

Converbal auxiliary constructions in Selkup

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Outline

- Corpus
- Converbial (auxiliary) constructions in Selkup
- Summary

Corpus

	TOTAL	NORTHERN SELKUP	CENTRAL SELKUP	CENTRAL/SOUTHERN SELKUP	SOUTHERN SELKUP
TEXTS	136	18	48	4	66
SENT.	9.993	2.046	3.196	630	4.021
TOKENS	51.498	5.506	22.014	1.453	22.525

DFG-project: "Syntactic description of Southern and Central Selkup dialects: A corpus-based analysis", 2015-2018 (WA 3153/3-1)

“Converbum”

“halb verbale, halb nominale formen des verbums ... [da] die khalkhassischen konverba auf ganz demselben Niveau wie diejenigen kasusformen der nominalen verbalformen [stehen], die als bestimmungen zum hauptverbum angewendet werden können.” (Ramstedt 1903: 55)

deepričastie

gerund

gérondif

adverbial participle

Form of converbs

NORTHERN

CENTRAL

SOUTHERN

simple	-lä	-le	
complex	-lä + pūlä	-lebele / -lewle (< le + pule)	-lebele / -lewle (< le + pule)

(1) Northern

qəllä pūlä
 qəl-lä pū-lä
 go.away-cvb cross-cvb

(2) Central/Southern

omdelebele
 omde-lebele
 sit-cvb

(3) Central/Southern

pald'ül'ewlə
 pald'ü-l'ewlə
 go-cvb

Converbal Constructions

NORTHERN CENTRAL CENTRAL/
SOUTHERN SOUTHERN

156

148

117

547

(16,1 %)

(15,3 %)

(12,1 %)

(56,5 %)

Converbal Constructions

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(16,1 %)

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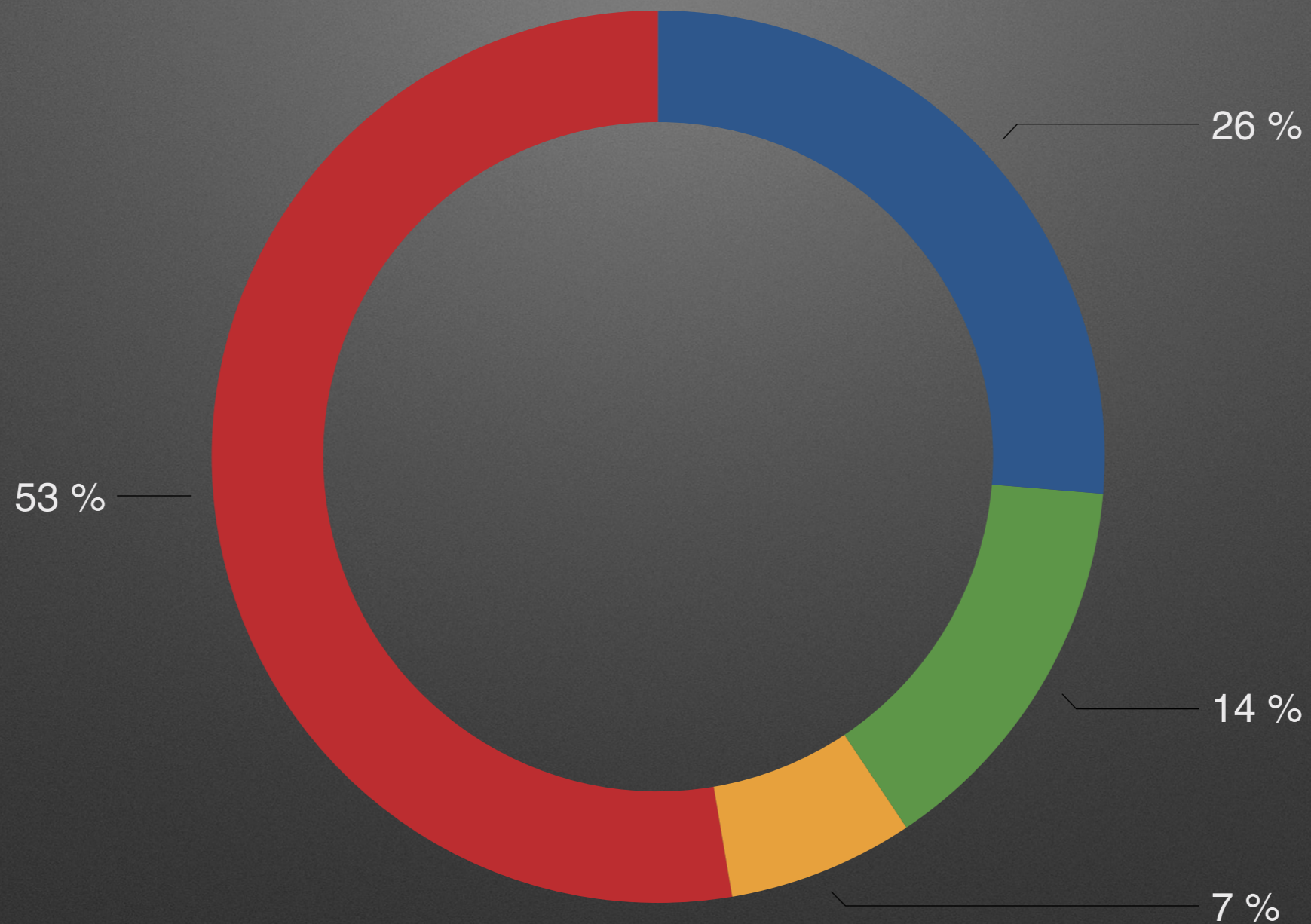
(12,1 %)

(56,5 %)

Functions of converbs

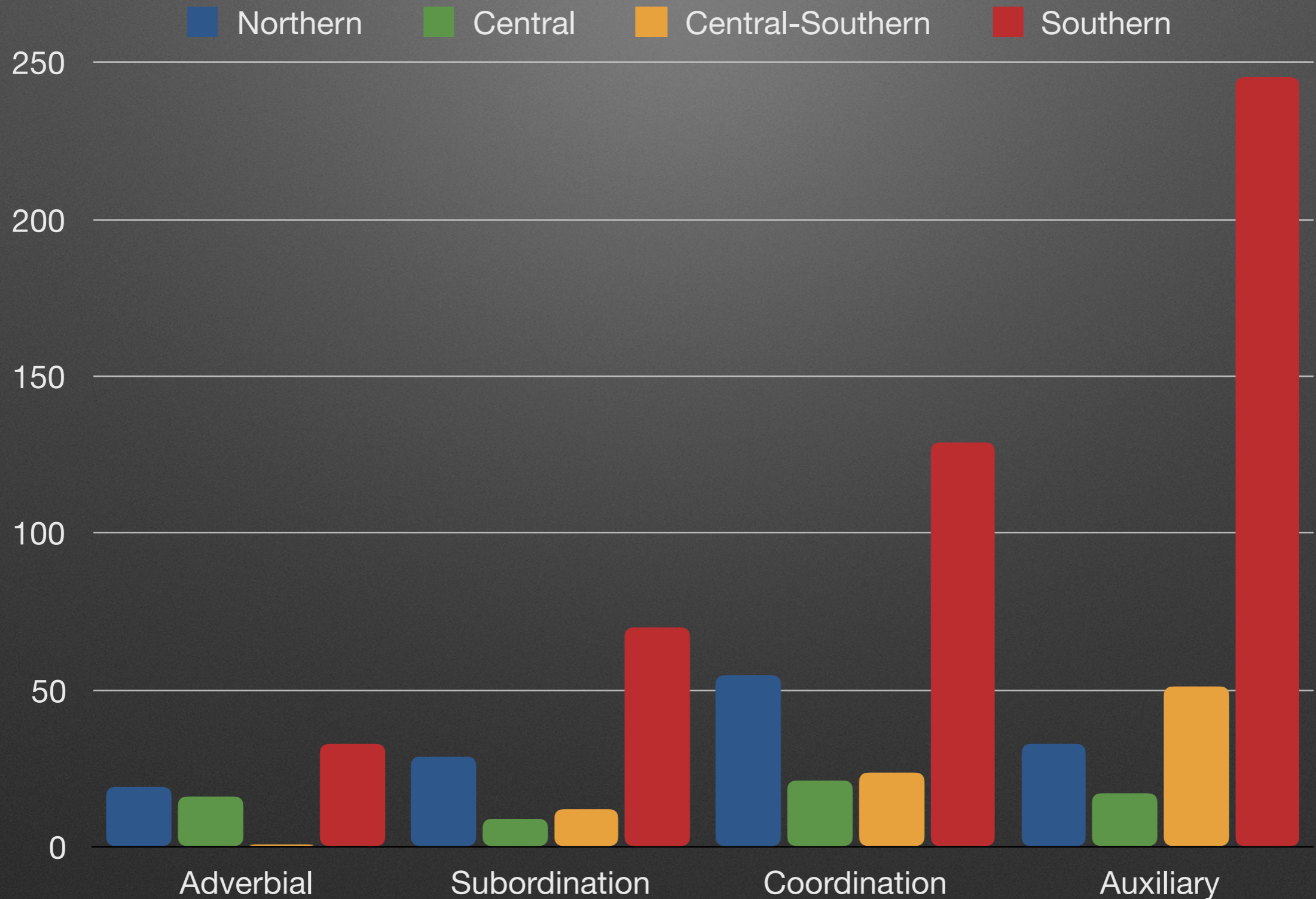
- free adverbial
- subordination
- coordination
- "auxiliary" constructions

Converbal Constructions

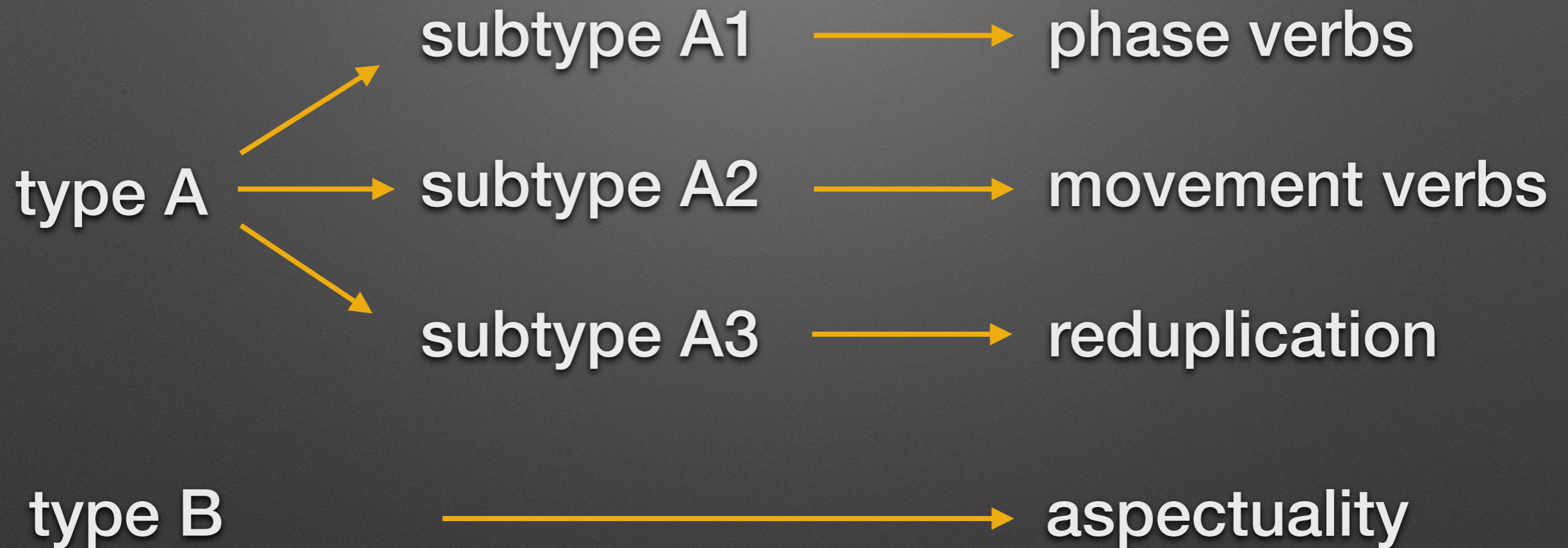


● Coordination ● Subordination ● Adverbial ● Auxiliary

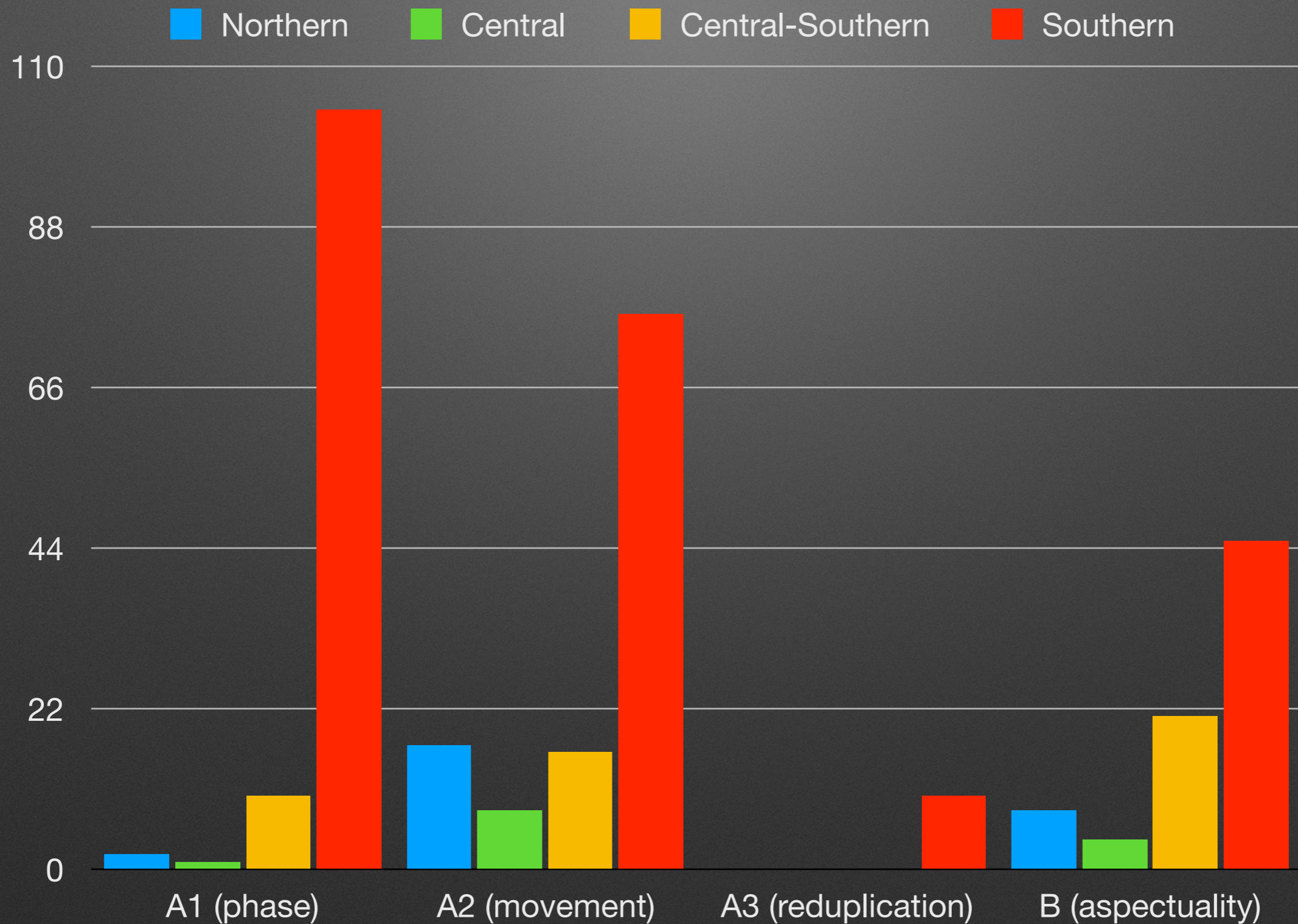
Functions of converbs



"Auxiliary" constructions



"Auxiliary" constructions



Phase verbs (A1)

Southern Selkup

-> only converbs

- (4) pōne-la-n pal'd'u-l'e oldi-ŋ.
outside-PL-LOC.ADV go-CVB begin-3SG.S
[Southern: Upper Ob] 'He starts to go out.'
(KMS_1966_TwoSisters_flk_77)

kwata 'begin'
oldə 'begin' + cvb
übə 'begin'
malčə 'stop'

Central Selkup

-> mostly infinitive construction

- (5) Tūp čadi-gu laqqa-ta.
fire-ACC light-INF begin-IPFV[3SG]
[Central: Vasyugan] 'She started to make a fire.'
(ChDN_1983_MistressOfFire_flk_31)

kwata 'begin' + cvb
laqqa 'begin' + inf
titi 'begin' + inf
malmi 'stop' + inf

Phase verbs (A1)

Northern Selkup

-> converb & infinitive construction

- (6) **Ami-r-lä** **qīqī-l-nō-tit.**
eat-FRQ-CVB finish-INCH-AOR-3PL.S/O
[Northern: Upper Taz] 'They stop eating.'
(BVP_1973_East_flk_33)

- (7) L'ōs-ira **lan̄ki-š-q.olam-ni-ti:** “loqē, piča-p tattä-ti!”
devil-old.man cry-US-INF.begin-AOR-3SG.O fox.VOC axe-ACC bring-IMP.2SG.O
[Northern: Middle Taz] 'The devilish old man started to scream: Fox, bring me the axe!'
(AVA_1973_Ichakicha2_flk_145)

Movement verbs (A2)

- (8) üŋŋɪntɪ ontɪ.qaj l̄sɪ-mpa-nɪ i qorša-n məččē-lä paktɪ-lä qən-pa-nɪ.
wolverine himself.what hop-HAB-AOR[3SG] and adze-ACC lift-CVB jump-CVB go.away-HAB-AOR[3SG]
[Northern: Taz] ‘The wolverine hops on purpose, takes the hatchet, hops and goes away..’
(MIV_1977_Icha_flk_51)

- (9) Perwa čāži-s al’d’iga-n-t watto-on-t master-e-ŋ t’itta-r-lä čāži-s.
first go-PST[3SG] grandmother-GEN-3SG way-PROL-3SG master-EP-ADV walk-FRQ-CVB go-PST[3SG]
[Southern: Middle Ob] ‘At first he went along his grandmother's path, he walked like a master.’
(TFF_1967_ItjaAldigaPönegesse_flk_24)

Reduplication (A3)

(10) Na sūrum wāt't'e tšuka-r-l'e tä-mba.
this wild.animal meat worm-VBLZ-CVB rot-PST.REP[3SG]
[Southern: Upper Ket] 'This meat of the animal got rotted.'
(KNI_1964_ItjaCapeOfWorms_flk_69)

(11) A tita uzo pūta-elle pūta-l-ē-nda-t sāp-qa-nde-ŋ.
but now already touch-CVB touch-INCH-EP-INFER-3SG.O pocket-DIM-OBL.3SG-LOC.ADV
[Southern: Upper Ket] 'And then he feels his pocket.'
(SVG_1964_litekaPineweldju_flk.046)

(12) Awu-r-na-di, īr-a-di kuča-l'e qonda-di.
eat-FRQ-AOR-3DU.O drink-EP-3DU.O go.to.sleep-CVB sleep-3DU.O
[Southern: Middle Ket] 'They eat, drink and go to sleep.'
(KMS_1966_TwoSisters_flk.042)

Aspectuality (B)

<i>qalɪ</i> 'stay'	<i>tadɪ</i> 'bring'	<i>čāžə</i> 'go'
	<i>tō̄</i> 'come'	<i>kur</i> 'run'
	<i>āmdə</i> 'sit down'	<i>āmdə</i> 'sit'
	<i>qwan</i> 'go away'	<i>nɪ</i> 'stand'
		<i>eppa</i> 'lie'

Aspectuality (B)

TRANSFORMATIVE (INITIAL)	TRANSFORMATIVE (FINAL)	NONTRANSFORMATIVE
<i>qalɪ</i> 'stay'	<i>tadɪ</i> 'bring'	<i>čāžə</i> 'go'
	<i>tō̄</i> 'come'	<i>kur</i> 'run'
	<i>āmdə</i> 'sit down'	<i>āmdə</i> 'sit'
	<i>qwan</i> 'go away'	<i>nɪ</i> 'stand'
		<i>eppa</i> 'lie'

PERFECTIVE

IMPERFECTIVE

Aspectuality (B)

(13) Ör-le tatta-ut nedel kund.
drink-CVB bring-1PL.S/O week long

[Central: Narym] 'We drank a whole week.'

(SAI_1984_StoryAboutLifeLong_nar_27)

-> perfective reading

(14) Tī-yoŋ īd'ä-n ər-tšə-b-bəle aj aps-tə-b-bəle āmdā-n.
tatar-prince Itja-GEN drink-TR-HAB-CVB and eat-TR-HAB-CVB sit-3SG.S

[Southern: Middle Ob] 'The tatar prince feeds and waters Itja.'

(NN_1913_Itja_flk_42)

-> imperfective reading

Summary

- many converbal constructions at all, more than half in Southern Selkup
- many auxiliary constructions, more than half in Southern Selkup
 - 2 different groups (A) and (B)
 - subgroups A1-A3
- parallels to similar constructions in Kamas (turk. influence)
- many questions

Next steps

- categorization of Selkup converbal constructions
- categorization of finit verb forms in auxiliary constructions
- functional differences between simple and complex converbs
- alternatives in Northern and Central Selkup to converbal constructions in Southern Selkup
- influence of Chulym (Turkic) on converbal "auxiliary" constructions

Literature

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Thank you!