Samojedikielten rakenne ja kehitys

The structure and development of the Samoyed languages

Tapani Salminen

luennot: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCKBVSMoVp-YAFHcTP2DucsQ/videos

keskustelua syyslukukaudella 2020 tiistaisin klo 16 Skypessä: tasalmin1

yhteydenotot muina aikoina s-postitse: tapani.salminen@helsinki.fi

1. Samojedikielten historiallinen ja typologinen profiili

General developments from Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed

- 1) the vowel system rather conservative
 - (but with several phonemic splits producing *\ddot\ a *\dagge *\dagge\ a *\da
- 2) the consonant system slightly less so (including innovations shared with the Ugric branches)
- 3) morphologically relatively archaic (with a lot of language-specific morphophonology)
- 4) syntactically very similar if not entirely identical to Proto-Uralic
- 5) lexically innovative

(but not quite to the extent previously assumed)

Typical features of the Samoyed languages

- 1) three grammatical and four local cases
- 2) three numbers (dual only in grammatical cases)
- 3) several series of possessive suffixes (depending on number and case)
- 4) in northern Samoyed a special destinative declension ('for', etc.)
- 5) nominal conjugation also known as predicative forms
- 6) rigid subcategorization of verbs into conjugational classes (intransitive, transitive, reflexive, transitive-reflexive)
- 7) different series of personal suffixes depending on
 - (i) subjective vs objective conjugation (focused vs non-focused object, i.e., new vs old information)
 - (ii) the number of object in the objective conjugation
 - (iii) the reflexive (or middle) conjugation (e.g., 'get dressed')

- 8) personal suffixes not attached directly to the verbal stem (with a system of distinct substems in the indicative mood and without any form involving the bare verbal stem)
- 9) relatively complex temporal and modal systems (with aorist as the unmarked tense)
- 10) negation expressed by fully inflected negative verbs (followed by the main verb in the connegative; lost in Selkup)
- 11) three aspectual classes of verbs:
 - (i) imperfective (or continuous) verbs (aorist forms refer to the present)
 - (ii) perfective (or momentaneous) verbs (aorist forms refer to the immediate past)
 - (iii) negative verbs

 (time reference depends on the aspectual class of the main verb)

- 12) (strictly) verb-final basic word order (with only recent exceptions)
- 13) all the typical features of a consistent SOV language, including
 - (i) modifiers preceding heads; in NP [Dem Gen Num Adj Rel N]
 - (ii) no finite subordinate clauses
 - (i.e., no relative pronouns and [almost] no conjunctions, but only non-finite constructions plus parataxis and connective adverbs)
 - (iii) question words in situ (i.e., not moved to initial position)
 - (iv) only postpositions (which invariably govern the genitive case)
 - (v) attributive modifiers (typically) show no agreement
 - (vi) no copula in (basic) predicative clauses
- 14) possessive forms employed in the habitive construction
- 15) definiteness expressed by various means such as possessive forms
- 16) object in imperative clauses in the nominative (not accusative)