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Temporal clauses in Selkup: a dialectal potpourri

Outline

- Introduction
 - Data
- Subordination in Selkup
- Temporal clauses in Selkup dialects
- Outlook

Data

- 2 corpora: Selkup Language Corpus & INEL Selkup CORPUS (both Hamburg)
- Covering all dialects
- Texts from 1854 to 2014, but most data stems from the 1960s and 1970s

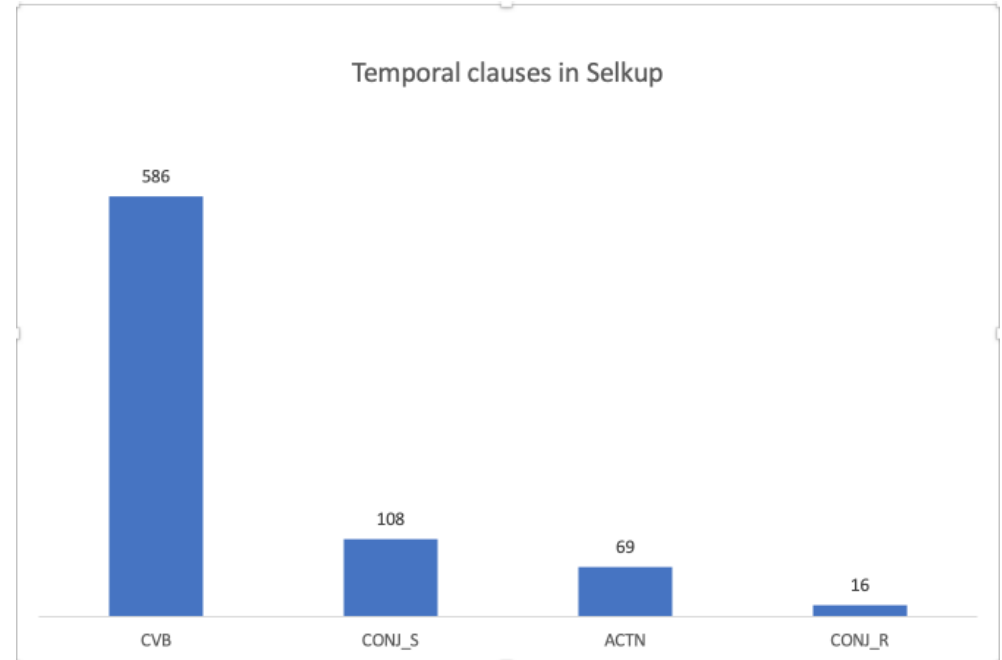
texts	utterances	tokens
548	24,305	140,986

Subordination in Selkup

- In Selkup, subordination originally was expressed through juxtaposition and infinite verbal forms – converbs, infinitive, supine (cf. Helimski 1998: 576f., Kuznecova et al. 1980: 400f.).
- Additionally, there are also a number of subordinate conjunctions borrowed from Russian (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 402f.) as well as Selkup conjunctions

Subordination in Selkup

- total: 779 temporal clauses
- 2 different types: finite / nonfinite verbs
- conj -> finite verbs (124 clauses)
- cvb, actn -> nonfinite verbs (655 clauses)



Temporal clauses – asyndetic

	Northern		Central		Southern	
TEMP.ANT	V-ACTN-ADJZ + after V-ACTN-((LOC).PX)	CVB1 + after CVB1 + V.FIN.PST/NON-PST	–	CVB1/2 + V.FIN.NON-PST	–	CVB2 + V.FIN.PST CVB1/2
TEMP.SIM	V-ACTN-((LOC).PX)	CVB1 + V.FIN.PST/NON-PST	–		V-ACTN-((LOC).PX)	CVB1 + V.FIN.NON-PST CVB1/2
TEMP.POST	–	–	–	–	–	–

Temporal clauses – syndetic

	Northern		Central		Southern	
anteriority	–	CONJ.SEL	–	CONJ.SEL	–	CONJ.SEL
simultaneity	–	CONJ.SEL	CONJ.RUS	CONJ.SEL	CONJ.RUS	CONJ.SEL
posteriority	–	–	–	–	–	–

Temporal clauses

	ACTN	CVB	CONJ.SEL	CONJ.RUS
Northern	X	X	X	–
Central	–	X	X	X
Southern	X _{Ket}	X	X	X

Temporal clauses – examples

I:-t net-l'e:pe ...
son-3SG get.married-CVB2 ...
'After the son got married ...'
(Southern Selkup: ChAE_196X_HungryDaughterInLaw_flk.004)

Wətto:-t qən-ti-ptä:-qintit ...
road-LOC.ADV go.away-IPFV-ACTN-LOC.3PL ...
'While they are walking ...'
(Northern Selkup: ALA_1977_ThreeBrothers_flk.009)

Temporal clauses – examples

kužat Iwa:nuška konda-h ...
when Ivanushka sleep-3SG.S ...
‘When Ivanushka slept ...’
(Central Selkup: TTD_1964_Frog_flk.027)

Paka nilz'i-k qulə-wat-pə-t ...
while such-ADV talk-DRV-DUR-3SG.O ...
‘While they are talking ...’
(Central Selkup: SDP_1964_FairytalesBlackZar_flk.610)

Temporal clauses – examples

[<i>Ija qa:-linti</i>	<i>šunč'o:-qit</i>	<i>ɔ:mti-l'a</i>] _{TEMP1}		
Itja sledge-GEN.3SG	inside-LOC	sit-CVB1		
[<i>te:mni-m tinä</i>	<i>tot-qil-pi-nti-tä:-ni</i>] _{TEMP2}		<i>č'akti-p</i>	<i>ijat</i>
rope-ACC that	pull-MULT-DUR-IPFV-ACTN-ABL.ADV		female.reindeer-ACC	guy-GEN
<i>qanaŋ-mit na</i>	<i>mintiral'</i>		<i>tä-mmi-ntɔ:-tit.</i>	
near-PROL INFER	leave.behind-IPFV-FRQ-PTCP.PRS		shepherd-PST.REP-INFER-3PL	

'As the boy was sitting inside the sledge collecting the rope, the doe ran near his sledge chased by people.'
 (Northern Selkup: TVP_1965_ThreeBrothersLapta_flk.055)

Hypothesis

- While earlier converbs and action nouns were used, in later records mostly conjunctions are used
- Both Russian (direct loan) and Selkup conjunctions (pattern loan)

Temporal clauses – changes I

ACTN [*pe:mi-mbi-tä-yən* *mat't'ö-yin*]_{TEMP} *t'äži-ku-zi-t* *sang-i-m,* *pe:k'k'e-m.*
 hunt-DUR-ACTN-LOC taiga-LOC shoot-HAB-PST-3SG.O capercaillie-ACC hazelhen-ACC
 ‘When he was hunting in the taiga, he shot wood grooses and hazel-hen.’
 (Southern Selkup: KMS_1963_FrozenBear_nar.006)

CVB [*Toi-n* *mitti-l'ewl'e qar-tš*]_{TEMP} *qar-a-m* *inne wət'tä-ndi-t ...*
 lake-LOC.ADV reach-CVB2 fish.trap-ILL fish.trap-EP-ACC up lift-INFER-3SG.O [...]

‘When she reaches the lake with the fish trap, she lifts up the fish trap ...’
 (Southern Selkup: KMS_1966_TwoSisters_flk.007)

Temporal clauses – changes I

[*pakka* *qa:ra-m* *ütt-i-t* *pen-ži-zi-t*]_{TEMP} *merge-n-ni*
while fish.trap-ACC water-EP-ILL put-IPFV-PST-3SG.O wind-VBLZ-CO.3SG

CONJ

i *t'o:wa-l-ži-ŋ.*
and snow-INCH-IPFV-3SG.S

While she put the fish trap in the water, there is a bit of wind and it starts to snow.

(Southern Selkup: KMS 1966 TwoSisters_flk.009)

pakka < russ. пока (poka) 'while'

Temporal clauses – changes II

[Na pünakesa irra mi-qa:qə näl'a-nti mi-la]_{TEMP} ü:ti-ŋi-ti
 this giant old.man something-DU daughter-ILL give-CVB1 sent-CO-3SG.O

ija-nti-sä šöl'qum-i-l' tətə-ntə, Tə:s qəlto-ntə.
 son-OBL.3SG-INSTR Selkup-EP-ADJZ earth-ILL Taz big.river-ILL

'The giant old man, after having given away his daughter to her husband, sent his son to the Selkup land, to the river Taz.'

(Northern Selkup: SAI¹⁹⁶⁵LittleDoll_flk.060)

CVB

Temporal clauses – changes II

	[<i>Man aj</i>	<i>quptä:l'</i>	<i>moqo:qak</i>	<i>quptä:l'</i>	<i>moqo:qäj</i>] _{TEMP}	<i>aj</i>	<i>wärqi</i>
	1SG	also	die-ACTN-ADJZ	after-LOC.1SG	die-ACTN-ADJZ	after-1SG	also elder
ACTN	<i>i:ja</i>	<i>mompa</i>	<i>mašip</i>	<i>aj</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tenäptenta.</i>	
	son	it.is.said	1SG.ACC	and	this	think-CAUS-FUT.3SG	
	‘And after I die, my elder son will remember me and this.’						
	(Northern Selkup: SAI(1965)WhenIDie1_song.012)						

Temporal clauses – changes II

[...][*poka el-la-k*]_{TEMP} *qum-ne* *me-nža-p* *šind.*
[...] *while* live-OPT-1SG.S person-DAT give-IPFV-1SG.O 2SG.ACC

CONJ

‘... as long as I will live I give you to the husband.’

(Northern Selkup: SAI_1984 StoryAboutLifeLong_nar.023)

pakka < russ. *пока (poka)* ‘while’

Summary

	1879	1941	1957	1960	1961	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	196x	1970	1971	1973	1976	1977	197x	1980	1981	1983	1984
CVB	21	1	5		14	16	75	177	34	12	2	7	125		26	34	3	17	3		8		
ACTN					5	5	25	5					12		7	5	5						
CONJ				1	14	1	25	9	5	3	1		2		18	7		6			8	3	1

Summary

- Change over time exists in the adverbial clause
- The matrix clause does not change over time
- Nonfinite forms (cvb, actn) coexist with conjunctions (Selkup, Russian)
- Temporal clauses typically precede the matrix clause
- In southern Ket dialects, there is maybe a "double marking strategy" -> temporal relation marked in the constituent clause and matrix clause

Outlook

- Clause linkage annotation of heroic songs -> oldest texts from 1854
- Clause linkage annotation of (Russian) translations
- Analyse other adverbial clause types (conditional clauses, purpose clauses, adverbial clauses of manner, causal clauses, and consecutive clauses)
- Compare other adverbial clauses to temporal clauses -> (dialectal) similarities/differences?

References

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Thank you for your attention!