

Kaji Hiromi

## PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX *-lkan* IN EWEN

In this paper, I examined some characteristics of *-lkan*, a proprietary suffix in Ewen. Added to nominal stems, this suffix expresses possession. Nouns suffixed with *-lkan* (*N-lkan*) can function as adnominals, predicates, and adverbials. The semantic extent of the suffix *-lkan* is not limited to possession, but covers various other meanings as well. In adverbial usage, for instance, the suffix conveys the meaning of ‘possession at that very moment.’ The other meanings expressed by *N-lkan* are as follows:

(i) ‘An accompanier’, when added to a noun that signifies a person, a personal pronoun, or a personal proper noun (personal name) (in adverbial usage).

(ii) ‘Being worn’ or ‘in use’, when added to a noun that signifies clothing.

(iii) ‘A quantitative unit’ or ‘an amount’, when added to a noun that signifies a container.

(iv) ‘A person’s age’, when added to a numeral.

Although the ‘accompaniment’ meaning can be expressed by the comitative case as well as the suffix *-lkan*, these two constructions are significantly different. The comitative case suffix can co-occur with a personal possessive suffix, while the suffix *-lkan* cannot.

*N-lkan* can serve as an adverbial either with or without an instrumental case suffix. Without the instrumental case, it means a state of ‘put on’, ‘being worn’, or ‘in use’, whereas with the instrumental case, it does not necessarily imply this state.

In addition, there is an abessive form, the *aač -LA* phrase, which is semantically opposite to the proprietary suffix *-lkan*. The meaning of the *aač -LA* phrase covers ‘absence’, ‘non-possession’, and ‘non-accompaniment.’ The proprietary suffix and the abessive form share certain similarities in that they both have adnominal, predicative, and adverbial usages. However, in terms of morphosyntax, they show some differences; for instance, in the adverbial usage, the *aač -LA* phrase requires an instrumental case suffix, while *N-lkan* can be used as an adverbial either with or without the instrumental case suffix.

**Key words:** *Ewen, Even, Tungusic, proprietary suffix, possession.*

### 1. Introduction

Ewen (also known as Even or Lamut) is a Tungusic language spoken in the northern part of the Far Eastern Federal District of the Russian Federation<sup>1</sup>. The basic word order of this language is SOV. Ewen has an agglutinative morphology; suffixes have various allomorphs, and selection of allomorphs is phonologically conditioned by a vowel harmony rule and by the stem-final phoneme. The same suffixes, such as case suffixes, attach to both nouns and adjectives, and so these two word classes cannot be distinguished morphologically (Malchukov, 1995: 11).

This paper examines the Ewen proprietary suffix *-lkan*<sup>2</sup>. An outline of the form and use of *-lkan* is given in Section 2. In Section 3, types of allowable host nouns of *-lkan* and the semantics of this suffix are described. In Section 4, the difference between the usage of *-lkan* to convey ‘accompaniment’ and the similar usage of the comitative case is considered. In Section 5, suffixes that can co-occur with *-lkan* are described. In Section 6, asymmetry between *-lkan* and the Ewen abessive construction is shown. In Section 7, the discussion is concluded.

### 2. Outline

Ewen lacks a verb of possession such as English *have*. The predicative possession is expressed by a proprietary suffix *-lkan*. The proprietary suffix is attached to a possessee noun and *N-lkan* expresses meaning of ‘having N.’ It also has an adnominal usage and an adverbial usage. The attributive possession (possessor’s N) in Ewen is expressed by attaching a possessive person suffix to a noun denoting a possessee, as shown in (1).

- (1) *bii*     *dɪl-ɔ*  
I        head-POSS.1SG  
‘my head’

The proprietary suffix *-lkan* is highly productive. It can be attached to various types of noun stems. In previous studies, *-lkan* has been described as an “adjective-deriving” suffix (Benzing, 1955: 29, Cincius and Rishes, 1952: 722).

<sup>1</sup> The data in this paper are either collected from the author’s field work in the city of Yakutsk and Moma District in the Sakha Republic or taken from Kazama (2003, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> The allomorphs of this proprietary suffix are as follows: *-lkan*~*-lken*.

It has an adnominal usage, as shown in (2) and (3), and a predicative usage, as in (4)<sup>3</sup>. It also functions in an adverbial phrase, as in (5) and (6). The semantics of *-lkan* are not limited to simple possession (see Section 3). For instance, (3) and (6) below do not express situations in which someone possesses something, but instead convey that something accompanies some other thing.

#### Adnominal

- (2) *aawo-lkan* bej  
hood-PROP Man  
'a man who has a hood'
- (3) *usi-lken* ñan *ručka-lkan* tetrad'  
string-PROP and pen-PROP notebook  
'a notebook with a string bookmark and a pen'

#### Predicative

- (4) hii *okeñ-i-lken* bi-se-nri=gu?  
you milk-E-PROP be-NONFUT-2SG=CLT  
'Do you have milk?'

#### Adverbial

- (5) *aawo-lkan* girka-d-da-m  
hood-PROP walk-IMP-IMP-1SG  
'I walk with a hood on my head.'
- (6) čaai-w *okeñ-i-lken* kol-ji-m  
tea-ACC milk-E-PROP drink-FUT-1SG  
'I drink tea with milk.'

### 3. Types of host noun and the semantics of *-lkan* phrases

This section describes the semantics of the proprietive suffix *-lkan*. Fundamentally, an *-lkan* phrase denotes simple possession of things or property. However, as forecasted above with the mention of the 'accompanying' use, it can express various other meanings than simple possession according to the type of host noun.

#### 3.1 Human nouns

The proprietive suffix *-lkan* can be attached to human nouns. When *-lkan* is attached to a kinship noun, it conveys 'kinship relations', as shown in (7).

- (7) meerker=teke-r oo-d *xurke-ŋ-e-lke-l* (Kazama, 2003: 88)<sup>4</sup>  
REF=only-PL become-NONFUT.3PL young-AL-E-PROP-PL  
'(Children) became their own men, they have children.'

Also, a human noun with *-lkan* can be used as an adverbial phrase, yielding the meaning of 'accompaniment.' (Details are given in Section 4.)

#### 3.2 Concrete nouns

If *-lkan* is attached to concrete nouns such as nouns referring to clothing or carried goods, it expresses a meaning other than simple possession or carrying. As previously illustrated in (5), when a noun denoting carried goods is suffixed by *-lkan* and used as an adverbial phrase, it means not only simple 'carrying' but also

<sup>3</sup> Given that a word that has an 'adjectival' meaning such as some 'property' or 'shape' can be used as a noun phrase in Ewen without a derivational suffix, it is thought that *N-lkan* is able to function as a noun phrase. Although no such example of noun phrase usage was gained from the author's fieldwork, the following example is found in Kazama (2009).

- (i) himŋe-keje bi-d-de-n asi. øørep *hut-e-lken=de* (Kazama, 2009: 299)  
PSN-AUG be-IMP-IMP-3SG woman that baby-E-PROP=CLT  
*The woman, Himngeke, lived that way. That woman who has a baby.*

It is impossible to determine in this sentence whether *N-lkan* is used a noun phrase or whether in contrast the head noun in the adnominal usage is being omitted in this sentence. Further research is required.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the English glosses and translations are by the present author.

‘possession at that very moment.’ For a similar example, see (8). In (8) *-lkan* means not a state of just ‘having glasses’ but one of ‘putting on or wearing glasses on the face and using them.’

**[put on]**

- (8) *bii čiiṃet-e-lken em-di-w*  
 I glasses-E-PROP come-VN.NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I came with eyeglasses on my face.’

Below, *-lkan* is used as an adnominal modifier attached to a noun denoting a container or content. The head noun differs according to where *-lkan* is attached, as shown in (9) and (10).

**[container-*lkan* content]**

- (9) *ǰøør nna-lkan ulre-w emu-li*  
 two dish-PROP meat-ACC bring-IMP  
 ‘Give me two dishes of meat.’

**[content *-lkan* container]**

- (10) *[ǰøør ulre-lken] nna-w emu-li*  
 two meat-PROP dish-ACC bring-IMP  
 ‘Give me a dish with two pieces of meat.’

The numeral *ǰøør* ‘two’ in (10) can also be interpreted as modifying *nna* ‘dish.’ That is, the sentence can also express ‘Give me two dishes of meat.’

The proprietary suffix *-lkan* cannot co-occur with a personal possessive suffix, as shown in (11). If a noun is attached a personal possessive suffix, it will be a head noun, as in (12).

- (11) *\*bii doko-m-a-lkan sumka*  
 I letter-POSS.1SG-E-PROP bag  
 ‘a bag that my letter is in’
- (12) *sumka-lkan bii doko-m*  
 bag-PROP I letter-1SG  
 ‘my letter in a bag’

When *-lkan* is attached to a noun that denotes an “everyone”-type possessee (Tsunoda, 2009: 158), such as a body part, the special property of the possessee is often specified by a modifier, and the *-lkan* phrase may then be interpreted as a non-“everyone”-type. For instance, *iasal* ‘eye’ is an “everyone”-type possessee but *egǰen iasal* ‘large eye’ is a non-“everyone-type, as in (13). An abstract noun suffixed *-lkan* can mean ‘special N’ without any modifiers (see 3.3).

**[Body part]**

- (13) *egǰen iasal-a-lkan*  
 large eye-E-PROP  
 ‘large-eyed’

**3.3 Abstract noun**

The proprietary suffix *-lkan* can express that some certain property is possessed, when attached to abstract nouns: *eǰi-lken* ‘strong’ (<*eǰi* ‘strength’); *nood-a-lkan* ‘beautiful’ (<*nood* ‘beauty, beautiful’); *merge-lken* ‘wise’ (<*mergen* ‘wit’).

If *-lkan* is attached to abstract nouns of “everyone”-type possessee, that is, with meanings such as some ‘value’ or ‘quality’, possession of a ‘better N’ can be denoted without a modifier: *eeri-lken* ‘valuable’ (<*eeri* ‘value’); *kačestvo-lkan* ‘of good quality’ (<*kačestvo* ‘quality’).

When an abstract noun of an “everyone”-type possessee is accompanied by a modifier, it may be treated as a non-“everyone”-type, as shown in (14).

- (14) *aj/kaǰalı biči-lken*  
 good/bad nature-PROP  
 ‘good-/ill-natured’



meaning of ‘possession at that very moment’, as in (22). However, (21) and (22) semantically differ from each other in that the former but not the latter always conveys an implicature of ‘put on.’ Although (22) can express the meaning ‘put on’ in certain contexts, it does not always do so.

**[put on]**

- (21) *bii*                    *čiiimet-e-lken*                    *em-di-w*  
 I                    glasses-E-PROP                    come-VN.NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I came with eyeglasses on my face.’

**[put on/carrying]**

- (22) *bii*                    *čiiimet-e-lke-ň*                    *em-di-w*  
 I                    glasses-E-PROP-INS                    come-VN.NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I came with eyeglasses on my face. / I came carrying eyeglasses.’

Without the instrumental case suffix, *-lkaN* implicates ‘put on.’ However, a form with the instrumental case can denote simple ‘carrying’, not necessarily ‘put (ting) on.’ Therefore, when denoting a situation of carrying something unwearable, the instrumental suffix is used with *-lkaN*, as illustrated in (23).

**[carrying]**

- (23) *komnata-dok*                    *kniga-lka-ň*                    *em-de-m*  
 room-ABL                    book-PROP-INS                    come -NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I came from the room, carrying a book.’

**5.2 Alienability suffix**

If a head noun is an alienable possessee, the suffix of alienability *-ŋ* will be used, as in (24). Without the alienability suffix, (24) would express not a tripod, but a possessor’s own leg.

(24) *boodel-ŋ-e-lken*

- leg-AL-E-PROP  
 ‘have a tripod (for a camera)’

The suffix of alienability, however, is not obligatory; that is, a noun phrase without the alienability suffix does not necessarily have an implicature of inalienable possession. For example, (9) and (10) in 3.2 express the possession of meat as food, which is an alienable possessee, but the alienability suffix is not used.

**6. Expression of absence**

As a semantic counterpart of the proprietary suffix *-lkaN*, there is a construction with the meaning of absence. This abessive construction is formed by attaching suffix *-LA* to a noun stem and preposing *aač* to it:<sup>8</sup> for instance, *aač or-na* ‘not having reindeer’ (<*oran* ‘reindeer’); *aač baad-la* ‘transparent’ (<*baad* ‘appearance’).

Henceforth, this abessive construction is called the *aač -LA* phrase. In this section, the difference between the proprietary suffix *-lkaN* and the abessive phrasal construction *aač -LA* is described.

**6.1 Outline of *aač -LA* phrases**

In contrast to the proprietary suffix *-lkaN*, the *aač -LA* phrase has the meaning of ‘absence’, ‘lack’, ‘non-accompaniment’, or ‘non-carrying’<sup>9</sup>. If the proprietary suffix *-lkaN* is attached to an “everyone”-type possessee, not only the meaning of simple possession but also the special meaning of ‘better than normal’ is conveyed, as in (25). In contrast, the *aač -LA* phrase conveys a meaning of possession along with a ‘worse than normal’ possessee, not a meaning of ‘absence’, as illustrated in (26).

- |                           |                  |                    |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| (25) <i>kačestvo-lkan</i> | (26) <i>aač</i>  | <i>kačestvo-la</i> |
| quality-PROP              | ABES             | quality-ABES       |
| ‘of good quality’         | ‘of bad quality’ |                    |

With regard to syntactic character, the *aač -LA* phrase has several usages: adnominal (as in (27), (28)), predicative (as in (29)), and adverbial (as in (30)), similar to the proprietary suffix *-lkaN*.

<sup>8</sup>The allomorphs of the suffix *LA* are as follows: *-la~le~na~ne*. The suffix initial consonant alters depending on the stem final phoneme.

<sup>9</sup>Some expressions using the *aač -LA* phrase have become lexicalized nouns, for instance *aač gerbe-le* ‘ring finger’ (lit. nameless) < *gerbe* ‘name.’

### Adnominal

- (27) *aač* *aawo-na* bej  
 ABES hood-ABES man  
 ‘a man without a hood’
- (28) *teŋke* *doo-n* *egje-keje* *aač* *mod-na* *uuten*  
 woods inside-POSS.3SG large-AUG ABES end-ABES dugout  
 ‘The inside of the tree is a large boundless dugout house.’ (Kazama, 2003: 129)

### Predicative

- (29) *bii* *aač* *aawo-na* *bi-se-m*  
 I ABES hood-ABES be-NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I have no hood.’

### Adverbial

- (30) *bii* *aač* *aawo-na-č* *her-re-m*  
 I ABES hood-ABES-INS go-NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I leave without a hood.’

## 6.2 Asymmetry between possession and absence

At a glance, there seems to be a relation of symmetry between the proprietive suffix *-lkan* and the abessive *aač* *-LA* phrase, in that they share a syntactic character and show a semantic opposition to each other. However, on account of several morphological characteristics, some asymmetry is found. First, although an instrumental case suffix may alter the meaning of a *-lkan* phrase, as already mentioned in 5.1, *-lkan* can form an adverbial phrase either with or without an instrumental case suffix, as shown in (31). In contrast, an instrumental suffix is necessary when an *aač* *-LA* phrase is used as an adverbial phrase, as illustrated in (32).

- (31) *aawo-lkan* *girkad-da-m*  
 hood-PROP walk-NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I walk with a hood (on my head).’
- (32) *bii* *aač* *aawo-na-č* *her-re-m*  
 I ABES hood -ABES-INS go-NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I walk without a hood.’

Second, the possible host nouns of *-lkan* and of the *aač* *-LA* phrase vary. The proprietive suffix *-lkan* cannot be attached to interrogatives or demonstratives, but the *aač* *-LA* phrase can be formed from a demonstrative, as illustrated in (33).

- (33) *ome-kkeen.* *aač=ta* *jaa-la.*  
 one-DIM ABES=CLT what-ABES  
 ‘(She was) alone, without anything.’ (Kazama, 2003: 139)

In addition, a verbal noun<sup>10</sup> can host an *aač* *-LA* phrase, as shown in (34) and (35).

- (34) *tonŋan* *ineŋu* *aač* *jep-če-le* *bi-weet-te-m*  
 five day ABES eat-VN.PAST-ABES be-HAB-NONFUT-1SG  
 ‘I had been without food for five days.’ (Kazama 2003:97)
- (35) “*tonŋan* *ineŋu*” *gøøn-ni,* *“aač* *jep-če-le-j”*  
 five day say-NONFUT.3SG ABES eat-VN.PAST-ABES-POSS.REF.SG  
 “‘Five days,’ (he) said, ‘no food.’” (Kazama, 2003: 80)

## 7 Conclusion

In this paper, the author examined various usages of the Ewen proprietive suffix *-lkan*. Especially with regard to the adverbial usage to convey ‘accompaniment’, it was shown that *-lkan* is different from the

<sup>10</sup>A verbal noun is formed from a verb stem suffixed with a verbal-noun derivator. A verbal noun undergoes the same morphological operations as a noun.

comitative case suffix, which also expresses the meaning of ‘accompaniment’, with respect to co-occurrence with personal possessive suffixes. The comitative case suffix can co-occur with a personal possessive suffix, while the suffix *-lkAn* cannot.

In addition, if *-lkAn* is attached to a concrete noun and used as an adverbial phrase, it has the meaning of ‘possession at that very moment.’ In this usage, *-lkAn* can form an adverbial phrase either with or without an instrumental case suffix. Without an instrumental case suffix, it expresses the meaning ‘put on’, while with an instrumental case suffix, it may or may not indicate this meaning. Finally, a certain abessive construction, the *aač -LA* phrase, is a semantic counterpart of the proprietary suffix. Morphosyntactically, *-lkAn* and *aač -LA* are not in a symmetry relation.

### Abbreviations

- – suffix boundary	AUG – augmentative	NONFUT – nonfuture
= – clitic boundary	CLT – clitic	PAST – past
1 – first person	COM – comitative	PL – plural
2 – second person	DIM – diminutive	POSS – possessive
3 – third person	E – epenthesis	PROP – proprietary
ABES – abessive	FUT – future	PSN – personal name
ABL – ablative	HAB – habitual	REF – reflexive
ACC – accusative	IMP – imperative	SG – singular
AL – alienability	IMPF – imperfective	VN – verbal noun
ASP – aspect	INS – instrumental	

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Kaji Hiromi, M. A.  
**The University of Tokyo.**  
Tokyo, Japan.  
E-mail: kaji@live.jp

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*Каджи Хироми*

## ЭВЕНСКИЙ СУФФИКС ПРОПРИЕТИВА -*LKAN*

Рассматриваются особенности проприетивного суффикса *-lkan* в эвенском языке. Рассматриваемый суффикс присоединяется к именным основам и выражает значение посессивности. Однако значения данного суффикса не ограничиваются притяжательным значением. В адвербиальной функции, например, суффикс передает значение «обладание в определенный момент». К другим значениям, выражаемым формой *N-lkan*, относятся:

«совместность»: суффикс присоединяется к имени существительному, обозначающему человека, личному местоимению, имени собственному (в адвербиальной функции);

«то, что надевается (используется)»: с существительными, обозначающими элементы одежды;

«количество»: с существительными, обозначающими вместительные, контейнер;

«возраст человека»: присоединяется к числительным.

Несмотря на то что значение «совместность» может также выражаться комитативным падежом, данные конструкции значительно отличаются. Суффикс комитативного падежа может присоединяться совместно с лично-притяжательным суффиксом, тогда как суффикс *-lkan* не может.

*N-lkan* в атрибутивной функции может как маркироваться инструментальным падежом, так и употребляться без него. Немаркированная инструментальным падежом форма имеет значение «быть надетым», «быть в использовании», тогда как оформленная инструментальным падежом форма обязательно имеет значение подобного состояния.

Также имеется абессивная форма *aač -LA*, семантически имеющая противоположное значение проприетивному суффиксу *-lkan*. Значение формы *aač -LA* сводится к значениям «отсутствие», «необладание», «несовместность». Проприетивный суффикс и абессивная форма имеют некоторые сходства, в частности обе формы выполняют атрибутивную, предикативную и адвербиальную функции. Однако в отношении их морфосинтаксиса данные формы демонстрируют определенные различия: в адвербиальной функции форма *aač -LA* облигатно оформляется инструментальным падежом, тогда как *N-lkan* в адвербиальном употреблении как оформляется инструментальным падежом, так и используется без него.

**Ключевые слова:** *эвенский, тунгусский, проприетивный суффикс, посессивность.*

Каджи Хироми, магистр лингвистики.

**Университет Токио.**

Токио, Япония.

E-mail: [kaji@live.jp](mailto:kaji@live.jp)