Verbal Word-Formation in the Lower Kolyma Subdialect of the Even Language

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The system of verbal word formation in the Lower Kolyma subdialect of the Even language, which does not have a systematic description, is studied in the article. Referring to the western dialect, the Lower Kolyma subdialect has a number of distinctive features at all the language levels. In the sphere of verbal word formation, these differences are manifested in the phonetic and lexical features of the subdialect, in the suffixes of certain morphological categories of verb and their structure, as well as in the frequency of the indicators use.

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The Lower Kolyma subdialect of the Even language has not got a systematic description yet; in the existing classifications it was singled out as a separate unit by A.A. Burykin only in 2004 (Burykin, 2004: 79). The Lower Kolyma subdialect significantly differs from the eastern subdialects of the Even language, since it has a number of peculiarities at all the language levels (Sharina, 2014). The subdialect also reveals distinct differences in the field of verb morphology.

Verb occupies a central place in the grammatical system of the Even language not only due to the significant lexical composition, but also due to the rich variety of grammatical categories. There are two ways of forming the Even verb: suffixal derivation and conversion. The main way of replenishing the verbal lexicon in the Even language is suffixal formation of new verb stems. Verbal word formation is considered in almost all the dialectological and grammatical works devoted to the Even language, where the composition of verbalizers – verb-forming suffixes – is represented, and according to them, the principles of verbalization in all the Even subdialects and dialects are basically the same (Sharina, 2017). The differences are in the phonetic and lexical peculiarities of the dialects themselves, in the composition of the suffixes of certain morphological categories and their
structure, as well as in the frequency of various indicators use.

In the Even language verbal stems are divided into non-derivative (root) ones and derived. In the Lower Kolyma subdialect there are a lot of non-derivative verbal stems that do not have word-forming elements and are currently difficult to define. Mostly they coincide with the verbal stems of other subdialects and dialects, i.e. they are all-Evens. They include the following verbs: бӣдэй (to be), ӧдай (to become), н’эктэй (to do), гāдай (to take), бактай (to find), тэвдэй (to sit), тиктэй (to fall), ӈэндэй (to go).

These stems have only phonetic differences in the Lower Kolyma subdialect, for example: бӯдэй (to give) (in the eastern dialect бөдэй), гӯндэй (to talk) (in the eastern dialect гөндэй).

Derived stems are divided into three types: denominal suffixless, denominal suffixal and deverbative suffixal.

**Denominal suffixless verbal stems** are syncretic forms of the name/verb type. They are formed from the stems of names with the help of tense and mood suffixes. According to the principles of semantic classification developed by S.L. Charekov (Charekov, 2004), these verbs can be grouped into the following types of actions from the syncretic forms.

**Action with the help of an object** designated by the original syncretic stem: чэӈэт (a fishing rod/fishing with a fishing rod), гид (a spear/to pierce with a spear).

**Action aimed at an object** indicated by the initial syncretic stem: ӈунӈэ (wind/to blow (about the wind)).

**Action of an object itself**: гиавӱн (dawn/to dawn), нилӭх (deer/to deerskin), абди (thunder/to thunder), нунӈэ (wind/to blow (about the wind)).

**Action that denotes an object production or a concept implementation**: гэрбэ (a name/to call, to name), нокан (boasting, conceit, arrogance/to boast, to become conceited, to talk big), Ӯрэ (fat, obese/to get fat, to become obese).

**Action in the sphere of an object or the state of an object**: ядь (a track/to track), нунӈэ (a nomad camp/to lead a nomadic life).

The above types of actions, which are syncretic forms of the name/verb type are a less productive group in the Lower Kolyma subdialect than the verbal stems, formed with the help of suffixes.

**Denominal suffixal verbal stems** are formed from nominal stems with the help of special suffixes. The following ones are typical for the Lower Kolyma subdialect:

- -да/-дэ, -та/-тэ form the verbs with the meaning of action from the nouns with the help of an object or this object use, for example: бӧтэй (to give) (in the eastern dialect бодэй), ҕунэдэй (to talk) (in the eastern dialect ҕунэдэй).

- -л/<-лэ, -ла/-лэ are the variants of suffixes –да/-дэ form verbs from the noun stems and adjectives with the meaning of acquiring this characteristic, for example: алăкладай (to harness in straps) from алăк (a harness, a strap), уҕурдай (to raise, to lift) from уҕук (top), ӈунэрудэй (to set straight) from ӈун (straight);

- -лба/-лбэ form verbs with the meaning of acquiring a specific object or its characteristic from nouns and adjectives, for example: кутл’элбукэндэй (to make smaller) from кутл’эн (small), улбэдэй (to grow old) from улэрэп (ancient, age-old);

- -г/-ги form verbs with the meaning of acquiring a specific object or its characteristic from nouns and adjectives, for example: кутл’элбукэндэй (to make smaller) from кутл’эн (small), улбэдэй (to grow old) from улэрэп (ancient, age-old);
the bed curtain in a teepee), алтаждай (to remove flesh from skin) from алтă (flesh, membrane), увэлэдэй (to chop kindling) from увэлэг (kindling);

-г/-гэ form verbs with the meaning of possession from noun stems: тэллэтидэй (to have or to wear clothes) from тэллэ (clothes);

-гэм form verbs with the meaning of the use of a specific object from nouns, for example: ӱмэдэй (to eat bone marrow) from ӱман (bone marrow), кемэдэй (to eat the liver of an animal) from кем (liver);

-гэ/-гэлэ form verbs with the meaning of fetching an object from some inanimate nouns: ондӥладэй (to go to bring water) from ондӥ (water), голладэй (to go to bring firewood) from гол (firewood);

-гэм form verbs with the meaning of collecting objects indicated by the stem from some nouns: ондӥлэдэй (to carry water) from ондӥ (water), голлэдэй (to prepare firewood) from гол (firewood);

-л forms verbs with the meaning of condition from the stems of nouns and adjectives, for example: урэнэдэй (to get lighter) from урэн (light), хатӑрлэдэй (to get darker, to darken) from хатӑр (darkness, dark);

-у forms verbs with different meanings from nouns, for example: алуэдэй (to put the harness on) from ал (a harness, a strap), шунэдэй (to load up) from шунэ (a load).

Deverbative suffixal stems are formed with the help of special suffixes of various categorical forms of verb. New verb stem from verbs – secondary verb stems – form the suffixes of voice and aspect.

In the descriptions of the Even and the other Manchu-Tungus languages it is customary to use voice forms for several categories capable of changing the actant structure of the verb word form. As a rule, the forms of the active, passive, reflexive middle, causative, reciprocal and cooperative voices are singled out on the basis of morphological criteria in the Even language. With a different approach to the description of the Even language grammar, the same forms are considered as special categories of verbal forms formation within the functional semantic category of voice (Robbek, 2007).

In the Lower Kolyma subdialect, as well as in other subdialects and dialects of the Even language, the most common form of the use of verb in speech is the active voice, which covers almost the entire verbal lexicon and is the starting point for the formation of other voice forms. It does not have a specific morphological indicator. Examples: Д’албу ӭрӭгӭр орăндула һовнодиттан. (My parents have always worked in reindeer husbandry.) Гу’дэйэ-ке, ноӈăртан ӱнот тонэчин манӱд игум септӥрдӭргён ач ӱнтолач. (Poor guys, in order to save their mukluks, they were going barefoot till September). Тадук би тӱнӈан ӦтӦлэкэн биӮл, кутл’ён н’арикааму тӱнӈан классла таттăн. (So I have five children, the youngest son studies in the fifth grade).

The form of the passive voice (passive) in the Even language is formed from the transitive and intransitive verbs, the only condition for transforming the active structure into the passive one is the presence of a subject and an object expressed by nouns or pronouns belonging to the class of active names (most often these are the notions of people, sometimes animals). The passive voice forms in the Lower Kolyma subdialect are formed by the suffixes -в-/-ав-/-эв-/-ив-/-м-:

мӑвдай (to be killed), бакавдай (to be found), дебэвдэй (to be eaten), дӑйивдай (to be hidden), ӊэпкэмдэй (to be caught).
language, one of the peculiarities of the active structures transformation into the passive ones is the possibility of displacements of any member of the possessive word combination into the subject position of the passive construction in the subject and object groups.

Differences concerning the formation of the passive forms of verb and the rules for transforming active structures into the passive ones in the Lower Kolyma subdialect are not observed. In the speech of informants, passive phrases are used rarely, for example:

лыс бадичичулчэ биһим, ол иһин мину гэрбуврэтэн илкэдит “Бад’и”. (I was born early in the morning, that is why in the Even language I was called Bad’i.)

гэрбу-в-рэ-тэн
name-PASS-PRS-3Pl

Тур ӷмандат даhавран. (The earth is covered with snow.)

dах-ав-ра-н
to cover-PASS-PRS-3Sg

The reflexive middle voice (reflexive) denotes an action that comes from an object and is directed at it, or as if happens by itself. The form of the reflexive middle voice in the Even language is formed from a relatively limited number of verbs, mostly causative ones in their semantics: the basic meaning of this form is uncausative. The forms of the reflexive middle voice are formed from the verb stems by adding suffix -б-//-п, for example:

бактай (to find) – бакаптай (to be found),
эмэндэй (to leave) – эмэптэй (to stay).

As far as can be judged from the materials, the forms of the reflexive middle voice in the Lower Kolyma subdialect are used very actively, in contrast to the similar forms in the eastern dialects, while the forms of the reflexive middle voice are represented not only in the personal forms of verbs, but also in the participial and adverbial participle forms, for example:

няганапча (sewed), бэрипчэ (lost), эмэптэй (staying). Examples: Минкээл д’омкачилэда, өрдөн стада миан үүнү стада ойдун тала бөкөчэн ылг-тала нодуракат, яак нүлэйди.
(Think about it, what will remain if we scatter these eleven herds everywhere.)

була-б-ди-н
to remain-RFL-FUT-1Sg

Мут ачча оракат түрэнти бәрөб’ян. (When we are gone, (our) language will disappear.)

бэри-б-д’и-н
to be lost-RFL-FUT-1Sg

Чак’пача абдув түйэн эн. (I have put the collected things into my bag.)

чак-ăп-ча
to collect -RFL-PART.PRF

The causative voice (causative) refers to a subject that causes or makes another person to perform the action. The causative voice forms in the Even language are formed from the unlimited range of verbs by adding suffixes –вкэн/-мкэн/-укэн/-укэн-/-укэн- to the stem. In the subdialect differences in the formation of causative voice forms are not observed. In the subdialect the causative voice forms are actively used in the forms of participial and adverbial participle, for example:

эрэлукэнчэ (went round), ӈэлукэтникэн (frightening), д’эбукэнидэ (having fed).

Examples: Элдоро турэн бөкөчэн бөйч биин, тур новнармидас урчэн биин, илэ уңд’индэ тала бөйч, илэ ишчэнди, тала бөкөчэн стада илэтэн, ӈрандэ бөйч мунуқанда’иддин ичүрэн, “Буранат” ку’авано’иггэрар ӈрэдэлэ, ишүеэтэ уңэд’өнчэ унг ӈогённ иңчүрэн. (There used to be people everywhere in the Olerinsk tundra, as if the earth was moving, wherever you go people were everywhere, wherever you look there was a herd everywhere, you could see people going on deer, here they rush on “Buran”, and there you could hear dogs barking).
The reciprocal voice form (reciprocal) shows the interaction of two or more subjects with each other simultaneously. The reciprocal voice forms are usually formed from the transitive verbs (from the intransitive verbs they have the meaning of compatibility) by adding suffixes -мат/-мэт, -мач/-мэч: ти́дэй (taken away) – тисчимэ́маттэ́й (to take away from each other), укчэндэй (to talk) – укчэнмэттэ́й (to chat with each other (to know any language). In the subdialect the reciprocal is represented not only in the personal forms of verbs, but also in the forms of participle and adverbial participle, for example: и́чэ-мэ́чэддил (competing), куниматникан (calling to each other, crying “hallo”).

Examples of the reciprocal voice forms use: Ичэ-мэт-кӭрӭрӭп, муңгмэт-кӭрӭрӭп мёнкэхэл бука́тын ат турэнӭ. (We are looking at each other and smiling to each other without words.)

The cooperative voice form (cooperative) refers to an action of two or more actors performing this action together. The cooperative voice form in the Even language is formed by adding suffixes лда-/лдэ-: оӈкалдадай (to graze together in one place (about animals), го́лдэдэй (to agree, to come to an agreement). In the materials of the Lower Kolyma subdialect this voice form has not been found. The meaning of consistency is transmitted using nouns and pronouns in the common case.

Thus, it is possible to distinguish the following features in the formation and use of the forms of voice in the described subdialect: the active, passive, reflexive middle, causative, reciprocal and cooperative voices are used in the subdialect. There is no cooperative voice form (cooperative). In the colloquial speech of the Lower Kolyma Evens, passive constructions and passive phrases are rarely used. The forms of the reflexive middle voice are very actively used in the subdialect, while these forms are represented not only in the personal forms of verbs, but also in the forms of participle and adverbial participle.

In the scientific literature on the Even language the forms of verb expressing various aspects of the course of action have been called the aspect forms of the verb. They are featured in all grammatical essays and dialectological works; specific monographic studies are devoted to them. However, despite this, in some dialects, as well as in the Lower Kolyma subdialect, it is possible to find some indicators of the nature of the course of the action, that were not featured in the well-known studies.

According to the semantic and grammatical characteristics, the aspects of the Even verb expressing the nature of the course of action are differentiated into six aspect groups (Robbek, 2007: 359). In accordance with these aspect groups, the arsenal of the aspect forms in the Lower Kolyma subdialect is represented quite widely.

The aspect group of the phase of action includes aspect forms expressing various stages of the course of action.

The inceptive aspect form has the meaning of the beginning of an action, it is formed by adding the suffix -л, for example: аӈадай (to open) – аӈалдай (start opening), го́лдэдэй (to write) – го́лдэдэй (start writing). Examples of
the inceptive aspect form use in the subdialect:
Эн’му алыс гор икэрикэн би икэдникэн хоӈод’алгаравам. (When my mother sang for a long time, I started crying.)

Иоӈ-од’-ал-гара-ра-м

to cry-PROC-INCH-ITR1-PRS-1Sg

Иоӈан н`ан adaун укчэнэлгэрэн. (She also starts talking differently sometimes.)

укчэнэ-л-гэрэ-н

to talk-INCH-ITR1-3Sg

The imperfective aspect form (imperfective), expressing the incompleteness of an action at the time of speaking or the duration of an action, is formed by the suffix -д/-д’:

тикэддэй (to fall) – иладдай (to be standing),

гөндиддэй (to say) – гомдиддэй (to be saying).

Examples of the imperfective aspect forms use in the subdialect: Д’aлбу эрэгэл орандула ховноддитан.

(My parents have always worked in reindeer herding.)

Н’эк-эд-дэ-м

to do-PROC-PROC-PROC-1Sg

The continuous aspect form (durative) that expresses the progressive state which is preserved at the moment of speech or the moment of time reference in relation to another action, is formed by suffixes -гет/-ге: тэгэттэй (to be sitting), илаттай (to be standing).

Examples: Амму дапкан мир унӈаниӈнай и’hui алтав чикинаврарап.

(When summer comes we go there to cut hay.)

Ирили одакан тала юнгеэрг, ыйтав чикинаврарап.

(And my sister brought me up.)

Тар курин’ н’экэддэм, алыс наhа эдэн хоӈда, ноӈантикин би кэн’элив эчин бидэн хурдэку.

(I do it on purpose so that he won’t not cry a lot, let me be bad for him when I leave.)

 irrig-том

to bring up- DUR-PST-3Sg

Aspect group of the frequency of action (iterative aspect) includes specific indicators of various types of frequency and multi-objective nature of actions.

The frequently performed action aspect form (iterative 1) that denotes a repeatedly performed action, is formed by suffixes -гра/-гра-/-гра-/-гоӈгра-/-гэрэ-/-ӈра-ӈрэ-:

маградай (to kill, to get) – маградай (to kill, to get),

гомдэдэй (to say) – гомдэдэй (to say (repeatedly). In the lower Kolyma subdialect, the suffix can have the form – вра.

Examples of its use in the subdialect: Ирили одакан тала юнгеэрг, ыйтав чикинаврарап.

(When summer comes we go there to cut hay.)

ющую-гра-н

to go-ITR1-1Pl

чикина-бра-ра-п

to cut-ITR1-РRS-1Pl

The frequent action aspect form (iterative 2) denotes a multiple, frequently observed action, it is formed by suffixes -кат/ч-//-кэт/ч-, for example:

нулгэкэттэй (to nomadise (to nomadise for short period, often or in many places),

идэй – икэттэй (to come in often (to many houses).

Examples:

Тадук эчин эрэлкик ичин ох’ын илэм тадук эн’эн’ун оралбу мултукатча, йав ок итчир куӈа эрэ, йак эрэ.

(Having constructed a tepee, they untied the deer with their mother, when they could notice if there were children or somebody else.)

мулу-кат-ча

to set free-ITR2-PART.PRF

Тиниптук хымэктэтэм, тигэми билгову йиан. (I have been coughing from yesterday, that is why my throat hurts.)

хымэ-кэт-тэ-м

to cough-ITR2-PRS-1Sg

The multi-objective action aspect form (iterative 3) denotes an action directed at a lot of
objects, or an action that is divided into different spatial spheres. It is formed by the suffix -н/-н`: мадай (to kill) – мандай (to kill, to get several animals), нулгэдэй (to nomadise) – нулгэндэй (to nomadise and nomadise (repeatedly, in different places). For example: Кутл'эн куӈа эрэк үркэлэ нандан. (The little child constantly stumbles upon this door.)

на-н-да-н

to stumble-ITR3-PRS-3Sg

The usually performed action aspect form (habitual 1) that expresses relative regularity of an action performed irrespective of the moment of speech, is formed by suffixes -ват/-ч-//-вэт/-ч-:

гадай (to take), гаваттай (take usually), гөндэй (to say) гөвэттэй (say usually.)

Examples:

Тала учуталаӈат гиркавачатгаран. (Our teacher usually walks around there.)

gирка-вач-ат-гара-н
to walk-HAB1-DUR-ITR1-3Sg

Һан няри һутэлбу бэкэчэн тик пастуктар, стадала нонвадда, нулгэвэчиддэ. (Other sons are all shepherds, they work in the herd, they always nomadise.)

нулгэ-вэч-ид-дэ
to nomadise-HAB1-PROC-3Pl

The continuously repeated aspect form (habitual 2), which expresses an action performed continuously, is formed by the suffix -дян-/дян`-//-ден-/дэн`: нөдэй (to step out) – нөстэй (step out), эмдэй (to come) – эмэстэй (come (repeatedly)). In the Lower Kolyma subdialect the suffix is pronounced as -һ.

Examples of its use in the subdialect:

Н'aри буйућгэрэн, буйућниди, хурми боӈкан дован умуврэн. (The man hunts, having hunted, he brings the offal of the prey.)

буӣу-ћг-эр-н
to hunt-HAB1-DUR-ITR1-3Sg

Эчин ёнуч долан эчин _Source_ ёнуч эчин чоҥкоӈгараача, эчин койёткэрэчэ тарак турэл

The continuous weakened action aspect form (continuative) denotes a progressive or repeated action, occurring with a low intensity or speed. It is formed by suffixes -дян-/дян`-//-ден-/дэн`: уңдэй (to walk) – уңдёндэй (to walk (calmly, slowly, leisurely, with difficulties), гөндэй (to say) – гөндёндэй (to speak (slowly, calmly)).

Examples of the progressive weakened action aspect forms use in the subdialect: Илэ-тала тэгэтникэн ирэв-тарав ичукэткэрэн, эӈгэрэн. (Sat here and there and showed different things, always told about something.)

укчэнэ-д`эӈ-гэрэ-н
to tell-CON-ITR1-3Sg

Эрэктимиридид ین`антэгээнниндикилаал` андан. (Having come in, this old man sat down and started smoking slowly.)

кола-д`ан-да-н
to smoke-CON-PRS-3Sg

Aspect group of the direction of action combines the aspects of the verbs denoting action, the fulfillment of which is associated with the spatial relocation or shift in time with respect to other actions.

The departure aspect form (departure 1) indicates an action, accompanied by the actor’s movement. It is formed by suffixes -на/-нэ, for example: мадай (to get) – мандай (to get), нун (to see, to look) – нун (to see to, to look). In the Lower Kolyma subdialect the suffix is pronounced as -н.

Examples of its use in the subdialect:

Орарбу иттэй нэгэл укчэнэд. (Going to go to look at the deer.)

ит-нэ-дэ

to look-DEPI-INF

Голу чикиндадан. (Is going to cut the firewood (he).)
The opposite action aspect (appositional 1) denotes an action opposite in its meaning to the action indicated by the initial stem. It is formed by suffixes -лга/-лгэ-, for example: алудай (to harness deer) – алулгадай (to unharness deer), ильчадай (to braid) – ильчалгадай (to unbraid).

Examples of use in the subdialect:
Оралчимӈа мавуту учалгаддан. (The reindeer herder unwinds the lasso.)
Киаҕа учаки алалган. (Grandfather took off the halter from his reindeer.)

Aspect group of the intensity of action includes two aspect forms – the accelerated action aspect and intensive aspect.

The accelerated action aspect form (intensive) denotes an action taking place at a considerable speed and is formed by suffixes -малчи/-мэлчи-, for example: минэдэй (to cut off) – минэмэлчидэй (to cut off quickly), ӈэндэй (to walk) – ӈэнэмэлчидэй (to walk quickly).

Examples: Акчу нуннининни хурэмэлчич. (The older brother is going to work in a hurry.)
Упэहэгэрникэнондилактукондивъукума лчин. (Grandmother dips the water from the ice hole hastily.)

The single-action aspect form (momentary) expresses the single nature of an action, has the meaning of the increased intensity of action in the emotionally loaded contexts. It is formed by suffixes -сан/-сэн/-сн- (-ха/-хэн/-хн variant is typical to the Lower Kolyma subdialect):

The desire to perform an action aspect form (desiderative) has a meaning of desire, intention, and inclination to accomplish an action. It is formed by the suffix -м- and indicative indicators -са/-сэ- for the present tense and -си- for the past tense (in the Lower Kolyma subdialect variants -ха/-хэ/-хи correspondingly), for example: хуклэдэй (to fall asleep) – хуклэмдэй (to feel sleepy), хуклэмсэн (I feel sleepy); гондэй (to say) – гондэй (to want to say), гонсэн (he wants to say). Examples of the desiderative aspect use in the subdialect:

Тачин муту таткаптитани, тисэми боллар би укэнэээрээрэм таров обычайу, эр куултики би таров таткапчалнам. (This is how we were taught, that is why I tell about this custom and I want to teach this the children.)

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The delayed action or the desire to perform an action aspect form (diminutive 1) with the suffix –счи indicates an attempt or an aspiration to perform an action. This form also denotes an action delayed in time, which has a weakened intensity, that does not reach a result or is in the initial stage, for example: хаӈандай (to sew) – хаӈапасчидай (to try to sew, to sew (slowly, not hastily), удандай (to rain) – удасчидай (to rain, to drizzle).

Examples: Д’э, татасчидам хаӈандай гуми. Д’э, эзкэй йалдивун бу околалбу кочайасчилдам, нандалбу исчилдам. (So, I started trying to learn sewing. I started trying to prepare climbing skins, trying to prepare skins.)

тат-асчи-да-м to learn-DIM1-PRS-1Sg
кочай-асчи-л-да-м prepare. climbing skins-DIM1-INCH-PRS-1Sg
и-счи-л-да-м prepare.skin-DIM1-INCH-PRS-1Sg

Тарак гагдилти гусчиритэн: «Эд’ынч гузардит бу йундикир. Матчи нымчы букутлы мадиңа». (Then our old people tried to warn: “Do not touch them (the wolves). If you kill, you have to finish off”).

gу-счи-ри-тэн to say-DIM1-PST-3Pl

The aspect class of an action imitation is represented by a single aspect form, indicating imitation of an action, expressed by the notional verb stem. In the literary Even language and the subdialects of the Eastern dialect, the action imitation aspect is formed by the analytical construction: suffixes сан/-сон/-сэн + verb бидэй (to be), for example: долчишан бидэй (to pretend to listen), коксэн бидэй (to pretend to drink).

In the Lower Kolyma subdialect, the action imitation aspect is formed according to the following scheme: participial stem + comparative form (comparative) –гчи/-вчин + auxiliary verb бидэй (to be). The basic meaning of an action repetition or imitation is in the participial stem, formed by the comparative –гчи/-вчин, which expresses neither a person nor a number. The auxiliary verb бидэй (to be) is supplemented by the morphological indicators of aspect, tense, person and number.

Examples: Таткагыл概括, мут таӈадивчин биврээн. (When the teacher comes in, we pretend to read). таӈ-ади-вчин би-врэ-рэ-п to read-PART.PRS-CMPR to be-ITR1-PRS-1Pl

Этикэн иччалан, нуличан көкэчэвчин бишч. (When the old man approached, the fox pretended to be dead.)
kөкэ-чэ-вчин би-хи-н to die-PART.PRF-CMPR to be-PST-3Sg

The available materials on the Lower Kolyma subdialect suggest that, in addition to the above aspect forms, certain forms of the verb aspect that were not previously recorded in the existing grammatical descriptions of the Even language and other dialects and subdialects are also found.

The single intense action form (ultramomentary aspect) is formed by the suffix -нукан/-нукэн and gives the meaning of an action momentariness and intensity. In contrast to the single action aspect (momentary aspect), it expresses even more extreme shortness of an action, its higher intensity. According to our data, the single intense action form is used both in the eastern and western dialects of the Even language. This form can be attributed to the aspect group of the intensity of action.

Examples of its use in the Lower Kolyma subdialect: Олукаду нуӈа паhануканни. (Suddenly the shot banged.)
pаhан-нук-п to bang-UMO-3Sg
Ниарикан эмкэрдук ӈурунукэнни. (The young man came down from the mountain very quickly.)

ӈуру-ӈукэнь-ни
to leave-UMO-3Sg

The constantly performed action form (habitual 3) in the Lower Kolyma subdialect denotes a habitually performed action and is formed by the suffix -ӈна/-ӈнэ. In its meaning, this form is correlated with the usually performed action aspect formed by -ват/ч-/вэт/ч-, expressing the relative regularity of an action performed irrespective of the moment of speech. According to our data, this form is also used in other subdialects of the Western dialect. The form can be attributed to the aspect group of the frequency of action.

Examples of the constantly performed action form use in the Lower Kolyma subdialect: Адалу туӈэррэ илукаӈнар. (The fishing net is set on the lake.)

ил-ука-ӈна-р
to set-CAUS-HAB3-3Pl

Тадук эмдэкэттён болга, ӈчийту эчий эрэ калналэдэуур, эчий эрэ таррак тар долин бэйил могиладук эмдид'ур иэлтэӈнэр. (When they come from there, they splinter willow twigs and people who come from the cemetery pass through it.)

иэлтэ-ӈнэ-р
to pass-HAB3-3Pl

Һадун долбиин дулокандун орлуӈээрэ первээ час деки-да. (Sometimes in the middle of the night, after midnight, we make a camping ground.)

ор-ӈнэ-рэ-п
make.camping ground-HAB3-PRS-1Pl

The repeated weakened action form (iterative 4), the meaning of which is to be clarified, is formed by the suffix -тна/-тнэ. In the Lower Kolyma subdialect, the author of this article preliminary defines this form as indicating a repeated weakened action with an additional connotation of spontaneous performance. This form can be attributed to the aspect group of the frequency of action.

Examples of its use in the Lower Kolyma subdialect: Бакарни бүхэлли тикэнийриит. (We fell and fell on slippery ice.)

tик-эңэ-ри-т
to fall-ITR4-PST-1Pl

Тиниптук ёнемээлэдэ, нипкуӈэор. (Since yesterday I chink and chink because of cough.)

нипку-ӈэ-ри-в
to chink-ITR4-PST-1Sg

The form of differed action with a modal connotation of pity (diminutive 2), characterized by suffixes -йат/-йэт/-йач/-йэч, means that an action or a dynamic image manifests itself in a slowed rate and is characterized by a modal connotation of certain sympathy, affection, pity or regret in relation to the subject of action from the speaker’s part. This form can be preliminary attributed to an aspect group of the intensity of action.

Examples of -йат/-йэт/-йач/-йэч form use in the Lower Kolyma subdialect: Эн’му адукутта абдучалли гача, нолимала тээвээччэ. (Mom took a few things and sat on the sledge, poor thing.)

тээвээччэ
to sit-DIM2-PART.PRf

Амму гүдээке мунуавриди тар пэктумы ёяккинэди, куратлии нукуриди, дэ улкуйаттан. (Poor father grabbed his rifle with annoyance and having taken off his hat, started swinging it.)

улку-йат-та-н
to swing-DIM2-PRS-3Sg

The above gives grounds for identifying the following peculiarities in the formation and use of the aspect category types and verbal action methods in the Lower Kolyma
subdialect. The action imitation aspect in the Lower Kolyma subdialect is formed by the analytic construction: a participial stem with the comparative form -гчин/-вчин + auxiliary verb бирий (to be). Four forms of the verb aspect that has not been mentioned in grammatical descriptions are used in the subdialect: the intense single action form (suffixes -нуккан/-нукэн); the permanent action form (-ӈна/-ӈнэ); the repeated weakened action form (-тна/-тнэ); the deferred action form with a modal connotation of pity (-йат/ӈ/-йэт/ӈ-).

There is absence of the following aspect forms typical to other dialects and subdialects: the rarely performed action form (-ван/-вэн/-ин); the weakened action form (-со); the form of repeated departure for an action performance (-иин); the opposite action form (-рга/-ргэ).

The speech of the Lower Kolyma Evens is characterized by the highest frequency of use of the unusually performed action aspect forms (-ват/ӈ/-вэт/ӈ-), the repeatedly performed action forms (suffixes -гра-//-грэ-//-гара-//-гэрэ) and the constantly performed action forms (suffix -ӈна/-ӈнэ).

**Signs and Symbols**

1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person; CAUS – causative; CMPR – comparative; CON – continuous; DEP1 – departure 1; DEP2 – departure 2; DES – desiderative; DIM1 – diminutive 1; DIM2 – diminutive 2; DUR – durative; FUT – future tense; HAB1 – habitual 1; HAB2 – habitual 2; HAB3 – habitual 3; INCH – inchoative; INT – intensive; ITR1 – iterative 1; ITR2 – iterative 2; ITR3 – iterative 3; ITR4 – iterative 4; INF – infinitive; MOM – momentary; OPP1 – appositive 1; OPP2 – appositive 2; PASS – passive; PART.PRS – present participle; PART.PRF – perfect particle; PI – plural; PROC – processivity; PRS – present tense; PST – past tense; PRTCL – particle; REC – reciprocal; RFL – reflexive; Sg – singular; UMO – ultra-momentary aspect.

**References**


Глагольное словообразование в нижнеколымском говоре эвенского языка

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В статье рассматривается система глагольного словообразования в не имеющем системно-гого описания нижнеколымском говоре эвенского языка. Нижнеколымский говор, относящийся к западному наречию, обладает рядом отличительных черт на всех уровнях языка. В сфере глагольного словообразования эти различия проявляются в фонетических и лексических особенностях говора, в составе суффиксов определенных морфологических категорий глагола и их структуре, а также в частотности употребления показателей. Материалом для написания статьи послужили данные автора, собранные во время полевых экспедиций в Нижнеколымском районе Республики Саха (Якутия) в 2013-2015 гг.

Ключевые слова: эвенский язык, нижнеколымский говор, словообразование глаголов, отыменное словообразование, отглагольное словообразование.

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