CO-AFFIXES OF LOCAL CASES AND LOCATIVE ADJECTIVES IN SAMOYED

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Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-*kə*, *-*ntə*

[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Tundra Nenets

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø		-ʔ
GEN	-ʔ	-kəʔ ~ -χəʔ	Vokalwechsel + -ʔ
ACC	-m		Vokalwechsel
LAT	-nəʔ ~ -təʔ	GEN.DU + n'aʔ	-kəʔ ~ -χəʔ
LOC	-kəna ~ -χəna	GEN.DU + n'ana	-kəʔna ~ -χəʔna
ABL	-kəd ~ -χəd	GEN.DU + n'ad	-kət(ə) ~ -χət(ə)
PROL	-m(ə)na	GEN.DU + n'amna	GEN.PL + -m(ə)na

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[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Forest Nenets

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø		-ʔ ~ -Ø
GEN	-Ø ~ -ŋ	-kʔ ~ -hVŋ	Vokalwechsel + -ʔ
ACC	-Ø ~ -m		Vokalwechsel ~ Vokalwechsel + -j
LAT	-n ~ -t	GEN.DU + n'āŋ	-kʔ ~ -hVʔ
LOC	-kVna ~ -hVna	GEN.DU + n'āna	-kaʔna ~ -hVʔna
ABL	-kVt ~ -hVt	GEN.DU + n'āŋat	-kāʰt ~ -hVt
PROL	-m(a)na	GEN.DU + n'āmna	GEN.PL + -m(a)na

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[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Forest Enets

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø		
GEN	-Ø	-ki? ~ -gi? ~ -χi?	(Vokalwechsel) + -?
ACC	-Ø		
LAT	-t ~ -d	GEN.DU + nä?	-kið ~ -gið ~ -χið
LOC	-kuŋ ~ -guŋ ~ -χan	GEN.DU + nän	-kiŋ ~ -giŋ ~ -χiŋ
ABL	-kuð ~ -guð ~ -χað	GEN.DU + näð	-kit ~ -git ~ -χit
PROL	(-Vn)	-	-

Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-*kə*, *-*ntə*

[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Nganasan

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø	-Kəj	-ʔ
GEN	-Ø	-Ki	-ʔ
ACC	-Ø	-Ki	-j
LAT	-NTə^N	GEN.DU + *na*	-*NTi*ʔ
LOC	-NTənU	GEN.DU + *nanu*	-NTi^{N}nU
ABL	-Kə^{N}tə	GEN.DU + *nagətə*	-Ki^{N}tə
PROL	-mənU	GEN.DU + *namənu*	GEN.PL + -mənU

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[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Taz Selkup

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø	-qı	-n ~ -t
GEN	-n ~ -t	-qın ~ -qıt	-nin ~ -tin
ACC	-m ~ -p	-qım ~ -qıp	-nim ~ -tip
LAT	-ti ~ -nti	-qıtkinı	-tkinı
LOC	-qin ~ -qit	-qīqin ~ -qīqit	-tqin ~ -tqit
ABL	-qini	-qīqini	-tqini
PROL	-min ~ -mit	-qīmin ~ -qīmit	-nmin ~ -nmit

Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-**kə**, *-**ntə**

[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

South Selkup

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø	-qi̯ ~ -sak	-la
GEN	-n ~ -t	-qi̯n ~ -qi̯t	-lan ~ -lat
ACC	-m ~ -p	-qi̯m ~ -qi̯p	-lam ~ -lap
LAT	-nti̯ ~ -ti̯ ~ -ndə	-qi̯nti̯ ~ -qi̯ti̯ ~ -qi̯nt ~ -qi̯nd	-land ~ -landə
LOC	-qi̯n ~ -qi̯t ~ -ɣon	-qi̯qi̯n ~ -qi̯qi̯t ~ -qi̯ɣi̯t	-laɣon ~ -laɣot
ABL	-qi̯nto	-qi̯qi̯nto	-laɣondo
PROL	-mi̯n ~ -mi̯t	-qimi̯n ~ -qimi̯t	-laut(e)

Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-*kə*, *-*ntə*

[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Kamas

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø	(-zəgej)	-zaŋ ~ -jeʔ
GEN	-n		-zaŋəŋ ~ -in
ACC	-m		-zaŋəm ~ -im
LAT	-nə	nicht belegt	-zandə ~ -ɪnə
LOC	-γə̂n		-zaŋγə̂n ~ -iγə̂n
ABL	-γə̂ʔ		-zaŋγə̂ʔ ~ -iγə̂ʔ

Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-*kə*, *-*ntə*

[tables from Däbritz 2017: 66–68]

Mator

	SG	DU	PL
NOM	-Ø		
GEN	-*n*		
ACC	-*m*		
LAT	-*ndə*	nicht belegt	
LOC	-*kə*nA ~ -*gə*nA		
ABL	(-*du* ~ -*adu*)		
PROL	(-*mna*)		

Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-*kə*, *-*ntə*

Singular

	Nen & En	Ngan	Taz Selk	South Selk	Kam	Mat
LAT	*-*ntə-n* *-*kə*- Px	*-*ntə-n*	*-*ntə*	*-*ntə*	*-*ntə*	*-*ntə*
LOC	*-*kə*-*nå*	*-*ntə*-*nå*	*-*kə*-*nå*	*-*kə*-*nå*	*-*kə*-*nå*	*-*kə*-*nå*
ABL	*-*kə*-*tə*	*-*kə*-*tə*	*-*kə*-*tə*	*-*kə*-*tə*	*-*kə*-*tə*	

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Plural
[Däbritz 2017: 76]

NORDSAMOJEDISCH			
	NENZISCH	ENZISCH	NGANASANISCH
NOM	*-t	(*-j) + *-t	*-t
GEN	*-j + *-t	*-j + *-t	*-j + *-t
ACC	*-j	*-j + *-t	*-j
LAT	*-kə̂ + *-t	*-kə̂ + *-j + *-tə̂	*-ntə̂ + *-j + *-t
LOK	*-kə̂ + *-t + *-na	*-kə̂ + *-j + *-na	*-ntə̂ + *-j + *-na
ABL	*-kə̂ + *-t + *-tə̂	*-kə̂ + *-j + *-tə̂ + *-tə̂ (???)	*-kə̂ + *-j + *-tə̂
PROL	GEN.PL + *-mənA		
SÜDSAMOJEDISCH			
	SELKUPISCH		KAMASSISCH
NOM	*-t ~ -la		-zaŋ ~ -je?
GEN			
ACC			
LAT	NOM.PL + cx (Kamassisch: -i-cx)		
LOC			
ABL			
PROL			

Local cases (LAT, LOC, ABL) are built with co-affixes *-*kə*, *-*ntə*

Dual

Northern Samoyed   NO

Southern Samoyed   NOM.DU + Cx

Origin of the co-affixes

A "standard" view:

– *-kə-* and *-ntə-* are originally the LAT endings;
– LOC and ABL are LAT + LOC and LAT + ABL
  (and LAT + LAT, too);
– *-kə* is a derivational suffix with a locative meaning and
  is to be compared to the PFU *-ka/-kä*
– *-kə* = Nen *-кы* (Künnap 2000)

  Collinder 1960: 283; Rédei 1996; Janhunen 1998:
  469; Alatalo 1999: 16; Künnap 2000: 162; Mikola
  2004: 100–101…

Locative adjectives on *-kə-jə are well attested

Nen.   *-kə-jə > -хы, -кы, -гы /-ki°/:
вын-гы 'related to the tundra', нум-гы 'star'
("celestial"), ер-кы 'middle', есӈ-гы 'being in a trap',
мя-кы 'related to the home', хой-хы 'related to the
mountain', хэв-хы 'being on X side' etc.

En.   *-kə-jə > xi, -ki, -gi
ŋaa-xi 'celestial; Russian official',
иба-xi 'передовой олень' (which is in the hand),
me-ki 'related to the home'

Ngan. *-kə-jə > kəə
labsə-kəə 'the youngest child' ("being in the cradle"),
ŋojbu-kəə 'shaman's head-gear'

Locative adjectives on *-kə-jə are well attested

Selkup   -kị-l'

    üt-kị-l' 'being in the water', šöt-kị-l' 'being in the forest'

Locative adjectives on *-ntə-jə are well attested at least in Nganasan

kəi-təə 'being on X side',
ŋuə-ntəə celestial; Russian official'
bi̯-təə 'being in the water'

? Nen *нёны* /nyoni°/ 'a pole set beside the door' ← *нё* 'door'

=> *-ntə* is another locative formant, similar to *-kə*.

Were *-kə and *-ntə used alone?

Nen.

xэӈг /xeŋk°/ укрытие

xыӈг /xiŋk°/ емкость, вместимость

неӈг /nyeŋk°/ внутренняя часть заграждения
(напр. невода, загона; круг, образованный
нартами во время коллективной охоты на
песцов и т. п.)

Selk.

säq-qi̬ 'dense forest'

Local cases and adjective agreement

Nganasan

Adjective case	Noun case
NOM	NOM
GEN	GEN
ACC	ACC
GEN	LAT
GEN	LOC
GEN	ABL
GEN	PROL

Local cases and adjective agreement

Nganasan

bəńďə-(ŋ) *ma-tənu*
all-GEN tent-LOC

**bənsə-n mä-ntə-nå
 [all-GEN tent]-IN-LOC

Local cases and adjective agreement

Inuit   [Van Geenhoven 1998:18]

Esta   nutaa-mik   aalisagar-si-v-u-q
E-ABS fresh-INST.SG   fish-get-IND-[-tr]-3SG
"Ester got (a) fresh fish."

Esta   nutaa-nik   aalisagar-si-v-u-q
E-ABS fresh-INST.PL   fish-get-IND-[-tr]-3SG
"Ester got (more than one) fresh fish."

Local cases and adjective agreement

Russian

[*тет-и*   *Наст*]-*ин*   *платок*
aunt.GEN   Настя-ADJ.POSS   shawl
'aunt Nastya's shawl'

CONCLUSIONS

1. No reasons to assume that LOC and ABL are built upon LAT; in fact all the three cases are built in the same way.
2. Both co-affixes -*kə* and -*ntə* are primarily derivational suffixes with a locative meaning.
3. The hypothesis about the derivational origin of the locational cases is corroborated by the agreement rules of the adjectives in Nganasan.

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