Contact-induced change in Dolgan : an investigation into the role of linguistic data for the reconstruction of a people's (pre)history

Stapert, E.L.

CHAPTER 8 CLAUSE COMBINING

8.1 INTRODUCTION

8.1.1 DEFINING COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

Clause combining (Haiman & Thompson 1988) deals with the relation between clauses (Fabricius-Hansen & Ramm 2008: 2). It is also known as clause linkage (Lehmann 1988: 181), whereby a clause is defined as a finite or non-finite verb phrase (Fabricius-Hansen & Ramm 2008: 6) or "any syntagm containing one predication" (Lehmann 1988: 182). Traditionally, the types of relations between the clauses are further subdivided into coordination and subordination (Cristofaro 2003: 15). Usually this distinction is made mainly on the basis of formal criteria of morphosyntactic (a)symmetry. This focus on the morphosyntactic component can be attributed to the fact that the study of clause combining was dominated for a long time by generative linguistics, a theoretical framework in which semantics and pragmatics played only a marginal role. In a purely formal sense, coordination would then be defined as a symmetrical construction "in which all of the constituents are of the same syntactic category and this is also the category of the whole construction" (Haspelmath 2004: 33). Subordination on the other hand would be an asymmetrical construction "in which the category of the whole construction is determined only by one of the constituents (the head), while the

other constituents (the dependents) play no role in this respect." (ibid.) Examples of both constructions are given in 8.1 and 8.2 respectively (Comrie 2008: 3).

(8.1) [John plays the flute] and [Mary sings madrigals]

(8.2) Columbus thought [that the earth was round]

However, cross-linguistic investigation as well as more in-depth study of well-known languages such as English, have shown that formal syntactic criteria alone are not sufficient to account for the typological diversity of clause combining constructions cross-linguistically. Moreover, Comrie argues (among others) that constructions cannot always unambiguously be classified as being clearly coordinate or subordinate. To give an example from a familiar language, Comrie (2008: 3) points out that English has structures which are syntactically coordinate, and yet show certain features of subordination. Similarly, there are structures which are syntactically subordinate but behave as if they were coordinate. Finally, he discusses the situation where one and the same syntactic construction can be classified as coordinate as well as subordinate depending on interpretation.

The first case is illustrated by example (8.4a), which seems to have the same syntactic structure as (8.3a) but behaves differently with respect to one typical feature of coordinate constructions, namely the Coordinate Structure Constraint. This constraint prevents constituents of a single conjunct of a coordinate construction to be relativised (Comrie 2008: 3). Despite the fact that 8.3a and 8.4a have the same syntactic structure, relativisation of one of the conjuncts in 8.3b is ungrammatical, whereas this is acceptable in example 8.4b (Comrie 2008: 3-4).

(8.3) a. [John plays the flute] and [Mary sings madrigals]
b. *The madrigals [that [John plays the flute] and [Mary sings-]]

(8.4) a. I went to the store and bought a book
b. The book [that I went to the store and bought-]

The second issue is illustrated by the grammaticality of tag questions in English. Normally tag questions are only applicable to main clauses and not to subordinate clauses (8.5). However, examples like 8.6c show that there are exceptions to this rule.

(8.5) a. Columbus thought that the earth was round
b. Columbus thought [that the Earth was round], didn't he?
c. *Columbus thought [that the Earth was round, wasn't it?]

(8.6) a. I think that John is leaving tomorrow
b. ?I think [that John is leaving tomorrow], don't I?
c. I think [that John is leaving tomorrow, isn't he?]

As in the previous example, these sentences have the same formal syntactic structure, yet behave differently with respect to this particular syntactic operation. Tagging the subordinate clause in 8.5c is ungrammatical, as predicted, but in 8.6c the same operation yields a grammatical result, and more than that, it is better than tagging the syntactic main clause 'I think', which is pragmatically odd[1]. An illustration of the third problem is provided by juxtaposition, which is a very common way to link clauses in many languages (Sampson, Gil and Trudgill 2009). This strategy is syntactically symmetrical but can often be interpreted as coordinate as well as subordinate, depending on the context. Comrie illustrates this phenomenon with examples from Haruai, but, as will be discussed below, it is a common clause linkage strategy in the languages of Siberia as well, including Dolgan, Sakha and Evenki. Example 8.7 shows two syntactically independent clauses, the relation between which is typically interpreted as temporal or as conditional due to their position and semantic content.

HARUAI

(8.7)	*Rwö*	*watk*	*h-ön-a,*	*an*	*hölm-n-ŋ-a*
	environment	evening	come-FUT.3SG-DECL	we	sleep-FUT-1PL-DECL
	'When the evening falls we will sleep.'				(Comrie 2008: 13)

Thus, the examples above show that there can be a mismatch between the syntactic structure of a construction and its possible semantic or pragmatic interpretations (Yuasa & Sadock (2002) in Haspelmath 2004). The fact that such a

[1] Diessel and Tomasello argue that mental verbs in English (such as I think, I bet, etc.) may have a special status, since they are often used as a formula. Instead of viewing such sentences as consisting of two propositions, they argue that the syntactically embedded clause should be analysed as the main clause, and that the mental verb serves as a modifier, in a way comparable to an adverb (e.g. apparently). See for more discussion of this issue Limber (1973), Thompson (2002), Diessel and Tomasello (2001), Stapert (2009).

mismatch is possible implies that subordination and coordination should not be defined purely on the basis of their syntactic properties, but that semantics and pragmatics play an equally important role. The recognition of this fact has led to a reconsideration of the notions of coordination and subordination, whereby both linkage types are assigned a syntactic as well as a semantic component, the status of which may, but need not coincide. Haspelmath defines the difference between coordination and subordination as:

> A construction [A B] is considered coordinate if the two parts A and B have the same status [...], whereas it is not coordinate if it is asymmetrical and one of the parts is clearly more salient or important, while the other part is in some sense subordinate. (Haspelmath 2004: 3)

While Haspelmath recognises that this definition is rather general and needs further specification, it allows for a syntactic as well as for a semantic or cognitive interpretation of (a)symmetry, and is in many cases able to solve mismatches such as the ones described above. In addition, it accounts for cases of clause-internal coordination, such as so-called pseudo-coordinate constructions as in 8.8, where the morphosyntactic structure of the conjuncts is subordinate, but their semantics are coordinate, as can be seen by the plural agreement on the verb (for more detail see Section 8.2.3.3).

RUSSIAN

(8.8)	*Saša*	***s***	*Mašej*	*pošli*	*v*	*kino*
	Sasha	with	Masha.INST	go.PST.PL	in	movie

"Sasha and Masha went to the cinema."

The interaction between clause linkage types and syntactic or semantic (a)symmetry is summarised in Table 8.1. As can be seen from this table, it is the semantic and not the syntactic (a)symmetry that correlates with the distinction between coordination and subordination, and thus the semantic or cognitive factors can be said to overrule the syntactic factors (such as embedding) in case of a discrepancy between the two (e.g. pseudo-coordination).

Table 8.1 Interaction between syntactic and semantic factors in the determination of clause linkage type

	Syntactic symmetry	Semantic symmetry
Coordination	+	+
Pseudo-coordination	–	+
Subordination	+	–
	–	–

Thus, a broader definition that includes syntactic as well as semantic factors accounts better for the cross-linguistic diversity of clause combining constructions than a definition based on syntactic criteria alone.

Nonetheless, even this definition leaves certain structures unaccounted for, and certain voices in the literature have expressed serious doubt as to whether a strict dichotomy between coordination and subordination can be upheld at all (Lehmann 1988, Cristofaro 2003, Haspelmath 2004, Comrie 2008). Instead of supporting the bipolar system in which a construction either belongs to the coordinate or subordinate category, Lehmann proposes a clause linkage continuum, where coordination and subordination form the extremes of a gradient scale. Some constructions are classified as unambiguously coordinate or subordinate (the ones for which the syntactic and the semantic component point in the same direction), other constructions can be placed at any position on the continuum, some closer to the coordinate extreme, others closer to the subordinate extreme, depending on the syntactic and semantic properties of that particular construction. Along similar lines, Comrie states that "the opposition [of coordination and subordination, E.S] is a question of degree rather than a strict dichotomy" (Comrie 2008: 16). Haspelmath concludes his discussion of the matter with:

> It remains difficult to operationalize the basic undisputed intuition that coordination involves symmetry, while subordination involves asymmetry. There are many constructions showing mixtures of both, and we are only at the beginning of understanding what constraints there might be on such mixtures. (Haspelmath 2004: 37)

While the theoretical issues concerning coordination and subordination clearly have not been solved and the search for a characterisation that fully captures

cross-linguistic variation is still ongoing, the available definitions are sufficient to serve descriptive purposes of individual languages. The following section will give a brief overview of the terms that will be used in the remainder of this chapter.

8.1.2 TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

The definitions of coordination and subordination that I will use in this chapter are taken from Haspelmath (2004) and Cristofaro (2003). Both authors base their distinction on both semantic and syntactic criteria, but acknowledge that the semantic component is decisive in whether a construction is coordinate or subordinate, as was concluded on the basis of Table 8.1.

Coordination is defined as the linkage of two cognitively independent linguistic units, called coordinands or conjuncts. In principle they can be words, word groups, clauses, state of affairs, but since this chapter is on clause combining, the main focus will be on the unit of the clause. As mentioned above, coordination is characterised by a symmetrical relation between the coordinands and can be expressed syndetically or asyndetically. In syndetic coordination, the relation between conjuncts is established by an overt coordinating element, which is called a coordinator. The main types of coordinate relations are a) coordination (roughly corresponding to 'and'-relations, including enumeration, temporal coordination, specification); b) adversive coordination ('but'); c) disjunction ('or') and d) causality ('therefore'). In asyndetic coordination, the conjuncts are juxtaposed without the presence of an overt coordinator to specify the nature of the relation. Instead, the connection between conjuncts is expressed by means other than morphology, including intonation, the semantic content of the coordinands and discourse pragmatic implications.

Subordination on the other hand is a relation between linguistic units which involves cognitive dependency. In contrast to coordination, subordination is characterised by a relation of functional asymmetry between the two linguistic units (the so-called Asymmetry Assumption, Christofaro 2003: 29) whereby the profile of one of the linked elements is overridden by that of the other. As for coordination, this asymmetrical relation can be established syndetically through overt subordinators, as well as asyndetically through juxtaposition. Subordinate relations can be subdivided into a) adverbial subordination, b) complement clauses and c) relative clauses.

In this chapter, I investigate clause combining strategies in Dolgan. Since clause combining strategies in Dolgan and Sakha generally coincide, my aim is not to give an exhaustive description of all clause combining strategies in Dolgan, but rather to highlight those aspects of Dolgan clause linkage that differ from Sakha.

To anticipate some of the conclusions, the chapter will show that most of the attested differences are attributable to influence from Russian. In some cases this influence is directly visible through the presence of Russian coordinators in Dolgan discourse, or the flexibility of subordinate clause position with respect to the main clause. In other cases, the variation in Dolgan is argued to be the result of ongoing language attrition, which in turn is the result of a progressive shift to Russian. Therefore, even these changes could be argued to be the result of Russian contact, albeit indirectly. Section 8.2 discusses coordination strategies and Section 8.3 deals with subordination. In each section, an overview is given of the clause combining strategies in Sakha, followed by similar information for Dolgan, after which the differences from Sakha are highlighted and discussed. Section 8.4 pays special attention to the use of Russian coordinators in Dolgan discourse and embeds this phenomenon into existing theories on this matter. The chapter is concluded with a summary and a possible interpretation of the results (8.5).

8.2. COORDINATION

8.2.1 COORDINATION IN SAKHA

In Sakha, coordination of clauses can be expressed by proper coordinate constructions (syndetic as well as asyndetic), which are semantically as well as syntactically coordinate, as well as by pseudo-coordinate constructions (Haspelmath 2004), which are semantically coordinate but syntactically subordinate. Interclausal pseudo-coordinate constructions contain two predicates, one finite verb and one converb, making the converbal clause syntactically dependent on the finite clause. Pseudo-coordinate constructions formed with the sequential converb in *-An*, as exemplified in 8.9, are always same subject.

SAKHA

(8.9)

Onu	*me:le*	*ïha:rïla:n*	*hie-bip-pit.*
that.ACC	simply	fry.SQ.CV	eat-PST.PTC-1PL

'Those we simply fried and ate.' (PIB: 173)

Despite the fact that this is probably the most common strategy to link clauses in both Sakha and Dolgan, it will not be discussed in detail here because the two languages apply this construction in an identical fashion.

In intraclausal coordination, pseudo-coordinate constructions in Sakha are formed with the postposition *kïtta* 'with', but they are very rare. In fact, this construction is not attested in the corpus of narrative texts at all, but occurred only in elicitation.

SAKHA

(8.10)	*Uol-u*	***kïtta***	*kï:s*	*ki:ne-γe*	*bar-al-lar*	
	boy-ACC	with	girl	cinema-DAT	go-PRS.PTC-PL	
	'The girl and the boy are going to the movies.'					(elicited)

In this construction the coordinate subject 'the boy and girl' consists of a syntactically asymmetrical construction of a noun *kï:s* 'girl', preceded by a modifying postpositional phrase *uolu kïtta* 'with the/a boy'. Formally, *kïtta* behaves like a proper postposition in that it occurs after the noun *uolu* 'boy', and governs the accusative case. Thus, a word to word translation of 8.10 would be 'the girl with the boy are going to the movies'. However, this is not the translation spontaneously given by Sakha speakers. Much more natural is the one given in 8.10 in which the boy and the girl are treated as semantically equivalent and thus as coordinate. This semantic equivalence is reflected morphosyntactically in the form of the verb *barallar*, which carries a third person plural suffix. This presupposes a third person plural subject, in agreement with the coordinate interpretation of the construction, and not a third person singular subject as would be the case for a comitative interpretation. While this pseudo-coordinate construction with *kïtta* can be called at best marginal in Sakha sponaneous speech, it is included in the current discussion because it is gaining territory in Dolgan, as we will see below (8.2.3.3).

Proper coordination can be syndetic or asyndetic, and both strategies are used in interclausal as well as in intraclausal coordination[2]. Syndetic coordination is expressed by coordinators such as *uonna* 'and' and *da* 'and, but', whereas

[2] While most morphological means can be used in interclausal, as well as in intraclausal coordination, intraclausal coordination has the additional option to link elements by means of suffixes of possession -*LA:χ* or comitative -*LI:n*.

asyndetic coordination is expressed through juxtaposition, whereby the nature of the connection is largely implicit in the semantics of the juxtaposed elements. Discourse context plays a major role in the disambiguation between different interpretations. Examples of syndetic and asyndetic coordination are given in (8.11) and (8.12).

SAKHA

(8.11) *Kïhïn-ïm* *min* *budduk* *mas* *erbi:-bin*
winter-POSS.1SG 1SG this.like wood saw.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG
budduk, ***uonna*** *mas* *budduk* *χajït-a-bïn* ***uonna***
this.like and wood this.like chop- SIM.CV-PRED.1SG and
kïsta:n *ohoχ-χo* *ott-o-γun.*
bring.in.wood.SQ.CV stove-DAT heat- SIM.CV-PRED.2SG
'In my winter I sawed wood like this, and chopped wood like this, and bringing in the wood you light the stove.' (ARR: 84)

(8.12) *Min* *beh-is* *kïla:s-ka* *Ïtïk-Küöl-ge* *üören-ieχ-te:χ-pin,*
1SG five-ORD class-DAT Y.K.-DAT learn-FUT.PTC-PROP-PRED.1SG
kïaχ *suoχ,* *mama-m* *ï:p-pat-a.*
opportunity NONEXIST mama-POSS.1SG send-NEG-PST.3SG
'I should have gone to Ytyk-Kuol to the fifth grade, [but] there was no possibility, [therefore] my mother didn't send me.' (ARR: 58)

Regardless of the syntactic differences between these two strategies, from a semantic point of view syndetic and asyndetic coordination can express the same range of relations between conjuncts, including coordination, adversive coordination, causality and specification (Cheremisina 1995: 297). Only disjunction seems to be obligatorily expressed by an overt element. While asyndetic coordination is used more frequently, the remainder of this section will be concerned with syndetic coordination only. Dolgan and Sakha show no significant differences with respect to the use of asyndetic coordination, and therefore this clause linkage strategy is not relevant to the current discussion.

Morphologically the coordinators in Sakha can be divided into proper coordinators, fossilised verb forms, fossilised noun forms, fossilised adverbs and fixed expressions. Apart from these elements, which have a clear coordinative function, there is a group of modal elements that hold the middle between a modal and conjunctive meaning such as *töttörütün*, 'on the contrary', *χolobura* 'for

example' and several others. Table 8.2 gives a summary of the most common coordinators and coordinating expressions and the type of linkage they encode, based on information from grammars of Sakha (Cheremisina 1995, Ubryatova 1982: 472-474).

Table 8.2: Coordinative relations and their coordinators according to morphological type

	Coordination	Disjunction	Adversive coordination	Causality	Specification
Coordinator	*uonna*, *da*, *dayanï*, *emie*	*bi:ter*, *du:...du:*	*da*	*onon*	*bi:ter*
Fossilised (pro)noun	*itienne*, *onton*, *otton*		*otton*		
Fossilised verb	*buolan*, *buollayïna*	*ebeter*	*buollayïna*, *buolbakka*, *buolbatax*, *buollar*, *ebeter*		*ebeter*
Fixed expression			*ol gïnan baran*, *ol ere:ri*	*ol ihin*	*ol a:ta*

8.2.2 COORDINATION IN DOLGAN

Coordination in Dolgan follows largely the same principles as Sakha. Asyndetic coordination is very common, and as far as syndetic coordination is concerned the majority of coordinators and coordinative expressions are also shared between the two languages. However, there are some striking differences, which primarily concern the frequency distribution of individual coordinators in Dolgan when compared to Sakha. An overview of the use of coordinators in the two languages is shown in figure 8.1. The bars represent the relative frequency of a particular coordinator with respect to the total number of coordinators in the corpus, which is 634 in Dolgan and 1323 in Sakha. Proportionally, this corresponds to 3.9% of all words in Dolgan and 4.5% in Sakha, which shows that the languages do not differ significantly with respect to the overall number of coordinators they use. The dark bars in Figure 8.1 represent the frequency for coordinators in Dolgan and the pale grey bars do the same for Sakha.

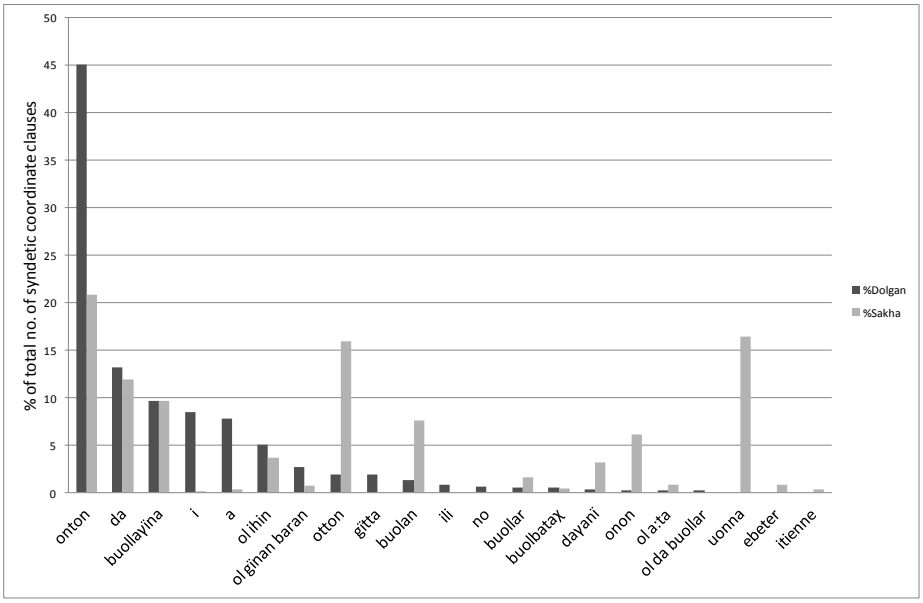

Figure 8.1 Relative frequencies of coordinators in Dolgan and Sakha

Most of the coordinators included in figure 8.1 overlap with the ones listed in Table 8.2 on the basis of the Sakha grammars. However, the match is not perfect. On the one hand, figure 8.1 includes the Russian coordinators *i* 'and', *a* 'and, but', *ili* 'or' and *no* 'but' in addition to the Sakha coordinators. These coordinators constitute 17.8% of all overtly marked coordinate structures in Dolgan speech, and in order to get an adequate impression of the overall number of coordinate clauses, they should not be omitted. Furthermore, the postposition *gïtta* (Sakha *kïtta*) 'with' is added to the list of coordinators. Although it is technically a postposition, it can be used in pseudo-coordinate constructions as well, as was discussed above (example 8.10). Section 8.2.3.3 will show that there is a difference in use and in frequency of this pseudo-coordinate construction in Dolgan and Sakha.

On the other hand, it appears that not all coordinators mentioned in Table 8.2 are relevant to the current discussion. For example, *bi:ter*, *buolbakka* and *ol ere:ri* do not occur in the corpora of Sakha and Dolgan at all and were therefore excluded from the analysis. *Emie* on the other hand occurs frequently in the corpus of Sakha and Dolgan, but only with the adverbial meaning of 'also' and 'again' and thus its coordinative use is not supported by the corpus data. Since inclusion of *emie* would misrepresent its function attested in spontaneous speech and since it would

erroneously raise the overall number of coordinate structures, this element was excluded from the analysis as well. Finally, some coordinative elements had to undergo a differentiated analysis before they could be included. This concerns multifunctional elements such as *da* or *onton,* which may have a coordinative function but may have other functions as well. For example, *da* can have the coordinative meaning of 'and, but', but it can also have the function of a negative particle or an indefinite particle. Similarly, the ablative demonstrative pronoun *on-ton* [*ol*-ABL, 'from there'] has the function of a temporal coordinator with the meaning 'and then', but in other contexts it maintains its spatial meaning 'from there', in which case it must be analysed as an adverb. For such multifunctional elements their use was checked manually and only instances of clear coordinative use were included.

It needs to be noted that the preponderance of temporal coordinators such as *onton*, and the complete absence of other linking elements such as *bi:ter*, *buolbakka* and *ol ere:ri* is most plausibly explained by the discourse style that dominates the corpora. Most of the stories are oral histories, narrated as a monologue, in which temporal coordination (corresponding to English 'and then') naturally occupies a prominent place, and in which adversive coordination is naturally marginal because people do not normally contradict or disagree with themselves. Therefore, results could have been different had more dialogues been included, and more than one opinion been represented. However, in the currently available data these adversive coordinators only occurred in elicitation tasks.

Figure 8.1 shows a number of striking proportional differences between Dolgan and Sakha in the use of coordinative elements, four of which will be discussed in detail below: a) the complete absence of *uonna* in Dolgan; b) the highly frequent use of *onton* in Dolgan; c) the higher proportion of *gïtta* with the semantic function of a coordinator d) the use of Russian coordinators in Dolgan discourse. Finally, there will be a brief note on the difference in range of actively used coordinative elements.

8.2.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DOLGAN AND SAKHA

8.2.3.1 ABSENCE OF *UONNA* 'AND' IN DOLGAN

While most of the dissimilarities between Dolgan and Sakha are differences in relative frequency of coordinators and thus a matter of degree, there is one

absolute difference between the two languages, concerning the coordinator *uonna* 'and'. While *uonna* is the second most frequent coordinator in Sakha and represents 16.4% of all overt coordinators in the corpus, this element does not occur in Dolgan at all. This is reflected by the lonely pale grey column for *uonna* in figure 8.1, which shows that it has no Dolgan counterpart at all.

According to Pekarskij, this coordinator has Turkic origins and is a contraction of the elements *ōl *gïnna* and is represented in Turkic as *sōnda* 'after' (Pekarskij [1907-1930] 1958-1959: 1839). Ubryatova, on the other hand, proposes that *uonna* developed from the sequence *ol kenne* [that after] (Ubryatova 1982: 98). While the exact origin remains unclear, both scholars agree that *uonna* can be traced back to Turkic origins. Thus it is plausible that its absence in Dolgan reflects the loss of this particular element in this language rather than an addition in Sakha after the languages began to diverge. This raises the question how a frequent element such as *uonna* could disappear from the language, and what alternatives today's Dolgan employs to establish conjunctive coordinate relations. In order to explore these questions, it is necessary to get more detailed insights into the use of *uonna* in Sakha discourse. *Uonna* can be used in intraclausal (8.13) as well as interclausal coordination (8.14), in which case it can have a sequential aspect (English 'and then') as well.

SAKHA

(8.13) *Bi:r* *saχa-lï:* *kahïačč̆ïg-ïn,* ***uonna*** *mama-ta*
one Yakut-ADVLZR vest-ACC.3SG and mama-POSS.3SG
bier-bit *solko kasïnka-tïn* *ïal-lar-ga* *idʒdʒi-bit-e [...]*
give-PST.PTC silk scarf-ACC.3SG family-PL-DAT carry-PST.PTC-POSS.3SG
'One Yakut vest and the silk scarf her mother had given her she carried to the neighbours [...].' (ARR: 033)

(8.14) *E:,* *papa-m* *otut* *toγus* *sïl-la:χ-χa*
hm papa-POSS.1SG thirty nine year-PROP-DAT
χa:jï:-ttan *taχχï-bït-a* ***uonna*** *onno*
lock.up.NLZR-ABL go.out-PST.PTC-POSS.3SG and there
öl-büt-e, *aγïjaχ* *ïj* *buol-an* *bar-an.*
die-PST.PTC-POSS.3SG few month AUX-SQ.CV go-SQ.CV
'Oh yes, and my father came out of jail in the year 39, and then he died after a few months.' (ARR: 64)

Equivalent sentences from the Dolgan corpus show that these functions can be fulfilled by other native coordinative elements such as *da* 'and, but' (8.15) and *onton* 'and then' (8.16). Both *da* and *onton* are used mainly for interclausal coordination (8.15b, 8.16b), but are occasionally used for intraclausal coordination as well (8.15a and 8.16a).

DOLGAN

(8.15a) *Vot tak pogib-lo voobs'e bu Khatangskij*
PRT.R thus.R die-PST-N.SG.R in.general.R this Khatanga.ADJ.R
rajon taba-ta, Kheta ***da*** *giene Katïrïk* ***da*** *giene*
district.R reindeer-POSS.3Sg Kheta PRT 3SG.POSS Katyryk PRT 3SG.POSS
'Thus all the reindeer from the Khatanga district died, the ones in Kheta and the ones in Katyryk.' (APF: 85/86)

(8.15b) *Ïli: batta:-tïlar* ***da*** *min interna:χ-χa χa:l-lï-m buo*
hand press-PST.3PL PRT 1SG boarding.school.R.DAT stay-PST-POSS.1SG PRT
'They signed the forms [lit: pressed hands] and I stayed at the boarding school.' (NMC: 49)

(8.16a) *Onton χatatsala:-bïp-pït onton onno kim Polina Alekseevna ba:r*
then ride.R-PST.PTC-1PL then there who Polina.R Alexeevna EXIST
e-te semja-tïn gïtta ***onton*** *tjotja Nastja* ***onton***
be -PST.3SG family.R-ACC.3SG with then auntie.R Nastja then
Ńuku:ska Ludmila Nikolaevna oγo-to ***onton***
Nicolay Ludmila Nicolaevna child-POSS.3SG then
Annuška tjotja Nastja
Annushka auntie.R Nastja
'And then we went on, there were P.A with her family, and auntie Nastja and Nukuska the child of L.N. and Annushka from auntie Nastya.' (DPK: 12)

(8.16b) *ït-tar-gïn ba:j-a-gïn* ***onton*** *köh-ö*
dog-PL-ACC.2SG tie-SIM.CV-PRED.2SG then migrate-SIM.CV
tur-a-gïn
DUR-SIM.CV-PRED.2SG
'You tie the dogs and then you migrate.' (IMA: 39/40)

It needs to be stressed that this use of *da* and *onton* is certainly not restricted to Dolgan. Table 8.2 above showed that these coordinators are used with the same functions in Sakha as well. However, figure 8.1 clearly illustrates that the frequency of occurrence of these two elements is higher in Dolgan. This applies in particular to *onton*, the proportion of which is more than twice as large as in Sakha. Against the background of the absence of *uonna*, this strikingly high proportion of *onton* in Dolgan could be interpreted as one way to cover the contexts in which Sakha would employ *uonna*. This line of thought is encouraged by a functional difference in the use of *onton* between Dolgan and Sakha, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Whether the loss of *uonna* came first, triggering an increase of the use of *onton* as a compensation strategy, or whether an increased use of *onton* in discourse caused *uonna* to disappear is impossible to tell without access to diachronic data for Dolgan. Unfortunately, these are rare and do not go further back in time than the 1930's, and at that moment in time *uonna* had already disappeared from the language (Ubryatova 1985, Ubryatova and Alekseev 2000). Nonetheless, the similarity in function between *uonna* and *onton* suggests that a connection between the absence of the one and the prominent representation of the other is plausible.

Another replacement for *uonna* as interclausal coordinator may be found in the adverb *onno*, which is not included in the list of coordinators because its analysis is speculative. This locative form of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* occurs equally frequently in Dolgan and Sakha, and it has a locative meaning in space (8.17) as well as in time (8.18). Often it is not possible to clearly distinguish the two, as in example 8.14, where *onno* could refer to the time when the speaker's father died, or to the place.

SAKHA

(8.17) *Uonna ol kergen-ine:n* ***onno*** *olor-ol-lor.*
and that spouse-COM.3SG there sit-PRS.PTC-PL
'And he and his wife live there.' (ARR:113)

(8.18) *Tĭhïː nča toγus süːs tüört uon biːr sĭl seriː,* ***onno*** *min*
thousand nine hundred four ten one year war there 1SG
uon biːr-deːχ-pin, anï.
ten one-PROP-PRED.1SG now
'(In) the year 1941 war, now there I was 11.' (ARR: 53)

While this locative adverbial meaning of *onno* is shared between Dolgan and Sakha, it seems that the locative-temporal meaning in Dolgan has expanded to cover a sequential-temporal aspect as well. In other words, the meaning of 'at that moment in time, back then' has expanded to contexts of 'thereupon, and then' [3], making it very similar to the interclausal linking function of *uonna* in Sakha.

DOLGAN

(8.19) ***Onno*** *di:-bin:* *"oγo-lor,* *haŋar-iŋ* *kerget-ter-ger,*
then say.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG child-PL say-PRS.IMP.2PL family-PL-DAT.2SG
[...] bies *kopejka-ta* *bier-dinner,* *kino:-ga* *kim*
[...] five copeck.R-POSS.3SG give-PRS.IMP.3PL film.R-DAT who
bar-ïaχ-χïtïn" *di:-bin* *buo*
go-FUT.PTC-ACC.2PL say.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG PRT
'And then I say: Children, tell your parents, your mothers that they give you five copecks, in order for you to go to the cinema, I say.' (LKS: 176)

The use of *onno* as a replacement for the interclausal coordinative function of *uonna* in Sakha may be represented by the following sequence of semantic change:

location in time → sequence in time → sequential coordinator

This may have taken place as a result of semantic and conceptual contiguity, potentially reinforced by the phonological similarity of *uonna* and *onno*.

8.2.3.2 FREQUENT USE OF *ONTON* 'AND THEN' IN DOLGAN

As mentioned above, *onton* is by far the most frequent coordinator in Dolgan. While this is the case for Sakha as well, the relative frequency in Dolgan is twice as high as in Sakha. In Sakha *onton* accounts for 20.8% of all overt coordinators, whereas in Dolgan it covers 45.1%. In Section 8.2.3.1 it was suggested that *onton* in Dolgan may have expanded its applicability to cover all the functions of *uonna* in Sakha (i.e. additional intraclausal coordination, in which there is no temporal aspect to the coordination), which could be one of the motivations for its high frequency in Dolgan. The next point of interest is whether there is an explanation

[3] Cf. also Russian *na etom* [on that.PREP 'and then'].

for why this element and not another has adopted this function. On the one hand one may argue that the degree of functional overlap between *uonna* and *onton* in Sakha is so strong that they became interchangeable in certain dialects over time, and eventually the most frequent element (*onton*) took over. A scenario like this provides a purely language-internal explanation, in which dialectal variation eventually leads to an established change, motivated by changes in the text frequency of certain elements. However, it does not satisfactorily account for the complete absence of *uonna*, nor does it give any explanation as to why this happened only in Dolgan and not in the northern Sakha dialects that resemble Dolgan closely in other respects. An alternative perspective on this matter is provided by consideration of data from the neighbouring language Evenki, which show that the main coordinator in this language is an exact structural and functional equivalent of Dolgan *onton*. This suggests a potential role for Evenki in the development of this difference between Dolgan and Sakha. As in Dolgan and Sakha, coordination in Evenki is expressed mostly asyndetically, but syndetic coordination is possible too. In such constructions, the most commonly used overt coordinating element is *taduk* 'and' (Boldyrev 2007: 886, Nedjalkov 1997: 87), which is the ablative form of the demonstrative pronoun *tar* 'this'. As Boldyrev describes it, *taduk* [*ta-duk*, this-ABL] can be used "to connect equivalent constituents of a sentence, or [to connect, E.S.] entire sentences" (Boldyrev 2007: 886)[4]. Both uses are illustrated in examples (8.20a) and (8.20b).

It will be remembered that a very similar situation holds for Dolgan. *Onton* [*ol-(t)tAn*, that-ABL] was described as the ablative of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that', and apart from its literal demonstrative meaning 'from there' it is commonly used to conjoin equivalent constituents or clauses, as was exemplified in (8.16a) and (8.16b), which are repeated here for convenience (see also Artemiev 2001: 140 for more examples)

EVENKI

(8.20a)	*Hekupchu-l*	*tyrgani-l*	*ta-duk*	*inginipchu-l*	*dolboni-l*
	hot-PL	day-PL	DEM-ABL[5]	cold-PL	night-PL
	'Hot days and cold nights.'				(Nedjalkov 1997: 90)

[4] "…употребляется для связи однородных членов предложения или целых предложений." (Boldyrev 2007: 886).

[5] original gloss: 'and'.

(8.20b) *Bejetken* *togo* *daga-du-n* *teget-chere-n* *ta-duk*
boy fire near-DAT-3SG.POSS sit-PRS-3SG DEM-ABL
nginakin *daga-du-n* *bi-si-n*
dog near-DAT-3SG.POSS be-PRS-3SG
'The boy is sitting near the fire and his dog is nearby.' (Nedjalkov 1997: 88)

(8.21a) *Onton* *χatatsala:-bïp-pït* *onton* *onno* *kim* *Polina* *Alekseevna* *ba:r*
then ride.R-PST.PTC-1PL then there who Polina.R Alexeevna EXIST
e-te *semja-tïn* *gïtta* ***onton*** *tjotja* *Nastja* ***onton***
be -PST.3SG family.R-ACC.3SG with then auntie.R Nastja then
Ńuku:ska *Ludmila Nikolaevna* *oγo-to* ***onton***
Nicolay Ludmila Nicolaevna child-POSS.3SG then
Annuška *tjotja* *Nastja*
Annushka auntie.R Nastja
'And then we went on, there were P.A with her family, and auntie Nastja and Nukuska the child of L.N. and Annushka from auntie Nastya.' (DPK: 12)

(8.21b) *ït-tar-gïn* *ba:j-a-gïn* ***onton*** *köh-ö*
dog-PL-ACC.2SG tie-SIM.CV-PRED.2SG then migrate-SIM.CV
tur-a-gïn
DUR-SIM.CV-PRED.2SG
'You tie the dogs and then you migrate.' (IMA: 39/40)

In addition, neither Evenki nor Dolgan have a specialised coordinative element that corresponds to *uonna* in Sakha. However, it needs to be mentioned that *uonna* does occur in other northern dialects of Sakha that did not have such close contact with Evenks as did Dolgan. Thus we observe a situation in which Dolgan and Evenki use a coordinative element that is different in form (*onton* vs. *taduk*), but is identical in morphological structure and in function (ablative demonstrative used in inter- and intraclausal coordination). This suggests that Dolgan may have assimilated to its unrelated neighbour Evenki, which resulted in the difference from its related neighbour Sakha that we currently observe.

If this is what happend, the most probable explanation for the structural transfer from Evenki to Dolgan is through the process of imposition by L1 Evenki speakers who learned Dolgan as a second language. As was explained in Section 3.1.3.3, structural transfer from L1 to L2 through interlingual identification is common during the process of imposition, whereby changes take place due to

extensive, but not perfect, structural and functional overlap of the comparable elements.

Recalling the historical and genetic data discussed in Chapter 2, the history of the Dolgan is characterised by a setting in which Sakha/Dolgan people and Evenks were in close contact, and where various degrees of bilingualism can be assumed with reasonable certainty in the Evenk and Sakha/Dolgan communities on the Taimyr Peninsula. However, due to the rise of Sakha as a lingua franca on the Taimyr during the 18th and 19th centuries, the Evenks who participated in the trade along the Khatanga Trading Way had to learn Sakha/Dolgan as an L2 rather than the other way round. In other words, that period of time may be distinguished by a considerable number of L1 Evenki speakers who learned Sakha/Dolgan as their L2. In addition, the large component of Tungusic genetic material in todays' Dolgan population confirms historical sources mentioning close contact between the two ethnic groups. The large numbers of men and women of Evenki descent in the Dolgan population strongly suggest that certain groups of Evenks underwent a language shift, as a result of involvement in the activities along the Khatanga Trading Way or as a corollary of marriage with Dolgans. Given this social setting, one can imagine a situation in which Evenks who were learning Sakha/Dolgan sensed structural similarity in coordination structures between their L1 and their L2: as in their first language, coordination is either expressed asyndetically, or syndetically by a range of coordinating elements, the most common one being *onton*. Coincidentally, this element shares many functional characteristics with the most frequent element in their L1 (Evenki) *taduk*, which is used as a demonstrative, as an adverb and as an interclausal coordinator. Through interlingual idenfication, the similarity between the elements is enhanced. This structural and functional overlap may also explain why *onton* and not *uonna*, which also occurs very frequently in Sakha but has a different morphological structure, was associated with Evenki *taduk*. During the next stage, the similarity in function may have led to a complete identification of the two elements in the L2 learner's mind, while glossing over the subtle difference that *onton* in Sakha is only used for interclausal and not for intraclausal coordination, whereas *taduk* in Evenki can be used for both. The extended use of *onton* in Dolgan in intraclausal coordination may have rendered an element such as *uonna* functionally redundant, which may be why this element was not incorporated in the L2 Sakha/Dolgan lexicon of the L1 Evenki speakers. A feeling of functional redundancy may have been reinforced by the absence of specialised

coordinators in Evenki, due to which the L2 speaker may not have been on the lookout for such an element and therefore paid less attention to its occurrence in Sakha speech. This combination of factors (the complete identification of *onton* and *taduk* and the absence of a specialised coordinator in Evenki) could thus provide a probable explanation for the dominance of the coordinator *onton* in syndetic coordination constructions in Dolgan, as well as for the absence of *uonna*.

8.2.3.3 THE USE OF *GÏTTA* 'WITH' IN INCLUSORY COORDINATION CONSTRUCTIONS

In Dolgan and in Sakha, the main function of *gïtta* 'with' (or *kïtta*, as it is spelled in Sakha), is a postposition. As can be seen from examples 8.22 and 8.23, this postposition carries a comitative meaning, which is characterised by Arkhipov (2009) by the following criteria: a) the predicate is not repeated more than once (resp. *bultaspïtïm*, *ata:rsan bardïm*), b) the individual participants making up the participant set are expressed separately (implicit 1SG and *hïlgïhïttarï dʒonu* in 8.22 respectively, and *min* and *ginileri* in 8.23), c) the expressions denoting these participants differ in structural rank (resp. *dʒonu* is dependent on 1SG, *ginileri* is dependent on *min*), which is most obviously reflected by the fact that the verb only agrees with the grammatical subject (e.g. the person agreement in *bultaspïtïm* in example 8.22 is 1SG, despite the fact that semantically the hunters are plural).

SAKHA:

(8.22) *Oh, dʒe, bu kim hïlgï-hït-tar-ï, kïdʒdʒa:s*
oh well this who horse-AG.NLZR-PL-ACC old
dʒon-u ***kïtta*** *bul-ta-s-pït-ïm.*
people-ACC with catch-VR-RECP-PSTPT-POSS.1SG
'Oh well, I hunted together with who, with the horse herders, with old people.' (AICh: 167)

DOLGAN:

(8.23) *Min giniler-i* ***gïtta*** *ata:r-s-an bar-dï-m, [...]*
1.SG 3.PL-ACC with accompany-RECP-SQ.CV go-PST-POSS.1SG, [...]
'I began to accompany them.' (LKS: 29)

These criteria, which are primarily morphosyntactic in nature, point to an asymmetrical structure and therefore constructions that conform to them cannot

be classified as coordinate. However, as was shown in Section 8.2.1, *gïtta* is also used in pseudo-coordinate constructions, which are syntactically subordinate but semantically coordinate. An example for Sakha was provided in 8.10 and is repeated here as 8.24, supplemented by examples for Dolgan in 8.25 and 8.26.

SAKHA

(8.24) *Uol-u* ***kïtta*** *kïːs* *kiːne-γe* *bar-al-lar*
boy-ACC with girl cinema-DAT go-PRS.PTC-PL
'The/a boy and girl are going to the movies.' (XLE: 392)

DOLGAN

(8.25) *Ol* *otto* *üle-bit* *barï-ta* *bihiene* *balïg-ï* ***gïtta*** *kïːl* *[...],*
that PRT work-1PL all-POSS.3SG our fish-ACC with wild.reindeer [...]
'That is all our work: fish and wild reindeer [...].' (ANS 115)

(8.26) *Maša* *Afonij* *dʒaχtar-ïn* ***gïtta*** *hugun* *χomu-n-al-lar*
Masha Afoniy woman-ACC.3SG with berry collect-RFL-PRS.PTC-3PL
'Masha and Afoniy's wife are collecting berries.' (elicited)

In these examples, criterion c) for comitative constructions is not fulfilled. While there is morphological asymmetry between the two noun phrases, i.e. one occurs in the accusative and the other in the nominative, they are semantically symmetrical. In 8.25, the fish are not accompanying the reindeer or the other way round, and in 8.24, 8.25 and 8.26 the order of the two noun phrases could be reversed without changing the truth value of the proposition. More significantly, the predicates in 8.24 and 8.26 carry plural marking like they do in coordinate clauses, suggesting that the boy and the girl (8.24) and Masha and Afonij's wife (8.26) are semantically equivalent and thus symmetrical. Thus, the semantic properties of *gïtta* in these constructions are strongly reminiscent of the semantics of a conjunctional coordinator.

A particularly clear illustration is the pair of examples (8.27a) and (8.27b) where approximately the same phrase is repeated by the speaker, but with different coordination strategies: in example 8.27a the noun phrases *biester tüörter* are connected through asyndetic coordination, and in 8.27b the same noun phrases are coordinated by the *gïtta*-construction.

DOLGAN

(8.27a) *A* *min* *di:-bin:* *"Lju:ba-γa* *kör,* *molodies,* *bieχ*
and 1.SG say.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG Ljuba-DAT look well.done.R always
bies-ter *tüör-ter"*
five-PL four-PL
'And I say: Look at good Ljuba, always fives and fours[6].' (LKS: 255)

(8.27b) *Ulaχan* *kï:h-ïm* *dnevnig-in* *kör-üöm,* *bies-ter-i*
big girl-POSS.1SG diary.R-ACC.3SG look-FUT.1SG five-PL-ACC
gïtta *tüör-ter*
with four-PL
'I look at the diary of my eldest daughter, all fives and fours...' (LKS: 244)

While these constructions are possible in Sakha as well, they occur more frequently in Dolgan. In Sakha they did not occur at all in spontaneous speech and the only example came from elicited material. In Dolgan, on the other hand, this type of construction constitutes 1% of coordinators in spontaneous texts. In addition to a higher frequency of use, Dolgan has expanded the coordinative use of this postposition by developing a particular subtype of pseudo-coordinate construction, the inclusory construction, the model for which was most probably provided by Russian.

In Russian, the preposition *s* 'with' corresponds to Dolgan and Sakha *gïtta* in many respects. Like *gïtta*, it establishes a relationship of accompaniment between noun phrases, as in 8.28.

RUSSIAN

(8.28) *On* *ezdi-l* *na* *poezd-e* ***so*** *svoej* *sobakoj*
3SG travel-PST.M.SG on train-PREP with RFL.INST.F.SG dog.INST.F.SG
'He traveled by train with his dog.'

Further similarity is found in the fact that it can be used in pseudo-coordinate constructions, or coordinate comitative constructions as they are called by Arkhipov (2009: 234) as in 8.29. In this example, the given coordinate translation is more appropriate than the literal translation "Sasha with Masha went [PL] to the cinema".

[6] The numbers refer to grades one gets in school, whereby five is the best grade and one the worst.

RUSSIAN

(8.29)	*Saša*	***s***	*Mašej*	*pošli*	*v*	*kino*
	Sasha	with	Masha.INST	go.PST.PL	in	cinema

'Sasha and Masha went to the cinema.'

Another typical feature of this type of construction in Russian is that it is inclusory when the syntactic subject has a singular referent (i.e. first, second or third person singular) (Arkhipov 2009: 235). Inclusory means that one of the two noun phrases (the syntactic subject) already includes the referent of the second noun phrase and therefore occurs in the plural, despite the fact that it has a singular referent (see example 8.30)[7]. Thus *mï* 'we' in 8.30 includes the speaker and his brother, even though in a typical coordinated noun phrase the first element should refer to only one of the coordinated elements and not both. Strikingly, an exact equivalent of this structure is found in Dolgan (8.31) and is importantly not encountered in Sakha.

RUSSIAN

(8.30)	*Mï*	***s***	*brat-om*	*lovi-li*	*rïbu*	*u*	*prichal-a*
	1.PL	with	brother-INST	catch-PST.PL	fish.ACC	at	jetty-GEN

'My brother and I (lit.: we with my brother) were fishing at the jetty.'

(Arkhipov 2009: 235)

DOLGAN

(8.31)	*Bi:r-de*	*bihigi*	*Regina-nï*	***gïtta***	*hïldʒ-ar*	*e-ti-bit*
	one-MULT	1.PL	Regina-ACC	with	go-PRS.PTC	be-PST-1PL

'Once Regina and I went for a walk.' (DPK: 1)

Thus we have seen that *gïtta* in Dolgan and Sakha shares many functional properties with *s* in Russian. Both elements are used as an adposition (a post- and prepostion respectively) with a comitative function 'with' and as a coordinator in pseudo-coordinate constructions. While Russian may have played a role in the

[7] Of course, it could be that the same rule applies when the syntactic subject has a plural referent, that is, when the meaning of example 8.30 would be 'my brother and us were fishing at the jetty'. However, since in these cases the syntactic subject appears in the plural anyway, inclusion of the referent of the second noun phrase would have no effect on the number marking of the syntactic subject. Therefore pseudo-coordinate constructions are only noticeable when the syntactic subject has a singular referent.

increased use of *gïtta* as a coordinator, its influence is particularly salient in the inclusory contruction, since these are only found in Dolgan and Russian, and not in Sakha. The exact match in morphosyntactic structure between the construction in Dolgan and Russian suggests that this particular construction has been introduced into Dolgan on the model of Russian. It needs to be mentioned that this construction is not abundantly present in the Dolgan corpus. More precisely, I have three examples of it in spontaneous texts, one of them given by an old woman from the up-river village of Volochanka , and two of them given by children (9 and 14 years old) from the down-river village of Syndassko. Since this change is occurring in a community that is undergoing language shift, and thus where linguistic dominance is changing too, the process of how this use of *gïtta* entered the Dolgan language is not straightforward. The older woman, who grew up with Dolgan as her dominant L1, could have adopted this construction as a result of structural borrowing from Russian due to intense contact with this language. However, since language shift to Russian in her village of Volochanka is almost completed, it is more likely that her dominant, or most activated, language has now become Russian, which favours an explanation in terms of imposition instead (see Section 3.1.3.3). The young children who use the inclusory construction are also dominant in Dolgan in their pre-school years because they are growing up in the linguistically most conservative village of Syndassko. However, after a few years of schooling in Russian they are are now perfectly bilingual and it is not clear which language is their dominant one. Based on my own observationsin the village I am inclined to think that these children are balanced bilinguals, since they employ both languages with equal ease and proficiency. This may nonetheless lead to interference from the one language in the other, but the underlying process of borrowing or imposition is hard to define due to the absence of a clearly dominant language. Thus, while the process of change in these children cannot unambiguously be determined, for the older woman in Volochanka the process should rather be defined as imposition than as structural borrowing. To eliminate confusion, this is of course not imposition of Russian structures by Russians who shift to Dolgan, but by the Dolgans themselves who have become dominant in Russian and project structural properties of this language onto Dolgan.

This argumentation is reinforced by the fact that inclusory constructions have been adopted in other non-Slavic languages of the Russian Federation, where Russian has become dominant in the community. For instance, example 8.32 from

the Ersha dialect of Mordovian shows a comitative relative clause, in which the subject of the relative clause appears in the plural, even though it refers to the first person singular.

MORDOVIAN (ERSHA)

(8.32)	*Tan'e-s'*	*[kona-n't'*	*marhta*	*min'*	*vihse*	*tonafn'-i-me]*
	tanja-DEF.NOM	which-DEF.GEN	with	we	together	study-PST-1PL
	tus'	*Mosko-w*				
	go.PST.3.SG	Moscow-LAT				

'Tanja, with whom I (or we) went to school, went to Moscow.'[8]

(Aralova: fielddata 2007)

Thus, this section has shown that the use of *gïtta* as a conjunction in pseudo-coordinate constructions has expanded in Dolgan when compared to Sakha. While this use of *gïtta* is possible in Sakha, the more common usage of the postposition in this capacity in an area of intense contact with Russians and widespread bilingualism, suggests that this increase may have been motivated by contact with Russian. This contact-influence is particularly salient in appearance of the inclusory construction in Dolgan, in which *gïtta* is also used as a conjunction, and which occurs in Dolgan only. Since this construction is characteristic of Russian, the use of *gïtta* in this way is very likely to have developed through contact, more specifically as a result of imposition from the dominant language Russian onto Dolgan.

[8] For this example, the Russian trigger sentence was:

(8.33)	*Tanja*	*s*	*kotoroj*	*mï*	*uchi-li-s'*	*ueha-la*	*v*
	Tanja	with	REL.PRON.INST.F.SG	1PL	study-PST.PL-RFL	leave-PST.F.SG	in
	Moskvu						
	Moscow.ACC						

'Tanja with whom I (or: we) studied went to Moscow.'

This sentence in Russian is ambiguous with respect to the number of the syntactic subject. While evidence for contact-induced change would have been stronger in sentences in which the plural syntactic subject has an unambiguously singular referent, the fact that the Mordovian sentence is ambiguous in the same way as the sentence in Russian supports the hypothesis that they share the same underlying model.

8.2.3.4 RUSSIAN COORDINATORS IN DOLGAN DISCOURSE

The study of coordination strategies in Sakha and Dolgan also reveals a difference in the use of Russian coordinators. A comparison of the two corpora shows that Russian coordinators constitute a significant proportion of the conjunctions in Dolgan (17.8%), while they are they are virtually absent in Sakha. Of course, they do occur in the Sakha corpus as well in situations of code-switching, as is exemplified in 8.34, but these instances were not included in the analysis. After all, in such sentences the coordinators still figure in an entirely Russian context. They show no sign of incorporation into Sakha (or Dolgan), and therefore there is no reason to assume a change in this language. Therefore, for the current purpose only structures as in 8.35 were included, in which the Russian coordinator appears in an otherwise purely Dolgan (or Sakha) environment.

SAKHA

(8.34) *Kiniler-i* *üčügej-dik* *uba:st-ï:-bïn,* *üčügej-dik*
3.PL-ACC good-ADVLZR respect-SIM.CV-PRED.1SG good-ADVLZR
kör-büt-üm, *iχ* ***i*** *poχoroni-l-a,*
see-PST.PTC-POSS.1SG them and bury-PST-SG.F
spokojno *oni* *sčas* *hït-taχ-tara* *di:.*
calmly they now lie-COND-POSS.3PL say.SIM.CV
'[...] I respected them well, I looked after them well, and I buried them, so now they lie in peace.' (ARR: 232)

DOLGAN

(8.35) *Tugu* *da* *bil-bek-kit,* ***i*** *heme-li:-git*
what.ACC PRT know-PRS.PTC.NEG-2PL and.R criticism-VBLZR.SIM.CV-2PL
'You don't know anything and you swear.' (LKS: 283)

The two most popular Russian coordinators used in this capacity are *i* 'and' and *a* 'and, but', but *ili* 'or' and *no* 'but' are also used, albeit to a lesser extent. An overview of the comparative frequencies in Dolgan and Sakha is given in Table 8.3, in which the Russian coordinators are arranged by decreasing frequency in Dolgan. The table shows that the overall proportion of Russian coordinators in Dolgan is significantly higher than in Sakha. *i* and *a* occur with roughly the same frequency in the Dolgan corpus (8.5% and 7.9% of all coordinators respectively), whereas their presence in the Sakha corpus is negligible (0.08% and 0.3%

respectively). *ili* and *no* occur much less frequently in Dolgan (0.9% and 0.6% respectively, but still more than in Sakha, in which these coordinators do not occur at all.

Table 8.3: Frequency distribution of Russian coordinators in Sakha and Dolgan

	SAKHA		DOLGAN	
	No.	% of all coordinators.	No.	% of all coordinators.
i 'and'	1	0.08	54	8.5
a 'and, but'	4	0.3	50	7.9
ili 'or'	0	0	5	0.9
no 'but'	0	0	4	0.6
Total	5	0.4	113	17.8

Like the other changes in clause combining, these coordinators are used by all age groups, including the older people who are dominant in Dolgan as well as the younger people who are dominant in Russian. Since the shift is still ongoing and both groups are part of the Dolgan-speaking community, it is impossible to make a rigid distinction between the processes of borrowing and imposition to explain this instance of contact-induced change. Rather I would argue that both processes play a role in the development of these changes. The use of these overt coordinators is the result of borrowing in the people who are dominant speakers of Dolgan. Due to intense contact with Russian they borrow the substance as well as the structural consequences of these coordinators into their dominant Dolgan language. This mostly concerns the older generation, and certainly people older than 70. For the younger speakers, and in all probability people younger than 40, this change is the result of imposition, where their highly activated Russian language percolates through their use of Dolgan. Therefore, this is an instance of a lingusitic change where the interplay of two different underlying processes results in the same linguistic outcome.

8.2.3.5 RANGE OF ACTIVELY USED COORDINATORS

Figure 8.1 showed the frequency distibution of coordinators in Dolgan and Sakha. The steep slope for the use of Dolgan coordinators is obvious from this figure, but the analytical eye may have spotted that the slope for Sakha looks rather different.

To make this clear for the average observer, the two slopes are represented in figures 8.2 and 8.3 below.

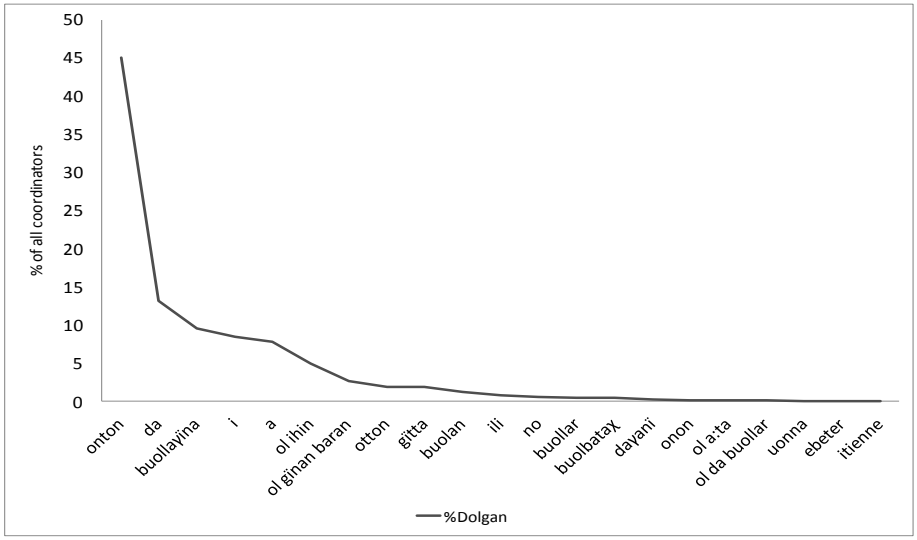

Figure 8.2 Coordinators in Dolgan in declining frequency of use

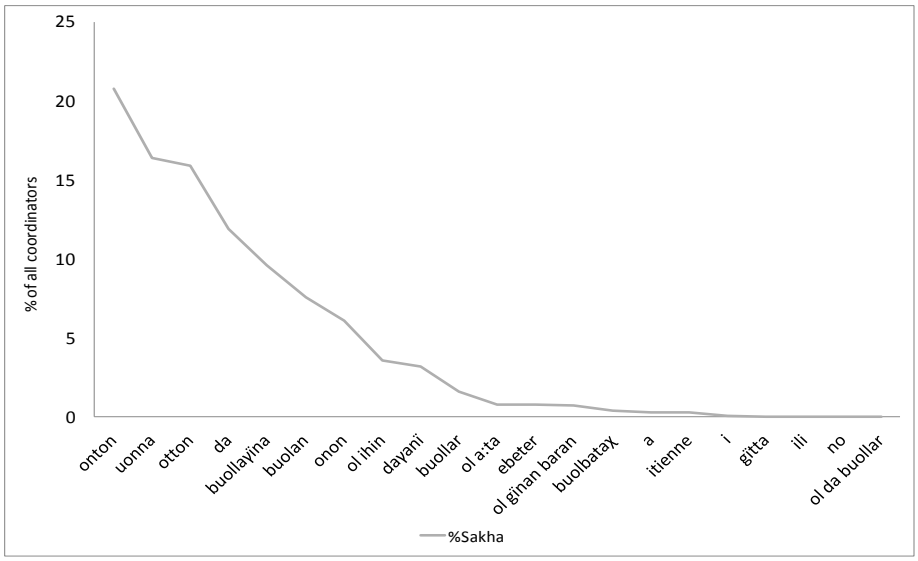

Figure 8.3 Coordinators in Sakha in declining frequency of use

The comparison shows that the slope in the diagram for Sakha goes down much more gradually than for Dolgan. The difference between the first and second most frequent coordinator in Dolgan is 31.9%, whereas in Sakha this is only 4.4%. Considering the fact that the overall frequency of coordinators in Dolgan and Sakha is comparable, this means that Dolgan has one coordinator, i.e. *onton*, which is used very actively, whereas the use of the others is comparatively limited. In Sakha on the other hand, the variety of actively used coordinators is larger. This shrinkage of diversity could be a sign of attrition as a result of the ongoing shift to Russian.

8.2.4 DISCUSSION

The previous sections have shown that syndetic coordination in Dolgan shows a number of differences from Sakha with respect to the presence, the frequency of use, and the function of certain coordinators. This contrasts with asyndetic coordination for which both languages behave identically. The main differences were identified as the absence of *uonna*, the high frequency of *onton*, the more frequent use of *gïtta* in pseudo-coordinate constructions, in particular in inclusory constructions, and the presence of Russian coordinators in Dolgan discourse, whereby it was argued that the first two differences could be related. A comparison with Evenki showed that the most frequent conjunction in Dolgan (*onton*) has an identical morphological structure and functional distribution as the primary coordinate conjunction in Evenki (*taduk*), while its functional distribution deviates slightly from Sakha. It was suggested that this change in functional distribution (a spread from interclausal coordination to include intraclausal coordination as well) is potentially the result of a generalisation process in second language learning, which could be connected to the function of Sakha as a lingua franca, or eventually to shift. L1 Evenki speakers who learned Sakha/Dolgan may have projected coordination strategies from their L1 into their L2. The high degree of similarity in coordinate constructions between Evenki and Sakha/Dolgan may have facilitated this process and may have facilitated the loss of Sakha *uonna*, for which there is no equivalent in Evenki. Other elements in Dolgan that could fulfill the function of *uonna* are *onno*, possibly due to phonological similarity, and the Russian coordinator *i*, which is an exact functional equivalent. A more detailed discussion of the incorporation of Russian elements will follow in Section 8.4.

The increase in the use of *gïtta* and the development of inclusory constructions was attributed to contact with Russian. It was argued that the inclusory construction, which is absent in Sakha, but standard in Russian, has been introduced into Dolgan through the process of imposition as a result of intense bilingualism and ongoing shift to Russian.

Thus, if the argumentation is correct, we can conclude that in coordination we find influence from both Evenki and from Russian, whereby Evenki has left its traces on Dolgan in the form of structural and functional change which is most probably the result of imposition and second language learning in a process of language shift from Evenki to Dolgan. Russian influence materialises in the form of changes in substance as well as in structure, which are introduced into the language as a result of borrowing as well as imposition. Always allowing for individual variation, the process of borrowing was typically associated with the generation over 70, which is dominant in Dolgan, and imposition was correlated with the age group younger than 40, which is most probably dominant in Russian. The age group in between is hard to classify due to large differences in linguistic dominance depending on the village in which the speakers grew up, the profession and attitude of their parents as well as their own aspirations.

8.3 SUBORDINATION

As was discussed in Section 8.1.2, subordination is characterised by asymmetry, which means that one of the clauses is cognitively or morphosyntactically dependent on the other. It was mentioned that a cross-linguistically valid categorisation of asymmetric relations appears to be a classification into adverbial relations, complement relations and relative relations (Cristofaro 2003: 39). In the context of differences between Dolgan and Sakha, only adverbial and relative relations will be discussed in detail, since both languages behave identically with respect to complement relations. For adverbial subordinate clauses it will be shown that differences between the languages are the result of direct influence from Russian, which is reflected by the introduction of Russian subordinators into Dolgan discourse. For relative clauses, the observed differences will be attributed to language attrition induced by ongoing language shift, and are thus an indirect consequence of contact with Russian.

8.3.1 ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATION

Adverbial relations are relations in which two States of Affairs (or propositions) are linked "such that one of them (the dependent SoA) corresponds to the circumstances under which the other one (the main SoA) takes place" (Cristofaro 2003: 155). Adverbial relations are further subdivided into relations of purpose, time, condition and reason (Cristofaro 2003, Givón 1990: 827-837, Kortmann 1997, Thompson and Longacre 1985). The current discussion deals only with purpose (8.3.1.1), temporal (8.3.1.2) and conditional relations (8.3.1.3). Reason will be discussed briefly in 8.3.1.4, but for this type of relation, differences between Dolgan and Sakha seem to be incidental and not the result of a systematic change.

8.3.1.1 PURPOSE

Purpose relations are defined as relations that "link two SoAs, one of which (the main one) is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of the other one (the dependent one)" (Cristofaro 2003: 157). In Sakha this type of relation is expressed asyndetically as well as syndetically. Asyndetically purpose is expressed by case marked participles, the imperative or necessitative mood followed by the particle *dien*, or by converbs. Syndetically, purpose is expressed with the help of various postpositions. Participial purposive constructions typically contain the future participle on *-IAχ* with possessive case marking (8.36), but occasionally the present participle on *-Ar* is used as well. Both participles carry possessive case marking (dative or accusative), which may agree in person and number with the subject of the subordinate clause. According to Cheremisina (1995) participles are employed only in different subject subordinate clauses.

SAKHA

(8.36) *Manniːk* *hörü:n-ner-ge* *taba-ŋ* *üör-üŋ*
in.this.way cool-PL-DAT reindeer-POSS.2SG herd -POSS.2SG
üčügej-dik *hïnńan-an* *[ah-ïaγ-ïn]* *örü:-gün.*
good-ADVLZR relax-SQ.CV eat-FUT.PTC-ACC.3SG rest.one.day.SIM.CV-PRED.2SG
'On cool days like this your reindeer relax well and you rest one day so that they can eat.' (XKM: 17)

An additional frequent way of expressing purpose, which is not mentioned by Cheremisina but is in fact pan-Turkic, is the use of the multifunctional element *die-n* [say-SQ.CVB] in combination with the near future imperative (8.37). Alternatively it is combined with the necessitative mood, based on the future participle on *-IAχ* followed by the proprietive suffix *-LA:χ* and predicative person marking, as exemplified in 8.38. While clauses such as in 8.37 are used quite frequently and have clearly a purposive meaning, they sometimes occur on their own as well. This makes their subordinate status questionable, and suggests that in such contexts a desiderative interpretation may be more appropriate. However, in 8.37 there is clear cognitive dependency between the clauses and therefore this construction should be included in the category of proper purposive clauses.

SAKHA

(8.37) *Oγonńor* *onnuk-ka* *üle-le:-bit,* *bili* *ńu:čča-lï:*
old.man such.a-DAT work-VBLZR-PST.PTC that.one Russian-ADVLZR
haχa-lï: *bil-er* *buol-an* *ńu:čča*
Sakha-ADVLZR know-PRS.PTC AUX-SQ.CV Russian
argïstas-taγ-ïna *[kepse-t-tin* *di-en]*
accompany-COND-COND.3SG tell-CAUS-IMP.3SG say-SQ.CV
horuj-an *ana:-bït-tar.*
give.commission-SQ.CV appoint-PST.PTC-PL
'The old man worked in such a one, since he knew Russian and Sakha they appointed him specially, so that he could talk (with them) when he accompanied Russians.' (REX: 114)

(8.38) *Ol* *ihin* *buolla:na* *ol* *mototsikl* *ïl-lï-bït,*
that for however that motorcycle.R take-PST-1PL
onton *hotoru* *[bult-uoχ-ta:χ* *di-en]* *anï* *ha:*
then soon catch-FUT.PTC-PROP say-SQ.CV now gun
ïl-lï-bït, *ol* *kurduk* *ʤögüör-bütüger.*
take-PST-1PL that like Egor-DAT.1PL
'So we bought the motorcycle, then soon after that we bought a gun so that he could hunt, so we did for our Egor.' (XLE: 379)

Converbal purposive clauses can be formed with the sequential converb on *-An* (8.39) or with a special purposive converb on *-A:rI* (8.40). As the name says, the sequential converb in fact only encodes the sequence of two clauses but leaves the

nature of their relation unspecified. However, the relation can be interpreted as purposive if the semantics of the clauses allow for it (8.39). More specific and more frequent for this meaning is the use of the purposive converb on *-A:rI*. This converb may occur with predicative person marking agreeing with the subject, but this is not obligatory. Converbal purposive clauses are always same subject clauses.

SAKHA

(8.39) *Onu kenniki manna [ostuoruja-tïn ïl-an] balï:ha.*
that .ACC afterwards here history.R-ACC.3SG take-SQ.CV hospital.R
arχï:ba-tïn ïrït-tar-bïp-pït tuoχ da huru-llu-bataχ.
archive-ACC.3SG scrutinize-CAUS-PST.PTC-1PL what PRTwrite-PASS-PST.PTC.NEG
'Afterwards in order to take his (medical) history we made the hospital archives scrutinize (everything), nothing was written.' (REX: 126)

(8.40) *Onon iÿe-m ʤe ol hordo-h-on bihigi*
that.INST mother-POSS.1SG well that make.suffer-RFL-SQ.CV 1PL
i:t-en [abïra-n-a:rï] ol Čïčïmaχ-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)

According to the Sakha grammar, syndetic purposive clauses are formed with the help of the postpositions *tuhugar*, *ihin* and *innitten*, but Cheremisina admits that *ihin* and *innitten* occur very rarely, and that in the majority of cases these postpositions have the semantics of reason rather than purpose (Cheremisina 1995: 256). However, data from the spoken Sakha corpus do not give much support for the use of *tuhugar* in the function of purpose either. There are four instances of it in the corpus, but in all cases it serves to encode a beneficiary phrase, rather than a purposive clause, as is illustrated in 8.41 on the next page. Thus, data from the Sakha corpus show that the most common ways to encode purpose relations is by converbal constructions for same subject purposive clauses (converb on *-A:rI*), the imperative+*dien* construction for different subject purposive clauses where the subject is third person singular, or by participial constructions. The corpus does not provide evidence for the existence of syndetic purposive subordination constructions in Sakha, so if they do exist at all, they play at most a very marginal role.

SAKHA

(8.41) *Onon* *če* *biligin* *ol* *oγo-lor-but* ***tuh-ugar***,
that.INST well now that child-PL-1PL side-DAT.3SG
hien-ner-bit ***tuh-ugar*** *di-en* *bar-an* *hïll-a-bït.*
grandchild-PL-1PL side-DAT.3SG say-SQ.CV go-SQ.CV be-SIM.CV-1PL
'So now we live for the benefit of our children, for the benefit of our grandchildren.' (XLE: 520)

In Dolgan, purposive constructions are generally expressed with the same morphosyntactic means as described for Sakha. However, a number of differences must be noted. First, the range of possible constructions is slightly narrower, because Dolgan does not employ *dien* with a purposive meaning, making it an outlier in the Turkic language family (Matic and Pakendorf, in preparation). Second, more than half of the purposive clauses is formed with the help of the Russian purposive subordinator *štobï* 'in order to'.

As in Sakha, the possessive-marked accusative form of the future participle expresses a purposive relation between main clause and subordinate clause (8.42), and the purposive converb on *-A:rI*, with or without predicative person marking, is productively used to this end as well, as exemplified in 8.43 and 8.44 respectively.

DOLGAN

(8.42) *[Bi:r* *hir-ten* *nöŋüö* *hir-ge* *dieri* *ti:j-ieg-in]* *onu*
one place-ABL next place-DAT till reach-FUT.PTC-ACC.3SG that.ACC
di-e:ččі-ler *turu:* *kuraŋ-a,* *ikki* *turu:,* *bi:r* *turu:*
say-HAB-PRED.3PL post approximately-POSS.3SG two post one post
'In order to reach the next place from the other they say approximately a turuu, one turuu, two turuu[9].' (ANS: 53)

(8.43) *[Dʒie-ber* *köt-ö:rü],* *kürü:-bün* *buo*
house-DAT.1SG fly-PURP.CV escape.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG PRT
'In order to fly home I escape.' (LKS: 38)

[9] A *turu:* is a shamanic pole, and is used as a measure of distance.

(8.44) *Kïaj-an* *u:ččaχ-ta-m-mat*
be.able-SQ.CV riding.reindeer-VBLZR-RFL-PRS.PTC.NEG
er-dep-pititten *ïtï:* *ïtï:* *čeχčeke* *kördö-n-ö*
be-COND-ABL.1PL cry.SIM.CV cry.SIM.CV heap search-RFL-SIM.CV
hïldʒ-a:ččï-bït *u:čaχ-χa* ***mi:n-e:ri-bit***
be-HAB-1PL riding.reindeer-DAT mount-PURP.CV-1PL
'From the moment we could barely ride a reindeer we looked for mounds while crying, in order to climb onto our reindeer.' (PPK: 6)

In addition to these strategies, constructions with the Russian subordinator *štobï* 'in order to' occupy a prominent place in the formation of purposive relations. In Sakha, it does not occur at all, but in Dolgan more than half the purposive clauses (12 out of 23) are expressed with the help of this element.

In Russian, *štobï*-constructions consist of a main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by *štobï*. The predicate in the subordinate clause is either a past tense form (in different subject clauses, see 8.45) or an infinitive (in same subject clauses, see 8.45).

RUSSIAN

(8.45) *On* *mne* *da-l* *den'gi,* *štobï* *ja* *kupi-la* *xleb*
He 1SG.DAT give-PST.M.SG money, in.order.to 1SG buy-PST.F.SG bread.ACC
'He gave me money, in order to buy bread.'

(8.46) *On* *vzja-l* *den'gi,* *štobï* *kupit'* *xleb*
He take-PST.M.SG money, in.order.to buy.PST.INF bread.ACC
'He gave me money, in order to buy bread.'

In Dolgan *štobï*-constructions, the form of the predicate typically is identical to the verb forms found in constructions without Russian influence: a future participle in possessive accusative case, agreeing with the subject of the subordinate clause. Thus, from a logical point of view one could argue that the addition of the Russian purposive conjunction is redundant and adds no semantic value to the construction. However, *štobï* does influence the overall structure of the sentence by increasing the flexibility of the position of the subordinate clause in the sentence. While the typical position of subordinate clauses with a typical Turkic structure is before the main clause, the typical position of sentences preceded by *štobï* is after the main clause, thus complying to the model provided by Russian

(although a sentence-initial position of such clauses in Russian is possible in certain contexts). Thus, while the element itself is semantically redundant, the addition of *štobï* has a structural effect on the organisation of main clauses and subordinate clauses in Dolgan.

DOLGAN

(8.47) *I* *onu* *buollaγïna* *tur-uor-a-bït* *buo*
and.R that.ACC PRT stand-CAUS-SIM.CV-PST.PTC PRT
štobï *[sïvorotka* *buol-uoγ-un* *ke]*
in.order.to whey.R become-FUT.PTC-ACC.3SG CONTR
'And we put that away so that the serum appears.' (IMA: 3)

8.3.1.2 TEMPORAL RELATIONS

Temporal relations involve the temporal sequence or simultaneity between a main proposition and a dependent one. They can be divided into relations of temporal posteriority, anteriority, and temporal overlap. In this classification, the terminology is based on the perspective of the proposition in the subordinate clause: temporal posteriority means that the proposition in the subordinate clause is posterior, or *follows,* the proposition in the main clause, and temporal anteriority that the subordinate proposition *precedes* the one in the main clause. Therefore, relations of temporal posteriority are, perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, also called 'before' relations, of temporal anteriority 'after' relations, and relations of temporal overlap are called 'when' relations (Givón 1990: 827-837, Cristofaro 2003: 159). As for purposive relations, Sakha and Dolgan have a diverse range of constructions to express temporal relations. These include, but are not limited to: a) sequential converbs on *-An* with optional predicative person marking to express anteriority ('after') as in 8.48) the future participle on *-IAχ* in the possessive marked dative case, followed by the postposition *dieri* 'until' to express posteriority ('before') as in 8.49, and in Dolgan simultaneity as well, as exemplified 8.50) the simultaneous converb on *-A* to express simultaneous events as in 8.51.

DOLGAN

(8.48) *[ïra:s-t-an* *bar-an-nar]* *kïptïj-ïnan* *kïrïj-al-lar*
clean-VBLZR-SQ.CVB go-SQ.CV-PRED.3PL scissors-INST cut-PRS.PTC-PRED.3PL
tü:-tün
reindeer.fur-ACC.3SG
'After cleaning, they cut the fur with scissors.' (ESB: 6)

SAKHA

(8.49) *Onton* *oskuola-nï* *büt-er-ieχ-per* *dieri*
then school-ACC end-CAUS-FUT.PTC-DAT.1SG until
töhö *baγar-ar* *interine:t,* *on-uh-u*
to.what.extent wish-PRS.PTC boarding.school ten-ORD-ACC
büt-er-ieχ-per *da* *dieri* *min* *sa:s*
end-CAUS-FUT.PTC-DAT.1SG PRT until 1SG spring
sett-ih-inen *toχto:-but-um,* *aχsï-h-ïnan.*
seven-ORD-INST stop-PST.PTC-POSS.1SG eight-ORD-INST
'Then before I finished school boarding school as much as you like, even before I finished tenth (grade), I stopped in seventh, in eighth.' (REX: 158)

DOLGAN

(8.50) *Honon* *interna:χ-χa* *buol-lu-m,*
that.way boarding.school.R-DAT be-PST-POSS.1SG
[ula:t-ïaχ-par *dieri]* *iti-ke:če:n* *hïldʒï-bït-ïm* *bu*
grow.up-FUT.PTC-DAT.1SG till this-ADVLZR go-PST.PTC-POSS.1SG this
ńoχčo *buol-an* *buo*
hunchbacked be-SQ.CV PRT
'Thus I came to the boarding school, and while I grew up I became hunchbacked, and I lived like that.' (NMC: 50)

DOLGAN

(8.51) *[Hir-bitin* *kör-ö]* *hïldʒ-a-bït*
earth-ACC.1PL look -SIM.CV AUX-SIM.CV-1PL
'We travel while we look at our land.' (ANS: 28)

As can be seen from these examples, the verb forms are non-finite, and the subordinate clauses are preposed to the main clause. The postposition *dieri* occupies the final position in the subordinate clause. A comparison of temporal

subordinate constructions in the Sakha and Dolgan corpus shows that there is only little difference between the two languages in this respect. Yet, there are two features which do not overlap. These are the use of the native postposition *dieri* 'until' and the use of the Russian subordinator *poka* 'while', which has found its way into the Dolgan language while it is not used in Sakha. Nonetheless, in contrast to purposive clauses, where more than half of the clauses are formed with a Russian element, Russian influence on temporal subordination, with six examples, is rather limited.

With respect to the first difference, in Sakha the only meaning of *dieri* is 'until', regardless of whether it is used in a spatial (8.52) or in a temporal sense (8.53).

SAKHA

(8.52) *Bu* *u:-nu* *at-ïnan* *tobug-ar* ***dieri***
this water-ACC horse-INSTR knee-DAT.POSS.3SG until
keh-erd-en *ajan-nï:r-bït*
wade-CAUS-SQ.CV journey-VBLZR.PRS.PTC-1PL
'We travelled by making the horses wade up to [until E.S] their knees in this water.' (Uvarovskij: 243)

(8.53) *Tudd-um* *mama-m* *kel-ier* ***dieri***
stand.PST-POSS.1SG mama-POSS.1SG come-FUT.PTC.DAT.3SG until
'I stood until my mother came.' (ARR: 49)

In Dolgan this postposition has the additional meaning of 'while', or 'as long as' (or German 'solange' as in Stachowski 1993: 80) when it is used in the temporal sense. This use is not exceptional in Dolgan and an example was given in 8.50 above. This means that in Dolgan temporal sentences formed with this postposition can be either posterior ('before' or 'until') or simultaneous (while), whereas they are only posterior in Sakha. This distinction is important in the light of the second difference, the use of the Russian subordinating conjunction *poka* 'while' in Dolgan discourse.

In Russian, sentences formed with this subordinate conjunction are finite and the subordinate clause can occur before or after the main clause. The position of the obligatory *poka* is always sentence initial.

RUSSIAN

(8.54) *[Poka ja spa-la,] vor zalez v dom*
while 1.SG sleep-PST.F.SG thieve climb in house
'While I slept the thieve climbed into the house.'

In Dolgan, *poka*-constructions are in principle identical to the temporal subordinate clauses that are not influenced by contact, except that they are preceded by the Russian conjunction *poka*. In other words, the predicate is non-finite, the clause-final postposition *dieri* is preserved, and even the head-final order seems to be preserved, unlike what is seen in the purposive clauses influenced by Russian. The only difference is the insertion of the Russian subordinator in clause-initial position.

DOLGAN

(8.55) *A iti uol [poka kör-üör dieri gini-ni]*
and this boy while.R see-FUT.PTC-DAT.3SG until 3.SG-ACC
ta:s-χa iŋn-i-bit-te tüs-püt
stone-DAT stumble-EP-PST.PTC-PST.3SG fall-PST.PTC
'And that boy, while he was looking at her, stumbled over a stone.' (LSB: 15)

Thus, as with the purposive *štobï*-construction, the original construction is completely retained, and from a semantic point of view the addition of *poka* is redundant.

8.3.1.3 CONDITIONAL RELATIONS

In conditional subordination, differences between Dolgan and Sakha are very limited. The only point of divergence concerns the use of the Russian conditional subordinate conjunction. In Dolgan spontaneous speech, the Russian conditional subordinate conjunction *esli* 'if' is sometimes used in an otherwise Dolgan context, whereas it is not used in Sakha. However, such constructions are relatively rare, as only four out of 83 conditional clauses (4.8%) are formed with *esli*. As for the purposive and temporal adverbial clauses, the Russian subordinator does not seem to add or replace a semantic function, since it is followed by the conditional mood, which by itself expresses full conditionality. Its only function is again to make the position of the subordinate clause more flexible, in a similar fashion to what we

have seen for purposive clauses: instead of being restricted to the pre-main clause position, sentences beginning with *esli* can be put after the main clause as well, thus reflecting the flexibility of clause position in Russian.

DOLGAN

(8.56) *Ma:ma, di:-bin heee, χajdaχ dieb-ij ke [jesli*
mother say.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG heee how say.FUT.1SG-Q PRT if.R
svatatsa-la:-taχ-tarïna, minigin kördö:-töχ-törüne]
ask.in.marriage.R-VBLZR-COND-COND.3PL 1.SG.ACC request-COND-COND.3PL
di:-bin buo
say.SIM.CV-PRED.1SG PRT
'Mother, what do I say if/when they come and ask me in marriage, and look for me?' (APC: 9)

8.3.1.4 REASON

As was mentioned in 8.3.1, differences between Dolgan and Sakha in subordinate clauses of reason are unsystematic and incidental and they are negligible within the totality of other constructions that encode reason. However, for the sake of completeness, I will report two instances here, which are the only two examples in the corpus where the Russian subordinative constructions *potomu što* 'because' and *za to što* 'for the fact that', are used for this aim.

DOLGAN

(8.57) *A Dolga:t-tar ehigi [potomu što Dolga:n-nar hir-der-iger*
and Dolgan-PL 2.PL because.R Dolgan-PL earth-DAT.3PL
törö:-bük-küt], ol ihin Dolgan buol-uoχ-χut
be.born-PST.PTC-2PL that for Dolgan become-FUT.PTC-2PL
'And you are Dolgans because you were born on the earth of the Dolgans, therefore you become Dolgan.' (LKS: 20)

(8.58) [*Za to što kim, nu kömölös-püt ihin]*
for that that.R who well help-PST.PTC for
'Because he ehm, well, helped.' (TIS: 12)

In a similar fashion as the constructions with *štobï* and *poka* and *jesli*, the Russian subordinators are redundant from a semantic point of view. Example 8.59 contains two clauses for reason, the first one being subordinate and introduced by the Russian *potomu što*, the second one being syntactically coordinate and introduced by *ol ihin*. The statement on redundancy is meant to apply to the first clause of reason only. Without *potomu što*, example 8.57 would be a paratactic structure with subordinate semantics for which the relation of reason must be inferred from the context, a construction commonly found in Dolgan. In 8.58 the postposition *ihin* expresses the same meaning as Russian *za to što* and is therefore redundant as well. However, since these constructions both occur in the corpus only once, I am inclined to treat them as nonce borrowings rather than as integrated constructions in the Dolgan language, with potential structural consequences.

8.3.2 RELATIVE RELATIONS

Relative clauses differ from adverbial subordinate clauses in that they exhibit no implicit semantic connection between the two linked propositions. Rather, "it is the speaker who arbitrarily selects two SoAs on the grounds that they share a participant" (Cristofaro 2003: 197). Traditionally, relative clauses are divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Both types involve two propositions, or State of Affairs in Cristofaro's terms, of which the dependent one gives some specification about the main one (Cristofaro 2003: 195). The difference between them is that restrictive relative clauses restrict the set of referents, whereas non-restrictive relative clauses only provide additional information about the main clause referent without necessarily identifying it within a set of possible referents (Keenan 1985: 168-169). This is illustrated by the set of examples below, where (8.59) is a restrictive and (8.60) a non-restrictive relative clause (Cristofaro 2003: 195).

(8.59) We went to the Bach concerts [my friend got the tickets for]

(8.60) They went to a number of Bach concerts, for which they had booked tickets several months in advance.

According to Cristofaro, only restrictive relative clauses are subordinate. She supports her argument with evidence from sentence modification, such as negation, which in restrictive relative clauses affects both propositions, but in non-restrictive clauses only one, indicating that there is no semantic dependency relation between the two, which according to Cristofaro is a proof against their cognitive or semantic subordination.

As pointed out above, relative clauses are characterised by a shared participant, the so-called head of the relative construction, which plays a role in the main clause as well as in the subordinate clause (8.59 and 8.60). However, the range of roles this so-called head can play in the relative clause, and thus which syntactic and/or semantic functions are 'accessible' for relativisation, varies from language to language. This topic has been the focus of much research and has resulted in the so-called Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977). This hierarchy, which is based on a thorough investigation of a sample of 49 languages, demonstrates that "languages exhibit certain constraints with respect to the syntactic roles that are accessible to relativization, and which strategies can be used for which roles" (Cristofaro 2003: 199). The original version looked as follows (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66):

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison

This hierarchy is implicational in the sense that if a particular syntactic function on this hierarchy can be relativised in a language, then all the functions to the left of it are accessible to relativisation, too. Despite the fact that the hierarchy has been debated and modified after its introduction, in particular with respect to the notion of subject and object, the general idea still seems to hold for many languages.

Another related way to classify languages typologically with respect to relativisation concerns the morphosyntactic encoding of the head noun in the relative clause. It appears that cross-linguistically there are four ways in which languages encode the head noun in the relative clause. Some languages use only one strategy, other languages may use more than one, in which case the question arises which functions of the Accessibility Hierarchy are encoded by which strategies. The strategies described by Comrie ([1981] 1989: 147) include: a) the non-reduction strategy, in which the head is represented identically in the main

clause and in the relative clause, appears in its usual position and carries its usual case marking; b) pronoun retention, in which the head noun is represented by a pronoun instead of a full noun in the relative clause; c) relative pronoun strategy, in which the head noun is expressed by a sentence initial pronoun, case marked for its syntactic function in the relative clause; d) the gap strategy, in which the head noun is not represented in the relative clause at all.

8.3.2.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SAKHA

In Sakha, the typical relative clause is a preposed participial construction employing the gap strategy. There are no grammatical restrictions with respect to accessibility, which means that all functions can be relativised. This kind of construction conforms to the general profile of the Turkic language family, for which preposed non-finite relative clauses are the typical way to express relative relations (Pakendorf 2012), and also more widely to the profile of the proposed Siberian 'linguistic area' (Anderson 2006). This is not to say that there is no variation in relative clause formation within Siberia. In fact, there is considerable diversity, but this variation concerns agreement features between the non-finite verb form in the relative clause and the head noun, and not finiteness or the position of the clauses themselves (Pakendorf 2012: 257).

However, for Sakha a distinction must be made between subject and non-subject relative clauses. A subject relative clause is a construction in which the head noun has the function of subject in the relative clause, whereas in non-subject relative clauses the head noun occupies any function except subject. While in both clause types case marking of the head noun is determined by the predicate of the main clause (MC), they differ with respect to the representation of the relative clause-subject (RC-subject) in the MC.

In subject RC's, the head noun has the same referent as the RC-subject and is not coreferenced in the MC in any way.

SAKHA

(8.61) *Ol* *[tu:-le:ɣ-i* *bier-bit]* *oɣonńor* *ep-pit*
that fur-PROP-ACC give-PST.PTC old.man say-PST.PTC
'The old man who had given the fur bearing (animals) said...' (REX: 88)

In non-subject RC the referent of the head noun is different from the RC-subject, and in this construction the RC-subject is cross-referenced in the MC by means of possessive marking on the head noun. In example 8.62 this possessive marking can be seen in the gloss ACC.1SG, in which 1SG reflects the possessive marking.

SAKHA

(8.62)	*Onno*	*tut-ar*	*teril-ler-bin*	*kör-dör-üöm*	*onton*
	there	hold-PRS.PTC	equipment-PL-ACC.1SG	look-CAUS-FUT.1SG	then

'I will show you my equipment that I use.' (XKM: 11)

A possible motivation for this distinction is the fact that Sakha is a pro-drop language and often the subject is left unexpressed. This poses no problem for the identification of the RC subject in subject RC's, because the RC-subject has the same referent as the overtly expressed head noun. However, ambiguity may arise when the RC-subject does not have the same referent as the head noun in the MC, as is the case in non-subject RC's. In these cases, cross-referencing of person and number of the (pro-dropped) RC-subject on the head noun enables the hearer to identify the referent of the pro-dropped RC-subject more easily.

There is one exception to this rule. This is when the subject of the relative clause itself is marked with a possessive suffix that refers to the head noun (Pakendorf 2012: 272). For example, in kinship terms, the connection between two nouns is established by an *izafet* construction: the head noun is obligatorily marked with possessive marking agreeing in person and number with the modifier noun e.g. *učutal kergen-e* [teacher husband-POSS.3SG] 'the teacher's husband'. Now when the unmarked modifier noun (i.e. *učutal* 'teacher') is relativised, it does not receive possessive person marking.

SAKHA

(8.63)	*Bihigi*	*kergen-e*	*araχ-s-an*	*bar-bït*	*učutal-ï*
	1PL	husband$_i$-POSS.3SG$_k$	divorce-RFL-SQ.CV	go-PST.PTC	teacher$_k$-ACC
	*[*učutal-ïn]*		*taptï:-bït*		
	[*teacher-ACC.POSS.3SG$_i$]		love.SIM.CV-1PL		

'We love the teacher whom her husband left.' (Pakendorf 2012: 272)

Thus, it appears that if the possessive suffix on the subject of the relative clause is coreferential with the head noun, then possessive marking on the head noun is redundant and even ungrammatical, as is indicated by the form preceded by an

asterisk. From this we can conclude that the possessive connection controlled by the *izafet* construction overrules the possessive connection required by the relative clause.

8.3.2.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN DOLGAN

In principle, the rules for relative clause (RC) formation are the same in Dolgan and Sakha. For subject RC's both Dolgan and Sakha use a participial construction preceding the head noun, which carries no possessive marking if there are no explicit semantic reasons for it.

DOLGAN

(8.64) *Ösüö* *iti* *ulaχan-nïk* *erej-de-n-er* *dʒaχtar*
in.addition this big-ADVLZR torment-VBLZR-RFL-PRS.PTC woman
ba:r *buol-a:ččï*
is.present be-HAB
'Also there are women who give birth with many difficulties.' (APC: 216)

(8.65) *Ol* *Nastja-nï* *ïtïr-a:ččï* *ït* *hït-ar*
that Nastja-ACC bite-HAB dog lie-PRS.PTC
'There lies the dog that bit Nastya.' (Elicited)

However for non-subject RC's the match between Sakha and Dolgan is not perfect. In these constructions, Dolgan shows more variation and flexibility with respect to possessive marking on the head noun (obligatoriness and shape) (8.3.2.2.1); and morphosyntactic complexity (8.3.2.2.2). In this section I will illustrate these points with the help of examples from the corpus and elicitation tasks, and I will argue that the variation in Dolgan can be explained in terms of language attrition, cross-linguistic tendencies and differences in communication style between Dolgan and Sakha, which may be linked to the former function of Dolgan as a lingua franca.

8.3.2.2.1 POSSESSIVE MARKING

In most cases, possessive marking is used in the same way as in Sakha: in non-subject relative clauses, person and number of the RC-subject are cross-referenced

on the head noun as possessive marking. However, this rule is applied not as strictly as it is in Sakha. First, possessive marking does not always appear, and second, it does not always have the expected form.

The first point is illustrated in example 8.66. In this sentence, we have to do with a non-subject relative clause, in which *kihi* 'person' is the head noun, and the second person plural is the subject of the relative clause. According to the rules for relative clause formation in Sakha, we would expect second person plural possessive marking on *kihi*, yielding *kihi-gitin* [person-ACC.2PL]. In fact, we find this possessive marking in the Sakha translation of structurally comparable sentences, as can be seen in example 8.67. In Dolgan, however, we only find the non-possessive accusative case suffix *-nI* governed by the predicate *bayarabït* in the main clause and no possessive case marking on the head noun.

DOLGAN

(8.66) *Bihigi* *ehigi* *Noskuo-tan* *kel-bit* *kihi-ni* *bayar-a-bït*
1PL 2.PL Khatanga-ABL come-PST.PTC human-ACC love-SIM.CV-1PL
'We love the man with whom you (PL) came from Khatanga.' (Elicited)

SAKHA

(8.67) *Ehigi* *Ba:tayay-ttan* *bi:rge* *massïna-nan* *ayan-na:-n*
2PL Batagaj-ABL one.COLL car-INST journey-VBLZR-SQ.CV
kel-bit *uču:tal-gïtïn* *taptï:-bït.*
come-PST.PTC teacher-ACC.2PL love.SIM.CV-1PL
'We love the teacher with whom you came from Batagaj by car.' (Elicited)

However, this does not imply that possessive marking on the head noun would be ungrammatical. Speakers accept variants with possessive marking without hesitation, as can be seen from example (8.68). On my question whether the addition of possessive marking made any difference to the meaning of the sentence, the answer was that non-possessive *kihini* would mean 'just a man', whereas possessive marked *kihigitin* would means 'that specific man', suggesting that possessive marking has to do with identification and specificity. However, it is unclear to what extent the speaker experiences a real difference between the two forms, and to what extent this distinction was invented on the spot to account in some way for the attested variation across speakers. In order to be sure, one would have to know what exactly was going on in the speaker's head while she was uttering the sentence. Therefore it would be necessary to do targeted elicitation

on definiteness and specificity, but since Russian as the elicitation language, like Dolgan, does not have definite or indefinite articles to make this distinction explicit, even such elicitation tasks could not fully eliminate this uncertainty, and it would remain difficult to be certain how the speaker interpreted the input sentence.

DOLGAN

(8.68)	*Bihigi*	*ehigi*	*Noskuo-tan*	*kel-bit*	*kihi-gitin*	*baγar-a-bït*
	1PL	2.PL	Khatanga-ABL	come-PST.PTC	human-ACC.2PL	love-SIM.CV-1PL

'We love the man with whom you came from Khatanga.' (Elicited)

Relativisation of other functions shows even more variation. The possessor relative clause in 8.69a was initially given in this form, with non-possessive accusative marking on the head noun *dʒaχtar* 'woman'. Upon inquiry whether possessive marked forms are possible as well, two more variants were given, one being *dʒaχtar-gïn* [woman-ACC.2SG], which is the expected form according to Sakha grammar and where the head noun agrees with the RC-subject. However, the form *dʒaχtar-ïn* [woman-ACC.3SG], was given as well (8.69b), in which *-(t)In* is the suffix for the third person singular possessive, instead of the expected second person. This leads to the next point of discussion, namely of possessive marking that does not appear in the expected form, since the possessive marking in 8.69b does not agree with any constituent in the sentence.

DOLGAN

(8.69a)	*En*	*untajka*	*ïl-ïaχ-χïn*	*baγar-a:ččï*	*dʒaχtar-ï*
	2.SG	fur.boot	take-FUT.PTC-ACC.2SG	want-HAB	woman-ACC
	min	*lavka-γa*	*kör-büt-üm*		
	1SG	shop-DAT	look-PST.PTC-POSS.1SG		

'In the shop I saw the woman whose fur boots you want to buy.' (elicited)

(8.69b)	*En*	*untajka*	*ïl-ïaχ-χïn*	*baγar-a:ččï*	*dʒaχtar-ïn*
	2.SG	fur.boot	take-FUT.PTC-ACC.2SG	want-HAB	woman-ACC.3SG
	min	*lavka-γa*	*kör-büt-üm*		
	1SG	shop-DAT	look-PST.PTC-POSS.1SG		

'In the shop I saw the woman whose fur boots you want to buy.' (elicited)

At first this unexpected possessive marking may seem an insignificant slip of the tongue, which just happens in spontaneous speech. However, this is not the only instance where person and number of the possessive marking on the head noun does not match the person and number of the relative clause subject. Another illustration of this phenomenon is given in 8.70. In this example, which again is an instance of possessor relativisation, the subject of the relative clause is *ïallarbït* 'our neighbours', which is a third person plural, but the possessive marking on the head noun is *-(t)A*, which is third person singular.

DOLGAN

(8.70) *ïal-lar-bït* *beɣehe:* *ölör-ö:ччü* *tugu-tun*
neighbour-PL-1PL yesterday kill-HAB reindeer.calf-ACC.3SG
tïhï-ta *et-er*
reindeer.cow-POSS.3SG make.noise-PRS.PTC
'The reindeer cow, whose calf the neighbours killed yesterday, is mooing.'
(elicited)

An explanation for the emergence of such constructions could be the generalisation in function of the third person singular possessive marking, possibly motivated by the all-round presence of *izafet* constructions in Dolgan and Sakha, as described in Section 5.2.3.2. This construction encodes possessive relations between entities in the broadest sense of the word. In many cases a better description of its function would be the establishment of an association between objects, such as modifier-modified (8.71).

SAKHA

(8.71) *Timir* *u:h-a*
iron master-POSS.3SG
'Blacksmith'

In 8.71, the concept 'blacksmith' is expressed as a composite expression, in which the head noun *u:s* 'master' is modified by the modifying noun *timir* 'iron'. The connection between the two nouns is established by the possessive marking on the head noun *u:s*. Crucially, this possessive marking is the third person singular. This applies to all such constructions in which two common nouns are involved, thus yielding a high text frequency of third person possessive suffixes, the function of which is to simply to link two entities, rather than being associated literally with a

third person possessive meaning. Thus, it is possible that the marker *-(t)A* is acquiring an additional connotation of general association between elements, instead of only representing a third person singular.

There are a number of factors that may underlie such a development. First of all, as in many languages, relative clauses are rather uncommon in Dolgan spontaneous speech. It is much more common to express such propositions by multiple paratactic clauses, as will be elaborated in the next section. This holds in particular for functions low on the Accessibility Hierarchy, such as possessors. The cognitive complexity of such constructions and their related infrequency of use may be the reason why speakers are uncertain about the formation of such relative clauses. This is reflected in the attested variation and in the use of possessive marking that reflects general association rather than specific relations. Second, it may be a reflection of language attrition. Simplification and the loss or modification of infrequent structures through processes such as rule generalisation and meaning extension are often associated with attrition and this use of the third person singular would be an example. Third, the idea that we have to do with generalisation of the third person singular is supported by the cross-linguistic tendency to treat this person as the cognitively and grammatically unmarked category.

8.3.2.2.2 SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY

The final point of differentiation between Dolgan and Sakha is the observation that Dolgan speakers prefer the use of paratactic structures to express complex propositions (including relative relations) over syntactically complex structures that are common in Sakha. Syntactically complex relative clauses constructions exist in both Dolgan and Sakha, but they are more frequent in Sakha than in Dolgan discourse. Although exact percentages are hard to give due to possible ambiguities of interpretation, a rough estimate shows that in the spoken corpus of Dolgan 0.8% of the total number of clauses is a syntactically complex relative clause (14 out of 1868 clauses), whereas in the Sakha corpus this is 4.7% (171 out of 3617 clauses).

As mentioned earlier, in both languages there are technically no restrictions with respect to the syntactic functions that can be relativised. Assuming that the Dolgan and Sakha people do not differ cognitively with respect to the number of

complex propositions they intend to express, the lower proportion of relative clauses in Dolgan indicates that Dolgan speakers choose different means to express these complex propositions. In addition, if relative clauses are used, there is a clear preference to use them for subject and object relativisation, i.e. the two functions highest on the Accessibility Hierarchy and not for lower ranked functions: in the Dolgan corpus, of 14 syntactically complex relative clauses, seven are subject relativisation, six object relativisation and one relativisation of location.

In elicitation tasks, complex propositions were sometimes expressed by syntactically complex constructions on request, but typically paratactic constructions were given as an initial response. Complex constructions were given only on further inquiry. Conversely, when presented with syntactically complex constructions, Dolgan speakers always accepted them without hesitation, which indicates that such constructions are grammatical in Dolgan, and certainly belong to the speakers' passive knowledge. However, in active speech production their use is very limited and they are outranked by paratactic constructions, which is shown in the elicited examples below. In these examples, first the target sentence is given for the relativisation of direct object (8.72), indirect object (8.73) and possessor (8.74). These targeted sentences are followed by the responses in Sakha and Dolgan, which clearly show the different preferences in the encoding of such complex propositions across the two languages: in all three cases Sakha uses preposed, embedded relative clauses, whereas in Dolgan the complex proposition is broken up into two paratactic clauses.

DIRECT OBJECT: *'On the chair the cat is sleeping, whom the Alexeevs chased out of the house.'*

SAKHA

(8.72a) *Kiriehile-γe* *[A.-tar* *ü:r-büt]* *kuoska-lara* *utuj-a* *sït-ar*
armchair.R-DAT A.-PL chase-PST.PTC cat-POSS.3PL sleep-SIM.CV lie.PRS.PTC
'On the chair the cat is sleeping, whom the Alexeevs chased out of the house.' (elicited)

DOLGAN

(8.72b) *[Kreslo-γa* *utuj-a* *hït-ar* *koška],* *[gini-ni* *Alekseev-tar*
armchair.R-DAT sleep-SIM.CV lie-PRS.PTC cat 3.SG-ACC Alexeev-PL
dʒie-tten *bap-pït-tar]*
house-ABL chase-PST.PTC-PRED.3PL
'The cat is sleeping on the chair, the Alexeevs chased him out of the house.'

(elicited)

INDIRECT OBJECT: *'This is the teacher to whom they gave a flat near the club.'*

SAKHA:

(8.73a) *Bu* *[kulu:p* *tah-ïgar* *jie* *bier-bit]* *uču:tal-lara.*
DEM club.R outside-DAT.3SG house give-PST.PTC teacher.R-POSS.3PL
'This is the teacher to whom they gave a flat near the club.'

DOLGAN:

(8.73b) *Bu* *dʒie-ni* *klub* *ïksa-tïgar* *iti* *učital-ga* *bier-bit-ter*
this house-ACC club close-DAT.3SG this teacher-DAT give-PST.PTC-PRED.3PL
'This house near the club, they gave it to the teacher.'

(elicited)

POSSESSOR: *'That is the woman whose house we will buy.'*

SAKHA:

(8.74a) *Bu* *[bihigi* *jie-tin* *ïl-ïaχ-ta:χ]* *jaχtar-bït.*
DEM 1PL house-ACC.3SG take-FUT.PTC-PROP woman-1PL
'That is the woman whose house we will buy.'

DOLGAN:

(8.74b) *[Bu* *ba:r* *dʒaχtar]* *[bihigi* *gini-tten* *die-tin* *ïl-ïap-pït]*
this EXIST woman 1PL 3.SG-ABL house-ACC.3SG take-FUT.PTC-1PL
'This woman here, we will buy a house from her.'

(elicited)

This syntactic simplification does not only apply to relative clauses in Dolgan, but may be a more general feature of communication style. An impressionistic comparison of narratives in Dolgan and Sakha suggests that in general sentences in Dolgan are shorter and morphosyntactically less complex than in Sakha. While space does not allow me to go into the discussion about what linguistic complexity is (but see Sampson, Gil and Trudgill (2009) for an elaborate treatment of the topic) on the surface it is clear that Dolgan discourse contains less converbal and relative clauses than Sakha. While this kind of simplification may be attributed to ongoing language shift and concurrent language attrition, this communication style may also have older origins. After all, we know that in the 18th and 19th centuries Dolgan was the lingua franca on the Taimyr (see Sections 2.4.2 and 2.5.1 and 2.5.2). It was

the language used by different ethnic groups for intergroup communication, which means that there were naturally many second language learners. As was discussed in Chapter 3, this exocentric language use often coincides with a higher degree of transparency and simpler morphological and syntactic structures than endocentric language use. Thus, the overall preference of paratactic structures over subordinate structures could be a consequence of ongoing attrition, but perhaps more plausibly, it could also be the corollary of a communication style that developed when Dolgan fulfilled the role of intergroup language.

8. 4 THE USE OF RUSSIAN LINKING ELEMENTS

The analysis above has highlighted the main differences in clause combining between Dolgan and Sakha, and it has shown that contact with Evenki, as well as with Russian has played an important role in the development of these differences. In this section a more in-depth discussion of the use of Russian coordinators will be provided and will be put in a cross-linguistic perspective.

Throughout the chapter it will have been observed that Russian influence is pervasive in both coordination and subordination, and a numerical confirmation of this impression is given in Tables 8.4 and 8.5. Since coordination and subordination are expressed by different means in Dolgan, two different tables are given to evaluate the significance of the Russian linking elements in a sensible way. For coordination the proportion of Russian coordinators is shown relative to the total number of coordinators within the conjunctive, adversative and disjunctive categories. For subordination such comparison was impossible due to the absence of overt native elements to encode subordination. Therefore for this category the proportion of Russian coordinators is calculated relative to the total number of purposive and conditional sentences in the corpus. Temporal relations were excluded from this comparison, because too often there is no overt marking at all that provides evidence of a temporal relation, as in the widespread use of converbal clauses. Therefore, the 6 instances of *poka* cannot be evaluated in percentages, but considering the high number of converbal clauses in the corpus, its share in the encoding of temporal relations can be confidently said to be very low.

Table 8.4: Proportion of Russian coordinators per overtly expressed coordination category

Coordinator	Russian	No.	Total no. of coord. in category	% Russian coord. per category
Coordinative	*i*	54	393	13.7%
Adversative	*a, no*	50, 4	205	26.3%
Disjunctive	*ili*	5	5	100%

Table 8.5: Proportion of Russian subordinators per subordinated clause type

Subordinator	Russian	No.	Total no. of sent. in category	% of Russian subord. per category
Purpose	*štobï*	12	23	52%
Conditional	*esli*	4	83	4.8%

The overt Russian elements are very obviously present in coordination, but also in the domain of subordination, except for relative clauses. This situation is not unique at all from a cross-linguistic point of view. In fact a significant amount of literature is devoted to the question why it could be that this type of linguistic material, in particular coordinators, is so accessible or 'vulnerable' (Matras 1998: 281) to copying. In this section a brief overview is given of some significant ideas on this matter, and it will be evaluated which approach could be most relevant for an interpretation of the Dolgan data.

Early accounts dealing with the transfer of conjunctions from one language to another emphasise above all the importance of structural properties of the languages in contact and of the copied linguistic element. One claim is that foreign grammatical elements, including conjunctions, are copied to fill a 'grammatical gap' in the recipient language (e.g. Heath 1978: 115-116, Campbell 1987: 279 and implicit in Mithun 1980: 96). In other words, the copied conjunctions are an overt expression of grammatical relations that were not explicitly enccoded before. Supposedly, they are perceived as a useful addition to the existing grammatical system by speakers of the recipient language, which would be the reason why they are easily adopted. In addition, the morphosyntactic structure of the element itself is thought to influence the ease with which it is copied. The hypothesis is that the more an element is integrated into the morphological structure of the language, the less likely it is to be copied (Weinreich 1953: 41, Heath 1978: 72, Aitchinson 1981: 120), i.e. a suffix would be less likely to find its way into another language

than an unbound morpheme. A similar approach is taken by Moravcsik (1978). She proposes a number of implicational hierarchies which are based on the assumption that items with structural autonomy and referential stability are more likely to be copied in an early stage of contact than items without these characteristics (Moravcsik 1978: 110-113) and since conjunctions apparently are often unbound elements they fall into that category[10]. Thomason and Kaufman do not emphasise the importance of structural properties as much as the previous two accounts, but they do mention conjunctions as one of the most easily transferred grammatical elements in contact situations. They assign this kind of transfer to the category of "slightly more intense contact" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74), which is the second out of five levels of contact intensity, and the first in which grammatical transfer occurs at all. Thus, this line of thought (with the exception of Thomason and Kaufman) links the ease of copying directly to the structural properties of the languages in contact: copied conjunctions either fill a structural gap or they are unbound elements.

However, there is clear counterevidence to such a purely structural account. For example, Stolz and Stolz (1996: 102-1023) provide data for languages from Mesoamerica, which show that copied clause linking elements do not always fill a structural gap. They show that Spanish conjunctions were copied into Mesoamerican languages, despite the fact that they already had explicit ways to express clause linkage. Moreover, the context in which the Spanish elements occur shows that they have not supplanted the indigenous morpheme, but that they can co-occur with it, even within the same construction, as illustrated in 8.75. This goes against another postulation expressed in the literature that a copied element always replaces an indigenous strategy (Weinreich 1953: 31-37, Heath 1978: 72).

ZOQUE

(8.75) ***Si*** *'ɨzɨn* *is-pa-**pi't*** *te'y* *machete* *'ɨn* *ce'koŋ-pa*
when PRO.1.SG:EMP see-INC-when PSR.3.SG machete PRO.1SG ask-INC
'When I see him, I will ask him for his machete.'
(Knudson 1980: 139, in Stolz and Stolz 1996: 103, translation mine)

[10] But note Matras' comment that this conclusion may be due to the biased dataset that is used in studies of conjunction copying. Most studies on this topic are based on contact between a recipient language and Spanish or Arabic as a model language, which both happen to have morphologically unbound conjunctive elements.

Stolz and Stolz relate the use of Spanish elements to the prestige Spanish enjoys in these communities and they suggest that the use of coordinative elements is an easy way for speakers to identify with this cultural group, while preserving most of their native language. Counterexamples to the criterion of structural integration have also been provided long ago. Heath himself (1978: 98-100) describes the case of Ritharngu, where a bound negative suffix from Ngandi has replaced the free negative morpheme that was native to the language.

Matras opposes to the structural approach and argues that the appearance of conjunctions at the top of the borrowability hierarchy is conditioned by cognitive properties, which "must be formulated in functional-communicative terms" instead (Matras 1998: 285). Rather than discussing conjunctions only, he talks about a category of utterance modifiers, in which he includes discourse regulating elements (including conjunctions), discourse markers and focus particles. In his view, the bilingual speaker has a higher mental processing demand than the monolingual speaker[11], which he tries to level out through convergence of the two language systems. Utterance modifiers

> regulate linguistic-mental processing activities that can be attributed to what I call the "grammar of directing". Bilinguals [...] are tempted to reduce the overt representation of the "grammar of directing" to just one set of elements. Preference is then given to the pragmatically dominant language. (Matras 1998: 291)

Thus, the use of utterance modifiers of just one set reduces the mental overload of the bilingual speaker. Which language system surfaces in the encoding of this grammar of directing is normally determined by the pragmatic dominance of the languages. Matras argues that the need for a functional instead of a purely structural motivation is highlighted by the fact that utterance modifiers with equal structural and syntactic status show different behaviour with respect to copying cross-linguistically. On the basis of data from Romani dialects, supported by a range of languages under Islamic and Spanish influence, he postulates the following borrowing hierarchy of coordinating conjunctions: but > or > and (Matras 1998: 303). In other words, elements equivalent to 'but' are copied before 'or', which are copied before equivalents to 'and'. A discussion of Matras' cognitive explanation for this hierarchy goes beyond the scope of this chapter, but the

[11] But see Section 3.1.3 for a critical view on this matter.

emergence of the hierarchy from his selection of languages is an interesting fact. While the available synchronic data from Dolgan cannot tell us anything with certainty about the order in which the coordinative elements were introduced into the language, the large differences in frequency are suggestive. Reasoning that more frequently used elements have become more established in a language than less frequently used ones, the data for Dolgan lead to the hypothesis that *i* 'and' was copied before *a* 'and, but', before *ili* 'or', before *no* 'but'. This would contradict the hierarchy proposed by Matras, but diachronic discourse data are needed to provide stronger support for this hypothesis.

With this theoretical background in mind, we can consider which factors are most relevant for the interpretation of the Dolgan data. Considering the omnipresence of asyndetic structures in coordination as well as in subordination in Dolgan and Sakha, an account relating the insertion of Russian elements to the filling of structural gaps may seem appealing at first. However, despite the dominance of asyndetic structures, the previous sections have shown that Sakha and Dolgan have a range of native coordinative elements, which partly overlap in function with the Russian ones. Therefore, the data for Dolgan do not support the idea that coordinators are copied to fill a structural gap: while coordinating elements are not obligatory, they do exist and are used frequently. Dolgan also does not lend support to the idea that copied linking elements always replace native elements, because the Russian elements occur in alternation with native elements, or sometimes even within the same construction (cf. Campbell 1993: 98, Stolz and Stolz 1996: 102-103). Rather than thinking of Russian elements as a replacement for the native ones, they could be seen as additions, the function of which overlaps more with the native element in some cases than in others. Thus, although the insertion of coordinative elements may be facilitated by the structural properties of both languages (the structural independence of the Russian morphemes and the optionality of such elements in Dolgan), it is unlikely that the main motivation for their appearance in Dolgan is to fill a structural gap. Stolz and Stolz (1996: 110) argue that communication style and prestige may be part of the explanation. As many dominant outgroup languages, Russian is associated with prestige, education and progress, what many people like to identify with and aim for, in particular for their children and which could be a reason why the use of Russian lexical items is favoured. However, while language structure and communication style may play a supporting role, the main reason behind the prominence of Russian coordinators, and to a lesser extent

subordinators, seems to be the dominance of Russian and the high degree of bilingualism in the Dolgan community due to the current shift to Russian. The undeniable relevance of these factors in a population that is in an ongoing process of shift suggests that a more appropriate explanation must be formulated in terms of psycho- and sociolinguistic processes that play a role in discourse organisation, which approaches most closely the functional-cognitive explanation proposed by Matras.

The examples have shown that Russian coordinators often occur in an otherwise Dolgan context. It could be the case that the linkage of events, and thus the structuring of discourse, indeed takes place on a different cognitive level than the organisation of a clause. This is what Matras calls the 'grammar of directing'. In some speakers, in particular the older ones, the use of Russian elements such as *i* 'and' and *a* 'and, but' may be an instance of borrowing due to the high text frequency of those elements in Russian discourse. In others, in particular speakers younger than 40, the use of Russian elements is the result of imposition. Although these people are Dolgan, their dominant language is Russian, and the constantly high activation of this language has caused them to adopt the linguistic and cognitive framework for relating events and organizing discourse that comes with the use of Russian language. Such a change in the organisation of discourse is in a way no more than an extension of structural imposition, where 'structure' now applies to the composition of discourse instead of morphosyntax alone. Thus it can be concluded that the case of Dolgan yields most support for a functional-cognitive explanation for the adoption of clause linking elements from Russian, whereas structural factors and issues of style and prestige may play a facilitating but subordinate role.

8.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that clause combining strategies in Dolgan and Sakha differ in a number of ways. While no clear differences occur in asyndetic clause linkage, syndetic strategies of clause combining show variation with respect to several features. The extended use of *onton* 'then' in Dolgan was argued to be attributable to contact with Evenki, the remaining changes were proposed to be caused by contact with Russian and the ongoing shift in Dolgan communities from Dolgan to Russian, or with the use of Sakha as a lingua franca. First this shift has

led to the transfer of overt coordinators and subordinators from Russian and to the introduction of structural models from Russian, such as the use of *gïtta* and postposed subordinate clauses in Dolgan. Since these are all ongoing changes in a speech community that is changing quickly and in which there are significant differences across individuals with respect to linguistic dominance, it is not possible to explain the changes by referring to a single underlying process. Therefore it was argued that these changes are the result of both borrowing and imposition, dependent on the linguistic dominance of the speaker. Borrowing applies to those who are dominant in Dolgan and introduce these features due to intense contact with Russian, imposition to those Dolgans who have better command of Russian and project the structures of this dominant language onto Dolgan. Second, shift to Russian is the cause of ongoing language attrition, which surfaces in features such as decreasing diversity of actively used coordinators and simplification of morphosyntactic structures, which is particularly noticeable in the formation of relative clauses.

In addition to this shift-based account, the morphosyntactic simplification, as well as the general tendency in Dolgan to make shorter and more paratactic sentences when compared to Sakha, was explained by a difference in communication style. This way of speaking could have developed as a result of the function of Dolgan as an exoteric intergroup language to facilitate communication between different ethnic groups on the Taimyr Peninsula. The differences and their explanations are summarised in Table 8.6 below.

Table 8.6: Contact influence in Dolgan clause combining strategies

	EVENKI IMPOSTION	RUSSIAN BORROWING/IMPOSITION		RUSSIAN ATTRITION/EXOTERIC USE	
	Coord.	Coord.	Subord.	Coord.	Subord.
SUBSTANCE		*i* *a*	*štobï* *poka* *(esli)* *(potomu što)* *(za to što)*	less diversity	less strict use of poss. marking
STRUCTURE	use of *onton*	*gïtta* constr.	postposed subord. clauses		more parataxis

It is important to stress the fact that this classification of differences is not as strict as the format of a table might suggest. As was argued before, the same linguistic outcome may, and often does have multiple explanations, which cannot be teased apart. The balance of linguistic dominance is currently so much in motion in the Dolgan community that it would be artificial to try to do so. This applies to the Russian coordinating elements and their structural consequences, but also to a lesser extent to the construction with *gïtta* and to the use of more paratactic constructions, which was proposed to be either the result of current language attrition or a reflection of the more ancient function of Dolgan as a lingua franca. Finally, the loss of *uonna* in Dolgan was associated with shifting speakers from Evenki, who projected their native coordination structures onto their newly acquired language during the process of second language learning.

To conclude, this survey of differences in clause combining between Dolgan and Sakha confirms both the historical contact with Evenki as well as the pervasiveness of the Russian language in Dolgan communities today, which is reflected by its influence on substance as well as on the structure of Dolgan. It needs to be mentioned here that further influence from the neighbouring indigenous languages Evenki and Nganasan can be excluded in this respect. First, many features of coordination and subordination constructions are similar in Dolgan and Sakha (Turkic), Evenki (Tungusic) and Nganasan (Samoyedic). For example, all these languages make extensive use of asyndetic coordinate constructions and of preposed converbs and participles for the formation of adverbial and relative subordinate constructions respectively (Nedjalkov 1997, Teresh'enko 1979). However, the main difference between these languages on the one hand and Dolgan on the other is that the subject of the relative clause is cross-referenced on the participle in the relative clause instead of on the head noun, and this feature is not found in Dolgan at all. Conversely, none of the attested changes in Dolgan (except the use of the ablative demonstrative as a coordinator) is a prominent feature of either Evenki or Nganasan, whereas many of them are in Russian.