

## *On the innovative plural marker in Kamas*



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*Project RSF 17-18-01649*

*Tomsk: TSTU, online, 18.09.2021*

## *First glimps*

(1) mĩn-bi-m

идти-PST-1SG

bĩs-ə-ʔ

пить-EP-IMP.2SG

dĩ-zAŋ-tə

этот-PL-LAT

dĩ-∅

этот-NOM.SG

mĩ-laʔbə-jəʔ

дать-DUR-3PL

‘Я пошла к ним, они дают: «Выпей»’ (Агранат и др. 2020).

## *Gerson Klump (2021, forthcoming)*

“Kamas has two different nominal plural markers.

(i) The older plural marker is -jəʔ (or -iʔ) in nominative, and -jə (or -i) in oblique case forms; the nominative form originates from a combination of the Proto-Samoyed oblique plural marker in \*-j plus the nominative plural marker in \*-t (see chapter 1.4.3). (-jəʔ is also the 3PL marker in subjective conjugation, see below.)

(ii) A more recent innovation, -SAŋ (-zaŋ ~ -zeŋ ~ -saŋ ~ -seŋ), is the exclusive plural marker in the possessive declension and in the declension of demonstrative pronouns.

In the non-possessive declension of nouns both markers are used, but their distribution is not well understood.”

*The innovative plural marker becomes an identifier of  
the language*

“A good hundred years before Castrén, around 1735, in the administrative unit of Kamasinskaja Zemlica G.F. Müller had registered ten *uluses* (nomadic villages) with a name containing

**the Kamas plural ending <-ssang>**,

adding up to 115 taxpayers plus an uncounted number of family members (Müller 1735: 26, Helimski 1997a: 25–29)” (Klump 2021) .

## *Where does the new plural marker come from?*

„The new Kamas plural marker **-SAŋ** is etymologically related to a Selkup collective word formation element (-)saŋ/ʃaq as e.g. in poː-lʲ ʃaq ‘forest’ (poː-lʲ tree-ADJ) (Hajdú 1975b)“. (Klump 2021)

*Are there other possible ways?*

*Couldn't the innovative plural marker be borrowed from some contacting language?*

*Couldn't it be a Yeniseic language?*

## Yeniseic 'people'

Старостин 1982: 157-158; Старостин 1995: 9

ПЕ	кет.	юг.	котт.	ар.	пумп.
*ž	d-, -d- / -r-, -t	đ, t'	č-, -j-, -l	s-/š-, j	č-, -j-/ đ-, -?

\*žeʔŋ люди: кет. *dεʔŋ*; юг. *dεʔŋ*; котт. *čeäŋ*, *čeaŋ*, pl. *čeäŋaŋ* 'народ, люди'

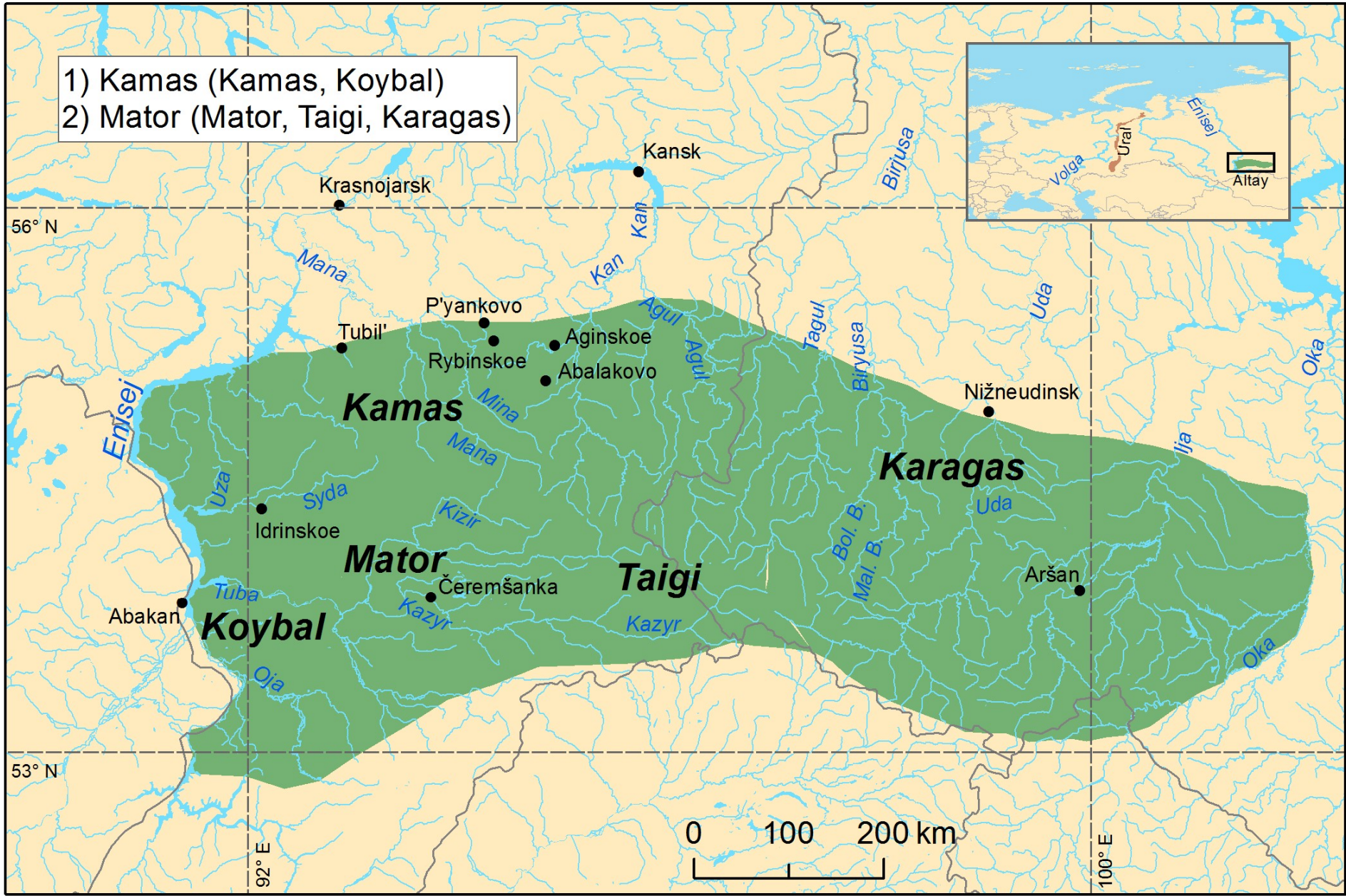
## *Samoyed-Yeniseic contacts*

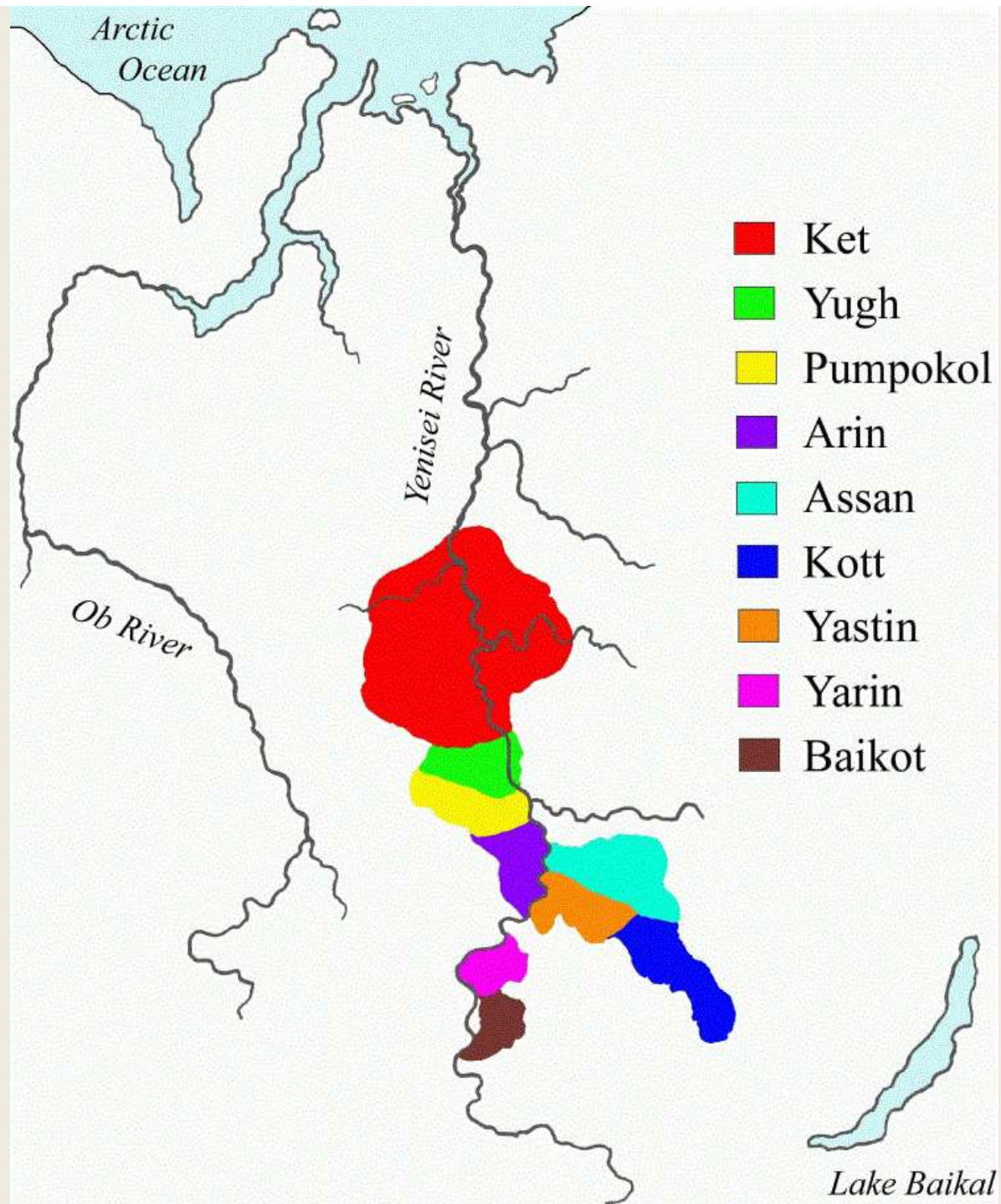
- *The Samoyed-Yeniseic contacts began in the foothills of the Sayan Mountains before some Samoyedic and Yeniseic groups moved to the North. And they proceeded after that movement started.*

# Языки Сибири



- 1) Kamas (Kamas, Koybal)
- 2) Mator (Mator, Taigi, Karagas)





## *More examples*

(2) kyli-n      n<sup>j</sup>e:kkə-**zeŋ**-də      dǐ-nə      tyffə-la:m-bi  
raven-GEN      young-PL-POSS.3SG      this-LAT      accustom-RES-PS

‘The raven’s nestlings got accustomed to him.’ (Donner 1914, Klump 2021)

(3) Tyjə      dǐ-**zeŋ**-bə      e-m      ku-ʔ  
now      DEM-PL-1SG      NEG.FUT-1SG      see-CNG

‘I won’t see these of mine (i.e. my lakes) now.’ (KW 87, Klump 2021)

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*Thank you!*