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A nonstandard affix reordering
The restrictive *kə̄n* in Ulch

1. A puzzle of the restrictive marker in Ulch

- The **restrictive** morpheme *kə̄n*: 'only'.
- **Two positions**
  - **EXTERNAL**: inflection + *kə̄n*.
  - **INTERNAL**: *kə̄n* + inflection.

> masa, masa gursəl-bə-**kə̄n**
> strong strong people-ACC-**RSTR**
> *'only very strong people'* (lpd)

> əpə-**kə̄m**-bə   ža̧pa-xam
> bread-**RSTR**-ACC   take-PST.1SG
> *'I took only bread'* (lpd)

- An expected diachronic scenario:

externalization of inflection (Haspelmath 1993)
- inflection + X > X + inflection
- inflection-outside-derivation semantic principle
- unidirectional change
- Evidence for Ulch:
  - RSTR + inflection > inflection + RSTR

"internalization of inflection" ? degrammaticalization?

3.2. Features of *kə̄n*

> nǟnj-sal   tj   xaj   tuŋdə   pīti-**kə̄m**-bə-n   sā-rį   bi-či-t
> Ulch-PL   that   what   willow   mushroom-RSTR-ACC-3SG   know-PRS   be-PST-3PL
> *'The Ulch people knew only [willow] mushrooms-RSTR {and they did not eat ordinary mushrooms}'* (tsd)

- **Co-occurs**:
  - mostly with nouns and noun-like words,
  - also with some uninflected words.
- **Semantic scope**

> tj   ŋāla-**qān**-ǯį   geolu-m
> so   hand-RSTR-INS   row-CVB.SIM.SG
> *'{Now people use motor boats.} And long ago people only [rowed by hand-RSTR]'* (scm)

  - ≠ morphological host.

- **External** *kə̄n*:
  - behaves as other post-inflectional suffixes ~ enclitics,
  - closer to suffixes.
- **Internal** *kə̄n*:
  - after PL (?);

> siŋərə-səl   ŋələ-či-ti   kəskə-**sәl-kām**-bə
> mouse-PL   be.afraid-IPFV.PRS-3PL   cat-PL-RSTR-ACC
> *'Mice are afraid only of cats'* (elicit, gip)

  - slightly differs from typical derivational suffixes (stress; final -*n*).
- **Doubling**:

> um   isal-**ba-qām**-**ba**-n   tǖg-b-u!
> one   eye-ACC-**RSTR**-ACC-3SG   fall-CAUS-IMP
> *'Throw me down at least one berry!'* (lpd)

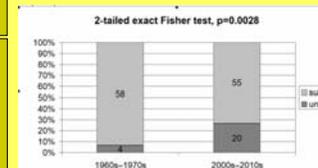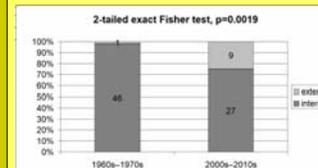 - 2 uses infl-RSTR-infl (NB not *RSTR-infl-RSTR)

2. Language and Data

- **Language**: Ulch (Ulcha, Olcha) < Southern Tungusic; Khabarovsk Krai, Russia; endangered.
- **Texts**:
  - "early" (1960s–1970s): published texts of O.P. Sunik (1985); archive records of L.I. Sem;
  - "late": (2000s–2010s): field records of E. Kalinina et al. and of N. Stoynova et al.
- **Elicitation**:
  - 6 fluent speakers of the 1930s–1940s y.of b. (1931–1949); the village of Bulava.

3.1. Internal vs. external uses: distribution

- **Tendency 1**: marked with PL → external
- **Tendency 2**: personal pronoun → external
- **Tendency 3**: internal ←ACC < INS < DAT/ESS → external

	2-tailed exact Fisher test, p=0.0019

	2-tailed exact Fisher test, p=0.0028

nouns	50% (69)
noun-like words (pronouns, nmlz's, locative nouns)	32% (44)
adjective-like words (adjectives, numerals)	5% (7)
adverbs	12% (16)
switches	1% (1)
total N in texts	100% (137)

4. From internal to external uses

- **Texts**:
  - more external uses in late texts;
  - more uses with uninflected words in late texts.
- **Elicitation**:
  - the youngest speaker prefers external uses.
- **A probable diachronic source**: diminutive
  - a derivational suffix, not a free word.

5. Diminutive > Restrictive?

- Probably, related to the **diminutive** *kə̄n*, cf. Alonso de la Fuente (2018: 130).
- Attested in different Tungusic languages, unproductive uses in Ulch.
- **DIM+RSTR crosslinguistically**: Jurafsky (1996: 553–554).
- **A probable evolution path**:
  - via **numerals**: 'a bit' + NUM ~ 'not more than NUM' > 'only NUM';
  - DIM with nouns → DIM with nouns, RSTR with numerals → RSTR with numerals and nouns (and other PoS).

6. Restrictives with variable position in Tungusic and beyond

- **Even**: a range of focus "particles", incl. restrictives
  - unstable position before vs. after inflection (Malchukov 2008: 372 ff.).
- **Evenki**: the derivational -*riktV* 'only'
  - occasional external uses (Rudnitskaja 2017).
- **Upper Negidal**: -*mak*
  - before inflection = 'exactly'; after inflection = 'only' (N. Aralova, p.c.).
- **Lower Negidal**: -*kā* 'exactly, the very'
  - before vs. within the case inflection (Cincius 1985: 26–28).
- **Samoyedic**: focus "suffixal particles", including restrictive
  - before inflection (Nikolaeva 2014: 124–126 on Tundra Nenets, Khanina & Shluinsky 2011 on Enets);
  - between inflectional affixes (Ždanova 2000; Wagner-Nagy 2002 on Nganasan).

7. Discussion

- The restrictive *kə̄n*:
  - two morphological positions;
  - **the external position (less bounded) is innovative**.
- Contradicts the externalization-of-inflection scenario.
- Does not contradict the underlying general principle:
  - morphosyntactic position ←→ meaning.
- Restrictives (and other "focus" markers, cf. König 1991):
  - abstract and regular enough to move in the direction of inflection;
  - too flexible in scope to be easily morphologized;
  - bad candidates both for inflection and derivation → if morphology than non-canonical morphology.
- Two logical options:
  - free word → clitic → inflection under-grammaticalization (more common);
  - **derivation → clitic/variable position → free word "under-degrammaticalization" (Ulch)**.