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DENOMINAL *L'*-FORMS IN NORTHERN SELKUP: SYNTAX, MORPHOLOGY AND SEMANTICS

This article gives view of syntactic, morphological and semantic features of denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup and touches upon the problem of their part of speech categorization. The research is based on the data of the Northern Selkup corpus being created at Hamburg University in Germany of the archive of A. I. Kuzmina (collected in 1961–1977s). The corpus data showed that denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup represent a kind of «mixed category» (the term of C. Lefebvre and P. Muysken), retaining adjectival and nominal properties in its syntax and morphology. These forms perform not only the attributive function in the sentence, but can be also used like core nouns as a direct object, subject, part of postpositional phrase and can be a head of the nominal phrase, modified by an attribute. Sometimes, followed by another noun in nominative, they form a kind of coordination. The detailed analysis of the morphological structure of denominal *l'*-forms allowed to establish that the marker *-l'* is there a kind of inflexion (not derivation) and can combine with nominal derivational suffixes, case and number suffixes. In the paper an attempt was made to explain the semantic function of the marker *-l'* in «nominal» usages of *l'*-forms. Thus a short distributional overview of *l'*-forms in «nominal» functions was given to check and, finally, to exclude the possibility of additional effect of definiteness of the denoted referent. In addition to the grammatical research some sociolinguistic data on «nominal» usages of *l'*-forms in the Northern Selkup corpus are specified to mark several native speakers of the corpus in whose speech there was a tendency to use *l'*-forms instead of core nouns.

Key words: *denominal adjectives, Northern Selkup, corpus, syntax, morphology, part of speech, inflexion, derivation.*

There are some researches on the typology of adjectives and it is assumed by many linguists that for some languages it is impossible to distinguish adjectives as a separate part of speech so that the category of «adjectives» is not universal (see Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008; Thompson, 1988: 167–185; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2004; Schachter & Shopen, 2007: 13–19; Plungian, 2010: 106–110; Chafe, 2012). This problem is also relevant for the Samoyedic languages, in particularity in some of them there is a strong coherence between adjectives and nouns on the synchronic and diachronic levels (see Wagner-Nagy, 2001: 151; Jalava, 2013 et al.).

Our research is devoted to forms derived from nouns with the help of the affix *-l'* in Northern Selkup. We analyse their syntactic behaviour, morphological structure and semantics and touch upon the problem of their part of speech categorization. The research data comes from the Northern Selkup corpus¹ which is now created at Hamburg University in Germany on the material of the archive of A. I. Kuzmina of the 1961–1977s.

Denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup behave syntactically in the most typical case like core adjectives: they modify a noun phrase (NP) and perform an attributive function. In this function they denote a kind of relation to the head of the NP such as: properties, possession, material etc. Similar semantics can be expressed also by the genitive inflexion (1) or a postpositional phrase (2):

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 1. | <i>Qol'saq</i> | <i>ira-l'</i> | (= <i>ira-n</i>) | <i>qə:tti</i> |
| | Kolsako | old.man-ADJZ | old.man-GEN | town |
| | <i>asa</i> | <i>kunta:qin</i> | <i>ε:-sa.</i> | |
| | NEG | far.away | be-PST | |
- ‘The town of the old man Kolsako was not far away.’
[KPM_1977_IchakechikaAndQolsaqo_flk.003]

¹ The corpus is part of INEL project („Grammatical Descriptions, Corpora and Language Technology for Indigenous Northern Eurasian Languages“) of Hamburg University coordinated by the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities.

2. **Kə:si-l'** (= kə:si-n nɔ:-ni) inti me:-ti-mpa-t.
 iron-ADJZ iron-GEN out-ADV.EL bow make-HAB-PST.NAR-3SG.O
 'He made iron bows.'
 [SAI_1965_Palna_flk.016]

But the denominal *l'*-form can also have other syntactic functions. In some cases it combines with another NP in Nominative and forms with it a coordinating construction. This possibility is mentioned by Kuznecova et al. (1980: 191–192), Kazakevich and Budyanskaya (2010: 302) for some collocations of semantically close nouns like «husband and wife» (spouses), «father and mother» (parents), «clothes and shoes» etc. In the Northern Selkup corpus the range of such collocations is a bit wider, so that apart of the above named collocations there can be found some untypical ones like «brains and bones», «knives and pikes» etc.

3. **Paŋi-l'** toq-l'e-t illa ätt-ɔ:l-nilit.
 knife-ADJZ pike-DIM-PL down hide-MULO-IMP.2PL
 'Hide the knives and the pikes.'
 [SAI_1965_Palna_flk.049]

In some texts we find the coordination of nouns denoting two main characters of the story (protagonists), one of the nouns is modified with *-l'*, see (4) and (5).

4. **Ili-mpɔ:-tin küll'a-j n'oma-j əmä-si-n.**
 live-PST.NAR-3PL raven-ADJZ hare-ADJZ mother-CRC-PL
 'There lived a raven hen with raven fledgelings and a doe hare with leporids.'
 [KR_1969_RavensAndHares_flk.002]

5. **Na qum-i-m illä qəri-mpɔ:-qɪ**
 this human.being-EP-ACC down call-PST.NAR-3DU.S
Markin'č'a-j mač'i-n lo:si-n nopti-j.
 Markyncha-ADJZ ravin-GEN devil-GEN with-ADJZ
 'Markyncha and the spirit of the hill called that man down.'
 [KNS_1966_Markincha_flk.116]

The usage of the denominal *-l'* forms in Northern Selkup as part of coordinative units is similar to the comitative construction with the marker *-sä* (6b) or to the coordination of nouns with conjunctions *i, aj* (6c), however, the last two means occur much more frequently in the corpus, see Diagram 1.

- 6a. **Markin'č'a-j mač'i-n lo:si**
 Markyncha-ADJZ ravin-GEN devil
- 6b. **Markin'č'a-sä mač'i-n lo:si**
 Markyncha-COM ravin-GEN devil
- 6c. **Markin'č'a i /aj mač'i-n lo:si**
 Markyncha and ravin-GEN devil
 'Markyncha and the sprit of the hill'

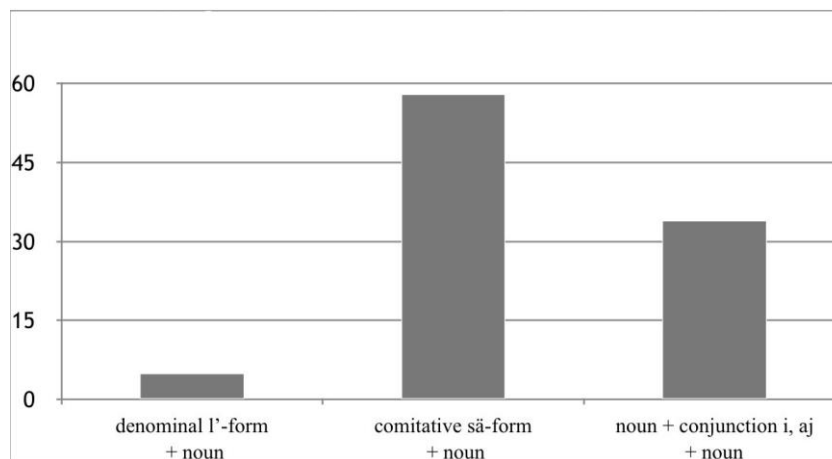


Diagram 1. Nominal coordination in Northern Selkup: distribution of three constructions

Untypical, but also usual in the Northern Selkup corpus is the «nominal» usage of the denominal *l'*-form, i.e. similar to the core noun in nominative. In such way it can function as a direct object or a subject, like a common noun in nominative. In (Kuznecova et al., 1980: 192) we find some short information on the possible occurrence of the *l'*-form as a direct object but only in reference to a limited number of predicates: *pe:riqo* «look for», *u:č'iqo* «work with», *miršittiqo* «whittle»; in (Kazakevich, Budyanskaya, 2010: 302) two more predicates are added: *me:qo* «make», *i:qo* «look for». The data of the Selkup corpus shows a wider range of predicates going together with an adjectival *l'*-form in the function of the direct object: *oraqo* «catch», *nəkiqo* «write», *tottiqo* «put», *omiltiqo* «seat», *teltiqo* «load», *natqo* «anoint», *pač'č'iqo* «chop», *i:tiqo* «hang», *tu:qo* «carry» etc.

7. *Täp* *te:mti-ti* *i:-tä-t,* *ɔ:ta-l'*
(s)he rope-3SG take-HAB-3SG.O reindeer-ADJZ
ura-to-qinto:qa.
catch-HAB-SUP.2/3SG
'He took the rope to catch reindeers.'
[NVA_1965_Reindeers_nar.007]
8. *N'aj-l'ä* *korpat-ti,* *štäl'* *skavarta-l'* *ür-sä*
bread-DIM mix-IMP.2SG.O then pan-ADJZ fat-INSTR
nat-qil-ti.
anoint-MULO-IMP.2SG.O
'Knead the dough, and then grease a frying pan.'
[KPG_1969_Bread_nar.004]

In the corpus there are also examples illustrating the possibility of the subject usage of *l'*-forms

(9, 10) and it seems not to be unusual at all.

9. *Äsa-l'* *tinta* *nil'č'i-k* *top-si-ti* *s'iti-mtal-i-l'*
father-ADJZ you.SG.DAT such-ADVZ speak-PST-3SG.O two-ORD-EP-ADJZ
pi-t *tat* *šäqi-qunta:qa.*
night-ADV.LOC you.SG.NOM spend.night-SUP.2/3SG
'The dad told you had to spend [there] the second night.'
[NEP_1965_FoolInSackCoat_flk.056]

In some contexts, it becomes clear that the denominal *l'*-form is used as a substitute for a nominal phrase with an attributive modifier, but the head of NP is omitted and only the attribute is present. For example, in (10) we can suppose the omission of the pronoun *mi* «something» with dual inflexion – *mi-qä:qi* (DU) so that the subject means «the daughter's couple», i.e. «the daughter with her husband», and it can be verified due to the number agreement of the omitted subject with the verb in predicate.

10. *Näl'a-nti-l'* *[mi-qä:qi]* *qən-nɔ:-qə.*
daughter-OBL.3SG-ADJZ something-DU leave-PRS-3DU.S
'The daughter's [couple] went away.'
[SAI_1965_LittleDoll_flk.058]

Another possible occurrence of the *l'*-form similar to the nominal one is as part of the postpositional phrase instead of the prototypical usage of a genitive / nominative form of the core noun, see (11) and (12).

11. *Man* *aj* *qu-ptä:-l'* *moqo:-qak* *aj* *wärqi*
I.NOM also die-ACTN-ADJZ after-1SG.LOC also elder
i:ja *mompa* *mašip* *aj* *na* *tenä-pt-enta.*
son it.is.said I.ACC and this think-CAUS-FUT
'And after I die, my elder son will remember me and this.'
[SAI_1965_WhenIDie_song.012]
12. *Täp* *tena-pti-si-tä* *kutar* *Andre*
(s)he think-CAUS-PST-3SG.O how Andrey
mul-alti-mpi-si-t *qum-i-j* *qä:li-j* *č'ɔ:ti.*
tell-TR-HAB-PST-3SG.O human.being-EP-ADJZ fish-ADJZ about
'He remembered how Andrey had told him about a human-fish.'
[AR_1965_RestlessNight_transl.003]

Furthermore, adjectival *l'*-forms can head their own NP and take an attributive modifier such as an adjectival form with the same marker *-l'* or a nominal form in genitive – see (13), (14). This class of phenomena is typical not only for Selkup, but for denominal adjectives in other languages. It can be explained in different ways, as shown in (Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008: 2–13), but the common idea is that in this case the morpheme *-l'* refers to the noun with its dependents and is syntactically external to the whole NP.

13. *Qən-ηɔː-tit* *laŋa-l'* *qum-i-l'*.
 leave-PRS-3PL ide-ADJZ human.being-EP-ADJZ
 ‘The Nenets² leave.’
 [SAI_1965_Palna_flk.104]
14. *Ukkir* *i.ra-l'* *li:pi* *mompa* *tintena* *nami-t*
 one old.man-ADJZ piece it.is.said that this-GEN
ke:pi-l' *mika-ti* *türi-η-pa-ti*.
 as.large.as-ADJZ needle-3SG crook-VBLZ-PST.NAR-3SG.O
 ‘One old man, as they say, made a needle as big as a crook.’
 [KAI_1965_OldManWithLittleMind_flk.056]

When preceded by the attributive modifier, the *l'*-form seems to be a kind of phonetic reduplication thus such combination could be explained as a tendency of the speaker to the phonetic similarity of two closely disposed syntactic units (like *laŋal' qumil'* «ide people», *sel'č'iqil' apsil'* «diverse food» etc).

To summarize the syntactic properties of the denominal *l'*-forms, we can conclude that in Northern Selkup these forms can function not only as attribute, but also as direct object, subject, part of a postpositional phrase and can take an attributive modifier themselves, as well. Followed by another noun in nominative, it can form a kind of coordination. But unlike nouns and core adjectives, *l'*-forms are never used in the predicate. Like the relational adjectives in other languages, they can't form any kind of comparative or superlative degrees (produced in Selkup with the help of special syntactic constructions). The Diagram 2, 3 and the Table 1 below illustrate the syntactic behaviour of denominal adjectives in the Northern Selkup corpus.

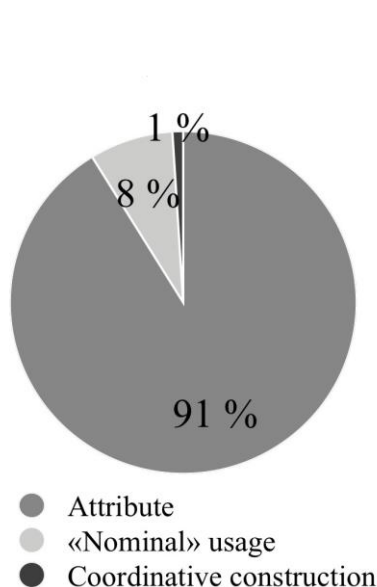


Diagram 2. Syntax of denominal *l'*-forms

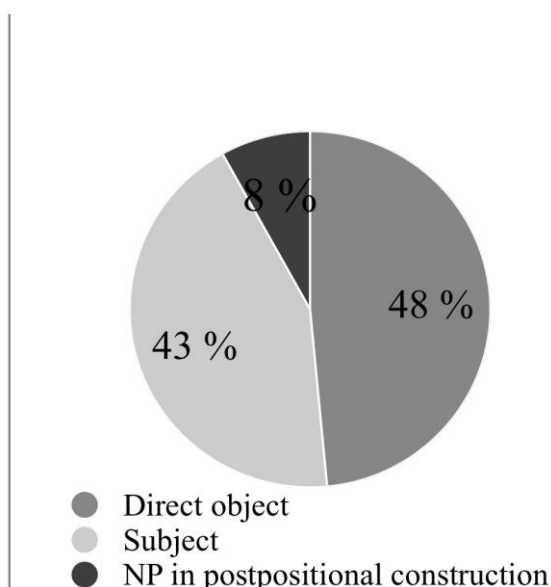


Diagram 3. "Nominal" usage of denominal *l'*-forms

² Northern Selkups use the expression *laŋal' qum* (= 'ide man') for naming Khanty or Nenets people.

Table 1

Syntactic functions of denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup

Attribute				%
			432	91,14
	Direct object	18	37	7,81
	Subject	16		
	NP in postpositional construction	3		
Conjunct in coordinative construction			5	1,05
Total: all usages of denominal <i>l'</i> -forms			474	100

As the denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup retain some noun-related properties, we deal with a so called «mixed category» (the term from Lefebvre and Muysken, 1988) or «a syntagmatic category mixing» (see Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008). On the one hand, the derived forms usually function as syntactic modifiers, and on the other hand, they inherit the ability to head their own NPs, like nouns.

Now let us describe the morphological structure of the denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup. Morphologically regarded, the morpheme *-l'* can go together with the following nominal modifiers:

- derivational suffixes;
- case inflexion (locative, caritive, coordinative³);
- possessive inflexion;
- number inflexion.

Alone or in combination with any of these markers the ending *-l'* takes always a final position in the denominal form. The semantics of the preceding markers remains preserved. See in (16) the combination of *-l'* with the locative marker, in (17) – with possessive suffixes.

16. *Täm* $\varepsilon\text{:si}$ *nami-t-i-sä,* *kuti*
 (s)he be-PST this-PL-EP-COM who
pel'ti-mpi-si-ti *söt-qi-l'* *su:ri-t-i-m.*
 help-HAB-PST-3SG.O forest-LOC-ADJZ wild.animal-PL-EP-ACC
 'He was with those, who helped the "forest animals".'
 [AR_1965_Ilmar_transl.009]
17. *A* $\varepsilon\text{:ta-ti-j}$ *ämä-si-qa* *no:-ni*
 and reindeer-3SG-ADJZ mother-CRC-DU from-ADV.EL
 (*nanirik*) $\varepsilon\text{-ppa}$ – *täti-nti-sa*
 (so much) be-PST.NAR earth-OBL.3SG-INSTR
a-mpa-ti, *a* $\varepsilon\text{:ta-nti-j}$ *nil'č'i-l'*
 eat-PST.NAR-3SG.O and reindeer-OBL.3SG-ADJZ such-ADJZ
tə:qaš-ti-j $\varepsilon\text{-ppi-nti}$
 bedding-OBL.3SG-ADJZ be-PST.NAR-INFER
 'The mother and the son had so many reindeers that [those] ate earth, it was such a bedding of the reindeers.'
 [TVP_1965_ThreeBrothersLapta_flk.007]

Some problems with the morphological analysis occur with the endings *-ti-l'* and *-ni-l'* which can be interpreted in different ways: like combination of the plural / genitive (*-t/-n*) or the possessive inflexion (*-ti*, 3d person singular) with the marker *-l'*. The semantics of possible interpretations should be taken into account while glossing though in the derived form it is not so well discernable hence it is difficult to choose one of the glossing alternatives.

³ There is also one example of the combination of the *l'*-marker with the instrumental case inflexion in the Northern Selkup corpus:

15. *ora-si-l'* *temti*
 force-INSTR-ADJZ rope
 'a strong rope'

but this possibility should be checked on the basis of more data.

18. *Ūt-n-i-l'* *č'e:lī-t* *tāp* *kiki-si-t*
 evening-GEN?-EP-ADJZ day-ADVZ (s)he like-PST-3SG.O
ija-t-i-sa *ɔ:mti-qa* *kun* *ɛ:ma* *üti* *qaniq-qin*.
 child-PL-EP-COM sit-INF where INDEF1 water near-LOC
 'In the evening he liked to sit by the fire together with children somewhere by the river.'
 [AR_1965_RestlessNight_transl.015]

19. *Tä:l'i* *nɔ:ti* ***qum-a-qum-t-i-j***
 tomorrow then human.being-EP-human.being-PL/3SG-(EP)-ADJZ
n'enti *na* *omti-lt-entɔ:-tit*.
 together here sit.down-TR-FUT-3PL
 'The next day they would place the couple together.'
 [TVP_1965_ThreeBrothersLapta_flk.082]

The choice of glossing alternatives is more evident when the number slot in the denominal *l'*-form is already occupied, i.g. by the dual marker *-qi*, so that the following *-ti* should refer to the possessive inflexion:

20. ***Timn'ä:-qt-ti-j*** *inna* *məs'ɔ:-qj*.
 brother-DU-3SG-ADJZ up get.up-3DU.S
 'His two brothers got up.'
 [NEP_1965_FoolInSackCoat_flk.030]

Further, we would like to compare our syntactic and morphological description of denominal *l'*-forms based on the data from the Northern Selkup corpus with the interpretation of the similar forms in (Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008). The paper gives a wide view of the noun and adjective category mixing and investigates this phenomena in different languages. Following (Kuznecova et al., 1980), the authors classify the denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup into two groups – adjectives (as new derived lexemes) and adjectival representations of nouns (classified as inflexion). First class is represented by *l'*-forms ending in *-simil'* with proprietive semantics, the second one – by relational forms ending in *-l'*, locative forms in *-qul'* and forms in *-ššal'* with the similitudinal semantics.

21. adjectives with proprietive semantics:	<i>mɔ:t-symyl'</i>	'with own house'
relational representation:	<i>kana-l'</i>	'dog's, related to dogs'
similitudinal representation:	<i>alako-ššal'</i>	'similar to a boat'
locative representation:	<i>mɔ:t-qul'</i>	'located in the/a house'

(Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008: 41, 42)

As opposed to this interpretation, in our glossing system we do not consider these endings as whole units but divide them into separate affixes: the marker *-l'*, derivative suffixes (*-simi* as allomorph of *-sima* – proprietive⁴) or case inflexion (*-šša* as allomorph of *-ššak* – coordinative and *-qu* as allomorph of *-qin* – locative). This glossing principle seems to be more logical as we find in our corpus possible combinations of the *l'*-marker with possessive, number and case inflexion. Thus we do not distinguish between «simple» relational *l'*-forms and *l'*-forms containing derivational or case suffixes.

The assumption that the forms ending in *-simil'* with proprietive semantics refer to adjectives is based on the idea of their incompatibility with possessive and number markers. It is arguable if the derivational suffix *-sima* can't really occur in the combination with possessive or number inflexion and the marker *-l'*. In the Northern Selkup corpus such examples are also lacking but inspite of it we wouldn't exclude this possibility. Theoretically derivational suffixes should not come in contradiction with possessive/number inflexion, even as part of the denominal *l'*-form.

⁴ The derivative suffix *-sima* occurs also in nouns:

22. *mo:lmi-sima*
 lies-PROPR
 'a liar'

(Kuznecova et al., 1980: 338).

According to (Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008), the class of adjectival representations of nouns represent a kind of inflexion (not derivation) due to the fact that they are in paradigmatic opposition to the case markers. Moreover, it is defined as a kind of case inflexion. We disagree with this argument for the inflexion as we draw on the possibility of case and number affixation of denominal *l'*-forms. The marker *-l'* is indeed a kind of inflexion but it can be explained by the morphemic order: *-l'* comes always after any possible inflexion, i.e. after possessive, case and number markers, and that is not typical for derivational suffixes.

One of the most argueable points is the semantic level of the usage of denominal *l'*-forms. It is not clear at all if the denominal formation process has any effect on the semantic interpretation of the root noun. The syntagmatic and morphological properties of *l'*-forms, as we've seen above, are very similar to the nominal ones, so this inflexion seems to be semantically unfilled. According to (Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008), the relational *l'*-adjectives don't add any semantic predicate and refer to so called «contextual inflexion». Indeed, apart of their attributive usage, denominal *l'*-forms function in other contexts like nouns (as we have seen above on the corpus data) and the *l'*-marker could be considered as a kind of inflexion which doesn't add any complementary semantic content to the root noun. As for the *l'*-forms with similitudinal, caritive, locative etc semantics, the additional content is provided by the derivational or case suffixes preceding the *l'*-marker.

The question is: why the speakers use sometimes *l'*-forms instead of nouns in Northern Selkup? If the syntactic functions of nouns and denominal *l'*-forms are in these cases identical, what is then the reason for the usage of the modifier *-l'*? A possible interpretation of «nominal» (non-attributive) usages of *l'*-forms (see Table 1 above) could deal with the referential status of the denoted object. We will check a hypothesis if the marker *-l'* changes the status of the referent of the core noun and, in particularity, if it can bring the effect of definiteness to it. In the Table 2 we analyse the distribution of denominal *l'*-forms with «nominal» functions used in the corpus. If *l'*-forms are preceded by any kind of modifiers, we classify the corresponding DPs as strong (definite) or weak (indefinite) ones according to the classification in (Lefebvre, Muysken, 1988). If there are no modifiers, we check the definiteness of the referent on the basis of its semantics or of the previous context.

Table 2

«Nominal» usage of denominal *l'*-forms

	<i>l'</i> -forms with modifiers			<i>l'</i> -forms without modifiers		
	Strong DP		Weak DP	Definite object	Indefinite object	
	possessive markers	<i>that, this</i>	<i>such, other, diverse</i>	personal pronouns	indefinite pronouns	non-countable nouns with unspecified referent
Distribution of denominal <i>l'</i> -forms	+	+	+	+	+	+

First of all, we should take in account that the definiteness can be performed in Northern Selkup by possessive suffixes (see Wagner-Nagy, 2016), and it is typical for Samoyedic languages. Thus, we can assume that the combination of possessive affixes with the marker *-l'* denotes a definite referent, like in (17), (20). Then, regarding at other possible modifiers, the *l'*-marker occurs in both strong DPs (with demonstrative pronouns, see (23)), and weak DPs (with modifiers *mənil'* «new, other», *nil'č'il'* «such», *sel'č'ï(qil')* «diverse» – see (24) and (25)), as well. In (25) the marker *-l'* modifies the pivot of an existential sentence which, according to (Wagner-Nagy, 2016), denotes an indefinite referent.

23. *Tap tɛ:mti-l' tomi kām-sa qajqə nek-lɔ:l-ta-p?*
 this rope-ADJZ that blood-INSTR why write-MULO-TR-1SG.O
 'Why did I spread blood on the rope?'
 [TVP_1965_ThreeBrothersLapta_flk.058]

24. *Wäč'i-t-sä* *na* *tu:-t-al'-pi-ntɔ:-tit,*
 meat-PL-INSTR INFER take.out-TR-INCH-PST.NAR-INFER-3PL
sel'č'u-qil' *apsi-l'* *na* *totti-mmi-ntɔ:-tit.*
 diverse-ADJZ food-ADJZ INFER put-PST.NAR-INFER-3PL
 'They took out meat and put [out] diverse food.'
 [TVP_1965_ThreeBrothersLapta_flk.073]
25. *Ti:* *tɛ:* *mi-qin-tin* *mānil'* *üra-l'.*
 now you.PL.GEN something-LOC-3PL new business-ADJZ
 'Now you have other things to do.'
 [AR_1965_RestlessNight_transl.019]

In few examples in the Northern Selkup corpus the marker *-l'* modifies personal pronouns (26), denoting the definite referents, or indefinite pronouns, referring to indefinite type of objects, see (27).

26. *Tap-i-l'* *uti-p* *aša* *i:-s-ti (...).*
 (s)he-EP-ADJZ spirit-EP-ACC NEG take-PST-3SG.O
 'She didn't take the wine (...).'
27. *Sail'* *tɔ:k-ti* *mant-al-pi-l'a*
 eye-ADJZ all.the.rest-3SG give.a.look-MOM-HAB-CVB
č'üša-li-sɔ:-t, *kuti-l'* *ɛ:mil'*
 hurt-INCH-PST-3PL who-ADJZ INDEF1-ADJZ
qari-l' *kenni-n-t* *u:ko:-qini* *pi-t* *tɛt.*
 morning-ADJZ dawn-GEN-3SG before-EL night-GEN up.to
 'Her eyes got ill from looking from morning dawn till night if somebody [comes]'.
 [SAG_1965_FairytaleAboutDeadPrincess_transl.004]

As to the contextly dependent reference, the corpus data shows that denominal *l'*-forms with «nominal» functions denote referents introduced before or known from the context (→ definite) and not mentioned yet, introduced for the first time (→ indefinite).

Summarizing the data of the corpus, we would assume that the «nominal» usages of denominal *l'*-forms do not trigger the definiteness of the denoted referent. *L'*-forms with «nominal» functions are used in both strong and weak DPs and the referential status of the denoted object can vary from definite to indefinite one, according to the context.

The last point to mention about the usage of denominal *l'*-forms concerns the speakers whose texts are present in the Northern Selkup corpus. While analysing the corpus data, it becomes evident that some native speakers (the consultants of A. I. Kuzmina) used denominal *l'*-forms in «nominal» functions more frequently than others. While in the speech of some consultants such usages occur occasionally, for a few speakers they seem to be even favourite and commonly used. On the Diagram 4 there is some statistics and general data about three speakers in whose speech we have found the most usages of denominal *l'*-forms with «nominal» functions in the corpus. All three consultants were speakers of the Middle Taz dialect (MT), but of different age groups.

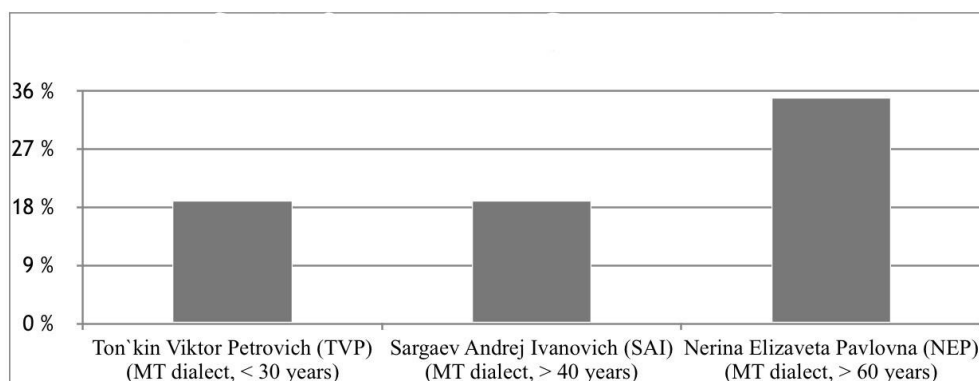


Diagram 4. Speakers of Northern Selkup corpus mostly using *l'*-forms in “nominal” functions

In this paper we tried to make a detailed analysis of the syntactic behaviour and morphological structure of the denominal *l'*-forms in Northern Selkup. The corpus research proved that Selkup denominal *l'*-forms are a kind of «mixed categories». Having adjectival inflexion they retain some syntactic and morphological properties of nouns. Due to this particularity, researchers of Northern Selkup describe these forms like intermediate ones using such terms as «the adjectival representation» of the noun (Kuznecova et al., 1980: 190), «the adjectival form» of the noun (Kazakevich, Budyanskaya, 2010: 301), «the relational representation» (Nikolaeva, Spencer, 2008). On our research we concerned also the semantics and the referential status of the «nominal» usages of denominal *l'*-forms. The detailed analysis of their distribution in the Northern Selkup corpus didn't prove any correlation of these usages with the effect of definiteness. The corpus data showed that in the 1960–1970s (when the archive of A. I. Kuzmina was collected) there were some speakers of Northern Selkup who widely used denominal *l'*-forms in «nominal» functions, while in the speech of most speakers only single usages of this kind can be found.

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ОТЫМЕННЫЕ *L'*-ФОРМЫ В СЕВЕРНЫХ ДИАЛЕКТАХ СЕЛЬКУПСКОГО ЯЗЫКА: СИНТАКСИС, МОРФОЛОГИЯ И СЕМАНТИКА

В данной статье рассмотрены синтаксические, морфологические и семантические особенности отыменных форм с показателем *-l'* в северных диалектах селькупского языка и затронута

проблема их частеречной принадлежности. Исследование проводилось на основе данных северно-селькупского корпуса, который создаётся в настоящее время в Гамбургском университете в Германии из материалов архива А. И. Кузьминой 1961–1976 годов. Корпусные данные показали, что отыменные *l'*-формы в северных диалектах селькупского языка представляют собой своего рода «смешанную категорию» (термин К. Лефевр и П. Майскен), обладая синтаксическими и морфологическими чертами существительных и прилагательных. Эти формы выполняют не только атрибутивную функцию в предложении, но и могут функционировать подобно именам существительным в качестве прямого дополнения, подлежащего, части послеложной группы, а также могут быть вершиной именной группы, управляя атрибутивным определением. В некоторых случаях, вместе со следующим за ней существительным в номинативе, данная форма на *-l'* является конъюнктом в сочинительной конструкции. Детальный анализ морфологической структуры отыменных *l'*-форм позволил установить, что маркер *-l'* является видом флексии (не деривации) и может сочетаться со словообразовательными суффиксами, падежными и числовыми показателями. В статье предпринята также попытка выявить семантическую функцию маркера *-l'* в «именных» употреблениях *l'*-форм. Для этого сделан короткий обзор дистрибуции данных употреблений с целью проверить и, в конечном счёте, исключить гипотезу о возможном дополнительном эффекте определённости обозначаемого референта. В дополнение к грамматическому анализу приведены некоторые социолингвистические данные «именных» употреблений отыменных *l'*-форм в северных диалектах селькупского языка, и выявлено несколько носителей языка (информантов А. И. Кузьминой), в речи которых отмечается тенденция использования форм на *-l'* вместо исходных существительных.

Ключевые слова: отыменные прилагательные, селькупский язык, северные диалекты, корпус, синтаксис, морфология, часть речи, флексия, деривация.

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