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**Title:** Clause linkage in Ket  
**Issue Date:** 2015-10-08
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
Clause linkage in Ket

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 udet>

‘I will see him, before he leaves.’
Adverbial relations

(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 prišel>*

‘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.’
Clause linkage in Ket

(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*  
‘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 idët sneg>, to na ulice xolodno*  
‘If it snows, then it is cold outside.’

(6.15) Russian  
*<Esli on prixodil vëcera>, 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 prišel včera>, ty by ego uvidel
‘If you had come yesterday, you would have seen him.’

(6.17) Russian

<Esli on pridět>, 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

A à ná’èè èì à fè’è’à
à à ná’èè èì à fè’è’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

\[ \text{Ja pošēl v universitet, <čtoby učit’sja>} \]

‘I went to the university in order to study.’

(6.20) Russian

\[ \text{Ja sdelal seti, <čtoby rybačit’>} \]

‘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

\[ \text{Nyulu gabirr gadaalmugu <mayi baawanhu>} \]

\[ \text{nyulu gabirr gada-almugu mayi baawa-nhu} \]

‘The girl didn’t come to cook the food.’

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

(6.22) Guugu Yimidhirr

\[ \text{Ngayu wawudhirr <mayi budanhu>} \]

\[ \text{ngayu wawu-dhirr mayi buda-nhu} \]

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 abon <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 ŝi 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

\[
\text{Sen } \langle \text{Erolun oturduğu yere} \rangle \text{ otur}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{sen} & \text{Erol-un} & \text{otur-dağ-u} & \text{yer-e} & \text{otur} \\
2SG & \text{E.-GEN} & \text{sit-OBJ-POSS} & \text{place-DAT} & \text{sit}
\end{array}
\]

‘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

\[
\text{Ja sdelal vsë, } \langle \text{kak mne skazali} \rangle
\]

‘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 \langle \text{the way I told him to} \rangle.

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 syntactically 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
Clause linkage in Ket

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Andy} & \text{come} \\
\text{mae-ni} & \text{front-LOC} \\
\text{Jenna} & \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘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
Adverbial relations

semantically bleached members (i.e. ‘case markers’) and those whose etymology is quite transparent (i.e. ‘postpositions’). The only exception is the subordinator baŋ ‘where, when’ which is the functional extension of the noun baŋ ‘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 position.

6.2.1.1.1 The subordinator diŋa

The subordinator diŋa is the functional extension of the dative relational morpheme in its inanimate form. 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 bąŋ aręndiŋa

ād boŋ-k-o^2-[de]n bo aden-diŋa
1SG 1SG-TI-PST-go forest-N-DAT

‘I went to the forest.’

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 dr-. 

Clause linkage in Ket

(6.32) āt hāŋtip kētāna tqorāksibet
ād āt hāŋtip ked-da-ŋa d{t}͡s̪-qod̪-u̞-k̡-s̪-bed̪
1SG ‘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) hōŋgan dolvīn-diŋa, āt dāŋn̥ īn ēŋ dāgde
dām-ga-n d{u}̞-o̞-s̪-l̪-{daq̪}-iu̞-diŋa ː āt dāŋ o̞-s̪-l̪-l̪-{de}-n̥ īn ēŋ dāgde
Evenk-PL 3PG-PST5-PST2-live6-AN.PL-1-DAT 2PL 2PG-PST5-PST2-go6 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 bo̞n arēndiŋal
ād bo̞-k̡-o̞-l̪-{de}-n̥ adēn-di-n̥al
1SG 1SG6-TH5-PST4-go6 forest-N-ABL
‘I went from the forest.’

(6.35) qōnoksdiŋal/ āsi udbey uyōn
qōnoks-di-n̥al āsi udbey u̞-k̡-o̞-l̪-l̪-{de}-n̥ mōrn̥g-N-ABL warm south.wind 3N3-TH5-PST5-PST2-go6
‘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 ūm dənəri̱j-dīnal, sū uy̱n
āb ūm dən4-n2-a1-dīnal sū u4-k3-o5-{n2}-(de)n0
1SG.POSS mother 3SG.PST3-PST2-3SS1-come0-ABL year 3N6-TH2-PST2-go0
‘A year has passed, since our mother came.’

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.37) bū dətəxt buda ū bina̱kəxt-dīnal/
ību dən 3-TH3-NPST3-lie0 3SG.M.POSS strength self-3N3-PST2-finish0-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) kə̄ t deŋ le̱si̱dina̱ dassanɔ̱nɔɹɔ̱t
kə̄ t deŋ le̱si̱dina̱ dassanɔ̱nɔɹɔ̱t
winter people forest-N-ADESS 3-hunt.ANOM3-PST3-PST2-ITER0-AN.PL
‘In winter people hunted in the forest.’ (Werner 1997: 114)

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

(6.39) tūd qibda̱nte bə̄n əṉnəṉdədi
tūd qibda̱nte bə̄n əṉnəṉdədi
this-M month-M-ADESS NEG 3-PST3-PST2-3SG.SS1-come0
‘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) ᵀda̱nt bə̱kdom ūsə̱n
ᵀda̱nt bə̱kdom ūsə̱n
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).
Clause linkage in Ket

(6.41) **būŋ duyin-dint, sēs/ bōnsañ**

\[ bō-ŋ \quad dū-{a^4-daq^0}-dint \quad sēs \quad bōnsañ \]

3-PL 3-NPST*-live*-AN.PL*-ADESS river not.be.present

‘Where they live, there is no river.’

(6.42) **bure ə bint-dingi baglaron**

\[ bū-da \quad ū \quad b\{in\}^{2}-(b^3)-n2-{q} u\{d\}-dint \quad \{dū\}-bą\{j\}-a\{j\}-don\]

3-M.POSS strength self-3N*-PST*-finish*-ADESS 3*-ground*-PST*-RES*-fall

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

(Grišina 1979: 40)

6.2.1.1.4 The subordinator dīta

The subordinator dīta 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) **kīr in əd dibbet dīldat**

\[ ki-de \quad in \quad əd \quad dī\{j\}-b3-ben \quad dīl-da-t \]

this-N  jukola 1 SG 1 3N-made-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 daqimdīta danśivet**

\[ bū \quad da-qim-di-ta \quad d\{u\}^{3}-an\{j\}-b3-ben \]

3SG  M.POSS-woman-F-BEN 3*-thought*-NPST*-make

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

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

(6.45) **iŋuși dibbet-dīta at lęsdiŋgal/ a’q tāŋpuksibet**

\[ iŋuși \quad dī\{j\}-b3-ben*-dīta \quad ād \quad les-di-ŋal \quad a’q \quad d\{i\}^{3}-təŋ\{j\}-a\{j\}-s3-ben\]

house 1*-3N*-make*-BEN 1SG  forest.RUS*-N-ABL wood 1*-drag*-3N*-TH*-NPST*-ITER

‘To build a house I bring wood from the forest.’
(6.46) bū āl bāṉ dabdɔp dasēŋ arat-dita
   bū  āl  bāṉ  d(u)³-a⁴-b³-dob³  da-sēŋ  ad³-a⁴-d(e)n³-dit
   3SG  water  NEG  3⁴-NPST³-3N³-drink³  M.POSS-liver  be.sick²-NPST⁴-go²-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 bayɔn arɛn⁴ɡa
   ād  bo⁴-k⁴-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 dɔsɛt-ka at unat da:syans⁴ɡa
   ām  da³-t³-a³-qur³-ka  āt  unat  d[i]³-asqan⁷-s⁷-a⁰-n⁷
   mother  3⁵-TH⁵-NPST⁴-lie⁵-LOC  1PL  quiet  1⁴-story.PL⁵-NPST⁴-speak⁵-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 ɔyɛt-ka āt bæn kastisus
   bū  o³-k³-o³-[de]n³-ka  ād  bæn  {du⁴}-kas³-di¹-qos⁰
   3SG  3M⁶-TH⁶-NPST⁴-go⁰-LOC  1SG  NEG  {3³}-limb³-1SG¹-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 bayɔn əɾənbɛʃi
   ād  bo⁴-k⁴-o⁴-[de]n⁰  aden-bes
   1SG  1SG⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-go⁰  forest-PROS
   ‘I walked through the forest.’
Clause linkage in Ket

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

(6.51) ṃu ṁbilek ̣i ̣ 沦为-|bes|
       3SG d[u]{b}̣-l-3PL-3SG-3M-PST5-PST2-TESP
       ‘He sang walking.’

6.2.1.1.7 The subordinator *esa*

The subordinator *esa* 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) ṃu ेर-esaŋ atoŋ.
       3SG er-TRANSL-3M-PST2-TESP
       ‘He turned into a sable.’

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

(6.53) ṃuŋ muzej-|di-ja istorija aqta itanje|am-es/\|aŋ
       3-PL museum.RUS-PL-N-DAT istorija aqta itanja\|am-TRANSL
       ‘They visit museums in order to know the history well.’

6.2.1.1.8 The subordinator *ās* / *ās*

The subordinator *ās* / *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, *ās* / *ās* requires the presence of a possessive augment on the head, cf. (6.54) and (6.55).
(6.54) opda ās

ōb-da ās
father-M.POSS like
‘like the father’ (Werner 1997: 312)

(6.55) ap besam ki besam ad ās dibbet

āb besam kī besam-d ās dīh-bī-bed
1SG.POSS hare.fur.coat this hare.fur.coat-N.POSS like 1st-3N3-make
‘I make my hare fur-coat like this hare fur-coat.’ (Werner 1997: 312)

As a subordinator, ās / 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 presence of the inanimate form of the possessive augment d- even when it is used with finite clauses.

(6.56) hālsej-das āt dbǐl/əl

hālsej-das ād d{[i]h}b{i}-i[il]
sew.ANOM-when 1SG 1st-3N3-PST2-sing
‘While sewing I sang (it).’

(6.57) buŋɔʁɔ-dās, bů ke’d hāj duyaṣj

{dú}-buŋ-[j]-s先前-das bů ke’d hāj dǔ-a-ej
3SG-3SS-TRI-NSPST-main.search.for-when 3SG person also 3SG-3M-kill
‘When he looks, he can even kill a man.’ (Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

6.2.1.9 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) hissijd qon dejtslût

hissij-d qon d{[u]h}-e[j]-i[il]-{q}u[il]
forest-N.POSS to 3SG-ns-TRI-PST2-3PSPT2-R
‘He ran up to the forest.’ (Georg 2007: 161)
Clause linkage in Ket

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 kanqon-qonē, haltes

āt kanqon-qonē, haltes

| SG | 3SG | 3SG-PST | 3SG-INC.PST | until | SGs-TH-FPST | be.upg

‘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) ulesid daan eltij bānii taraŋoxtin

ulesid daan eltij bānii taraŋoxtin

| rain-N.POSS | during | berries.pick.ANOM | NEG | 1SG-TH-PST | 1PL.SS | many.walk

‘We don’t go to pick berries during the rain.’

As a subordinator, daan marks temporal simultaneity relations.

(6.61) bū  āt be’k deskeṣqadda āt ło’vaɾaɾi-daan

bū  āt be’k deskeṣqadda āt ło’vaɾaɾi-daan

| SG | 5SG | always | 3SG-throw.ANOM | -Caus-PST | 1SG-ITER.TE | 1SG | 1SG-work-PST-ITER | -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).
Adverbial relations

(6.62) ṣō dɔyɔt ū kas/nam
āb   dokot ū   kas̱-ṉ-am̱
1SG.POSS  share  2SG  limb-IMP-take
‘Take my share!’

(6.63) .deckb instability qurida kajga dɔyɔt
d(u)̱-ej-ḥ-bu̱-ḵ-o̱-f̱-beḏ-iṉ   qudi-da   kajka   dokot
3̱-kill.ANOM-3SS-TH-PST-PST-TER-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) qib-āriri'ü tpɔɔḇatku̱yavet-dɔyɔt ū as/kgd'ü təngi
qib-o   ād   ū   d(i)̱-posobaḏ-ku̱-a̱-beḏ-dokot
old.man-VOC  1SG  2SG  1̱-help.RUS.ANOM-2SG-TH-NSP-TER-make-因果
ū    askd'at   ṯ-a̱-ni̱-ki̱
2SG  fairy-tale    TH-NSP-IMP-tell
‘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) siru̱uku̱de
si-dukde
night-during
‘During the night’

As a subordinator, dukde is used to mark the simultaneity type of the temporal relations.
176  Clause linkage in Ket

(6.66) *qima dauklivet-dugde dil'gat to/damin*

qima  da^4-uk^4-bed^5-udke  dil'kad  \{du^8\}-t^5-o^5-t^6-dam^3-in^1
grandma  3^6-soup^2-PST^2-make^5-while  children  3^6-TIF^2-PST^2-sleep^0-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 *baŋ* 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) *bogdum banga tavut*

bokdom  bay-ka  t^5-a^4-b^1-(q)ut^0
rifle  ground-LOC  TH^2-PST^4-3N^3-lie^0

‘The rifle lies on the ground.’

(6.68) *tude banga aít tlañeot*

tude  baŋ-qa  ād  \{di^6\}-t^5-o^4-t^7-qu^6
this  ground-LOC  1SG  1^6-TIF^2-PST^4-PST^2-lie^0

‘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) *hissejdiŋa hibon/diŋaq, aji qîj tajye-baŋ*

hissej-diŋa  hi  böm  di^8-aq^8  aji  qîj  t^5-a^1-ka^8-baŋ
forest-N-DAT  yet  NEG  1^8-go^8  evil  bear  TH^2-PST^4-walk^5-where

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

(6.70) *qu's/dagëvut-baŋ, e^p dilunbet*

qu's  d[i^4]-ukd^4-o^5-b^1-qu^6-baŋ  e^b  d[i^8]-il^7-o^5-n^3-bed^0
tent  1^5-dig^2-PST^4-3N^3-where  shovel  1^5-small^2-PST^2-make^5

‘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 boŋt
ād kubka bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-den⁰
1SG before 1SG⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-go⁰
‘I go ahead.’

(6.72) āb kupka ke⁷ eŋnt
āb kubka ke⁷-d o⁵-k⁵-a⁴-den⁰
1SG.POSS before person 3M⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-go⁰
‘A man walks in front of me.’

As a subordinator, kubka marks posteriority relations (6.73)

(6.73) at qar’e eŋŋŋ boŋt-kupka at qasŋ kɨ’ iŋqus thapt
ād qaŋde eŋqun bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-den⁰-kubka
1SG that house.PL 1SG⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-go⁰-before
ād qasŋ kɨ’ iŋqus d(i)⁴-h⁵-a⁴-b⁴-to⁰
1SG there new house 1⁴-TH⁵-NPST⁴-3N³-put⁰
‘Before I move to that village, I will build a house there.’ (Werner 1997: 350)

6.2.1.2.2 The subordinator kika

The subordinator kika originates from a combination of the noun kɨ ‘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, *kika* requires the possessive augment on the preceding noun (cf. 6.75).

(6.74) *ts’l tāt kiya us’ne*

| to/l | tāt | kika | us’-n’-0q |
| table.RUS | straight | in.the.middle | R’-IMP-ACTIVE |

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

(6.75) *lamd kiya bal’tij ujba’ rut*

| lam-d | kika | bal’tij | uj-’b-’a’-0q |
| table-3N.POSS | in.the.middle | box | R’-3N-RES-lie |

‘A box is situated in the middle of the table.’

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

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

(6.76) *ū kat qangastin-kiye abiña qan dikvisin*

| ū{[k]} | kād | {du’} | -qan’y-k’-a’-set6-in1-kika |
| 2SG.POSS | children | 3SG.big.PL-TH-NPST-change-AN.PL-when |
| ab-’na | qān | {d[u]’}-k’s’-i-(i)-bes6-in1 |
| 1SG.POSS-DAT OPT | 3SG.-here-NPST-move-AN.PL |

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

(6.77) *bū bān ayətn-kiye a bīn baya’tn*

| bū | bān | o6-k’-a’-den6-kika | ā{[d]} | bīn | bo6-k’-a’-den6 |
| 3SG | NEG | 3SG.MP-TH-NPST-gō-when | 1SG | self | 1SG.MP-TH-NPST-gō |

‘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) *bogdʊm injusdiŋa qaya at katn*

bokdom injus-diŋa qaka at katn
rifle house-DAT inside PROH bring.IMP

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

(6.79) *āb tɔʾq qaya ʃə ʃəndɛn*

āb təˀq qaka iˀn uʃəndɛn
1SG.POSS finger inside needle 3N6-TH5-PST4-PST2-go5

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

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

(6.80) *kəl bɪnəxət-qaya, āp hiˀp uska dimbesi*

kəl b{in 7-b3}-{n2}-qut0-qaka āb hiˀb uska diș-ik7-n2-bes0
war self 7-3N3-PST2-finish0-when 1SG.POSS son back 18-here7-PST2-move0

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

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.81) *isqɔ bɔyət-qaya, kúŋga qáːksaq*

isqo bo6-k5-o4-d{en}4-qaka ku-ŋa {dî5}-qa5-k5-s4-aq5
fish. 1SG6-TH5-NPST4-go0-when 2SG-DAT 15-inside7-TH5-NPST4-go5

‘If I go fishing, I will come to you.’

6.2.1.2.4 The subordinator *banyone*

The subordinator *banyone* is the functional extension of the postposition with the meaning ‘until’. Etymologically, it is a combination of the noun *baŋ* ‘soil, place, time’ and the postposition *qon(e)* ‘up to’. Since there is no possessive marking between *bany* 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 Keklog, 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 *kɪka* was mostly used by the representatives of the second group. Our primary language assistant, Valentina Romanenkova (nee Tyganova), belongs to the Qéntan moiety and prefers to use *qaka*, although she recognized the form *kɪka* as well.
bangone 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) qonoks/ bangone ses/:bta

| qonoks | bangone | {di}^s-ses^s-a^s-F-ta^s |
| morning | until | 1^s-place^s-PST^s-PST^s-be.in.position^s |

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

The function of bangone 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) ât iss:q:van, ū bimbakst-bangon

| âd | isooq^7-ba^7-k^7-a^7-qan^7 | ū | bin^7-b^7-qr^7-bangon |
| evening-ABL | morning until | strength | self^7-3N3-finish^7-until |

‘I will be fishing until my strength is finished.’

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

6.2.1.2.5 The subordinator bändiya

The form bändiya is another instance of a postposition originating from the combination of the noun baŋ 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 bändiya conveys the meaning of ‘until’. Like bangone, it is used only with temporal nouns (6.84).

(6.84) bis/dinâl qonoks/ bändiya ɔyân loveravetin

| bis/dinâl | qonoks | bändiya | ɔyân | loveravetin |
| evening-N-ABL | morning until | father-PL | 3^s-work.RU,ANOM^s-NPST^s-ITER^s-AN.PL^s |

‘The parents work from evening till morning.’

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

At the same time, the use of bändiya as a subordinator is more diverse than that of bangone. In addition to marking temporal boundary (6.85), bändiya 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 abĩna dik$i$abɛ-s$ɛ$-b$ɛ$n$ɛ$d$-a$k$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$

ū ab-ĩng a ðik$ɛ$s$-$ba$ŋ$ di$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$

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

(6.86) tīp s$ɛ$-$ɛs$-t$a$ $b$ũ$y$ tun$i$ng a di$:$mc$si$in

tīb {dū$^4$}-ses$^7$-o$^4$-t$a$-b$ɛ$n$ɛ$d$-a$k$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$

'[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 *qat$^i$-/*qad$^i$- ‘then, after’.

The form qadika is a polyfunctional one. It can function both as the adverb ‘then’ (6.87) and the postposition ‘after’ (6.88).

(6.87) qārīga bū d$ɛ$n$ɛ$d$-$ɛ$s$-v$in$ij

qadika bū d$ɛ$n$ɛ$d$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$

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

(6.88) uł$ɛ$s$'$da qārīga a$q$ta$-m

ules-da qadika aqta-m $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$ $d$-k$ɛ$-$q$-a$ŋ$

'A[fter] the rain is nice.'

As a subordinator, qadika is used for marking the anteriority type of temporal relations (6.89).
Clause linkage in Ket

(6.89) qima qib-as du n-n-qariya ǝn bik eŋquŋ-diŋta dolvî n/
qima qib-as du^n-n{-q}v^0-n{-q}adika,
grandma grandfather-COM 3^pST^2-die^0-AN.PL.-after
ǝn bik eŋquŋ-diŋta d{u}l^5-o^4{-da}^q^0-in^2
1PL. other village-N-DAT 3^pST^4-NST^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) qojba:t keri asqa x̂on/n/
qoj-baad ke^d asqa o^5-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) bû bøni to'n dalöveravet, åt löveravet-asqa
bû bøn to'n də^5-lobed^-a^-bed^0
3SG NEG so 3PST-RUS.ANOM^-NPST^4-ITER^0
åd {də^5}-lobed^-a^-bed^0-asqa
1SG 1PST-RUS.ANOM^-NPST^4-ITER^0-like
‘She doesn’t work like I work.’

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) Ḃā ḏon ḋišéŋam?  *biséŋ ât deś̆̂̄mdaq?*

ā ḏọ n  ḋišéŋ-am  ḋišéŋ  ād  ɗ(1)̇-s-z-ọ-b-ị-ṇ-daq̣̃
1SG.POSS  knife  where-N.PRED  where  1SG  1̇-up̣3-PST3-3N3-PST2-daq̣̃

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

(6.93) ā *biséŋ kúyaraq?*

ā  *biséŋ*  kṇ-ḳ-ạ-daq̣̃
2SG  where  2̇-TH5-NPST4-live0

‘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.
184 Clause linkage in Ket

(6.94) āt búyən bisɛŋ deŋ dslín
āt bo^k7-o^4-{n2-de}n^0 bisɛŋ deŋ d(u)^k7-[k^7]-o^4-[^d^aq0]-in^1
1SG 1SG-TH-PST-PST^2-go^0 where people 3^3-TH-PST-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) bila ū káyadaq?
bi[(a)] ū ku 8-k5-a4-daq^0
how 2SG 2-TH-NPST-live^0
‘How do you live?’

(6.96) bū bila desɔyɔliyin?
bū bila d(u)^k8-[^o^4]-k^7-o^6-[^i^8]-in^1
3SG how 3^3-TH-PST-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 dibbet bila āb ŏb dábbet
āt d(u)^k7-[^b]-[^b]-bed^0 bila āb ŏb du^k8-[^b]-bed^0
1SG 1^3-3N-make^0 how 1SG.POSS father 3^3-3N-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.
6.2.2.1 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) as/ka ū qīp kāwii?
aska ū qib k[ə]t₁-a⁴-q²-q³⁹
when 2SG grandfather 2⁴-3M-NPST²-kill⁶
‘When did you kill the bear (lit. grandfather)?’

(6.99) bu as/ka diks/ives/
bū aska d[ə]t₁-ik²-s₃-bes⁹
3SG when 3⁵-here⁷-NPST⁴-move⁹
‘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 tən t술 aska ulis/ qmony
ād to'n [tə]-t₁-o⁴-t₁-[q]ut⁹ aska ules q₁-o⁴-b₃-n²-daq⁹
1SG so 1⁵-TH⁴-NPST⁲-TH⁴-3N⁳-PSTⁱ-R⁶
‘I was lying this way, when the rain stopped.’ (Dul’zon 1971b: 126)

(6.101) bu dimbes/ aska, atn s/es/dinə daŋcen/
bū d[ə]t₁-i-[k]₁-n²-bes⁹ aska atn ses-dinə daŋ⁸-o⁴-den⁹
3SG 3⁵-here⁷-PST⁴-move⁹ when 2PL river-DAT 2PL-NPST⁴-go⁹
‘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
kika ‘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) as\(ska\) tsijen-ka, ba:t is\(t\) is\(n\)a kajyen kama de\(s\)kava
\(\text{aska}\) d\(\{u\}\)\(^3\)-si\(j\)\(^2\)-en\(^1\)-ka \(\text{ba\(\ddot{a}\)}\)d is-na kajk-en kama d\(\{u\}\)\(^3\)-es\(j\)\(^3\)-a\(^4\)-b\(^3\)-d\(^0\)
when 3\(^3\)eat\(^2\)-AN.PL\(^1\)-when old.man fish-AN.PL.POSS head-PL away 3\(^3\)up\(^3\)-TH\(^9\)-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 cooccurrence 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 \(\text{eta qode}\) ‘as if’.

6.2.2.3.1 The subordinator \(\text{eta qode}\)

The subordinator \(\text{eta qode}\) represents the functional extension of the preposition \(\text{eta qode}\) ‘like, as’ which is the only prepositional relational morpheme in Ket (apart from the frequently used Russian borrowing \(\text{bes}\) ‘without’). The etymology of the preposition is rather obscure. Werner (2002, II: 93) cites examples in which it is shown that both \(\text{eta}\) and \(\text{qode(e)}\) 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 \(\text{qode}\)).

\(^{89}\) Another frequent example of pleonastical marking is the use of the borrowed Russian preposition \(\text{bes}\) ‘without’ with a noun marked by the caritive marker (the original means), for example, \(\text{bes oban}\) [bes ob-an without father-CAR] ‘without the father’.
Example (6.103) illustrates the prepositional function of *eta qode*.

(6.103) *ture səlemam eta qərə sül*

  ture səlem-am eta qode sül
  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) *tajbon eta qərə bevrəta*

  taj⁻⁷-o⁴-b³-[q]on⁸ eta qode bed⁻⁴-ta⁰
  cold⁻⁷-pst⁻⁴-3n⁻⁵-become⁰ as.if snow⁻⁷-npst⁻⁵-extend⁹

  ‘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) *ke'd qu's/ dubbet-kupka səncə harajistə*

  ke'd qu's da³-b³-bed⁴-kubka əŋn-en (da⁴)-ha/d⁻aŋ⁸-s⁻⁴-to⁹
  person tent 3⁻⁸-n.pst⁻⁴-make⁰ before pole-pl 3⁻⁸-cue/ac⁻³-an_pl⁻⁵-npst⁻⁵-extend⁹

  ‘Before one sets a birchbark tent, he prepares (lit. cuts down) tent poles.’
Clause linkage in Ket

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

\[(6.106) \text{asl} \text{ɛ} \text{na} \text{ŋ} \text{as} \text{ɛ} \text{ji} \text{ŋ} \text{-kupka, asl} \text{ɛ} \text{na} \text{ŋ} \text{d ūl kəma nada tij} \]
\[
\text{boat-COM go. ANOM-before boat-N.POSS water away need scoop.ANOM}
\]
\['\text{Before going by boat, it is necessary to bail water out of the boat.}'
\]

The dependent clauses with \text{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.

\[(6.107) \text{həlsij āt di} \text{ŋa d} \text{-t} \text{kimna, ūt həlsijtina-kupka} \]
\[
\text{həlsij  ād} \text{ di-} \text{ŋa} \text{ d} \{\text{hi}\} \text{3-at} \text{-k} \text{-b} \text{-n} \text{-a} \text{3}
\]
\[
\text{sew.ANOM 1SG 3SG.F-DAT 1-PST3-F-PST2-MOM.TR0}
\]
\[
\text{ād} \{\text{hi}\} \text{həlsijt} \text{q} \text{-it-} \text{n} \text{-a} \text{-kubka}
\]
\[
\text{1SG 1-PST.ANOM3-F-PST2-MOM0-before}
\]
\['\text{I showed her how to sew, before I made her sew.'} \]

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

\[(6.109) \text{ād} \text{ bo} \text{-k} \text{-l} \text{-o} \text{-n} \text{-d} \text{-esāŋ} \text{ d} \{\text{hi}\} \text{3-at} \text{-o} \text{-i} \text{-d} \{\text{hi}\} \text{-k} \text{aŋ} \text{0}
\]
\[
\text{1SG 1-PST2-F-PST3-PST2-go0-go0-TRANSL 1-PST3-PST2-1SG.SS0-wash0}
\]
\['\text{Before going, I washed myself.'} \]

\[(6.110) \text{lobed-esaŋ} \{\text{du}^3\} \text{-sajdo} \text{-it} \text{-bed} \text{0}
\]
\[
\text{work.RUS.ANOM-TRANSL 3-PST3-PST2-PST2-ITER0}
\]
\['\text{Before working, he drank tea.'} \]

(Kotorova and Porotova 2000: 42).
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 dbílɛl/xy3n3{-bes/}

bū d[3u]-3N3-PST2-sing0 3SG.3N3-PST2-sing0 3SG.3N3-PST2-sing0

‘He sang walking.’

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

(6.112) kij-bes dilinjima

kij-bes d[3u]-3N3-PST2-tran0 3SG.3N3-PST2-trans

‘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) dil/ til'terabet-das/ dawaj

dil {3u}-bathe.ANOM2{-NPST3-makε0-normal} {3u}-laugh.ANOM2{-ACTIVE0}

child 3SG-bathe.ANOM2{-NPST3-makε0-normal} 3SG-laugh.ANOM2{-ACTIVE0}

‘While bathing, the child is laughing.’
Clause linkage in Ket

(6.114) bū kaj-das/ sūl/ dugadapat

\[bū \ kaj-das \ sūl \ du^3-o^3-k^3-d/a^1-b^1-tag^0\]

3SG travel.hunt.ANOM-while sled 3^3-3.N^2-TH^2-AT/NPST^2-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) qima daulivet-dugde dīlgat tədlədəmin

\[qima \ da^5-uk^7-l^2-bed^0-dukde \ dīl \ \{du^3\}-t^i-o^3-l^2-dam^6-in^1\]

grandmother 3^3-soup^2-PST^2-make^2-while children 3^3-TH^2-PST^2-sleep^2-AN.PL-1

‘While the grandmother was making soup, the children were sleeping.’

(6.116) ūl əsəŋ digdaaq-dugde, tīp əb na'n' bīl

\[ūl-esaŋ \ d\{i^3\}-ik^7-d^2-aq^6-dugde \ tīb \ əb \ na'n' \ {du^3\}-b^1-l^2-{a^6}\]

water-TRANSL 1^2-here^2-TH^2-PST^2-g0^2-while dog 1SG.POSS bread 3^3-3.N^3-PST^2-eat^0

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

(6.117) bū et-da obilde-dukde isnan da^5-bed^0-a^1-k^3-əl^2-bed^0

3SG alive-F.PRED be.PST-while fish.bread 3^3-make.ANOM^3-3.N^2-TH^1-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) həlsəj-dugd ət dibel

\[həlsəj-dugde \ əd \ di^3-b^3-iil^0\]

sew.ANOM-while 1SG 1^3-3.N^2-sing^6

‘While sewing I sang.’

(6.119) ət dibel āmd həlsəj-dugd

\[əd \ di^3-b^3-iil^0 \ ām-d \ həlsəj-dug\]

1SG 1^3-3.N^2-sing^6 mother-F.POSS sew.ANOM-while

‘I was singing during mother’s sewing.’
The subordinator *daan* (*daqan* in Northern 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 beˀk deskejppeda, āt lơveravet-daan**

| bū | āt | beˀk | d{u*j}-eskejprowadns|5|aˈ|d{t}j1-da0 |
| 3SG | 1SG | always | 38-throw.ANOM7-CAUS5-NPST4-1SG1-ITER.TR0 |
| āt | d{t}j3|- lobed5|aˈ|bed3|daan |
| 1SG | 18-work.RUS.ANOM7-NPST4-ITER8-while |

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

(6.121) **sujat āt həlaŋ7-Ø6-o4-n2-saŋ0-daan ād d{i} 8-b3-l2-il0**

| sujad | ād | həlaŋ7|3N6-PST4-PST2-R0-while | ād | d{t}j3|b3|l2|ill0 |
| 1SG | 1SG | 18-sew3 | 3N3-PST2-sing0 |

'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 həlsej-daan āt dbilvel**

| bū-d | həlsej-daan | ād | d{t}j3|b3|l2|ill0 |
| 3SG-F | 3N3-PST2-sing0 |

'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.
(6.123) bīs ī dinsut-daan ta'j bēj ayan

bīs ī d(u)4-sin-3s7-{q}ut0-daан ta'j bēj 0^-k4^-o^-{n2-de}n0

evening sun 3^-set^-NPST4^-R0^-while cold wind 3M^-TH5^-PST4^-PST2^-go0

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

(Grišina 1979: 132)

(6.124) bū ta'j sēsta-bes dānmedij

bū to'j d(u)4-ses7-ta0-bes d(u)4-o^-n2^-a1^-di0

3SG top 3^3-place7-be.in.position^-while 3^3^-PST4^-PST2^-3SS1^-come0

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

(6.125) āt āren'a dūtii-das jiēl dimijak

ād aden-ka d3^-d(i)4^-tīn^-das jiēl di5-b5^-{n2-b}ək0

1SG forest-LOC 3N^-3SG^-turn^-while berry 3^-3N^-PST2^-find0

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

(6.126) bud bispēp dūn, bū uyoτn-dugde

bū d biseb d(u)4-o^-a2^-go0 bū u4^-k4^-o^-{n2-de}n0 dukde

3SG-F sibling 3^3^-PST4^-PST2^-die0 3SG 3M^-TH5^-PST4^-PST2^-go0^-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, kika 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.

192  Clause linkage in Ket
Adverbial relations

(6.127) ām dɔxɔmt-ka, ṣtn unat dasqans\(\text{t}n\)
ām  dăⁿ-tⁿ̥-qutⁿ̥-ka  ṣtn unat  d[i]ⁿ̥-asqanⁿ̥-sⁿ̥\(₄\)-aⁿ\(₄\)-n
mother  3⁶-th\(₄\)-NPST\(₄\)-lie\(₄\)-when  1PL  quiet  1⁶-story.PL\(₄\)-NPST\(₄\)-speak\(₄\)-AN.PL\(₄\)
‘When mother is sleeping, we are speaking in hushed tones.’
(Grišina 1979: 48)

(6.128) k̥'t bɔdɔm tannul'bet-ka, assel' øyn
k̥d bɔdɔm  [du]\(₃\)-tannulʔ-∅\(₄\)-oⁿ\(₄\)-bed\(₄\)-ka  assel  oⁿ\(₄\)-k\(₄\)-oⁿ\(₄\)-[nⁿ\(₄\)-de]\(₄\)
person  3⁶-aim\(₄\)-3N\(₄\)-PST\(₄\)-PST\(₄\)-ITER\(₄\)-when  animal  3SG.M\(₄\)-TH\(₄\)-PST\(₄\)-PST\(₂\)-go\(₆\)
‘When the man was aiming (his) rifle, the animal went.’ (Grišina 1979: 49)

The dependent clauses marked by \(\text{ka}\) tend to be placed before the main clause, although there are a few examples in which the \(\text{ka}\)-clauses follow the main one.

Both \(\text{qaka}\) and \(\text{kika}\) behave similarly to \(\text{ka}\). The examples below illustrate the use of these subordinators in simultaneity adverbial clauses.

(6.129) iti ny ɬ̥ʁ/ərn-qaya ɬ̥ʁ uɬ dábʁ̥ôp
iti ny  ɬ̥ʁ-^[a]-den⁶-qaka  ɬ̥ʁ  ɬ̥ʁ  d [i] ³ⁿ̥-aⁿ-bⁿ⁶-doⁿ⁹
tooth-PL  still  hurt ⁶-NPST⁶-go⁶-when  hot  water  ¹⁶-NPST⁶-3N⁶-drink⁹
‘When the teeth still hurt, I’m drinking hot water.’ (Grišina 1979: 90)

(6.130) dll̥ləkət̥sɨn-qaya uleś/ datpijaq
[du]\(₃\)-dll̥l-^[d]-oⁿ\(₄\)-kṣeṭⁿ\(₄\)-in\(³\)-qaka  uleś  d [u]\(₄\)-afⁿ\(₇\)-bⁿ⁷-jⁿ\(j\)-aq⁹
3⁶-dress⁶-th\(₄\)-PST\(₄\)-AN.PL\(₄\)-when  rain  3⁶-pour⁶-3N⁶-PST\(₄\)-MOM⁶
‘When we were dressing, it rained.’ (Grišina 1979: 95)

(6.131) ɬ̥ʁ bo̥vəret-kiiya, bũ ɬ̥ʁ  bɛ/k  des/kejqadda
]\(₃\)-lo̥bed\(₃\)-aⁿ\(ⁿ\)-bed\(₃\)-kika
1SG  1ⁿ-work.RUS.ANOM ¹⁶-PST\(₄\)-ITER\(₄\)-when
bũ  ɬ̥ʁ  ɬ̥ʁ  bɛ/k  d [u]\(ⁿ\)-eskejʔ-^[q]-aⁿ\(₄\)-d [i] ³ⁿ\(₄\)-da⁹
3SG  1SG  always  3⁶-throw.ANOM\(₄\)-CAUS\(₄\)-NPST\(₄\)-1SG.SS\(₄\)-ITER.TR⁹
‘When I’m working, he is always disturbing me’ (Grišina 1979: 109)

(6.132) bũŋ  bil̥de/vəsin-kiiya, buŋna qa  bisɛp daqaujaq
bũŋ  [du]\(₃\)-bⁿ₃⁻l̥d-^[d]-ekin\(ĳ\)-kika
3-PL  3⁶,3N⁶-PST\(₂\)-sing⁶-AN.PL\(₄\)-when
bũŋ-na  qā  biseb  daⁿ-aqⁿ-^[o]-jⁿ\(j\)-aq⁹
3-PL-AN.PL.POSS  inside  sibling  3¹-inside\(ᵢ\)-PST\(₄\)-PST\(₂\)-go⁹
‘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) ā́na ūskā ējīŋ-ga qānimjōhōn

\[
\text{āt-na uska ējīŋ-ka qonij}^{-o^3-b^3}\neg\{q\}\text{on}^0 \\
\text{1PL-POSS.PL back go.ANOM-LOC dark}^{-\text{PST}^4-\text{3N}^3}\text{-become}^0
\]

‘When we were going back, it became dark.’

(6.134) but hūlṣeįj-gayā āt dbīlēl

\[
\text{but hūlṣeįj-gayā āt dbīlēl} \\
\text{bu-d halsej-qaka ād dī}^{-b^3-b^3}\neg^0 \\
\text{3SG-F.POSS sew.ANOM-when 1SG 1}^{-3\text{N}^3}\text{-sing}^0
\]

‘When she was sewing I was singing.’

(6.135) ā́t dbīlēl āmd hūlṣeįj-kīya

\[
\text{ā́t dbīlēl āmd hūlṣeįj-kīya} \\
\text{ād dī}^{-b^3-b^3}\neg \text{ām-d halsej-kika} \\
\text{1SG 1}^{-3\text{N}^3}\text{-sing}^0 \text{mother-F.POSS sew.ANOM-when}
\]

‘I was singing when (my) mother was sewing.’

Another generic temporal subordinator, aska, is also often used to code simultaneous 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) sāmlā qīmn dī[i]garašt tājaŋgtin, ā́skā bīŋna tātn kāj₃b₃ändt₃ŋt₃ŋt₃

\[
\text{sāmlā qīmn dī[i]garašt tājaŋgtin, ā́skā bīŋna tātn kāj₃b₃ändt₃ŋt₃ŋt₃} \\
\text{samla qim-n dilkad-as d\{u\}^{-t-a\neg}qan}^n \text{many.walk}^0 \\
\text{some women-PL children-COM 3}^{-\text{AT/PST}^4-\text{3AN.PL.SS}^4}\text{-many.walk}^0 \\
\text{aska bu-nà na tātn kaj-bāj-di-qā́ŋ} \\
\text{when 3-PL-AN.PL.POSS husband.PL hunLANOM-place-N.POSS-ADESS-AN.PL.PRED}
\]

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

(6.137) ā́skā ūt disqōḷįj-getin, qānimjōhōn

\[
\text{ā́skā ūt disqōḷįj-getin, qānimjōhōn} \\
\text{aska ūt d\{i\}^{-i}qo}-\text{o}^{-i}q{-\text{i}}^{-\text{ke}^{-i}}\text{-in}^{-1} \\
\text{1PL 1}^{-\text{fish.ANOM-PST}^4-\text{PST}^2-\text{ITER}^0-\text{AN.PL}^4}\text{-dark}^{-\text{PST}^4-\text{3N}^3}\text{-become}^0
\]

‘When we were fishing, it became dark.’
Adverbial relations

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) *aska* dýómen-daان, tïlayon ásliп

\[
\text{aska \ dányó-k\-oš\-y\-á\-en\-daan \ \{di\} t\-oš\-y\-á\-en\-daan \ \{d\} \ \text{asliп}}
\]

when

\[
\text{PL}^3\cdot\text{TÍ}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{go\-while} \ \text{I}^3\cdot\text{TÍ}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{see\-AN.PL}^1 \ \text{boat}
\]

“When we were going, we saw a boat.”

(6.139) *aska* бýи гýоуéн-ге, кóп бýоу éáвáт

\[
\text{aska \ bu-ŋ \ oš\-k\-oš\-y\-á\-den\-ka \ kán \ hi-bon \ es\-a\-b\-\{q\} át}
\]

when

\[
\text{3.PL} \ \text{3SG.M}^3\cdot\text{TÍ}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{go\-when} \ \text{dawn} \ \text{still-NEG} \ \text{up\-PST}^3\cdot\text{3N}^3\cdot\text{climb}^5
\]

“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 *baqýone* (6.141).

(6.140) *sújat* áт хóлànýan-saŋ-qone áт бýеîл

\[
\text{sujad} \ ád \ \{di\} ^h\text{saŋ\-y\-á\-saŋ\-y\-qone} \ ád \ \{di\} ^h\text{il\-il}^9
\]

dress

\[
\text{1SG} \ \text{1\-PST}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{go\-until} \ \text{1SG} \ \text{1\-3N}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{sing}^6
\]

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

(6.141) áт íçëwáýawán, ú bínbaat biqýone\textsuperscript{91}

\[
\text{ád} \ \text{isoqo\-fí\-k\-a\-qan}^6 \ \text{ú} \ \text{bin\-b\-qut\-bqýone}
\]

\[
\text{1SG} \ \text{físLÁNOM}^7\cdot\text{1SG}^2\cdot\text{TÍ}^3\cdot\text{PST}^3\cdot\text{INCH.NPST}^9 \ \text{strength} \ \text{self\-3N}^3\cdot\text{finish\-until}
\]

‘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 *bañdíga*.\textsuperscript{92} In this case, the clauses marked with *bañdíga* usually follow the main clause as in (6.142).

\textsuperscript{91} Repeated from example (6.83) above.

\textsuperscript{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.
Neither *bandiŋa* nor *bangone* and *gone* 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 *bə̄n* (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 tūnun tliwut ūlēs *aska* bə̄n əksit

ād tūnun {di}⁴-o⁴-f⁵-quṭ⁰ ules aska bə̄n oksit

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

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

(6.144) u bokdom ab-iŋa bə̄n k{u}⁴-i{k}⁴-TH⁴-mov⁰-when

ū bokdom ab-ɨŋa bə̄n k{u}⁴-i{k}⁴-TH⁴-move⁰-when

‘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) tə'n sīlen, *aska* bə̄n iŋa bimbakut-bandĩŋa

tə'n [du]⁵-siŋ⁴-i⁴-n⁵ aska bə̄n ilaŋ bɨn⁴-b⁴-quṭ⁰-bandĩŋa

so 3⁴-ealANOM⁵-PST⁵-ACTIVE⁵-AN.PL⁰ when NEG ealANOM self⁵-3N⁵-finish⁵-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 *dīŋal* (sometimes shortened to *dīl*) which is also used to mark reason relations (cf. 6.3.4). The *dīŋal*-clauses usually tend to precede the main clause (6.146), although they can follow it as well (6.147).

(6.146) āt kə́j tajye-*dīŋal/* āb qim be’k qōk ke’t qa da sēs’ta
ād kə́j tā-s-a’-ka’-dīŋal
1SG hunt.NOM TH-NPST-walk-ABL
āb qim be’k qōk ke’d qā da-s-sēs’ta0
1SG.POSS wife always one.AN person home 3F-place-in.position
‘From when I go hunting, my wife always sits home alone.’

(Grišina 1979: 35)

(6.147) uɣɔn qō siky es’iŋa bonas/ di:*laq-*dīŋal/
ù’a-k’-a’t-[t’-de]-n0 qō siky es-dīŋa bonas di’-laq-dīŋal
3SG.N6-TH-PST-[PST]-go6 ten year.PL forest-DAT NEG 1F-PST-go6-ABL
‘Ten years had passed, since when I didn’t go to the forest.’

(Grišina 1979: 32)

Action nominals combined with *dīŋal* 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) uyɔnm dɔ’ŋ qόgdən, āska qɔmɛʃətənɔq āb bisep
ù’a-k’-a’t-[t’-de]-n0 dɔ’ŋ qokde-n
3SG.N6-TH-PST-[PST]-go6 three Autumn-PL
aska qones’-a’-t’-a’-n’-oq0 āb bisep
when lost3SG.M6-TH-PST-go6-become.PST1 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).
Clause linkage in Ket

(6.149) ūp bisēp dun>qariga āt elqādāna dīmbesin
āb biseb duʰ-nʰ-[q]ˈoʰ-qadika āt eloq-diŋa dīʰ-{ikʔ}-nʰ-besʰ-in¹
1SG.POSS sibling 3ʰ-PST²-dieʰ-after 1PL E.-N-DAT 1ʰ-Here²-PST²-move⁰.AN.PL¹
‘After my brother died, we moved to Eloguj.’
(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.150) saijd-o-qarga bis digbasəlvəm ispit deʔŋ
sajad-d-qadika bis d[ɐ]³-ikbesʰ-oʰ-lʰ-bed⁰-nʰ³
tea.drink.ANOM-N.POSS-after evening 3³-come.ANOM²-PST²-PST²-ITER⁰.AN.PL³
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 bìvel sújat ámda hilaŋən/sanʔ-qar’ya
ād {d[ɐ]³-bʰ-i²-lʰ} sajad ām da¹-hilaŋ²-oʰ-nʰ-sanʔ-qadika
1SG 1ʰ-3N³-PST²-sing⁰ dress mother 3¹-sew⁰-PST²-PST²-R⁰-after
‘I sang after (my) mother sewed the dress.’

(6.152) āt bìvel ámd hǐ/sijt-qar’ya
ād {duʰ-bʰ-i²-lʰ} ām-d halsj-d-qadika
1SG 3⁰-3N³-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), kika (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.
Adverbial relations

(6.153) usɔbɔn-ka ƙenŋtu ƙassen diñbinin

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

(6.154) qaʃja dawaj ɣaya, ab qaʃbes / uʃən

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

(6.155) bɔdɔm dgajbusu ƙiya, assumɓayalan

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

(6.156) aska banyus bo'k dabil, bààt igde ɣyəm si'ennaya

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

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

Note that with the dedicated subordinator ḷadika, 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, kika and aska. When used with conditional clauses, these subordinators are mutually
interchangeable. 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 conditional clauses in Ket.

(6.157) bů ɣɔt-ka át bən kastiус

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bū} & \quad \text{3SG} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{bən} & \quad \text{1SG} \\
\text{z} & \quad \text{LOC} \\
\text{kas} & \quad \text{neg} \\
\text{di} & \quad \text{limb} \\
\text{qos} & \quad \text{take} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(6.158) ís/ʔo ɣɔt-ʔaya kúña qáksag

\[
\begin{align*}
isqo & \quad \text{fish.ANOM} \\
\text{bo} & \quad \text{1 SG} \\
\text{k} & \quad \text{when} \\
\text{qaka} & \quad \text{2 SG.POSS-DAT} \\
\text{ku-na} & \quad \text{2 SG.POSS-LOC} \\
\text{di} & \quad \text{1 SG} \\
\text{qas} & \quad \text{1 SG} \\
\text{aq} & \quad \text{1 SG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(6.159) bů bən ɣɔt-kiye á bín ɣɔt

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bū} & \quad \text{3SG} \\
\text{bən} & \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{d} & \quad \text{LOC} \\
\text{ki} & \quad \text{self} \\
\text{kika} & \quad \text{3 SG.M} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(6.160) ás/ʔa á bən kiksiBes/ tə s乎fe dəŋət

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aska} & \quad \text{2 PL} \\
\text{bən} & \quad \text{2 SG} \\
\text{k} & \quad \text{when} \\
\text{u} & \quad \text{2 SG.POSS-LOC} \\
\text{dəŋ} & \quad \text{2 PL} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{2 PL} \\
\text{den} & \quad \text{2 PL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 *qăn* 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 Givόn (1990: 829).

95 Repeated from example (6.49) above.

96 Repeated from example (6.77) above.
Conditionals that refer to unreal situations, i.e. counterfactual ones, are formed with the help of the irrealis particle *sim*. The particle is inserted immediately before the verb in the preterite form in both the main and the dependent clause.

(6.164) *q̥onoks/ atk̥apkan b̥n̥ sim q̥onesiunbct-ka, ēnq̥aq̥a kəēn sim d̥ākástítnem*

\[\text{yesterday 1SG trap NEG IRR lost}^{-1}\cdot 3N^{6}\text{-PST}^{2}\text{-make}^{6}\text{-LOC}\]
\[\text{enq̥aq̥a kaq̥en sim dā̄k̥asti-tir}^{6}\text{-n}^{2}\text{-am}^{6}\]
\[\text{today fox IRR 3N^{6}\text{-limb}^{7}\cdot 3F^{4}\text{-PST}^{2}\text{-take}^{0}}\]

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

(6.165) *ā sim ki mhesi-qaaya, 5̥im sim t-sajdzyolbétin*

\[\text{2SG IRR 2SG^{3}\text{-here}^{2}\text{-PST}^{2}\text{-move}^{2}\text{-when 1PL IRR 3F^{3}\text{-tea}\text{-drink}^{2}\text{-TH}^{2}\text{-PST}^{4}\text{-PST}^{2}\text{-ITER}^{6}\text{-AN.PL}^{1}}\]

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

(6.166) *ab-ĩp sim bilde-kiye, āt d̥āŋa sim boy̥ān qu̥itaŋa*

\[\text{1SG.POSS-DAT father IRR to.be.PST\text{-when}}\]
\[\text{ād d̥āŋa sim bo}^{0}\cdot k^{3}\cdot o^{4}\cdot \{n^{2}\cdot de}^{n}\text{ qu̥itaŋa}\]
\[\text{1SG M-DAT IRR 1SG^{3}\text{-TH}^{2}\text{-PST}^{4}\text{-PST}^{2}\text{-go}^{0}\text{ tent-N-DAT}}\]

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

(6.167) āt sūj sīm ītparāmān
dā sūj sīm īt-d{i}1-amān
1SG swim IRK know1-1SG-1SG-SUPR-RR
ād sūj sīm d{i}1-tiled50-f4-ler0
1SG swim IRK 1SG-bathe2-PST2-ITER0
‘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 esay (6.169). The unmarked form is used only with motion verbs, expressing a purpose or goal.

(6.168) bū qores1 isqo ayin
bū qodes isqo o5-k5-pst4-npst2-go0
3SG yesterday fish.ANOM 3M5-TH5-PST5-PST5-go0
‘He went to fish yesterday.’

(6.169) āmd halsij-esay āt kilang diyumas
am-d halsij-esan ād kilan d{i}1-ik7-3N4-PST2-move0
mother-3F.POSS sew.ANOM-TRANSL 1SG thread.PL 1SG-thread-3N4-PST-move0
‘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 halsij ‘to sew’ is expressed by the possessive noun phrase āmd ‘mother’s’.

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

(6.170) būn muzejaqdiqa tajaqeqna istoriija aqta itaylam-esay
būn muzej-ag-di-pa {du}1-aa-4-an1-qutn98
3-PL museum.RUS-PL-N-DAT 3N5-TH5-NPST5-3PL.SUPR-many.walk0
istorija aqta itay-f-am6-esan
history.RUS good know3-3AN.PL-PST5-RR-TRANSL
‘They visit museums in order to know history well.’

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).

\((6.171)\) tūné dumān désijīyn, kīrī tām qān lātāwot
\[nu-ne \text{ dum-n d}{{\{u\}^e-sa}^i-j}^b{\text{-in}}^d \text{ k}^i-d \text{ tām qān} \text{ du}^a-t^a^b-qut^e \]
\[\text{this-AN.PL bird-PL 3-s-shout-ACTIVE-PL-1 this-M INDEF OPT 3-NPST-1-lie0} \]

'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 dúpte dīmne ēk qān dakharse̱-esaŋ
\[āt \text{ dubta} \text{ di}^b-o^b-a^b-n^a \text{ ēk qān da}^b-kas^b-d^b-qs^b-esan] \]
\[\text{1SG samolov 1-NPST-3N3-PST2-put0 sterlet OPT 3N8-limb7-3M4-take0-TRANSL} \]

'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).

\((6.173)\) āt uska dō̱mni de̱ndal kashṉgo̱nin tap
\[āt \text{ uska} \text{ d}{{\{k}^b}^i-o^b-(n^a-de)}^b \text{n}^b \]
\[2\text{PL back} \text{ 2PL-NPST-PST2-go0} \]
\[\text{den-ma-(q)1} \text{ (di}^b\text{-kas}^b-d^b-qs^b-nin^b \text{ tāb)} \]
\[\text{people-AN.PL-ABL 1-NPST-3AN.PL-take0-AN.PL-1 dog.PL} \]

'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).
Clause linkage in Ket

(6.174) *ŋus*/*dibbet-dita a’t lēs-dingal a’q ttāŋusibet*

\[iŋqus \ d{î} raising-{h}-bed-{a} \ a\’q \ d{î}{\tilde{n}}-\{a\}-\{s\}-\{b\}-\{d\} \]  
house 1\~3N\~2-make\~3HEN 1SG forest-ABL wood 1\~3-drug\~3ANOM\~3SG.N\~3-TH\~3-NPST\~3-ITER\~3

‘To build a house I bring wood from the forest.’

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

(6.175) a’t kilāŋ kāma diyumus ăm dən hōlsj-sasan

\[a\’q \ kil\~3N\~3-thread.do \ d{î}{\tilde{n}}-\{a\}-\{h\}-\{s\}-\{b\}-\{d\} \]  
1SG thread.PL away 1\~3-here\~3-3N\~4-PST\~2-move\~0

am-d bən hōlsj-sasan  
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 *atin*), as illustrated in (6.176).

(6.176) a’q ่น thändʒ, ánus’ āt qān dāwasa

\[a\’q \ ่น \ d{î}{\tilde{n}}-\{h\}-\{s\}-\{d\} \ ánus’ \ āt \ qān \ d{î}{\tilde{n}}-\{a\}-\{q\}-\{s\}-\{a\} \]  
wood many 1\~3-perpendicular\~3-PST\~2-cut  tomorrow PROH OPT 1\~3-cut.wood\~3-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 *dingal* (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 dātusot būda ā bɨn\~3N\~2-dingal

\[bú \ du\~3t\~3-a\~3-cut \ bū\~da \ ā \ b\{î\}-\{p\}-\{a\}-\{ năm\~3N\~2-dingal \]  
3SG 3\~3-NPST\~3-lie 3SG-M.POSS strength self\~3N\~2-PST\~2-finish\~3-ABL

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

Repeated from example (6.45) above.
Adverbial relations

(6.178) *bure ù bincə-diŋtə bagləron*\(^{100}\)

\[
\text{bude} \quad \text{ù} \quad \text{b}{{[\text{in}]}}^{2}\cdot\{\text{b}\}^{2}\cdot\{\text{q}\} \text{ut}^{\text{dįñt}} \quad \{\text{du}^{4}\} \cdot \text{ban}^{3}\cdot\text{f}^{3}\cdot\text{adon}^{9}
\]

\[
\text{his strength self}^{3}\cdot\text{NPST}^{3}\cdot\text{finish}^{3}\cdot\text{ADESS} \quad 3^{\text{th}}\cdot\text{ground}^{3}\cdot\text{NPST}^{2}\cdot\text{fall}^{9}
\]

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

(Grišina 1979: 40)

(6.179) *bù úl bən dəbəŋ árivat-dita*

\[
\text{bù} \quad \text{ül} \quad \text{bən} \quad \text{d}{{[\text{u}]}}^{3}\cdot\text{a}^{4}\cdot\text{b}^{2}\cdot\text{doh}^{9} \quad \text{da-sèn} \quad \text{ad}^{\text{a}^{4}} \cdot \text{d}{{[\text{en}]}}^{3}\cdot\text{dít}
\]

\[
\text{3SG water NEG} \quad 3^{\text{rd}}\cdot\text{NPST}^{4}\cdot\text{NPST}^{3}\cdot\text{drink}^{9} \quad \text{M.POSS-liver be.sick}^{7}\cdot\text{NPST}^{4}\cdot\text{go}^{9}\cdot\text{BEN}
\]

‘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) *àt aqta dasqansa-díŋt ù abija aqta kii/get*

\[
\text{àd} \quad \text{aqta} \quad \text{d}{{[\text{t}]}}^{3}\cdot\text{asqan}^{3}\cdot\text{a}^{4}\cdot\text{dįñt}
\]

\[
\text{1SG good} \quad 1^{\text{st}}\cdot\text{NPST}^{4}\cdot\text{NPST}^{3}\cdot\text{speak}^{9}\cdot\text{ADESS}
\]

\[
\text{ù} \quad \text{ab-iga} \quad \text{aqta} \quad \text{ki}^{\text{a}^{4}} \cdot \text{r}^{1}\cdot\text{ked}^{9}
\]

\[
\text{2SG 1SG.POSS-DAT good price}^{3}\cdot\text{NPST}^{4}\cdot\text{IMP}^{4}\cdot\text{make}^{9}
\]

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

(6.181) *bù is dýønbes-díŋt àd bù na’n dîbrįjaq*

\[
\text{bù} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{d}{{[\text{t}]}}^{3}\cdot\text{ik}^{3}\cdot\text{a}^{4}\cdot\text{b}^{2}\cdot\text{b-es}^{6}\cdot\text{dít}
\]

\[
\text{3SG fish} \quad 3^{\text{rd}}\cdot\text{here}^{3}\cdot\text{NPST}^{4}\cdot\text{NPST}^{2}\cdot\text{move}^{9}\cdot\text{BEN}
\]

\[
\text{àd} \quad \text{bù} \quad \text{na’n} \quad \text{d}{{[\text{t}]}}^{3}\cdot\text{a}^{4}\cdot\text{b}^{2}\cdot\text{dįj}^{2}\cdot\text{aq}^{9}
\]

\[
\text{1SG 3SG bread} \quad 1^{\text{st}}\cdot\text{NPST}^{4}\cdot\text{NPST}^{3}\cdot\text{give}^{9}
\]

‘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)-

---

\(^{100}\) Repeated from example (6.42) above.
Clause linkage in Ket

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

(6.182) *qibo āri ü tposbhatunayet-dzyot ā aska't tanar*\(^{101}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qib-o} & \quad \text{ād} \quad \text{ū} \quad \text{d(ī)\text{-posobad}'-kū'-'a'-bed'-'dokot} \\
\text{old.man-VOC} & \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{2SG} \quad \text{1SG\text{-help.RUS.ANOM}} \quad \text{2SG\text{-TH} \text{-NPST} \text{-make}} \quad \text{for} \\
\text{ū} & \quad \text{aska'd} \quad \text{t''-a'-n''-kij''} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \text{fairy-tale} \quad \text{TH\text{-NPST} \text{-IMP}} \quad \text{tell''} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(6.183) *āt kuja dasas'ä-dzyot, in lemīŋ āt kajbusus*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ād} & \quad \text{ku-na} \quad \text{d(ī)\text{-aqas'-'a'-dokot} } \\
\text{1SG} & \quad \text{2SG.POSS-DAT} \quad \text{1'\text{-cut.wood-'ACTIVE} \text{\text{-for}}} \\
\text{in} & \quad \text{lem-ŋ} \quad \text{ād} \quad \text{[d]i\text{-kaj'-'b''-qos'0} } \\
\text{two} & \quad \text{plank-PL} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{1'\text{-limb-3N} \text{-take}''} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 hilsij-djantān ā āviga kiyalët*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āb} & \quad \text{hilsij-djantān} \quad \text{ū} \quad \text{ab-ŋa} \quad \text{ki'-'k'-'a'-l''-ked''} \\
\text{1SG.POSS} & \quad \text{sew-ADRESS} \quad \text{2SG} \quad \text{1SG.POSS-DAT} \quad \text{price'\text{-TH} \text{-NPST} \text{-IMP} \text{-make}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘For my sewing, you pay me!’

(6.185) *qat hilsij-dit ūg abi'ga īs' yamnsi*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qā'd} & \quad \text{hilsij-dit} \quad \text{ūk} \quad \text{ab-ŋa} \quad \text{īs} \quad \text{ik'-'o'-'n'-'(q) os'0} \\
\text{parka} & \quad \text{sew.ANOM-BEN} \quad \text{2SG} \quad \text{1SG.POSS-DAT} \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{here'\text{-PST} \text{-IMP} \text{-take}''} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘For sewing parka, you bring me fish!’ (Grīšina 1979: 45)

(6.186) *āb hilsij-dzyot kiyalët*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āb} & \quad \text{hilsij-dokot} \quad \text{ki'-'k'-'a'-l''-ked''} \\
\text{1SG.POSS} & \quad \text{sew.ANOM-for} \quad \text{price'\text{-TH} \text{-NPST} \text{-IMP} \text{-make}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘For my sewing, pay!’

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

\(^{101}\) 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 tuneya ‘(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) qė a’q datan-diŋa tuniŋa baŋ di mbeviŋ
qè a’q duᵣaʷ-aᵣ-aᵣ-diŋa
big trees 3ᵣ-THᵣ-standᵣ-AN.PLᵣ-DAT

thunja bū-ŋ d{i} i-k[i]ᵣ-ŋi-besᵣ-iᵣ
there 3-PL 3ᵣ-hereᵣ-PS RequestContextᵣ-moveᵣ-AN.PLᵣ-iᵣ

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

(6.188) dɪl’gat tsʰɛ’-darm-dimt tuniŋa des’mdaŋ

thunja d{a}ᵣesᵣ-bᵣ-aᵣ-daƣₐ لما
there 3ᵣ-upᵣ-PS RequestContextᵣ-3Nᵣ-PS RequestContextᵣ-throwᵣ

‘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 sóòŋg ‘there’.
Clause linkage in Ket

(6.189) bat dɔl-daq-baŋ, aŋ sɔŋ dɔl-aŋtin

\[\text{báàd } d\{u\}^{5}\cdot o^{3}\cdot 1\cdot \text{daq}^{1}\cdot \text{baŋ } a'q \text{ sóòŋ } d\{u\}^{5}\cdot o^{3}\cdot 1\cdot \text{an}^{3}\cdot tij^{3}\cdot n^{1}\]
old.man 3\,pST\,\text{PST}^{2}\cdot \text{live}^{3}\cdot \text{where} \text{tree.PL} \text{there} 3\,\text{pST}\,\text{PST}^{2}\cdot \text{AN.PL}^{3}\cdot \text{grow}^{4}\,\text{AN.PL}^{1}

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

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

(6.190) qim qonaŋ d:te: sce/ʃ/te-baŋdiŋa, tuntan bu bok tel/qimne

\[\text{qīm } qɔnaŋ-d } a\text{.tka } \{\text{da}\}^{3}\cdot \text{sces}^{3}\cdot o^{4}\cdot 1\cdot \text{ta}^{3}\text{-baŋdiŋa}
\text{woman.fir.branch.PL-N.POSS on.the.surface} 3\,\text{PST}\,\text{PST}^{2}\cdot \text{be.in.position}^{3}\cdot \text{where}
\text{tuntan } bū \text{ bo'k } \{\text{du}\}^{5}\cdot \text{tel}^{3}\cdot q^{3}\cdot n^{2}\cdot a^{3}
\text{there.to} 3\,\text{SG} \text{fire} 3\,\text{push}^{3}\cdot \text{CAUS}^{3}\cdot 3\text{N}^{3}\cdot \text{PST}^{2}\cdot \text{MOM}^{3}

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

(Grišina 1979: 83)

(6.191) bu tuntan dejutl\,st, atta aslin-in as/bi/lten-baŋdiŋa

\[\text{bū } tuntan d\{u\}^{5}\cdot \text{ej}^{3}\cdot t^{4}\cdot o^{3}\cdot 1\cdot \text{qur}^{3}
\text{atta aslin-in } \text{us}^{3}\cdot b^{3}\cdot i^{2}\cdot \text{der}^{3}\text{-baŋdiŋa}
\text{3SG there.to} 3\,\text{R}^{3}\cdot \text{TH}^{3}\cdot \text{PST}^{4}\cdot \text{PST}^{2}\cdot \text{go}^{3}
\text{2PL.POSS boat.PL } \text{R}^{3}\text{N}^{3}\text{PST}^{2}\text{-R}^{0}\text{-where}

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

The clause-initial subordinators coding locative relations are \text{biséŋ} (6.192) and \text{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 ayi't, biséŋ deŋ dàssənəvetin

\[\text{bū } o^{3}\cdot k^{3}\cdot o^{6}\cdot d\{\text{en}\}^{3}
\text{biséŋ deŋ } d\{u\}^{5}\cdot \text{asson}^{3}\cdot a^{3}\cdot \text{bed}^{3}\text{-in}^{4}
\text{3SG 3M}^{3}\text{-TH}^{3}\text{-NPST}^{4}\text{-go}^{3} \text{where people} 3\,\text{hunt.ANOM}^{3}\,\text{NPST}^{4}\,\text{ITER}^{4}\text{-AN.PL}^{1}

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

(Kotorova and Nefedov, forthcoming)

(6.193) uyi'n túntan\,! biltan\, dëstan būnsuŋ

\[\text{u}^{3}\cdot k^{3}\cdot o^{6}\cdot \{\text{m}^{3}\text{-de}\}^{3}
\text{tuntan biltan dëstan } d\{u\}^{5}\cdot \text{bu}^{3}\cdot q^{3}\cdot s^{4}\cdot \text{qo}^{3}\text{-n}^{1}
\text{3PST}^{3}\text{-TH}^{3}\text{-NPST}^{4}\text{-PST}^{2}\text{-go}^{3} \text{there.to where.to} \text{eye.PL} 3\,\text{SSS}^{3}\text{-TH}^{3}\text{-NPST}^{4}\text{-search.for}^{6}\text{-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-initial 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 bisëŋ with *dingta* (6.194) and *bandiqa* (6.195).

(6.194) **būŋ di mbes/in, bisëŋ buda qêm qua/t â/t das/es/se-diingta**

\[ \text{būŋ} \quad \text{d[i]} \quad \text{3SG-THREE-PST} \quad \text{move0-AN.PL.1} \]
\[ \text{bisëŋ} \quad \text{bu-da} \quad \text{qêm} \quad \text{qua-d} \quad \text{ā̄̃d} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{place7-be.in.position0-ADESS} \]

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

(6.195) **qasʾ tuniqa diłqog, bisëŋ at ḍun ev ḏe res ḏe bandiqa**

\[ \text{qasʾ} \quad \text{tuniqa} \quad \text{d[u]} \quad \text{big-NMLZ there.to} \]
\[ \text{bisëŋ} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{8-work.RUS.ANOM7-PST4-PST2-ITER0-AN.PL.1} \quad \text{where} \]

‘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 tə n duyiq, ēn bi le ḏe n ḏu qasʾ asqa**

\[ \text{būŋ} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{daq/}-\text{in}-\text{in} \quad \text{ēn} \quad \text{bi le ḏe} \quad \text{du} \quad \text{daq/}-\text{in}-\text{in}-\text{asqa} \]
\[ \text{3-PL} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{3SG-THREE-live0-AN.PL.1} \quad \text{now all people} \quad \text{3SG-live0-AN.PL.1-like} \]

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

(6.197) **tájšon ēta géría bërésq qêm dátpaq**

\[ \text{taj/2-THREE-live0-AN.PL.1} \quad \text{eta qoda} \quad \text{bedes} \quad \text{qêm} \quad \text{d[u]} \quad \text{at/2-live0-AN.PL.1} \quad \text{as.if snow.weather soon} \quad \text{3SG-pour2-3SG-ACTIVE0} \]

‘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
Clause linkage in Ket

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

(6.198) *āt dīren-asqá būra dāṣaj*

\[ād dīⁿ-denⁿ-asqā bū dāⁿ-daqⁿ-aj⁰\]

1SG 1*e*-cry*n*-like 3SG 3*p*-laugh.ANOM⁰-R⁰

‘She laughs like I cry.’

(6.199) *ēta qōra bū dūren bū tō’n riādāṣaj*

\[eta qoda bū dūⁿ-denⁿ bū tō’n dāⁿ-daqⁿ-aj⁰\]

as.if 3SG 3*e*-cry⁰ 3SG so 3*p*-laugh.ANOM⁰-R⁰

‘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 dibbet bila āb ōb dibbet⁰*

\[ād dīⁿ-bīⁿ-bed⁰ bila āb ōb dīⁿ-bīⁿ-bed⁰\]

1SG 1*p*-3N³-make⁰ like 1SG.POSS father 3*p*-3N³-make⁰

‘I make it like my father makes it.’

(6.201) Russian

*Ja dela ju èto kak delaejt 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 addition 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of host → Relational markers</th>
<th>NOMINALS</th>
<th>ACTION NOMINALS</th>
<th>FINITE VERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aas</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dígə</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dígəl</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dígəta</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dítə</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadika</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daan</td>
<td>+ (P)</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokot</td>
<td>+ (P)</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dukde</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
<td>– (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubxa</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kika</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qone</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bes</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esəŋ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asqa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bəŋdiqa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1. Properties of subordinators in Ket\textsuperscript{103}

\textsuperscript{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTIC TYPE</th>
<th>MEMBER</th>
<th>PREDICATE FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>finite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posteriority</td>
<td>kubka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>esay</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneity</td>
<td>bes</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aas</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dukde</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daan</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qaka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kika</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aska</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal boundary</td>
<td>qone</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bayqone</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial boundary</td>
<td>digal</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aska</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anteriority</td>
<td>qadika</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qaka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kika</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aska</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qaka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kika</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>esay</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dita</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{104}\) ‘No data’ means that there are no examples for this particular subordinator.
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 morphosyntactic properties expressed by the predicate of the dependent clause from that of the predicate in an independent sentence (e.g., 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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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:

\[
\text{PURPOSE} > \text{POSTERIORITY, SIMULTANEITY, TEMPORAL BOUNDARY, ANTERIORITY} > \text{LOCATIVE, REASON} > \text{INITIAL BOUNDARY, MANNER, CONDITIONAL}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Posteriority</th>
<th>Simultaneity</th>
<th>Temporal boundary</th>
<th>Anteriority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/B</td>
<td>B/D</td>
<td>B/D</td>
<td>B/D</td>
<td>B/D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.3. The adverbial deranking hierarchy in Ket*

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.