

**Anaphora in Central and Southern Selkup: On the distribution and use of possessive suffixes and the demonstrative *na*<sup>1</sup>**

This study is a corpus-based analysis of Central and Southern Selkup dialects and aims at taking a closer look at the differences regarding the anaphoric use of demonstrative pronouns and possessive suffixes. The corpus in use currently consists of 109 published texts (5,663 sentences, 33,593 tokens) and is being consistently annotated within the project “Syntactic description of Southern and Central Selkup dialects: a corpus-based analysis” (WA 3152/3-1) funded by the German Research Foundation.

Demonstratives in Selkup, as well as in most other languages, are used to establish spatial relations between referent points but are also used to refer to items of discourse (cf. Diessel 1999). In Central and Southern Selkup demonstratives appear in the form of *tam* (proximal), *to* (distal) and *na* (anaphoric), the anaphoric use is shown in example (1):

(1) Southern Selkup, Middle Ob

*Na šo:qor-t pa:r-o-nd siga-l-ba-dit.*

DEM stove-GEN top-EP-ILL climb-INCH-PST.REP-3PL

‘They climbed on this stove [which has been mentioned before].’

(TMR\_1981\_Robbers\_flk.034)

A shared trait in Samoyedic languages is the multifunctionalism of possessive suffixes: apart from marking prototypical possession (e.g. kinship, body parts), they can be found in other functions as well (cf. e.g. Siegl: 2015 on Nganasan, Körtvély: 2010 on Nenets). The same holds true for Central and Southern Selkup: possessive suffixes carry additional meaning in structuring the discourse, they can be used to mark uniqueness (e.g. the sun) or refer to an entity in the immediate physical surrounding (situation use) but also in an anaphoric function (cf. Budzisch 2017, Kim-Malony – Kovylin 2017: 35):

(2) Central Selkup, Vasyugan

*Id'e pönege-m aya nadi-r-i-d.*

Itja devil-ACC NEG love-FRQ-EP-3SG

*Pönege-t qu-m am-gu lakka-ti-l'-de, [...]*

devil-PX.3SG person-ACC eat-INF want-IPFV-INCH-3SG

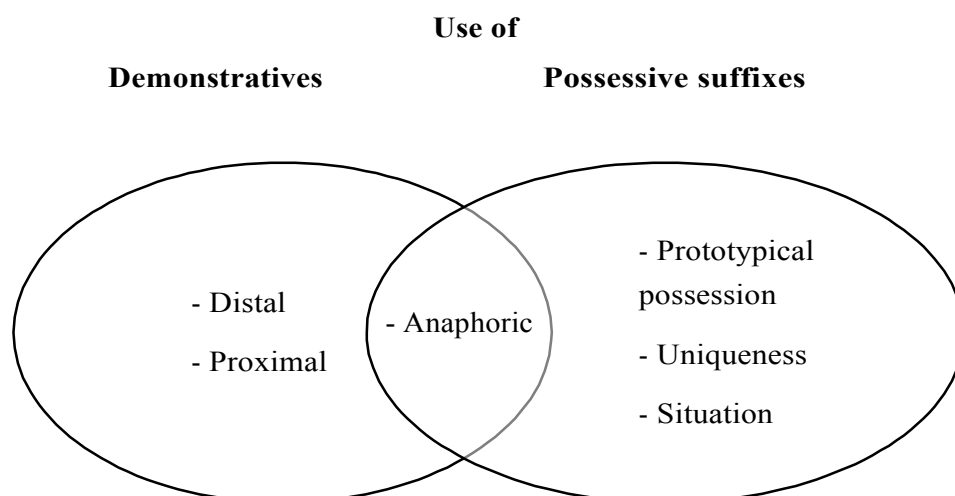
‘Itja does not like the devil. If the devil wants to eat a human being ...’

(ChDN\_1983\_IdjasTown\_flk.008-009)

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It can therefore be concluded that apart from their differences, the demonstrative *na* and possessive suffixes in non-possessive use partly fulfill the same function:



Notable is also that, unlike in other Samoyedic languages (e.g. Enets), these two markers very rarely occur together, making example (3) an exception:

(3) Central Selkup, Vasyugan

*Puja-l'zi-ga na olo-m-d halʒ-ε-t par-t*  
 owl-DIM-DIM DEM head-ACC-3SG stump-EP-GEN top-ILL  
*omde-l'ʒε-mba-d.*  
 sit-INT.PF-PST.REP-3SG  
 'The owl put the head on top of the stump.' (ChDN\_1983\_Pora\_flk.037)

The aim of the present study is to identify the trigger for choosing either option, also taking information status and reference tracking into consideration.

**References**

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