Contact vs. innovation in dialect diversification
Explaining some features of Lamunkhin Even

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Even:

- North Tungusic language
- Spoken over vast region of northeastern Siberia
- (at most) ~2,000-3,000 speakers overall
- Dialectally fragmented: 13 dialects and ~24 subdialects (говоры) recognized (Burykin 2004:85)
- Low degree of mutual intelligibility between peripheral dialects
Diversification of Even dialects

• Probably multiple causation:
  ➢ differential retention of inherited features
  ➢ independent innovations
  ➢ contact-induced changes (different potential contact languages: Evenki, Sakha (Yakut), Yukaghir, Koryak)
In this talk

- I will illustrate the role of different causes of Even dialect diversification:
  - focusing on Lamunkhin dialect (partly in comparison to Bystraja dialect)
  - focusing on verbal morphology
Lamunkhin Even

- westernmost viable dialect of Even
- spoken in village of Sebjan-Küöl by ~300 people
- in intense contact with Turkic language Sakha (Yakut)

Map by Natalia Aralova & Hans-Jörg Bibiko based on Burykin 2004
Based on

- corpus of transcribed, translated, glossed oral recordings
  - ~52,000 Even words
  - 37 speakers (24 female, 13 male)
  - aged 11-72 yrs at time of recording
  - mainly monologues (autobiographical), but 1 conversation (60 min, 4 speakers) and one joint session with 2 speakers
Bystraja Even

- one of the easternmost dialects of Even
- spoken in 2 villages in central Kamchatka
- moribund (rapid language death, shift to Russian)
- corpus of ~34,000 words
Differential retention of inherited feature:
Habitual aspect
Habitual aspect in Even:

- suffix -WA:\Č
- suffix –G(A)RA
Habitual aspect in Even:

- -WAːČ has “usitative-habitual” (usually go) or generic meaning
- –G(A)RA has habitual meaning, “referring primarily to the past”
Habitual aspect in Even:

- Novikova (1980: 51) about Ola dialect (eastern):
  - -WAːČ «речь идет о действии, постоянно совершаемомся в настоящее время»
  - –G(A)RA «речь идет о действии, не раз совершавшемся в прошлом, или о действии, которому надлежит не раз совершиться в будущем»
Habitual aspect in Evenki:

• also 2 separate suffixes, -wAːt and –ŋnA
• signal “repeated actions” and “action[s] which repeat” or which are “usual for the subject” (Bulatova & Grenoble 1999: 32)
Habitual aspect in Lamunkhin and Bystraja Even:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-WA:Č</th>
<th>–G(A)RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamunkhin</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bystraja</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Habitual aspect in Lamunkhin and Bystraja Even:

• in Lamunkhin Even -WAːČ largely lexicalized, mainly occurs with bi- ‘be’ > ‘live, migrate’ (202 tokens), nulge- ‘migrate’ (77 tokens), ir- ‘drag’ (20 tokens)

• in Bystraja Even –G(A)RA occurs mainly with imperatives (to the exclusion of -WAːČ) and future tense
Lamunkhin: -G(A)RA with generic meaning

*ibga bi-wre-n, bej ńama-l-gara-n*
good be-hab[nfut]-3sg person be.warm-inch-hab[nfut]-3sg

‘It [bone marrow] is good, it warms you up (a person gets warm).’

Хорошо бывает, человек согревается. (SPK_oxota_196)

hab = habitual
nfut = non-future
inch = inchoative
Lamunkhin: -G(A)RA with present tense reading

*mut ečin*  *badu-han-gara-ra-p ere*

1pl  like.this  ride-lim-hab-nfut-1pl  ptl

‘… here we are leaving.’

…мы так отъезжаем. (SEN_comment_video_070)

\[\text{lim} = \text{limitative}\]
\[\text{hab} = \text{habitual}\]
\[\text{nfut} = \text{non-future}\]
\[\text{ptl} = \text{particle}\]
Lamunkhin: -G(A)RA with past tense

\[ tačin \ hukle-nte\text{-}ken \ \text{ńulge-}wre-ri-t \]

like.that sleep-mult.cvb migrate-hab-pst-1pl

‘Sleeping like that we used to migrate, …’
Так спя кочевали,… (IVK_memories_015)

\text{mult} = \text{multiplicative}
\text{cvb} = \text{converb}
\text{pst} = \text{past}
Lamunkhin: -G(A)RA with future tense

čukučan  hute-l-be-n  e-te-m
bird   offspring-pl-acc-poss.3sg  neg-fut-1sg
ulku-wra-r,
stir-hab-neg.cvb

honte=de  kuŋa-l-taki  go:-ŋne-dʒi-m,
other=ptl  child-pl-all  say-hab-fut-1sg

‘I won't touch baby birds, and I will tell the other children’

я не буду трогать птичих птенцов, и другим детям буду говорить (МКК_nastavlenie_027)

cvb = converb
ptl = particle
all = allative
Bystraja: -WAːČ with generic meaning:

\textit{tak-ra-ča-ŋ-ga-wur} \quad \textit{tak-ra-waːt-ta} \\
\text{salt-vr-pf.ptc-aln-dest-prfl.pl} \quad \text{salt-vr-gnr-nfut}

‘[The people living in fishing camps] salt fish for themselves.’

Рыбу себе солят. (EIA_EPA_rybalka_tabun09)

\text{vr} = \text{verbalizer} \quad \text{dest} = \text{destinative}

\text{pf} = \text{perfect} \quad \text{prfl} = \text{reflexive possessive}

\text{ptc} = \text{participle} \quad \text{gnr} = \text{generic}

\text{aln} = \text{alienable} \quad \text{nfut} = \text{non-future}
Bystraja: -WAːČ with present tense meaning:

\[ bi\  \text{oj-u-tan} \quad \text{ilka-ti-d-ɒːt-ta-m} \]

1sg  clothes-acc-poss.3pl  wash-res-prog-gnr-nfut-1sg

‘I wash their clothes, …’

Я им одежду стираю,… (RME_Tvajan061)

res = resultative
prog = progressive
gnr = generic
nfut = non-future
Bystraja: -WAːČ with past tense:

\[
\text{bi kučuken bi-mi ereger akan-di}
\]
\[
\text{1sg small be-cond.cvb always father-dat.prfl.sg}
\]

\[
\text{bod-doːt-ti-wu,}
\]

accompany-gnr-pst-1sg

‘When I was small I always accompanied my father…’
Я когда маленькая была всегда с отцом ходила…
(RMS_childhood_075)

cond = conditional
cvb = converb
prfl = reflexive possessive
gnr = generic
Bystraja: -WAːČ with future tense:

ili dagrič girka-waːči-d-mi eto ile=de
or.R simply walk-gnr-prog-cond.cvb this.R somewhere=ptl
tet-či-nni girka-waːt-či-nni
wear-fut-2sg walk-gnr-fut-2sg

‘Or if you're simply walking somewhere, you’ll wear this and you’ll walk around.’

Или просто ходить будешь где-нибудь, оденешь когда будешь ходить. (NIG_shkola_remesel_1_019)
BUT: -G(A)RA with imperatives

`guːn-e-m e-dʒi ˈnumun-dʒid-gere-kil,
say-nfut-1sg neg-imp.2sg be.shy-prog-hab-proh.sg`

`gasči-gra-li ikuti-č`

ask-hab-imp.2sg straight-ins

‘I say « Don't be shy, ask directly, … »’

Говорю - не бойся, проси… (JIP_RME_razgovor_180)

nfut = non-future
imp = imperative
prog = progressive

hab = habitual
proh = prohibitive
ins = instrumental
Habitual aspect in Lamunkhin and Bystraja Even:

- dialects have drifted apart, habitual meaning in Lamunkhin expressed with –G(A)RA, in Bystraja with -WAːČ
Independent innovation: Verbal evaluative suffixes
# Evaluative suffixes found in the Lamunkhin Even narrative corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>DIM</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominals</td>
<td>-čAn</td>
<td>-ńdʒA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominals</td>
<td>-k(A)kAn</td>
<td>-mAjA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs (finite, compassion)</td>
<td>-Aːn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs (finite, compassion)</td>
<td>-jAːt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs (finite)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-bAhA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs (derives converb)</td>
<td>-kAndʒi/-kAndʒur</td>
<td>-jAːdʒi/-jAːdʒur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive verbs (derives adj)</td>
<td>-ŋAkAn</td>
<td>-ŋAjA</td>
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<td>-dʒAːgAgAj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>-kAn</td>
<td>-jA(_:)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pakendorf 2017
il-a-jaːdʒi    eči-je
stand.up-ep-aug.cvb    like.this-aug

il-a-baha-dni    abaga-ńdʒa
stand.up-ep-aug-nfut.3sg    grandfather-aug

‘Standing up like this, he stood up, the big bear.’
Вставая так, встал, медведище.   (MKK_bear_053)

ep = epenthetic    aug = augmentative
cvb = converb    nfut = non-future
Evaluative suffixes in Lamunkhin Even compared to Bystraja Even

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>-A:n</td>
<td>[-džA:n]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-bAhA</td>
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<td>-jA:dži/-jA:džur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-ηAjA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-džA:gAgAj</td>
<td>-ηAjA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kAn</td>
<td>-jA(ː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kAn</td>
<td>[-jA(ː)]</td>
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Lamunkhin Even verbal evaluatives

- not inherited $\rightarrow$ not found in other Even dialects
- not due to contact influence $\rightarrow$ Sakha has no evaluative suffixes other than copied –kAn and -čAn
  $\Rightarrow$ internal innovations in Lamunkhin
Lamunkhin Even verbal evaluatives

- not inherited → not found in other Even dialects
- not due to contact influence → Sakha has no evaluative suffixes other than copied –kAn and -čAn
  ⇒ internal innovations in Lamunkhin

- the development of some verbal diminutives can be explained
### Lamunkhin verbal diminutives

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Finite verbal diminutive -Aːn

• probably derived from suffix -ʤAːn → in other dialects considered to have a durative, iterative meaning, with occasional emotional nuance
Finite verbal diminutive -Aːn

- probably derived from suffix -ʤAːn → in other dialects considered to have a durative, iterative meaning, with occasional emotional nuance

Ola dialect:

-duku-ʤaːn-ra-n
write-dur-nfut-3sg
‘пишет долгое время, пишет постоянно’
(Novikova 1980: 46)

Bystraja dialect:

-nan tačin bi-ʤeːn-ńoːt-te
and like.that be-dur-gnr-nfut.3pl
‘That's how they lived, poor them.’
Вот так жили они, бедненькие.
(DBA_086)
Finite verbal diminutive -Aːn

- probably derived from suffix -ʤAːn → in other dialects considered to have a durative, iterative meaning, with occasional emotional nuance
- reanalyzed in Lamunkhin Even as -progressive -evaluative
  -ʤ -Aːn
‘They have gone to the place of the dead, […] the poor dears.’

Это туда в страну мертвых ушли, бедные,… (EAK_reindeer_herd_285)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ptl} &= \text{particle} \\
Y &= \text{Sakha copy} \\
\text{ep} &= \text{epenthetic} \\
\text{prog} &= \text{progressive} \\
\text{nfut} &= \text{non-future} \\
\text{loc} &= \text{locative} \\
\text{pf.ptcp} &= \text{perfect participle}
\end{align*}
\]
## Lamunkhin verbal diminutives

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<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>-kAн</td>
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</table>
-kAn in Tungusic languages

- found in Nanai (South Tungusic) and all North Tungusic lects: Even (Lamunkhin, Bystraja, Berëzovka dialects), Evenki, Oroqen, Negidal
- occurs with diverse bases (varies from lect to lect): nominals (nouns+adjectives), pronouns, adverbs, verbs (converbs or participles), numerals
- has extended meanings
extended meanings of -kAn

- attenuative (Lamunkhin, Evenki, Oroqen, Nanai)
- intensive (Lamunkhin, Oroqen, Nanai)
- exactness (Lamunkhin)
- limitative (with numerals; Oroqen, Negidal)

- (extension of meanings of diminutives cross-linguistically frequent; Jurafsky 1996)
In Evenki and Oroqen -kAn retains prototypical diminutive function:

Oroqen (Whaley & Li 1998: 458)

\[ \text{ikəča-kan} \quad \text{oːnadʒi-kan} \]

‘little pot’ ‘dear girl, little girl’

Evenki (Nedjalkov 1997: 298; Boldyrev 2007: 103)

\[ \text{tolgoki-kan} \quad \text{asikta-kan} \]

‘little sled’ ‘little fir tree’
attenuative meaning of -kAn (Lamunkhin Even)

tarak balakka-duk gor-kan
that tent.R-abl far-dim

‘That is a bit distant from the tent.’
Это от палатки далеко немного. (RDA_TPK_birth_028)

R = Russian copy
abl = ablative
intensive meaning (Lamunkhin Even)

čikti-ka:n ọrọlčimŋa bi: ak-mu
brave-dim reindeer.herder 1sg older.brother-poss.1sg

‘my older brother is a very strong reindeer herder’
такой сильный оленевод мой старший брат
(stado#10_SEN_poems_036)
...[he] spent his time lying in the yurt without doing anything at all...'

...ничего не работал, лежа в чуме проводил время, ...

(intensive meaning (Lamunkhin Even))
meaning of exactness (Lamunkhin Even)

tar hо:ja-t ujamkam=da ujamka-mi-nikan, 
ptl many-ins sheep.acc=ptl sheep-vr-cvb

koke-ri-le-(n) istala:-kan ere, 
die-ptcp-loc-poss.3sg until-dim ptl

‘He hunted mountain sheep a lot, until his very death, ...’

И охотясь много на горного барана, до самой смерти, мой старший брат.(ZAS_hunting_stado_24)

ins = instrumental  ptl = particle
vr = verbalizer      cvb = converb
ptcp = participle    loc = locative
limitative meaning with numerals

Oroqen (Whaley & Li 1998: 460) :

\textit{umuː}-kəːn
‘only one’

\textit{dʒuː}-kəːn
‘only two’
Development of verbal diminutives in Lamunkhinh Even

nominal diminutive (still found Evenki, Oroqen)

\[ \downarrow \]

use of \(-kAn\) with diverse bases in Even, extended meanings (cf. Jurafsky 1996)

\[ \downarrow \]

renewal of nominal suffixes (in Even) \(\rightarrow\) \(-k(A)kAn, -jAkAn, -\check{c}An\)

\[ \downarrow \]

grammaticalization of new suffixes in Lamunkhinh Even (derived deverbal adjective, diminutive converb) with \(-kAn\)
Contact-induced innovation: copied verbal mood paradigms
**Lamunkhin Even Assertive < Sakha**  
*(forms attested in narrative corpus)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Lamunkhin Even</th>
<th>Sakha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1SG</strong></td>
<td>-j-dAgIm</td>
<td>-tAχ-Im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2SG</strong></td>
<td>-j-dAgIŋ</td>
<td>-tAχ-Iŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3SG</strong></td>
<td>-j-dAgA</td>
<td>-tAχ-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1PL</strong></td>
<td>-j-dAkplt</td>
<td>-tAχ-Blt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2PL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tAχ-Glt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3PL</strong></td>
<td>-j-dAktArA</td>
<td>-tAχ-TArA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pakendorf (2015)
Lamunkhin Even Necessitive < Sakha
(forms attested in narrative corpus)

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<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-jAktA:kpln</td>
<td>-IAχtA:χ -BIn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-jAktA:kkln</td>
<td>-IAχtA:χ -GIn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-jAktA:k</td>
<td>-IAχtA:χ -0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-jAktA:kplt</td>
<td>-IAχtA:χ -BIt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-jAktA:kklt //</td>
<td>-IAχtA:χ -GIt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-jAktA:kklt-hnAn</td>
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<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-jAktA:k-A-l</td>
<td>-IAχtA:χ -LAr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Pakendorf 2015)
Lamunkhin Even Present tense < Sakha (forms attested in narrative corpus)

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<th>Sakha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-j-AbIn</td>
<td>-A -BIn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-j-AgIn</td>
<td>-A -GlIn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-j-Ar</td>
<td>-Ar -0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-j-Ablt</td>
<td>-A -BlIt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>-A -GlIt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-j-AllAr</td>
<td>-Ar -LAr</td>
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(Pakendorf 2015)
Lamunkhin Even Hypothetical < Sakha
(forms attested in narrative corpus)

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<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-jAkplIn</td>
<td>-IAχ -Bln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-jAkkIn</td>
<td>-IAχ -Gln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>-jAːgIn // -jAn</td>
<td>-IAχ -(t)ln // -IAn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>-IAχ -Bltln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>-IAχ -Gltln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-jAktArIn</td>
<td>-IAχ -LArln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impersonal</td>
<td>-jAkkA</td>
<td>-IAχ -GA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Pakendorf 2015)
Copied paradigms in Lamunkhin Even

- 4 verbal paradigms copied from Sakha
- established copies: Necessitive + Assertive
- ongoing copies: Present Indicative + Hypothetical
- no doubt about contact origin (even speakers are fully aware of Sakha origins of these forms)
Unclear - contact-induced or independent innovation: presumptive mood

(abbreviated version of unpublished talk given at ICHL 2011, Osaka → do not cite without contacting me first)
Epistemic modality in Even


\begin{itemize}
  \item[bi o:-mna-w] ‘I will probably make’ (Novikova 1980: 79)
  \item[ńok-e-mne-w] ‘I will perhaps do’ (Robbek 2007: 524)
\end{itemize}
Epistemic modality in Lamunkhin Even

bimorphemic suffix -čA(:)dʒi
looks like combination of perfect participle -čA and future suffix -dʒi

er nasleg-la haːmaj haːwdi bi-čeːdʒi-n
this nasleg-loc most.R old be-pres-3sg
‘In this village he is probably the oldest (person).’

(TVK_family_014)

loc = locative
R = Russian copy
pres = presumptive
Epistemic modality in Tompo dialect

Map by Natalia Aralova & Hans-Jörg Bibiko based on Burykin 2004
Epistemic modality in Tompo dialect

Auxiliary verb construction: perfect participle -čA + future of auxiliary bi- ‘be’

ilan-mia-r omen anŋan bi-če bi-dʒi-n
three-ten-pl one year be-pf.ptcp aux-fut-3sg

‘... it was probably in the year ‘31.’

(Dejan Matić field data, S.Golikov.020)

pf = perfect  ptcp = participle
aux = auxiliary  fut = future
Origins of epistemic suffix in Lamunkhin Even

- Epistemic suffix in Lamunkhin dialect result of grammaticalization of auxiliary verb construction still found in Tompo dialect:

\[ \text{bi-če bi-}dʒi-n \rightarrow \text{bi-če:}dʒi-n \]
But how did auxiliary verb construction -čA bi-ḍʒi- replace synthetic hypothetical construction with -mnA?
Contact-induced grammaticalization of the analytical construction?

- in Sakha, participle + future-marked auxiliary expresses epistemic modality
  - present participle = nonpast tense
  - perfect participle = past tense
Contact-induced grammaticalization of the analytical construction?

*hassïn χata kel-er-e buol-uo …*

tomorrow ptl come-prspt-poss.3sg aux-fut.3sg

‘Tomorrow he will probably come…’

(BesP_056)

*isti-bik-kit buol-uo din*

hear-pf.ptcp-2pl aux-fut.3sg ptl

‘You.PL probably heard?’

(Chir_093)
Epistemic auxiliary verb constructions in Even dialects

• analytical epistemic constructions occur in other Even dialects too
• but here the auxiliary is in the hypothetical mood -mnA, not future tense -dʒi
Epistemic auxiliary verb constructions in Even

*olekči-če-s*  *bi-mne-n*

cheat-pf.ptcp-2sg  aux-hyp-3sg

‘you are probably cheating again’

(Novikova 1980: 137, text)

*mian=da  anŋan  i:lten-če-n  bi-mne-n*

ten=ptl  year  pass-pf.ptcp-3sg  aux-hyp-3sg

‘...perhaps ten years have passed.’

(Robbek 2007: 156)
Contact-induced grammaticalization of the analytical construction?

- Even construction –čA bi-mne-n
  - Tompo/Lamunkhin construction –čA bi-dʒi-n
    - Lamunkhin construction –čA:dʒI

Sakha construction with future auxiliary

Grammaticalization
BUT: Berëzovka Even

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BUT: Berëzovka Even

teːmi maː-ča-s bi-dʒi-n...
therefore kill-pf.ptcp-poss.2sg aux-fut-3sg
‘Then you probably killed (her)…’
(Tarabukina (ed) 2005: 91)

họː tut-e-lər ajiŋ-a-l
very run-ep-nr.pl fast-ep-pl

bi-če-sen bi-dʒi-n
be-pf.ptcp-poss.2pl aux-fut-3sg
‘You.PL probably run very fast?’
(Tarabukina (ed) 2005: 165)
BUT: Berëzovka Even

• In texts, analytical epistemic construction with future-marked auxiliary
• Speakers not known to have been in contact with Sakha
• Mostly came from further (south)east, from coastal regions
• Few people in village nowadays know Sakha
• No linguistic evidence for Sakha influence (e.g. practically no lexical copies)
Contact-induced grammaticalization of the analytical construction?

- Contact-induced development in Tompo (and pre-grammaticalization Lamunkhin) dialect unlikely in light of data from Berëzovka dialect
- other Siberian languages also have epistemic constructions containing future suffix
Conclusions

- independent innovations of epistemic constructions with future-marked auxiliary in Even dialects and Sakha most probable
BUT...

Compare data from West Evenki and East Evenki dialects:

Stony Tunguska dialect (West Evenki; no contact with Sakha) → auxiliary carries hypothetical mood suffix:

*Heveke eme-če bi-neːn*
H. come-pf.ptcp aux-hyp-3sg
‘Heveke probably arrived.’
(Vasilevich 1966: 134, text 1, line 116; glosses mine)
BUT...

Compare data from West Evenki and East Evenki dialects:

Tommot dialect (East Evenki; documented contact influence from Sakha) → auxiliary carries future tense suffix:

{oː'-ča-ľ} \( bi-{dʒi}ye\)-tyn
become-pf.ptcp-pl aux-fut-poss.3pl
‘they have probably become’

(Romanova & Myreeva 1964: 165, text 4, line 20; glosses mine)
• Only coincidence that Evenki and Even dialects not in contact with Sakha use auxiliary in hypothetical mood while Evenki and Even dialects that are in contact with Sakha use future-marked auxiliary?

➤ Probably independent developments further reinforced through contact
Why the project

- copied forms are easy to detect, but copied structural patterns are more interesting – but hard to identify
- first step forward is to have a more comprehensive catalogue of dialect differences (frequency of suffixes, frequency of collocations)

Vasilisa Andrijanec is working on quantitative comparison of Lamunkhin and Bystraja Even
Acknowledgements

• Max Planck Society, Volkswagen Foundation (DoBeS programme), and DDL for funding of fieldwork
• all my consultants for time and patience
• residents of Sebjan-Küöl and Bystraja district for hospitality
• IGIiPMNS for help with fieldwork logistics
• LABEX ASLAN (ANR-10-LABX-0081) of Université de Lyon for its overall financial support
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