



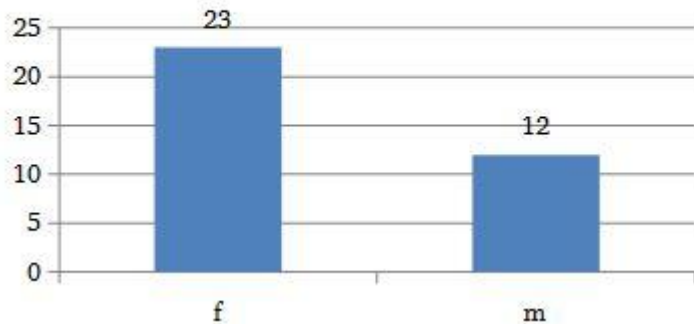
On the non-possessive use of possessive suffixes in Southern and Central Selkup

6th Conference on Samoyedology
Josefina Budzisch

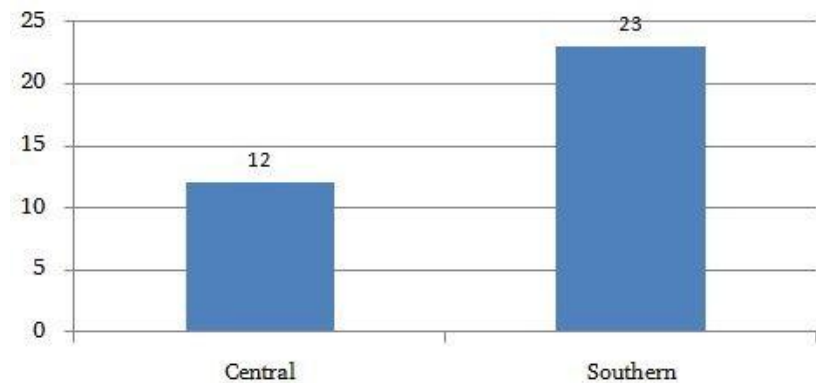
data

- 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

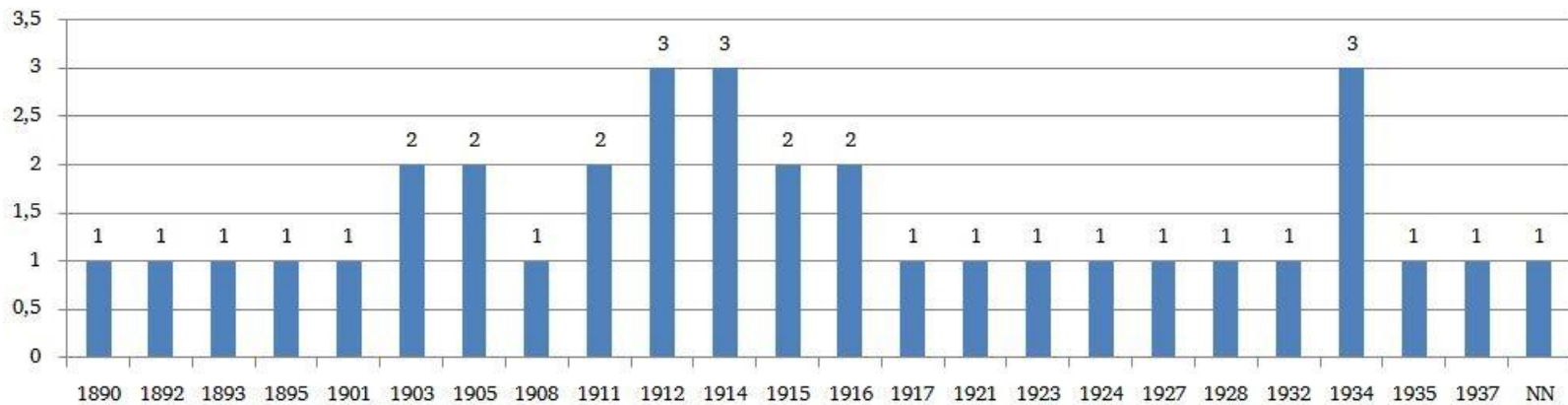
sex of the speakers



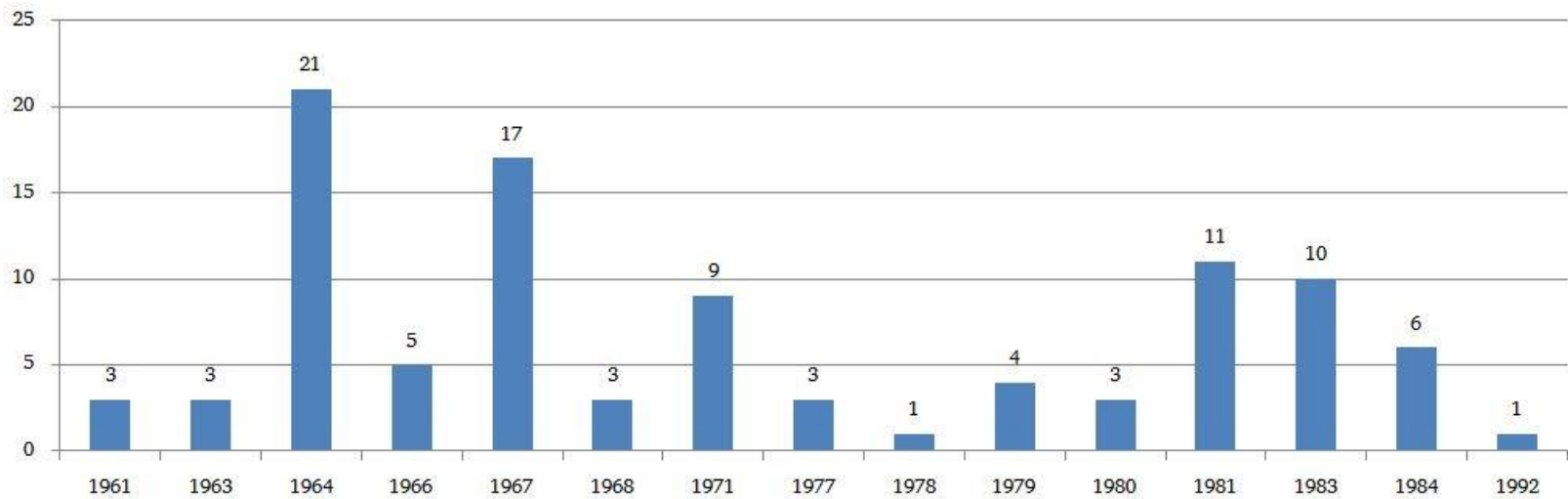
dialect group of the speakers



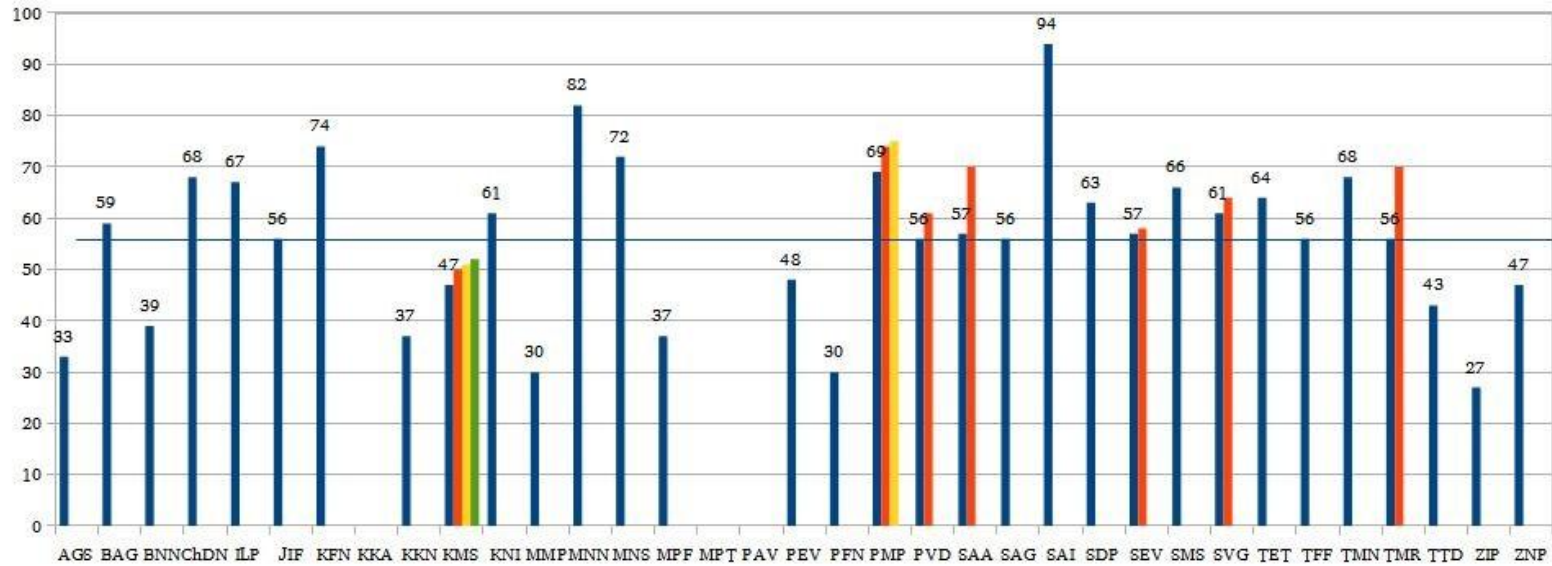
date of birth



date of recording

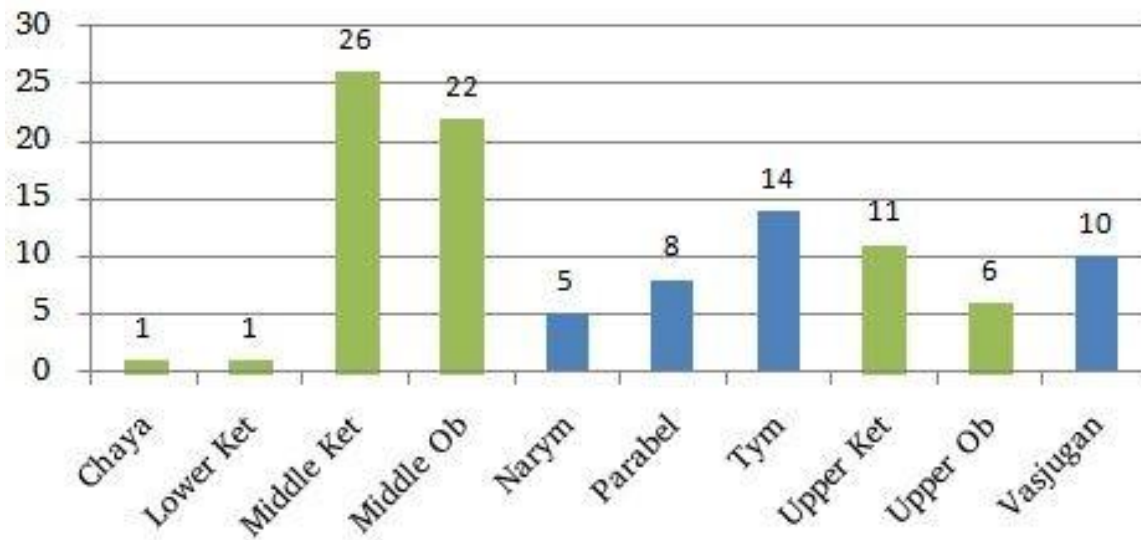


Age at recording

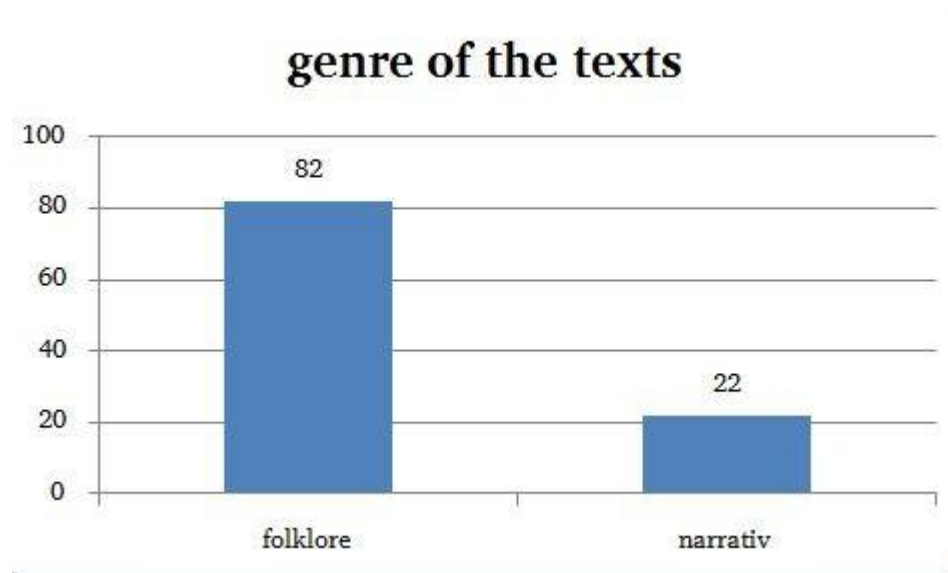


$\bar{x} = \sim 56$ years

texts per dialect



Central: 37 texts, Southern: 67 texts



	Central	South	total
tokens	10,510	14,850	25,360
sentences	1,583	2,402	3,985

possessive suffixes (nominative)

	SG	DU	PL
1P	<i>-mī</i>	<i>-mī:</i>	<i>-mīn/t, ut</i>
2P	<i>-lī</i>	<i>-lī:</i>	<i>-līn/t</i>
3P	<i>-tī</i>	<i>-tī:</i>	<i>-tīn/t</i>

some variants of PX.3SG: *-t*, *-tə*, *-d*, *-de*, *-dī* ...

possessive use

- (1a) *el'mad-e-l'i-ka* *ču-r-e-le-mba.*
child-EP-DIM-DIM cry-FRQ-EP-INCH-PST.REP.3SG
- (1b) *amba-d* *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) *ü:di-m-ba,* *če:l-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‘

	total	marked	Unmarked
Central	13	12	1
Southern	3	3	-
	16	15	1

periods of time, seasons and certain dates

- (3) *tay-a-t* *malma-nə.*
summer-EP-PX.3SG go.off-AOR.3SG

‘Summer went by.’ (KKN_1971_IvanAndGod_flk.041, Middle Ket)

- (4) *šandε* *po-t* *menda.*
young year-PX.3SG pass.3SG

‘A new year came.’ (ChDN_1983_MotherInLaw_nar.017, Vasjugan)

situational use

(5) *ti* *mat-qindo* *kun-aj*
 you.DU house-DAT/ALL.PX.3SG where-EMPH

ək *qwaja-ga-li*
 NEG.IMP go-AOR-IMP.2DU

‘You don’t leave the house!’
(TMR_1981_Robbers_flk.003, Middle Ob)

anaphoric/referential use

(6a) *id'e* *pönege -m* *aya* *nadi-r-i-d.*
Itja devil-ACC NEG love-FRQ-EP-3SG

(6b) *pönege-t* *qu-m* *am-gu*
devil-PX.3SG human.being-ACC eat-INF

lakka-ti-l'-de, [...]
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, Vasjugan)

no marking of the known referent

Introduction of the referent:

- (7a) *čery* *ka:ža* *pakti-r-h* *po:-t* *mo:-la-u-t*
 white magpie jump-FRQ-3SG tree-GEN branch-DIM-EP-PL
- i* *ko:či-k* *čenče-ku-k,* *a* *kwere* *a:mdi* *a:ry-o-yit* *i*
 and much-ADV say-ITER-3SG but crow sit.3SG other-EP-LOC and
- hoyi-nžešpa:* *qaj-qo* *tat,* *ka:ža,* *ko:či-k* *čenča-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 ka:ža iža-l-gu-k:*
but magpie say-INCH-ITER.3SG

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

(7c) *kwere iža-l-gu-k: kud ko:či-k čenča,*
crow say-INCH-ITER-3SG who much-ADV say.3SG

kak tat, na: ko:či-k šepte-špa.
how you.SG this much-ADV lie-IPFV.3SG

‘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* *šo:qor-t* *par-o-nd* *sigal-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 elli-mba-q* *t'emn'a-di* *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

<i>tadyebya</i>	<i>wæsa^oko-r^o</i>	<i>mya-k^o danta</i>	<i>xəya</i>
Shaman	old-PX.2SG	tent-PX.ABL.3SG	go.3SG

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

– occurrences also in old Dolgan texts

- „These instances are highly problematic [...] and it is quite likely that the beginning of the narrative reproduced *ɲɸ* 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

<i>tü-l̃</i>	<i>cōty-ŋyl̃!</i>
fire-PX.2DU	make-IMP.2DU

‘Make a fire!’ (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 188)

imperative + PX.2P in Southern Selkup

- (12) *It'e, mata-l nü-di!*
Itja door-PX.2SG open-IMP.2SG

‘Itja, open your door!’ (KKN_1971_Itja_flk.007, Upper Ket)

- (13) *tab na matur-i -n to-mba,*
he this hero-EP-DAT/ALL come-PST.REP.3SG

madi-r-na: “nε-l mekka me-d!”
ask-FRQ-AOR.3SG daughter-PX.2SG I.DAT give-IMP.2SG

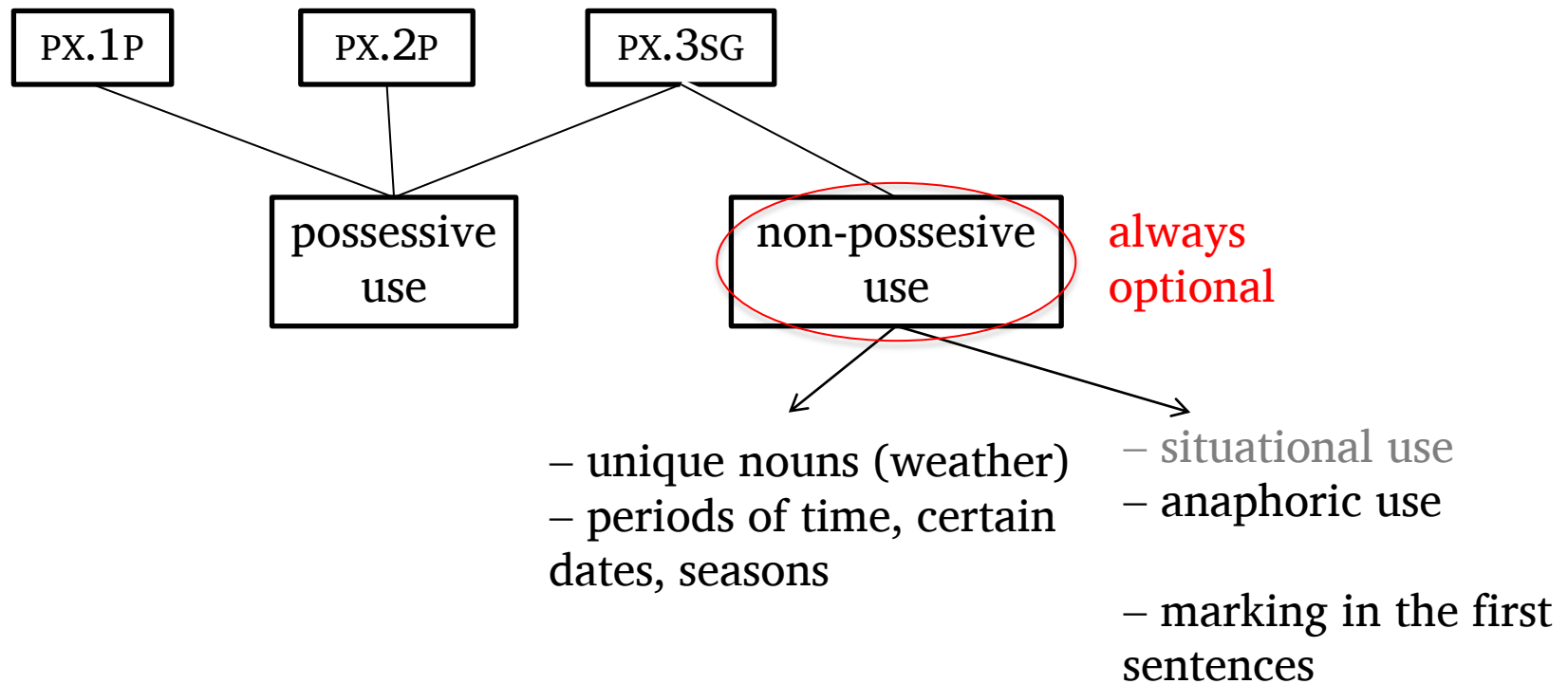
‘And he came to the hero and asked: „Give me your daughter!“
(ChDN_1983_HerosDaughter_flk.034, Vasjugan)

found in other Samoyedic languages but lacking in (Southern and Central) Selkup

- marking on the demonstrative pronoun
- PX.1P/PX.2P in anaphoric or referential use
- Linking to the speech setting

? Associative anchoring/ associative anaphoric use

conclusion



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