Aktionsart and multiple events in the selkup dialects

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Abstract

The study develops descriptive and comparative analysis of Aktionsart (actionality) in the Northern and Southern Selkup dialects and describes the structural-semantic characteristics of event plurality (multiple events) as a separate category. This approach provides a new perspective in which it is possible to classify the verb types of multiple events within above-mentioned dialects. The proposed classification also indicates that due to the development of Northern and Southern dialectal varieties there exists the difference in the usage of verb suffixes and this explains the development of homonyms (homomorphs) in the Southern dialects.

Key words: Selkup dialects, actionality, event plurality (multiple events), aspect verbal forms

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study¹ is a continuation of the research initiated by professor Andrey Dulzon, a distinguished investigator of the languages of Central Siberia. In 1947 Dulzon worked out a special program for investigating languages of indigenous peoples. It also continues work done by the linguists in different aspects of the Selkup dialects involving phonetics, morphology (nouns, adjectives, numerals), pronouns and verbs (Helimsky, Kuznetsova, Grushkina 1980, Bikonya 1996, Kim 1987, Bekker 1978, Morev 1973). A few scholars (Kuznetsova 1995, Galtsova 1993) considered the grammatical category of verbs in the Southern Selkup dialects, with verbal aspect being emphasized. It inspired the further research in Samoyed languages (Northern and Southern Selkup dialects) the results of which were reported on in "Essays on Selkup Dialects. Taz dialect"² (1980) where the linguists proved that the grammatical category of verbal aspect is perfective and imperfective.

Despite the fact that there exist numerous works analyzing various aspects of the languages of Siberia, as well as grammatical and morphological aspects of the Selkup dialects, however, the concept of multiple events of different verbs in Southern and Northern dialects has not been elaborated. Thus, the purpose of the present research is to provide distinct structural-semantic characteristics of linguistic means that express actionality in the Selkup dialects, i.e.:

- description of suffixes used in forming actionality in the Southern dialects;
- classification of multiple events of Southern dialect verbs in relation to quantitative aspectuality and aspectual meanings of perfective and imperfective forms;
- comparison of specific features of the Northern and Southern dialects in relation to mode of action.

Being neglected in the Selkup dialects, actionality (Aktionsart) and verb plurality have been intensively studied in other different languages from various

¹ The empirical base of this paper is 5000 examples of syntactic units of the language materials from the field archives of Dulzon¹ and the data collected by Liudmila Bolsunovskaya during her linguistic expeditions to the village Parabel, Tomsk Oblast (1996).¹

² Here and elsewhere 'Essays on Selkup dialects' will be abbreviated as 'ESD'.

perspectives. In Dressler the sematic field of verb plurality was construed more broadly (Dressler 1968: 7-8). The maximal model of verb plurality comprises:

1) iterative modes of action, which includes discontinuative, repetitive, duplicative, reversative, frequentative, conative, alternative;

2) distributive modes of action, which includes subject distributive, object distributive, dispersive, diversative, ambulative;

3) continuative modes of action, which includes usitative, durative, continuative;

4) intensive modes of action, which includes intensive, attenuative, accelerative, exaggerative, pejorative, asseverative.

Cusic (1981: 64) essentially follows Dressler's view of the meanings covered by verbal plurality and claims that a sematic category should include the multiplicity of actions, events, occurrences and so on, but, in addition, whatever indicates extension or increase, whether in time or space, of actions or states of affairs. Xrakovskij (1997: 7-8) considers verb plurality to be a subcase of lexical aspect and stresses that three logically independent semantic attributes, multiplicity, duration and intensity are included into the semantic field of quantitative aspectuality. More specifically Xrakovskij considers verb plurality to correspond to Maslov's quantitative aspectuality (1978: 19) who defined the concept of quantitative aspectuality which qualifies actions and states 1) by the number of "times" or by an interrupted vs. uninterrupted realization; 2) by the degree of duration and 3) by the degree of intensity. Classification by the number of "times" distinguishes single-time (mono-temporal) and repeated (poly-temporal) actions and states which are further subdivided with respect to limitedness vs. limitlessness and regularity vs. irregularity of repetitions; and finally, permanent, ever-existing states and relations. With respect to degree of duration an action or a state can be of unlimited, limited or short duration up to a momentary action. Intensity can be "normal" (unspecified), low or high. According to Maslov (1978:19), in different languages various meanings of quantitative aspectuality are expressed as lexical, derivational and syntactical means of different levels. For example, it is characteristic for the Slavic languages to convey the quantitative aspectuality in different special aspectual meanings of the perfective and imperfective forms. In this case, the quantitative aspectuality acts as a kind of action, finds its lexical expression with the help of adverbs and adjuncts.

In recent years typological research on aspectual categories has been reflected in the works of such authors as Tatevosov (2002), Dahl (2000) and others describing a cross-linguistic variation in this domain.

An original concept was developed by the St. Petersburg linguistic scholars such as Tsibulchik (1995), Sorokina (1990) who have been studying the structural typology of different languages. Their concept describes the functional semantic category of multiplicity which embraces two types of plurality: uncertain plurality and certain plurality (indefinite and definite number) for both states (denoted by the nouns) and actions (denoted by the verbs), and, accordingly, for the situations in sentences. Multiplicity is correlated with the functional semantic field, being one of the key concepts of functional grammar (Xrakovskij 1986: 6). Functional semantic field consists of components which are combined with each other and express a particular characteristic meaning of plurality. These components form a unity termed as LONG SEMANTIC COMPONENT. Each component of this long semantic component contributes to the formation and expression of a common general meaning (Stepanov 1981: 257; Nikolaeva 1985: 105).

The category of indefinite number of events is presented by binary opposition: one situation (indefinite) vs. plurality of similar situations. The semantic feature or semantic category of event plurality implies a combination of two meanings: singularity and plurality (multiplicity), being not only a verbal lexical unit, but also

expressing a situation in a sentence. Singularity/ plurality is one of the functional elements in the conceptual field of aspectuality similar to the aspects of boundedness/unboundedness of an action (Bondarko 1991: 82). Therefore, there are three semantic types of the verbal multiple situations: multiplicative, distributive and iterative.

Multiplicity of situations can be expressed through different categories-lexical, grammatical, contextual, which, in its turn, are interrelated with the functional-semantic field, but at the same time, do not form a unified system (Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 22). For example, in Russian language the basic expression of the singularity/plurality situations includes the categories of aspect and modes of action, interacting with the important aspectual elements of the context. In this case, the perfective verb expresses a single situation, while imperfective verb expresses infinite discrete multiple situations.

According to Xrakovskij (1997:6) the plurality of situations can be expressed as multiplicative, distributive and iterative, which the authors of this article applied in describing the suffixal verbs of actionality in the Selkup dialects. This classification was distinguished by St. Petersburg linguists in describing Nenets (Tsibulchik 1995) and Enets (Sorokina 1990) dialects. According to Maslov (1959) and Comrie (1976), the existing criteria relative to aspectual meaning defines the time interval.

The overview of the relevant research in actionality and verb plurality allowed us to specify the most suitable methodological approach in describing and comparing structural-semantic characteristics of the linguistic means that express actionality in Selkup dialects. It includes descriptive, comparative, and structural analyses. This research is based on the interviews of people speaking to Selkup dialects - Northern and Southern, as well as language data of Dulson field recordings archive (Tomsk State Pedagogical University).

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Selkup belongs to the Samoyed branch of the Uralic language family. The Samoyed group embraces two branches: Northern Samoyed branch and Southern Samoyed branch. Northern Samoyed branch consists of Nenets, Nganasan and Enets languages. Southern Samoyed branch is presented by the extinct Motor, Koibal, Kamas, Karagas and Soyot languages and the only living unwritten language — Selkup. Due to the historical circumstances, Selkup is a set of dialects united by a common structural model of language, the sound elements of which make up the regular correspondences.

Today's Selkup ethnos includes two isolated groups - Southern (i.e. Narym) and Northern (on the Taz and the Turukhan). The common name, Selkups, is derived from the self-designation of one of the groups- the Northern Selkups, living in the Taz River basin. This name can be applied to all the other dialects and local groups of the 1930s and the 1980s. According to the available 2010 census the population of Selkups in Russia was approximately 1800 including Central Selkup: 200 speakers, Northern Selkup: 1000 to 1, 500 speakers and Southern Selkup: less than 100 speakers.

In the historical period, in spite of the active assimilation, movement and migration of the Selkup people, the Selkup language has been documented in an abundance of dialects and vernaculars. In nineteenth-century works, these are referred to as the Tomsk Samoyeds, or the Ostyak Samoyeds of the Tomsk Government. They are one of the aboriginal peoples of the Tomsk Oblast. According to the 2010 census they numbered 1180; that is 0.10 % of all the Tomsk population. The habitation area of the Southern Selkups is almost completely confined within the limits of today's Tomsk Oblast: Kargasok Region, Parabel Region, Verkhneketsk Region and

Kolpashevo Region; a smaller number of the Selkups (from 10 to 30 people) also live in Aleksandrovsk, Bakcharsk and Molchanovsk Regions.

Groups of dialects	Marks	Selkup settlements where language data were recorded and published sources
Northern	Taz	- published materials of G.N. Prokofiev - Essays on Selkup. Taz dialect. Part II
Northern	Yen	Yanov Stan, Farkovo, Baiha, Baklanikha, Pakuliha, Surgutikha, Ratta, Kellog, Upper Imbatsk, Vorogovo, Yartsevo
Middle Selkup dialects	Vas	Novo-Yugino, Ust-Chizhapka, Chizhapka, UpperVoldzha
Middle Selkup dialects	Tym	Nyulyadrovo, Vandzhylkynak, Lymbelkaramo, Napas, Varganandzhino, Kuleevo
Southern	Nar	Tebenyak, Tyuhterevo, Laskino, Parabel, Nelmach, Sagandukovo
Southern	Ob	Togur, Ivankino, Inkineno, Novo Sondrovo, Tiskino, Baraksanovo, Kostenkino, Tayzakovo, Staro Sondrovo
Southern	Ket	Bely Yar, Karelino, Maksimkin Yar, Lukyanovo, Ust-Ozyornoye, Zubrekovo, Markovo, Makovskoye

Table 1. Northern and Southern dialect areas of Selkup language (T. Janurik).

Besides Selkup language territorial division into dialect zones, there exists a dialect continuum gap influencing the development of the dialect differentiation in the Selkup language territory itself (Helimski 1983). The language data analysis based on the Selkup dialect classification was suggested by Janurik (Janurik 1978: 77-104). He distinguished three groups of dialects: the Northern Selkup dialects including Taz, Turuhan and Eloguy dialects, the Middle Selkup dialects and the Southern Selkup dialects which embrace Vasyugan, Ket, Tym and Ob dialects (Table 1).

3. VERB TYPES OF MULTIPLE EVENTS IN SELKUP DIALECTS

The focus of this paper is on the modes of action and verb plurality in the Selkup dialects. This section shows the classification of three categories of verbs indicating multiple events. It includes multiplicative, distributive (object and subject), and iterative.

3.1. Verbs indicating multiple events (multiplicative)

Multiplicative (verbs indicating multiple events) is multiple occurrence of the situation taking place; the sets of actants in all the repeated situations are identical; the repetition takes place at the same period of time, i.e. at the moment of speaking or around the time of speaking.

The verbs indicating multiple events are non-finite verbs, indicating a series of repetitive micro actions in a relatively short time interval which remain identical during this time interval. These are perception verbs describing either the physical action or non-progressive action. Most of these verbs can be characterized as sound-sight-thinking or imaginative ones, the latter being defined by Kharitonov (1960; 138-

39). In most cases these verbs have specific grammatical features – not only phonetic, but also morphological which can be found in the descriptive grammar of many languages (Kharitonov 1960: Rassadin 1978; Essay in Selkup Dialects [ESD I]: 100-101; Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 25). Multiplicative verbs are compared to semelfactives, which indicate one of the (micro) actions in a series (Maslov 1965: 77; Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 25). Correspondingly, the meaning of multiplicatives can be closely correlated with the semelfactive meanings. The intervals between micro actions, forming multiplicative series, are rather small, approximately identical, which can be considered as a nominal construction. These intervals are RARITY - increasing intervals between repeating micro actions and / or weakening of sound-visual effects produced by each of the repeating micro actions and SEPETIVE - decreasing intervals between repeating micro actions or intensification of sound-visual effects produced by each of the repeating micro actions (Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 296).

If the interval between the micro actions is less than the nominal construction and a number of single semelfactive actions forming this series are restricted, then this is DELIMITATION. If the interval between micro action series is more than the nominal construction and the number of single semelfactive actions forming this series are unrestricted, then this is DURATION. (Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 296).

Rarity, sepetive, delimitation and duration are considered to be the basic multiplicative types. The specific meaning of multiplicative types distinguishes either unidirectional or multi-direction actions. Dressler (1968: 65) defined this type as alternative. If the subsequent action is the anti-action of the previous one reversing the consequence in the semelfactive series, this multiplicative type is DUPLICATE (Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 296).

In the Selkup dialects multiplicative and semelfactive verbs have specific suffixes. Semelfactive verbs are momentary aspect verbs as defined by Prokofyev (1935: 61) and Varkovitskaya (1947: 19). These verbs are defined as momentary perfective verbs in “Essay in Selkup Dialects” (ESD I: 228).

In Taz dialect¹ the grammatical semelfactives are characterized by:

[ä̀tə:l] – disyllabic affix as a reduced vowel which is dropped out: cap-[ä̀tə:l]-kwə - ‘to drop / to fall a drop’ (single action) < capi-kwə - ‘to drip’(repeated action); tint-[ä̀tə:l]-kwə - ‘to swear / to curse’ (single action) < tinti-kwə - ‘to cuss’ (repeated action).

[tə:l] – disyllabic affix as consonant or vowel different from [-i-]: kupaccə:lkwə (<*kupaf-[tə:l]-kwə) - ‘to fist’ (single action) < kupaf-kwə - ‘to punch’ (repeated action); sala-[tə:l]-kwə - ‘to peep in’ (single action) < sala-kwə - ‘to glare’ (repeated action).

[kwilə:] – monosyllabic affix: tu:-[kwilə:]-kwə - ‘to scull’ (single action) < tu:-kwə - ‘to roll / to paddle’ (repeated action); nip-[kwilə:]-kwə - ‘to suck’ (single action) < nim-kwə - ‘to suck’ (repeated action).

[ɔ:l, -al] through associated stems: tapp-[ɔ:l]-kwə, tapp-[al]-kwə - ‘to kick’ (single action) < tappirkwə - ‘to stump’ (repeated action); putt-[ɔ:l]-kwə, putt-[al]-kwə - ‘to dash’ (single action) < putirkwə - ‘to splash’ (repeated action) [ESD I: 228]).

While in the Southern group of Selkup dialects the verbs of momentary aspect (semelfactive) are formed in the following way:

[kwil] – monosyllabic affix: Ket. kwət-[kwil]-gu - ‘to cough / to give a cough’ (single action) < kwət-gu - ‘to hoop/ to whoop’ (repeated action); kβej-[γil]-gu - ‘to heave a sigh / to draw a breathe’ (single action) < kβej-gu - ‘to sigh’ (repeated action).

¹ Here and elsewhere abbreviations of the presented Selkup dialects are given in Table 1.

[al/-əl] – affix for other word-stem structures: Ket. nass-[al]-gu - ‘to tumble / to roll out’ (single action)< nassi-gu - ‘to slide’(repeated action); lakwkw-[əl]-gu -‘to move off / to get under way’ (single action)< lakwkw-i-gu - ‘to stir / to move’(repeated action).

Although the grammatical semelfactives are formed from imperfective verbs in the Selkup dialects and are rarely lexical multiplicatives, in both cases, they are always related to the perfective aspect, which can be described in such Selkup dialects as Taz and Ob through different semelfactive verbs with characteristic suffixes (Table 2).

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Taz	1	<i>nit-qile:-kwə</i> <i>nita-kwə</i>	‘break off / be torn’ ‘to rip’	Kwä: saltip team nit-kwile:- ḡiti – Tə:mnäḡka innä pakta na kwä: salto:kwini [ESD II: 12] Kwä: salti-p team nit-kwile:-ḡ-iti Tə:mnäḡka birch.stump-SG.ACC as soon as break.off-SEM-PRS- 3SG.obj Tomnanka innä pakt-B ¹ -a na kwä: salto:-kwini prev jump-PRS-3SG.sub DEM birch.stump-SG.LAT ‘She pulled out ² birch stump – and Tomnanka jumped out of this birch stump’
Ob	2	<i>tapp-əl-gu</i> <i>tappir-kwə</i>	‘to kick’ ‘kicked’	kwßalla məyunnə tə’ünde:yönde tō:la tə’ündəmdə tapp-əl-öde innə ³ kwßal-la mə-yunnə tə’ünde:-yon-də tō:-la go-CVB1 house-SG.LOC1 horse-LOC1-SG.Px3SG come- CVB1 tə’ünde-m-də tapp- əl-B-öde innə horse-SG.ACC- Px3SG kick-SEM-PRS- 3SG.obj prev **Going to a house

¹ In the Selkup dialects the verbs in the Present Tense are characterized by indicators placed between the verb-stem and person-number inflexion and could be influenced by the final phoneme of this or that stem. In some cases the indicators expressing Present Tense could be omitted. Thus, [B] expresses the omission of this or that indicator. (Selkup dialect dictionary edited by O.A. Kazakevich 2010: 321)

² Here and elsewhere in text examples grammar tense of verbs disparity is in glosses and translation. According to ESD I:235, the Present Tense verb form is referred to a verb form in the Past Tense, especially in the case of narrative past tense forms.

³ Here and elsewhere, text examples of the Southern dialects were taken from the fieldwork archive of A. Dulson in TSPU (1952-1985).

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
				coming up to his horse, horse he kicked' Px3SG kick-SEM-PRS-3SG.obj prev *‘Going to a house coming up to his horse, horse he kicked’

Table 2. Examples of grammatical semelfactive verbs with characteristic suffixes in the Selkup dialects-Taz and Ob

By adding the suffix [(m)bi] to the grammatical semelfactive, grammatical multiplicative is formed presenting quite a different meaning as seen in the following dialects:

(3) Tym, Nar, Ket, Ob. andal-[bi]-gu - ‘looking forward to’ in comparison to andal-gu ‘be glad/happy or rejoice (at, in)’.

(4) Ket, Ob. kwøndol-[bi]-gu - ‘to sleep’ < kwøndol-gu - ‘to fall asleep’.

As it has been stated, grammatical multiplicative can also be formed from lexical semelfatives:

(5) Tym, Nar. lari-[mbi]-gu ‘be afraid’ < lari-gu ‘to be frightened’.

(6) Ket. pəru-[mbi]-gu ‘to burn’ < pərru-gu ‘to flare up / to burst into fire’.

It should be mentioned here that lexical multiplicative suffix [(m)pi] forms durative verbs at the same time. This can be seen in the Selkup dialect Taz. manni-[mpi]-kwə ‘to look’ < manti-kwə ‘to glance’; orqil-[pi]-kwə ‘to hold’ < orqil-kwə ‘to grasp / to catch’ [ESD I: 220].

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
az	7	<i>ti-mpi-kwə</i> < <i>ti-kwə</i>	‘fly’ ‘is flying up’	su:rup kəltəmit takwkwi <u>ti-mp-a</u> [ESD II:65] su:rup kəltə-mit takwkwi ti-mp-B-a bird-SG.NOM river-SG.PROL ADV fly-DUR-PRS-3SG.sub ‘A bird is flying over the river Yenisei’
b	8	<i>lari-mbi-gu</i> < <i>lari-gu</i>	‘be afraid’ ‘be frightened’	pən urgu lari-mb-ak pə-n ur-gu lari-mb-B-ak night-SG.GEN swim-INF be.afraid-DUR-PRS-1SG.obj ‘I am afraid to swim at night’
	9	<i>laŋkwi-mpi-gu</i> < <i>laŋkwalgu</i>	‘is shouting’ ‘to shout’	laŋkwi-mp-an küntelane kündla te’a:zət əndit laŋkwi-mp-B-an künte-la-ne künd-la te’a:-z-ət shout-DUR-PRS-3SG.obj horse-PL-LAT horse-PL.NOM go-PST-3PL.sub əndit REFL ‘(He) is shouting at the horses, but horses are going themselves’
ar	10	<i>andal-bi-gu</i> < <i>andal-gu</i>	‘look forward to’ ‘be glad’	tabin aʃid and-al-b-i tabin aʃi-B-d and-al-b-B-i 3SG.Px mother-SG.NOM-Px.3SG be.glad-DUR-PRS-3SG.sub ‘His mother is glad’
	11	<i>kwəndal-bi-gu</i> < <i>kwəndal-gu</i>	‘sleep’ ‘fall asleep’	im kwənd-al-bi-t im kwənd-al-bi-B-t father-SG.NOM sleep-DUR-PRS-3SG.sub ‘Father is sleeping’
et	12	<i>mandzi-mbi-gu</i> < <i>mandzi-gu</i> <i>tir̥yi-mbi-gu</i> < <i>tir̥yi-gu</i> <i>ləru-mbu-gu</i> < <i>ləru-gu</i>	‘to look’ ‘to glance’ ‘is trembling’ ‘tremble’ ‘be afraid’ ‘be frightened’	tido kaʃite mandzi-mba tir̥yi-mb-a ləzeni əpsə ləru-mba tido kaʃite mandzi-mb-B-a tir̥yi-mb-B-a here there glance-DUR-PRS.3SG.sub tremble-DUR-PRS-3SG.sub ləzeni-B əpsə ləru-mb-B-a

				devil-SG.NOM ADV be.afraid-DUR-PRS-3SG.obj 'Here and there is looking, is trembling, is afraid of devil'
as	13	<i>andal-bi-gu</i> < <i>andal-gu</i>	'be glad' 'looking forward to'	tab kaitkonaj aya and-al-b-a tab kaitkonaj aya and- al-b-B-a 3SG NEG.PRON NEG be.glad-DUR-PRS-3SG.sub 'He isn't being glad for anything'
	14	<i>kwondal-bi-gu</i> < <i>kwondal-gu</i>	'sleep' 'fall asleep'	ʃedi kupka kwond-al-b-ar ' ʃedi kup-ka kwond- al-b-B-ar two man-DU.NOM sleep- DUR-PRS-2DU.sub 'Two people are sleeping together'

Table 3. Comparative analysis of grammatical multiplicative verbs in different Selkup dialects

* The translation of the sentences is direct as they should be in the Selkup dialects

Another basic multiplicative type is rarity formed from the prepositional suffixes [-ti/-äpti-] which are more likely to be indicators of verb attenuation (ESD I: 231). Rarities are more typical for the Taz dialect of the Selkup language [ESD I: 100-101].

(15) tei'-[ti]-[mpi]-kwō 'to chink / to jingle' < tei'i-mpi-kwō 'to ring'.

(16) kä:ʃ-[ti]-[mpi]-kwō 'drip / drop (from time to time)' < kä:ʃi-mpi-kwō 'to flow'.

3.2. Verbs, indicating multi-events (distributive)

Distributive type of multi-events characterizes repeating actions taking place during one time period (which may be at the moment of speaking or going on around) and where, either each of many subjects acts separately (actant) or actions are performed separately with each other of many objects (circumstant) or each of many subjects acts in a separate direction (actant-circumstant).

In Selkup dialects the markers of multi-events are distributive verbs, i.e. grammatical distributives formed by suffixes. Prokofev (1935: 62-63), Varkovitskaya (1947: 19) termed them as multi-aspect verbs, while the authors of Essay in Selkup Dialects (1980: 224-226) and Helimski (Hel. 1983: 50) termed them as multi-subject and multi-object verbs. These types of verbs were first classified in the monograph Iterative Construction Typology (1989:34). Grammatical distributives are of two types in Selkup dialects: (1) subject distributives – actant-subject and (2) object distributives – actant-object. Accordingly, the following suffixes were defined for each of the distributive types (Table 4).

Grammatical distributive types	Prokofyev (1935)	Kuznetsova (1980)	Varkovitskaya (1947)	Helimsky (1983)	Modern Southern dialects
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Grammatical distributive types	Prokofyev (1935)	Kuznetsova (1980)	Varkovitskaya (1947)	Helimsky (1983)	Modern Southern dialects
Suffixes					
I Object distributives	<i>-kwəl(al)-</i> <i>-əl(al)-</i> <i>-</i> <i>-al-</i>	<i>-kwil(ɔ:l)-</i> <i>-</i> <i>kwäl(ɔ:l)-</i> <i>-äl(ɔ:l)-</i> <i>-l(ɔ:l)-</i> <i>-ɔ:l-</i>	<i>-kwəl(al)-</i> , <i>-kwəl(al)-</i> <i>-əl(al)-</i> <i>-</i> <i>-al-</i>	<i>-kil-/gil-</i> <i>-əl-</i>	<i>-kwil-</i> , <i>-kwäl-</i> <i>-əl-</i>
II Subject distributives	<i>-</i> <i>-əl(ə)-</i> <i>-ɔl(ə)-</i>	<i>-</i> <i>kwi(lɔ:)li-</i> <i>-kw</i> <i>ä(lɔ:)li-</i> <i>-äl(ɔ:l)i-</i> <i>-ɔ:li-</i>	<i>-</i> <i>-</i> <i>-ɔli-</i>	<i>-əli-</i>	<i>-kwil(i)-</i> , <i>-kwäl(i)-</i> <i>-</i> <i>əl(i)-</i>

Table 4. Suffixes of subject and object distributives defined by different authors

The different suffixes of subject and object distributive verbs are classified according to the basic structural type as object distributives (transitive derivatives from transitive stem) and subject distributives (non-transitive derivatives from non-transitive stem).

Object distributives (transitive derivatives from transitive stems) include the following stems, according to the classification in Essay in Selkup Dialects (1980: 225):

MONOSYLLABIC STEM WITH THE FOLLOWING SUFFIXES: [kwil], [kwäl] or [kwilɔ:l], [kwälɔ:l]:

(17) Taz. mɛ-[qil(ɔl)]-kwɔ, mɛ-[kwäl]-kwɔ - 'to have done a lot' < mɛ-kwɔ - 'to do'.

DISYLLABIC STEM WITH REDUCED VOWEL [äl-/älɔ:l] resulting in final vowel stem elision:

(18) min-[äl (ɔ:l)]-kwɔ - 'to fold in many places' < mini-kwɔ - 'to bend'.

DISYLLABIC STEM WITH NON-REDUCED VOWEL ENDING [l-/lɔ:l]

(19) nit-al (ɔ:l)-kwɔ - 'to tear into pieces' < nita-kwɔ - 'to rip'.

DISYLLABIC STEM WITH CONSONANT AND THREE OR MORE SYLLABLE STEMS [ɔ:l]:

(20) muŋkit-[ɔl]-kwɔ 'to have laid smth on one's bosom many times' < muŋkit-kwɔ 'to put in one's bosom'.

In the Southern dialects the object distributive suffix has only two versions: [kwil-/kwäl] and [əl].

The first is often monosyllabic in the Narym, Tym and Ob dialects:

(21) kwβat-[kwil]-gu - 'to have killed many' < kwβat-ku - 'to kill sb once'.

While the second version includes all possible structural stem types in

(22) Ket. sabat't'-[əl]-gu 'to drag out many' < sabas-ku, sabat'-ku 'to pull out'.

However, there is a tendency to generalize the suffix [kwil] as an object distributive indicator in the Southern dialects which indicates that this suffix [kwil] could be is an affix to many structural verb stems:

(23) Ket. miriγ-[γil]-gu 'to sell up / off' < mirig-gu, miriγ-gu 'to sell'.

(24) Nar. *ip*-[kwil]-gu - 'to hide many' < *ipp*(ə)-gu - 'to hide'.
These suffixes can be seen in the text examples (Table 5).

Selkup dialects	No	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Nar	25	<i>kwβat-kwil-gu</i> < <i>kwβat-ku</i>	‘to have killed’ ‘to kill’	mat füp kwβatkwilgisap mat füp kwβat-kwil-gi-s-ap 1SG snake-SG.ACC kill-OD-PST-1SG.obj ‘I killed a snake/snakes’
	26	<i>ti-kwil-gu</i> < <i>ti-gu</i>	‘drag out’ < ‘to pull out’	kwu:lat ti-γil-eʃpadət konne kwu:-la-t ti-γil- eʃp-B-adət konne man-PL.NOM. drag-OD-DUR-PRS- 3PL.obj ADV ‘People are dragging things up the mountain’

Table 5. Examples of object distributive suffixes in the Narym dialect

Subject distributives (non-transitive derivatives from non-transitive stems) have several suffixes, either the suffix [mpi] (in this case, the derivatives are referred to as the imperfective aspect) or suffixes [i:], [il'tei] showing intensive perfective aspect (in this case, the derived verbs are referred to as the perfective aspect). In Taz dialect, the subject distributive the classification of subject distributive stems is similar to the classification of object distributive stems (Essay in Selkup Dialects 1980):

MONOSYLLABIC STEMS [kwili], [kwäli], [kwilo:li], [kwälo:li]:

(27) kwən-[kwäli]-[mpi-kwə], kwən-[kwäli]-[mpi]-kwə - 'to go away (referring to many subjects)' < kwən-kwə 'to leave'.

DISYLLABIC STEMS WITH REDUCED VOWEL, i.e. [äli], [älɔ:li] with final vowel stem elision:

(28) ipp- [äli]-[mpi]-kwə - 'to lie (referring to many subjects)' < ippi-
kwə - 'to lie'.

STEMS OF THREE OR MORE SYLLABLES [ɔ:lɪ]

(29) qatit-[ɔ:li]-[mpi]-kwɔ - 'to climb (referring to many subjects)' < qatiti-kwɔ - 'to climb'.

The suffixes [i:] and [i'ei] are intensive perfective subject distributive suffixes and are nominally associated with reflexive verbs, formed from transitive verbs of distinct structure classes (derivatives based on the suffixes [kwil], [l], [al], [ɔ:l] and adding the suffix [i]. Thus, subject distributives and reflexive verbs in the Taz dialect have practically identical suffix formation, however, the subject distributives are derivatives from intransitive stems, while the reflexive verbs are transitive ones

The extended study showed that the subject distributive and object distributive indicators in the Southern dialect group have two versions: [kwil(i)/-kwal(i)] and [ɛl(i)].

The first of which combines with monosyllabic stems:

(30) Ket. kwu-[γil(i)]-gu -‘to have died (referring to many subjects)’ < kwu:-gu - ‘to die’.

(31) Nar. tō-[γal]-gu - ‘to have come (referring to many subjects)’ < tō-gu -‘to come’.

While the second combines with all the other suffix stems:

(32) Tym ning-[ɛli]-gu ‘are standing (referring to many subjects)’ < ning(ə)-gu - ‘to stand’.

(33) Tym, Nar., Ket., Ob amd-[el(i)]-gu ‘are sitting(referring to many subjects)’ < amdi-gu - ‘to sit’. (Table 6).

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Taz	34	<i>ʃɛ:r-äli-kwɔ</i> < <i>ʃɛ:r-kwɔ</i>	‘many came in’ ‘come in’	Kwumit pɔ:kwini mɔ:tti ser-äli-ntɔtit, tɔ:l pɛlä kɔkwɔnti illä ɔmt-äli-ntɔtit [ESD II: 8] Kwumi-t pɔ:kwini mɔ:t-ti ser-äli-nt-ɔtit tɔ:l person-PL.NOM ADV house-SG.ILL come-SD- PRS-3PL.sub DEM pɛlä-l kɔkwɔnti illä ɔmt-äli- nt-ɔtit side/place-ADJz ADV prev sat SD-PRS- 3PL.sub ‘People from the street came into the wigwam, sat in the far places’
Ob	35	<i>ɔmd-ɛli-gu</i> < <i>ɔmdə-gu</i>	‘many people sit down about’ ‘to sit down’	kwula andɔnd ɔmd-ɛl- adɛt kwu-la andɔ-nd ɔmd-ɛl-B-adɛt man-PL.NOM boat- SG.ILL sit-SD-PRS- 3PL.sub ‘People sat into the boat’
Nar	36	<i>amd-ələ-gu</i> < <i>amdi-gu</i>	‘many are sitting’ ‘to sit’	madɛt ʃündz’ɛt kɔtɛ’ɛŋ kwula amd-ɛlə-mba:dɛt madə-t ʃündz’ɛ-t kɔtɛ’ɛŋ kwu-la house-SG.GEN yard- SG.Px3SG many person-PL.NOM amd-ɛlə-mb-B-a:dɛt sit-SD-DUR-PRS- 3PL.sub ‘In the house many

				people were sitting'
Tym	37	<i>ning-eli-gu</i> < <i>ningi-gu</i>	'many stand' 'to stand'	koteek kwut ning-el-a:dit koteek kwu-t ning-el-B-a:dit many man-PL.NOM stand-SD-PRS-3PL.sub 'Many people are standing'
Yen	38	<i>ɔl'dɛ-ɛli-kɔ</i> < <i>ɔl'dɛɔ-kɔ</i>	'many are falling' 'to fall'	patii teobei mi ɔl'dɛ-ɛl'i-ndɔtin titɔndə patii teobei mi ɔl'dɛ-ɛl'i-nd-ɔtin titɔ-ndə yellow leaf-SG.NOM fall-SD-PRS-3SG/PL.sub ground-SG.ILL 'Yellow leaves are falling on the ground'

Table 6. Examples of subject distributive suffixes in different Selkup dialects

The study revealed that the subject distributive indicator differs from object distributive indicator in the more or less consistent usage of the suffix [i]. This suffix forms reflexive verbs from consonant stems in the Southern dialects. Selkup suffixes of semantic mode found in Kuznetsova (1992: 90-291; 1995: 63) can be seen in the following examples:

(39) Ket. sūd-[i]-[kku]-gu - 'to sew smth by oneself' < sūt-ku 'to have sewn', sūt-ku-gu 'to sew'.

(40) Ket takkwil-[i]-gu, Taz. takkwil-[i]-kwɔ - 'to get together' < Taz. takkwil-kwɔ, Ket. takkwil-gu - 'to have gathered'.

As the subject distributive indicator in the Southern dialects combines practically two different types of distributive verbs because of the insufficient usage of the suffix [i], it can also indicate the plural form of some actants (subject, object).

Besides the above- mentioned versions of grammar distributives (subject and object), there are also diversatives in Southern Selkup dialects, which are formed by the preverb [mal] meaning 'separating' and preverb [jitə] corresponding to the numeral jide (jidə) meaning 'two' and transferring the meaning 'splitting / separation' to the verb (Bikonya 1980:187-188). These diversatives can be seen in the

Ob and Yen dialects which are well defined in the following text examples (Table 7).

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Ob	41	<i>mal</i> <i>kwβangu</i> < <i>kwβangu</i> ,	‘to break up; to part, to separate’ ‘to leave; to go away, to go off; to depart’	mad’et kwula βɛf mal kwβandat mad’ɛ-t kwu- la βɛf mal kwβa-nd-at forest-SG.GEN man- PL.NOM all prev go.away-PRS-PST- 3PL.sub ‘All the hunters went away’
	42	<i>fidə</i> <i>t’əkkəlgə</i> < <i>t’əkkəlgə</i> <i>gu</i>	‘to arrange / to set up’ ‘to put / to place’	tap nəngəs təbəmd fidə d’əkbəst tap nəng-əs təbə-m-d fidə 3SG stand- PST.3SG.sub foot- ACC-Px.3SG prev ‘He was standing with his legs apart’
Yen	43	<i>fidə</i> <i>kwənkwo</i> < <i>kwənkwo</i>	‘to break up; to part, to separate’ ‘to leave; to go away, to go off; to depart’	mineral’a kwumət fidə kwəssuadət mineral’a kwumə-t fidə kwəs-s-uadət hunting.man- PL.NOM prev leave-PST-3PL.sub ‘The hunting men left’
	44	<i>fitə</i> <i>sətə’ekwə</i> < <i>sətə’ekwə</i> ɔ	‘to grow, to expand; to spread (out)’ ‘to grow up’	pot kundət fitə sə:təmbəadət po-t kundə-t fitə sə:tə-mb-əadət tree-SG.GEN root- PL.NOM prev grow- PSTR-3PL.sub ‘Tree roots spread out’

Table 7. Examples of diversatives in the Southern Selkup dialects - Ob and Yen

Quasi-distributives are also related to the specific distributive meanings within the described semantic domain. This meaning implies the existence of a cohesive actant, subject or object, consisting of quasi-independent parts, where every subsequent repeating action affects one part or another of the actant, while all further

repeating actions affect actant as a whole (Iterative Construction Typology 1989:40). In the Selkup dialects, quasi-distributive meaning is expressed not only by object distributive forms, but also by object diversative forms, which are formed from the semantic stem meaning ‘divide into parts’, ‘do something by pieces/ do something bit by bit’. The quasi-distributive meaning can be expressed either by object distributive forms or by object diversative forms in different Selkup (both Southern and Northern) dialects. The following Table 8 and Table 9 illustrate the object distributive forms and object diversative forms.

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Taz	45	<i>nita-lɔ:l-kwɔ</i> < <i>nita-kwɔ</i>	‘to tear into shreds’ ‘to tear’	na ɲɔmal’ porqi-ti muntik nita-lɔ:l-potit qälit [ESD II: 30] na ɲɔma-l’ porqi-ti muntik nita-lɔ:l-p- otit DEM hare-ADJz skin-SG.Px3SG all tear-OD-PSTR- 3PL.obj qäli-t nenets-PL.NOM ‘Nenets tore his rabbit fur coat into shreds’
Ket	46	<i>matete-el-gu</i> < <i>matei-gu</i>	‘cut into many pieces’ ‘to cut, to cut off’	mat pu:nam kusɔkwkwalandə matɛlssam mat pu:na-m kusɔkwkwa-la-ndə mate-el-s-am 1SG mushroom- SG.ACC piece-PL- ILL cut-OD- PST-1SG.obj ‘I cut the mushroom into pieces’

Table 8. Quasi-distributive meaning expressed by object distributive forms

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Ob	47	<i>mal padɛlkwu</i> < <i>padɛlkwu</i>	‘to chop into several pieces’ ‘to chop’	tap pɔp mal padɛlzet ‘ tap pɔ-p mal padɛl-z-et 3SG tree-SG.ACC prev chop-PST- 3SG.obj ‘He chopped the log into several pieces’

Vas	48	<i>ʃiti patealkwə</i> < <i>patealkwə</i>	‘split into several pieces’ ‘to split’	tep kilip nɔɡur minde ʃit pateälsitə tep kili-p nɔɡur mi-nde ʃiti pate-äl-s-itə 3SG fish-SG.ACC three part-SG.ILL prev cut-ODIV-PST- 3SG.obj ‘He split the fish into three pieces’
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Table 9. Quasi-distributive meaning expressed by object diversative forms

Grammatical distributives can also be formed from verbs, indicating an action in an action. In this case, the finite/derived verb defines the action taking place by sequence. The following text example from the Narym dialect show how the action changes by the usage of this or that suffix:

Nar. (49) *nadi kujem köskugu kwal'men pe:-[ɣil]-gu.*

nadi kujem kösku-gu kwal'men pe:-ɣil-gu

MOD IND.PRON go-INF find-OD-INF

One should go somewhere, find something (many things).

In this case, *pe:-ɣil-gu* means ‘search for many things’ and is based on the verb *pe:-gu* -‘seek, look for’. Thus, the meaning of the grammatical distributives changes with the help of the suffix [ɣil] which shows one action after another action.

According to the study analysis and detailed description of the different distributive suffixes in Selkup dialects, these indicators don't express other multi-event meanings, i.e. iterative and multiplicative. However, those suffixes which define distributive meanings are considered to be homonyms (homomorphs) among suffixes of the inchoative aspect and semelfactive aspect. The number of such homonym pairs is limited in the Northern dialects, while they are rather numerous in the Southern dialects. This relationship between multi-objects and suffixes (semelfactive, inchoative and ingressive aspects) in the Northern and Southern dialects is described in Table 10.

Stem-formation type	Northern dialects Taz (ESD I)		Northern dialects Taz (ESD I)		Southern dialects		Southern dialects	
	Multi-objects	Semelfactive suffixes	Multi-objects	Inchoative suffixes	Multi-objects	Semelfactive suffixes	Multi-objects	Ingressive suffixes
Mono-syllable stems	- <i>kwil</i> -, - <i>kwäl</i> -, - <i>kwilɔ:l</i> -	- <i>kwile</i> -	<i>kwili</i> - <i>kwäli</i> <i>kwälɔ:li</i> + <i>-mpi</i> -	<i>lläli</i> -	<i>kwil</i> -, - <i>kwäl</i> -	<i>kwil</i> -, - <i>kwäl</i> -	<i>kwil</i> (i)- <i>kwäl</i> (i)-	<i>le</i> - <i>al</i> (i)-, - <i>el</i> (i)-

			-i:-; - i:l'tei-) kwilɔ:li-					
Disyllable stems with reduced vowel	-äl-, - älɔ:l-	-ätɔ:l-	-äli- -älɔ:li- + -mpi- -i:-; - i:l'tei-)	äli- }	el-	al-, -ɔl-	el(i)-	el(i)-
Disyllable stems with non-reduced vowel	l-, - lɔ:l-	tɔ:l-	INA	li-	NA	NA	NA	NA
Consonant disyllable stem	ɔ:l-	tɔ:l-	-ɔ:li- + -mpi-(- i:-; - i:l'tei-)	eläli	el-, - kwil-, - kwäl-	ɔl-	el(i)- el(i)-	el(i)- el(i)-
Three/more syllable stems	ɔ:l-	NA ¹	-kwili- kwäli- kwälɔ:li - + - mpi- -i:-; - i:l'tei-) kwilɔ:li-	lläli- }	NA	NA	el(i)- el(i)-	el(i)- el(i)-
Connected stem	NA	ɔ:l-, - al-						

Table 10. Relationship between multi-objects and suffixes (semelfactive, inchoative and ingressive aspects) in the Northern and Southern dialects

3.3 Verbs, indicating multi-events (iterative)

Iterative type of multi-events is characterized as a relatively regular repeating situation with an identical group of actants, happening during one time period, excluding the moment of speaking and/or any other actual moment. Intervals between the repeating situations can be considered relative to certain conditional norms. If these intervals are more frequent than the conditional norms, this is irregular repetition, but if these intervals are not so frequent, then this is a very regular repetition. In this case, iteratives showing long intervals between repeating situations

¹ INA – information not available

are DISCONTINUATIVE, while iteratives showing short intervals between situations are FREQUENTATIVE. If the situations including iterative plural is described as an empirically observed probable regularity, then it has a usitative meaning (Iterative Construction Typology 1989: 48-49).

Iterative markers of multiple events are expressed by iterative verbs in the Selkup dialects. Prokofyev (1935:62) and Varkovitskaya (1947:19) termed such verbs as repetitive aspect verbs, while the authors of “Essays of Selkup Dialects: (ESD I: 219) and Helinski (Hel. 1983: 50) termed them as usitative (usual) perfect verbs. The general function of Selkup iterative verbs is to denote usitative repetition. All the verbs, having iterative suffixes are translated into Russian as imperfective aspect.

Depending on the structure stem types iterative verbs in the Selkup dialects have the following suffixes: [kki/-kku/-ki/-ku] which are added to vowel stems and [ki/-ku/-gi/-gu] added to consonant stems (Table 11).

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Ob	50	pal'd'u-ku-gu < pal'd'u-ku tunda-ku-gu < tunda-gu apstimbiku-gu < apstimbi-gu	'to go from time to time' 'to walk' 'to drag / to carry from time to time' 'to have brought' 'to feed from time to time' 'to feed'	obat pal'd'ukus n'arəyə sai pət't'ei kwβəlal'l'e kazni t'el kwβəli tundakus koijamdi apsti-mbi-ku-zat oramdzizat oba-t pal'd'u-ku-s n'arəyə sai elder.sister- SG.NOM-Px3SG go-IT-PST.3SG.sub red-eyed pət't'ei kwβəlal'l'e kazni t'el kwβəli tunda-ku-s chebak-SG.NOM fish- CVB1 everyday fish-SG.NOM carry- IT-PST.3SG.obj koija-m-di apsti-mbi-ku-z-at oramdzi-z-at bag-SG.ACC-Px3SG feed-DUR-IT-PST- 3SG.obj bring.up- PST-3SG.obj 'The elder sister went fishing for red-eyed 'chebaks' every day, she brought fish, fed her younger sister and brought her up'

Selkup dialects	№	Verb	Meaning	Text examples
Nar	51	kβaja-kku-gu < kβaja-gu	‘to go from time to time’ ‘to walk’	mat kuʃak βarkizak okkirle mat kwβəlteigu kβaja[kki]zak mat kuʃak βarki-z-ak okkirle mat kwβəltei-gu 1SG INTER.PRON live-PST-1SG.sub ADV 1SG fish- INF kβaja-kki-z-ak go-IT-PST- 1SG.sub ‘How long I live, I went fishing all the time’
	52	<i>pakwtal’ɖi-kku-gu</i> < <i>pakwtal’ɖi-gu</i>	‘to jump from time to time’ ‘to jump’	<i>ŋäja pɔ:kwanne ai</i> <i>pɔ:ndə pakwtal’ɖi-</i> <i>kku-ŋ</i> <i>ŋäja</i> <i>pɔ:-kwanne ai</i> <i>pɔ:-ndə</i> <i>pakwtal’ɖi-kku-ŋ</i> squirrel-SG.NOM tree-SG.ABL and tree-SG.ILL jump- IT-PRS.3SG.sub ‘A squirrel is jumping from one tree to another’
Tym	53	<i>üdi-ku-gu</i> < <i>üdi-gu</i>	‘to let somebody in from time to time’ ‘to let in’	<i>kanan madip</i> <i>atteʃpad kudinajap</i> <i>a: üdi-ku-t</i> kanan madi-p atteʃ-ʃp-B-ad kudinaja-p dog-SG.NOM house- SG.ACC guard-DUR- PRS-3SG.obj NEG.PRON-SG.ACC a: üdi-ku-B-t NEG let.anybody- IT-PRS-3SG.obj ‘A dog guards the house, doesn’t let anybody in’

Table 11. Examples of iterative (usitative) verbs

Iterative verbs can also express concrete -process meaning:

Nar. (54) βot paja a:tei-[ku]-d ärap a ära netu netu.

βot paja	a:tei-ku-B-d	ära-p	a	ära
netu				
old.woman-SG.NOM	wait.for-IT-PRS-3SG.obj	old.man-SG.ACC	NEG	
old.man-SG.NOM	be.absent			

‘The old woman is waiting (from time to time) for the old man but he isn’t coming and isn’t coming’.

In this case, a:tei[ku]gu means ‘to wait from time to time’ and a:tei-gu - ‘to wait’.

Selkup iterative verbs suffixes [(k)ki-/-(k)ku] can also express the future semantically, i.e. non-realized action, however, it does not have its own future form. (Kuznetsova 1995:22):

Ket. (55) taünanni kwain assi teandzi[ku]ŋ

taünanni kwain assi teandzi-ku-ŋ

in summer nothing NEG come.out-FUT/IT-3SG.sub

‘In summer nothing will come out of it’

In this case, the iterative verb suffixes are teandzi-[(k)ku]-gu - ‘to come out of’ < teandzi-gu - ‘to have come out of’.

This phenomenon has analogues, for example, in the Slavic languages, expressing the meaning of multi-frequentative verbs (iteratives) and are sometimes termed as non – actual, due to the absence of such a feature as ‘present moment’ (Vey 1958: 184; Němec 1964: 159-160; Kopečný 1965; Typology of Iterative Constructions 1989: 14). That is why frequentative verbs can be used to define unrealized situations. In Bulgarian language frequentative verbs are eventual, i.e. massing the “readiness to do something”. Frequentative verbs having eventual, as well as marginal meanings are typical for the Czech language (Typology of Iterative Constructions 1989: 47).

Besides, the verb suffixes of usitativity, there are also verb suffixes of frequentativity in the Selkup dialects. There are several of them in the Taz dialect (ESD I: 231-232):

[ɔkwu- (-akwu-, -äkwu-) + [mpi]

(56) n’ikt-[ɔ:kwu]-[mpi]-kwɔ - ‘to hiccup repeatedly’ < n’ikti-kwɔ - ‘to hiccup’.

[l’tei]

(57) kwɔ:ti-[’tei]-kwɔ - ‘to glisten’ < kwɔ:ti-mpi-kwɔ - ‘to shine’.

[ɔl’- ~ -al’- ~ -äl’] + [pi] or + [teir]

(58) sump-[äl’]-[pi]-kwɔ - ‘to hum’ < sumpi-kwɔ - ‘to sing’.

However, there is only one suffix of frequentativity in the Southern dialects, i.e. [ɔkwi-(-ɔkwu-, -ikwi-)] + [mpi]:

Nar. (59) ʃɛ:r-[ɔyi]-[mbu]-gu - ‘to come in, to call in often’ < ʃɛ:r-gu - ‘to come in’.

Ob. (60) koralɔz-[oyu]-[mbi]-gu ‘to allow often’ < koralɔz-gu ‘to let, to allow’.

In the Selkup dialects the suffixes of verb multiplicity can blend with two and / or more functionally close suffixes which may influence one form on the historical development of another form to which it may be related in meaning. Multiplicative and distributive iteration, subject distributive multiplication are observed at the formal level:

The multiplicative iteration in the Narym dialect:

(61) mat kuzanai a: lari-[mbi]-[kβ]-ak kwaikunnai .

mat kuzanai a: lari-mbi-kβ-B-ak kwaikunnai

1SG NEG..ADV NEG be.afraid-MULT-IM-1SG..obj NEG.PRON
 'But I am never afraid of anybody (from time to time)'

The distributive iteration in the Narym dialect:

(62) mat jüp kwβat-[kwil]-[gi]-sap.

mat jü-p kwβat-kwil-gi-s-ap

1SG snake-SG.ACC kill-ID-PST-1SG.obj

'I killed many snakes (from time to time)'

The subject distributive multiplication in the Narym dialect:

(63) t'ibægət pötpəl kadart teadz-[eli]-[mb]-a:t

t'ibægə-t pötpə-l kadar-t teadz-eli-mb-B-a:t

goose-PL.NOM warm-ADJz country-SG..ILL

fly-MSD-MULT-PRS-

3PL.sub

'Geese are flying (at the time) to a warm country'

The above-mentioned process – suffix blending of verb multiplicity for subject distributives is a widely spread process in the Selkup dialects. However, it should be noted that if multiplication of subject distributives in the Southern dialects is a stable tendency, then these subject distributives in the Northern dialects can be expressed only as a multiplicative form.

CONCLUSION

Event plurality in the Selkup dialects is a description of different multiple events. The verb stems in the Selkup dialects show several morphological features expressing the quantity aspect of the action itself. Morphologically, the following types of verbs denoting multi-events have been described as actant-subject (subject distributives) and actant-object (object distributives), repeating situations (iterative, usitative, frequentative), single action (semelfactive), frequent actions (multiplicative, durative, rarity), intensity and attenuation actions. These morphological attributes are related to two factors: description of repeating situations / multi- events and completeness of the action by verbal lexical units or word formations, as well as by sentence units, i.e. pairing of form and meaning. The discussed study described the structural – semantic characteristics of event plurality in the Selkup dialects, comparing the Northern and Southern dialects. Comparing the structural – semantic characteristics showed that both the Northern and Southern dialects have an identical set of suffixes to express the quantity and quality of the action. However, the formal perfective aspect in both these dialects differs in the following:

- in the Northern dialects there are several versions to express the perfective aspect, while in the Southern dialects there are only one-two versions based on numerous structural types: subject – object distributive, semelfactive and ingressive;

- in the Northern dialects to express a certain number of actions a combination of affixes is used, but in the Southern dialects only one morpheme (iterative, subject distributive, rarity);

- the development of homonyms (homomorphs) defining distributive meanings are typical of the Southern dialects, however this phenomenon does not exist in the Northern dialects.

We found that the explanation of the enlisted findings is that the Siberian languages are becoming endangered, which is particularly obvious in the Southern dialects of the Selkup language. The linguistic peculiarities that have been described show the continuous “destruction” of Siberian language environment. Only the Northern dialects have the chance to survive under dramatic situations as absence of written language variety, active assimilation, movement and migration.

Hopefully, the present work will contribute not only to further studies and understanding of the Selkup world perception, but also to promoting endangered language preservation programs which would be supported by governmental agencies.

APPENDIX A

Abbreviations used in the text examples

person	1	–	first	ILL – illative	OD – object distributive
person	3	–	third	IND.PR	ODIV – object diversative
			ON – pronoun	indefinite	
ablative	ABL	–		INF – infinitive	PL – plural
accusative	ACC	–		IT – iterative (usitative)	Px – possessive suffix
adverb	ADV	–		IM – iteration	PROL – prolative
				multiplication	
adjectivizer	ADJz	–		INTER.	PRON – pronoun
				PRON – interrogative pronoun	
adverbalizer	ADVz	–		LAT – lative	prev – preverb
simultaneous converb	CVB1	–		LOC 1 – locative 1	PRS – present
demonstrative pronoun	DEM	–		MOD – modal verb	PST – past
diminutive	DIM	–		MSD – multiplication subject distributives	PSTR – past resultative
	DU – dual			MULT - multiplication	REFL – reflexive
durative	DUR	–		NOM – nominative	SD – subject distributive
frequentativity	FREQ	–		NEG – negation	SEM – semelfactive
	FUT – future			NEG.PRON – negative pronoun	SG – singular
genitive	GEN	–		obj – objective conjugation	sub- subjective conjugation

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