



BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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Losing indices: How an anaphoric article developed from a 2SG possessive in Northern Khanty

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Keywords: extended possessives, anaphoric article, diachronic semantics, Northern Khanty

Possessive markers, well-attested in Finno-Ugric languages (Simonenko 2017 and references therein), are clearly indexicals. On the one hand, like personal pronouns, they are indexically tied either to the interlocutors or to a salient “third person” in discourse. On the other hand, they index a salient relation between the possessor and the referent of the possessed NP (Karpovskaya 2018).

The present talk is concerned with the diachrony of the peculiarly multifunctional 2SG possessive *-en* of Northern Khanty (< Finno-Ugric). The data were collected through elicitation with speakers of Northern Khanty.

It can be argued that the exponent *-en* stands in for at least three semantically distinct morphemes: a 2SG possessive, a “salient article”, and an anaphoric article (Becker 2018, “strong definite” in Schwarz 2009).

The **2SG possessive** behaves much like one would expect competing with the 1PL possessive, so that the use of the former where the latter could have been used implicates “yours, but not ours” 0.

- (1) ***χot_λaŋəλ-ew/#-en*** pos-ijəλ
house_roof-POSS.1PL/-POSS.2SG drip-FREQ[NPST.3SG]
{Vasya tells his wife:} ‘Our roof is leaking’.
Speaker comment on *-en*: “then it’s only the wife’s roof, that’s not true [in this context]”

Unlike the 2SG possessive, **the salient article** is mostly used with unique referents in commands and it does not compete with the 1PL possessive *-ew*, that is, 0 does not implicate “your blackboard, but not ours”. With a plural addressee it must be substituted for *-ən* [POSS.2NSG].

- (2) ***soχλ-#(en)/-(ən)*** məŋχ-a-λən
board-POSS.2SG/-POSS.2NSG wipe-IMP-NSG.NSG
{A teacher is telling a student/students.} ‘Wipe the blackboard!’.

The anaphoric article *-en* does not agree with the addressee in number unlike the former two, so a plural addressee does not elicit the use of *-ən* [POSS.2NSG] instead of *-en*.

- (3) ***amp-#(en)/#-ən*** χurət-ti pit-əs
dog-POSS.2SG/-POSS.2NSG bark-NFIN.NPST become-PST[3SG]
{A mother is telling her children.} ‘{I was walking along the street and I saw a dog.} The dog started barking at me’.

I propose the following diachronic path linking the three 0:

- (4) 2SG possessive marker (I) > salient article (II) > anaphoric article (III)

The transition from stage I to stage II consists in **losing the relational index** from the semantics of the 2SG possessive: with the salient article the denoted relation does not vary with context and is always fixed to the “salient to” relation. So 0 may be paraphrased as “wipe the blackboard that is **salient to you**”.

The transition from II to III consists in **losing the index for the addressee** from the semantics of the marker, resulting in an anaphoric article. So 0 may be paraphrased as “the **aforementioned** dog started barking at me”.

In the talk I will discuss the three markers in more detail, as well as note the still indexical character of the anaphoric article (as it must index the antecedent of the current NP referent, see Schwarz 2009).

Abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 — 1, 2, 3 persons, FREQ — frequentative, IMP — imperative, NFIN — non-finite, NPST — non-past, NSG — non-singular, PST — past, POSS — possessive, SG — singular.

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Indexicality in the minimal/non-minimal (or less minimal) sign relationship

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Keywords: indexicality, morphemic indications, contextual unification, layered semantics, conventionalization of the denominative value

Whereas indexicality is often conceived as a property of a specific class of semiotically-defined signs, namely deictics, my aim will be - following notably Pierre Cadiot's (1993) seminal work on the role of indexicality in the polysemy of nouns and subsequent works on the issue (Gasiglia, Nemo & Cadiot, 2001; Nemo, 2001; Nemo, 2002) - to describe it as inherent to the relationship between minimal signs and non-minimal signs, or between non-minimal signs and less minimal signs (e.g. zero-derived words)..

As for the morpheme/lexeme relationship, a clarification of the notions of *morpheme* and *lexeme* (Nemo, 2005) will be provided together with a description of the indexical relationship between the morphemic indications present in all the uses of a morpheme and the meanings of all the lexemes in which it is used (Nemo & Horchani, 2018). The key role of contextual unification as an indexical process (Nemo, 2003) will be described in great detail, together with a parallel description of