

Adposition or relator noun?

Grammaticalization processes in
Central and Southern Selkup

Outline

- Introduction
- Localization
- Language & Corpus
- From relator noun to adposition
- Summary

Introduction

- Typical construction expressing a spatial relation in Selkup:

(1) *ütč'ega tep-a-n moqqo-n üt'i-mba*
 child 3SG-EP-GEN back-LOC.ADV send-PST.REP[3SG]
 'The child is running in her back (= behind).'
 [KKN_1971_WhiteHeadedWoman_flk_20, Middle Ket']

- The original lexical meaning seems to fade into the background -> a grammatical function prevails
- Question: Do constructions of this type have full nominal status?

Localization I

- Basic localization scheme (Lehmann 1983, Simons 1984, Stolz 1992)

(2) *Carlo* *vive* *in* *Germania*

LOCALISATUM LOCALIZER LOCUS

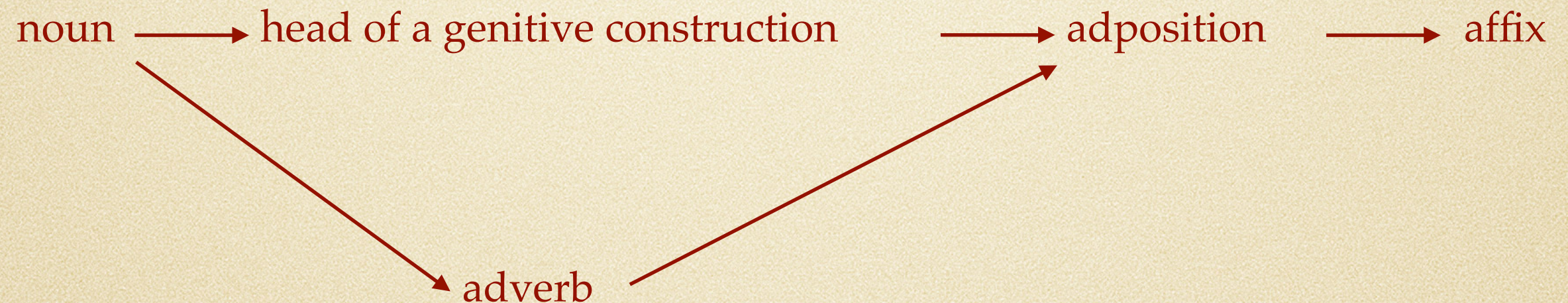
‘Carlo lives in Germany.’

[Stolz 1992: 17, Italian]

- **Localisatum**: the item with respect to which the locus is localized
- **Locus**: something whose position in space or time is described by the construction
- **Localizer**: link between the locus and the localisatum

Localization II

- Grammaticalization Model of Heine et al. (1991:132)



Language



Corpus

- Selkup Spoken Language Corpus (SelSLC) at the University of Hamburg, founded by DFG (WA 3153/3-1)
- 119 already published texts from Northern, Central and Southern Selkup dialectal groups

	Central Selkup	Southern Selkup
texts	47	60
sentences	3,205	3,244
tokens	22,027	19,149

From N_{REL} noun til ADP

- Stages of the grammaticalization path
 - Relator noun
 - Genitive construction
 - Adverb
 - Adposition
 - Case affix

Relator noun I

body parts		regions of spaces	
<i>olī</i>	‘head’	<i>tōp</i>	‘border’
<i>qāt</i>	‘forehead’	<i>par</i>	‘top’
<i>saj</i>	‘eye’	<i>tibə</i>	‘end’
<i>aq</i>	‘mouth’	<i>pužo</i>	‘tube, inside’
<i>s’ünc’ə</i>	‘stomach, inside’	<i>ilə</i>	‘ground’
<i>kö</i>	‘side, rib’	<i>po</i>	‘outside’
<i>moqə</i>	‘back’		

Relator noun II

Noun		N _{REL}		N _{GEN}		ADV		ADP	
		C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S
<i>moqə</i>	‘back’	-	6	2	2	7	16	8	12
<i>kö</i>	‘side, rib’	-	1	1	3	-	-	8	6
<i>qāt</i>	‘forehead’	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>oli</i>	‘head’	15	70	14	27	-	-	-	9
<i>aq</i>	‘mouth’	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>saj</i>	‘eye’	39	39	5	13	-	-	-	4
<i>s’ünc’ə</i>	‘stomach, inside’	-	3	-	2	-	1	1	10
<i>tōp</i>	‘border’	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	12
<i>par</i>	‘top’	-	4	-	-	-	-	44	83
<i>tibə</i>	‘end’	-	-	2	11	-	-	-	12
<i>pužo</i>	‘tube, inside’	-	-	2	-	-	-	12	4
<i>ilə</i>	‘ground’	-	1	-	1	2	25	-	5
<i>po</i>	‘outside’	-	-	-	-	24	36	-	-

Relator noun II

Noun		N _{REL}		N _{GEN}		ADV		ADP	
		C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S
<i>moqə</i>	‘back’	-	6	2	2	7	16	8	12
<i>kö</i>	‘side, rib’	-	1	1	3	-	-	8	6
<i>qāt</i>	‘forehead’	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>oli</i>	‘head’	15	70	14	27	-	-	-	9
<i>aq</i>	‘mouth’	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-
<i>saj</i>	‘eye’	39	39	5	13	-	-	-	4
<i>s’ünc’ə</i>	‘stomach, inside’	-	3	-	2	-	1	1	10
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<i>tibə</i>	‘end’	-	-	2	11	-	-	-	12
<i>pužo</i>	‘tube, inside’	-	-	2	-	-	-	12	4
<i>ilə</i>	‘ground’	-	1	-	1	2	25	-	5
<i>po</i>	‘outside’	-	-	-	-	24	36	-	-

Relator noun III

- (3) *Putšo tebam obr'ownolandə pat'olgwət, ondə moqqo-yondə pengwət.*
 beaver it into.beams shattered himself back-LOC.PX.3SG puts
 'The beaver shattered it into beams, put them onto his back.'
 [BNN_1971_EyesEars_11, Middle Ket']

Genitive construction

- (4) *Pēq ugon čāža, peqi-n mogo-yin Īde.*
 elk earlier run elk-GEN back-LOC Itja
 ‘The elk runs first, Itja in the back of the elk.’
 [TFF_1967_ItjaHuntsElk_flk_11, Middle Ob]

Adverb

- (5) *Onek **mōyne** čačle, lērak.*
 myself **home** run sing
 ‘When I was going home, I sang.’
 [TTD_1964_Squirrel_flk_3, Tym]

Adposition I

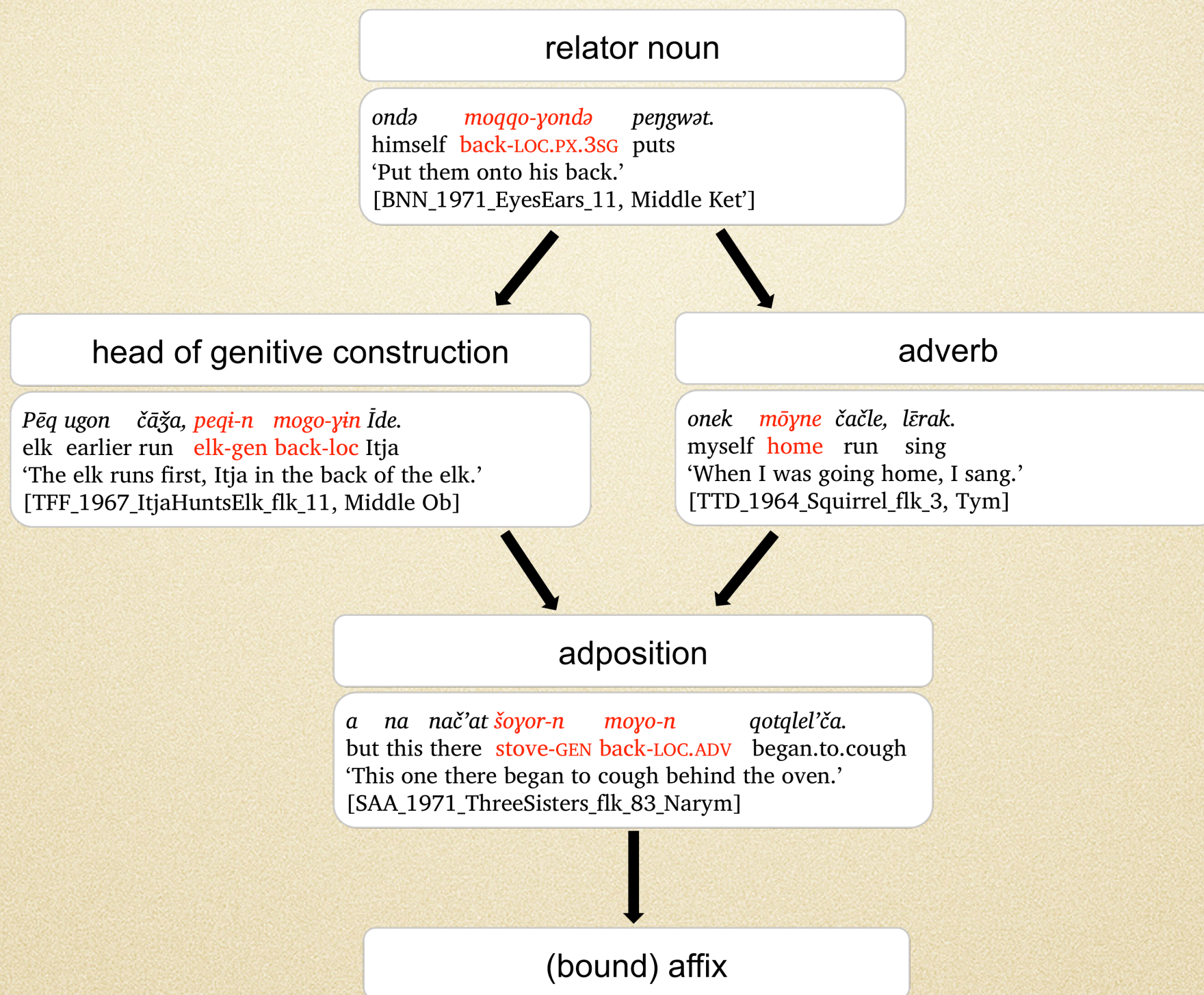
- almost all relator nouns have developed into adpositions

body parts		regions of spaces	
N	ADP	N	ADP
moqə 'back'	behind	tōp 'border'	at, on
kö 'side, rib'	beside, to	par 'top'	on, onto
qāt 'forehead'	in front of	tibə 'end'	at, at the edge of
oli 'head'	in front of, into	pužo 'tube, inside'	under, in, into
aq 'mouth'	in	ilə 'ground'	under
saj 'eye'	in the middle of		
s'ünc'ə 'stomach, inside'	in, into		

Adposition II

- (6) *A na nač'at šoyor-n moyo-ne qotqlel'ča.*
 but this there stove-GEN back-LOC.ADV began.to.coughs
 'This one there began to cough behind the stove.'
 [SAA_1971_ThreeSisters_flk_83, Narym]

Summary



References

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