On the non-possessive use of possessive suffixes in Southern and Central Selkup

6th Conference on Samoyedology
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data

- DFG-projekt *Syntactic description of Central and Southern Selkup dialects* (WA 3153/3-1)
- 104 texts from 35 different speakers
- all texts are previously published

**sex of the speakers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>f</th>
<th>23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**dialect group of the speakers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
date of birth
date of recording

![Bar chart showing dates and counts]
$\varnothing = \sim 56$ years
Central: 37 texts, Southern: 67 texts
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>10,510</td>
<td>14,850</td>
<td>25,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sentences</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>2,402</td>
<td>3,985</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## possessive suffixes (nominative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-miː</td>
<td>-min/t, ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-liː</td>
<td>-lin/t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-tiː</td>
<td>-tin/t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

some variants of PX.3SG: -t, -tə, -d, -de, -di ...
possessive use

(1a) *el’mad-e-l’i-ka* ču-r-e-le-mba.

(1b) amba-ɗ enne wašed’i-mba.
mother-PX.3SG up rise-PST.REP.3SG

‘The baby started crying. Its mother got up at once.’
(ChDN_1983_MistressOfFire_flk.016-017, Vasjugan)
non-possessive use

- well known phenomenon in Uralic linguistics
- PX serve to mark prototypical possessive relationships, but also: mark identifiability elements in narratives
  - identifiability – semantic-pragmatic definiteness
  - „the speaker‘s assumption that the mental representation of the discourse referent would be available to the hearer in an on-going discourse“ (Körtvély 2010: 324)
  - based on the situation, general knowledge, context...
  - see e.g. Castrén 1854, Collinder 1957, Tereščenko 1973, Nikolaeva 2003
unique nouns

Hawkins 1978: larger situational use,
Zayzon 2015: Non-anchoring, non anaphoric

(2) üːdɨ-m-ба, ċeːl-di pat-pa.
evening-TRL-PST.NAR.3SG sun-PX.3SG go.down-PST.NAR.3SG

‘Night fell, the sun went down.’
(SAI_1984_StoryAboutLife_nar.008, Narym)
occurrences of ‘sun’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Marked</th>
<th>Unmarked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
periods of time, seasons and certain dates

(3)  \textit{tay-a-t} \quad \textit{malma-nə}.
\textit{summer-EP-PX.3SG} \quad \textit{go.off-AOR.3SG}

‘Summer went by.’ (KKN\textunderscore 1971\textunderscore IvanAndGod\textunderscore flk.041, Middle Ket)

(4)  \textit{šande} \quad \textit{po-t} \quad \textit{menda}.
\textit{young} \quad \textit{year-PX.3SG} \quad \textit{pass.3SG}

‘A new year came.’ (ChDN\textunderscore 1983\textunderscore MotherInLaw\textunderscore nar.017, Vasjagan)
situational use

(5)  
\begin{align*}
\text{ti:} & \quad \text{mah-qindo} & \quad \text{kun-aj} \\
\text{you.DU} & \quad \text{house-DAT/ALL.PX.3SG} & \quad \text{where-EMPH} \\
\text{ək} & \quad \text{qwaja-ga-li} \\
\text{NEG.IMP} & \quad \text{go-AOR-IMP.2DU}
\end{align*}

‘You don’t leave the house!’

(TMR_1981_Robbers_flk.003, Middle Ob)
anaphoric/referential use

(6a)  
\[ id'e \quad p\text{önege-m} \quad aya \quad nadi-r-i-d. \]
Itja       devil-ACC     NEG     love-FRQ-EP-3SG

(6b)  
\[ p\text{önege-t} \quad qu-m \quad am-gu \]
devil-PX.3SG human.being-ACC    eat-INF

\[ lakka-ti-l’-de, \quad […] \]
want-IPFV-INCH-3SG

‘Itja does not like the devil. If the devil wants to eat a human being, …’ (ChDN_1983_IdjasTown_flk.008-009, Vasjugged)
Introduction of the referent:

(7a) čeːy kaːǯa pakti-r-h poː-t moː-la-u-t
white magpie jump-FRQ-3SG tree-GEN branch-DIM-EP-PL

i koːči-k čenče-ku-k, a kwɛre aːmdî aːry-o-yit i
and much-ADV say-ITER-3SG but crow sit.3SG other-EP-LOC and

hoyi-nżeliːpa: qaj-qa tat, kaːǯa, koːči-k čeːnča-nd?
ask-IPFV.3SG what-TRL you.SG magpie much-ADV say-2SG

‘A white magpie was springing among the branches of a tree and was speaking much, and there was a crow sitting nearby, and it asked: Why do you speak much, magpie?’

(TTD_1964_CrowMagpie_flk.00!, Tym)
no marking of the known referent

(7b) a kaːʐa iʐa-l-gu-k: 
but magpie say-INCH-ITER.3SG 

tat tær-ba-nd, 
you.SG think-PST.REP-2SG 
mat šeːpte-špa-k? 
I lie-IPFV-1SG

(7c) kwɛre iʐa-l-gu-k: 
crow say-INCH-ITER-3SG 

kud koːči-k čenča, 
who much-ADV say.3SG 
kak tat, 
how you.SG this 
naː koːči-k šeːpte-špa. 

‘And the magpie said: Do you think that I ever lie? The crow said: He who speaks as much as you, often tells lies.’

(TTD_1964_CrowMagpie_flk.002-003, Tym)
marking with a demonstrative pronoun

(8)    na  šoːqor-t  par-o-nd  siga-l-ba-dit.
this  stove-GEN  top-EP-ILL  climb-INCH-PST.REP-3PL

‘She climbed on that stove.’
(TMR_1981_Robbers_flk.034, Middle Ob)

- ’stove‘ was previously mentioned
marking in the very first sentences

(9)  
\[ ugon \quad elli-mba-q \quad t’emn’a-di \quad nen’n’a-si-q. \]

earlier live-PST.REP-3SG.S  brother-PX.3SG  sister-COM-DU

‘There lived a brother with his sister.’
(MNS_1984_BrotherSister_flk.001, Parabel)
marking in the very first sentences

(10) Nenets

\textit{tadyebya \ wõesako-r° \ mya-k ənta \ xəya}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
Shaman & old-PX.2SG & tent-PX.ABL.3SG & go.3SG \\
\end{tabular}

‘The shaman-old went out of his tent.’ (Körtvély 2010:334 nach Lehtisalo 1974)

– occurences also in old Dolgan texts

– „These instances are higly problematic [...] and it it quite likely that the beginning of the narrative reproduced \(\text{дф}\) in is not the real opener.“ (Siegl 2015: 82)
imperative + PX.2P

It is stated in the literature (e.g. Kuznecova et al. 1980, Helimski 1998) that Northern Selkup and Selkup in general use PX.2P for the marking of definiteness/reference in the imperative mood.

(11) Northern Selkup

\[\begin{align*}
tü-lî & \quad \text{cōty-ŋylî!} \\
\text{fire-PX.2DU} & \quad \text{make-IMP.2DU}
\end{align*}\]

‘Make a fire!’ (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 188)
imperative + PX.2P in Southern Selkup

(12) \textit{It’e, mata-l nü-di!}  
\textit{Itja door-PX.2SG open-IMP.2SG}  
‘Itja, open your door!’ (KKN\_1971\_Itja\_flk.007, Upper Ket)

(13) \textit{tab na matur-i -n to-mba,}  
\textit{he this hero-EP-DAT/ALL come-PST.REP.3SG}  
\textit{madi-r-na: “nɛ-l mekka me-d!“}  
\textit{ask-FRQ-AOR.3SG daughter-PX.2SG I.DAT give-IMP.2SG}  
‘And he came to the hero and asked: „Give me your daughter!“’ (ChDN\_1983\_HerosDaughter\_flk.034, Vasjugan)
found in other Samoyedic languages but lacking in (Southern and Central) Selkup

- marking on the demonstrative pronoun
- \( \text{PX.1P/PX.2P} \) in anaphoric or referential use
- Linking to the speech setting

? Associative anchoring/ associative anaphoric use
conclusion

- unique nouns (weather)
- periods of time, certain dates, seasons

possessive use

non-possessive use

always optional

- situational use
- anaphoric use
- marking in the first sentences
References


