

# On Reflexivity in Northern Selkup

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# Overview

- Means to express reflexivity in Northern Selkup, as stated in the grammar sketch [Kutnetsova 1980]:
  - pronoun -on
  - verbal suffix -č̣i-

- Data sources:

Brykina, Maria; Orlova, Svetlana; Wagner-Nagy, Beáta. 2021. INEL Selkup Corpus. Version 2.0.

Budzisch, Josefina – Anja Harder – Beáta Wagner-Nagy 2019. Selkup Language Corpus (SLC).



# The pronoun *on-*

	NOM, GEN	ACC	INSTR	LOC (ALL, ILL, ...)
<b>1SG</b>	on-äk on-äj	on-äk-qoša-no:(-qo) on-äk-qoš-no:(-qo)	on-äk-sä	on-äq-qäk/ŋ, on-äk-qoša-qäk/ŋ, on-äk-qoš-qäk/ŋ
<b>2SG</b>	on-änti	on-änti-qoša-n-to:(-qo) on-änti-qoš-to:(-qo)	on-änti-sä	on-änti-qän-ti, on-änti-niŋ/k/0, on-änti-kinı, on-änti-qoša-qän-ti, on-änti-qoš-qän-ti
<b>3SG</b>	on-ti	on-ti-qoši-n-to:(-qo) on-ti-qoš-to:(-qo)	on-ti-sä	on-ti-qin-ti, on-ti-niŋ/k/0, on-ti-kinı, on-ti-qošo:-qin-ti, on-ti-qoš-qin-ti
<b>1DU</b>	on-ı:	on-ı:-qoši-n-ı:-qo on-ı:-qoš-n-ı:-qo	on-ı:-sä	on-ı:-qin-ı:, on-ı:-qošo:-qin-ı:, on-ı:-qoš-qin-ı:
<b>2DU, 3DU</b>	on-tı:	on-tı:-qoši-n-tı:-qo on-tı:-qoš-tı:-qo	on-tı:-sä	on-tı:-qin-tı:, on-tı:-kinı, on-tı:-qošo:-qin-tı:
<b>1PL</b>	on-it on-in	on-it-qoši-n-it-qo on-it-qoš-n-it-qo	on-is-sä	on-it-qin-it, on-it-qošo:-qin-it, on-it-qoš-qin-it,
<b>2PL, 3PL</b>	on-it on-in	on-t-it-qoši-n-tit-qo on-t-it-qoš-tit-qo	on-tis-sä	on-tit-qin-tit, on-tit-kinı, on-tit-qošo:-qin-tit, on-tit-qoš-qin-tit



## The pronoun *on-* as intensifier

ira	onti	mɔ:t-qit	qali-mpa
old.man.[NOM]	<b>oneself.3SG.[NOM]</b>	tent-LOC	stay-PST.NAR.[3SG.S]

*“The old man stayed at home.”*

onti	ira	mɔ:t-qit	qala
<b>oneself.3SG.[NOM]</b>	old.man.[NOM]	tent-LOC	stay.[3SG.S]

*“The old man himself stayed in the tent.”*

to:nna šiti	timn'ä-si-qä	mɔ:t-qit	qalb:-tit
that two	brother-DYA-DU.[NOM]	tent-LOC	stay-3PL

*“The other two brothers stayed in the tent.”*



## The pronoun *on-*: intensifier vs. reflexive

	<b>INEL Selkup Corpus</b>	<b>SLC</b>
Total occurrences of <i>on-</i>	86	46
Nominative case	75	43
Other cases	11	3



# The pronoun on- as reflexive

puška-sä      **onti-qošto:**      čatti-kka  
 rifle-INSTR    **oneself.3SG-ACC**    shoot-DUR.[3SG.S]

*“He shoots himself with a rifle.”*

mu:ši-ri-lä      **onti-kine**      kü:mi-l'      læ-ti  
 be.cooking-TR-CVB    **oneself.3SG-ALL**    brains-ADJZ    bone.[NOM]-3SG  
 tɪ:-ti-ti      to:na    mäč'i-m-ti      i:ja-nik      tɪ:-ti-ti  
 pull.out-TR-3SG.O    that    meat-ACC-3SG    guy-ALL    pull.out-TR-3SG.O

*“Having cooked it, he got the brain bone out for himself and the meat for the boy.”*



# The pronoun -on

tap	lo:si	<b>onäk</b>	i:ja-ni	wəči-sä
this	devil.[SG.NOM]	<b>oneself.1SG[GEN]</b>	child-GEN.1SG	meat-INSTR
šım	ap-s-ta			
1SG.[ACC]	eat-PST-INFER.[3SG.S]			

*“This devil fed me with the meat of my own child!”*



## The pronoun on-

nizni	tina	se:l'či	pünä	moqinä	omtɔ:-ja
then	that	seven	monster.[SG.NOM]	home	sit.down-AOR.[3SG.S]
na	qumi-n	ima-p	moqinä	tattɔ:-tit	<b>onti-qin-ti</b>
this	person-GEN	woman-ACC	home	bring-3PL.S/O	<b>oneself-ILL.3SG</b>
moqinä	mi-ŋɔ:-tit				
home	give-AOR-3PL.S/O				

*“Then the seven monsters return, land, bring the man's wife back and give her back to him.”*





## Reflexive verbs: a typological approach

- The classification is taken from [Geniušėnė 1984]
- A typological study of reflexive verbs in more than 50 languages of the world (with a bias towards Indo-European languages)
- Northern Selkup was included in the sample



## Reflexive verbs: semantic

Маша **одевает** дочку.

*“Mary dresses her daughter.”*

Маша **одевает-ся**.

*“Mary dresses **herself**.”*

əmiti	ijaja	<b>taqt-alti-siti</b>
mother	child	<b>dress-TR-3SG.O</b>

*“The mother dressed her child”*

ija	nik	<b>taqt-alta</b>
guy.[NOM]	so	<b>dress-TR.[3SG.S]</b>

*“The guy dressed so.”*



## Reflexive verbs: partitive

Ваня порезал палец.

*“John cut his finger.”*

Ваня порезал-ся.

*“John cut **himself**.”*

Тәп

**ӨНТЫ-ҚОШТО**

маты-мпа

3SG.[NOM]

**oneself.3SG-ACC**

cut-PST.NAR.[3SG.S]

*“He cut himself”*



## Reflexive verbs: absolute

Собака **кусает** детей.

*“The dog bites children.”*

Собака **кусает-ся**.

*“The dog bites.”*

*“kuki-qo” (to swing) -> “kuk-ti-qo” (to be unsteady)*

*“tə:li-qo” (to steal) -> “təl-ti-qo” (to practice thievery)*



## Reflexive verbs: autocausative

Ваня спрятал деньги.

*“John hid the money.”*

**ətti-ŋi-ti**

**hide-CO-3SG.O**

*“I hid them.”*

təpiti-p

3PL-ACC

Ваня спрятал-ся.

*“John hid **himself**.”*

kostr’ul’a-nti **ətt-εχ-ŋa**

pot-ILL **hide-PFV-CO.[3SG.S]**

*“He hid in the pot.”*



## Reflexive verbs: autocausative

imaqota                      tɔː        puː-ŋa                      lča-m        moqinä    puː-ti-ti  
old.woman.[SG.NOM]    that        cross-AOR.[3SG.S]        Itja-ACC    home        cross-TR-3SG.O

“The old woman comes over to this side, she leads Icha back.”

nimti    ili-mpɔː-tin                      nini        tɔː                      puː-č'i-sɔː-t  
there    live-PST.NAR-3PL                      then        to.the.other.side                      cross-RFL-PST-3PL

“They lived there, they lived [there], then they crossed [the river].”



# Reflexive verbs: reciprocal

Ваня **поцеловал** Машу.

“John kissed Mary.”

apsi-p

qo-nto:-tit

food-ACC

find-INFER-3PL

*“They found food.”*

no:t

**jap**

qo-mpo:-t

then

**RCPR**

find-PST.NAR-3PL

*“Then they found each other.”*



# Reflexive verbs: decausative

Ваня **сломал** машину.

*“John broke the car.”*

Машина **сломала-сь**.

*“The car broke.”*

plaškot-min

tɪrɪ-č'ə-sɪ

na

ferryboat.[NOM]-1PL

fill-RFL-PST.[3SG.S]

here

*“ The ferryboat was filled up. .”*





# Reflexive verbs: quasipassive

Маша **продаёт** книги.

*“Mary sells books.”*

üŋi-t

sticks.for.fishing.bolts-PL.[NOM]

*“Прутья слабо захватываются.”*

*“The poles are too big to catch.”*

Книги хорошо **продаются**.

*“The books sell well.”*

ɔ:lɑ-k

weak-ADVZ

ora-č'a-r-e-ŋɔ:-tit

catch-RFL-FRQ-EP-CO-3PL



Ваня заточил нож.

“John honed a knife.”

mɔ:t-ti

tent.[NOM]-3SG

najenti

here.it.is

*“His house was covered with soil.”*

Нож плохо заточил-ся.

“The knife was badly honed.”

č'u-sa

ground-INSTR

taq-pi-mpa

close-DUR-PST.NAR.[3SG.S]



# Reflexive verbs: overview

	Pronoun <i>on-</i>	Conjugation switch	-čĭ/-ĭ (Geniušeně)	-čĭ/-ĭ (corpus data)	-tĭ	<i>jap/jep</i>	-mpĭ
Semantic	+	+	+				
Partitive	+						
Absolute					(+)		
Autocausative		+	+	+			
Reciprocal						+	
Decausative			+	+			
Quasi-passive			+	+			
Passive							+



**Thank you!**