[7]-o[4]-b[3]-{q}on[0]
1PL-POSS.PL	back	go.ANOM-LOC	dark[7]-PST[4]-3N[3]-become[0]

'When we were going back, it became dark.'

(6.134) *but hʌ́lʲsɛj-qaɣa āt dbílʲɛl*

bu-d	həlsej-qaka	ād	di[8]-b[3]-il[0]
3SG-F.POSS	sew.ANOM-when	1SG	1[8]-3N[3]-sing[0]

'When she was sewing I was singing.'

(6.135) *āt dbílʲɛl ámd hʌ́lʲsɛj-kɨɣa*

ād	di[8]-b[3]-il[0]	ām-d	həlsej-kɨka
1SG	1[8]-3N[3]-sing[0]	mother-F.POSS	sew.ANOM-when

'I was singing when (my) mother was sewing.'

Another generic temporal subordinator, *aska*, is also often used to code simultaineous relations. Like the subordinator *daan*, *aska* can be combined only with finite verbs. The *aska*-clauses can both follow and precede the main clause, as illustrated in (6.136) and (6.137), respectively.

(6.136) *sámlʲa qímn dílʲgarasʲt tájaŋɔotin, ásʲka búŋna tátn kʌ́jbaŋdiŋtaŋ*

samla	qim-n	dilkad-as	d{u}[8]-t/a[4]-aŋ[1]-qutn[0]
some	women-PL	children-COM	3[8]-AT/NPST[4]-3AN.PL.SS[1]-many.walk[0]
aska	bu-ŋ-na	tatn	kəj-baŋ-di-ŋt-aŋ
when	3-PL-AN.PL.POSS	husband.PL	hunt.ANOM-place-N.POSS-ADESS-AN.PL.PRED

'Some women walk around with the kids, when their husbands are on the hunt.'

(6.137) *áška ə̄t dísqɔɔ̀lʲgɛtin, qónijɔ̀bɔn*

aska	ə̄t	d{i}[8]-isqo[7]-o[4]-l[2]-ked[0]-in[-1]	qonij[7]-o[4]-b[3]-{q}on[0]
when	1PL	1[8]-fish.ANOM[7]-PST[4]-PST[2]-ITER[0]-AN.PL[-1]	dark[7]-PST[4]-3N[3]-become[0]

'When we were fishing, it became dark.'

Since, as we already mentioned above, *aska* is a calque from the Russian language, it can co-occur with other subordinators that mark simultaneity. Example (6.138) illustrates the combination of *aska* and *daan*, while in example (6.139) we can see *aska* combined with *ka*.

(6.138) *áska dʌ́ŋɔnɛn-daan, tɔ́luɣɔn áslin*

aska	dəŋ⁶-{k⁵}-o⁴-n²-{d}en⁰-daan	{di}⁸-t⁵-o⁴-l²-oŋ⁰-n⁻¹	aslin
when	1PL⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-go⁰-while	1⁸-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-see⁰-AN.PL⁻¹	boat

'When we were going, we saw a boat.'

(6.139) *aska būŋ ɔgɔndɛn-gɛ, kʌn hivʌn ɛsavut*

aska	bu-ŋ	o⁶-k⁵-o⁴-n²-den⁰-ka	kɔ̄n	hi-bən	es⁷-a⁴-b³-{q}ut⁰
when	3-PL	3SG.M⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-go⁰-when	dawn	still-NEG	up⁷-PST⁴-3N³-climb⁰

'When we were leaving, it has not dawned yet.' (Dul'zon 1971b: 120)

6.3.1.2.2 Terminal boundary relations

There are two subordinators specifically dedicated to expressing the temporal boundary type of adverbial relations in Ket. They are *qone* (6.140) and *baŋqone* (6.141).

(6.140) *sújat āt hʌ́laŋɔnʲsaŋ-qɔnɛ āt bílʲɛl*

sujad	ād	{di}⁸-həlaŋ⁷-o⁴-n²-saŋ⁰-qone	ād	{di}⁸-b³-il²-il⁰
dress	1SG	1⁸-sew⁷-PST⁴-PST²-R⁰-until	1SG	1⁸-3N³-PST²-sing⁰

'I sang until I sewed the dress (i.e. finished sewing the dress).'

(6.141) *āt isɔʁɔbaɣaʁan, ū bimbaʁɔt baŋqɔn*[91]

ād	isoqo⁷-ba⁶-k⁵-a⁴-qan⁰	ū	bin⁷-b³-qut⁰-baŋqone
1SG	fish.ANOM⁷-1SG⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-INCH.NPST⁰	strength	self⁷-3N³-finish⁰-until

'I will be fishing until my strength is finished.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

Still, the most frequent way to code this type of relations is by using the subordinator *baŋdiŋa*.[92] In this case, the clauses marked with *baŋdiŋa* usually follow the main clause as in (6.142).

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[91] Repeated from example (6.83) above.
[92] As we already mentioned in Section 6.2.1.2.5, it is also used in locative relations, so it cannot be regarded as dedicated.

(6.142) *āt tunun ditɔʁɔt, ī daɛsaʁɔt-baŋdiŋa*

ād	tunun	di⁸-t⁵-a⁴-qut⁰	ī	da⁸-es⁷-a⁴-qut⁰-baŋdiŋa	
1SG	much	1⁸-TH⁵-NPST⁴-lie⁰	sun	3F⁸-up⁷-NPST⁴-lie⁰-when	

'I will be sleeping until the sun rises.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

Neither *baŋdiŋa* nor *baŋqone* and *qone* have been attested with action nominals to form temporal boundary relations.

It is also possible to express temporal boundary with the help of the generic subordinator *aska* and the negative particle *bān* (i.e. 'while ... not' = 'until'), which is most likely a copy of the Russian construction *poka … ne* 'while … not'. This construction is presented in (6.143).

(6.143) *āt túnun tɔ́luʁut úlʲɛsʲ ásʲka bān ɔ́ksʲit*

ād	tunun	{di}⁸-t⁵-o⁴-l²-qut⁰	ules	aska	bān	oksit
1SG	much	1⁸-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-lie⁰	rain	when	NEG	finish

'I was sleeping (that much) until the rain stopped.'

A similar construction involving the negative particle can be formed with *baŋdiŋa* as illustrated in (6.144). In this case, however, the *baŋdiŋa* clause usually precedes the main one.

(6.144) *u bɔgdɔm abɨŋa bʌn kiːɔbas baŋdiŋa, at dassunɔ bʌnʲ bɔɣɔt*

ū	bokdom	ab-iŋa	bān	k{u}⁸-i{k}⁷-u⁶-{k⁵}-bes⁰-baŋdiŋa
2SG	rifle	1SG.POSS-DAT	NEG	2⁸-here⁷-3N⁶-TH⁵-move⁰-when

ād	d-assano	bān	bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-d{en}⁰
1SG	3N-hunt.ANOM	NEG	1SG⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-go⁰

'I will not go hunting, until you bring me a rifle.' (Grišina 1979: 89)

Example (6.145) illustrates that *aska* can be combined with *bandiŋa* as well.

(6.145) *tɔʔn sʲílɛn, ásʲka bānʲ ílʲaŋ bímbaʁut-baŋdiŋa*

tɔʔn	{du}⁸-sij⁷-l²-a⁰-n⁻¹		aska	bān	ilaŋ	bin⁷-b³-qut⁰-baŋdiŋa
so	3⁸-eat.ANOM⁷-PST²-ACTIVE⁰-AN.PL⁻¹		when	NEG	eat.ANOM	self⁷-3N³-finish⁰-until

'And so they were eating until the food was finished.'

6.3.1.2.3 Initial boundary relations

Initial boundary relations are coded by the subordinator *diŋal* (sometimes shortened to *dil*) which is also used to mark reason relations (cf. 6.3.4). The *diŋal*-clauses usually tend to precede the main clause (6.146), although they can follow it as well (6.147).

(6.146) *āt kʌʔj tajɣɛ-diŋalʲ āb qɨm beʔk qɔk keʔt qa da sʲɛsʲta*

ād	kəʔj	t⁵-a⁴-ka⁰-diŋal			
1SG	hunt.ANOM	TH⁵-NPST⁴-walk⁰-ABL			

āb	qīm	beʔk	qōk	keʔd	qā	da⁸-ses⁷-ta⁰
1SG.POSS	wife	always	one.AN	person	home	3F⁸-place⁷-be.in.position⁰

'From when I go hunting, my wife always sits home alone.'

<div align="right">(Grišina 1979: 35)</div>

(6.147) *uɣɔn qō sikŋ ɛsʲtiŋa bʌnasʲ di:laq-diŋalʲ*

u⁶-k⁵-o⁴-{n²-de}n⁰	qō	sikŋ	es-diŋa	bənas	di⁸-l²-aq⁰-diŋal
3SG.N⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-[PST²]-go⁰	ten	year.PL	forest-DAT	NEG	1⁸-PST²-go⁰-ABL

'Ten years had passed, since when I didn't go to the forest.'

<div align="right">(Grišina 1979: 32)</div>

Action nominals combined with *diŋal* to express initial boundary have not been attested.

Finally, initial boundary relations can also be expressed with the help of the generic *aska* (6.148).

(6.148) *úɣɔnʲ dɔʔŋ qɔ́gdɛn, áška qɔ́nɛšàtɔnɔq āb bíšep*

u⁶-k⁵-o⁴-{n²-de}n⁰	doʔŋ	qokde-n
3SG.N⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-{PST²}-go⁰	three	autumn-PL

aska	qones⁷-a⁶-t⁵-o⁴-n²-oq⁰	āb	biseb
when	lost⁷-3SG.M⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-become.PST⁰	1SG.POSS	sibling

'Three years had passed since my brother got lost.'

6.3.1.3 Anteriority relations

The subordinator *qadika* is semantically specific to coding subsequence of events, i.e. anteriority relations. It can be combined both with finite verbs (6.149) and action nominals (6.150).

(6.149) *āp bisʲɛp dunɔ-qariga ɔ̄t ɛlɔqdiŋa diːmbɛsin*

| āb | biseb | du⁸-n²-{q}o⁰-qadika | ɔ̄t | eloq-di-ŋa | di⁸-{ik⁷}-n²-bes⁰-in⁻¹ |

$\bar{a}b$ biseb du^8-n^2-{q}o^0-qadika $\bar{o}t$ eloq-di-ŋa di^8-{ik^7}-n^2-bes^0-in^{-1}

1SG.POSS   sibling 3^8-PST²-die⁰-after   1PL   E.-N-DAT 1^8-here⁷-PST²-move⁰-AN.PL⁻¹

'After my brother died, we moved to Eloguj.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.150) *sajdɔ-r-qarga bis digbasɔlvitn ispɨt dɛʔŋ*

sajdo-d-qadika   bɨ̄s   d{u}⁸-ikbes⁷-o⁴-l²-bed⁰-n⁻¹

tea.drink.ANOM-N.POSS-after   evening 3^8-come.ANOM⁷-PST⁴-PST²-ITER⁰-AN.PL⁻¹

isbed   deʔŋ

meat.make.ANOM   people

'After drinking tea, in the evening, people came to cut meat.'

(Belimov 1973: 173)

The dependent clauses marked by *qadika* can also be found following the main clause, as in (6.151) and (6.152) below.

(6.151) *āt bílʲɛl sújat ámda hʌ́laŋɔnʲsaŋ-qarʲɣa*

ād   {di}⁸-b³-l²-il⁰   sujad   ām   da⁸-həlaŋ⁷-o⁴-n²-saŋ⁰-qadika

1SG 1^8-$3N^3$-PST²-sing⁰   dress   mother $3F^8$-sew⁷-PST⁴-PST²-R⁰-after

'I sang after (my) mother sewed the dress.'

(6.152) *āt bílʲɛl ámd hʌ́lʲsijt-qarʲɣa*

ād   {du}⁸-b³-il²-il⁰   ām-d   həlsij-d-qadika

1SG 3^8-$3N^3$-PST²-sing⁰   mother-F.POSS   sew.ANOM-N.POSS-after

'I sang after mother's sewing the dress.'

Note that unlike *kubka* 'before' and some other subordinators, *qadika* requires the presence of the possessive augment when it is used with an action nominal, as in (6.150) and (6.152).

The aforementioned generic subordinators *ka* (6.153), *qaka* (6.154), *kɨka* (6.155) and *aska* (6.156) can also be used to code subsequence of events. The subsequence semantics is inferred by the succession of clauses, which is iconic. The anteriority clauses marked by these subordinators always precede the main clause.

(6.153) *usɔbɔn-ka kɛnɔŋtu assɛn diːnbisin*

us^7-o^4-b^3-{q}on^0-ka		ken-oŋ-tu	assen	d{u}^{8}-i{k}^{7}-n^2-bes^0-in^{-1}

warm^7-PST^4-3N^3-become^0-LOC   wing-PL-ADJ   animal.PL   3^8-here^7-PST^2-move^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'When it got warm, birds came flying.' (Grišina 1979: 54)

(6.154) *qɔja daʁaj qaɣa, ab qʌjbɛsʲ uɣɔn*

qòja   d{i}^{8}-a^4-q^2-ej^0-qaka   āb   qəjbes   u^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0

bear   1^8-3SG.M^4-PST^2-kill^0-when   1SG.POSS   be.angry.ANOM   3N^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'When I had killed the bear, my rage ceased.' (Grišina 1979: 97-98)

(6.155) *bɔgdɔm dgajbuʁus kiɣa, assunɔbaɣaʁan*

bokdom   d{i}^{8}-kaj^7-b^3-qos^0-kika   assano^7-ba^6-k^5-a^4-qan^0

rifle   1^8-limb^7-3N^3-take^0-when   hunt.ANOM^7-1SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-INCH.NPST^0

'When I buy a rifle, I will start hunting.' (Grišina 1979: 110)

(6.156) *asʲka baŋus bɔʔk dəbil, báàt igdɛ ɔɣɔn sʲɛnnaŋa*

aska   baŋqus   boʔk   də^8-b^3-il^2-{a}^{0}

when   dugout   fire   3N^8-3N^3-PST^2-eat^0

  báàd   ikda   o^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0 sen-na-ŋa

  old.man   to.river   3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0 deer.PL-AN.PL.POSS-DAT

'When the dugout had burned down, the old man went down to the reindeer.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

Note that with the dedicated subordinator *qadika*, the order of clauses is not relevant to inferring the anteriority interpretation, cf. (6.149)-(6.152).

6.3.2 Conditional relations

Like many languages, Ket has no special subordinator to mark conditional relations. Instead, several temporal subordinators denoting temporal overlap relations are employed. Therefore conditional clauses in Ket are structurally similar to temporal ones. The subordinators used to code conditional relations are as follows: *ka, qaka, kɨka* and *aska*. When used with conditional clauses, these subordinators are mutually

interchangeable.[93] Although all of them, except *aska*, can attach to action nominals to form temporal clauses, no non-finite conditionals have been attested.

The following examples illustrate reality[94] conditional clauses in Ket.

(6.157) *bū ɔɣɔt-ka āt bʌn kastiʁus*[95]

bū	o^6-k^5-o^4-d{en}^{0}-ka			āad	bēn	{du^8}-kas^7-di^1-qos^0
3SG	3SG.M^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0-LOC	1SG	NEG	{3^8}-limb^7-1SG^1-take^0		

'If/when he leaves, he won't take me.' (Grišina 1979: 58)

(6.158) *ísʲχɔ bɔɣɔt-qaɣa kúŋa qáksaχ*

isqo	bo^6-k^5-o^4-d[en]^0-qaka		ku-ŋa	{di^8}-qa^8-k^5-s^4-aq^0
fish.ANOM	1SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0-when	2SG.POSS-DAT	{1^8}-inside^7-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0	

'If/when I go hunting, I will come to you.'

(6.159) *bū bʌn ɔɣɔtn-kiɣɛ ā bin bɔɣɔtn*[96]

bū	bēn	o^6-k^5-o^4-den^0-kika		ā{d}	bīn	bo^6-k^5-o^4-den^0
3SG	NEG	3SG.M^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0-when	1SG	self	1SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0	

'If/when he doesn't come I will go myself.' (Grišina 1979: 114)

(6.160) *ásʲka ū bēnʲ kíksibɛsʲ ə̄t ū sáŋbɛt dʌŋát*

aska	ū	bēn	k{u}^{8}-ik^7-s^4-bes^0		ə̄t	ū	saŋbed	dəŋ^6-{k^5}-a^4-den^0
when	2SG	NEG	2^8-here^7-NPST^4-move^0	1PL	2SG	search.ANOM	2PL^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0	

'If/when you don't come, we will go looking for you.'

As we can see, these reality conditionals are structurally the same as the corresponding temporal overlap clauses (cf. 6.3.1.2).

Hypothetical conditionals, i.e. those expressing an imaginary situation of middle-probability, require the presence of the optative particle *qān* immediately before a finite verb in the dependent (protasis) clause. Note that the verb in the dependent clause is always in its preterite form, while in the main clause, the verb remains in the present tense.

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[93] The only exception might be *kika* which is not attested with predictive conditionals. But it can be simply accounted to the lack of relevant data, since our language consultants preferred to use *ka* and *qaka* for all types conditional relations (cf. footnote 85), rather than to some structural or semantic constraint.

[94] In the sense of Givón (1990: 829).

[95] Repeated from example (6.49) above.

[96] Repeated from example (6.77) above.

(6.161) *bīsʲ bə̄nʲ qān kímɛsʲ-ka, ə̄tn ūk sʲáŋbɛt dʌŋát*

bīs	bə̄n	qān	k{u}⁸-i{k}⁷-n²-bes⁰-ka	ə̄tn	ūk	saŋbed	dəŋ⁶-a⁴-d{en}⁰
evening	NEG	OPT	2SG⁸-here⁷-PST²-move⁰-LOC	1PL	2SG	seek	1PL⁶-NPST⁴-go⁰

'If, say, you don't come in the evening, we will go to seek for you.'

(6.162) *bū qān ɔ́ɣɔn-qaɣa, āt bə̄n bɔɣɔ́tn*

bū	qān	o⁶-k⁵-o⁴-n²-{den⁰}-qaka	ād	bə̄n	bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-den⁰
3SG	OPT	1SG⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-go⁰-when	1SG	NEG	1SG⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-go⁰

'If, say, he goes, I will not go.'

(6.163) *áska bū qān dabílʲ, āt bū díjɛj*

aska	bū	qān	da⁸-b³-l²-{a⁰}	ād	bū	d{i}⁸-i⁴-ej⁰
when	3SG	OPT	3F⁸-3N³-PST²-eat⁰	1SG	3SG	1⁸-3F⁴-kill⁰

'If she, say, eats it, I will kill her.'

Conditionals that refer to unreal situations, i.e. counterfactual ones, are formed with the help of the irrealis particle *sīm*. The particle is inserted immediately before the verb in the preterite form in both the main and the dependent clause.

(6.164) *qɔ́nɔksʲ āt kápkan bə̄nʲ sʲīm qɔ́nɛsʲùnbɛt-ka, énqɔŋ kʌʁén sʲīm dakástitnɛm*

qonoks	ād	kapkan	bə̄n	sīm	qones⁷-u⁶-n²-bed⁰-ka
yesterday	1SG	trap	NEG	IRR	lost⁷-3N⁶-PST²-make⁰-LOC

enqoŋ	kəqen	sīm	da⁸-kas⁷-tit⁴-n²-am⁰
today	fox	IRR	3N⁸-limb⁷-3F⁴-PST²-take⁰

'If I hadn't lost my trap yesterday, it would have taken a fox today.'

(6.165) *ū sʲim ki·mbɛsʲ-qaɣa, ə̄tn sʲim t-sʲajdɔɣɔlʲbɛtin*

ū	sīm	k{u}⁸-i{k}⁷-n²-bes⁰-qaka	ətn	sīm	d{u}⁸-sajdo⁷-k⁵-o⁴-l²-bed⁰-in⁻¹
2SG	IRR	2SG⁸-here⁷-PST²-move⁰-when	1PL	IRR	3⁸-tea.drink⁷-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-ITER⁰-AN.PL⁻¹

'If you had come, we would have drunk tea.' (Werner 1997: 350)

(6.166) *abɨŋ ɔp sim bɨldɛ-kɨɣɛ, āt daŋa sim bɔɣɔn qusʲtiŋa*

ab-iŋa	ōb	sīm	obilde-kika
1SG.POSS-DAT	father	IRR	to.be.PST-when

ād	da-ŋa	sīm	bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-{n²-de}n⁰	qus-di-ŋa
1SG	M-DAT	IRR	1SG⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-go⁰	tent-N-DAT

'If I had a father, I would go to him in the tent.' (Grišina 1979: 115)

(6.167) *āt sʲūj sʲīm ítparʲɛm*[97] *ásʲka, āt sʲīm t-tɨlʲtɛrɔ̀lʲbɛt*

ād	sūj	sīm	it^7-ba^6-d{i}^{1}-am^0	ād	sīm	d{i}^{8}-tilted^7-o^4-l^2-bed^0
1SG	swim	IRR	know^7-1SG^6-1SG.SS^1-R^0	1SG	IRR	1^8-bathe^7-PST^4-PST^2-ITER^0

'If I could swim, I would bathe.'

6.3.3 Purpose relations

Purpose relations in Ket are usually expressed by the action nominal, either in an unmarked form (6.168) or in combination with the subordinator *esaŋ* (6.169). The unmarked form is used only with motion verbs, expressing a purpose or goal.

(6.168) *bū qɔ́rɛsʲ ísqɔ ɔɣɔ́n*

bū	qodes	isqo	o^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0
3SG	yesterday	fish.ANOM	3M^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0

'He went to fish yesterday.'

(6.169) *ámd hʌ́lʲsij-ɛsaŋ āt kílʲaŋ díɣunus*

am-d	həlsij-esaŋ	ād	kilaŋ	d{i}^{8}-ik^7-u^4-n^2-bes^0
mother-3F.POSS	sew.ANOM-TRANSL	1SG	thread.PL	1^8-here^7-3N^4-PST^2-move^0

'I brought threads for mother to sew.'

When the subject of the dependent clause coded by the action nominal is different from the subject of the main clause, it is expressed as a possessor, cf. (6.169) above in which the subject of *həlsij* 'to sew' is expressed by the possessive noun phrase *amd* 'mother's'.

The subordinator *esaŋ* can also be attached to a finite purpose clause, but this strategy seems to be less frequent.

(6.170) *būŋ muzɛjaŋdiŋa tajaŋɢɔtn istɔrʲija aqta itaŋlʲam-ɛsʲaŋ*[98]

bū-ŋ	muzej-aŋ-di-ŋa	{du^8}-t^5-a^4-aŋ^1-qutn^0
3-PL	museum.RUS-PL-N-DAT	3^8-TH^5-NPST^4-3PL.SS^1-many.walk^0

istorija	aqta	it^7-aŋ^6-l^2-am^0-esaŋ
history.RUS	good	know^7-3AN.PL^6-PST^2-R^0-TRANSL

'They visit museums in order to know history well.'

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[97] As we already mentioned in Chapter 2, this verb is irregular; it does not distinguish between past and non-past forms.
[98] Repeated from example (6.53) above.

Another frequent way to express purpose relations in Ket is by juxtaposition of two finite clauses, in which the purposive one contains the verbal particle *qān* with the optative meaning (6.171).

(6.171) *túnʲɛ dúmn désijɣin, kīrʲ tām qānʲ dútɔʁɔt*

tu-ne	dum-n	d{u}[8]-es[7]-ij[0]-in[-1]		ki-d	tām	qān	du[8]-t[5]-a[4]-qut[0]
this-AN.PL	bird-PL	3[8]-shout[7]-ACTIVE[0]-PL[-1]		this-M	INDEF	OPT	3[8]-TH[5]-NPST[4]-lie[0]

'These birds are singing (lit. are shouting), so that this one would sleep.'

The purposive meaning of the clause with *qān* can be reinforced by the use of the subordinator *esaŋ*, as in (6.172).

(6.172) *āt dúptɛ dɔ́mnɛ ōk qān dakásaʁɔs-ɛsʲaŋ*

ād	dubta	d{i}[8]-o[4]-b[3]-n[2]-a[0]	ōk	qān	da[8]-kas[7]-a[4]-qos[0]-esaŋ
1SG	samolov	1[8]-PST[4]-3N[3]-PST[2]-put[0]	sterlet	OPT	3N[8]-limb[7]-3M[4]-take[0]-TRANSL

'I put a samolov (a.k.o. fishing device), in order to catch a sterlet (lit. so that it would take a sterlet)'

Intent or purpose can be in principle expressed by juxtaposition without using the particle *qān*, but this strategy, like the one with unmarked action nominal, seems to be limited to motion predicates. In this case, the purpose clause always follows the main clause, as exemplified in (6.173).

(6.173) *ə̄t ɔska dɔŋɔnʲ dɛŋnal kasɔŋɢɔnin tap*

ə̄t	uska	dəŋ[6]-{k[5]}-o[4]-{n[2]-de}n[0]		
2PL	back	2PL[6]-TH[5]-PST[4]-PST[2]-go[0]		
deŋ-na-{ŋa}l	{di[8]}-kas[7]-oŋ[4]-qus[0]-nin[-1]		tāb	
people-AN.PL-ABL	1[8]-limb[7]-3AN.PL[4]-take[0]-AN.PL[-1]		dog.PL	

'We went back in order to take dogs from the people.'

(Kotorova and Porotova 2001: 64)

Grišina (1979: 42) also provides an instance of a purposive construction involving the subordinator *dita*, which is usually used to code reason relations (see 6.3.4 below).

(6.174) *íŋɢusʲ díbbɛt-dita āt lʲésdiŋalʲ aˀq ttáŋùksibɛt*[99]

iŋqus	di^8-b^3-bed^0-dita	ād	les-diŋal	aˀq	d{i}^{8}-taŋ^7-u^6-k^5-s^4-bed^0
house	1^8-3N^3-make^0-BEN	1SG	forest-ABL	wood	1^8-drag.ANOM^7-3SG.N^6-TH^5-NPST^4-ITER^0

'To build a house I bring wood from the forest.'

In order to negate the non-finite purpose clause, the negative particle *bə̄n* is used. It is inserted before the negated action nominals, as in (6.175).

(6.175) *āt kílaŋ kʌ́ma díɣunus ámd bə̄n hʌlʲsij-ɛsaŋ*

ād	kilaŋ	kəma	d{i}^{8}-ik^7-u^4-n^2-bes^0
1SG	thread.PL	away	1^8-here^7-3N^4-PST^2-move^0

am-d	bə̄n	həlsij-esaŋ
mother-3F.POSS	NEG	sew.ANOM-TRANSL

'I took the threads away for mother not to sew.'

Negation of the finite purpose clauses is usually performed by the combination of the prohibitive particle *āt* and the optative particle *qān* (often contracted to *atɨn*), as illustrated in (6.176).

(6.176) *aˀq ɔ̀nʲ thándɔ, ánuksʲ āt qān dáʁasʲa*

aˀq	ɔn	d{i}^{8}-ha^7-n^2-do^0	anuks	āt	qān	d{i}^{8}-aqas^7-a^0
wood	many	1^8-perpendicular^7-PST^2-cut^0	tomorrow	PROH	OPT	1^8-cut.wood^7-ACTIVE^0

'I chopped more wood in order not to chop it tomorrow.'

6.3.4 Reason relations

The most common way to form adverbial clauses expressing reason relations (often referred to as causal clauses) is by using the following subordinators: ablative *diŋal* (6.177), adessive *diŋta* (6.178) and benefactive *dita* (6.179). The reason clauses marked by these subordinators can either precede or follow the main clause.

(6.177) *bū dútaʁɔt búda ū bínɔʁɔt-diŋalʲ*

bū	du^8-t^5-a^5-qut^0	bu-da	ū	b{in}^{7}-{b^3}-in^2-{q}ut^0-diŋal
3SG	3^8-TH^5-NPST^4-lie^0	3SG-M.POSS	strength	self^7-3N^3-PST^2-finish^0-ABL

'He is lying, because he is tired (lit. his strength is finished).'

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[99] Repeated from example (6.45) above.

(6.178) *burɛ ū binɔt-diŋti baŋlɔrɔn*[100]

bude	ū	b{in}[7]-{b[3]}-n[2]-{q}ut[0]-diŋt	{du[8]}-baŋ[7]-l[2]-adon[0]
his	strength	self[7]-3N[3]-PST[2]-finish[0]-ADESS	3[8]-ground[7]-PST[2]-fall[0]

'He fell down, because he is tired (lit. his strength is finished).'

(Grišina 1979: 40)

(6.179) *bū ūlʲ bə̄nʲ dábdɔp dasʲēŋ árʲat-dita*

bū	ūl	bə̄n	d{u}[8]-a[4]-b[3]-dob[0]	da-sēŋ	ad[7]-a[4]-d{en}[0]-dit
3SG	water	NEG	3[8]-NPST[4]-3N[3]-drink[0]	M.POSS-liver	be.sick[7]-NPST[4]-go[0]-BEN

'He doesn't drink vodka, because his liver hurts.'

The dependent clauses marked by the adessive subordinator *diŋta* (6.180) and the benefactive subordinator *dita* (6.181) can also express the notion of motivation, rather than direct reason/cause for the action of the participant in the main clause. In this case, the dependent clause always precedes the main clause, and the verb in the main clause is often in the imperative mood. This semantic nuance cannot be expressed with the help of the ablative subordinator *diŋal*.

(6.180) *āt aqta dasqansʲa-diŋt ū abiŋa aqta kɨilʲgɛt*

ād	aqta	d{i}[8]-asqan[7]-s[4]-a[0]-diŋt		
1SG	good	1SG[8]-story.PL[7]-NPST[4]-speak[0]-ADESS		
ū	ab-iŋa	aqta	kɨi[7]-a[4]-l[2]-ked[0]	
2SG	1SG.POSS-DAT	good	price[7]-NPST[4]-IMP[2]-make[0]	

'For my good speaking, you pay me well!' (Grišina 1979: 41)

(6.181) *bū īs díɣɔnbɛs-dit ād bū naˀn dóbrijaq*

bū	īs	d{u}[8]-ik[7]-Ø[6]-o[4]-n[2]-bes[0]-dit		
3SG	fish	3[8]-here[7]-3N[6]-PST[4]-PST[2]-move[0]-BEN		
ād	bū	naˀn	d{i}[8]-o[6]-b[3]-dij[2]-aq[0]	
1SG	3SG	bread	1[8]-3SG.M[6]-3N[3]-PST[2]-give[0]	

'For his bringing fish, I gave him bread.'

In addition to *diŋta* and *dita*, the motivational semantics of reason relations can be expressed by means of the subordinator *dokot*. This subordinator is restricted to this function only; it cannot be used to express direct reason/cause like in (6.177)-

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[100] Repeated from example (6.42) above.

(6.178) above. Likewise, the dependent clause marked by *dokot* always precedes the main clause.

(6.182) *qibɔ ārʲ ū tpɔsɔbatkuɣavɛt-dɔɣɔt ū asʲkʌʔt tanʲgi*[101]

qib-o	ād	ū	d{i}^{8}-posobad^7-ku^6-k^5-a^4-bed^0-dokot
old.man-VOC	1SG	2SG	1SG^8-help.RUS.ANOM^7-2SG^6-TH^5-NPST^4-make^0-for
ū	askəd	t^5-a^4-n^2-kij^0	
2SG	fairy-tale	TH^5-NPST^4-IMP^2-tell^0	

'Grandfather, for my helping you, you tell a fairy-tale!' (Werner 1997: 349)

(6.183) *āt kuŋa daʁasʲa-dɔɣɔt, īn lʲɛmiŋ āt kajbuʁus*

ād	ku-ŋa	d{i}^{8}-aqas^7-a^0-dokot	
1SG	2SG.POSS-DAT	1^8-cut.wood^7-ACTIVE^0-for	
īn	lem-iŋ	ād	{di}^{8}-kaj^7-b^3-qos^0
two	plank-PL	1SG	1^8-limb^7-3N^3-take^0

'For my cutting wood for you, I will take two planks.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

In addition to finite verbs, the motivational type of reason relations can be formed with the help of action nominals, as illustrated below.

(6.184) *āb hʌ́lʲsʲɛj-diŋtan ū ávɨŋa kɨ́ɣalʲɛt*

āb	həlsij-diŋtan	ū	ab-iŋa	ki^7-k^5-a^4-l^2-ked^0
1SG.POSS	sew-ADESS	2SG	1SG.POSS-DAT	price^7-TH^5-NPST^4-IMP^2-make^0

'For my sewing, you pay me!'

(6.185) *qat hʌlʲčɛj-dit ūg abɨŋa īsʲ iɣɔnɔsʲ*

qaʔd	həlsij-dit	ūk	ab-iŋa	īs	ik^7-o^4-n^2-{q}os^0
parka	sew.ANOM-BEN	2SG	1SG.POSS-DAT	fish	here^7-PST^4-IMP^2-take^0

'For sewing parka, you bring me fish!' (Grišina 1979: 45)

(6.186) *āb hʌ́lʲsʲɛj-dɔɣɔt kɨ́ɣalʲɛt*

āb	həlsij-dokot	ki^7-k^5-a^4-l^2-ked^0
1SG.POSS	sew.ANOM-for	price^7-TH^5-NPST^4-IMP^2-make^0

'For my sewing, pay!'

The use of action nominals to express direct reason/cause relations is not attested.

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[101] Repeated from example (6.64) above.

6.3.5 Locative relations

There are several ways to express locative relations in Ket; they involve both clause-final and clause-initial subordinators.

The clause-final subordinators that are used to code locative relations include *diŋa*, *diŋta*, *baŋ* and *baŋdiŋa*. The subordinators *diŋa* (6.187) and *diŋta* (6.188) usually require the presence of a correlative adverb with locative semantics like *tuneŋa* '(to) there', *tuntan* '(to) there', *qaseŋ* 'there', etc. in the main clause. The locative clauses marked by these subordinators are always finite and they tend to precede the main clauses.

(6.187) *qè aʔq dutanʲ-diŋa tunʲiŋa būŋ diˑmbɛsʲin*

qè	aʔq	du^8-t^5-a^0-n^{-1}-diŋa
big	trees	3^8-TH^5-stand^0-AN.PL^{-1}-DAT

tuniŋa	bū-ŋ	d{i}^{8}-i{k}^{7}-n^2-bes^0-in^{-1}
there	3-PL	3^8-here^7-PST^2-move^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'To where the big trees stand, (to) there they came.' (Werner 1997: 353)

(6.188) *dɨlʲgat tɔlʲdamn-diŋt tuniŋa dɛsɔmdaq*

dilkad	t^5-o^4-l^2-dam^0-n^{-1}-diŋt	tuniŋa	d{a}^{8}-es^7-o^4-b^3-n^2-daq^0
children	TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-lie^0-AN.PL^{-1}-ADESS	there	3F^8-up^7-PST^4-3N^3-PST^2-throw^0

'She put it there, where the children were sleeping.' (Grišina 1979: 39)

The inherent semantics of these subordinators (dative and adessive, respectively) plays an important role in the semantics of the locative clauses they form. Thus, the dependent clauses marked by *diŋa* underline the locative goal of motion and therefore are mostly used with a motion verb in the main clause. The *diŋta*-clauses simply specify the location where the action or process described by the verb in the dependent clause takes place; therefore they are never used with motion verbs in the main clause (but see (6.194) below where this semantic constraint is overridden).

Like the temporal clauses described above, a locative clause formed with the help of *baŋ* is structurally similar to prenominal relative clauses, as can be seen in (6.189). Note that it always precedes the main clause and obligatorily requires the presence of a correlate in the form of the locational adverb *sóòŋ* 'there'.

(6.189) *bat dɔlʲdaq-baŋ, aq sʲɔŋ dɔlʲaŋtin*

báàd   d{u}^{8}-o^4-l^2-daq^0-baŋ   a^{ʔ}q   sóòŋ   d{u}^{8}-o^4-l^2-aŋ^1-tij^0-n^{-1}

old.man   3^8-PST^4-PST^2-live^0-where   tree.PL   there   3^8-PST^4-PST^2-3AN.PL^1-grow^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'Where the old man lived, there trees grew.' (Grišina 1979: 78)

The use of the subordinator *baŋdiŋa* in coding locative relations is similar to that of *diŋa*, i.e. the locative clauses marked by *baŋdiŋa* specify the goal of the motion predicate in the main clause. The locative *baŋdiŋa*-clauses are always finite. They can both precede and follow the main clause.

(6.190) *qim qɔnaŋd ʌːtkɛ sʲɛsʲɔlʲtɛ-baŋdiŋa, tuntan bu bɔk tɛlʲqimnɛ*

qīm   qon-aŋ-d   ə:tka   {da}^{8}-ses^7-o^4-l^2-ta^0-baŋdiŋa

woman fir.branch-PL-N.POSS   on.the.surface   3F^8-place^7-PST^4-PST^2-be.in.position^0-where

tuntan   bū   bo^{ʔ}k   {du}^{8}-tel^7-q^5-b^3-n^2-a^0

there.to   3SG   fire   3^8-push^7-CAUS^5-3N^3-PST^2-MOM^0

'To where the woman on the fir branches was sitting, there he pushed the fire.'

(Grišina 1979: 83)

(6.191) *bu tuntan dɛjtulʲɔt, ʌtta aslʲinin usʲbilʲdɛn-baŋdiŋa*

bū   tuntan   d{u}^{8}-ej^7-t^5-o^4-l^2-qut^0 ətta   aslin-in   us^7-b^3-l^2-den^0-baŋdiŋa

3SG   there.to   3^8-R^7-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0 2PL.POSS   boat-PL   R^7-3N^3-PST^2-R^0-where

'He ran there, where our boats stood.' (Grišina 1979: 84)

The clause-initial subordinators coding locative relations are *biséŋ* (6.192) and *biltan* (6.193). Since they originate from the corresponding interrogative adverbs, their use as subordinators can be attributed to the strong Russian influence. The locative clause they mark tend to follow the main clause. The main clause may contain an adverbial correlate as in example (6.191), but it is not obligatory.

(6.192) *bū ɔɣót, biséŋ dɛ^{ʔ}ŋ dássɔnavɛtin*

bū   o^6-k^5-o^4-d{en}^{0} biséŋ   dɛ^{ʔ}ŋ   d{u}^{8}-asson^7-a^4-bed^0-in^{-1}

3SG   3M^6-TH^5-NPST^4-go^0 where   people   3^8-hunt.ANOM^7-NPST^4-ITER^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'He is going (to the place) where people are hunting.'

(6.193) *uɣón túnʲtanʲ, bílʲtanʲ désʲtaŋ búŋsuʁɔn*

u^6-k^5-o^4-{n^2-de}n^0 tuntan   biltan   destaŋ   d{u}^{8}-bu^6-ŋ^5-s^4-qo^0-n^{-1}

3F^6-TH^5-PST^4-PST^2-go^0 there.to   where.to   eye.PL   3^8-3SS^6-TH^5-NPST^4-search.for^0-AN.PL^{-1}

'(She) went there, where the eyes are looking for.'

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

As we already pointed out in the discussion of the subordinator *aska* (cf. 6.2.2.2.1), the clause-intial subordinators originating from the interrogative adverbs are often redundantly used to mark dependent clauses that already contain a clause-final one. Consider the examples below in which locative relations are expressed via the combination of *biséŋ* with *diŋta* (6.194) and *baŋdiŋa* (6.195).

(6.194) *būŋ di·mbɛsʲin, bisʲɛŋ buda qīm qusʲt ʌːt dasʲɛsʲtɛ-diŋta*

       bū-ŋ   d{i}⁸-i{k}⁷-n²-bes⁰-in⁻¹

       3-PL   3⁸-here⁷-PST²-move⁰-AN.PL⁻¹

        bisén bu-da   qīm   qus-d   ɔ́əd   da⁸-ses⁷-ta⁰-diŋta

        where 3SG-M.POSS woman tent-N.POSS on.the.surface 3F⁸-place⁷-be.in.position⁰-ADESS

       'They came where his wife is sitting on a birch-bark tent.' (Werner 1997: 354)

(6.195) *qasʲ tuniŋa dilʲɔq, bisʲɛŋ ʌt lʲɔvɛrɔlʲbɛtin baŋdiŋa*

       qa-sʲ   tuniŋa   d{u}⁸-l²-aq⁰

       big-NMLZ   there.to   3⁸-PST²-go⁰

        bisén   ət   {di}⁸-lobed⁷-o⁴-l²-bed⁰-in⁻¹-baŋdiŋa

        where   1PL   1⁸-work.RUS.ANOM⁷-PST⁴-PST²-ITER⁰-AN.PL⁻¹-where

       'The chief went there, where we were working.' (Grišina 1979: 84)

6.3.6 Manner relations

Adverbial relations of manner are usually introduced by the specific subordinators *asqa* (6.196) and *eta qoda* (6.297).

(6.196) *būŋ tɔʔn duɣi·nʲ, ēn bilʲde dɛʔŋ duɣi·nʲ-asqa*

       bū-ŋ   tɔʔn   du⁸-k⁵-{daq⁰}-in⁻¹   ēn   bilde   dɛʔŋ   du⁸-k⁵-{daq⁰}-in⁻¹-asqa

       3-PL   so   3⁸-TH⁵-live⁰-AN.PL⁻¹ now all   people 3⁸-⁵-live⁰-AN.PL⁻¹-like

       'They live the same way that all humans live now.' (Werner 1997: 351)

(6.197) *tájɔbɔn éta qɔrʲa bérɛsʲ qām dátpaq*

       taj⁷-o⁴-b³-{q}on⁰   eta qoda   bedes   qām   d{u}⁸-at⁷-b³-aq⁰

       cold⁷-PST⁴-TH³-become⁰ as.if   snow.weather   soon   3⁸-pour⁷-3³-ACTIVE⁰

       'It has become cold as if it will snow soon.'

Dependent clauses marked by *eta qoda* and *asqa* tend to follow the main clause, but we were able to elicit examples of such clauses preceding the main one, as illustrated

below. Note that when the clause with *eta qoda* is in the preceding position, the main clause tends to contain the adverb *toˀn* 'so, such'.

(6.198) *āt díɾɛn-asqá burʲa dáʁaj*

ād	di^8-den^0-asqa	bū	da^8-daq^7-aj^0
1SG	1^8-cry^0-like	3SG	3F^8-laugh.ANOM^7-R^0

'She laughs like I cry.'

(6.199) *éta qóra bū dúɾɛn bū tɔˀnʲ rʲadáʁaj*

eta qoda	bū	du^8-den^0	bū	toˀn	da^8-daq^7-aj^0
as.if	3SG	3^8-cry^0	3SG	so	3F^8-laugh.ANOM^7-R^0

'She laughs the same way he cries.'

The manner relations can be in principle expressed with the help of the subordinator *bila* (6.200). It seems to be another calque from Russian, where the interrogative adverb *kak* is frequently used to code manner relations, as can be seen in (6.201).

(6.200) *āt díbbɛt bíla āb ōb dúbbɛt*[102]

ād	di^8-b^3-bed^0	bila	āb	ōb	du^8-b^3-bed^0
1SG	1^8-3N^3-make^0	like	1SG.POSS	father	3^8-3N^3-make^0

'I make it like my father makes it.'

(6.201) Russian

*Ja delaju èto **kak** delaet moj otec*

'I do it **like** my father does.'

6.4 Summary of Chapter 6

In this chapter we surveyed constructions that are employed to code adverbial relations in Ket. The Ket adverbial relations exhibit a rather wide range of formally distinct constructions coding them in addtition to asyndetic ones. The majority of these constructions are formed with the help of various relational morphemes, which is an areal feature of the Siberian languages (Anderson 2004: 65; cf. also Chapter 8). In Ket these markers can attach to both action nominals and finite verbs. The latter feature,

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[102] Repeated from example (6.97) above.

when a relational morpheme can directly govern finite clauses, is not found in the other languages of Siberia and is not very frequent cross-linguistically in general.

As we pointed out in Chapter 2, Ket relational morphemes can be divided into two general groups depending on whether they require a possessive augment on the head noun or not. Interestingly, some of the relational morphemes that require possessive marking on nouns do not trigger any marking when they govern an action nominal. A few others, on the other hand, retain possessive marking even when attached to finite verbs. However, the function or the exact impact of such possessive marking retention seems to be unclear. Table 6.1 summarizes the properties of the relational morphemes that are used to code adverbial relations with respect to possessive marking.

Type of host → ↓Relational markers	NOMINALS	ACTION NOMINALS	FINITE VERBS
aas	+	+	+
diŋa	+	+	+
diŋal	+	+	+
diŋta	+	+	+
dita	+	+	+
qadika	+	+	–
daan	+ (P)	– (P)	– (P)
dokot	+ (P)	– (P)	– (P)
dukde	– (P)	– (P)	– (P)
kubka	+	–	–
kika	+	–	–
qone	+	NA	–
bes	–	–	–
ka	–	–	–
esaŋ	–	–	–
asqa	–		–
baŋdiŋa	–		–
qaka	–	–	–

Table 6.1. Properties of subordinators in Ket[103]

[103] '+' = possessive marking, '–' = no possessive marking, P = petrified possessive marking, NA = not attested with this host.

In Table 6.2 we provide the list of semantic types of adverbial relations expressed in Ket and the corresponding list of subordinators that can be used to code them, as well as what kind of predicate (finite or non-finite) these subordinators are attested with when used for a particular type of adverbial relations.

SEMANTIC TYPE	MEMBER	PREDICATE FORM	
		finite	*non-finite*
Posteriority	*kubka*	+	+
	esaŋ	+	+
Simultaneity	*bes*	+	+
	aas	+	+
	dukde	+	+
	daan	+	+
	ka	+	+
	qaka	+	+
	kika	+	+
	aska	+	–
Temporal boundary	*qone*	+	+
	baŋqone	+	+
Initial boundary	*diŋal*	+	–
	aska	+	–
Anteriority	*qadika*	+	+
	ka	+	–
	qaka	+	–
	kika	+	–
	aska	+	–
Conditional	*ka*	+	–
	qaka	+	–
	kika	+	–
Purpose	*esaŋ*	+	+
	dita	+	No data[104]

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[104] 'No data' means that there are no examples for this particular subordinator.

Reason	*diŋal*	+	+
	diŋta	+	+
	dita	+	+
	dokot	+	+
Locative	*baŋ*	+	+
	baŋdiŋa	+	+
	diŋa	+	–
	diŋta	+	–
	biseŋ	+	–
	biltan	+	–
Manner	*asqa*	+	–
	eta qoda	+	–
	bila	+	–

Table 6.2. Properties of subordinators in Ket

In general, this table shows that Ket correlates with the typological findings presented in Cristofaro (2003), who proposed the so-called "Adverbial deranking hierarchy". As we already pointed out in Chapter 3, by "deranking" Cristofaro means the degree of deviation in the morphosyntatic properties expressed by the predicate of the dependent clause from that of the predicate in an independent sentence (elemintation of TAM distinctions, agreement distinctions, and so on). The more deviations the more deranked (D) is the predicate, the fewer deviations the more balanced (B) it is. Based on her cross-linguistic sample, (Cristofaro 2003: 168) proposes the following implicational hierarchy for the general semantic types of adverbial relations:

> PURPOSE > BEFORE, AFTER, WHEN > REALITY CONDITIONS, REASON

This hierarchy reads as follows: if a deranked form is used to code the dependent clause at any point on the hierarchy, then it is used at all points to the left. It also indicates that, for example, Purpose relations are more likely to be expressed by a deranked form than the other semantic types to the right.

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[105] In her work, Cristofaro uses a slightly different terminology for the semantic types of adverbial relations. Cristofaro's 'Before' and 'After' represent our Posteriority and Anteriority, while 'When' relations subsume our Simultaneity, Temporal boundary and Initial boundary relations. Locative and Manner relations are not included in her study.

Based on our data, summarized in Table 6.3 below, we can postulate the following hierarchy for the adverbial relations in Ket:

PURPOSE > POSTERIORITY, SIMULTANEITY, TEMPORAL BOUNDARY, ANTERIORITY > LOCATIVE, REASON > INITIAL BOUNDARY, MANNER, CONDITIONAL

Purpose	Posteriority	Simultaneity	Temporal boundary	Anteriority
D/B	B/D	B/D	B/D	B/D

Table 6.3. The adverbial deranking hierarchy in Ket

Locative	Reason	Initial boundary	Manner	Conditional
B/(D)	B/(D)	B	B	B

Table 6.3. The adverbial deranking hierarchy in Ket (continued)

As we can see, the Ket hierarchy generally correlates with the hierarchy presented by Cristofaro. For example, Purpose relations occupy the left-most postion, because they are the only relation that can be expressed by an action nominal without any additional marking, cf. (6.171). On the right-most end are Conditional relations that tend to be coded by balanced forms cross-lingustically. Interestingly, unlike other types of Temporal overlap, Initial boundary relations are coded with the help of finite verb forms only. It can be accounted by the fact that the marker *diŋal* that codes this type of Temporal relations is also used for coding Reason relations which according to Cristofaro's hierarchy occupy the right-most postion, i.e. are usually expressed with balanced verb forms.