

К РЕКОНСТРУКЦИИ ДРЕВНИХ КОНТАКТОВ ЯЗЫКОВ СЕВЕРНОЙ СИБИРИ

ON THE PRE-HISTORY OF LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN NORTH SIBERIA

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North Siberia — about 4000 km along the Arctic Ocean

Language families (from west to east):

North Samoyedic (Nenets, Enets, Nganasan)

Turkic (Dolgan, Yakut)

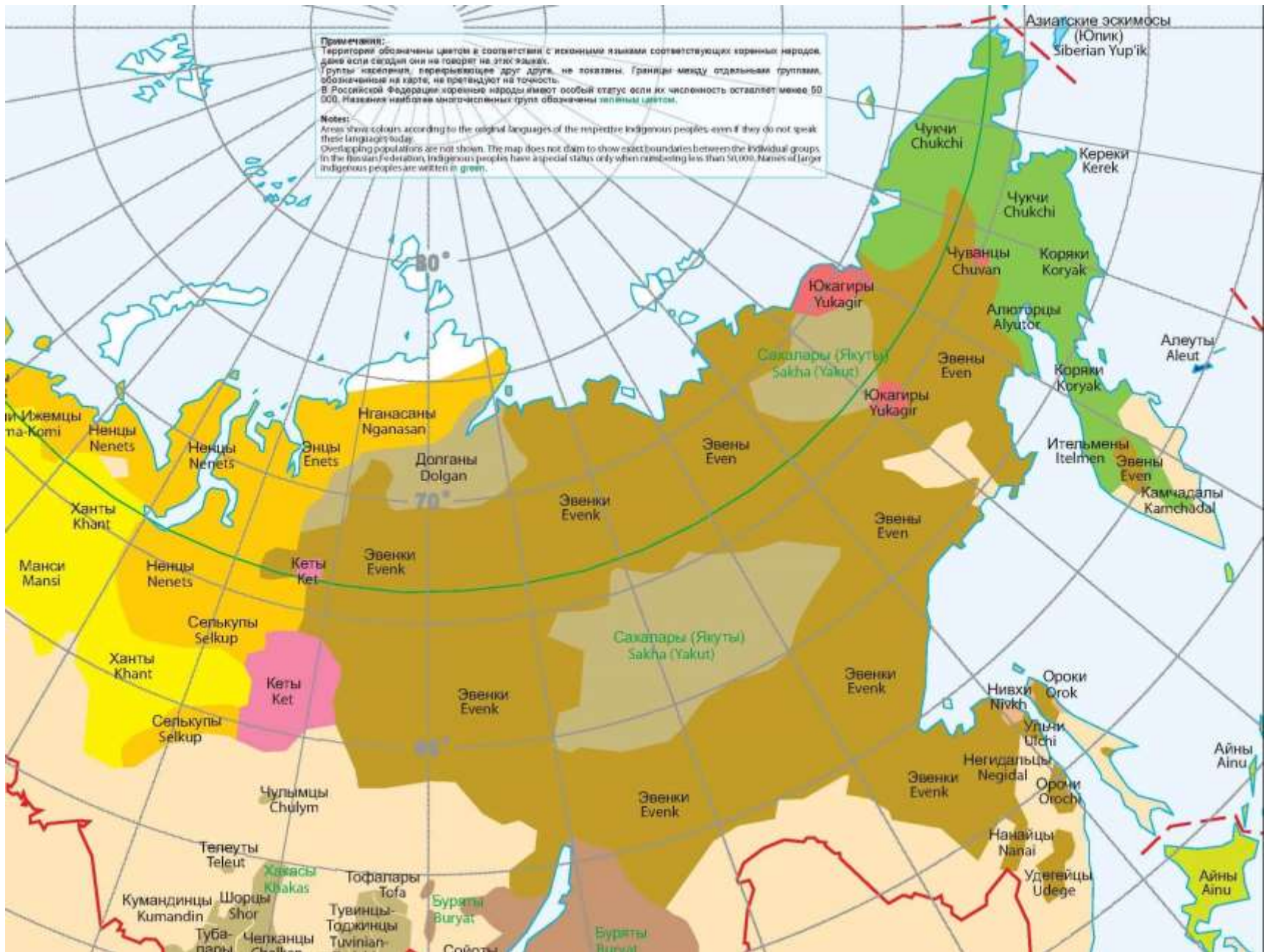
North Tungusic (Ewenki, Ewen)

Yukaghir (Tundra, Kolyma)

Chukotko-Kamchatkan (Chukchi, Koryak, Itelmen)

Примечания:
 Территории обозначены цветом в соответствии с исконными языками соответствующих коренных народов, даже если соседни они не говорят на этих языках.
 Группы населения, перекрывающие друг друга, не показаны. Границы между отдельными группами, обозначены на карте, не претендуют на точность.
 В Российской Федерации коренные народы имеют особый статус если их численность составляет менее 50 000. Названия наиболее многочисленных групп обозначены зеленым цветом.

Notes:
 Areas show colours according to the original languages of the respective indigenous peoples even if they do not speak these languages today.
 Overlapping populations are not shown. The map does not claim to show exact boundaries between the individual groups in the Russian Federation, indigenous peoples have a special status only when numbering less than 50,000. Names of larger indigenous peoples are written in green.



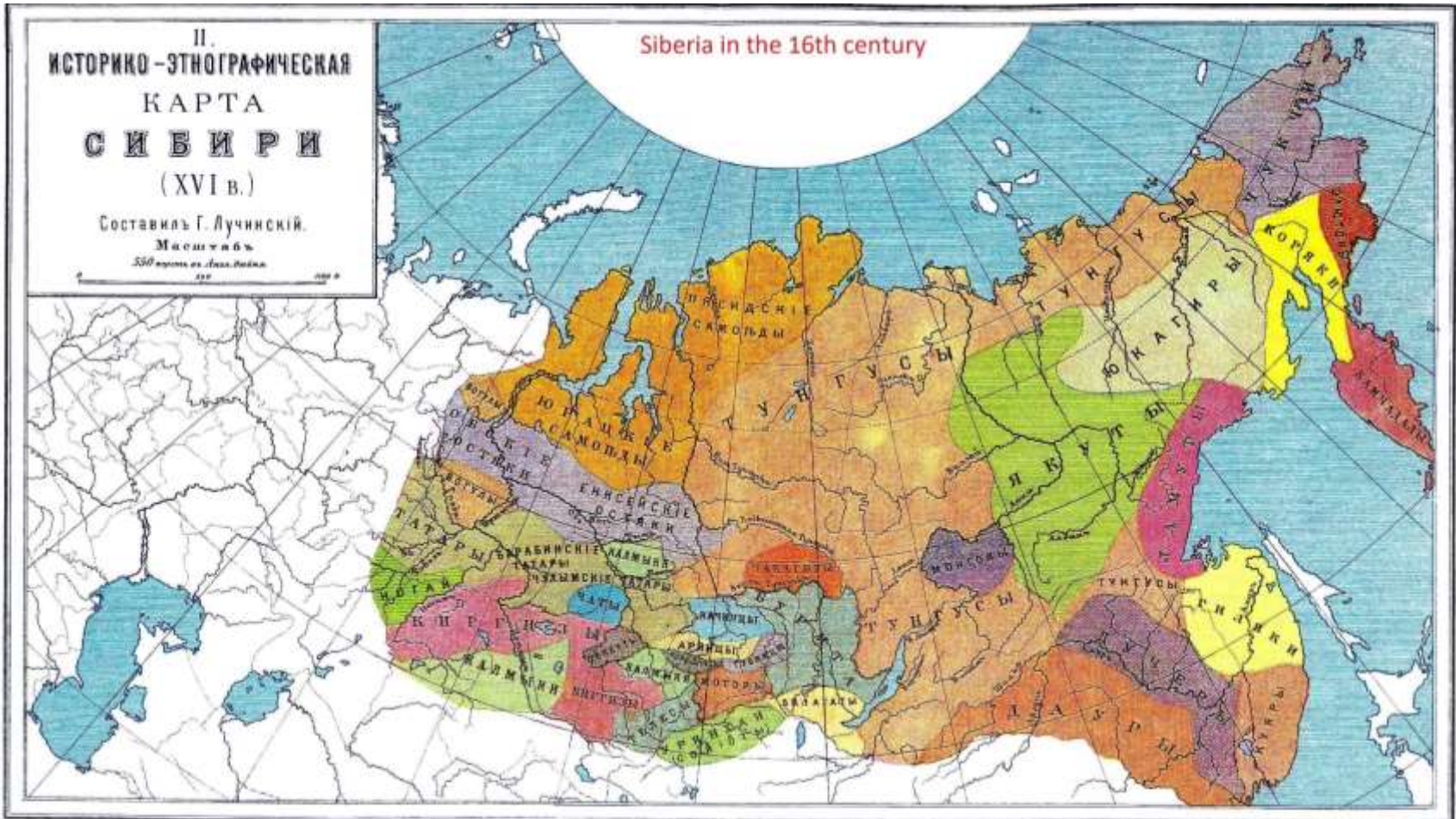


<https://www.gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2019/04/17/14/2.jpg>

II.
ИСТОРИКО-ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ
КАРТА
СИБИРИ
(XVI в.)

Составил Г. Лучинский.
Масштаб
500 верст от Архангельска

Siberia in the 16th century



<i>Самоеды Пясидские и Уралские</i> Samoyeds of Pysid and Ural	<i>Чаты</i> Chats	<i>Чакчагы</i> Chakagirs	<i>Тунгусы</i> Tungus	<i>Чукчи</i> Chukchas
<i>Остяки Оби и Енисейские</i> Ostyaks of Ob and Yenisei	<i>Телеуты</i> Teleuts	<i>Буряты</i> Buryats	<i>Якуты</i> Yakuts	<i>Олуторы</i> Olyutors
<i>Вогулы</i> Voguls	<i>Киргизы</i> Kirghiz	<i>Качинцы</i> Kachintsy	<i>Монголы</i> Mongols	<i>Коряки</i> Koryaks
<i>Татары Барыбинские</i> <i>Уральские и Арктические</i> Tatars of Barabin, Chulyum and others	<i>Телевы</i> Telesy	<i>Аринцы</i> Arintsy	<i>Дучеры</i> Duchers	<i>Камчатские</i> Kamchadals
<i>Ногай</i> Nogai	<i>Моторы</i> Motors	<i>Комашинцы</i> Komashintsy	<i>Джары</i> Dairs	<i>Юкагиры</i> Yukagirs
<i>Калмыки</i> Kalmyk	<i>Урянхайские (Сойоты)</i> Uryankhal (Soyots)	<i>Тубинцы</i> Tubintsy	<i>Ламуты</i> Lamuts	<i>Гильяки</i> Gilyaks
	<i>Балаганы</i> Balagats	<i>Балаганы</i> Balagats	<i>Куряи</i> Kuyars	

North Samoyedic & North Tungusic have relatives outside this area (other Samoyedic & Uralic and other Tungusic languages, respectively) — which facilitates uncovering areal features.

Areal features spread to neighbouring languages. One language is the source and another (or others) are recipients.

Sometimes a feature (especially typologically rare) is shared by languages, for which (close) contact was never attested.

Or neither of these languages can be said to be the source of this feature.

Such cases may point to ancient contacts or to a common substrate.

North Siberia: several groupings of ancient isoglosses:

North Samoyedic + Yukaghir

North Samoyedic + North Tungusic + Eskimo-Aleut

North Tungusic + Eskimo-Aleut

...

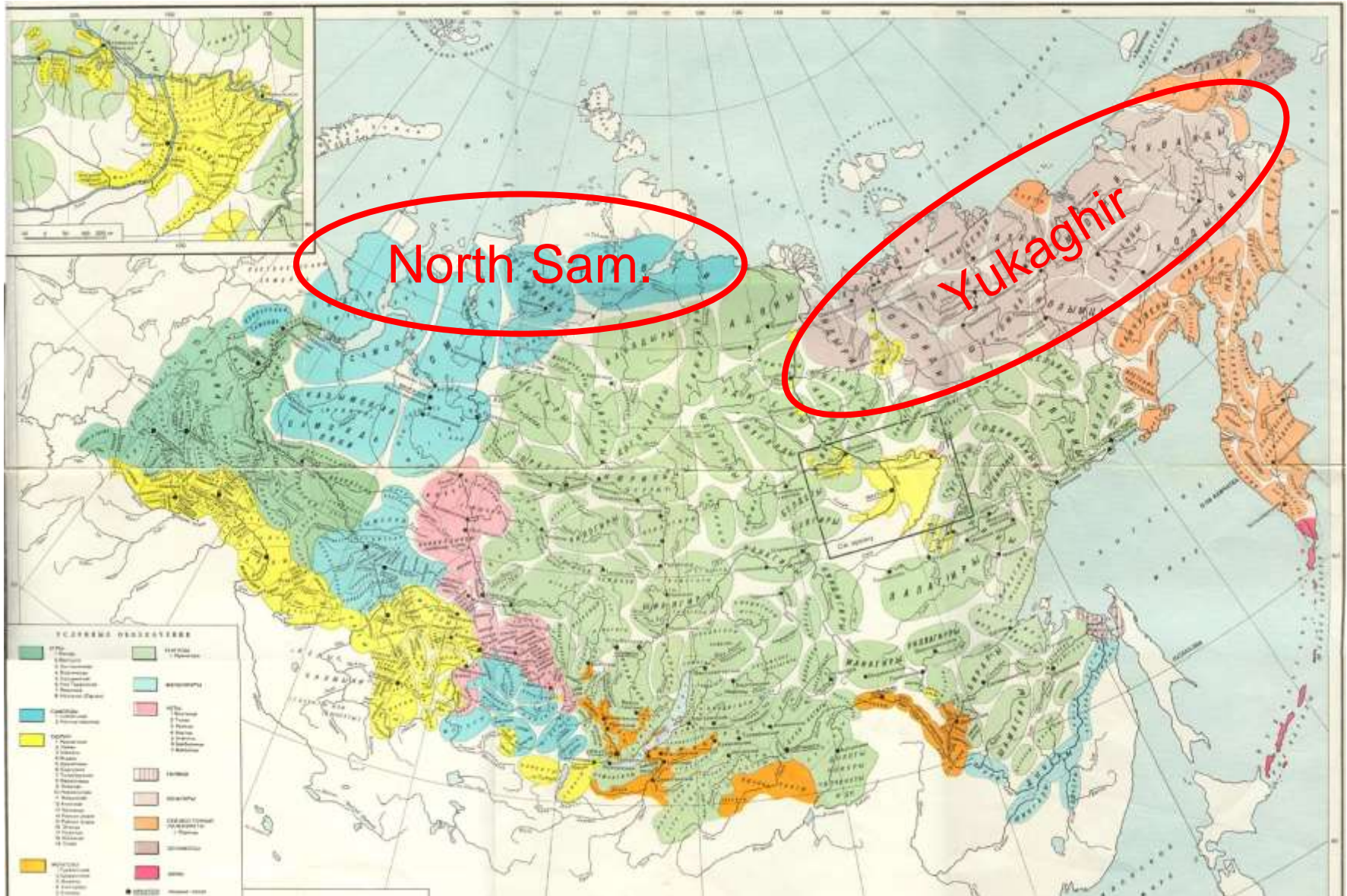
North Samoyed: Nenets (Tundra & Forest)
(< Uralic) Enets (Tundra & Forest)
Nganasan

Yukaghir: Tundra Yukaghir
(isolate?) Kolyma Yukaghir
extinct dialects

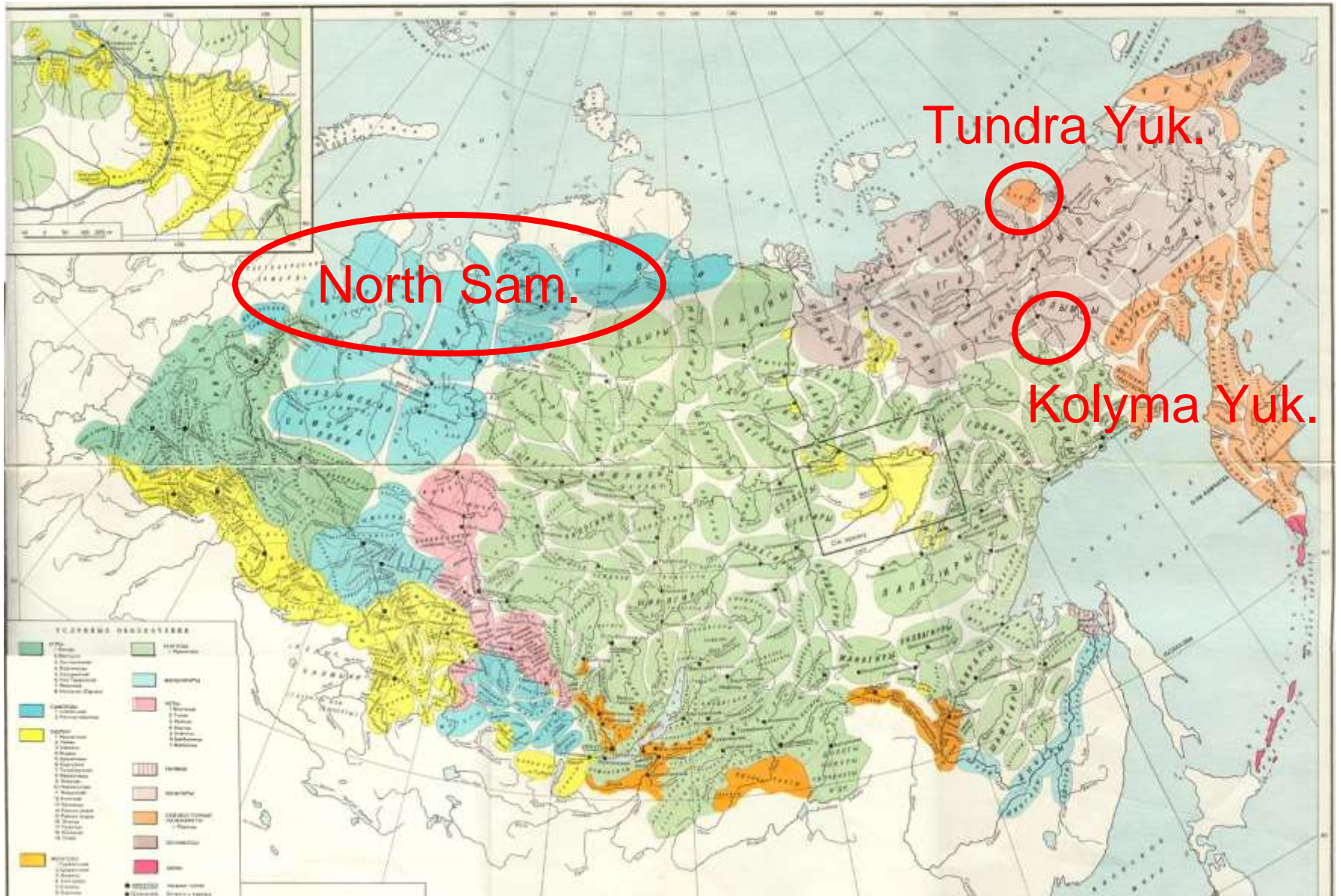
Genetic relationship proposed long ago and disputed since then.

No historical attestation of contacts.

17th century (Dolgikh 1960)



Now



— perfective verbal noun

— перфективное

глагольное имя

! not related to the problem of genetic affinity !

I. Auditive

- auditive (non-visual) marks that the information was perceived by senses other than view
- cross-linguistically rare:
 - western US
 - Amazonia
 - some Tibeto-Burman languages
 - North Samoyed & Yukaghir



North Samoyedic

Ngan. *ńüə-ʔ* *ma-ti* *ɲua* *kaɖa* *tuj-munu-tʲi*
child-PL tent-GEN.3DU door near come-AUD-3DU
'The [two] kids came to the door of their tent'
[it is heard from inside the tent]

Nenets

еся-” *сѣпа-нда* *мюня сѣйра-вон-до’*
железо-PL pocket-GEN.3SG inside ring-AUD-3PL
'money are heard to ring in his pocket'
Tundra Nenets — Терещенко 1965: 543

Татя таш”та лѣк”хана то-вуно-туң.
тут правда близко прийти-AUD-3PL
'They are heard to come very close'
Forest Nenets — Кошкарева и др. 2007: 32

Not only hearing, but other senses as well.

Таньше” мин-ма-й тёлъшкана куки намэ-хэнна
так идти-VN-1SG в.течение кто что-LOC

шутэ-й понт намэ-хама мансапта-вуно-та
лопатка-GEN.PL.1SG между кто-то дотронуться-AUD-3SG

‘While I was going, I felt like someone touched my shoulders’

Forest Nenets — Кошкарева и др. 2007: 32

etymology: verbal noun (PL) + ‘be heard’

lit. “[X’s] V-ings are heard”

Kolyma Yukaghir

Maslova 2003: 409–411

X AN-INSTR *medū*- ‘be heard’

“X is heard by/with V-ing”

(not labelled as “auditive”; first identified as such by Ilyina 2009)

- construction possible only with *medū*-
- covers all means of perception, not only hearing (and also admirative uses)

medī-l-u-ge *emej+taŋ-pe* *ørn'e-le*
[hear-1|2-0-DS] mother+that-PL [shout-ANR:INSTR]

mede-j-ŋi
be.heard-PFV-3PL:INTR

‘[I] heard my mother and others shouting’

Maslova 2003: 410

mit-in *ol'l'ōdoj* *čomōd'e* *jowl'e-lek*
I-DAT [very be.large-ATTR] disease-PRED

kel-le *mede-j-l*
[come-ANR:INSTR] be.heard-PFV-SF

‘I feel a terrible disease coming’ (of the shaman’s
extrasensory perception)

Maslova 2003: 411

Special — and most frequent — use of the Auditive with the verb of speaking as a quotation marker.

Nganasan

Tə, munu-munu-t'ü, d'üt'i-ʔki-ʔə-m ŋansə.

well say-AUD-3SG dream-RES-PF-1SG again

‘Well, he says, I’ve dreamt again’.

Yukaghir

taŋ parā-ge juku+joŋžā martl'uø
[that time-LOC small.goose daughter
epie-gi tāt modo-lle juø-t
grand.mother-POSS CA sit-SS:PFV] [see-SS:IPFV]

mol-le medi-s' <...>
[say-ANR:INSTR] be.heard-PFV:INTR:3SG

‘At that time, the grandmother of small goose’s daughter, after sitting in this way for a while, looked around and said...’

Maslova 2003: 410

Both in Samoyed and in Yukaghir, the use of the Auditive as a quotation marker depends on the narrator's choice: it is fully absent from some texts, but used persistently in others (cf. text 12 in Nikolaeva's collection)

A typologically rare grammeme in both language groups shares some untypical uses. It is unlikely that they emerged independently.

II. Perfective nominalisation

North Samoyed:

- imperfective nominalisation **-mun*
- perfective nominalisation **-ʔmãə*
(action as a whole; past action; result of the action)
перфективное глагольное имя

Yukaghir

Maslova 2003: 152–155

“Action Nominal” («имя действия») *-l*

“Result Nominal” («имя результата») *-ōl*

Both perfective nominalisations seem to be recent innovations compared to their imperfective counterparts

“Basically, RNR is used to denote something resulting from a situation, in particular, its visible traces”

Maslova 2003: 152–155

“The RNR may (but need not) replace the Action Nominal if the complement situation is conceived of as having finished before the matrix situation started” (ibid.: 401–402).

“With these verbs [= speech act verbs]”, the RNR is more frequent” (ibid.: 406–407).

Result / visible traces of a situation

Результат / видимые следы действия

Nganasan

Śigiʔə-rə ŋanuə ŋuə-d'eə-δu bənsə

людоед-2SG настоящий след-3SG весь

kamu-balə i-bahu hośi-tə-rj-ʔmjə-d'eə-δj.

кровь-НАВ быть-RENARR ударить-PROGR-PASS-VN.PF-ANT-3SG

‘(Увидел) след людоеда весь в крови от побоев’ (букв. «след людоеда весь в крови — результат того, что его били»).

‘(He saw) the ogre’s trace, all covered with blood — because it was beaten’

Yukaghir

il'l'el šoromo čugek num-mele,
other person track-PRED find-OF:3SG

erpeje-pul mid-ō-pe-gi
Even-PL roam-RNR-PL-POSS

‘[she] found tracks of other people, [traces] of the Evens’
wandering’

‘нашла следы других людей, [следы] кочевавших
эвенов’

Objects of speech act verbs (content of speech)

Nganasan

təni-ni i-muə-d'əi-t'ü bəńd'ə d'ebtaʔa.

там-LOC.ADV **БЫТЬ-VN.PF-ANT-ACC.PL.3SG** весь.ACC рассказать-PF

‘что там было, все рассказала’.

‘she told all that was there’

tə bəлта təʔ təti kuniʔaiʔ süar-tə-mə

ну все ведь тот как-GEN.PL товарищ-DEST-ACC.1SG

ŋəδə-ʔmuə-d'eə-mə.

НАЙТИ-VN.PF-ANT-1SG

‘That’s all the [story], how I find a wife for me’

‘это всё о том, как я нашел себе жену’

Yukaghir

tude-l pundu-m qado:ngə ej-r-o:l-gələ.

he-NOM tell-TR.3SG where.RES walk-NONIT-RAN-ACC

‘Он рассказал им, куда ходил’.

‘He told them where he had gone’ (Nikolaeva 40-113)

Finished situation

Yukaghir

pasiibə taat a-lool-gən
thank.you тот-ABL do-RNR-LOC

‘спасибо тебе за то, что ты сделал’

‘thank you for what you have done’ (Texts: 102–103)

Nganasan

ɲuba-ʔku-tə *śiə sot'ələ-kuə-m*
рукавица-DIM-GEN.PL.2SG дыра сшить-IMP.FUT-1SG.S

mənə tid'a-ʔmuə-ntə d'adikü.

я спасти-VN.PF-2SG для

‘Я зашью дырки на твоих рукавицах за то, что спас меня’.

‘I’ll mend the holes on your mittens, because you saved me.’

Essives [Siegl, in print]

Essive construction in North Samoyedic:

(<) noun + be-CONV

Ngan. *ini[?]a* ***maḏajsüə*** ***i-śa*** *mi[?]-kü-ńi*
old.woman present be-CONV give-IMP-1DU
'let's give [these] as a present for the old woman'

Enets & Nenets: contracted forms

FE *te* *kaḏ-da* *mal'ča-da* ***koba-š*** (< **koba ŋa-š*)
reindeer kill-FUT coat-GEN.3SG fur-ESS fur be-CONV
'he killed a reindeer for the fell for his winter coat'

Yukaghir

Tundra Yukaghir

pujuo-l *ile-le* *puńi-m* ***legul-pe-d-uol***
be.many-ACT reindeer-ACC kill-TRANS.3SG food-PL-POSS-PURP
'he killed many reindeer to feed them'

neme-ŋol what-PURP 'what for?'

Purposive *-ŋōl* = copula *ŋōl-* ? < *ŋōl-de* 'be-CONV'

Chukchi

Ənin *ekke-t* *tewə-ʔ-o* *ʔəγ-ninet.*
3SG.ABS.POSS son-ABS.PL paddle-PTCP-DESIG AUX.TR-3SGA.3PLO
'He used his sons as rowers.'

Interrogative

Morphological interrogatives are rare in Siberia.

Present in:

- North Samoyedic
- Yukaghir
- Negidal

North Samoyedic

	Nganasan	Enets & Nenets
Fut	<i>-ntə-ŋu</i>	—
Pres	<i>-ŋu</i>	—
Past	<i>-hu</i>	Tundra En <i>-ba</i> , Forest En <i>-sa</i> , Nenets <i>-sa</i>
Renarr	<i>-ha</i>	—
Iter	<i>-kəə</i>	—

Ngan. *hüəti?* *i-ŋu-gəj* *koru-tini?*
always be-**INTERR**-3DU house-LOC.PL
'Are they still in the village?'

Ngan. present interrogative *-ŋu* < general present **-ŋâ*.

Nen. & FE past interrogative *-sa* < general past **-sâ*.

Ngan. future interr. *-ntə-ŋu* < common future **-ntə + -ŋu*

Ngan. renarrative interr. *-ha* < general evidential **-pə*

=> (almost) all dedicated interrogative forms are remnants of old tense/mood forms preserved in the interrogative function only.

Yukaghir

Kolyma Yukaghir (Maslova 2003: 140)

	Indicative				Interrogative
	<i>juø-</i> 'see'		<i>šohie-</i> 'disappear'		<i>jaqa-</i> 'come'
	Transitive verbs	Object focus	Intransitive verbs	Subject focus	
1sg	<i>juø</i>	<i>juø-me</i>	<i>šohie-je</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>jaqa-m</i>
2sg	<i>juø-me-k</i>	<i>juø-me</i>	<i>šohie-je-k</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>jaqa-k</i>
3sg	<i>juø-m</i>	<i>juø-me-le</i>	<i>šohie-j</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>jaqa</i>
1pl	<i>juø-j</i>	<i>juø-l</i>	<i>šohie-je-l'i</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>jaqa-l-ōk</i>
2pl	<i>juø-met</i>	<i>juø-met</i>	<i>šohie-je-met</i>	<i>šohie-l</i>	<i>jaqa-met</i>
3pl	<i>juø-ŋā</i>	<i>juø-ŋi-le</i>	<i>šohie-ŋi</i>	<i>šohie-ŋi-l</i>	<i>jaqa-ŋi</i>

Most interrogative forms are indicative forms without (in)transitivity markers.

Inuit-Yupik

West Greenlandic, *taku-* ‘see’ (Sadock 1984: 197–199)
non-negative indicative and interrogative forms

Obj	subject					
	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
	-vunga	-vugut	-vutit -it	-vusi -isi	-voq -a	-pput -ppat
1SG	—	—	-arma -inga	-assinga -isinga	-aanga	-aannga
1PL	—	—	-atsisgut -isigut	-assigut -isigut	-aatigut	-aatigut
2SG	-akkit	-atsigit	—	—	-aatit	-aatsit
2PL	-assi	-assi	—	—	-aasi	-aasi
3SG	-ara	-arput	-at -iuk	-arsi -isiuk	-aa (-aak)	-aat (-assuk)
3PL	-akka	-avut	-atit -igit	-asi -isigik	-ai (-agit)	-aat (-atigik)

Table 47: Inflections for interrogative verbs

			intransitive				transitive object					
		mood marker		sg.	third pl.	du.	sg.	first pl.	du.	sg.	second pl.	du.
third	sg.	+ ₁ ta-	+∅	+yu	+ki	+k̄iy	+ŋa	+kut	+kuy	+t̄in	+ci	+t̄iy
	pl.	~	+t	+tyu	+tki	+tk̄iy	+t̄ŋa	+tkut	+tkuy	+tȳin	+tci	+tt̄iy
	du.	+ya-	+y	+ȳniyu	+ȳniki	+ȳnik̄iy	+ȳŋa	+ȳkut	+ȳk+kuy	+ȳtȳin	+ȳtci	+ȳtt̄iy
subject first	sg.		+ŋa									
	pl.		+ta							+k̄in		
	du.		+muy									
second	sg.	+ ₁ ci-	+t	+yu	+ki	+k̄iy	+ŋa	+kut	+kuy			
	pl.		+ci	+ci+yu	+ciki	+cik̄iy	+ci+ŋa	+cikut	+cikuy			
	du.		+t̄iy	+t̄iyu	+t̄iki	+tk̄iy	+t̄iyŋa	+t̄iykut	+t̄iykuy			

[Miyaoaka 2012: 1349–1361]

“Intraclitics”

An array of suffixes, inserted **between** the stem and the inflectional affixes, such as ‘only’, ‘as concerns’, ‘contrary to expectations’ etc.

Ngan. *d’ütü-**raa**-tənu-nə*

hand-**only**-LOC-1SG

‘[I’ll wave] only with my hand’

*ŋəδü-**küə**-d’a ŋəδü-śüə-mə*

see-**EMPH**-CONV see-PST-1SG.OBJ

‘as to see, I’ve seen him’ (‘видеть-то я его видел’)

Evenki *dil-ragda-l*
head-**only**-PL
'only heads'

Negidal *sobgo-mak-tiki-n* *mi:sin-a-Ø*
fish.skin-**only**-ALL-3SG cut-PRS-3PL
'[the fish] is cut only up to the skin'
(leaving the skin intact)

[Pakendorf & Aralova 2017, DIN_jukola: 37]

Multi-based clitics do exist

прийти-то пришел
'as to come, he came'

белый-то есть, а где зеленый?
'the white one is there, but where is the green one?'

грибы-то он нашел
'mushrooms, he found them'

But they are not inserted inside the word.

“Endoclititics”: class of affixes in a number of languages, inserted between the stem and the inflectional markers, which normally go back to a recent contraction of separate words:

Portugal *chamar-se-a* ‘will be called’
call-REFL-has
clamare se habet

Spanish *llamarse* — *se llamará*,
Italian *chiamarsi* — *si chiamerà* etc.

But in North Samoyedic and North Tungusic inflected forms of nouns and verbs are not recent contractions.

North Samoyedic intraclitics have no known cognates.

North Tungusic intraclitics have clear cognates in Southern (Amur) Tungusic, but there they are normal enclitics.

Nanai *gormaxon-sal-ragda* ‘only hares’ [Аврорин II: 267]

Oroch *hokkono-i-du-ni-gda*
jump-PT.PRS-DAT-3SG-**only**
‘while [the fox] was jumping’
[Аврорин, Болдырев 2001: 381]

Ulcha *ti-du-muk* *sim-bə-muk*
that-DAT-**only** you-ACC-**only**
‘only there’ ‘only having done that’
[Natalia Stoynova, p.c.]

Excurs in Ulch [Stoynova 2021]

Common Tungusic diminutive *-kēn*

xərə-kə frog-DIM ‘small frog’

xərə-kə-ẓ̌i frog-DIM-INSTR-3SG ‘with a small frog’

xərə-kə-ŋgu-ẓ̌i-ri frog-DIM-ALIEN-INSTR-REFL
‘with his [own] small frog’

— diminutive becomes restrictive (‘only’)

— suffix facultatively becomes enclitic

siŋgərə-səl ŋālə-č̣i-ti *kəskə-səl-kām-bə*
mouse-PL be.afraid-IPFV.PRAES-3PL cat-PL-only-ACC

‘Mice are afraid only of cats’.

nāńj xəsə-wə-ŋ-kān
Ulch language-ACC-3SG-только

(we speak) ‘only the Ulch language’

si mimbə bələč̣i-s-ti, wə-m-kān wən-di-si
2SG 1SG.ACC help-PRAES.NEG-2SG speak-CONV-only speak-PRAES-2SG

‘You don’t help me, you just talk and nothing more.’

In Ulch, restrictive marker must be an enclitic, and even an affix is moved out of a word.

In North Tungusic, restrictives do pretty well inside.

Aleut *tajag'u-l[^]i-s* 'only men'
man-**only**-PL

ik'ana-k'asi-l[^]i-n 'only old women like me'
old.woman-like-**only**-1SG [Головко и др. 2009]

CAY

Table 41c: VV suffixes of intensity – group 3

VVa	+ŋ*inaŋ-	'only, just, for no particular purpose'
VVa	+ŋ*iinaŋ-	'further and further away (than expected/scheduled)'
VVa	-ɣlainaŋ*-	'always, nothing but'
VVa	-qainaŋ-	'only, merely'

melug-(ng)inar-tuq [Y] 'he is just smoking'
yuu-nginar-tuq 'he leads an ordinary life' – *yuu-u-* (person-be)
'to live'.

pai-nginar-mun 'only to the (river) mouth' – |*pai-*|. [Miayoka 2012: 1200]

Second ten numerals

lower numerals (~ first ten) or basic for a given system (ten, hundred etc.) — most often simple

higher complex numerals — most often additive (*one thousand five hundred thirty-five*)

second ten numerals — not basic, but often used, hence an interesting cross-linguistic variation

Russian	English	French	Turkish
...
девять	nine	neuf	dokuz
десять	ten	dix	on
одиннадцать	eleven	onze	on bir
двенадцать	twelve	douze	on iki
тринадцать	thirteen	treize	on üç
четырнадцать	fourteen	quatorze	on dört
пятнадцать	fifteen	quinze	on beş
шестнадцать	sixteen	seize	on altı
семнадцать	seventeen	dix-sept	on yedi
восемнадцать	eighteen	dix-huit	on sekiz
девятнадцать	nineteen	dix-neuf	on dokuz
двадцать	twenty	vingt	yirmi
двадцать один	twenty-one	vingt-et-un	yirmi bir
двадцать два	twenty-two	vingt-deux	yirmi iki
...

Second ten numerals in Siberia — useful tool for studying language contacts:

- great variation, including many languages' dialects
- morphologically transparent and easy to copy
- on the other hand, Russian numerals 11–19 they are not morphologically transparent, so we can exclude recent influation from Russian

Ewenki dialects [Vasilevich 1948]

илимпийский	ᶅ'āн-дук ᶅ'ᵛр	10-ABL 2
нербогоченский	ᶅ'āн ᶅ'ᵛр	10 2
подкаменно-тунгусский	ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'ā	2-10
	ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'ā-кин ᶅ'ᵛр	2-10-к 2
	ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'ā-лэкэ	2-10-extra
непский	ᶅ'āн ᶅ'ᵛр	10 2
	ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'и нэлэкэ	2-INSTR extra
	ᶅ'āн ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'и	10 2-INSTR
сымский	ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'ā-лэки	2-10- extra
токминско-верхоленский	ᶅ'ᵛр-ᶅ'ā-лэкэ	2-10- extra
учурско-зейские	ᶅ'āн ᶅ'ᵛр	10 2

Main types

1. simple collocation “10 2” (rarely “2 10”)

2. 1) “10-case 2”

Ilimpia Ewenki *ж'āн-дук ж'ур* 10-ABL 2

2) with the word “extra”, “above” etc.

Yakut dial *yon opдyг-а укку* 10 rest-3SG 2

Tundra Yukaghir *kunil'-ki-bure* 10-2-above

Alyutor *mənyətə-k ənnan (γapatula)* 10-LOC 1 (with.addition)

3) “another ten”

Bolshaya Zemlya Nenets *няби ют-ё ноб* “another ten-3SG one

3. counting towards 20

Yamal Nenets *сиди юд' ня' ноб* “2 10-GEN to 1

Type 1 (“simple”) — South, “Altaic”: Turkic, Mongolic,
Southern Tungusic, Southern Yenisseic

Type 2 (“complex”) — North

2-1 (10-case 2) may go back to 2-2

2-2 (10 2 extra) is most frequent in the North, but not
uniform

2-3 (“another ten”) — rare

Type 3 (counting towards 20) — some isolated idioms.