THE NORTH SAMOYEDIC INTERROGATIVE VERB MEANING 'SAY WHAT'

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Abstract: A cross-linguistically rare interrogative category (i.e., an interrogative verb with the meaning 'say what') is observed in the North Samoyedic (Uralic) languages. The interrogative verb in these languages is used in content questions, and functions as the predicate of the main or the embedded clause. It takes the regular verb morphemes with two exceptions: it (i) does not display object agreement, and (ii) cannot combine with the regular past tense morpheme. Furthermore, there is also an ordering restriction on multiple questions containing the interrogative verb. The morphosyntactic evidence suggests that the North Samoyedic interrogative verb is analyzed as a result of a wh-object incorporation.

Keywords: interrogative verb, wh-object incorporation, object agreement, interrogative mood, multiple question, North Samoyedic languages

1. Introduction

Cross-linguistic studies report on a rare interrogative category (i.e., the category of the interrogative verb), which (i) is exclusively used in a content question; (ii) functions as the predicate of the main or subordinate clause; and (iii) combines with any of the morphemes available for verbs in the given language (cf. van der Auwera and Idiatov 2004, Cysouw 2004, Idiatov 2006, Hagège 2008). Grammars of the North Samoyedic languages (henceforth NS languages) usually mention an interrogative verb with the meaning 'say what' (i.e., Nenets *xaʔmanź* (1); Enets *kođumađ*[1]; Nganasan *kumunsa* (2)), but lack of giving a precise description of it (Tereščenko 1973, Nikolaeva 2014, Wagner-Nagy 2019).

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[1] Tereščenko (1973) lists the Enets interrogative verb form in her comparative grammar, but she lacks exemplifying the usage of the verb in a sentence. Therefore, I cannot cite any Enets example from her here.

(1)   Tundra Nenets
    ńiśa-r   *xaʔman-ŋa?*
    father-POSS.2SG   what.say-CO.3SG
    'What has your father said?' (elicited data)

(2)   Nganasan
    tə,   *kumu-ŋu-ʔ*   *ńemɨ-čə.*
    well   say.what-INTER-3PL   mother-PL.2SG
    'What have your parents said?' (JSM_00o809_Life_nar.098; Wagner-Nagy 2019: 385)

In (Tundra) Nenets, there is a further verb appearing exclusively in questions: the negative auxiliary *xańa-* meaning 'how (can) not' (3).

(3)   Tundra Nenets
    xańa-dmʔ   *xań-ʔ?*
    how.not-1SG   go-CONNEG
    'How can I not go?' (Tereščenko 1965: 743, Nikolaeva 2014: 281)

This verb, nevertheless, is not used in content questions but appears in (negative) polar questions. In contrast, the question-answer pair in (4) illustrates that the question containing the interrogative verb 'say what' in the NS languages does not question the truth value of the utterance, but asks for a specific information (i.e., it appears in a question that cannot be answered by a simple 'Yes' or 'No').

(4)   Tundra Nenets
    A: *pidar xaʔmaŋan?*
         'What have you said?'

    B: # *ŋaʔ.* / # *ńiŋaʔ.*
        #'Yes.' / #'No.'

The auxiliary *xańa-* thus fails to conform to the above criteria. Therefore, it is not considered as an interrogative verb and is not dealt with in this paper.

The paper aims at describing and comparing the (morpho)syntax of the interrogative verb meaning 'say what' in the NS languages. For this purpose, the criteria, such as the inflectional and distributional

characteristics of the Tundra Nenets interrogative verb used by Mus (2018) will be followed, and her results will be compared here with the further NS interrogative verbs. Since derivational morphology does not seem to be syntactically relevant, it will not be addressed.

In general, the NS interrogative verb behaves like any other NS transitive verb having a wh-object, on the one hand, and like any other NS verb appearing in interrogative clauses, on the other. It is argued here that the interrogative verb is the result of a wh-object incorporation in the NS languages. It means that the verb meaning 'say' has incorporated its wh-object 'what'. This syntactic process affects the morphology and syntax of the NS interrogative verb in the following ways. First, there is no object agreement on the interrogative verb. Second, the interrogative verb forms the past tense not by adding the regular past tense morpheme, but rather by taking the so-called interrogative mood suffix. Third, we find a combinability-constraint on multiple questions ruling out the appearance of the interrogative verb with certain wh-phrases. This phenomenon is taken as a result of a restriction on ordering among wh-phrases in multiple questions.

The paper is organized as follows. After a short introduction of the languages and the data in Section 2, I will discuss the syntactic function of the interrogative verb in Section 3. I will show how different types of interrogative predicate phrases in the NS languages differ from one another. Section 4 is about the morphosyntax and syntax of the interrogative verb. I will concentrate on morphosyntactic and syntactic restrictions showed by the NS interrogative verb (e.g., the interrogative verb lacks object agreement and past tense [TAME] morphemes, and cannot combine with certain interrogative phrases). In Section 5, I will show that a wh-verb is a common category in the languages of North-Siberia. Finally, I will conclude my observations in Section 6.

2. The North Samoyedic languages and data

The Samoyedic languages form a branch of the Uralic language family. Traditionally, the Samoyedic group is further devided into the Northern and the Southern subgroups. Although this classification has been challenged e.g., by Janhunen (1998) and Helimski (2005) in recent years (as it is more likely an area-based division of the languages

influenced by secondary language contacts) the traditional classification will be followed here.

The North Samoyedic languages are spoken in the Northern territories of the Russian Federation (i.e., in North Eastern Europe and in North Siberia). The Nenets, the Enets and the Nganasan languages are usually classified as the members of the North Samoyedic language branch. Furthermore, there are two variants of Nenets and Enets: Tundra and Forest Nenets; and Tundra and Forest Enets. These were treated in the earlier grammars as dialects or dialectal groups (e.g. Tereščenko 1973). Due to many significant differences it makes sense to consider them as separate languages (for a more detailed description see e.g. Salminen 2002, 2007, Toulouze 2003, Janhunen 2009). The NS languages are traditionally considered as head-final languages having an SOV configuration at the level of the simple transitive sentence. The interrogative phrase tends to appear *in situ* in these languages, but other syntactic positions are also attested in questions (e.g. the wh-phrase can be adjacent to the verb or can appear at the beginning of the sentence regardless its syntactic function; see e.g. Nikolaeva 2014 for Tundra Nenets).

This paper is preliminary based on the examination of corpus data. The availability of the NS data shows significant differences. First, the Tundra Nenets language does not have a corpus that contains a representative amount of data. But there are online newspapers (e.g., *Narana winder*) and published written sources that serve as the basis of the current examination. Additionally, a native speaker (Khadry Okotetto) was consulted by using, *inter alia*, grammaticality judgment tests to determine whether some constructions are well-formed. Unless otherwise indicated, the source of the Tundra Nenets data in this paper is the result of these elicitations. Second, given that Forest Nenets lacks a corpus, and there is no occurence of the interrogative verb in the available sources including grammars, a language expert of Forest Nenets, Kaur Mägi, was consulted. Some of the preliminary findings was confirmed by him. The two Nenets interrogative verbs are exemplified in (5) and (6).

(5)   Tundra Nenets
       xaʔman-ŋa-nʔ
       what.say-CO-2SG
       'What have you said?'

(6)   Forest Nenets
       kaʔma-n?
       what.say-2sɢ
       'What have you said?'

Given that there is no occurrence of the Forest Nenets interrogative verb in texts, I exclude Forest Nenets from the general conclusions of this paper. Third, the situation of the interrogative verb in Forest and Tundra Enets languages is also complex. The data are from the unpublished *Digital Corpus of Enets* by Olesya Khanina and Andrey Shluinsky. On the one hand, there is no example of the interrogative verb in the corpus of the Forest Enets language, neither is there a description of it in Siegl (2013). Therefore, the results described here mainly concern Tundra Enets. On the other hand, based on corpus data of Tundra Enets it is the combination of a free-standing particle meaning 'so' and the verb 'say' that is used instead of one (complex) verb form (7).

(7)   Tundra Enets
       kɔz   mana-d?
       so   say-2sɢ
       'What did you want to say?' (ZAZN100810ZA_OSEBE_068)

The construction in (7), nevertheless, seems to correspond to the NS interrogative verb form. Given that the strict adjacency of the particle and the verb (i.e. nothing seems to intervene between them), seems to be obligatory on the basis of the corpus data, I assume that these two elements form a compound in this language as well.[2] Nevertheless, it is needed to be further tested with native speakers. Fourth, the Nganasan data are taken from the *Nganasan Spoken Language Corpus* (see Brykina et al. 2016). Since corpus data are not always adequate for syntactic analysis, some observations here only concern the Tundra Nenets language. The original translations and glosses for each corpus data have been kept in this paper as they are given in the corpora.

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2   In the corpus of Tundra Enets any further example for the use of this particle *kɔz* is not found.

3. The syntactic function of the NS interrogative verb

In the clause, the interrogative verb functions as the predicate of the main or the embedded clause. When being the predicate of the main clause, it agrees with its subject in person and number. This agreement is expressed via suffixes attached to the interrogative verb (8)–(10).

(8)   Tundra Nenets
a. *pidar xaʔman-ŋa-n*?   b. *pidaraʔxaʔman-ŋa-daʔ*?
   2SG   what.say-CO-2SG   2PL   what.say-CO-2PL
   'What have you said?'   'What have you (PL) said?'

(9)   Tundra Enets
a. *kɔz   mana-d*?   b. *kɔzɔ   mana   tʃeke-r*?
   SO   say-2SG   SO   say.3SG   this-2SG
   'What do you say?'   'What did he say with this word?'
   (IPVP100807IP_RAZSTA_206)   (IPVP100807IP_RAZSTA_206)

(10) Nganasan
a. *Koðu   kumu-ŋu-ŋ*?
   aunt.VOC   what.say-INTER-2SG
   'What do you say, aunt?' (JDH_99_ThreeTents_flkd.298)
b. *Tə,   kunuŋu   kobtúa-lə,   kumuŋ-hu*?
   well   where   girl-2SG   what.say-INTER.PST.3SG
   'Where is your girl, what did she say?' (JSM_090809_Life_nar.476)

Since nominal/adjectival interrogative predicates also take subject agreement inflection without an overt copula in the clause (Siegl 2013, Nikolaeva 2014, Mus 2015, Wagner-Nagy 2019; 11–12), no difference may at first seem between these two wh-predicates.

(11) Tundra Nenets
pidar   xib'a-n?
2SG   who-2SG
'Who are you?'

(12) Nganasan
tənə   sili-ŋ?
2SG   who-2SG
'Who are you?' (ChND_99_Shaman2_flkd.015)

The two interrogative predicate types (i.e., the verbal and non-verbal one) differ primarily in that the verbal one is combined with tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, etc. markers, e.g., the future tense marker is attached to the interrogative verb in (13)–(15).

(13)   Tundra Nenets
      pidar   xaʔman-da-n?
      2SG   what.say-FUT-2SG
      'What will you say?'

(14)   Tundra Enets
      tʃikeza   kɔz   ma-da-d?
      this-3SG   so   say-FUT-2SG
      'What will you say?' (MD090826_DET_080)

(15)   Nganasan
      Mənə   kumun-tə-ŋu-m?
      1SG   what.say-FUT-INTER-1SG
      'What can I say?' (MVL_090807_Hungabtadja_flks.285)

In contrast, predicate interrogative phrases cannot take TAME morphology, but a copula appears and the suffixes are attached to it. Note that the subject agreement suffix appears both on the predicate (interrogative) phrase and on the copula, see the Tundra Nenets example in (16).

(16)   Tundra Nenets
      pidar   xib'a-n   ŋæ-ŋku-n?
      2SG   who-2SG   be-FUT-2SG
      'Who will you be?'

The Nganasan examples in (17) and (18) illustrate further properties of the interrogative verb: it can be negated (17) and passivized (18), as regular verbs in the language.

(17)   Nganasan
      Tə   n'i-nti-gəj   kumuŋ-kəl'it'ə-ʔ.
      well   NEG-PRS-3DU   what.say-EMPH-CONNEG
      'They don't say anything.' (ChNS_080214_Hibula_flkd.058)

(18)   Nganasan

Tə,   kumu-ŋu   kobtua̯-lə,   kumu-ru-ŋa-ŋ?
well   what.say-INTER.3SG   girl-2SG   what.say-PASS-INTER-2SG.REFL
'What has your girl told/said, what were you told?' (JSM_090809_
Life_nar.120)

As mentioned above, the NS interrogative verb can be the predicate of an embedded clause. A typical NS subordinate clause is non-finite, and it precedes the main verb (Siegl 2013, Nikolaeva 2014, Wagner-Nagy 2019). The interrogative verb can take non-finite morphological markers without any restrictions, see the Tundra Nenets example in (19).

(19)   Tundra Nenets

ńiśa-nd   xaʔma-ʔma-mʔ   namda-ra-ś.
father-GEN.2SG   what.say-AN-ACC   hear-2SG-PST
'You heard what your father says.'

In Nganasan, a finite embedded clause is also possible. The Nganasan interrogative verb is allowed both in a non-finite (20) and in a finite (21) embedded clause.

(20)   Nganasan

Təti   tiŋ   na-nu-ntuʔ   kumun-tuə   buəðu: […]?
that   2PL   near-LOCADV-OBL.2PL   what.say-PTCP.PRS   word
'What does it mean in your language […]?' (JDH_00_Njaakju_
flkd.053)

(21)   Nganasan

D'esi-rə   kumu-ŋu,   təniʔia̯   i-s'üðə-ŋ.
father-2SG   what.say-INTER.3SG   so   be-FUT-2SG
'You also do what your father says.' (JSM_090809_Life_nar.009)

4. Wh-object incorporation: restrictions on the morphology and syntax of the interrogative verb

In this section, it will be argued that the wh-object argument of the verb meaning 'say' is the part of the interrogative verb itself in the NS languages. This is supported by diachronic facts. Among Janhunen's

(1977: 75, 88) Proto-Samoyed etymologies we find an interrogative stem *ku- 'what, which' and a verb *må(n)- meaning 'say'. The forms of the NS interrogative verbs (i.e. Tundra Nenets *xaʔman-*, Forest Nenets *kaʔma-*, Tundra Enets *kɔz+mana-*, Nganasan *kumun-*) clearly show that the verb is the combination of these two Proto-Samoyed forms. The origin of the glottal stop in the Nenets interrogative stems is nevertheless not clear.

4.1. Constraint on object agreement

In the overt structure it seems, at least at first glance, that the interrogative verb allows the deletion of its direct object. In the NS languages, covert pronominal (and 3rd person topical) objects obligatorily trigger inflectional agreement on transitive verbs (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011). As the Tundra Nenets example in (22) shows, an agreement suffix attaches to transitive verbs with 3rd person covert (or topical) objects.

(22)   Tundra Nenets
    pidar   (*gazeta-mʔ*)   *tola-r*.
    2SG   newspaper-ACC   read-2SG.SG
    '(As for a/the newspaper,) you are reading it.'

The interrogative verb in NS, however, does not take the object agreement marker as might be expected of transitive verbs with covert object. In Tundra and Forest Nenets, we have examples that clearly show the ungrammaticality of the object agreement of the interrogative verb (23)–(24).

(23)   Tundra Nenets
    *xaʔman-ŋa-*r*ʔ*
    what.say-CO-2SG.SG

(24)   Forest Nenets
    *kaʔma-*ɫ*ʔ*
    what.say-2SG.SG

The corpus data of Tundra Enets and Nganasan support this observation: the interrogative verb appears in the corpora in the so-called subjective conjugation, so it agrees exclusively with its subject. Therefore, I expect that this constraint also applies for Enets and Nganasan. Since non-topical overt objects, such as wh-objects, never trigger agreement on transitive verbs in the NS languages (25), the object agreement restriction on the interrogative verb can be explained by the fact that it has a non-topical wh-object, and not a deleted direct object, that does not allow the verb to take an object agreement suffix. I assume that this obviously non-topical wh-object is incorporated in the interrogative verb.

(25)   Tundra Nenets
    pidar   ŋamke-mʔ   tola-n/-r?*
    2sg   what-ACC   read-2sg/-2sg.sg
    'What are you reading?'

4.2. Constraint on past tense marking

In the NS languages, there is a so-called interrogative mood expressed through a suffix. This mood marker also bears a [+past] tense feature. So the markers of the regular past tense and the interrogative mood are in complementary distribution in these languages: the regular past tense suffix is used to form the past tense in declarative sentences (26), while the interrogative mood obligatorily appears on the predicate verb used in questions with past tense reference (27) (Siegl 2013, Nikolaeva 2014, Wagner-Nagy 2019).

(26)   Tundra Nenets
    pidar   gazeta-mʔ   tola-na-ś.
    2sg   newspaper-ACC   read-2sg-PST
    'You read a/the newspaper.'

(27)   Tundra Nenets
    pidar   ŋamke-mʔ   tola-sa-n?
    2sg   what-ACC   read-INTER-2sg
    'What did you read?'

Due to this distribution above, the NS interrogative verbs do not take the regular past tense suffix (28), but the interrogative mood marker appears on them instead (29)–(30).

(28)   Tundra Nenets
    pidar   xaʔma-na-*-ś?
    2SG   what.say-2SG-PST
    intended meaning: 'What did you say?'

(29)   Tundra Nenets
    pidar   xaʔman-sa-n?
    2SG   what.say-INTER-2SG
    'What did you say?'

(30)   Nganasan
    Tənə   kumuŋ-hu-ŋ?
    2SG   what.say-INTER.PST-2SG
    'What did you say?' (Tereščenko 1973: 92)

The distribution of these two suffixes clearly shows that a question-element is incorporated into the verb here.

In Nganasan, there are aorist and future tense, as well as, iterative forms of the interrogative mood (Wagner-Nagy 2002: 112–113, Wagner-Nagy 2019: 247–248). Each of these suffixes can be taken by the interrogative verb in Nganasan (31).

(31)   Nganasan
    Tə,   kumu-ŋu   kobtu͡a-lə,
    well   what.say-INTER.3SG   girl-2SG
    kumu-ru-ŋa-ŋ?
    what.say-PASS-INTER-2SG.REFL
    'What has your girl told/said, what were you told?' (JSM_090809_ Life_nar.120)

The use of the interrogative mood in the future does not seem to be obligatory though. In the corpus, we find the combination of the inter-rogative verb and the future interrogative mood suffix (32) as well as the combination of the verb and the regular future tense morpheme (33).

(32)   Nganasan

Tə,   kumun-tə-ŋu-m   tə   taharĩaa,   maa
well   say.what-FUT-INTER-1SG   well   now   what

buəðu   d'ebtu-tə-ŋu-m?
word   tell-FUT-INTER-1SG

'What would I say now, what word would I say?'
(JSM_090809_ParentsAndUncles_nar.265)

(33)   Nganasan

Əmtɨ   hoðür-mə   n'i-hĩaaðəə-ŋ   kondu-ʔ,   l'üəʔsa
this   letter-ACC.1SG   NEG-IRR-2SG   carry-CONNEG   Russian

ŋətə-bü-tə   lakarĩaiʔ   kumun-suðə-ŋ?
see-COND-OBL.2SG   suddenly   say.what-FUT-2SG

'You'd rather take my letter, and if you meet the Russian, what would
you say?' (KK_92_Fox_flkd.010)

The difference between the two future forms of the Nganasan inter-
rogative verb is, however, not quite clear on the basis of the corpus data.

4.3   Constraint on ordering wh-phrases in multiple questions: the case of Tundra Nenets

In this section I will discuss a question-type that contains at least
two wh-phrases one of which is the interrogative verb itself. Since I
was not able to test my hypothesis on corpus data the following rule
is exclusively applied to Tundra Nenets, and the discussion here is a
somewhat revised version of Mus (2018). Given that neither negative
nor ungrammatical examples are available in Forest Nenets, Enets and
Nganasan to me for the moment, I cannot prove that my hypothesis is
correct or wrong for these languages. It is worth, however, considering
whether these languages also meet the requirements of the syntactic
constraint discussed here.

Let's consider the sentence in (34) that is found to be ungrammatical
in Tundra Nenets.

(34)   Tundra Nenets

**pidar   xanźerʔ   xaʔman-ŋa-n?*
2SG   how   what.say-CO-2SG

intended meaning: 'How did you say what?'

This isn't a constraint on the combination of the interrogative verb and another wh-phrase since interrogatives like 'who' and 'to whom' can freely appear together with the interrogative verb in multiple questions, as it is the case in (35) and (36).

(35)   Tundra Nenets
  xib'a   *xaʔman-ŋa*?
  who   what.say-CO.3SG
  'Who said what?'

(36)   Tundra Nenets
  xib'a-n   *xaʔman-ŋa-n*?
  who-DAT what.say-CO-2SG
  'What did you say to whom?'

Rather, this constraint concerns the relative order of wh-phrases in multiple questions. The explanation of this is the following. In Tundra Nenets, certain orders of the wh-phrases in multiple questions are invariant, compare (37) and (38).

(37)   Tundra Nenets
  pidar *ŋamge-mʔ* *xanźerʔ* *pær-ŋa-n*?
  2SG what-ACC how do-CO-2SG
  'How did you do what?'

(38)   Tundra Nenets
  pidar *xanźerʔ* *ŋamge-mʔ* *pær-ŋa-n*?
  2SG how   what-ACC do-CO-2SG
  'How did you do something?'
  #'How did you do what?'

It is only the sentence in (37), that is interpreted as a multiple question, while the sentence in (38) exhibiting the reversed order of the wh-phrases represents a single content question in which the second wh-phrase *ŋamgemʔ* 'what' is not interpreted as a wh-phrase rather it gets an indefinite reading in the given context. The unacceptability of (38) as a multiple question is due to an ordering constraint called *specificity restriction* on Tundra Nenets multiple questions.[3] According to

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3 A similar ordering restriction is found in Hungarian multiple questions (cf. É. Kiss 1993).

this restriction the first element of the question word/phrase pairs in multiple questions, that has a wider scope, has to be more specific than the second (and the subsequent) one. Since the question word *xanźer?* 'how' is inherently nonspecific, and hardly gets specific interpretation, it cannot precede the wh-object. Thus, the order of the wh-object and the wh-adverb meaning 'how' is restricted to the order illustrated in (37) in multiple questions (i.e., in which the wh-object is followed by the wh-adverb 'how'). This explains why the clause in (36) is judged as ungrammatical: the wh-object being more specific than the wh-adverb 'how' should precede the wh-adverb. The wh-object is, however, incorporated into the verb, and so the wh-adverb cannot intervene between them.

5. A note on the areal-typological aspect of the North Samoyedic interrogative verb

As mentioned previously, the Samoyedic languages are devided into the Northern and the Southern branches. The interrogative verb meaning 'say what' is missing from the Southern group. In Selkup, for instance, there is a free standing interrogative word meaning 'what' used with the verb 'speak, say' (39).

(39)   Selkup
  tan   qaj   tomta-l?
  2sg   what   speak-2sg.sg
  'What do you say?' (Tereščenko 1973: 92)

On the other hand, this semantic type of NS interrogative verb is found in Kolyma Yukagir (cf. Maslova 2003, Hagège 2008).

(40)   Kolyma Yukagir
  monohot-ček?
  what.say-2sg
  'What did you say?' (Maslova 2003: 480, Hagège 2008: 7)

This semantic similarity and the lack of this interrogative verb from the Southern group may suggest the areal origin of the NS interrogative verb. This view, nevertheless, does not have further etymological evidences. Interestingly, different types of interrogative verbs, e.g.

meaning 'do what' are also found in languages spoken in the North-Siberian area (Hagège 2008). These languages are listed and circled in Fig. 1 showing that having an interrogative verb as an interrogative category is a very common feature in the North-Siberian languages.
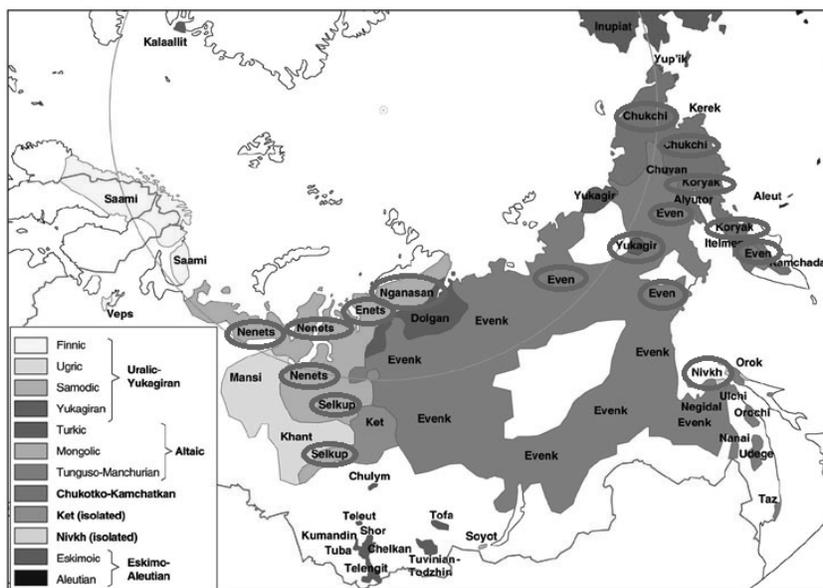
Figure 1. The interrogative verb in North-Siberian languages.
Source: https://landofmaps.com/2013/03/06/indigenous-people-of-northern-eurasia/

6. Conclusions

In this paper, I looked at (mainly) corpus data of NS languages and discussed the morphosyntactic characteristics of the interrogative verb meaning 'say what' in these languages.

The NS interrogative verb is only found in content questions and functions as the predicate of the main or the embedded question. The subject agreement and TAME morphemes attach to this verb. Additionally, it is also combined with non-finite suffixes.

Since the NS interrogative verb incorporated its wh-object argument, it does not display object agreement, it combines with the interrogative mood marker instead of the regular past tense morpheme in the past,

and it does not combine with the interrogative adverb 'how' (at least in Tundra Nenets).

The category of interrogative verb is very common in the North-Siberian area, but is missing from the South Samoyedic languages. Given that the category of interrogative verb is very common in languages of North-Siberia, it might be an areal feature in the NS languages.

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Abbreviations

AN – action noun, CO – coaffix, CONNEG – connegative (negated verb form), EMPH – emphatic, INTER – interrogative mood

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Kokkuvõte. Nikolett Mus: Põhjasamojeedi keelte küsiverb tähendusega 'mida ütlema'. Põhjasamojeedi (uurali) keeltes esineb keeleüleselt haruldane küsiv kategooria (st küsiverb tähendusega 'mis asja'). Nendes keeltes kasuta-takse küsiverbi sisuküsimustes ja küsiverb toimib pea- või kõrvallauses predi-kaadina, liitudes tavaliste verbimorfeemidega, välja arvatud kahel juhul: küsiverb (i) ei väljenda objektiühildumist, ja (ii) ei kombineeru lihtmineviku morfeemiga. Lisaks on küsiverbil teatavad järjestuspiirangud küsiverbi sisaldava kompleks-küsimuse korral. Morfosüntaktilised andmed viitavad, et põhjasamojeedi küsi-verb on analüüsitav kui küsisõnalise objekti inkorporatsiooni tulemus.

Märksõnad: küsiverb, küsisõnalise objekti inkorporatsioon, objektiühildu-mine, küsiv kõneviis, kompleksküsimus, põhja-samojeedi keeled

Аннотация. Николетт Муш: Северосамодийский вопросительный глагол 'что сказать'. В северосамодийских языках (уральская языковая семья) есть типологически редкий вопросительный глагол со значением 'что сказать'. Этот глагол используется в частных вопросах в качестве пре-диката главного или подчиненного предложения. Он принимает обычные словоизменительные суффиксы за двумя исключениями: он не сочетается (i) с объектным спряжением и (ii) с показателем прошедшего времени инди-катива. Кроме того, существуют ограничения на относительный порядок вопросов с вопросительным глаголом. Данные морфосинтаксиса свиде-тельствуют о том, что северносамодийский вопросительный глагол возник в результате инкорпорации объекта — вопросительного местоимениия.

Ключевые слова: вопросительный глагол, инкорпорация вопроситель-ного объекта, согласование с объектом, вопросительное наклонение, сложный вопрос, северносамодийские языки