

# From Differential Object Case Marking to Differential Object Indexation in Samoyedic

## Pathways to object marking

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### 0. Is there DOM in Early Samoyedic?

#### Differential object case marking (DOC)

##### Early Samoyedic

	singular		plural	
	definite	indefinite	definite	indefinite
nominative	-	-	*- <i>t</i>	*- <i>t</i>
accusative	*- <i>m</i>	-	*- <i>t</i>	*- <i>j</i>

There is DOC in Early Samoyedic (according to Katz (1979), Abondolo (1998) and Künnap (2006) among others).

Table 1: case / definiteness markers in Early Samoyedic

#### Differential object indexation (DOI)

◆ The conjugational subjective-objective split is nascent in Proto-Uralic. The objective suffixes have evolved from cliticized anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person personal pronouns (Abondolo 1998; Havas 2004; Körtvely 2005).

- In Early Samoyedic a set of verbal agreement suffixes indicated the occurrence of a 3<sup>rd</sup> person direct object.
- DOI did **not** yet exist in Early Samoyedic.

## 1. Argument Differentiation by DOC in Avamic Nganasan

### 1.1 Object case and definiteness marking in Avamic Nganasan

#### Avamic Nganasan

	singular		plural	
	definite	indefinite	definite	indefinite
nominative	-	-	-ʔ	-ʔ
accusative	(SA)- <i>m</i> -POSS	(SA)	(SA)-POSS	(SA)- <i>j</i>

Table 2: structural case/definiteness markers on nouns in Avamic Nganasan (cf. Hajdú 1988; Helimski 1998)

- (1) (a) *Sənəhūaa* ηəði-ʔə.  
larch(ACC) find-PF(3SG.SC)  
'He found a larch.' (Avamic) (kehy luu.114)
- (b) *Təti s'iti ηojbuə-tuə s'igiʔə n'a-m-tu* ηəli-ti.  
that two head-PRT.PRS ogre fellow-ACC-3SG(POSS) conquer-PRS(3SG.SC)  
'The two-headed ogre defeats his companion.' (Avamic) (NOS. kehy luu.052)

- (2) (a) *Tahariaa satara-ηku maa-güə hün's'əraə-d'əə latəə-j*  
 now polar fox-DIM what-CL ancient-ANT(ACC) bone-PL+ACC  
*ηonəi-ʔ təðə-ʔa.*  
 one\_more-GEN+PL bring-PF(3SG.SC)  
 'Then the little polar fox brings some old bones.' (Avamic) (mou djamezi.062)
- (b) *Bənd'ə tənɪʔia s'iar-t'i d'ebta-ʔa*  
 all(ACC) so affair-PL(ACC)+3SG(POSS) tell-PF(3SG.SC)  
 'He told all the news.' (Avamic) (mou djamezi.173)

## 1.2 Argument incorporation and objective conjugation

### 1.2.1 The Avamic Nganasan objective conjugation

#### Avamic Nganasan

	subjective	objective		
		singular	dual	plural
1SG	-m	-mə	-kəi-j-nə	-j-nə
2SG	-η	-rə	-kəi-j-tə	-j-tə
3SG	∅	-tu	-kəi-j-tu	-j-tu
1DUAL	-mi	-mi	-kəi-j-ni	-j-ni <sup>c</sup>
2DUAL	-ri	-ri	-kəi-j-ti	-j-ti <sup>c</sup>
3DUAL	-kəj	-ti	-kəi-j-ti	-j-ti <sup>c</sup>
1PL	-muʔ	-muʔ	-kəi-j-nuʔ	-j-nuʔ
2PL	-ruʔ	-ruʔ	-kəi-j-tuʔ	-j-tuʔ
3PL	-ʔ	-tuŋ	-kəi-j-tuŋ	-j-tuŋ

Table 3: verbal agreement suffixes in Avamic Nganasan (Helimski 1998; Wagner-Nagy 2002)

### 1.2.2 Finite verbs and direct objects in Avamic Nganasan

◆ Finite verbs inflected in the **objective** conjugation are usually in complementary distribution with clause-mate indefinite and definite pronominal as well as with indefinite and definite non-pronominal accusative objects (cf. (3,4)).

#### Subjective inflection

##### Pronominal objects

- (3) (a) *Tahariaa maara-j kotə-kə-ndu-ʔ.*  
 now any-ACC.PL+INDEF bag-ITER-PRS-3PL.SC  
 'Now they are bagging anything.' (Avamic) (NOS. mou djamezi.022)
- (b) *Bən'd'ə-ʔ sūi n'üəsij-t'i-ʔ təndə kobtuə-m-tuŋ n'üəsī-ndi-ʔ.*  
 all-PL she kiss-PRS-3PL.SC there girl-ACC.SG+DEF-3PL(POSS) kiss-PRS-3PL.SC  
 'All people kissed her, they kissed their girl there.' (Avamic) (NOS. kehy luu.196)

##### Non-pronominal objects

- (4) (a) *Kurəd'i-küə əndi ηün'ia-j mað-ə-j kat'əmə-sua-m mənə.*  
 what-CL sort\_of rich-ACC.PL tent-EP-ACC.PL see-PST-1SG.SC I  
 'I have seen some rich camps.' (Avamic) (NOS. kehy luu.137)
- (b) *ηonəi-ʔ s'igi ʔi-ʔ luu-ʔə-m-tu s'eri-ʔə.*  
 one\_more-GEN.PL ogre-GEN.PL parka-AUGM-ACC-3SG(POSS) put\_on-PF(3SG.SC)  
 'He had put on the ogres clothes again.' (Avamic) (NOS. kehy luu.149)

## Objective inflection

Finite verbs inflected in the objective conjugation realize anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person object personal pronouns by their specific agreement suffixes (cf. (5)).

- (5) (a) *S'eri-ʔə-ti* ...  
 put\_on-PF-3SG.OC  
 'He dressed her ...' (Avamic) (NOS. kehy luu.224)
- (b) *Manaküʔ timiniā nəðə-ʔə-mə tə*  
 just\_now now scrape-RES-PF-1SG.OC well  
 'Just now I started to scrape it.' (Avamic) (NOS. mou djamezi.231)

### Non-pronominal objects

In some cases the agreement suffixes of verbs inflected in the objective conjugation function as resumptive clitics of non-pronominal constituents that

- are assigned the PATIENT or THEME role and
- represent contextually presupposed information and
- are definite and promote a specific topic and
- are left-dislocated (cf. (6)).

- (6) *Dəntu-m-tuy kuntəgu kəmiā-ʔ-huāethu-ʔ.*  
 boat-ACC-3PL(POSS) long.LATADV take-VGS-INFR-3PL.SC  
 'They clutch at the boat for a long time.' (Avamic) (SM-06\_sluchaj.012)

*Takəə ɣənduj-t'üŋ ɣəðü-ɣü-rə takəə turka-ʔa-tə.*  
 that.remote boat-3PL(POSS) see-Q-2SG.OC that.remote(GEN) lake-AUGM-LAT  
 'Do you see their boat over there on the lake?' (Avamic) (SM-06\_sluchaj.026)

➔ The Avamic Nganasan objective suffixes **incorporate pronominal arguments**. In left-dislocation constructions they may be bound as resumptive pronoun.

★ ★ Avamic Nganasan has preserved or at least renovated DOC. The definiteness of lexical free objects is always additionally indicated by possessor agreement marking.

➔ Avamic Nganasan DOC has a discriminatory function. It distinguishes between arguments and their roles.

★ ★ Nganasan does not exhibit DOI. It represents a quite early stage with respect to the morphosyntactic development of the agreement morphemes constituting the objective conjugation.

## 2. Information Structuring by DOI in Tundra Nenets

### 2.1 Object case marking in Tundra Nenets

#### Tundra Nenets

	singular		plural	
	definite	indefinite	definite	indefinite
nominative	-	-	-ʔ	-ʔ
accusative	- <i>m</i>	- <i>m</i>	(SA)	(SA)

Table 4: structural case markers on nouns in Tundra Nenets (Mikola 1988; Hajdú 1988)

- (7) (a) *Jaxa xara t'a-xana job m'ad'iko-m xo-dm.*  
 river curve there-LOC one small\_tent-ACC find-1SG.SC  
 'After the bend of the river I found a small tent.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.076)
- (b) *Darka Wel'i teta xasawa n'u-m malca-xa-danta nixibta-da ...*  
 big Welji farmer man child-ACC malitsa-DAT-3SG.DAT pull-3SG.OC  
 'He caught hold of the malice of the son of the old Weli-farmer ...'  
 (Tundra) (NOS. tet weli teta.105)
- (8) (a) *P'i sawo jern'a p'ib'i s'era-dm*  
 night good in\_the\_middle boot(ACC+PL) put\_on-1SG.SC  
 'In the middle of the night I put on the boots.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.037)
- (b) *T'iki tí-da jarka, pod'er-ja-da.*  
 that reindeer(ACC+PL)-3SG(POSS) catch(3SG.SUBJ) harness-OBJ.PL-3SG.OC  
 'He caught and harnessed his reindeers.' (Tundra) (tet weli teta.022)

## 2.2 Objective inflection and information structuring

### 2.2.1 The Tundra Nenets objective conjugation

#### Tundra Nenets

	subjective	objective		
		singular	dual	plural
1SG	-m?	-w	-xaju-n	-j-n
2SG	-n	-r	-xaju-d	-j-d
3SG	∅	-da	-xaju-da	-j-da
1DUAL	-ní?	-mi?	-xaju-ní?	-j-ní?
2DUAL	-d'i?	-ri?	-xaju-d'i?	-j-d'i?
3DUAL	-x(V)?	-d'i?	-xaju-d'i?	-j-d'i?
1PL	-wa?	-wa?	-xaju-na?	-j-na?
2PL	-da?	-ra?	-xaju-da?	-j-da?
3PL	-?	-do?	-xaju-do?	-j-do?

Table 5: verbal agreement suffixes in Tundra Nenets (Körtvély 2005)

### 2.2.2 Finite verbs and direct objects in Tundra Nenets

◆ Finite verbs inflected in the **objective** conjugation only co-occur with free 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative objects that display a special pragmatic status.

#### Subjective inflection

##### Pronominal objects

- (9) (a) *To-d'ih ηamke-xəb'i taja-xh.*  
 each-3DU what-AFF+ACC.PL bring-3DU.SC  
 'Each of the two brought something.' (Tundra) (Nikolaeva p.161)
- (b) *Xumpanc'i? s'it ηədara-dəm-c'.*  
 in vain you(ACC) send-1SG.SC-PAST  
 'In vain I let you go.' (Tundra) (Nikolaeva. Labanauskas p.447)

### Non-pronominal objects

- (10) (a) *Məl'e ηob muŋk-m ηædara-ηku-s', ...*  
already one arrow-ACC send-FUT-PAST(3SG.SC)  
'He was about to send an arrow, ...' (Tundra) (Nikolaeva.Labanauskas p.446)
- (b) *S'ir'o s'eja-m-t xar'e-ba-waki.*  
directly heart-ACC-2SG(POSS) scare-CONT-PROB.PF(3SG.SC)  
'He is frightening your heart intentionally.' (Tundra) (NOS.tet weli teta.136)

### **Objective inflection**

Finite verbs inflected in the objective conjugation realize anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person object personal pronouns by their specific agreement suffixes (cf. (11)).

- (11) (a) ... *pod'er-ja-da.*  
harness-OBJ.PL-3SG.OC  
'He harnessed them.' (Tundra) (NOS. tet weli teta.022)
- (b) *Tad mane-ηa-da.*  
then behold-CO-3SG.OC  
'Then he realized it.' (Tundra) (NOS. tet weli teta.035)

### Non-pronominal objects

Finite verbs inflected in the objective conjugation co-occur with clause-mate non-pronominal accusative objects that

- represent contextually presupposed information and
- are definite and reintroduce or promote a specific topic (cf. (12))

- (12) *M'a-na? m'u-n'a t'et-wa?*  
tent-GEN.1PL(POSS) into-LOC four-1PL(POSS)  
'The four of us lived in our tent.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.004)

*M'a?-m'i? xo-m'i?*  
tent-ACC-1DU(POSS) find-1DU.OC  
'We found our tent.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.107)

*N'eb'a-m'i n'ud'a papa-ko-n'i n'a? jil'e xaju-we-xe?*  
mother-1SG(POSS) young brother-DIM-GEN.2SG(POSS) to live stay-NARR-3DU  
'My mother and my little brother were still alive.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.108)

- ➔ The Nenets objective suffixes index on the finite verb that the respective 3<sup>rd</sup> person direct object deviates from the prototypical PATIENT argument in that
  - its referent is topic-worthy
  - it promotes its referent to the main topic of the ongoing discourse
- ➔ The Nenets objective suffixes have gained **properties of ambiguous object agreement markers** (cf. Siewierska 2004) **and of topic markers** by grammaticalization and pragmaticalization.
- ➔ Nenets exhibits DOI.

**NOTE:** The **objective suffixes** of the Nenets finite verbs are **not transitivity markers** (contra Körtvély 2005; Künnap 2008) (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980; Næss 2007)

- verbs inflected in the objective conjugation are optionally stative, atelic, non-punctual, non-volitional, negated and have optionally irrealis or future markers
- subjects of verbs inflected in the objective conjugation are optionally low in potency
- objects of verbs inflected in the objective conjugation are optionally non-human, inanimate, abstract, not affected, not PATIENT-like

(13) (a) *Xa-b'ʔna-n'i*                      *taykuy*      *m'aʔ-m'i*  
 die-COND+EMPH-1DU.SC      that              tent-ACC+1DU(POSS)  
*m'aron-tə-n'i*                                      *me-bcake-w.*  
 dying tent-PRED-GEN+1DU(POSS)      use-POT-1SG.OC  
 'If we die, that (our) tent I will use as our death bed.' (Tundra) (Nikolaeva. Labanauskas p.454)

(b) *N'is'a-m'i*                      *jil'e-m'a-m-ta*                      *s'eroku-ta*                      *s'er wad'eja-da.*  
 father-1SG(POSS)      live-NMLZ-ACC-3SG(POSS)      separate-3SG(POSS)      affair tell-3SG.OC  
 'My father told me what he lived through in detail' (Tundra) (NOS. tesj. nisjami.086)

**NOTE:** The **objective suffixes** of the Nenets finite verbs are **not indicators of secondary topicality** (contra Nikolaeva 2001; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011)

- objects of verbs inflected in the objective conjugation often refer to primary topics

(14) *N'is'a-m'i*                      *tan'a*                      *n'eb'a-m'i*                      *tan'a*  
 father-1SG(POSS)      exist(3SG.SC)      mother-1SG(POSS)      exist(3SG.SC)  
*n'ud'a*      *papa-ko-m'i*                                      *tan'a.*  
 young      brother-DIM-1SG(POSS)      exist(3SG.SC)  
 'There is my father, my mother and my little brother.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.003)

*N'is'a-m'i*                                      *Tes'ada-ŋæ*      *pær-c'eti-da.*  
 father-ACC+1SG(POSS)      Tesjada-ESS      call-HAB-3SG.OC  
 'My father is called Tesjada.' (Tundra) (NOS. tesjada nisjami.006)

(15) *Xibya ti-m*                      *xada-da?*  
 who      reindeer-ACC      kill-3SG.OC  
 'Who killed the reindeer?' (Tundra) (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 129)

★ ★ Tundra Nenets has developed uniform object case marking. It does not exhibit DOC.

★ ★ Tundra Nenets exhibits DOI. The objective suffixes on Nenets verbs specify relevant pragmatic attributions of clause-mate 3<sup>rd</sup> person direct objects via an external agreement relation.  
 → Tundra Nenets DOI has an information structuring function.

### 3. Argument Differentiation by DOI in Forest Enets

#### 3.1 No object case marking in Forest Enets

##### Forest Enets

	singular		plural	
	definite	indefinite	definite	indefinite
nominative	-	-	-ʔ	-ʔ
accusative	(SA)	(SA)	-ʔ	-ʔ

Exceptions:  
 - singular nouns of class IIb  
 (- singular nouns of class I displaying a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor agreement marker)

Table 6: structural case markers on nouns in Forest Enets (Wickman 1955; Siegl 2013)

- (16) (a) *Eke pua enet'eʔ-ʔ mano-ŋa-ʔ-s'i oði oka e-ðo-ŋa*  
 this year person-PL tell-PRES-3PL.SC-DP berry many be-IPV-PRES(3SG.SC)  
 'This year people say that there are many berries.' (Forest) (Languedoc. otpusk.015)
- (b) ... *enet'eʔ-ʔ d'ikakuða-ŋa-i-ðu*  
 person-PL pick\_up-PRES-OBJ.PL-3PL.OC  
 'They pick up the people.' (Forest) (Languedoc. otpusk.034)
- (17) (a) *Molos' itu-ða silajguo-s' kan'i-bi-t'*  
 already hair-3SG(POSS) white-ESS go-NARR(3SG.SC)-PAST  
 'His hair had already become white.' (Forest) (NOS. text01.007)
- (b) *Mese-ro t'ike mert'il'i d'a-da ŋob-riu kaso-ta-ŋa-ða*  
 wind-2SG(POSS) this quickly earth-3SG(POSS) one-LIM get dry-CAUS-FREQ-3SG.OC  
 'This wind very quickly dries the earth.' (Forest) (Languedoc. otpusk.097)

### 3.2 Objective inflection and definiteness marking

#### 3.2.1 The Forest Enets objective conjugation

##### Forest Enets

	subjective	objective		
		singular	dual	plural
1SG	-ðʔ	-a, -u, -b	-xu-n	-i-n
2SG	-d	-r	-xu-ð	-i-ð
3SG	∅	-ða	-xu-ða	-i-da
1DUAL	-jʔ, -bʔ	-jʔ, bʔ	-xu-ńʔ	-i-ńʔ
2DUAL	-riʔ	-riʔ	-xu-ðiʔ	-i-ðiʔ
3DUAL	-xiʔ	-ðiʔ	-xu-ðiʔ	-i-ðiʔ
1PL	-aʔ, baʔ	-aʔ, baʔ	-xu-naʔ	-i-naʔ
2PL	-raʔ	-raʔ	-xu-ðaʔ	-i-ðaʔ
3PL	-ʔ	-ðuʔ	-xu-ðuʔ	-i-ðuʔ

Table 7: verbal agreement suffixes in Enets (Künnap 1999, Siegl 2013)

#### 3.2.2 Finite verbs and direct objects in Forest Enets

◆ Finite verbs inflected in the **objective** conjugation usually only co-occur with free 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative objects that are definite in some way.

##### Subjective inflection

###### Pronominal objects

- (18) (a) *Obu eke-n pon'i-ŋa-doʔ*  
 what this-LOC do-CO-2SG.SC  
 'What are you doing here?' (Forest) (NOS. text 39.004)
- (b) *Mod' s'it kojta-da-ð.*  
 I you(ACC) set up-FUT-1SG.SC  
 'I will trick you.' (Forest) (NOS. text 39.017)

###### Non-pronominal objects

- (19) (a) *Korida enču-ʔ mädöʔä.*  
 fisherman-PL see(3SG.SC)  
 'It catches sight of some fishermen.' (Forest) (Siegl. Mouse and Fish 20)

- (b) *Nebi-ŋa -ǝʔ i mu-ǝu-n' pe-ŋa-ǝʔ, ...*  
 run-CO-1SG.S and food-DEST-PL+1SG(POSS) look\_for-1SG.SC  
 'I am running and looking for something to eat, ...' (Forest) (NOS. text 39.005)

## Objective inflection

Finite verbs inflected in the objective conjugation realize anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person object personal pronouns by their specific agreement suffixes (cf. (20)).

- (20) (a) *Mod' nas'il tuda-a-bo-s'.*  
 I not easily recognize-PRES-1SG.OC-PAST  
 'I hardly recognized him.' (Forest) (NOS. text 01.009)
- (b) *Sirta-b-i-ǝa bočka mi-ʔ ...*  
 salt-PERF-OBJ.PL-3SG.OC vat(GEN) in-LAT  
 'They salted them into kegs.' (Forest) (Siegl. Two Fishermen 8)

## Pronominal objects

- (21) (a) *Mud' s'ita soiǝa-n täna-u.*  
 I him(ACC) good-PROL know-1SG.OC  
 'I know him well.' (Forest) (Siegl 252)
- (b) *Durt-a čiki.*  
 forget-1SG.OC this  
 'I forgot this.' (Forest) (Siegl. Living in the Tundra 8)

## Non-pronominal objects

- (22) *D'iri-bi ŋo -l'u d'a -xan tobik an' te.*  
 live-NARR(3SG.SC) one-LIM earth-LOC.SG mouse and reindeer  
 'There lived on the earth a mouse and a reindeer.' (Forest) (NOS. text 39.001)
- Te d'oxara-ǝa tobik, tobik d'oxara-ǝa te.*  
 reindeer not\_know-3SG.OC mouse mouse not\_know-3SG.OC reindeer  
 'The reindeer does not know the mouse and the mouse does not know the reindeer.'  
 (Forest) (NOS. text 39.044)
- (23) (a) *D'urak baǝa ŋubtoŋeʔ sujǝa-an tenεε-w*  
 Nenets language also good-PROL know-1SG.OC  
 'I also speak Nenets well.' (Forest) (NOS. text 01.017)
- (b) *D'a ǝǝterata-ǝa enet'eʔ-da ...*  
 earth feed-3SG.OC man-3SG(POSS)  
 'The earth feeds the man.' (Forest) (Languedoc. otpusk.149)

- ➔ The Forest Enets objective suffixes index on the finite verb that the respective 3<sup>rd</sup> person direct object deviates from the prototypical PATIENT argument in that
  - its referent is topic-worthy
  - it is definite
- ➔ The Forest Enets objective suffixes have become **ambiguous object agreement markers** (cf. Siewierska 2004) and **definiteness markers** by grammaticalization and pragmatization.
- ➔ Forest Enets exhibits DOI.



☆☆ Forest Enets has lost object case marking on nouns almost entirely. It does not exhibit DOC.

☆☆ Forest Enets exhibits DOI. The objective suffixes on Enets verbs indicate the definiteness of clause-mate 3<sup>rd</sup> person direct objects via an external agreement relation.

→ Enets DOI has a discriminatory function. It distinguishes between arguments and their roles.

## 4. Transitive Marking in Tym Selkup

### 4.1 Uniform agglutinative object case marking in Tym Selkup

#### Tym Selkup

	singular		plural	
	definite	indefinite	definite	indefinite
nominative	-	-	(SA)- <i>la</i>	(SA)- <i>la</i>
accusative	(SA)- <i>p(-m)</i>	(SA)- <i>p(-m)</i>	(SA)- <i>la-p(-m)</i>	(SA)- <i>la-p(-m)</i>

Table 8: structural case markers on nouns in Tym Selkup (Mikola 1988)

(24) (a) *Am-ni-d aamdeyo na n'aj-p i poxawal'iil čaamdže-p...*  
 eat-PRS-3SG.OC tsar that bread-ACC and praise frog-ACC  
 'The tsar ate that bread and praised the frog ...' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.037)

(b) *Mat awešpa-p n'uudž-ε-p moyer-t-paaroyet ...*  
 I eat-1SG.OC grass-EP-ACC meadow-GEN-on  
 'I was eating some grass on the meadow ...' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.006)

(25) (a) *Qonžer-xüüi-det pajaa-la ...*  
 see-PRS-3DU.OC woman-PL  
 'The women saw it ...' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.081)

(b) ... *oolu-nd pan-baa-det qweečdi swetki-lla-p.*  
 head-ILL put-DUR-3DU.OC beautiful flower-PL-ACC  
 '... they put beautiful flowers on their heads.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.063)

### 4.2 Objective inflection and transitive marking

#### 4.2.1 The Tym Selkup objective conjugation

##### Tym Selkup

	subjective	objective
1SG	- <i>k</i>	- <i>p</i>
2SG	- <i>nd</i>	- <i>l</i>
3SG	∅	- <i>d</i> ; - <i>t</i>
1DUAL	- <i>j</i>	- <i>j</i>
2DUAL	- <i>li</i>	- <i>li</i>
3DUAL	- <i>ge</i>	- <i>di</i> ; - <i>ti</i>
1PL	- <i>ut</i>	- <i>ut</i>
2PL	- <i>lin</i> ; - <i>len</i>	- <i>lin</i> ; - <i>len</i>
3PL	- <i>det</i>	- <i>det</i>

Table 9: verbal agreement suffixes in Selkup (Mikola 1988; Körtvély 2005)

## 4.2.2 Finite verbs and direct objects in Tym Selkup

◆ Finite verbs are normally inflected in the **objective** conjugation if they are transitive in the sense that they are two- or more-place predicates assigning a PATIENT or THEME role.

### Subjective inflection

◆ Finite verbs may be inflected in the subjective conjugation if the direct object is a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun or if they occur in a two- or more-participant clause that is characterized by a considerably low transitivity.

### Pronominal objects

(26) (a) *mašik üüdü-mba madžol aamdeyo tika ...*  
me(ACC) send-PAST(3SG.SC) forest tsar here  
'The forest tsar has sent me here ...' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.037)

(b) *Tat iŷ larimb-le-nd kuđimnaja.*  
you(NOM) PRTCL(NEG.IMP) fear-OPT-2SG.SC nobody  
'Don't be afraid of anybody.' (Tym) (NOS. Text01.032)

### Non-pronominal objects

(27) (a) ... *i tärbe-ku-k qajinduk čaamdže čey n'aj-p mee-la*  
and consider-3SG.SC how frog white bread-ACC do-OPT(3SG.SC)  
'... and he considered how the frog could make white bread.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.024)

(b) *Was'il'iisa medžalbi medžalbi ler-p leerešpi*  
Wasiliisa dance(3SG.SC) dance(3SG.SC) song-ACC sing-(3SG.SC)  
'Wasiliisa was singing and dancing.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.024)

### Objective inflection

Finite verbs inflected in the objective conjugation realize anaphoric 3<sup>rd</sup> person object personal pronouns by their specific agreement suffixes (cf. (28)).

(28) (a) *a quarit iid qwandε-t amteko-n*  
but in\_the\_morning son bring-3SG.OC tsar-ALL  
'but in the morning the son brought it to the tsar.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.047)

(b) *A tat šärčaldži-mba-l ...*  
NEG you put\_on-PAST.NARR-2SG.OC  
'You did not put it on her.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.105)

### Pronominal objects

(29) (a) *Qaji tat men-da-l?*  
what you(SG) do-LATEN-2SG.OC  
'What have you done?' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.092)

(b) *Mat tärba-k što mašik ab-laa-dε čumbne-la.*  
I think-1SG.SC that me(ACC) eat-OPT-3SG.OC wolf-PL  
'I think that the wolves will eat me.' (Tym) (NOS. Text01.008)

### Non-pronominal objects

(30) (a) *Sredn'il čemn'a-d üüide-t samastrel-p.*  
middle brother-3SG(POSS) send-3SG.OC arrow-ACC  
'The middle brother shoots an arrow.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.009)

(b) ... *i kan'ij-xī-d pajaa-la-m-di poone.*  
 and drive\_away-PRS-3SG.OC wife-PL-ACC-3DU(POSS) out  
 'and he drove out the wives of the two.' (Tym) (NOS. Text02.086)

- The Tym Selkup objective suffixes index on the finite verb that it is a two- or more-place predicate and that the situation it refers to is or may be a factual and perceptible event for the (3<sup>rd</sup> person) object referent involved.
- The Tym Selkup objective suffixes have become **transitive markers** by grammaticalization.
- Tym Selkup does not exhibit DOI.

☆☆ Tym Selkup has developed agglutinative object case marking. It does not exhibit DOC.

☆☆ Tym Selkup does not exhibit DOI. Its objective conjugation lacks specific object agreement specifications. The verbal objective morphemes are transitive markers.

## 5. Conclusion

The development of ambiguous object agreement markers on verbs and of DOI in Nenets and Enets has gone hand in hand with the loss of definiteness and accusative case marking on nouns – hence of DOC, which still exists in Nganasan. The loss of the person specification the objective suffixes were originally restricted to in Selkup is due to the remaining defectiveness of its objective conjugation and is accompanied by the prevalence of uniform object marking.

	Verbal objective suffixes	Distinctive case marking on object nouns	Definiteness marking on object nouns	DOM
<b>AVAMIC NGANASAN</b>	incorporated 3 <sup>rd</sup> person object pronoun	non-uniform accusative case (singular and plural)	definiteness (singular) indefiniteness (plural)	DOC
	↓	↓		
<b>TUNDRA NENETS</b>	object topic marker	uniform accusative case (singular)		DOI
	↓	↓		
<b>FOREST ENETS</b>	object definiteness marker			DOI
		↓		
<b>TYM SELKUP</b>	transitive marker	uniform accusative case (singular and plural)		

### Data sources:

- Stories *Два чума* (Languedoc. dva čuma), *Как утонули ребята* (Languedoc. rebjata), *Как сгорела наша школа* (Languedoc. škola) from the online-corpus of the project “Languedoc”, available at <http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/eng/ngan/corpus.p> [27<sup>th</sup> July 2015]  
Story *Отпуск* (Languedoc. otpusk) from the online-corpus of the project “Languedoc”, available at <http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/eng/enets/corpus.p> [27<sup>th</sup> July 2015]
- Stories *Kehy Luu* (NOS. kehy luu), *Mou Djamezi* (NOS. mou djamezi) from the online-corpus of the project “Negation in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages”, University of Vienna, available at <http://www.univie.ac.at/negation/nganasanisch> [27<sup>th</sup> July 2015]  
Stories *Tejada Nisjami* (NOS. tesjada nisjami), *Tet Weli Teta* (NOS. tet weli teta) from the online-corpus of the project “Negation in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages”, University of Vienna, available at <http://www.univie.ac.at/negation/nenzischa> [27<sup>th</sup> July 2015]  
Stories *Text 1* (NOS. text1), *Text 39* (NOS. text 39) from the online-corpus of the project “Negation in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages”, University of Vienna, available at <http://www.univie.ac.at/negation/enzischa> [27<sup>th</sup> July 2015]  
Stories *Text 01* (NOS. text01), *Text 02* (NOS. text02) from the online-corpus of the project “Negation in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages”, University of Vienna, available at <http://www.univie.ac.at/negation/sprachen/selkupa> [27<sup>th</sup> July 2015]
- Narrative texts recorded by *Kazimir Labanauskas* (Nikolaeva. Labanauskas) available in: Nikolaeva, Irina. 2014. *A Grammar of Tundra Nenets*. Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 432-495.
- Narrative texts *Living in the Tundra* (Siegl. Living in the Tundra), *Mouse and Fish* (Siegl. Mouse and Fish), *Two Fishermen* (Siegl. Two Fishermen) compiled by Florian Siegl available in: Siegl, Florian. 2013. *Materials of Forest Enets, an indigenous language of northern Siberia*. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 267, 462-505.

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