

The correlation of code-switching and use of specific Evenki constructions: the hesitation markers

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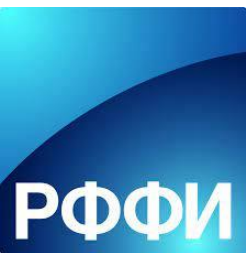
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HESITATION MARKERS: TYPOLOGY

Hesitation Markers

- Hesitation markers constitute a subset of discourse markers that signal production difficulties in spontaneous spoken discourse [Podlesskaya & Xuršudjan 2006; Podlesskaya 2010].
- HM include pauses and filled pauses (*uhm..*, Russian *mm..*) and special lexical items (*well*, Russian *nu, znachit* etc.) [Podlesskaya & Xuršudjan 2006; Bogdanova-Beglaryan 2015].

Placeholders

- Placeholders constitute a subset of hesitation markers which are used to temporarily substitute a delayed portion of discourse. Placeholders are recruited from various lexemes and collocations and are used mostly in informal spontaneous oral discourse [Podlesskaya 2010]:
- (1) V avtobus voshli **eti**, kontrolery.
into bus.ACC came.in these inspectors
“**How is this**, inspectors came into the bus.”

Lexical sources of placeholders

- a. Personal (3d Person), demonstrative, indefinite or interrogative pronouns — e.g. Russian proximal *eto* ‘this’, Japanese adnominal distal *ano* ‘that’ and pronominal distal *are* [Hayashi & Yoon 2006], Agul (East Caucasian) *fiš* ‘who’, *fi* ‘what’ [Ganenkov, Lander & Maisak 2010], Udi (East Caucasian) *he* ‘what, which’ [Ganenkov, Lander & Maisak 2010];
- b. Semantically bleached nouns – e.g. Armenian *ban* ‘thing’ [Podlesskaya, Xuršudjan 2006];
- c. A combination of (a) and (b) – e.g. Chinese *zhege* ‘this’, *nage* ‘that’ – a combination of proximal and distal pronouns with a neutral classifier [Hayashi & Yoon 2006];
- d. Lexicalized constructions of the *whatchamacallit* type with an interrogative word, like *how* or *what*, and a naming noun or verb, like *name* or *call*).
 - [Podlesskaya 2010: 12-13]

- According to [Podlesskaya & Xuršudjan 2006; Amiridze 2010; Podlesskaya 2010; Podlesskaya & Starodubtseva 2013], a number of languages have such markers, and in some languages these markers partly or completely repeat the grammatical form of words they substitute (so-called *mirroring*):

(1) V avtobus voshli **eti**, kontrolery.
 Into bus.ACC came.in these[PL, NOM] inspectors[PL, NOM]
 “**How is this**, inspectors came into the bus.”

(2) Ty mne ne nalyesh **etogo**, likera?
 you to.me NEG pour.2SG this[SG,MASC,GEN] liqueur[SG,MASC,GEN]
 “Would you please pour me, **how is this**, some liqueur?”

- Specialized placeholders can be found, inter alia, in Adyghe (East Caucasian) [Podlesskaya & Starodubtseva 2013], Agul and Udi (West Caucasian) [Ganenkov, Lander & Maisak 2010], Armenian [Podlesskaya & Xuršudjan 2006], Georgian [Amiridze 2010], Hungarian [Amiridze 2010], Nganasan (Uralic) [Podlesskaya & Starodubtseva 2013], Turkish [Amiridze 2010], Dolgan (Turkic) [Däbritz 2018], Ulcha (Tungusic) [Sumbatova et al. 2005] via [Podlesskaya 2010], Udyghe (Tungusic) [Nikolaeva, Tolskaya 2001] via [Podlesskaya & Starodubtseva 2013], Even (Tungusic) [Matić 2008].

Placeholders in Tungusic Languages: provided with nominal categories

Ulcha < Tungusic [Sumbatova et al. 2005] via [Podlesskaya 2010]

- (3) **xaj-tj-n** gāra-tj-n dondo-ro.
PH-LAT-3SG branch-LAT-3SG alight-IMPFCNV

‘[A bird] alighted on a PH [whatchamacallit] ... on a [tree] branch.’

Udyghe < Tungusic [Nikolaeva, Tolskaya 2001] via [Podlesskaya & Starodubtseva 2013]

- (4) Konz’o-tigi **anji-we** xulepte-we kongodo:-ti
box-LAT PH-ACC ashes-ACC pour. PAST-3PL

‘They poured PH [whatchamacallit] ... ashes in a box’

Placeholders in Tungusic Languages: provided with verbal categories

Ulcha [Sumbatova et al. 2005] via [Podlesskaya 2010]

- (5) ami-gdolo **xaj-xa** mapanaʒo-**xa**.
father-PTCL PH-PASTP get.older-PASTP
‘Father got PH [whatchamacallit] ... got older.’

Udyghe < Tungusic [Nikolaeva, Tolskaya 2001] via [Podlesskaya &
Starodubtseva 2013]

- (6) Ñanga-da sine-we **anji-nde-ze-mi**
a.little-FOC you-ACC PH-SEM-SUBJ-1SG

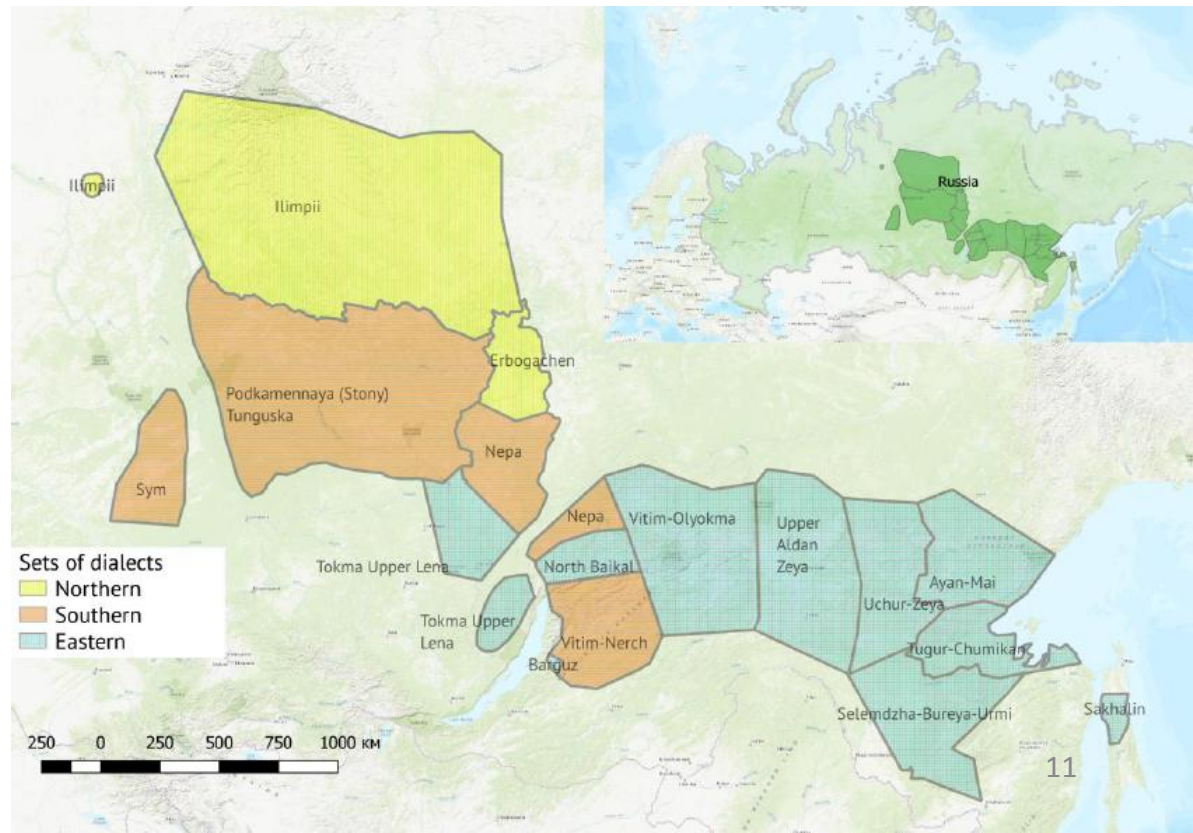
kese-**li-nde-ze-mi**
torment-INC-SEM-SUBJ-1SG

PLACEHOLDERS IN EVENKI

Evenki language

- Evenki < North-Tungusic < Tungusic < Altaic
- Evenki (*Evedy turen*, lit. ‘the Evenki language’; or *Iledy turen*, ‘human language’) is one of eight Tungusic languages spoken in Siberia and the Far East of Asiatic Russia [Nedjalkov 1997: xix]
- Contains 3 main dialect groups and ~ 50 dialects [Bulatova, Grenoble 1999]

Evenki dialects of Russia
based on Vasilevich (1948),
redrawn by Nadezhda Mamontova
via [Klyachko 2020]



Evenki placeholder *anji-*

- *Origin:* unknown
- *also found in Uilta (Orok) and Udeghe*

(7) umno: **anji-wa** bagdakə-wə **anji-∅-m**
once **PH-ACC** wild.reindeer-ACC **PH-NFUT-1SG**

‘I once **did that thing** [killed] **whatsitsname**, a wild reindeer.’ (S. M. Andreyeva, Strelka-Chunya, 2007)

Evenki placeholder $\bar{e}(ku)$, $\bar{\text{ə}}$ -

- *Origin: 'what'*

(8) walok- ula: tozə **e:ku-r-wa** oldo-**ŋi-l-wa**
Valyok-LOCAL also **PH-PL-ACC** fish-INDPS-PL-ACC

e:-l-wa əmə-wu-pki:l bi- tʃo-l
PH-PL-ACC come-TR-PHAB-PL be-PANT-PL

‘They also carried **whatsitsname**, fish **and such** to Valyok.’ (L. A. Yeryomina speaking to M. D. Turskaya, Khantayskoye Ozero, 2011)

(9) *muldi:-ka-r* *ərəgəri-t*
not.be.able-NMLZ-PL at.all-ADVZ

e:-wa=da *doku-d'a-mi:=da*
what-ACC=FOC write-IPFV-CVCOND=FOC

e:-d'a-mi:=da
what-IPFV-CVCOND=FOC

‘(They were) not able at all to write anything or **do such things.**’
(V. Kh. Yoldogir, Chiringda, 2007)

Evenki placeholder **uŋun**

- *Origin*: unknown.
- *uŋun* is a named-entity placeholder.

(10) tar huru-rə-∅ dəgi huwuli-n
that go.away-NFUT-3PL bird ALL-PS3SG

uŋun-dula: tarə d'antaki:-la:

PH-LOCALL that wolverine-LOCALL

'So all birds went **to whatshisname**, to the wolverine.' (V. Kh. Yoldogir, Chiringda, 2007)

- The placeholders in (7)-(10) possess rich morphology. In (11) below the placeholder *aŋ=kə* represents a bare stem accompanied by a focal particle.

(11) ha-l-tin **aŋ=kə** asin.
 part-PL-PS3PL PH=FOC are.absent
 Others, **well**, [they] are absent.

- This difference can be due to that between the searching for an appropriate lexical item (term) and the searching for a bigger entity (phrase or clause).
- Cf. discussion in [Ganenkov, Lander & Maisak 2010].

Placeholders borrowed from Russian

Placeholders borrowed from Russian usually represent a bare stem:

(12) bi tožə bi hawal-čā-f
 1SG also 1SG work-PST-1SG

saf **əto** kal **əto** kalhos-tū
SLIP PH SLIP PH collective.farm-DATLOC

hawali-li-∅-m.

work-INCH-NFUT-1SG

‘I also.. I worked.. **well**.. I began to work at the collective farm’
(Antonina Chempogir)

Code switching

(12a) užə halga-ri-n əto nu
already leg-PL-PS3SG PH PH.R

w.zemlu
into.the.ground.R

prowala
are.getting.pulled.SLIP.R

prowaliwajutsa
are.getting.pulled.R

‘His [demon’s] legs are already getting pulled into the ground.’

(Tamara Bogdanova, Potapovo)

Demonstrative ETO as a source of PH

(12b) i bi d'onə-∅-m
and 1SG remember-NFUT-1SG

əto tar bi-nō-n wašilij
PH that be-PROB-3SG Vasily

kotor tokto-hi-čō-n oŋokto-wo-n abačī
who cleave-INCEP-PST-3SG nose-ACC-PS3SG bear

‘And I remembered. It must have been the bear whose nose had Vasily cleaved.’ (Pavel Mongo, Yerbogachyon)

Hypothesis

- 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?

EVENKI: SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

- Most speakers are bilingual (Evenki and Russian) or trilingual (Evenki, Russian and Yakut)
- Almost no monolingual Evenki speakers
- Dramatic decline in the number of speakers
- Huge variation across dialects, highly disperse
- “Standard” Evenki is low-prestige
- Very limited spheres where the Evenki is spoken
- Longitudinal contact with the Russian language influencing phonetics, morphology, and grammar

CHECKING THE HYPOTHESIS

- Oral Evenki corpus (1996—2019):
<http://siberian-lang.srcc.msu.ru/ru/textspage>
(~35 000 running words)
- Sociolinguistic questionnaires collected by
Kazakevich et al. (1996—2019)
(> 2000 questionnaires)

Borrowed vs native placeholders

- 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

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 steps

- Check against larger corpora
- Other borrowed discourse markers?
- Their relations with code-switching and code-mixing

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• Glossae

- ACCIN – indefinite accusative, ATR – attributive, FOC — фокусная частица, FUTCNT – immediate future, CVCOND – conditional converb, CVPURP – converb of purpose, CVSIM – converb of simultaneous action, IMPFCNV – imperfective converb, 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

