Competing motion-cum-purpose strategies in Northern Selkup
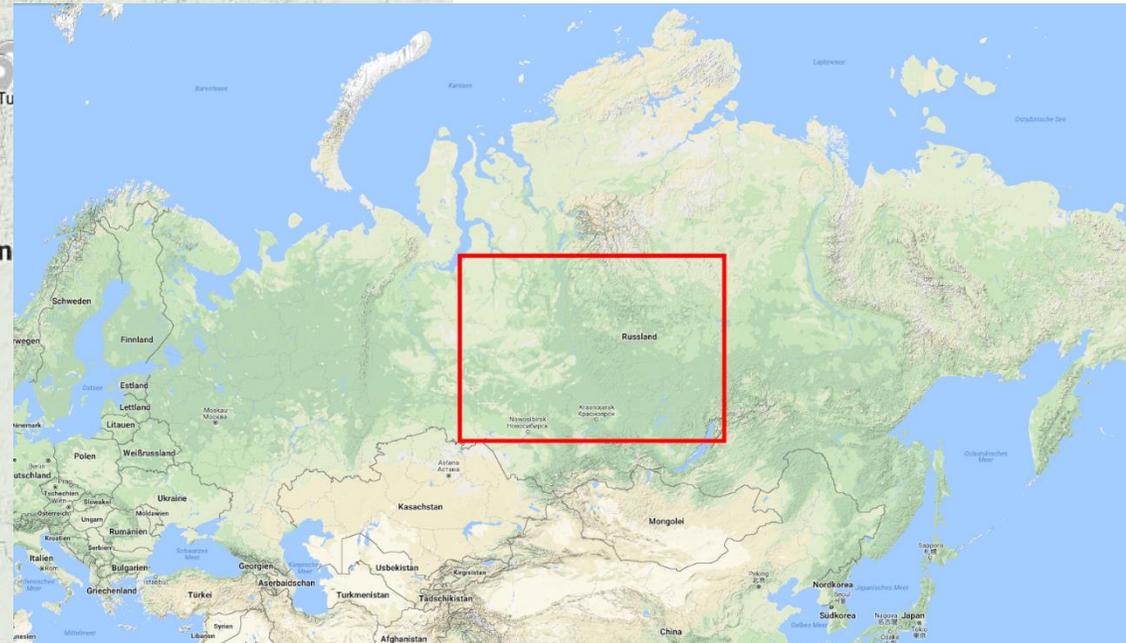
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Outline

- The Selkup language

- INEL project >> corpus data

- Two types of purpose clauses in Northern Selkup

- Distribution of motion-cum-purpose constructions

- Explanation for this distribution

- Dialectal variation

Selkup

Selkup

Irina Korobeynikova, one of the last speakers of Central Selkup

- Southern Samoyedic < Uralic

- Region: Western Siberia between Ob and Yenissey

- 3649 Selkups (census 2010)

- Sparse population, inaccessible locations
  Great dialectal divergence

- Northern dialects:
  severely endangered (< 100 speakers)

- Central and Southern dialects:
  almost extinct (< 10 speakers)

- Intense contacts with different groups:
  - Ket (Yeniseian), Khanty (Finno-Ugric), Nenets (Samoyedic), Evenki (Tungusic) in the North
  - Siberian Tatar, Chulym (Turkic), Ket (Yeniseian) in the South

The INEL Project

The project „Grammatical Descriptions, Corpora and Language Technology for **I**ndigenous **N**orthern **E**urasian **L**anguages" is a long-term project, aimed, among other, at digitalization and creating corpora from materials, preserved in various archives and collections.

- headed by Prof. Dr. Beáta Wagner-Nagy
- located at the University of Hamburg
- carried out by the Academy of Sciences of Hamburg

- current languages: Selkup, Dolgan, Ewenki
- already available corpora: Selkup, Kamas

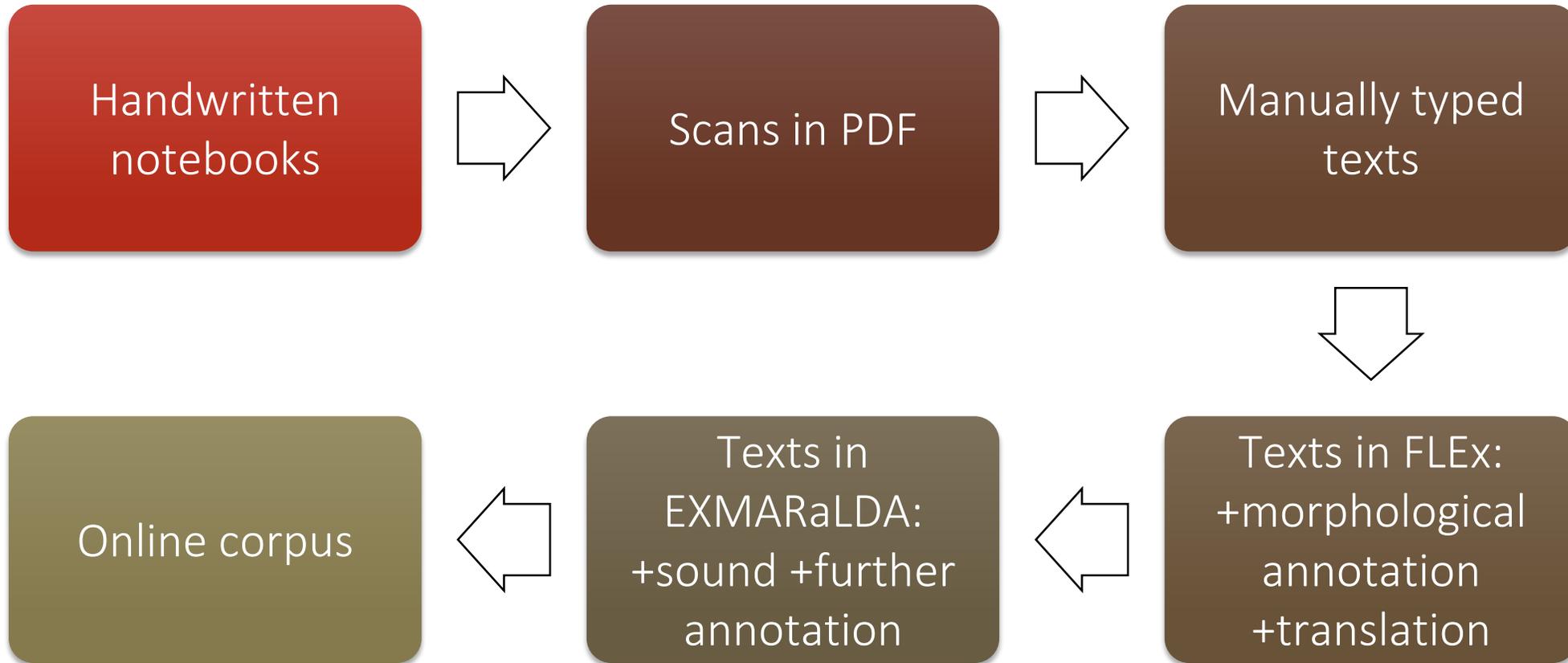HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
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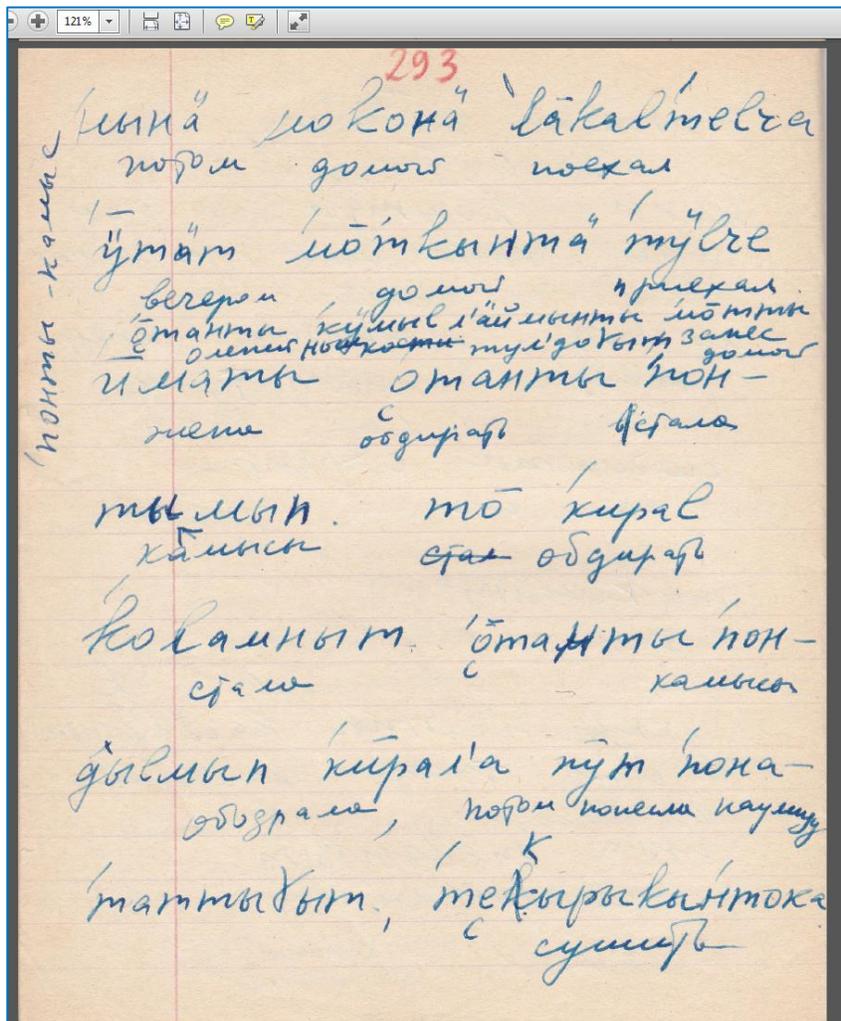
The INEL Project: Selkup corpus

Angelina Kuzmina (1924-2002)

- Data: manuscripts & audio recordings from the archive of **Angelina Kuzmina** preserved at IFUU
  - Data collected in 1960s–1970s in all dialectal groups
  - **35 volumes of handwritten notes**, incl. 295 texts, most of them previously unpublished
  - **Reel-to-reel tapes** (ca. 25 hrs, incl. **7 hrs** with 85 texts)
- Transcribing with the help of native speakers

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Workflow for Selkup corpus

Handwritten notebooks → Scans in PDF → Manually typed texts → Texts in FLEx: +morphological annotation +translation → Texts in EXMARaLDA: +sound +further annotation → Online corpus

Workflow: Manuscripts

- Unreadable characters
- Corrections
- Insertions
- Comments
- Selkup and Russian interference
- Phrase segmentation is not always clear
- …

➢ No OCR or handwritten text recognition possible
➢ Manual text typing

- High degree of variability and inconsistency in manuscripts

  kətɨ– 'SAY': 19 variants

possible allomorph,: kətɔː-, kət-

real variation: katɨ-, kɛtɨ-/kɛt-, kɨtɨ-, kätɨ-/kät-, keːto-, kota-, kəti-, kätə-, kätä-, kətta-, kəttɨ-, kättɨ-, qätɨ-, qətɨ-, ?kɛč'-

Workflow: EXMaRALDA Partitur Editor

ref	NVA_1965_Reindeers_nar.024 (001.024)					
st	´йматы ´о̣танты ´понтымып то̄ ´кирал ´kọламныт.					
stl	iːmati otanti pontimip toː kiral' qol'amnit.					
ts	Imatɨ ɔːtantɨ poːntɨ mɨp toː kɨralqolamnɨt.					
tx	Imatɨ	ɔːtantɨ	poːntɨ	mɨp	toː	kɨralqolamnɨt.
mb	ima-tɨ	ɔːta-n-tɨ	poːntɨ	mɨ-p	toː	kɨr-al-qolam-nɨ-t
mp	ima-tɨ	ɔːtä-n-tɨ	poːntɨ	mɨ-m	toː	kɨrɨ-ätɔːl-qoolam-ŋɨ-tɨ
ge	wife.[NOM]-3SG	reindeer-GEN-3SG	fell.from.deer's.leg.[NOM]	something-ACC	away	skin-MOM-INF-begin-PRS-3SG.O
gr	жена.[NOM]-3SG	олень-GEN-3SG	камыс.[NOM]	нечто-ACC	прочь	ободрать-MOM-INF-начать-PRS-3SG.O
mc	n-n:case1-n:poss	n-n:case1-n:poss	n-n:case3	n-n:case3	preverb	v-v>v-v:inf-v-v:tense-v:pn
ps	n	n	n	n	preverb	v
SeR	np.h:A	np:Poss		np:P		
SyF	np.h:S			np:O		v:pred
IST	new			accs-inf		
BOR						
BOR-Phon						
BOR-Morph						
CS						
fr	Жена стала олений камыс обдирать.					
fe	His wife began to skin the fell from the reindeer's legs.					
fg	Seine Frau fing an das Fell von den Beinen des Rentiers abzuziehen.					
ltr	жена обдирать стала камысы обдирать стала					
nt						
nto	´понты – камыс					

- Syntactic functions
- Semantic roles
- Informational structure
- Borrowings and code-switching

Workflow: Metadata (EXMaRALDA Coma)

Selkup Corpus

Basic data from INEL-corpus

- 60 folklore, narrative and translated texts
- 35 speakers
- 3321 sentences
- 19511 tokens

Additional data from Selkup Spoken Language Corpus (SELSLC)

	texts	sent	**tokens**
SELSLC **northern**	26	1410	**7814**
SELSLC **central**	48	3549	**22130**
SELSLC **southern**	66	4018	**23422**

Grammar and corpus data

- There exist several description of Selkup, including a thorough traditional grammar [Kuznetsova et al. 1980].
- Focus of the grammar: morphology and phonology, much less information on syntax, including complex clauses.
- Restricted access to native speakers → we can make use of corpus data to fill in the gaps.
- Typology offers parameters to deepen the existing description, which can confirm the predictions of typological classifications or single out language specific features.
- Case study: purpose constructions

Purpose clauses: infinitive

(1) Täpɨ-t   nɔːkɨr   timn'ä-si-k   mora-t   təː
he-GEN   three   brother-CRC-PL   sea-GEN   behind

na   särɨ   qorqɨ-p   qät-qa   qən-nɔː-tɨt.
this   white   bear-ACC   kill-INF   go.away-CO-3PL

Three of his brothers came across the sea to kill this white bear.

(2) **Am-ɨ-r-qo**   sola-p   meː-qɨl-lɨ-mɨt.
eat-EP-FRQ-INF   spoon-ACC   make-DRV-OPT-1PL

We will make a spoon to eat.

(3) Mat   mač'ä   qon'i-šä-k   **suːrɨ-l'-l'ä.**
    I   to.the.forest go.away-PST-1SG.S   **wild.animal-VBLZ-CVB**

I went to the forest to hunt.

(4) Markɨn'č'a   tɔːptɨj   č'eːlɨ   nɔːt
    Markyncha.[NOM]   next   day.[NOM]   then

    na   qən-mɨ-ntɨ   **imaqota-m   peː-lä.**
    INFER   leave-PST.NAR-INFER.[3SG.S]   **old.woman-ACC   look.for-CVB**

On the next day Markyncha went to look for the old woman.

Distribution of infinitives vs. converbs in purpose constructions?

Distribution of infinitives and converbs

One of the main questions concerning subordinate constructions, including purpose clauses, is the question of syntactic boundedness [Van Valin 2005, Schmidtke-Bode 2009]. Though both infinitival and converb constructions demonstrate quite high degrees of unity, their behavior differs concerning two main parameters of linkage: semantic unity and expression of arguments.

Parameters to explore:

- Semantics of matrix verb
- Actionality of subordinate clause
- Presence of verb dependents (arguments or adjuncts)
- Position of purpose clause

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1. Semantics of matrix verb

The infinitives have a wide distribution in purpose constructions co-occurring with matrix verbs of different semantic classes:

(2) **Am-ɨ-r-qo** sola-p meː-qɨl-lɨ-mɨt.
    eat-EP-FRQ-INF spoon-ACC make-DRV-OPT-1PL

We will make a spoon to eat.

Usage of converbs is restricted to the context of motion verbs, mostly intransitive: *go, leave, come, sit*. Only in one example a transitive predicate occurred:

(5) **Namɨ-m-tɨ** **karn'-al-ti-la** ɔːta-m-ti-p
    this-ACC-3SG **scrape-MOM-TR-CVB** reindeer-ACC-3SG-ACC

nıl'č'i-k moqona tɔːqqɨ-q-ol'im-ɨ-mpa-tij.
such-ADVZ home shepherd-INF-be.going.to-EP-PST.NAR-3PL

To scrape them they were going to shepherd the reindeers home.

2. Actionality of subordinate verb

The infinitives can occur with verbs of different actional classes, the converb form is used mainly with verbs of activity.

(1) Täpɨ-t   nɔːkɨr   timn'ä-si-k   mora-t   təː
he-GEN   three   brother-CRC-PL   sea-GEN behind

**na   särɨ   qorqɨ-p   qät-qa   **qən-nɔː-tɨt.
**this white   bear-ACC   kill-INF   **go.away-CO-3PL

Three of his brothers came across the sea to kill this white bear.

(3) Mat   mač'ä   qon'i-šä-k   **suːrɨ-l'-l'ä**.
I   to.the.forest   go.away-PST-1SG.S   **wild.animal-VBLZ-CVB**

I went to the forest to hunt.

3. Dependents

While infinitival constructions may have overtly expressed arguments or adjuncts, there is a tendency for converb clauses to have no arguments or adjuncts, except for DOs.

	+dep	-dep
infinitive	**35**	28
converb	13	**43**
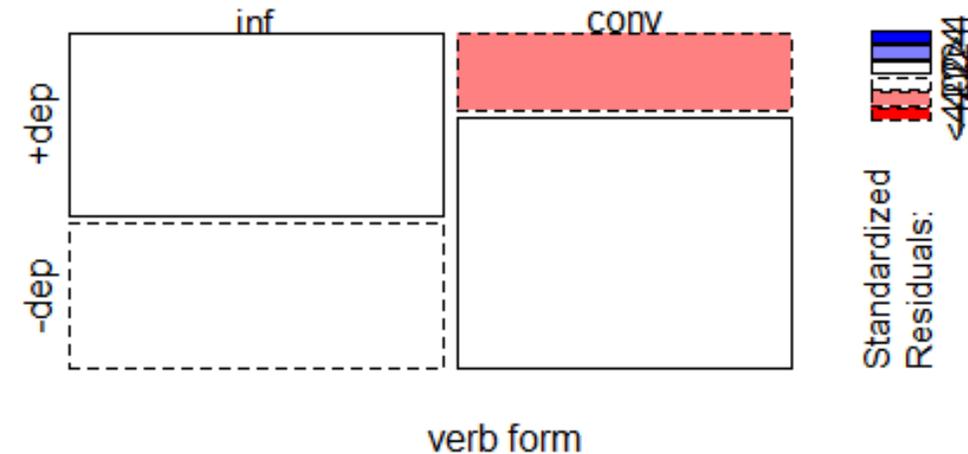
X-squared = 11.576, df = 1, p-value = 0.000668

4. Position

While infinitival clauses tend to occur in postposition to the main clause, converb constructions quite often occur in the preposition as well.

	post	pre
infinitive	**42**	6
converb	26	**30**

X-squared = 17.491, df = 1, p-value = 2.886e-05
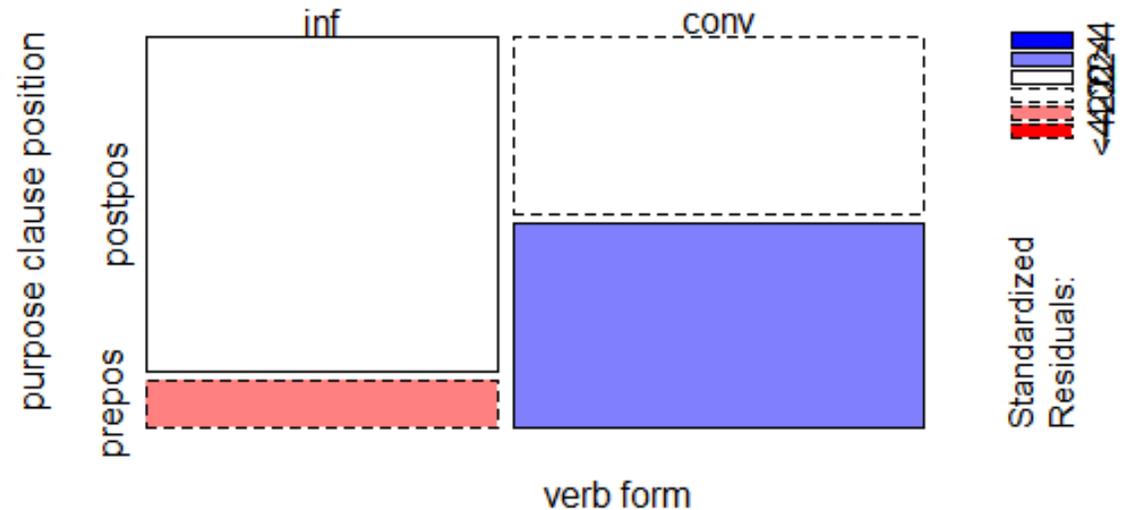
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- Infinitives are used with matrix verbs of various semantics, can have various arguments and adjuncts, tend to be posed after the verb.
- The usage of converbs is restricted to motion-cum-purpose contexts, they tend to have no adjuncts and are more frequently used in clause-internal position.

→ Converb clauses demonstrate higher degree of unity in motion-cum-purpose constructions than the infinitival ones. Besides, the infinitive form presupposes a potential non-realised event, which goes in hand with the cross-linguistic definition of purpose in [Schmidtke-Bode 2009]: the purpose constructions contain an intention component. Whereas converb is a specific form for motion-cum-purpose context and builds a non-compositional construction which enforces the purpose interpretation.

What makes converbs appear in motion-cum-purpose construction?

Prototypical functions of INF and CVB in Selkup

Infinitives are used in complement clauses with all kind of matrix verbs: phasal, modal, mental…

Converbs are prototypically used for coordination and **secondary predications of manner**:

(6) Nɨːnɨ   konna   **kurɨ-l'ä**   na   tü-nta.
     then   upwards   **go-CVB**   INFER   come-INFER.[3SG.S]

Then he came upwards walking.

(3) Mat   mač'ä   qon'i-šä-k   **suːrɨ-l'-l'ä**.
     I   to.the.forest   go.away-PST-1SG.S   **wild.animal-VBLZ-CVB**

I went to the forest to hunt.

This last meaning could be the source for purpose-usages of converbs.

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Dialectal variation

The distribution of infinitive vs. converb constructions in purpose clauses proves to be stable for **Northern Selkup** across various text collections and in time from 1930-s to 2000-s. We have checked our results on the text collections from SELSC, [Kuznetsova et al. 1993], [Tuchkova, Wagner-Nagy 2015], 4 texts from Varkovitskaya archive, SIBERIAN LANG (project supervised by O.Kazakevich).

☒ According to the data of SELSC, converb constructions are almost not present at all in **Central Selkup** dialects: we have found only 1 example with converb in 25 contexts, where we would expect converb construction, according to Northern Selkup data.

? In **Southern Selkup** dialects we observed variation of infinitive and converb constructions in "northern mode".

Selkup
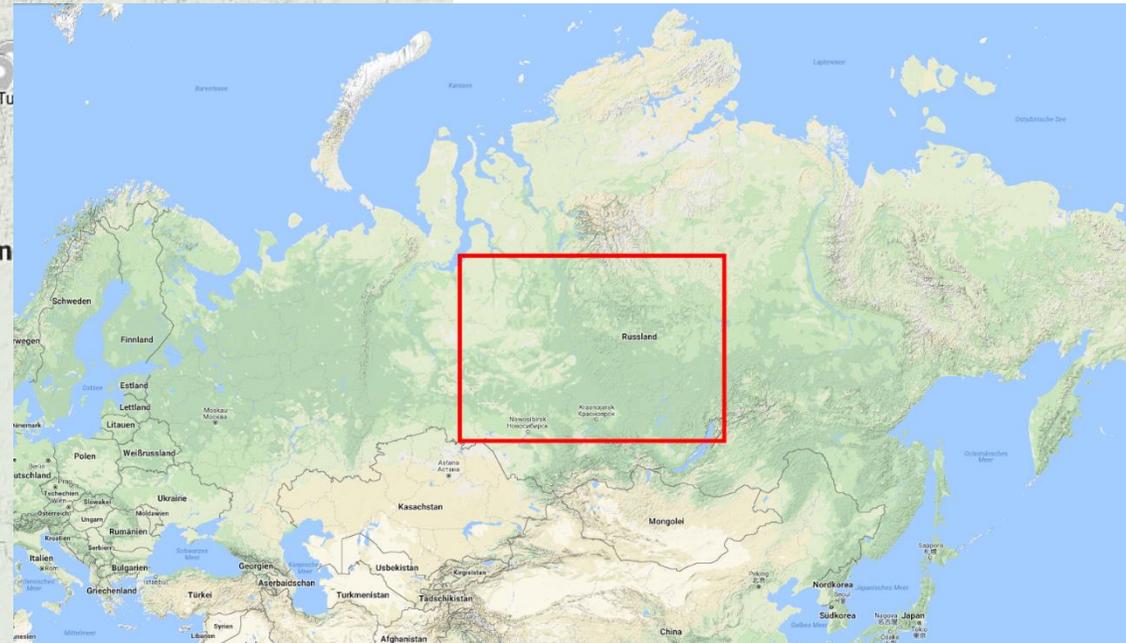
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Thank you!

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