Contact-induced restructuring of adverbial clauses: Russian subordinating conjunctions in Nanai

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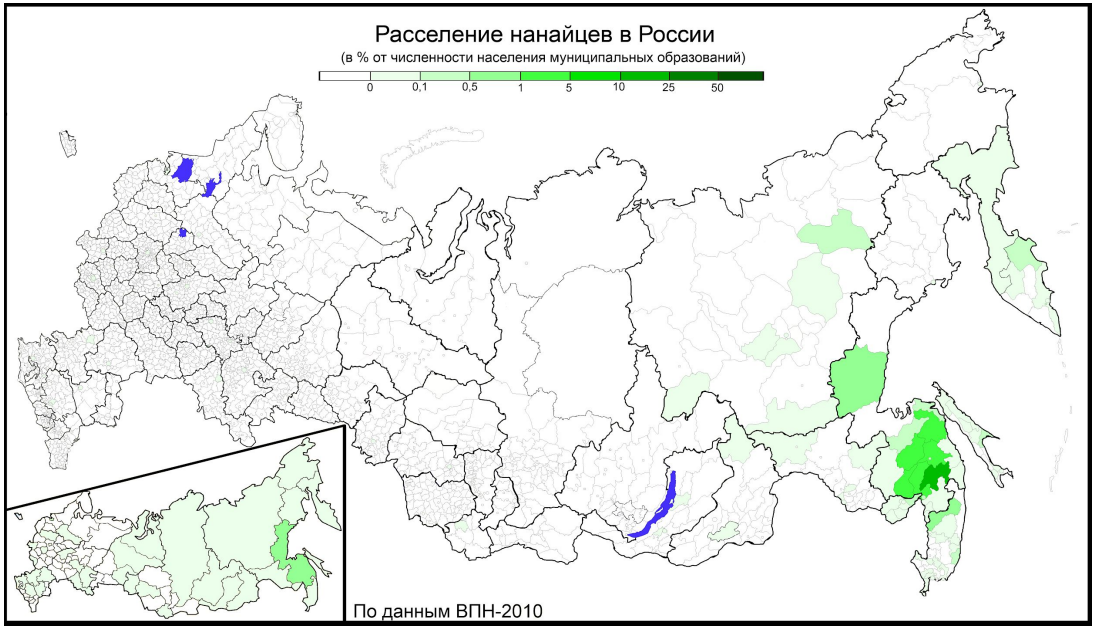
Introduction: Nanai

- **Nanai:** Tungusic > Southern
- **Location**: Russia, Khabarovsk and Primorskiy Krai (+ some close varieties in China).
- **Population**: ca. 12 000 (Census 2010).
- **Knowledge of Russian**:
  - all or almost all Nanais.
- **Knowledge of Nanai**:
  - 1347 = 11% out of the population (Census 2010); fluent speakers are 50+ years old.
- Within the ethnic group, both Nanai and Russian are in use; nowadays, Russian is being used more and more actively.

Introduction: Nanai

- **Nanai in contact with Russian**: material and pattern borrowing; frequent code-switching and code-mixing.



- **In this talk**:
  - Russian adverbial subordinating conjunctions in the Nanai speech.
  - Syntax of Nanai adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions.

Introduction: borrowing of adverbial subordinators

- S. Thomason: borrowing scale (2001: 70): **~ the intensity of contact**

casual contact > slightly more intense contact (borrowing of conjunctions) > more intense contact (changes in syntax of subordination) > intense contact

- J. Matras: borrowability of subordinators (2007: 55-56) **~ efforts of the addressee**

concessive, conditional, causal, purpose > other subordinators
→ the borrowed subordinator is used to help the addressee in difficult cases

- A. Grant (2012: 350) **~ frequency of subordinators**

less frequent subordinators > more frequent subordinators
→ no lacunes for frequent subordinators in the recipient language

Introduction: subordinators in code-switching theories

Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009: 353-354): MLF model

- free advebial-like subordinators (such as Russian conjunctions) are "**content morphemes**"
  - i.e., they are predicted to come both from ML and EL with no restrictions;
  - however, copying of syntactic properties (word order etc) from Embedded Language together with the EL subordinator is not predicted by the model.

ML = Matrix Language (Nanai) ~ recipient

EL = Embedded Language (Russian) ~ donor

Introduction

In this talk: on the data of Nanai & Russian

- something less stable than borrowing
  - frequent code-switches on the way to become borrowing?
- a closer look at:
  - **frequency** rather than presence / absence of the subordinator;
  - the impact of structural properties of languages in contact: the analysis in terms of **(in)congruence** (cf. e.g. Sebba 2009).

Introduction

A larger starting project:

- micro-typology of subordinate clauses with Russian conjunctions in languages of Russia;
- a great number of various strategies of subordination in contact with one and the same Russian strategy.

In this talk: on the data of Nanai & Russian

- to test the set of relevant parameters for the typological classification.

Outline

1. Data
2. Adverbial clauses in Russian and in Nanai
3. Russian conjunctions in Nanai: frequency
4. Adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions: syntactic structure
5. Conclusions

1. Data

- **Text sample:** ca. 10,5 hours of Nanai texts
  - collected in 2011-2017 in field trips to Khabarovsk Krai (with S. A. Oskolskaya),
  - transcribed in ELAN, partly glossed.
- **Sample of adverbial clauses:**
  - clauses translated into Russian by a native speaker by means of one of the Russian conjunctions attested in Nanai texts;
  - 677 clauses in total;
  - 8% of them contain Russian conjunctions (58 clauses).
- **A larger sample of adverbial clauses** with Russian conjunctions:
  - 106 clauses.

2.1. Adverbial clauses in Russian

- The main strategy:
  - SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION + FINITE VERB
- Main adverbial subordinating conjunctions:
  - conditional: *jesli* ‘if’
  - temporal: *kogda* ‘when’, *poka* ‘while’
  - reason: *potomu čto* ‘because’
  - purpose: *čtoby* ‘in order to’
  - concession: *xotja* ‘though’

2.2. Adverbial clauses in Nanai

2 strategies:

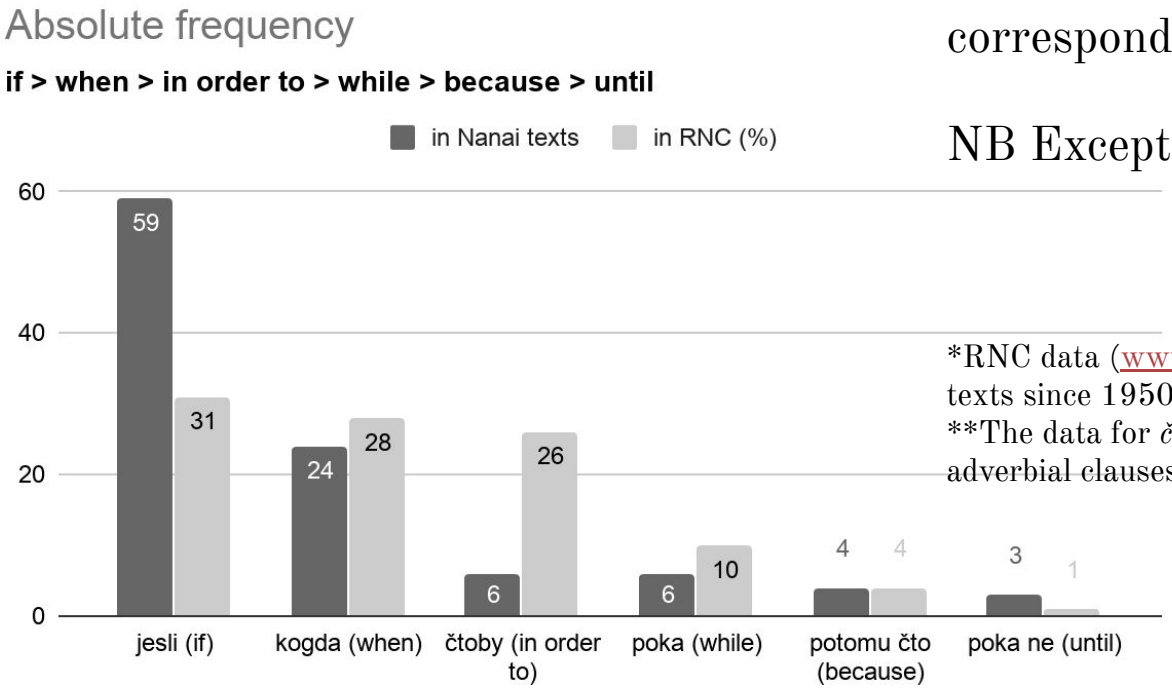
- dedicated NON-FINITE FORM; NO CONJUNCTION - main
  - most of adverbial clauses

(1) gə əni-ni ame-ni=tani xupi-**go**-a-ni
well mother-3sg father-3sg=and play-**purp**-obl-3sg
buri-kəm aŋgo-xa-č=goa
bow-dim.acc make-pst-3pl=ptcl
'Well, his parents made a little bow, so that he could play'. (znb)

- FINITE FORM + CONJUNCTION (postpositive) - marginal
  - one type of conditional clauses

(2) bū-rə-si **oseni** mī simbiə ǯəb-ǯiəm-bi
give-neg-prs **if** 1sg 2sg.acc eat-fut-1sg
'If you don't give (me) (the fish)', I'll eat you!' (lfs)

3. Russian conjunctions in Nanai: frequency

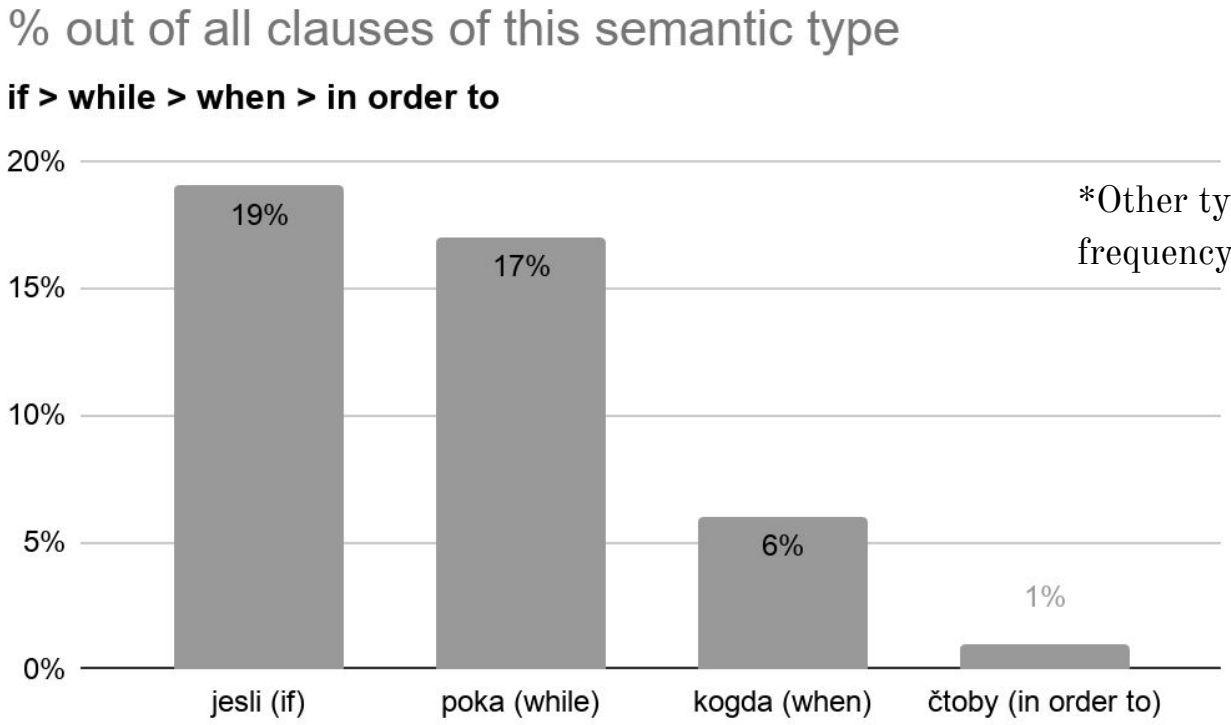


The absolute frequency more or less corresponds to that in Russian.

NB Except for *jesli* ('if').

*RNC data (www.ruscorpora.ru): Disambiguated Subcorpus, texts since 1950.
**The data for *čtoby* in RNC are overestimated (not only adverbial clauses, but also complement clauses).

3. Russian conjunctions in Nanai: frequency



*Other types were excluded due to their low frequency.

3. Russian conjunctions in Nanai: summary

- Absolute frequency:

if > when > in order to > while > because > until

- % of all adverbial clauses of a given semantic type:

if ≥ while > when > in order to

- Matras' hierarchy of borrowability:

though, if, because, in order to > when, while, until

→ no correlation;

→ no evidence that more rare conjunctions are more easily adopted.

4. Adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions: syntactic structure

4.1. (In)congruence in subordinating strategy

4.2. (In)congruence in word order

4.3. (In)congruence in semantics

4. Adverbial clauses in Nanai: (in)congruence with Russian

	type of subordinator	**finiteness of subordinate predicate**	**position of subordinator**
conditional finite	congruent	congruent	incongruent
temporal, purpose, (conditional) non-finite	incongruent	incongruent	incongruent
reason, concession	0	0	0

+semantic incongruence

4.1. Incongruence in subordinating strategy

- EL pattern (Russian): FINITE verb in subordinate clauses
- ML pattern (Nanai): NON-FINITE vs. FINITE forms in different types of subordinate clauses

Questions:

- Are Russian conjunctions more frequent in Nanai finite clauses?

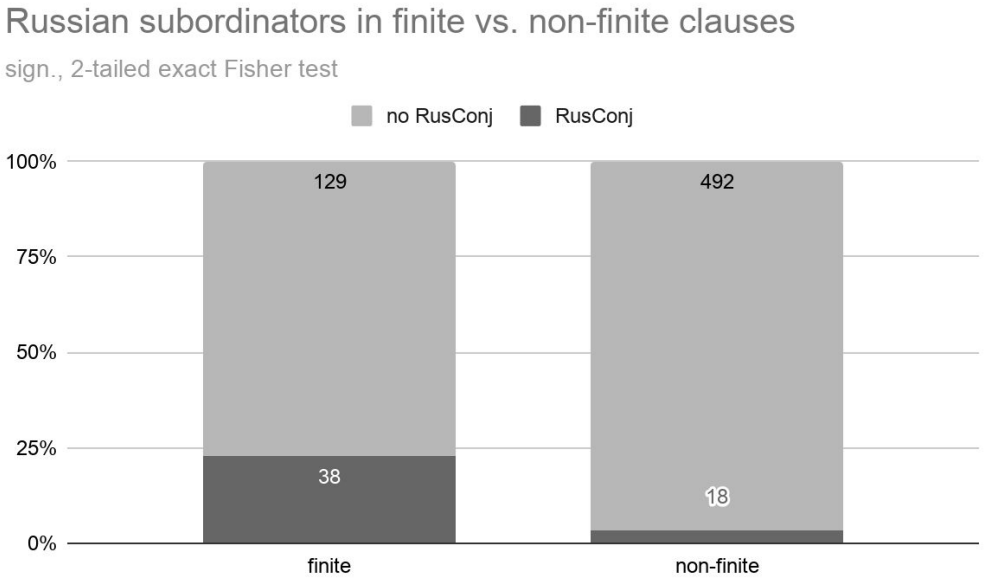
→ more congruence

- Can Russian conjunctions affect the finiteness of the Nanai subordinate verb?

→ more congruence (but too radical restructuring...)

4.1. Incongruence in subordinating strategy

⇒ Russian conjunctions are more frequent in Nanai finite adverbial clauses, i.e. when ML (Nanai) is congruent with EL (Russian) in finiteness.



4.1. Incongruence in subordinating strategy

Russian conjunctions in Nanai non-finite clauses

- ML+EL pattern (doubling): CONJrus + dedicated NON-FINITE VERBnan

→ the majority of uses

(1) **когда** ǯaŋg'ar-i-**do**-i
when judge-ptcp.prs-**dat**-refl.sg
'when (he) judges' (rab)

- EL pattern: CONJrus + FINITE VERBnan

→ 4 unexpected uses in temporal clauses

(2) **а когда** balǯe-xa
and when be.born-pst
'and when he was born' (itg)

4.1. Incongruence in subordinating strategy

Such examples as (2) might be interpreted as restructuring under Russian influence:

- Russian subordinator → Russian strategy of subordinate verb marking.

However,

- a) if this is still code-switching with ML Nanai, such a radical restructuring is unexpected (see Myers-Scotton & Jake 2009 above);
- b) another possible interpretation: juxtaposition of finite clauses (with temporal relation implied) + Russian conjunction.

4.2. Incongruence in Word Order: conditional clauses

- EL pattern (Russian): CONJ + subordinate clause
- ML pattern (Nanai): subordinate clause + CONJ

(1)

dāi-ni	buj-ki-ni	**oseni**
big-man	die-pst-3sg	if
jesli	vzroslyj	umer
if	adult.nom.sg	die.pst.m.sg

'If an adult has died' (ssb)

- Nanai clause with Russian CONJ:
  - ML pattern vs. EL pattern vs. ML+EL mixed pattern

4.2. Incongruence in WO: conditional clauses

- ML+EL pattern (doubling): CONJrus + subordinate clause + CONJnan

(1) вот **если** xusə bā-ri **oseni**
so **if** male find-prs **if**
'if (she) gives birth to a boy' (itg)

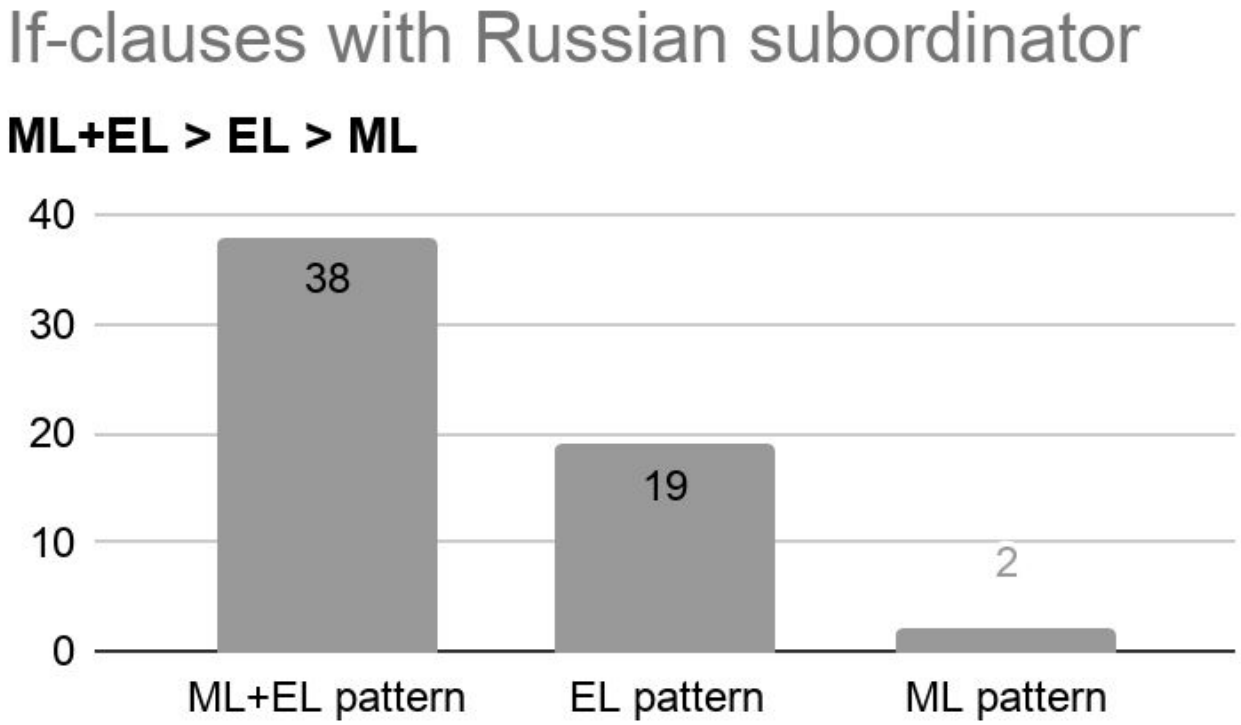
- EL pattern: CONJrus + subordinate clause

(2) **если** bəum-bə wā-ri
if moose kill-prs
'if (they) kill a moose' (lkb)

- ML pattern: subordinate clause + CONJrus

(3) mutə-j-či=goan **если**, sori-mar mutə-j osen' =tani
can-prs-3pl=ptcl **if** fight-cvb.sim.pl can-prs if=and
'if they can, if they can fight' (itg)

4.2. Incongruence in WO: conditional clauses



4.3. Incongruence in semantics: temporal clauses

one ML pattern (Nanai): PTCP-DAT ‘after V’ (ex.1) + ‘during V’ (ex.2)

⇐⇒

two EL patterns (Russian): когда ‘after V’ (+ ‘during V’)

пока ‘during V’ (‘while’)

(1) xamasi ənu-xən-**du**-ə-či =təni
backwards go.back-ptcp.pst-**dat**-obl-3pl=and
‘when they went away’ (itg)

(2) ǯar-i-**do**-a-ni=tani enda-ka
sing-ptcp.prs-**dat**-obl-3sg dog-dim
‘while the dog was singing’ (ssb)

⇒ The absence of a narrow marker ‘while’ in Nanai can explain the unexpected frequency of the Russian *пока* ‘while’ in Nanai temporal clauses.

5. Conclusions

- Relevant parameters for the typology of adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions in languages of Russia:
  - (in)congruence in subordinating strategy: finite vs. non-finite
  - (in)congruence in word order: preposed vs. postposed subordinator
  - (in)congruence in semantics: matches vs. does not match with the meaning of the Russian subordinator

5. Conclusions

Frequency of Russian conjunctions in Nanai adverbial clauses:

‘if’ > ‘while’ > ‘when’ > ‘in order to’

⇒ best predicted not in general sociolinguistic / pragmatic / frequency terms, but in terms of structural and semantic incongruence within the particular language pair

- ‘if’ - finite strategy in Nanai (structural congruence with Russian);
- ‘while’ - no clear correlate in Nanai (semantic incongruence with Russian): filling the gap.

5. Conclusions

More general tendencies:

- Structural (in)congruence: “lazy strategy”
  - a subordinator is more likely to be adopted, if structural congruence takes place;
  - the resulting structure of an adverbial clause is as congruent with ML as possible;
  - the resulting structure of an adverbial clause is as congruent with EL as possible (without breaking a congruence with ML).
- Semantic (in)congruence: “expansion strategy”
  - a subordinator is more likely to be adopted, if this increases the detalization of the corresponding semantic domain.