CONVERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN SELKUP

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Abstract: In Selkup, converbs and converbal constructions are extensively used in a wide range of different syntactic functions. However, the corpus data show significant differences regarding the frequency within the individual Selkup dialectal groups (Northern, Central and Southern). In Southern Selkup, converbal constructions occur more than three times more frequently than in Central and Northern Selkup. This south-north divide can also be observed concerning some functions, especially complex predicates. The question arises why there is such a large difference in the frequency and which strategies Central and Northern Selkup use to express Southern Selkup converbal constructions.

1. Introduction

The term "Converbum" was first mentioned in Altaic studies by Ramstedt (1903) and was used to describe (Khalkha) Mongolian "halb verbale, halb nominale formen des verbums" (Ramstedt 1903: 55). Ramstedt associated the term with verbal nouns both historical and morphological, because "die khalkhassischen konverba auf ganz demselben Niveau wie diejenigen kasusformen der nominalen verbalformen [stehen], die als bestimmungen zum hauptverbum angewendet werden können"[1] (ibid.: 55). Later the term was adopted into a broader typological (European) context for "a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination" (Haspelmath 1995: 3), i.e. a verbal adverb, as in example (1).

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[1] 'The Khalkha Mongolian converbs are at the same level as those case forms of the nominal verbal forms which can be used as an adjunct to the main verb' (my translation, A.B.).

(1)   Italian (Haspelmath 1999: 1)
        Non   ave-ndo   la   chiave,   non   potè   aprire.
        [not   have-CVB   the   key]   not   could   open
        'Not having the key, she couldn't open.'

In this sense other scholars use the term converb synonymously with "gerund" (Latin, English), "adverbial participle" (Slavic), "deeprichastie" (Russian) and "gérondif" (French) (Tikkanen 2001, Haspelmath 1995) to cover a morphological category. The term is also used for converbal constructions as a syntactic structure which are polyfunctional and cover different syntactic and semantic functions. These include converbs as adjective attributes, free adverbials, in clausal subordination (example (1) above), in sequences of consecutive clauses ("clause-chaining", cf. Haspelmath 1995: 7), as in (2) and complex converbal predicates including motion events and converbal auxiliary constructions, as in example (3).

(2)   Kumyk (Haspelmath 1995: 7–8)
        *Bu-lar,   köl-nü   **gö-rüp**,   arba-syn   **toqtat-yp**,   čemodan-ny*
        this-PL   lake-ACC   see-CVB   cart-3SG   stop-CVB   suitcase-ACC
        *Manaj-ğa   da   **göter-t-ip**,   köl-nü   jağa-syn-a*
        Manaj-DAT   also   take-CAUS-CVB   lake-GEN   bank-3SG-DAT
        bar-yp**,   čemodan-ny   **ač-yp**,   šišla-ny,   **čyğar-yp
        go-CVB   suitcase-ACC   open-CVB   bottle-ACC   take.OUT-CVB
        *tiz-ip   suw-dan   **toltur-up**,   **qajtar-yp***
        put.in.row-CVB   water-ABL   fill-CVB   return-CVB
        čemodan-ğa   sal-a.
        suitcase-DAT   put-RES
        'They see the lake, stop their cart, make Manaj bring the suitcase, go to the bank of the lake, open the suitcase, take out the bottles, put them in a row, fill them with water, and put them back into the suitcase.'

(3)   Kamas (Klumpp 2002: 217)
        šut   kuˈptōlaga   [kuʔbdolaga <   kuʔbdola(?)   ige].
        fire.3SG   extinguish.IPF.PRS   extinguish-CVB   be.PRS
        'His fire is extinguishing.'

Thus, the term converb is ambiguously used for a wide range of functions that are also covered by other nonfinite forms (infinitive, participle). Converbs are described for a number of Uralic languages, among others, Khanty (Fil'chenko 2010: 470), Udmurt (Horváth 2013, Winkler 2011, Pischlöger 2001, Kel'makov 1975), Mari (Bradley 2016a, Isanbaev 1978), Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014, Stenin 2010, Pischlöger 2001: 47, Décsy 1966: 50–51), Enets (Shluinsky 2018, Siegl 2013: 325), Nganasan (Wagner-Nagy 2019, Katzschmann 2008, Tereščenko 1979) and Kamas (Klumpp 2005, 2002). In the present article other nonfinite forms are not taken into account.

Complex converbal predicates are typical in Turkic languages (Bradley 2016a: 130–131), but atypical in Finno-Ugric languages and analysed as structural borrowings from Turkic languages in Udmurt (Horváth 2013, Winkler 2011, Kel'makov 1975), Mari (Bradley 2016a, Isanbaev 1978) and Kamas (Klumpp 2005, 2002).

Selkup converbs and partly also converbal constructions are mentioned in different grammatical descriptions: Voevodina 1976, Kuznecova et al. 1980, Helimski 1983, Helimski 1998, Čeremisina and Martynova 1991, Kuznecova 1995, Valijärvi 2008. Mostly simple converbs (ending in *-le*) are distinguished from complex ones (ending in *-pūle,* Northern Selkup, or *-lewle*, Central and Southern Selkup). It is partly assumed that simple converbs are used to express simultaneity while complex converbs express non-simultaneity. It follows that Selkup converbs are considered from a morphosyntactic perspective. Furthermore the major part of descriptions is based on data from Northern Selkup dialects (Kuznecova et al. 1980, Valijärvi 2008). Central and Southern Selkup converbs are described only briefly by Helimski (1983) and Čeremisina and Martynova (1991). In Kuznecova's monography (Kuznecova 1995), Southern Selkup converbal constructions are also mentioned. She concentrates, however, on a morphological description and the etymology of the converbal form(s).

The occurence of converbs as a part of complex predicates (see Section 3.1) is also mentioned in the Selkup research literature, however, a detailed and systematic analysis and classification lacks so far. To close this gap the present article will consider converbal constructions similar to Mari, Udmurt and Kamas. Other functions are not discussed in the remainder of the paper.

2. Corpus

The present article is based on language material of the *Selkup Language Corpus* developed at the University of Hamburg (Budzisch et al. 2019). The corpus contains 144 already published texts from Northern, Central and Southern Selkup, as well as from a mixed dialect which has characteristics of both Central and Southern dialects (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Central and Southern Selkup dialects[2]

Central Selkup	Southern Selkup
Vakh	Middle Ob
Tym	Upper Ob
Vasyugan	Ket
Narym	Chaya
	Chulym (†)

Texts were recorded in a period of about 130 years (see Table 2). The texts are mostly folklore and narratives, but also some translations of Russian texts exist. All texts are consistently glossed and annotated. Each text has an individual name composed of the pattern *name_year_title_genre* (name=initials of the speaker, year=year of recording, title=short English name, genre=flk [folklore], nar [narrative], trl [translation] or song [heroic song]). The examples used in the present article contain also the sentence number, the dialect and the original Russian translation, if applicable. Since Selkup is predominantly a spoken language the corpus texts represent oral language and thus also a broad dialectal variation. This means that both suffixes and lexemes can occur in very diverse forms.

Table 2. Selkup Language Corpus

	Northern	**Central**	**mixed**	**Southern**
texts	26	48	4	66
units	1,410	3,196	630	4,021
tokens	9,257	22,014	1,453	22,525

2   Following Gluškov and Bajdak (2016).

3. Converb vs. converbal construction

Selkup verbal morphology shows two different converbal suffixes: a simple one ending in -*le* and a complex one -*le pūle* consisting of the simple converb -*le* and the converbal form of the verb *pū* 'cross' *pūle* (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 256 ff., Helimski 1983: 46, Čeremisina and Martynova 1991: 36, Kuznecova 1995: 195–196, Valijärvi 2008: 169 ff.). The latter one is used in the forms -*lewle*, -*l(e)bele*, -*lebe*, -*lepe(le)*, -*ple* in Central and Southern Selkup. In the following examples, the simple and complex converbal forms are glossed with CVB.I for simple and CVB.II for complex ones.

Both converbal forms can occur in different syntactic functions: (i) free adverbial, as in (4); (ii) usage in sequences of several consecutive clauses[3], as in (5); (iii) usage in dependent situations with different readings, as the temporal one in (6); (iv) part of complex predicates with various types (see Section 3.1). The following sections will focus on complex converbal predicates.

(4) *kud=nej*   *qwesse*   **ili-l'e**   *ass*   *para-l-ba-n.*
    who=EMPH   back   live-CVB.I   NEG   return-RES-PST.REP-3SG
    'Никто живой обратно не возвращался.'
    'No one returned alive.'
    (PMP_1961_Fairytale_flk_150, S: Middle Ob)

(5) *Nāgur*   *tā-wɨt*   **t'ōqo-l-gu-l'e**   *n'ā-wɨt*
    three   hill-PROL   push-INCH-ITER-CVB.I   each.other-PROL
    sūrget-la-ze   *i*   *pū-l-zaj-la-ze,*   *sättšim*
    elbow-PL-INSTR   and   cross-ADJZ-eye-PL-INSTR   severely
    kwäj-l'e,   **qwädu-mbi-l'e**,   *süŋa-ttɨ*   *okkə*   *tšätšo-ɣin.*
    breath-CVB   scold-HAB-CVB   crowd-3PL   one   place-LOC
    'Все трое, толкая друг друга локтями и коленями, пыхтя и ругаясь, толкутся на одном месте.
    'The three push each other up to the hill, with elbows and knees, breathing heavily, arguing, were in one place.'
    (KMS_1968_Burbot_trans_98, S: Middle Ket')

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3   Haspelmath (1995: 7) uses the term *clause-chaining*.

(6)   *Awi-t,*   *azi-t*   **qwēl-č-lebe**   **tȫ-mba-dit**.
      mother-3sg   father-3sg   fish-tr-cvb.II   come-pst.rep-3pl
      'Мать её, отец её с рыбалки пришли.'
      'Her mother (and) her father came after fishing.'
      (ILP_1981_ItjaOneEyedDevil_flk_10, S: Middle Ob)

3.1. Complex predicates

In the following section four subtypes of complex converbal predicates are described. The classification is based on preliminary studies. With a few minor exceptions, the converbal form regularly precedes the finite verb form.[4] More and detailed analysis is needed to develop an adequate classification of finite verb forms in Selkup converbal constructions. However, the preliminary classification is as follows.

3.1.1. Type A

Type A consists of a lexical verb in a converbal form and one of the phasal verbs *oldə-* 'begin', *kwatta* 'begin', *übə-* 'begin', *malčə-* 'finish', *mančə-* 'finish' as the finite part. Typically the converbal form precedes the finite verb form.

In **Southern Selkup** examples of all phasal verb forms except for *mančə-* 'finish' can be found in the corpus. They are almost exclusively used with converbs. Examples (7) to (9) show the different phasal verbs 'begin', and in (10) *malčə-* 'stop' is paired with the converbal form of *aur-* 'eat'.

(7)   *poŋqə-m*   *inne*   **ūqə-lle**   **ǖpə-r-ə-t**.
      net-acc   up   drag-cvb.I   begin-frq-ep-3sg.O
      'Он начинает вытаскивать сеть из воды.'
      'He begins to drag the net up.'
      (NN_1879_Itja_flk_43, S: Chaya)

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4   Complex converbal predicates reflects the typical Selkup modifier-head-order. Possible variations in word order between the individual subtypes have to be analysed in future research.

(8)   *pōne-la-n*   **pal'd'u-l'e**   **oldi-ŋ**.
      outside-PL-LOC.ADV   go-CVB.I   begin-3SG
      'На улице ходить начал.'
      'He starts going outside.'
      (KMS_1966_TwoSisters_flk_77, S: Middle Ket')

(9)   *Lōz-la*   *tō-mba-t*   *i*   **kozir-č-le**   **kwatta-lža-t**.
      devil-PL   come-PST.REP-3PL   and   card-TR-CVB.I   begin-INT.PF-3PL
      'Черты пришли и начали играть в карты.'
      'Devils came and begin to play cards.'
      (SEV_1981_SisterBrother_flk_38, S: Middle Ob)

(10) **Aur-le**   **malčā-gə**.
      eat-CVB.I   stop-3DU.S
      'Наелись.'
      'They stop eating.'
      (PVD_1961_FarmAssault_flk_146, S: Upper Ob)

There are a handful of examples using infinitives instead of converbs, mostly from translations of Russian texts. In these cases the infinitive consistently follows the finite verb form.

In the **mixed dialect group** examples of *kuatta-* 'begin' and one example of *malče-* 'stop' is documented. All converbal forms immediately precede the finite verb form, as in (11).

(11) *Kuače-p*   **pače-lle**   *üba-r-a-p*.
      city-ACC   cut.down-CVB.I   begin-FRQ-EP-1SG.O
      'I start cutting down the city.'
      (NN_1855_Hero4_song_83, Mixed)

Not many examples of phasal verbs are to be found in **Central Selkup**. Only *mančə-* 'finish' in (12a) and *qwattɨ-* 'begin'[5] in (12b) occur in converbal constructions.

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[5]   Except for one example in a translated text, *qwattɨ-* is only used with converbs.

(12) a. *Tabə*   *ūʒ'u-ku-k,*   ***ūʒə-le***   ***man-rrē-špa-t***,
          3SG   work-ITER-3SG   work-CVB.I   finish-FRQ-EP-IPFV-3SG.O
          uboršicā-n   *tēntra*   *pōne-t*   *mēkka*
          female.cleaner-DAT/ALL   speak.3SG   outside-LOC.ADV   1SG.DAT
          qwā-gu,   *ku-n'ibet*   *pad'ī*   *moʒno?*
          go away-INF   where-any   just   one.can
          'Он работает свою работу кончает и уборщицу спрашивает:
          «На улицу мне сходить куда-нибудь можно?»'
          'He finishes his work and says to the female cleaner: Can I go
          anywhere outside now?'
          (SDP_1964_FairytaleBlackZar_flk_376, C: Narym)

       b. *Mete-ʒe-la*   *kartoš-ka-p*   ***paqqi-le***   ***qwati-l-de***.
          reach-IPFV-CVB   potatoe-DIM-ACC   dig-CVB.I   begin-INCH-3SG.O
          'Дошла, картошку начала копать.'
          'He comes there, starts digging for potatoes.'
          (SDP_1964_FairytaleBlackZar_flk_835, C: Narym)

In all other examples phasal verbs are used with infinitives and show
the phasal verb 'begin' in the forms *lakkɨ-*, *titi-* or *qwattɨ-*. In most cases
the finite verb form precedes the infinitive, as in (13a). In all examples
from the Vasyugan subdialect and in the only example from the Tym sub-
dialect, the finite verb forms follows the infinitive, as in (13b) and (13c).

(13) a. *Nä-l-gup*   *ando-utɛ*   *paht-r-a*   *aj*
          woman-ADJZ-person   boat-PROL   jump-FRQ-AOR.3SG   and
          titi-ʒi-mba   ***paʒa-le-špɛ-gu.***
          begin-IPFV-PST.REP.3SG   chop-INCH-IPFV-INF
          'Женщина из лодки выпрыгнула и стала рубить.'
          'The woman jumped out off the boat and began to chop [the trees].'
          (KIA_2014_KatManPuch_trans_40, C: Narym)

       b. *Tab*   *ku-d-e-n*   ***kwen-gu***   ***laka-tte-ku-k***,
          3SG   person-PL-EP-DAT/ALL go.away-INF   begin-IPFV-ITER-3SG
          Id'e   *ku-d-e-n*   *aɣa*   *üdi-ld'e,*
          Itja   person-PL-EP-DAT/ALL   NEG   send-INT.PF.3SG
          pokko-m-de   *ora-l-lad'e.*
          net-ACC-3SG   hold-INCH-INT.PF.3SG

'Он к людям идти только захочет, мезгирь к людям не пускает, сетью его поймает.'

'If he wants to go to the people, Itja does not let him go, he catches him with the net.'

(ChDN_1983_ItjasTown_flk_16, C: Vasyugan)

c. *Kušā-göt   tat   lēma-p   **mē-gu   kuöttā-lǯa-l**,*
   when-LOC   2SG   board-ACC   do-INF   begin-INT.PF-2SG.O
   to   tärbē-š   manǯö-gu   kaj-l-ǯön   ē-ma.
   then   think-IMP.2SG   look-INF   what-ADJZ-DRV   be-COND.3SG
   'Когда ты начинаешь какое-либо дело, то обдумай, как его надобно кончить.'
   'If you begin to make something, then think about how to end it.'
   (KAO_1912_SmartPeople_trans_8, C: Tym)

In **Northern Selkup** there is only one example in the corpus containing a converb and the phasal verb *ūki-* 'begin', as in (14a). The only other phasal verb in the corpus is *olam-* 'begin'. It appears always in infinitive constructions where the infinitive of the lexical verb is melted with the finite form of *olam-*, as in (14b).

(14)   a. *Qum-i-t   **ami-r-lä   ūki-taltɔ̄-tit**.*
           person-EP-PL   eat-FRQ-CVB.I   begin-DRV-3PL
           'Люди кушать начали.'
           'The people start eating.'
           (BVP_1973_East_flk_42, N: Taz)

       b. *Nɨnɨ   **ili-q-olam-nɔ̄-tit**.*
           then   live-INF-begin-AOR-3PL
           'Потом жить стали (они-многие).'
           'Then they start to live.'
           (BIV_1941_KonMytyke_flk_34, N: Taz)

3.1.2. Type B

Type B consists of a lexical (motion) verb in a converbal form and a second motion verb, whereby the converb expresses the manner of motion (go, fly, run ...) and the finite verb expresses the path. In Talmy

(2007) these structures, which indicate the path with the main verb, are called *verb-framed*, in contrast to *satellite-framed* structures, which express the path preferably by a *satellite* of the verb (Talmy 2007: 153). The first type is typical of Turkic but atypical of Finno-Ugric languages (Talmy 2007: 72, Slobin 2000: 109). Bradley extends the allocation to all Uralic languages (Bradley 2016b: 126), but in all Samoyedic languages verb-framed motion events appear (not only under Turkic influence as postulated by Bradley). In (15a) to (15c) the path is included in the finite verb form, the manner of motion is not overtly expressed but is included in the context.

(15)   a.   Forest Enets (Siegl 2013: 170)

Nääku-ju-xo   *minxuda*   *očik*   *liđi-ru-ku-je*
other-TOP-INDEF   suddenly   bad   bone-LIM-DIM-PEJ

minxuda   **ođi-ma**   *pe-d*
suddenly   go.out-RES.3SG   outside-LAT.SG

'The other one, suddenly, the little bad bony guy came out.'

b.   Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014: 374)

Xas°-xəna   *to-wewaq*   *ŋæ̃-b°q-naq*   *t'uku°*
low.tide-LOC   come-PERF.PART.1PL   be-COND-1PL   this

yaw-°h   *to-h*   *m'uh*   *n'i-wewaq*   **t'uŋkuq**
sea-GEN   lake-GEN   into   NEG-INFR.1PL   enter.CONNEG

'If we had come when the tide is low, we wouldn't have entered this bay.'

c.   Nganasan (Wagner-Nagy 2019: 235)

ŋa-laa   *ma-tə*   **čii-Ɂə**.
mouth-LIM   tent-LAT   come.in-AOR.3SG

'The storyteller entered the tent.'

   Most examples of type B are from one of the **Southern Selkup** dialects (see Table 3 for an overview of all combinations), as in example (16).

(16)   *Aba-t*   **kur-l'e**   **t'ü-a-n,**   *k'ed'egu-m*   *t'abə-t.*
old.sister-3SG   run-CVB.I   come-AOR-3SG   basket-ACC   catch-3SG.O

'Старшая прибежала, кузов схватила.'
'Her older sister comes running to get the basket.'
(PMP_1961_ForestWoman_flk_123, S: Middle Ob)

Table 3. Combinations of motion verbs in Southern Selkup

Converb	Finite verb
tȫ- 'come', *taŋə-* 'crawl', *qwən-* 'go away', *wässa,* *timbi-* 'fly', *ǖtə-* 'send, let go', *ū-* 'swim'	*medi-* 'reach'
timbi- 'fly', *qwaja-* 'go', *tudi-* 'reach', *kur-* 'run', *ǖtə-* 'send, let go'	*tȫ-* 'come'
qwetə- 'catch', *tȫ-* 'come', *kur-* 'run', *tita-* 'walk'	*čāʒə-* 'go'
tanŋə- 'crawl', *mendi-* 'pass through'	*qo-* 'go'
pū- 'cross', *čanʒe-* 'go out', *laqqa-* 'move, work', *tita-* 'walk'	*qwən-* 'go away'
čači- 'leave'	*kwedi-* 'leave'
sape- 'spring out'	*čaʒe-* 'run'
taŋgi- 'throw out', *ū-* 'swim'	*ǖtə-* 'send, let go'

In all heroic songs from the **mixed dialect** examples of type B can be found, as in (17a) and (17b). The analysed combinations are listed in Table 4 below.

(17)   a. *Ku-la-m   pone   **čanʒe-le   kuan-na-det**.*
person-PL-1SG   outside   go.out-CVB.I   go.away-AOR-3PL
'My people went outside.'
(NN_1855_Hero3_song_309-310, Mixed)

     b. *Nat.kund   keba   kuene-k   **kur-a-lbele   tö-k**.*
there.long   small   brother-in-law-DIM   run-EP-CVB.II   come-3SG
'Meanwhile the small brother-in-law comes running.'
(NN_1855_Hero2_song_377-378, Mixed)

Table 4. Combinations of motion verbs in the mixed dialect

Converb	Finite verb
tȫ- 'come'	*medi-* 'reach'
kur- 'run'	*tȫ-* 'come'
tȫ- 'come', *qwən-* 'go away'	*alče-* 'fall'
para- 'return', *tȫ-* 'come'	*čaʒe-* 'go'
čanʒe- 'go out', *para-* 'return'	*qwən-* 'go away'
qoja- 'surround'	*čanʒe-* 'go out'

In **Central Selkup** texts only one speaker from the Narym subdialect uses motion verbs in converbal constructions. Table 5 gives an overview of all attested combinations. All examples are translations from Russian. The converbal form always precedes the finite verb form, as in (18).

(18)   *Tab*   ***čageti-mb-le***   ***tö-ha***   *lɨmb*   *mogo-gɨt*
       3SG   hurry-HAB-CVB.I   come-AOR.3SG   eagl   back-LOC
       tu-la-he.
       wing-PL-INSTR
       'Он примчался на крылатом орле.'
       'He rushed to winged eagle.'
       (KIA_2014_GiantZobel_trans_77, C: Narym)

Table 5. Combinations of motion verbs in Central Selkup

Converb	Finite verb
čagə- 'hurry'	*čaʒe-* 'go'
hokko- 'crawl'	*kɛntɨ-* 'sneak up'
čagə- 'hurry'	*tō̄-* 'come'

There are just a few examples from **Northern Selkup** texts (Taz dialect). All pairings contain *qən-* 'go away' as the finite verb form, the converbs differ (see Table 6). In (19) the kind of movement is 'to jump', expressed by the converb *paktɨ-* and the path is 'to go away', expressed by the finite form of *qən-*.

(19)   *L'ō̄s-ira*   *ɨnnä*   *šitti-čɨ-mpa-nɨ,*   *üŋŋɨntɨ*
       devil-old.man   up   wake.up-DRV-HAB-AOR.3SG   wolverine
       čā̄ŋka,   ***paktɨ-lä***   ***qən-pa-nɨ***.
       NEG.EX.3SG   jump-CVB.I   go.away-HAB-AOR.3SG
       'Черт-старик проснулся – росомахи нет, прыгнувши ушла.'
       'The devilish old man wakes up, the wolverine isn't there, it has hopped away.'
       (MIV_1977_Icha_flk_52, N: Taz)

Table 6. Combinations of motion verbs in Northern Selkup

Converb	Finite verb
pū- 'cross', *poqqitti-* 'settle.net', *tōpiri-*'berry', *pakti-* 'jump'	*qən-* 'go away'

3.1.3 *Type C*

Type C consists of a lexical verb in a converbal form and a semantically similar finite verb form. First analysis shows examples of five different speakers of the Ket' subdialects (Southern Selkup), as in (20a) to (20c). Furthermore there are two examples from the Southern dialect Middle Ob in (20d) and one example from the Northern dialect Taz in (20e). Examples of this type were not yet found in Central Selkup nor in Kamas (the closest related language to Selkup). Constructions differ in regard to the verbs which are used: it can be one and the same lexical verb[6] as *püta-* 'track down' in (20a) or semantically similar lexical verbs as *kuča* 'go to sleep' and *qonda-* 'sleep' in (20b), *tšuka-* 'worm' and *tä-* 'rot' in (20c), *tita-* 'walk' and *t'iɣe-* 'walk' in (20d) or *qätti-* 'beat' and *sɨl'l'altɨ-* 'break down' in (20e).

(20) a. *A   tita   uзo   püta-lelle*
          but   now   already   track.down-CVB.II
          pūta-lē-nda-t   säp-qa-nde-ŋ.
          track.down-INCH-IPFV-3SG.O   pocket-DIM-OBL.3SG-LOC.ADV
          'А потом уже, нащупывая, нащупал, из кармана.'
          'And then he feels his pocket.'
          (SVG_1964_IitekaPineweldju_flk_46, S: Upper Ket')

      b. *Awu-r-na-di,   īr-a-di   **kuča-l'e***
          eat-FRQ-AOR-3DU.O   drink-EP-3DU.O   go.to.sleep-CVB.I
          ***qonda-di**.*
          sleep-3DU.O
          'Они поели, попили и спать легли.'
          'They eat, drink and go to sleep.'
          (KMS_1966_TwoSisters_flk_42, S: Middle Ket')

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6   The finite verb form is derived, the suffix *-lē* forms an inchoative aktionsart, but the meaning of the lexeme remains the same.

c. *Na   sūrum   wät't'e   **tšuka-r-l'e**   **tä-mba**,*
   this   wild.animal   meat   worm-VBL-CVB.I   rot-PST.REP.3SG
   tšuka-m   üt-man   tādə-r-i-t.
   worm-ACC   water-PROL   bring-FRQ-EP-3SG.O
   'Это зверя мясо, зачервивев, сгнило, червей по воде несет.'
   'This meat of the animal got wormily rotted, it takes the worms
   through the water.'
   (KNI_1964_ItjaCapeOfWorms_flk_69-70, S: Upper Ket')

d. *Kut'e-t   mat   **t'iɣe-lše-špa-ŋ**   **t'itta-r-lä***
   where-LOC.ADV   1SG   walk-TR-IPFV-1SG.S   walk-FRQ-CVB.I
   *tan   naj   man-nani   watto-qeŋ   **t'itta-r-lä***
   2SG   also   1SG-ADE   road-LOC   walk-FRQ-CVB.I
   ***t'ɨɣe-lǯe-šp-le-nt**.*
   walk-TR-IPFV-OPT-2SG
   'Куда я шагаю (наступаю; по следам, наступая в следы), насту-
   паю шагая, ты тоже по моим следам, шагая, наступай.'
   'Where I walk, you will also walk along my path.'
   (TFF_1967_ItjaAldigaPoenegesse_flk_6, S: Middle Ob)

e. *Iča   ıllä   paıl'-l'ä   **qätti-lä**   **sıl'l'alti-ŋi-ti**.*
   Itja   down   jump-CVB   beat-CVB.I   break down-AOR-3SG.O
   'Ича, вниз спустившись, ударив сломал (его).'
   'Itja climbed down and slayed (him).'
   (AVA_1973_Ichakicha2_flk_176, N: Taz)

3.1.4 Type D

Type D consists of a lexical verb in a converbial form and a finite
verb which has undergone a grammaticalization process of semantic
reduction and could act than as an auxilary while some meaning com-
ponents may retain[7]. So in (21) the meanings of the auxiliary 'to sit' and
of the converb 'to cry' are not in conflict with each other.

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[7]   Klumpp (2005: 401) uses the term 'semantically reducible' instead of 'semantically
      reduced' to describe this issue.

(21) ***Č'ǖ-r-le***   ***āmda****,*   *karre-l-ba.*
       cry-FRQ-CVB   sit.3SG   cry-INCH-PST.3SG
       'Плача, сидит горюет.'
       'She cries, cries out.'
       (SAA_1971_MoleWifeVar_flk_34, C: Narym)

Auxiliaries are inflected for different grammatical information such as tense, mood, person and number, while the converb expresses the semantic meaning and may be encoded for derivational suffixes. Auxiliaries in converbal constructions of type D will be divided here into initiotransformative, finaltransformative and nontransformative, following Johanson (1971) and Schönig (1984). Previous analyses show nine verbs which act as auxiliaries (cf. Table 7). In the interaction with the actional phrase (*Sachverhalt* in Sasse 1991), auxiliaries form different aktionsarten/(lexical) aspect meanings by emphasizing or eliminating boundaries (*Phasenspezifizierung* in Schönig 1984). These include durative, frequentative, iterative and habituative aktionsarten on the one hand, and ingressive, inchoative, egressive and resultative ones on the other hand.

Table 7. Auxiliaries in converbal constructions

transformative		nontransformative
initiotransform.	finaltransform.	
qalɨ- 'stay'	*tādǝ-* 'bring'	*čāȝǝ-* 'go'
qwandɛ- 'carry away'	*omdǝ-* 'sit down'	*ippi-* 'lie'
q(w)ǝn- 'go away'		*āmdǝ-/ɔmdǝ-* 'sit'
		nɨ- 'stand'

qalɨ- 'stay, remain'

The initiotransformative verb *qalɨ-* 'stay, remain' marks the left border of a an event, both with nontransfomative and initiotransformative actional phrases. There are several examples in Southern and Northern Selkup texts and in the mixed dialect. The examples from Southern (22a, b) and mixed (22c) dialects show *qalɨ-* in stative situations with converbs of *āmdɨ-* 'sit' (22a), *meše-* 'be ill' (22b) and *ora-* 'hold' in (22c). In the Northern Selkup example from Taz (22d) *qalɨ-* indicates a dynamic situation with the converb *nitǝ-* 'tear'.

(22) a. *Pēk'k'e*   *taw*   *pil'eka-ɣən*   **āmdi-l'e**   **qali-ŋ**.
      hazel.grouse   this   side-LOC   sit-CVB.I   stay-3SG
      'Рябчик на этой стороне, сидя остался.'
      'The hazel grouse stays sitting on this side.'
      (KMS_1966_MouseGray_flk_28, S: Middle Ket')

    b. *Kalabokka*   **meše-la-č-lä**   **qāla**   *i*   *ōl-tar-gāliŋ*.
      Kalabokka   ill-INCH-TR-CVB.I   stay.3SG   and   head-hair-CAR
      'Калабокка больным остался и без волос.'
      'Kalabokka remains sick and without hair.'
      (TFF_1967_KolobokkaPoenegessa_flk_28, S: Middle Ob)

    c. *Čuečo-nd*   *kətte-d,*   *čemn'a-n-d*   *ol-n-da*
      earth-ILL   beat-3SG.O   brother-GEN-3SG   head-GEN-3SG
      laga-p   **ora-lbele**   **kal-tte-d**.
      heap-ACC   hold-CVB.II   stay-DRV-3SG.O
      'He slams him onto the earth, grabs a part of the brother's head and keeps it.'
      (NN_1855_Hero4_song_41-43, Mixed)

    d. [...] *n'oma-l'*   *porqɨ-tɨ*   **nitqillē̆-lä**   **qallē̆-n-ti**.
      hare-ADJZ   clothing-3SG   tear-CVB.I   stay-AOR-3SG.O
      '[...] его заячья шуба порвавшись осталась (у них в руках).'
      '[...] ripped up his leporine fur coat and held.'
      (KMP_1971_NyomalPorky_flk_35, N: Taz)

qwandɛ- 'carry away'

There are two examples in the corpus using *qwandɛ-* 'carry away' as auxiliary. Like *qalɨ-* it marks the left border of a nontransfomative (23a), or of an initiotransformative (23b) event.

(23) a. *T'äptä*   *t'äk*   **köt-l'e**   **qwända-ku-t**.
      tale   fast   say-CVB.I   carry.away-ITER-3SG.O
      'Сказка быстро говорится.'
      'The tale is quickly told.'
      (AGS_1968_FairytaleSnake_flk_47, S: Middle Ket')

b. *Mat   ora-nna-p,   pone   **čače-le***
1SG   hold-AOR-1SG.O   outwards   throw-CVB.I
***kuanda-p**,   po-t   par-o-nd   čaps-a-p.*
carry.away-1SG.O   tree-GEN   top-EP-ILL   spear-EP-1SG.O
'I took her, throw her out on the street, put her on a tree.'
(NN_1855_Hero2_song_405-407, Mixed)

q(w)ən- 'go away'

In two examples *q(w)ən-* is used as an auxiliary. Both examples come from the Southern Selkup Ob dialect and resultative aktionsart is expressed. In (24a) the converb is formed from the telic intransitive verb *qow-* 'drown'. The auxiliary *kon-* 'go away', a variant of *q(w)ən-*, indicates that the boundary was crossed (resultative aktionsart). In (24b) *qwat-* 'go away' as a variant of *qwən-* occurs with the telic verb *säl-* 'sharpen'. The focus is here on leaving the situation that the converb describes.

(24)   a. *Sədə   qɨba   n'ē   qɨba.n'e   t'arɨ-ŋ   oj*
two   small   daughter   small.daughter   say-3SG   INTERJ
*paʒən'e   i   **qow-l'a**   **kon-ni-ŋ**.*
Baba-Yaga   and   drown-CVB.I   go.away-AOR-3SG
'Ой, две дочки, ой, две дочки, баба-яга кричала, и потонула.'
'Two little daughters, little daughters, oops, Baba-Yaga says and drowns.'
(PMP_1961_ForestWoman_flk_168, S: Middle Ob)

b. *Ī-wə-t   kɨbɨʒo   pawə-m   i   säl-d-sä*
take-AOR-3SG.O   small   knife-ACC   and   grinder-3SG-INSTR
*pō-qən   **säl-lä**   **qwat-tɨ-t**.*
stone-LOC   sharpen-CVB.I   go.away-DRV-3SG.O
'Взял маленький ножик и об точильный камень точить стал.'
'He takes a little knife and sharpens it with a grinder.'
(TFF_1967_KolobokkaPoenegessa_flk_10, S: Middle Ob)

tādə- 'bring'

The verb *tādə-* 'bring' is a finaltransformative auxiliary. With final- and nontransformative actional phrases it serves as a resultative marker as well and shows that the action is finished. In general the action

is focused on a recipient and as a result the object is located at the recipient. *tādə-* occurs in Central and Southern Selkup texts. In the Ket' subdialect it is only attested in translated texts from Russian, as in (25a). In all Southern examples *tādə* in converbal constructions is used with the derivational suffix *-r-*, as in (25a) to (25c).[8] In Central Selkup and the mixed dialect there are also examples without derivational marker, as in (26a) and (26b).

(25) a. *Täp   qai-m-da=kka   **tutto-l'l'e   tādə-r-i-t**,*
         3SG   what-ACC-INDEF=EMPH   chew-CVB.I   carry-FRQ-EP-3SG.O
         sāttšim   kwäi-nə.
         severely   breath-AOR.3SG3
         'Он что-то жует и тяжело дышит.'
         'He is chewing something, breathing heavily.'
         (KMS_1968_Burbot_trans_137, S: Middle Ket')

     b. *A   nan   ugon   mazim   **qwa-l'e   tādə-r-ə-za-nt**.*
         and   so   earlier   1SG.ACC   beat-CVB   carry-FRQ-EP-PST-2SG
         'А как до этого ты меня бил!'
         'But earlier, you beat me.'
         (PMP_1961_BodylessHead_flk_111, S: Middle Ob)

     c. *Īd'ä-n   ald'əgə-t   nā   kätə-m   kuddar*
         Itja-GEN   grandmother-3SG   this   gut-ACC   how
         *ē-s   qwēs'e   **pel-le   tādə-r-ə-t**.*
         be-PST.3SG   backward   put-CVB.I   carry-FRQ-EP-3SG.O
         'Itja's grandmother made the stomach as it has been before.'
         (NN_1913_Itja_flk_71, S: Chaya)

(26) a. ***Ör-le   tatta-ut**   nedel   kund.*
         drink-CVB.I   bring-1PL   week   long
         'Гулять начали всю неделю.'
         'We celebrate the whole week.'
         (SAI_1984_StoryAboutLifeLong_nar_27, C: Narym)

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8   So far it is still not known how the *-r-* works in these constructions. It cannot be a frequentative suffix because of the (final)transformative meaning of the action. It is likely that it could be a transitive suffix or maybe the original frequentative meaning is faded and only the form is still fixed.

b. *Oker   madur   **waše-lebele**   **tado-ga-mba**   *ende-m*
   one   hero   fly-CVB.II   bring-ITER-PST.REP.3SG bow-ACC
   oran-ne-d.
   hold-AOR-3SG.O
   'A hero rose up, took the bow.'
   (NN_1855_Hero2_song_138-141, Mixed)

omdə- 'sit down'

   The second finaltransformative auxiliary is *omdə-* 'sit down'.
Examples can be found in all dialectal groups except Central. Similar
to other Samoyedic languages there ist a second lexeme *āmdə-/ɔmdə-*[9]
to express the atelic concept 'sit' (description below). Due to the lack
of a written standard it is often difficult to distinguish both lexemes.
Like *tādə-* above, *omdə-* marks the right border and forms resultative
readings if the actional phrase is final- or nontransformative, as in the
(27a–c).

(27) a. *Šar-uat-pa-ut,*   *sombla.kuel.səlt.saru*   *madur*
         talk-DETR-PST.REP-1PL   seventy.five   hero
         pür-k   **koja-lǯe-le**   **omna-mba-dat**.
         round-ADV   surround-TR-CVB.I   sit.down-PST.REP-3PL
         'We talked, seventy-five heroes made a circle.'
         (NN_1855_Hero3_song_262-266, Mixed)

      b. ***Unč'a-r-l'e***   ***ōmta-ɣi***.
         look.for.lice-FRQ-CVB.I   sit.down-3DU.S
         'Вшей искать уселись.'
         'They looked for lice.'
         (PMP_1961_ForestWoman_flk_59, S: Middle Ob)

      c. ***Nūni-či-lä***   ***omni-mpa-ni***.
         be.tired-DRV-CVB.I   sit.down-HAB-AOR.3SG
         'Уставши сел.'
         'He became tired.'
         (MIV_1977_Icha_flk_38, N: Taz)

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9   I.e. *amdi-* 'sit' and *omdə-* 'sit down' (Alatalo 2004: 10–11).

čāʒə- '**go**'

   With all other nontransformative auxiliaries the function of the verb *čāʒə-* 'go' is to mark an event as an unbounded situation. Examples can only be found in Southern Selkup (Ob and Ket' dialects), as in (28a, b) in which *čāʒə-* is paired with *oruw-* 'grow up'.

(28)   a.   *Qïban'aʒa*   *wārkə-n,*   *wārkə-n,*   *wārɣə-n*   **oruw-lē**
          boy   play-3sg   play-3sg   big-ADV   grow.up-CVB.I
          čāʒe-n.
          go-3sg
          'Ребёнок играет и играет, по-маленьку большой растёт.'
          'The boy plays and plays, it is growing up.'
          (PVD_1966_BoyDevil_flk_26, S: Upper Ob)

      b.   *Pür-u-ŋ*   *manʒe-sa-ŋ*   *qāzi*   *n'üʒa*
          round-EP-ADV   look-PST-3sg   Russian   grass
          oruw-l'e   ***tšāʒa-ŋ***.
          grow.up-CVB.I   go-3sg
          'Кругом росла осока.'
          'I saw Russian grass growing everywhere.'
          (PES_1964_Lgov_trans_53, S: Lower Ket')

ippɨ- '**lie**'

   Like *čāʒə-* 'go' the verb *ippɨ-* 'lie' also acts as a nontransformative auxiliary and forms stative or serial readings. Different from Kamas, in Selkup *ippɨ-* is always nontransformative, the initiotransformative meaning 'lie down' is expressed by another lexem (*pen-*). It is not possible to clearly identify the function of *ippɨ-* because there is only one example in the corpus in which *ippɨ-* is used in a converbal construction. In (29a) from the Southern Ob dialect, *ippɨ-* is used in the (unmarked) present tense form and expresses the continuance of the action. On the one hand, since ill people do often lie, the meaning of *ippɨ-* could also be the literal one. On the other hand, the very similar example (29b) from Tatar, analyzed by Schönig (1984: 236) as an auxiliary construction, may well support the auxiliary character of *ippɨ-*. More research is needed here to give a clear answer.

(29) a. *Ǖdə-min*   *tō̄-wa-q*   *ād'a-t*   *i*   *āwo-t*
        evening-PROL   come-AOR-3DU.S   father-3SG   and   mother-3SG
        a   *Kalabokka*   **meše-la-č-lä**   *eppa*   *i*
        but   Kalabokka   be.ill-INCH-TR-CVB.I   lie.3SG   and
        ol-tar-gālin.
        head-hair-CAR
        'Вечером пришли отец его и мать, а Калабокка, болея, лежит и
        без волос.'
        'In the evening his father and mother come and Kalabokka is lying
        around sick and without hair.'
        (TFF_1967_KolobokkaPoenegessa_flk_29, S: Middle Ob)

     b. Tatar (Schönig 1984: 236)
        Abïstay   *bik*   **awïrïp**   *yata.*
        woman.master   very   become.ill.CVB   lie
        'The old woman is very ill.'

āmdə-/ɔmdə- 'sit'

The nontransformative verb *āmdə-/ɔmdə-* 'sit' is the most frequent auxiliary in the corpus and can be found in all dialectal groups. It is the atelic counterpart to the finaltransformative auxiliary *omdə-* 'sit down' above. Different from the dynamic character of *čāǯə-* 'go' in (28a, b) above, *āmdə-/ɔmdə-* is stative. The auxiliary always marks durative, frequentative, iterative or habituative aspect readings/aktionsarten. Similar as in Kamas it can be observed that *āmdə-/ɔmdə-* is used in situations that can really take place in a sitting position, such as the constructions with *čū-/č'ū-* 'cry' in (30a, b) or *mīrse-* 'plane' in (30c).

(30) a. *əmi-tɨ*   **čū-ri-lä**   *ɔ̄mta-nɨ.*
        mother-3SG   cry-FRQ-CVB   sit-AOR.3SG
        'Его мать плача сидит.'
        'His mother cries.'
        (MIV_1977_Icha_flk_64, N: Taz)

     b. **Č'ū̄-r-le**   *āmda,*   *karre-l-ba.*
        cry-FRQ-CVB.I   sit.3SG   cry-inch-PST.REP.3SG
        'Плача, сидит горюет.'
        'She cries, complains.'
        (SAA_1971_MoleWifeVar_flk_34, C: Narym)

c. *Īrra*　　　*qwändǝ-ga-j*　**mīrse-tši-lle**　　**āmda**.
　　old.man　　old-DIM-ADJZ　plane-TR-CVB　　sit.3SG
　　'Старик старый, строгая, сидит.'
　　'The old man planes.'
　　(KNI_1964_ItjaCapeOfWorms_flk_23, S: Upper Ket')

ni- 'stand'

Similar to *āmdǝ-/ɔmdǝ-* 'sit' and *ippi-* 'lie' the verb *ni-* 'stand' always has a stative meaning. The inchoative-stative meanings 'stand up', 'put' or 'stop' are expressed by the derived lexeme *nile-* 'stand up' or different lexems (*utǝ-*, *malčǝ-* 'stop', *azi-, waʒǝ-* 'get up'). There is only one example in the corpus using *ni-* as an auxiliary (31). It is from the Central Selkup Vasyugan dialect and shows *ni-* in the aorist form, paired with *pudɨ-* 'breath'.

(31)　*Na*　　*korg*　　*akoška-t*　　*ko-ndɨ*　　*to-ga*,　　　*nɨndɨ*
　　　this　　bear　　window-GEN　side-ILL　come-AOR.3SG　here
　　　pudɨ-le　　　**ni-ŋa**.
　　　breath-CVB.I　stand-AOR.3SG
　　　'Это медведь к окну подошел, здесь стоит, дышит.'
　　　'This bear comes to the side of the window, stands there breathing.'
　　　(ChDN_1983_BearCameIntoVillage_nar_7, C: Vasyugan)

In the **mixed Selkup** dialect there are examples in which the telic verb *nile-* 'stand up' is used. In these examples it is paired with the intransitive verb *tō-* 'come', as in (32). According to Klumpp's description for Kamas (Klumpp 2005a: 405, 2005b: 19), *nile-* here has a mirative function. A formal equivalent can be found in the Turkish *-(V)p turur* (cf. Johanson 2000: 72).

(32)　*Nagur-mʒǝli*　　*katkaek*　　**tö-le**　　　**nile-ʒe-k**.
　　　three-ORD　　　1SG.DAT/ALL　come-CVB.I　stand.up-DRV-3SG.S
　　　'The third (hero) suddenly stands in front of me.'
　　　(NN_1855_Hero4_song_131-133, Mixed)

4. Conclusions

Starting from the observation that there are much more examples of converbal constructions of the type **converb + finite verb** in Southern Selkup than in other Selkup dialect groups, the present study was designed to provide an overview of different types of converbal constructions in the Selkup dialect groups Northern, mixed, Central, and Southern on the basis of the *Selkup Language Corpus*. The converbal constructions have been divided on a preliminary basis into four groups A–D. The classification of type D is oriented to analogous constructions in Tatar (Schönig 1984) and Kamas (Klumpp 2002). It can be observerd that some lexical verbs in converbal constructions may have undergone a grammaticalization process (Figure 1 below) and developed into auxiliaries to different degrees.

lexical verb > aspectual auxiliary > aspectual suffix

Figure 1. Grammaticalization path[10].

Different phasal verbs are part of converbal constructions of type A (3.1.1). Similar to transformative auxiliaries (*qalɨ-* 'stay', *qwandɛ-* 'carry away', *q(w)ən-* 'go away', *tādə-* 'bring', *omdə-* 'sit down') they express the beginning or the end of an action. In contrast to the latter, phasal verbs do not specify the phase structure of the converb construction they are contained in (Schönig 1984: 269). Only the beginning of an action is expressed. It remains to be examined whether and which of the phasal verbs with the meaning 'to finish' could be a finaltransformative auxiliary as in Mari and Tatar (Bradley 2016a, Schönig 1984).

Converbal constructions expressing complex motions belong to type B (3.1.2). They occur in all dialectal groups: Southern (16), mixed (17a, b), Central (18) and Northern (19). The converb expresses the manner of movement, the finite verb form refers to the path of the action and so modifies the converbal meaning. It should be further discussed whether the semantic meaning of finite verbs belonging to type B also is somewhat bleached and whether they actually are on the

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[10]   The grammaticalization of lexical verbs as auxiliaries has been extensively studied cross-linguistically, e.g. Heine/Kutcheva (2002).

grammaticalization path above, namely between the first (lexical verb) and the second stage (auxiliary).

There are some special converbal constructions in Type C, where the actional phrase is emphasized by consisting of identical (20a) or similar (20b–e) lexemes in the converbal form and in the finite verb form. The examination of further language data may specify this type more precisely.

Verbs of the fourth type D are at the second stage of the grammaticalization path above. They serve as auxiliaries to express different (lexical) aspect meanings. Following Johanson (1971) and Schönig (1984) they can be further subdivided into initiotransformative, finaltransformative and nontransformative auxiliaries (Table 7 in 3.1.4). Auxiliaries are semantically reduced but a part of the original meaning can be preserved. The function of auxiliaries is to mark durative, frequentative, iterative or habituative aktionsarten (non-transformative verbs *čāžə-* 'go', *ippɨ-* 'lie', *āmdə-/ɔmdə-* 'sit' and *nɨ-* 'stand') on the one hand, and ingressive, inchoative (initiotransformative verb *qalɨ-* 'stay', *qwandɛ-* 'carry away' and *q(w)ən-* 'go away') as well as egressive and resultative aktionsarten (finaltransformative verbs *tādə-* 'bring' and *omdə-* 'sit down') on the other hand.

It becomes apparent from Table 8 that most auxiliaries appear in one of the Southern Selkup dialects. As there are similar converbal constructions (atypical for Uralic languages) in Kamas, Mari and Udmurt that have developed under Turkic language contact (Khakas for Kamas, Chuvash for Mari, Tatar for Udmurt), it could be expected that there is also a Turkic influence on Selkup converbal constructions of type D.

Table 8. Distribution of auxiliaries in Selkup dialects

	Northern	Central	mixed	Southern
initiotransformative				
qalɨ- 'stay'	+		+	+
qwandɛ- 'carry away'		+		+
q(w)ən- 'go away'				+
finaltransformative				
tādə- 'bring'		+	+	+
omdə- 'sit down'			+	+

	Northern	Central	mixed	Southern
nontransformative				
čāǯə- 'go'	+			+
ippi- 'lie'	+	+		+
āmdə-/ɔmdə- 'sit'	+			+
ni- 'stand'		+	+	

Southern Selkup dialects (and especially Ket' dialects) were in contact with Chulym, a Turkic language (Tuchkova and Kuznetsova 2010). In the Chulym example (33) the finite verb *kän-* 'send' is already merged with the converb *čättig-* 'choke' and thus on the way to become an aspectual suffix (the last stage of the grammaticalization process). The Turkic-Selkup language contact might be one explanation for the different frequencies of using converbal constructions within the Selkup dialectals groups.

(33)   *Čättig-ip-is-kän.*
        choke-CVB-send-PST.3SG
        'He choked.'
        (Lemskaya 2012: 304, Chulym)

Different from Kamas, two lexemes can be distinguished in Selkup to express 'sit' and 'sit down'. Both verbs act as auxiliaries, *āmdə-/ɔmdə-* 'sit' as nontransformative, *omdə-* 'sit down' as initiotransformative. The nontransformative auxiliary *ippi-* 'lie' has no telic cognate. Here other lexems are used to express the meaning 'lie down'.

Because analyses just have started, the statements about the current status of Selkup converbal constructions as well as the classification of verbs using as auxiliaries are preliminary. Furthermore, a look at additional Selkup language data as well as similar constructions in other Samoyed (Nenets, Enets, Nganasan, Kamas) and in contact languages (for example Chulym) might provide new insights.

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Abbreviations

ADE – adessive, AOR – aorist, CAR – caritive, CVBI – simple converb, CVBII – complex converb, DAT/ALL – dative/allative, DETR – detransitive, DIM – diminutive, DRV – derivation, EMPH – emphatic, EP – epenthetic vowel, FRQ – frequentative, GEN – genitive, HAB – habituative, ILL – illative, INCH – inchoative, INDEF – indefinite, INSTR – instrumental, INT.PF – intensive perfective, INTERJ – interjection, IPF – imperfective, IPFV – imperfective verbal, ITER – iterative, LOC.ADV – locative adverbial, NEG – negative particle, NEG.EX – negative existencial verb, O – objective conjugation, OPT – optative, ORD – ordinal number, PROL – prolative, PST.REP – past reportative, S – subjective conjugation, VBL – verbalizer

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Kokkuvõte. Anja Behnke: Konverbitarindid sölkupi keeles. Sölkupi keeles kasutatakse konverbe ja konverbitarindeid laialdaselt paljudes erinevates süntaktilistes funktsioonides. Siiski näitavad korpuseandmed märkimisväärseid esinemissageduse erinevusi sölkupi murrete lõikes (põhja-, kesk- ja lõunasölkupi). Lõuna-sölkupi murdes esinevad konverbitarindid enam kui kolm korda sagedamini kui kesk- ja põhja-sölkupi murretes. Sarnast põhja-lõuna vastandust on näha ka mõningate nende funktsioonide puhul, eriti liitpredikaatide puhul. Tekib küsimus, millest on selline esinemissageduste erinevus tingitud ja millised strateegiad vastavad kesk- ja põhja-sölkupi murretes lõunasölkupi konverbitarinditele.

Märksõnad: konverbitarindid, liitpredikaat, lõuna-sölkupi, kesk-sölkupi, põhja-sölkupi, korpus, turgi keelekontakt

Аннотация. Аня Бенке: Деепричастные конструкции в селькупском языке. В селькупском языке деепричастия и деепричастные конструкции широко используются в самых разных синтаксических позициях. Однако корпусные данные показывают значительные различия в частотности их употребления в разных диалектных группах (северной, центральной и южной). В южноселькупском конструкции с деепричастиями встречаются более чем в три раза чаще, чем в центральном и северном. Такое же разделение между севером и югом можно наблюдать и на примере некоторых функций, в особенности сложных предикатов. В этой связи возникают вопросы о причинах такой разницы в частотности и о том, какие стратегии используются в северном и центральном селькупском для выражения значений, которые в южноселькупском выражаются конструкциями с деепричастиями.

Ключевые слова: деепричастные конструкции, сложные предикаты, южноселькупский язык, центральноселькупский язык, северносель-купский язык, корпус, контакты с тюркскими языками