

Debitive constructions in Evenki as a consequence of language contact

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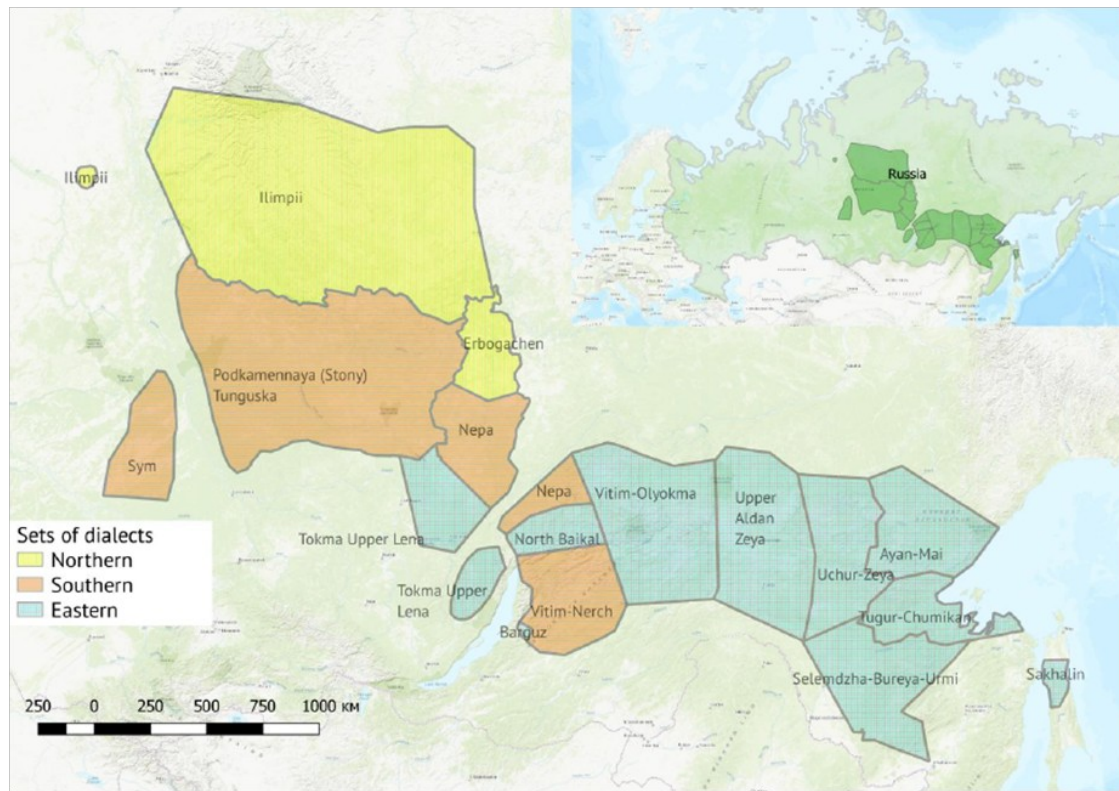
- Endangered Tungusic language spoken in Russia and China
- High dialect variation
- Contacts:

Turkic languages

Mongolic languages

Uralic languages

Russian and Chinese



Obligation and necessity in Evenki

- *ŋA:t* or *-mAtjin* converbs (Bulatova and Grenoble 1999: 37)
- *pkA* / *-wkA* converb (Konstantinova 1964: 145)

BUT

A number of other ways in actual texts from speech corpora

e. g. using *nado*

(Grenoble 2019, Rudnitskaya 2020)

(1) *aki-m*

elder.brother-POSS.1SG

o-ki:t-tula:

make-NMLZ.LOC-LOCAL

hawal-na:-s-matʃin

work-GO.TO-INCEP-DEB

‘My brother **must go** to the construction site’
(Konstantinova 1964: 186)

(2) *nʃimok-tu:-wər*

neighbour-DAT-RFL.PL

luhu

always

bori:-wka

share-PTCP

‘One **should** always **share** (meat) with their neighbours’

nado + purpose converb (-dA:-)

(3) *niamapʃu-jə dundə-jə*

warm-ACC.IND land-ACC.IND

gələ:ktə-də:-t *nada*

search-CVB-1PL(INCL) it.is.necessary

‘It is necessary for us to look for a warm land’

NB: nado + purpose converb (-dA:)

(4) *oro-r-bor*

reindeer-PL-ACC.RFL.PL

gələ:ktə-nə:-də: *nado*

search-GO.TO-CVB **it.is.necessary**

‘It is necessary to go and look for one’s reindeer’

nado + infinitive (-mi)

(5) *nuṅanman* *nada* *djawa-mi*
3sg.ACC it.is.necessary catch-INF

'It is necessary to catch him'

nado + KOL (<imperative)

(6) *skoro* *nado*

soon.R **it.is.necessary**

kərəmi:-dʲə-kol

squirrel.VBLZ-IPFV-IMPER.2SG

'It is necessary to hunt squirrels soon'

nado + RI:-DU:

(7) *utə-l-bi*

child-PL-ACC.RFL

nado

it.is.necessary

uli-ri:-du:

feed-PTCP-DAT

WRI:

(8)*tika:r e:ku-r-wa-n*

so what-PL-ACC-POSS.3SG

əmun-ma-n

sje:n-ma-n

djigi-wri

lip-ACC-POSS3SG ear-ACC-POSS3SG

cut-PTCP

'It is necessary to cut so its whatchamacallit, its lip, its ear'

WRI/RI converb and its sources

- A similar WRI form in the sister Negidal in (Khasanova and Pevnov 2003: 270)
- WRI and *nado* + RI-DU found in the Far Eastern dialects contacting with Russian, Sakha, and Negidal

Questions

- sources for WRI and RI-DU
- sources for KOL
- why so many ways of expressing necessity?

nado

‘it is necessary’ in Russian

BUT

Used as a noun in Sakha and Eastern Evenki dialects contacting extensively with Sakha

-RIDU *and* -WRI

- RI is a simultaneous action participle
- dative participle forms not typical for Evenki
- Quite typical for Sakha
- a Sakha purposive *-A:rl* converb

-A:rl converb in Sakha

- (8.40) *Onon iŷe-m dʒe ol hordo-h-on bihigi*
that.INST mother-POSS.1SG well that make.suffer-RFL-SQ.CV 1PL
i:t-en [abira-n-a:ri] ol Čičimax-χa ülele:-bit-e.
bring.up-SQ.CV help-RFL-PURP.CV that Chichimax-DAT work-PST.PTC-POSS.3SG
‘Therefore my mother suffered while bringing us up and worked in
Chichimax in order to receive help.’ (PIB: 94)

Stapert 2013: 299

nado + KOL (<imperative)

(6) *skoro* *nado*

soon.R **it.is.necessary**

kərəmi:-dʲə-kol

squirrel.VBLZ-IPFV-IMPER.2SG

'It is necessary to hunt squirrels soon'

-KOL

- developed from an imperative form
- lost its vowel harmony
- considered to be kind of a new infinitive form in the Upper Lena dialects

Expressing necessity in Evenki

- High intra-dialect variation
- borrowed constructions
 - nado
 - nado + infinitive (<Russian)
 - nado + ridu (<Sakha?)
 - wri (<Sakha?)

- [Matras 2007: 45]
 - Obligation > necessity > possibility > ability > desire
- *nado* as a popular borrowing due to colonization
- Old markers: shift:
 - mAtjin:***
 - debitive → future (for timetables)
 - ŋA:t***
 - Optative in some dialects*

Thank you for your attention