

ADPOSITIONS OR RELATOR NOUN: GRAMMATICALIZATION PROCESSES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN SELKUP

SOURCES FOR LOCATIVE ADPOSITIONS

body part		object part		landmark	
N	ADP	N	ADP	N	ADP
<i>moqə</i> 'back'	behind	<i>töp</i> 'border'	at, on	<i>ilə</i> 'ground'	under
<i>kö</i> 'side'	beside, to	<i>par</i> 'top'	on, onto		
<i>qāt</i> 'forehead'	in front of	<i>tibə</i> 'end'	at at the edge of		
<i>olī</i> 'head'	in front of	<i>s'iinc'ə</i> 'inside'	in, into		
<i>saj</i> 'eye'	in the middle of	<i>pužo</i> 'inside'	under, in, into		

Tab. 1: Sources for locative adpositions in Selkup

DATA

- The basis is the Central and Southern Selkup text corpus currently being developed at the University of Hamburg.
- Project: "Syntactic description of the Southern and Central Selkup dialects: a corpus-based investigation" (WA 3153/3-1, PI: Beáta Wagner-Nagy), funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

	Central Selkup	Southern Selkup
texts	47	67
sentences	2,740	3,244
tokens	22,021	19,149

Tab. 2: Selkup text material

LOCALIZATION THEORY

- "[...] expressions of locations [...] are evolving in a specific way following a predictable path, going from concrete and specific to abstract and general in both semantic and morphological domains." (Svorou 1986: 516)
- This path can be illustrated by the following grammaticalization scale from Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer (1991: 132).



- Nominal sources for locative adpositions include categories like body parts, object parts and environmental landmarks (see Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer 1991: 123ff.)

SELKUP LANGUAGE(S)

- Selkup belongs to the Southern Samoyedic branch of the Uralic language family.
- Most speakers use a variant of the Northern Selkup dialects.
- Central and Southern Selkup dialects are highly endangered, only a few speakers still left.

(RELATOR) NOUN

udimda moyə-nne qūdəgoze sārugu.
hand back-LOC.ADV pull.strap bind
'to tie the hands behind the back.'
[PVD_1961_FarmAssault_flk_49], Chaya

**kai* 'side, rib'

HEAD OF GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION

ütč'ega tep-a-n moqo-n üt'imba.
child 3SG-EP-GEN back-LOC.ADV sends
'The child runs after her.'
[KKN_1971_WhiteHeadWoman_flk_21], Middle Ket'

ADVERB

mo:qinā qwanna.
back goes
'(He) went back.'
[TFF_1967_ItjaAldigaScale_flk_18], Middle Ob

ADPOSITION

nač'idelle šoyor-n moyo-qən omda.
there stove-GEN back-LOC sits.down
'(She) sat behind the oven.'
[SAA_1971_ThreeSisters_flk_28], Parabel'

(BOUND) AFFIX

-*qit/-qin* 'LOC'

Fig. 1: Grammaticalization scale in Selkup based on Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer (1991: 132)



SUMMARY

- In Central and Southern Selkup nearly all relator nouns exist in almost all stages of the grammaticalization process (Fig. 1) side by side: noun, genitive construction, adverb and adposition.
- Due to the lack of new language material the last stage - a bound affix - cannot be observed in the today's Selkup language.
- The starting and end point of the gram. process (Fig. 1) can be illustrated with the example of the Selkup local case suffix *-qit*.
- The case suffix originate from the Protosamojedic (relator) noun **kai* 'side, rib'
- Examples for the intermediate steps can only be found in the current language material, where the relator noun *kö* 'side, rib' becomes an adposition: *madən kayən* 'beside the house' [PMP_1961_ForestWoman_flk_132, Middle Ob]
- the final *-t* in *-qit* could be a former possessive suffix.

REFERENCES

- Fig. 1: Grammaticalization scale in Selkup, based on Heine/Claudi/Hünemeyer (1991: 132)
- Map 1: Selkup settlement areas. www.freeworldmaps.net
- Tab. 1: Sources for locative adpositions in Selkup. Selkup Spoken Language Corpus (2015+). Inst. of Finno-Ugric/Uralic Studies. Universität Hamburg
- Tab. 2: Selkup text material. Selkup Spoken Language Corpus (2015+). Inst. of Finno-Ugric/Uralic Studies. Universität Hamburg
- Heine, B., U. Claudi & F. Hünemeyer (1991). *Grammaticalization: a conceptual framework*. Chicago.
- Svorou, S. (1986). „On the Evolutionary Path of Locative Expressions“. In: *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. pp. 515-527.

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