

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

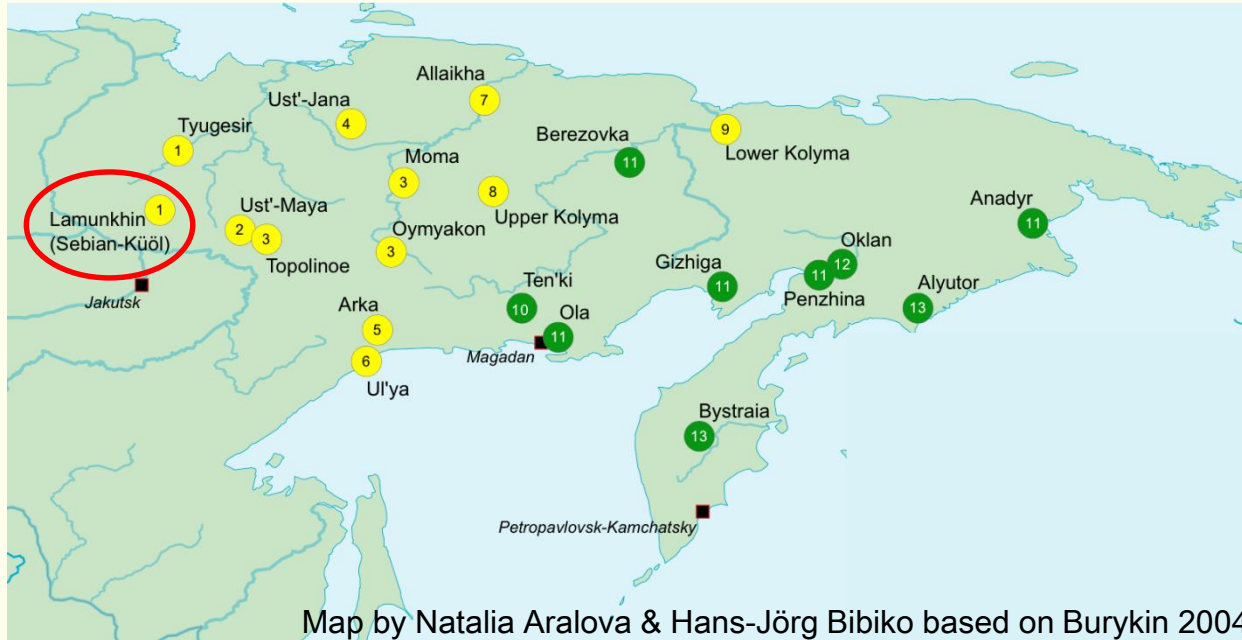
Diversification of Even dialects

- 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 Sebian-Küöl by ~300 people
- in intense contact with Turkic language Sakha (Yakut)

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

Bystraia 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:

- Malchukov (1995: 15):
- **-WA:Č** 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):
- **-WA:Č** «речь идет о действии, постоянно совершающемся 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, -wA:t 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:

	-WA:Č	-G(A)RA
Lamunkhin	338	1803
Bystraja	1935	41

Habitual aspect in Lamunkhin and Bystraja Even:

- in Lamunkhin Even **-WA:Č̣** largely lexicalized, mainly occurs with *bí-* ‘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 **-WA:Č̣**) and future tense

Lamunkhin: -G(A)RA with generic meaning

ibga bi-wre-n, bej náma-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)

lim = limitative

hab = habitual

nfut = non-future

ptl = particle

Lamunkhin: -G(A)RA with past tense

tačín huckle-nteken núlge-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)

mult = multiplicative

cvb = converb

pst = 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-dzi-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: **-WA:Č** with generic meaning:

tak-ra-ča-ŋ-ga-wur

tak-ra-wa:t-ta

salt-vr-pf.ptc-aln-dest-prfl.pl salt-vr-gnr-nfut

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

Рыбу себе солят. (EIA_EPA_rybalka_tabun09)

vr = verbalizer

pf = perfect

ptc = participle

aln = alienable

dest = destinative

prfl = reflexive possessive

gnr = generic

nfut= non-future

Bystraja: **-WA:Č** with present tense meaning:

bi oj-u-tan

ilka-ti-d-dzo:t-ta-m

1sg clothes-acc-poss.3pl

wash-res-prog-gnr-nfut-1sg

‘I wash their clothes, ...’

Я им одежду стираю, ... (RME_Tvajjan061)

res = resultative

prog = progressive

gnr = generic

nfut = non-future

Bystraja: **-WA:Č** with past tense:

bi kučuken bi-mi ereger akan-di
1sg small be-cond.cvb always father-dat.prfl.sg

bod-do:t-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: **-WA:Č** with future tense:

ili dagrič girka-wa:či-d-mi eto ile=de
or.R simply walk-gnr-prog-cond.cvb this.R somewhere=ptl
tet-či-nni girka-wa:t-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)

gnr = generic

prog = progressive

cond = conditional

cvb = converb

ptl = particle

BUT: -G(A)RA with imperatives

gu:n-e-m e-dži n̄umun-džid-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 **-WA:Č**

**Independent innovation:
Verbal evaluative suffixes**

Evaluative suffixes found in the Lamunkhin Even narrative corpus

Bases	DIM	AUG
Nominals	-čAn	-ńdʒA
Nominals	-k(A)kAn	-mAjA
Verbs (finite, compassion)	-A:n	
Verbs (finite, compassion)	-jA:t	
Verbs (finite)		-bAhA
Verbs (derives converb)	-kAndʒi/-kAndʒur	-jA:dʒi/-jA:dʒur
Descriptive verbs (derives adj)	-ŋAkAn	-ŋAjA
Descriptive verbs (derives adj)	-dʒA:gAgAj	
Diverse	-kAn	-jA(:)

il-a-ja:dzi

stand.up-ep-aug.cvb

eči-je

like.this-aug

il-a-baha-dni

stand.up-ep-aug-nfut.3sg

abaga-ńdza

grandfather-aug

‘Standing up like this, he stood up, the big bear.’

Вставая так, встал, медведище. (MKK_bear_053)

ep = epenthetic

cvb = converb

aug = augmentative

nfut = non-future

Evaluative suffixes in Lamunkhin Even compared to Bystraja Even

Lamunkhin		Bystraja	
DIM	AUG	DIM	AUG
-čAn	-ńdʒA	-čAn	-ńdʒA
-k(A)kAn	-mAjA	-kAkAn	-mkAr
		-jAkAn	-kA:jA
-A:n		[-dʒA:n]	
-jA:t			
	-bAhA		
-kAndʒi/-kAndʒur	-jA:dʒi/-jA:dʒur		
-ŋAkAn	-ŋAjA		
-dʒA:gAgAj			
-kAn	-jA(:)	-kAn	[-jA(:)]

Lamunxhin 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 Lamunxhin

Lamunxhin 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 Lamunxhin
- the development of some verbal diminutives can be explained

Lamunkhin verbal diminutives

Bases	DIM
Verbs (finite)	-A:n
Verbs (finite)	-jA:t
Verbs (derives converb)	-kAndzi/-kAndzur
Descriptive verbs (derives adj)	-ŋAkAn
Descriptive verbs (derives adj)	-dʒA:gAgAj
Diverse	-kAn

Finite verbal diminutive *-A:n*

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

Finite verbal diminutive *-A:n*

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

Ola dialect:

duku-dʒa:n-ra-n

write-dur-nfut-3sg

‘пишет **долгое время**,
пишет **ПОСТОЯННО**’

(Novikova 1980: 46)

Bystraja dialect:

nan tačin bi-dʒe:n-ńo:t-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 *-A:n*

- probably derived from suffix *-dʒA:n* → in other dialects considered to have a durative, iterative meaning, with occasional emotional nuance
- reanalyzed in Lamunghin Even as
 - progressive -evaluative
 - dʒ* *-A:n*

... *dʒe ha:tahri-du her-e-dʒ-e:n-ne-p*

ptl.Y dark-dat go-ep-prog-dim-nfut-1pl

‘... and then we went on in the dark for a long time (poor us).’

...в темноте едем. (ZAS_naled_029)

tarak buni-le her-e:n-če-l, ...

that world.of.dead-loc go-dim-pf.ptcp-pl

‘They have gone to the place of the dead, [...] the poor dears.’

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

ptl = particle

prog = progressive

loc = locative

Y = Sakha copy

nfut = non-future

pf.ptcp = perfect participle

ep = epenthetic

Lamunkhin verbal diminutives

Bases	DIM
Verbs (finite, compassion)	-A:n
Verbs (finite, compassion)	-jA:t
Verbs (derives converb)	-kAndzi/-kAndzur
Descriptive verbs (derives adj)	-ŋAkAn
Descriptive verbs (derives adj)	-dʒA:gAgAj
Diverse	-kAn

-kAn in Tungusic languages

- found in Nanai (South Tungusic) and all North Tungusic lects: Even (Lamunihin, 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)

ikəča-kan

‘little pot’

o:nadzi-kan

‘dear girl, little girl’

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

tolgoki-kan

‘little sled’

asikta-kan

‘little fir tree’

attenuative meaning of -kAn (Lamunkhin Even)

tarak balakka-duk ġor-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 (Lamunxhin Even)

čikti-ka:n oṛoļčimŋa 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)

intensive meaning (Lamunkhin Even)

ia-w=da *e-nike-ke:n* *gurgewči-r* *ilumu-du*
what-acc=ptl neg-sim.cvb-dim work-neg.cvb yurt-dat

dessi-niken čilda-wra-ča
lie-sim.cvb survive-hab-pf.ptcp

‘... [he] spent his time lying in the yurt **without doing anything at all...**’

... ничего не работал, лежа в чуме проводил время, ...
(KKK_dve_skazki_018)

y.sib = younger sibling
sim = simultaneous

dp = discourse particle
cvb = converb

ptl = particle

meaning of exactness (Lamunkhin Even)

tar ho: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) :

umu:-kə:n

‘only one’

dzu:-kə:n

‘only two’

Development of verbal diminutives in Lamunkhin Even

nominal diminutive (still found Evenki, Oroqen)



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

renewal of nominal suffixes (in Even) → -k(A)kAn, -jAkAn, -čAn

suffixes (in Even) → -k(A)kAn, -

grammaticalization of new suffixes in Lamunkhin Even (derived deverbal adjective, diminutive converb) with -kAn

**Contact-induced innovation:
copied verbal mood paradigms**

Lamunxhin Even Assertive < Sakha (forms attested in narrative corpus)

	Lamunxhin Even	Sakha
1SG	-j-dAglm	-tAχ-Im
2SG	-j-dAglŋ	-tAχ-lŋ
3SG	-j-dAgA	-tAχ-A
1PL	-j-dAkplt	-tAχ-BIt
2PL		-tAχ-GIt
3PL	-j-dAktArA	-tAχ-TArA

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

	Lamunkhin Even	Sakha
1SG	-jAktA:kpIn	-IAχtA:χ -BIn
2SG	-jAktA:kkIn	-IAχtA:χ -GIn
3SG	-jAktA:k	-IAχtA:χ -0
1PL	-jAktA:kpIt	-IAχtA:χ -BIt
2PL	-jAktA:kkIt // -jAktA:kkI-hnAn	-IAχtA:χ -GIt
3PL	-jAktA:k-A-I	-IAχtA:χ -LAr

Lamunxhin Even Present tense < Sakha (forms attested in narrative corpus)

	Lamunxhin Even	Sakha
1SG	-j-AbIn	-A -BIn
2SG	-j-AgIn	-A -GIn
3SG	-j-Ar	-Ar -0
1PL	-j-AbIt	-A -BIt
2PL		-A -GIt
3PL	-j-AllAr	-Ar -LAr

Lamunkhin Even Hypothetical < Sakha (forms attested in narrative corpus)

	Lamunkhin Even	Sakha
1SG	-jAkpln	-IAχ -Bln
2SG	-jAkkln	-IAχ -Gln
3SG	-jA:gln // -jAn	-IAχ -(t)ln // -lAn
1PL		-IAχ -Bltn
2PL		-IAχ -Gltln
3PL	-jAktArln	-IAχ -LArln
impersonal	-jAkkA	-IAχ -GA

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

Hypothetical Mood: Suffix *-mna* + person marking
(Novikova 1980, Malchukov 1995, Robbek 2007)

bi o:-mna-w

'I will **probably** make'

(Novikova 1980: 79)

ńok-e-mne-w

'I will **perhaps** do'

(Robbek 2007: 524)

Epistemic modality in Lamunkhin Even

bimorphemic suffix *-čA(:)dʒi*

looks like combination of perfect participle *-čA* and
future suffix *-dʒi*

er nasleg-la ha:maj ha:wdi bi-če:dʒi-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-dzi-n
three-ten-pl one year be-pf.ptcp aux-fut-3sg

'... it was **probably** in the year '31.'

(Dejan Matic fielddata, S.Golikov.020)

pf = perfect ptcp = participle
aux = auxiliary fut = future

Origins of epistemic suffix in Lamunxhin Even

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

bi-**če** bi-**dʒi**-n → bi-**če**:**dʒi**-n

But how did auxiliary verb construction
-čA *bi-dzi*- 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?

hassin *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 *-dzi*

Epistemic auxiliary verb constructions in Even

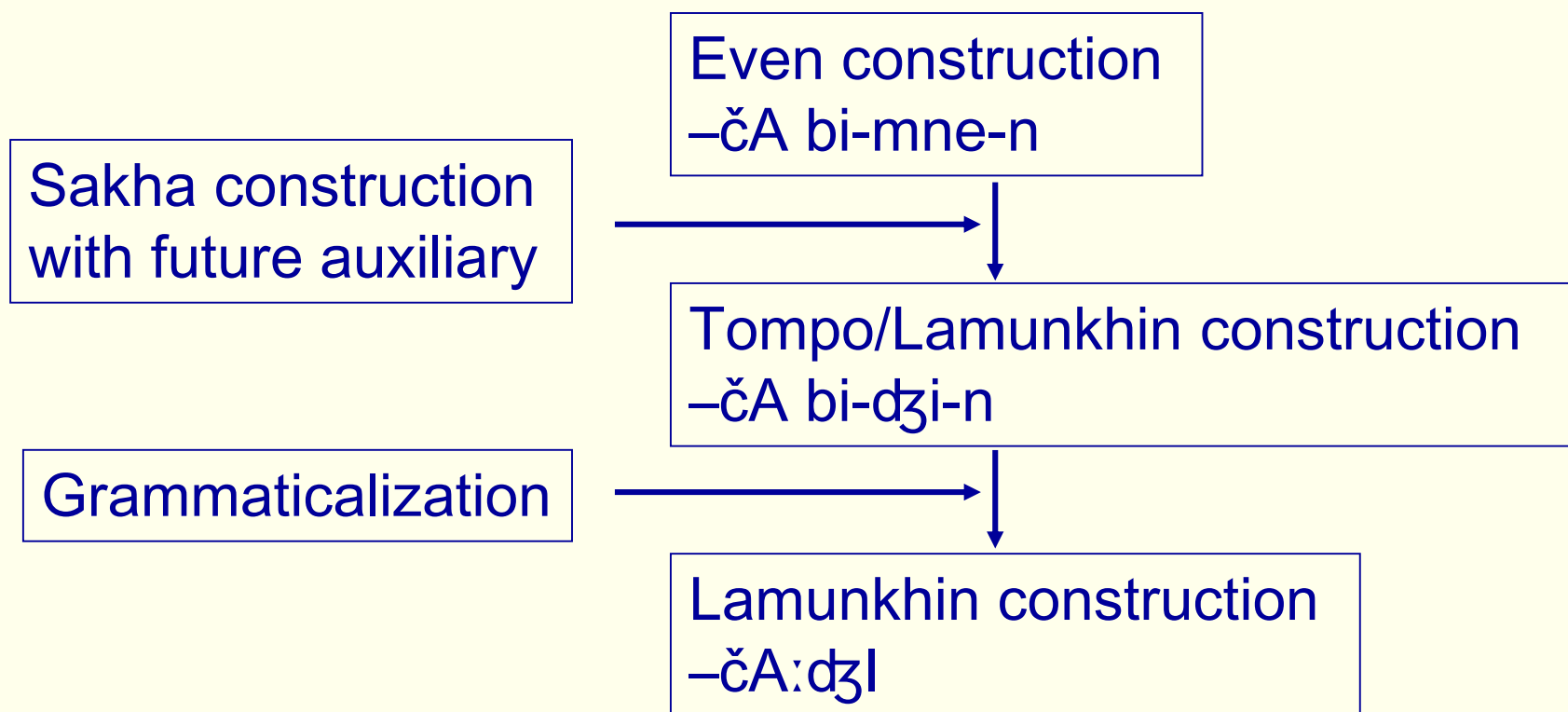
olekči-če-s *bi-mne-n*
cheat-pf.ptcp-2sg aux-hyp-3sg
'you are **probably** cheating again'

(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?



BUT: Berëzovka Even



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

BUT: Berëzovka Even

te:mi *ma:-ča-s* *bi-dži-n...*
therefore kill-pf.ptcp-poss.2sg aux-fut-3sg
'Then you probably killed (her)...

(Tarabukina (ed) 2005: 91)

hə: tut-e-ler *ajiŋ-a-l*
very run-ep-nr.pl fast-ep-pl
bi-če-sen *bi-dži-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
- Future is well-known cross-linguistic source for epistemic constructions (cf. Bybee et al 1994: 207-208; van der Auwera & Plungian 1998: 96)
- 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-ne:-n*
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:

o:-ča-l

bi-dziye-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

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