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Locative, existential and possessive sentences in the SSL corpus

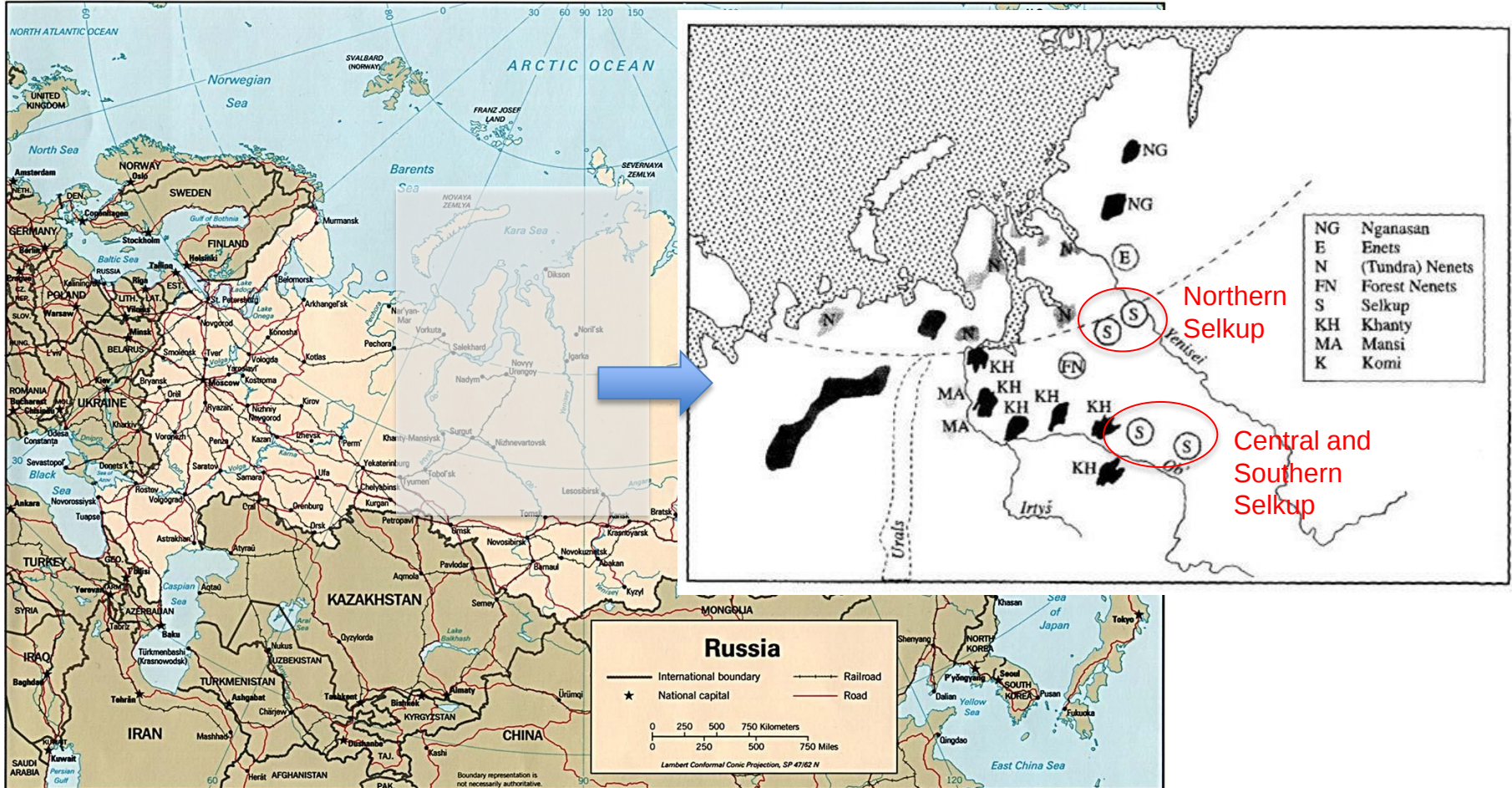
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07.10.2017

Outline

- The project
 - Data: texts and speakers
 - Workflow
- Locative, existential and possessive sentences
 - Definiteness effect

Introduction

- DFG (German Research Foundation) project: Syntactic description of Central and Southern Selkup dialects: a corpus based analysis (WA 3153/3-1)
- 130 previously published texts
 - 112 of them in Central and Southern Selkup
 - Using already existing data, making it available for modern corpus based research
 - Only written materials



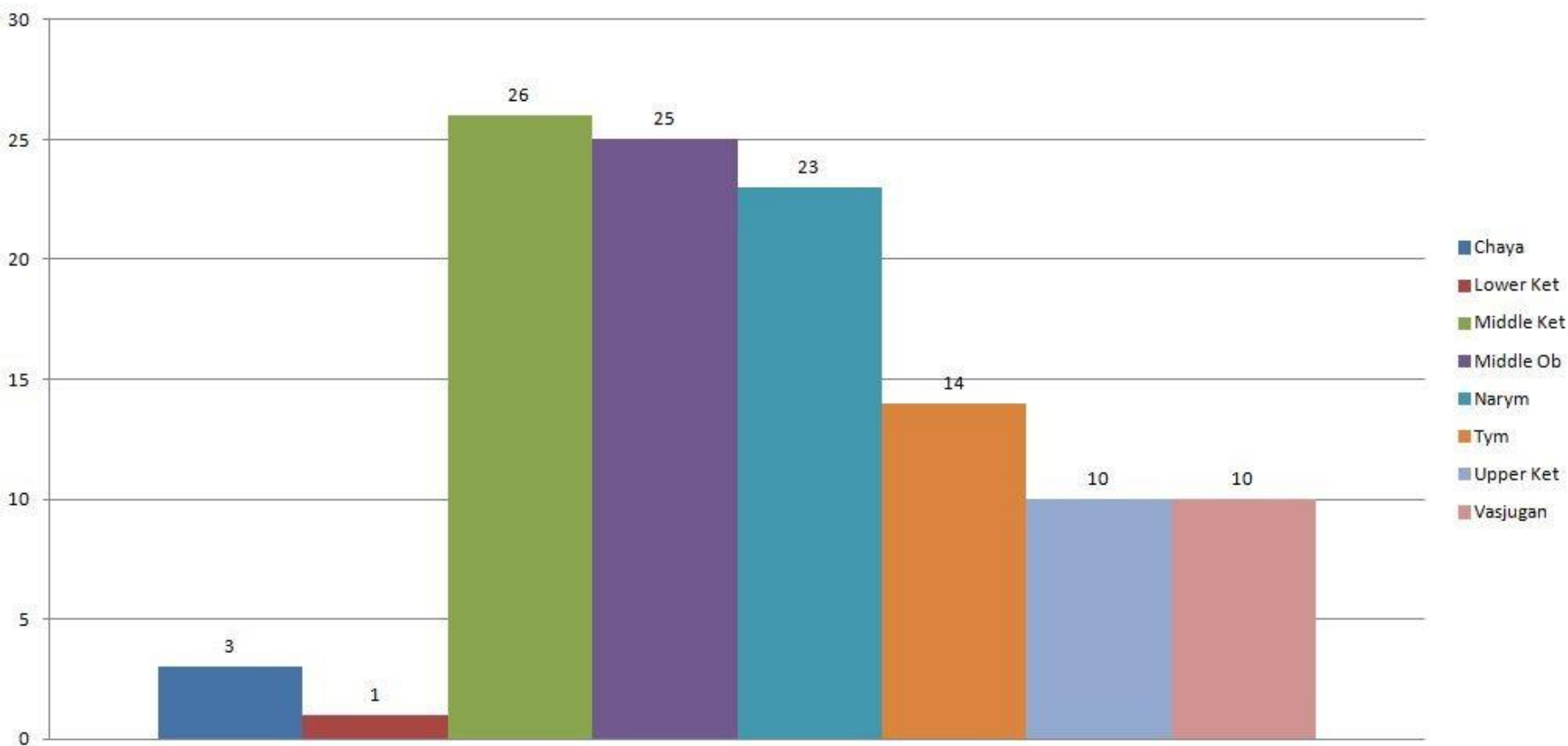
Data: texts

- 112 texts from 35 different speakers
- Covering 3 genres: folklore (82), narrative (23), translation (7)
- All text are published in various sources:
 - Bajdak / Maksimova (2002, 2013, 2015)
 - Bajdak / Tuchkova (2004)
 - Bekker (1980)
 - Bykonina et al (1996)
 - Dul'zon (1966a, 1966b)
 - Grigorovskiy (1879)
 - Korobeinikova (2014)
 - Kuz'mina (1967, 1977)
 - Morev et al (1981)
 - Szabó (1966, 1967)
 - Tuchkova / Helimski (2010)
 - Tuchkova / Wagner-Nagy (2015)

Data: dialects

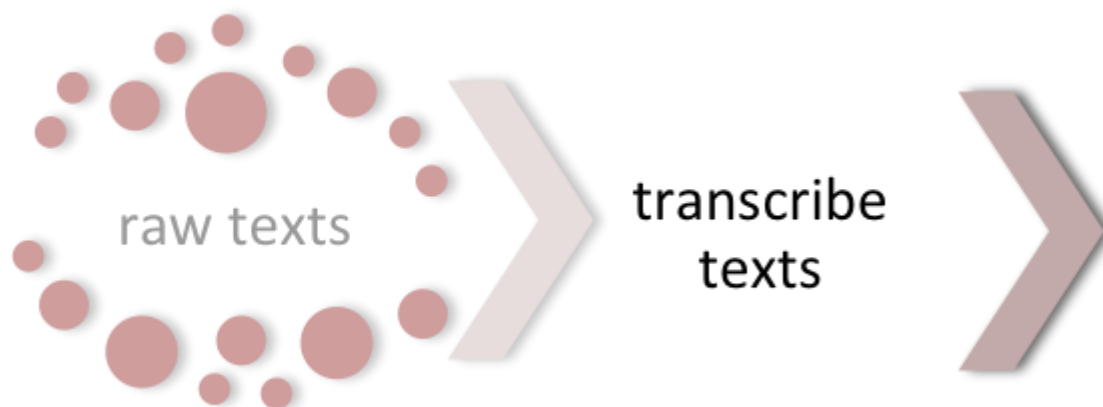
- Covering eight dialects:
 - Central: Narym, Tym, Vasyugan
 - Southern: Chaya, Ket (Upper, Middle, Lower Ket), Middle Ob

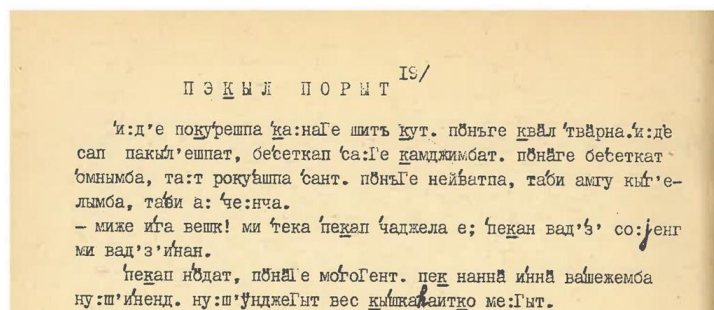
Data: texts per dialect



Workflow







I:de poqurešpa kanaŷe šitəqut. Pönəgə qwāl twerna. I:de sap pakil'ešpat (pakilbat),
 pesetkap sa:ŷe qamžimbat. Pönəgə besetkat omnimba, tabit tat rokuatpa sant.
 Pönəgə nejvatpa, tabi: amgu kigelimba. Tabi: a: čenča. „miže ig avešk, mi teka peqap
 ča:želaje. Peqan wad'z' so: eja mi wad'z'inan.“ peqam n'ō:dat, pönəgə mogoyint. Peq
 patom innā wašežəmba, nu:šünend. Nu:šünžeyit nop qoštāt, wes qiškahaitqo meryit.

1. Идя вдвоем с Каном рыбачили, сети ставили. 2. Пёнеге рыбы воровал. 3. Идя
 смолы накопал, бесетку [скамейку в лодке] смолой помазал. 4. Пёнеге на
 бесетку сел. 5. Жупа прилипла к смоле. 6. Пёнеге рассердился. 7. Их двоих
 съесть захотел. 8. Им не говорил (?). 9. «Мы тебе лося добудем. 10. Лось мясо
 лүаше, чем наше мясо». 11. Лось погнали (их трое было), Пёнеге сзади. 12.
 Лось потом вверх полетел на небо. 13. На небе Бог узнал, всех звездами сделал.
 14. Пёнеге – черт, Идя, Кана – они оба промышляли.

1. Idja und Kana fingen gemeinsam Fische mit Netzen. 2. Pönege stahl ihre Fische. 3.
 Idja sammelte Teer, beschmierte die Bank (im Boot) mit Teer. 4. Pönege setzte sich
 auf die Bank. 5. Sein Arsch blieb am Teer kleben. 6. Pönege ärgerte sich. 7. Er wollte
 sie beide fressen. 8. Er sagte ihnen nicht. 9. „Wir erlegen für dich einen Elch. 10.
 Elchfleisch schmeckt besser als unser Fleisch“. 11. Sie jagten zu dritt einem Elch
 nach, Pönege lief hinten. 12. Der Elch flog dann zum Himmel hinauf. 13. Im Himmel
 erfuhr Gott alles und verwandelte sie alle in Sterne. 14. Pönege – Teufel, Idja und
 Kana beschäftigten sich beide mit der Jagd und dem Fischfang.



Title	SAI_1984_StoryAboutLife_nar
	Eng

Info	Baseline	Gloss	Analyze	Tagging	Print View	Text Chart
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1.1 Word	Mat		qarayit		če:limbak				
Morphemes	mat	-ʰ0	qara	-yit	če:l	-a	-m	-ba	-k
Lex. Entries	man+fr. var.	-ʰ0 ₁	kira	-qin ₁ +fr. var.	če:l	-i	-m ₃	-mbi ₁	-k ₁
Lex. Gloss Rus	я	[NOM]	деревня	LOC	день	EP	TRL	PST.REP	1SG.S
Lex. Gloss Eng	I	[NOM]	village	LOC	day	EP	TRL	PST.REP	1SG.S
Lex. Gram. Info.	pers	n:Any	n	n:case	n	infl:ns	n>v	v:mood	v:pn

Free Rus Я в деревне родился.

Eng I was born in a village.

Ger Ich wurde in einem Dorf geboren.

1.2 Word	Mi		wargaut		qarayit		amba		aža		okkir	nenn'am		nagur	temn'am	
Morphemes	mi	-ʰ0	warga	-ut	qara	-yit	amba	-ʰ0	aža	-ʰ0	okkir	nenn'a	-m	nagur	temn'a	-m
Lex. Entries	me ₁	-ʰ0 ₁	wargi	-t ₁	kira	-qin ₁ +fr. var.	amba	-ʰ0 ₁	až'a	-ʰ0 ₁	ukkir	nenn'a	-mi ₁	nagur	temn'a	-mi ₁
Lex. Gloss Rus	мы:DU	[NOM]	жить	1PL.S/O	деревня	LOC	мать	[SG.NOM]	отец	[SG.NOM]	одна	сестра	NOM/ACC.1SG	три	брат	NOM/ACC.1SG
Lex. Gloss Eng	we:DU	[NOM]	live	1PL.S/O	village	LOC	mother	[SG.NOM]	father	[SG.NOM]	one	sister	NOM/ACC.1SG	three	brother	NOM/ACC.1SG
Lex. Gram. Info.	pers	n:Any	v	v:pn	n	n:case	n	n:num-case	n	n:num-case	num	n	n:case-poss	num	n	n:case-poss

Free Rus Мы живи в деревне: мама, папа, одна сестра, три брата.

Eng We lived in that village: Mom, Dad, a sister, three brothers.

Ger Wir haben im Dorf gewohnt: Mama, Papa, eine Schwester, drei Brüder.



	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ref	ChDN_1983_BearCameIntoVillage_nar.001				ChDN_1983_BearCameIntoVillage_nar.002						
ts	Mi wargigaut wargi kigit.				Man, nam i nega nam ugulžegin egaut, amnem kwessa.						
tx	Mi	wargigaut	wargi	kigit.	Man,	nam	i	nega	nam	ugulžegin	egaut,
mb	mi	wargi-ga-ut	wargi	ki-git	man	ne-m	i	ne-ga	ne-m	ugulže-gin	e-ga-u-t
mp	me:	wargi-ŋi-ut	wərkə	ki-qin	man	ne:mi	i	ne:ka	ne:mi	ugulže-qin	e:ŋi-i-t
ge	we.[NOM]	live-AOR-1PL.S/O	big	river-LOC	I.[NOM]	daughter-NOM/ACC.1SG	and	daughter-DIM.[SG.NOM]	daughter-NOM/ACC.1SG	home-LOC.ADV	be-AOR-EP-1PL.S/O
gr	мы [NOM]	жить-AOR-1PL.S/O	большой	река-LOC	я [NOM]	дочь-NOM/ACC.1SG	и	дочь-DIM.[SG.NOM]	дочь-NOM/ACC.1SG	домой-LOC.ADV	быть-AOR-EP-1PL.S/O
mc	pers:n:case	v:v:tense-v:pn	adj	n:n:case	pers:n:case	n:n:case-poss	conj	n-n > n:n:num-case	n:n:case-poss	adv-adv:case	v-v:tense-inf:ins-v:pn
ps	PRONP	V	ADJ	N	PRONP	N	CONJ	N	N	ADV	V
SeR				np:L						adv:L	
SyF	np.h:S	v:pred			np.h:S	np.h:S		np.h:S			
IST	new			new	giv-act	new		new			
fr	Мы жили на реке Васюган.				Я, моя дочь и внучка были дома, зять уехал.						
fe	We lived at River Vasyugan				Me, my daughter and my granddaughter were at home, my son-in-law left.						
fg	Wir leben am Fluss Vasjugan.				Ich, meine Tochter und meine Enkelin waren zu Hause, mein Schwiegersohn ging weg.						
nt	big river > Vasjugan										

Subcorpus for the present study

- 65 texts – 2,290 sentences, 14,024 tokens
 - 25 speakers (21 female, 3 male, 1 unknown)
 - Date of recording: 1961–2014
 - Covering three genres: 50 folklore texts, 14 narratives and 1 translation
- 34 Central and 31 Southern Selkup texts

Locative, existential and possessive sentences in Central and Southern Selkup

- The difference between existential and locative sentences is marked by word order:
 - Existential: (Loc) – Th – Cop
 - Locative: Th – Loc – Cop
- Possessive sentences are mostly structured like existential sentences (with an additional possessive suffix): Loc – Th(px) – Cop

Existential sentence:

(1) Central Selkup, Narym

<i>Nača-t</i>	<i>hombla</i>	<i>ma:n</i>	<i>e-ya.</i>
there-LOC.ADV	five	house	be-AOR.3SG

‘There are five houses.’ (SAI_1984_StoryAboutLifeLong_nar.030)

Locative sentence:

(2) Central Selkup, Narym

<i>Kiḃa-qup</i>	<i>twe:-l</i>	<i>čebo-yit</i>	<i>e-ppa.</i>
small-human.being	birchbark-ADJZ	cradle-LOC	be-HAB.3SG

‘The child was in the cradle.’ (SAA_1984_MyGrandmother_nar.007)

Possessive sentence:

(3) Central Selkup, Vasyugan

ma-nan ando-m ε-ja.

I-LOC.AN boat-PX.1SG be-AOR.3SG

‘I have a boat.’ (ChDN_1983_HerosDaughter_flk.035)

Possessive sentence without possessive suffix:

(4) Southern Selkup, Middle Ob

tab-la-nan

s/he-PL-LOC.AN

ε-za:-dīt

be-PST-3PL

εl'ma:d-la:.

child-PL

‘They had children.’ (:ILP_1981_ItjaOneEyedDevil_flk.002)

Possessive sentence with dropped possessor (px is kept then):

(5) Central Selkup, Narym

Nagur *ne:-di* *e-ku-nda.*

three daughter-PX.3SG be-ITER-INFER.3SG

‘He had three daughters.’ (SAA_1971_ThreeSisters_flk.002)

Summary: possessive sentences

	Word order	Number of sentences
N:	pos(gen) + pp + th(px) (+cop)	4
	th(px) (+cop)	20

	Word order	Number of sentences
S/C:	pos(Loc) +th(px) (+cop)	15
	pos(Loc) +th (+cop)	12
	th(px) (+cop)	8
	th (+cop)	2

Notes about word order:

- Existential sentences keep the word order **Loc** – **Th** very strictly if the location is expressed
- So do possessive sentences
- Locative sentences are usually **Th** – **Loc** but there are some exceptions
- Copula in all three types of sentences is variable in use and placing

Exeption in locative sentences: **Loc** – **Th**

(6) Central Selkup, Tym

<i>N'aro-kin</i>	<i>e-ja</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tu.</i>
swamp-LOC	be-AOR.3SG	this	lake

‘This lake is at the swamp.’ (KFN_1967_HumanSizedPike_flk.011)

In all examples found with the exceptional word order, a definiteness marker is overt: demonstrative pronouns, possessive marking...

Definiteness effect

- The theme of an existential sentence cannot be definite
 - While in locative sentences it mostly is
- Milsark (1977), Leonetti (2008) and many others
- Modifying elements

(11a) *There is a cat. vs. *There is the cat.*

(11b) *Es gibt eine Katze. vs. *Es gibt die Katze.*

Strong and weak DPs in Central and Southern Selkup

Some modifying elements can be regarded as indefinite (weak DPs), whereas others mark the DP as definite (strong DPs)

strong DPs	weak DPs
Proper names	Number determiners
Demonstratives	Quantifiers as ‘such’, ‘many’, ‘few’
Possessive markers	
Universals	(following Wagner-Nagy 2016: 233 for Nganasan)

- Strong DPs can only be found in locative sentences
- Weak DPs favor existential sentences

Strong DPs in Central and Southern Selkup

Possessive marking:

(7) Southern Selkup, Middle Ket

<u>teb-i-n</u>	<i>pidə-t</i>	<i>t'u:-n</i>	<i>pu:čo-yən.</i>
he-EP-GEN	nest-3SG	earth-GEN	inside-LOC

'His nest is in the ground' (KMS_1966_MouseGray_flk.005)

Demonstrative pronoun (repeated):

(8) Central Selkup, Tym

<i>N'aro-kin</i>	<i>e-ja</i>	<u>na</u>	<i>tu.</i>
swamp-LOC	be-AOR.3SG.S	this	lake

'This lake is at the swamp.' (KFN_1967_HumanSizedPike_flk.011)

Weak DPs in Central and Southern Selkup

Number determiner:

(9) Central Selkup, Narym

Nača-t

there-LOC.ADV

hombla

five

ma:n

house

e-ya.

be-AOR.3SG

‘There are five houses.’ (SAI_1984_StoryAboutLifeLong_nar.030)

Quantifier:

(10) Southern Selkup, Middle Ob

Swešk

cone

kotin

many

ε:ja.

be-AOR.3SG

‘There are many cones.’ (SMS_1980_ItjaForest_flk.030)

Definiteness effect in Central and Southern Selkup

- In Central and Southern Selkup strong DPs only occur in locative sentences
- Existential and locative sentences differ only in regards to word order
 - Available data suggests that unquantified DPs in existential sentences cannot receive a definite interpretation
 - Word order is used to mark definiteness
 - If there is a special marker for definiteness (a strong DP), the word order is variable in locative sentences

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Thank you
for your attention!