

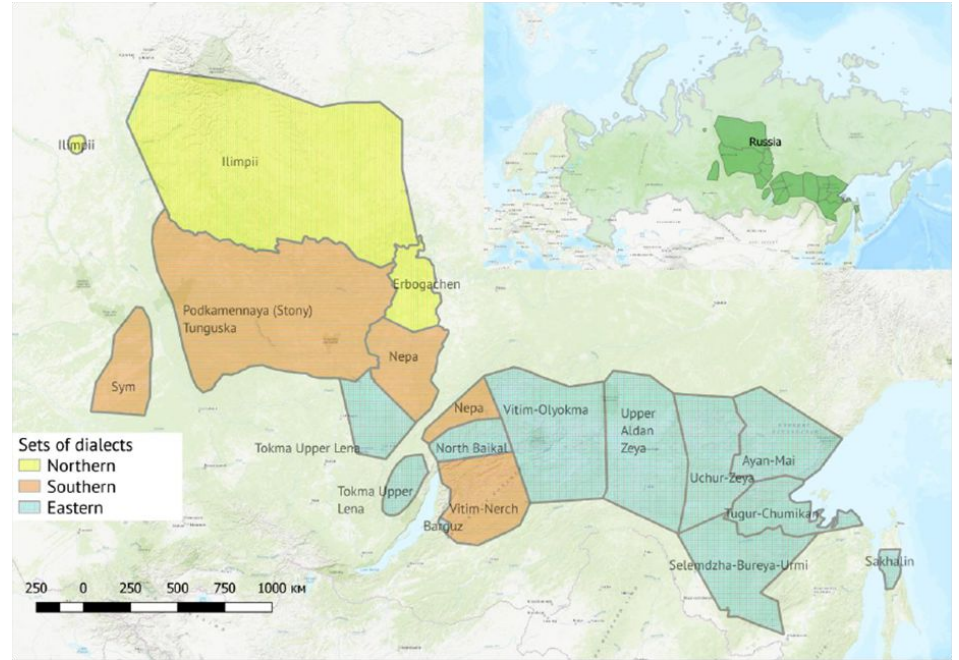
Code-switching vs borrowing: the case of hesitation markers in Evenki

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Evenki

- most wide-spread Tungusic language
- Russia and China
- ≈ 50 dialects
- huge amount of language contact
- complex agglutinating morphology



Evenki dialects of Russia based on Vasilevich (1948), redrawn by Nadezhda Mamontova

Evenki

- (nowadays) contacts with Russian (< Slavic) and Sakha (< Turkic) languages
- longitudinal contact with Sakha in Yakutia and the Far East
 - in some families, bilingual speakers already in the 19th century
- almost all speakers bi-(or multi) lingual
- taught at school (sporadically and inconsistently)
- almost no mass media
- endangered: < 5% of native Evenki speak Evenki (census and research data)

Data

- Evenki oral text corpus (Institute of linguistics, RAS): <http://siberian-lang.srcc.msu.ru/ru/textspage> and <http://gisly.net/corpus>
- Evenki oral text corpus (Institute of Anthropology and Ethnography, RAS): <http://corpora.iea.ras.ru>
- mostly Western dialects
- mostly narratives (life stories and folklore)
- data on sociolinguistic situation
 - sociolinguistic surveys
 - sociolinguistic biographies

Evenki L1 hesitation markers:

aŋ(i)

- unclear etymology (exists at the Tungusic level)
- used as a placeholder and as an interjection
- substitutes nominal and verbal target words
- mirrors morphological structure

(1) *umno: aŋi-wa bagdakə-wə aŋi-Ø-m*

once **PH-ACC** wild.reindeer-ACC **PH-NFUT-1SG**

'I once did **whatsitsname** [killed] a **whatsitsname**, a wild reindeer'

Evenki L1 hesitation markers:

uŋun

- unclear etymology (exists at the Tungusic level)
- used as a placeholder
- substitutes proper nouns
- mirrors morphological structure
- seems to exist only in specific dialects

(2) *bəjə* *uŋun-mə* *dəwit-pa* *ha:-Ø-ndə*
person **PH2-ACC** David-ACC know-NFUT-2SG

‘Friend, do you know **whatshisname**, David?’

Evenki L1 hesitation markers:

e:kun

- origin < interrogative pronoun ‘what’
- similar pronouns in other Tungusic languages
- used as an interjection and as a placeholder
- substitutes nominal and verbal target words
- mirrors morphological structure
- seems to exist only in specific dialects

(3) *ə-wki:* *minə* ***ə-ra*** *əyi-fko:n-ə*
NEG-PHAB 1SG.ACC **what-PNEG** play-CAUS-PNEG

‘She did not let me **do that thing**, play’.

Evenki L1 hesitation markers:

ər

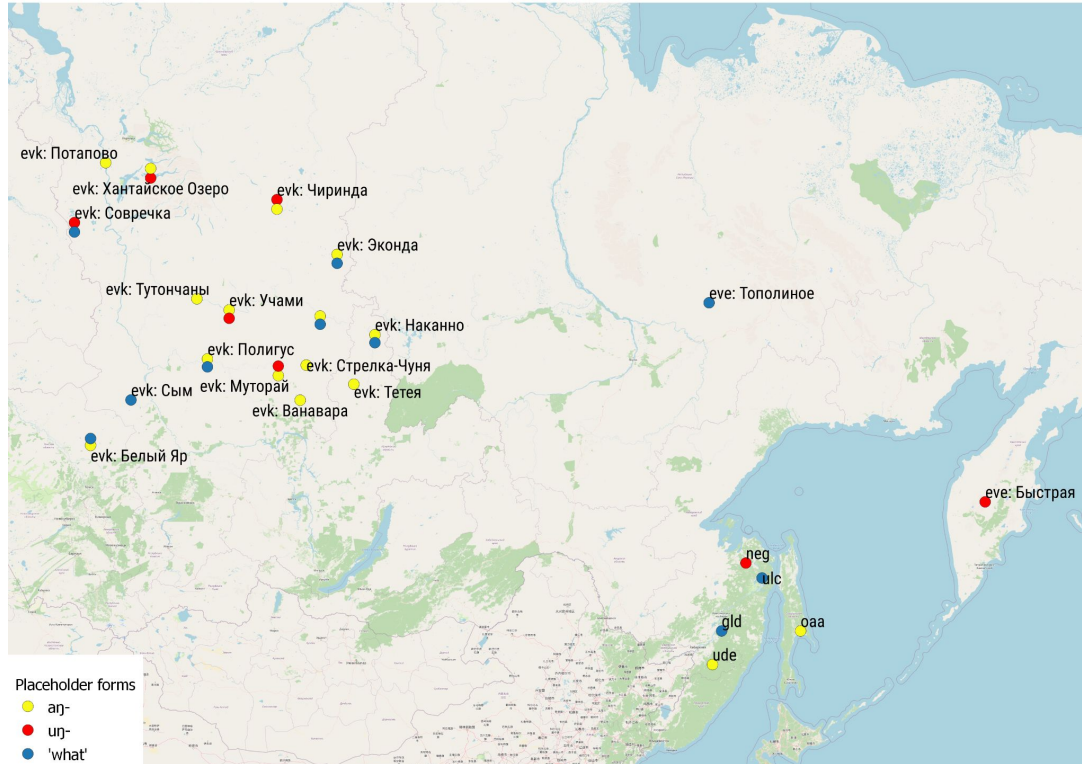
- < demonstrative pronoun 'this'
- used as an interjection

(4) *ər=kə* *urkə-wə* *aŋa-l-d'ə-n=də*

this=FOC door-ACC open-INCH-FUTCNT-3SG=FOC

'Well, it will start opening the door'

Evenki L1 hesitation markers: Tungusic context



Evenki L2 hesitation markers:

əTO (əto, əta) < Russian 'this, it'>

- used as an interjection
- no mirroring
- used in the same way as in colloquial Russian

(5)	<i>bi</i>	<i>tožə</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>hawal-tʃa:-f</i>	<i>saf=</i>
	1SG	too.R	1SG	work-PST-1SG	SLIP
əto	<i>kal</i>	əto	<i>kalhos-tu:</i>	<i>hawali-li-∅-m</i>	
it.R	SLIP	it.R	kolkhoz-DAT	work-INCH-NFUT-1SG	

'Me too, I worked, I started to work, **well**, at a collective farm

Evenki L3 hesitation markers:

bolla < Sakha буолла (buolla)

- used as an interjection (no mirroring)
- similarly to Sakha and Even (a relative, also contacting with Sakha)
- a speaker recalls the “correct” (=L1) way

(6)	<i>adi:</i>		<i>adi:</i>		<i>bo:la</i>		<i>nu</i>		<i>o:ki:n</i>
	how.much		how.much		PH		well.R		when
	<i>digin</i>	<i>nawerna</i>	<i>bi-tʃa:-n</i>		<i>uʒə</i>		<i>tuyə</i>		<i>bo:la</i>
	4	maybe.R	be-PST-3SG		already		in.winter		PH

‘How much, well, it was perhaps 4 o’clock already in winter’

Choosing between L1 and L2 hesitant markers: fluency?

Placeholders borrowed from Russian are characteristic of ***young semi-speakers***?

- Estimate the frequency of the placeholders used
- How to check the overall fluency of the speaker?

Choosing between L1 and L2 hesitant markers

- Most speakers use “native” placeholders, even semi-speakers:
425 vs 94
- Fluent speakers use borrowed PH as well as “native” PH in similar contexts
- Sometimes borrowed PH are accompanied with code-switching into Russian
- Generally preference towards borrowed PH is a characteristic of a speaker, rather than a matter of language fluency
- Borrowed PH are more often used by proficient speakers who have had little practice in Evenki

Some examples: speakers preferring “eto”

TAB (texts recorded in 2011):

- lives in Potapovo (Taimyr) – a mostly non-Evenki village
- born in 1955 in Igarka (Taimyr)
- bilingual in Evenki and Russian
- speaks mostly Russian with her family, neighbours and friends (except for brothers and sisters)
- remembers folklore
- her texts are quite fluent but have a lot of code-mixing

Some examples: speakers preferring “eto”

VAI (texts recorded in 2010):

- born in 1937 in Orlovka (not far from Bely Yar)
- bilingual in Evenki and Russian
- lives in Bely Yar (Tomsk region) – a mostly non-Evenki village
- speaks mostly Russian with his family, neighbours and friends (except for his sister)
- remembers folklore
- his texts are quite fluent but have a lot of code-mixing

Some examples: speakers preferring “*anji*”

IKU (texts recorded in 2008):

- born in 1969 in Tutonchany
- lives in Tutonchany – a mostly Evenki village
- bilingual in Evenki and Russian
- speaks mostly Russian (but sometimes Evenki) with her family, neighbours and friends (except for her father)
- her texts are quite fluent but have a lot of code-mixing and code-switching
- uses *anji* extensively when cannot recall a word

Yaron Matras (1998), Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing. *Linguistics*

- Discourse particles and conjunctions are at the top of the borrowing hierarchy
- Evaluate the number of other borrowings from L1, L3 in general

Conclusion

- Preferring borrowed placeholders over native ones may indicate not the “fluency” of a speaker but rather their **exposure to communication** in Evenki
- Passive speakers who are more exposed to the Evenki speech may have difficulties when producing speech
- but they will then use the Evenki placeholders!

Further plans

- annotate more data from the Far East
- calculate the statistics of L1, L2, L3 hesitant markers in the Far East
- choice between L1, L2 and L3 hesitant markers

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Glossae

•ACCIN – indefinite accusative, ATR – attributive, FOC – focus particle, FUTCNT – immediate future, CVCOND – conditional converb, CVPURP – converb of purpose, CVSIM – converb of simultaneous action, INCEP – inceptive, INCH – inchoative, INDPS – indirect (alienable) possession, PH – placeholder, PHAB – habitual participle, PNEG – negative participle, PRGRN – peregrinative, PS – possession, PSIM – participle of simultaneous action, PSTITER – iterative past, R – Russian word; SEM – semelfactive; SLIP – slip of the tongue