

Asyndetic clause linkage in Selkup: subordinate clauses

The present study aims at exploring the different strategies of asyndetic clause linkage in subordinate clauses throughout the Selkup dialectal groups. It is based on two corpora: the *Selkup language corpus*¹ (Budzisch et al. 2019) and the *INEL Selkup corpus*² (Brykina et al. 2018). Both corpora provide data for Northern, Central and Southern Selkup.

Asyndetic clause linkage, i.e. combining of two or more clauses without any unbound linking element is characteristic of all Uralic languages (Comrie 1988, Laakso 2011). In Selkup the traditional concept of subordination – embedded in and depending on a superordinate clause (Lehmann 1988, Haspelmath 1995) – can be expressed by juxtaposition and different non-finite verb forms, such as infinitives, supine, participles and converbs (Helimski 1998, Harder 2020).

Juxtaposition is used in subordinate constructions across all dialectal groups to express different adverbial clauses, as the conditional one in example (1).

- (1) [Tāzə-lʒi-me-ndʒa-l]_{COND} [Pōnegessa tō-nʒa i ām-ʒa št.]
 noise-TR-COND-FUT-2SG.O Pōnegesse come-FUT.3SG and eat-FUT 2SG.ACC
 ‘If you will be too noisy, Pōnegesse will come and he will eat you.’
 (SLC, Southern: TFF_1967_KolobokkaPoenegessa_flk_7)

Infinitives are presumably used to express complement and purposive clauses, mainly in Central and Southern Selkup, as in (3).

- (3) [Na loyam naj merə-xa-p] [t̄ Napas tō-gu.]_{PURP}
 this fox-ACC also sell-PST.REP-1SG.O here Napas come-INF
 ‘I sold these foxes as well, to come here, to Napas.’
 (INEL, Central: YIF_196X_WorkAsPostWoman_nar_12)

Participles are used in all dialect groups to express relative clauses, as in the Northern example (4).

- (4) [Tina mi, [mat šer-o-kō-mpi-ti] qum-i-ī-m,]_{REL} qaj ukōn
 that something 1SG come.in-EP-DUR-PTCP.PST person-EP-PL-ACC whether earlier
 mōt-i-ŋε-lʒō-t.]
 tent-EP-VBLZ-INT.PF-3PL
 ‘It seems that those, whom I visited, are the first to make their tent.’
 (INEL, Northern: NEP_196X_SecondFairytale_flk_177)

The supine is rather used in Northern Selkup to form purposive or complement clauses, as in example (5).

¹ SLC: 144 texts, 9,756 sentences, 55,839 tokens.

² INEL: 71 texts, 3,273 sentences, 18,673 tokens.

- (5) [*Karrä anta-qinti [koma ī-qintō]_{PURP} qən-pa-ni.*]
down(wards) boat-ILL.3SG arrow take-SUP.2/3SG go.away-DUR-CO.3SG
'He went to the shore to his boat to get arrows.'
(SLC, Northern: MIV_1977_TwoBrothers_flk_16)

Converbs are used to express (amongst others) different adverbial and complement clauses depending on converbial form and tense, primarily in Southern dialects, as the posterior temporal clause in Southern Selkup example (6).

- (6) [*n'e-j-a-qu-la-m-dat matče-w'e]_{TEMP.POST} [wett'a-qu-sa-dat.]*
woman-ADJZ-EP-PERSON-PL-ACC-3PL cut-CVB2 lift-HAB-PST-3PL
'Having cut their women, they [women] were supposed to get up.'
(SLC, Southern: KKN_1971_FiveCarpBrothers_flk_76)

The goal of the study is to provide a systematic overview of different strategies to form asyndetic so-called *subordination* in Selkup. Here, particularly attention is given to similarities and differences within each Selkup dialect group. The question arises if all here given strategies are used in all dialects or if they are constrained by any factors, be they morphosyntactic and/or semantic. An initial analysis shows that converbs particularly in Southern dialects show a clear link between converbial form (simple vs. complex) and tense.

Sources:

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