Coordination patterns in contact-influenced Far East Russian Speech

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1. Preliminary remarks

- The corpus of Non-Standard Russian of Russian Far East and Northern Siberia
  - a starting project within the major project «Dynamics of language contact in the circumpolar region» (http://iling-ran.ru/main/departments/typol_compar/circumpolar);
  - the annotated collection of oral contact-influenced Russian Speech of bilingual speakers of minority languages of the area;
  - it includes by the moment: Tungusic Russian (Nanai, Ulch, Even), Samoyedic Russian (Enets, Nenets, Nganasan).

1.1. The data used

- Tungusic Russian is in focus.
- Oral texts by bilingual speakers of Nanai (Amur dialects):
  - ca. 45 h. of audio-recordings;
  - ca. 3 h. of transcribed and annotated texts.
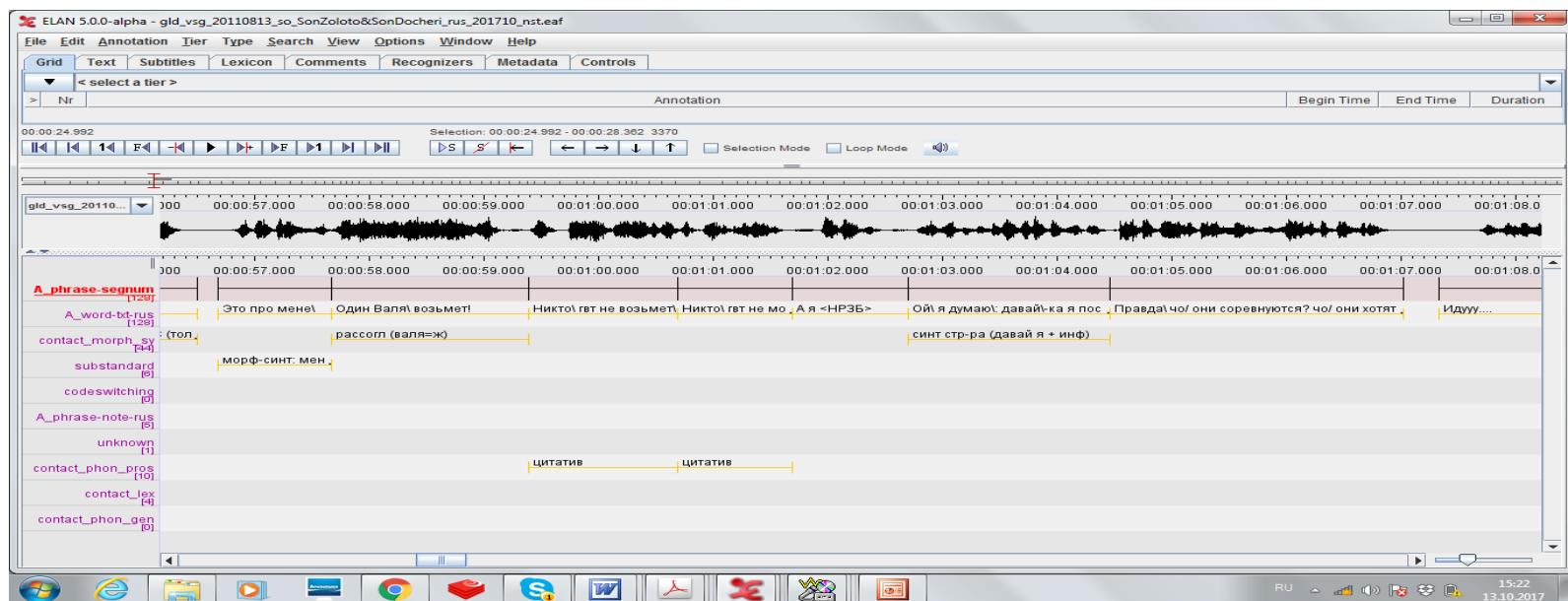
1.2. Nanai (Amur dialects): sociolinguistic information

- Southern Tungusics, Khabarovsk Kraj.
- 2010 census: 1347 speakers (11% of the ethnic group);
- our estimations: no more than 500-700 fluent speakers;
- it is taught at school;
- It is used mostly by elder generation (over 50 years old);
- most of speakers are fluent in Russian (no more or very few monolinguals);
- severely endangered (UNESCO).

1.3. Nanai in contact with Russian

- Code-switching;
- Evidence for interference and under-acquisition in Nanai Speech (especially across younger speakers);
- Evidence for interference and under-acquisition in Russian Speech (especially across elder speakers);
- The narrow scope of this study: interference in coordination patterns.
- A more narrow scope: conjunction ('and'-coordination, binary).
- Very different grammatical strategies in coordination domain in these two languages in contact.
- => Non-trivial mutual influence is expected.

2. Coordination strategies in Russian vs. in Nanai

- A brief overview in typological terms of Haspelmath 2007.

- Russian:

- The same strategies for DP-coordination and sentential coordination. Conjunctions (*и*).

- Main patterns:

  - [«A B» – asyndetic (*играю*, *пою*; *кошки, собаки*)];

  - «A co-B» – monosyndetic: prepositive, on second conjunct (*играю <u>и</u> пою*; *кошки <u>и</u> собаки*);

  - «co-A co-B» – (for "emphatic coordination": both A and B') bisyndetic: prepositive (<u>*и*</u> *играю,* <u>*и*</u> *пою*; *и кошки,* <u>*и*</u> *собаки*).

2. Coordination strategies in Nanai

- Sentential coordination ≠ DP-coordination.
- No coordinating conjunctions (and only a couple of subordinating ones).
- Postpositive coordinators.
- Means used for coordination:
  - Ø-means (juxtaposition);
  - verb constructions;
  - emphatic particles (enclitics):
    - intensifier =*dA:* 'even, also, absolutely, exactly, …';
    - contrastive =*tAni* 'as for, and, but, …'.

2.1. Coordination strategies in Nanai: sentential

- For DS-clauses – asyndetic (juxtaposition):

(1) *lo:-re-či=go* __ *xəm xolgo-j-ni=go*

hang-prs-3pl=part all dry-prs-3sg=part

'They hang (it) up and this all gets dried' (texts)

- Emphatic particles as supporting means:

(2) *sələ-ǯi-i man'a: tətuə-ku*

iron-ins-p.refl.sg only clothes-poss

a:po:n-či=da: sələ bi-čin

hat-3pl=emph iron be-pst

'They all wore iron clothes, <u>and</u> their <u>hats</u> were also made of iron' (Avr.: text 40)

2.1. Coordination strategies in Nanai: sentential

- For SS-clauses – Altaic-type coordination («A-cvb B»): first conjunct is marked

(1) *da:ji   daja   ome-m'a*
   big   pipe   drink-cvb.sim.sg
   muru-či-ni
   think-ipfv.prs-3sg
'(He) is smoking a big pipe <u>and</u> thinking' (texts)

(2) *təj lakečo   ʒog-či   ənə-rə*
   that Lakecho   home-dir   go-cvb.nsim
   un-ʒi-ni
   say-prs-3sg
'This Lakecho went home <u>and</u> (then) said…' (texts)

2.2. Coordination strategies in Nanai: DP-coordination

- 1) asyndetic «A B» (juxtaposition):

(1) *xərə siŋgərə* – 'the Frog and the Mouse'

- 2) emphatic particle =*dA*:

 –a) monosyndetic «A B-co»:

(2a) *xərə siŋgərə=də:* – lit. 'the Frog, the Mouse-also'

 –b) bisyndetic «A-co B-co»:

(2b) *xərə=də: siŋgərə=də:* – lit. 'the Frog-also, the Mouse-also'

2.2. Coordination strategies in Nanai: DP-coordination

- 3) comitative coordination constructions with INS-case:
  - a) monosyndetic «A B-co»:

(3a) *xərə siŋgərə-ǯi* – lit. 'the Frog with the Mouse'

  - b) bisyndetic «A-co B-co»:

(3b) *xərə-ǯi siŋgərə-ǯi* – lit. 'with the Frog with the Mouse'

- Only personal nouns, only Subject position, plural verb agreement.

Cf. Stassen 2000; Arkhipov 2010 for comitative coordination; Oskolskaya 2008 for comitatives in Nanai.

3. Nanai: interference with Russian

- The Russian *u* 'and' in Nanai Speech:

(1) *xəm   xaj-ǯi   жарила-ɡu-j   ulən-ǯi*

    all   what-ins   grill-rep-prs good-ins

    u   ǯəp-či

    and   eat-prs

'One grills all this stuff with this (grease) <u>and</u> eats it' (texts)

- In combination with Nanai emphatic particles:

(2) *u da:n'a=tani   təj enda-wa   pa:čel-i-ni=go*

    and grandmother=emph that dog-acc hit-prs-3sg=part

'<u>And</u> Grandmother is urging the dogs' (texts)

3. Nanai: interference with Russian

- Frequency (per 15 742 tokens):
  - *u* − 38;
  - *u* + =*dA*: − 1; *a* + =*dA:* − 2;
  - *u* + =*tAni* – 8; *a* + =*tAni* – 38;

- In texts with intensive interference; no occurences in Avrorin's texts from the 40-s (1986).

3. Nanai: interference with Russian

- Is this code-switching or an integrated loanword? Cf. Poplack et al. 1988; Poplack 2012 on «nonce-borrowing».
- A congruence-requirement (cf. Sebba 2009):
  - can be used in «V-fin + V-fin» (Russian-type) structures (1);
  - no uses in «V-cvb + V-fin» (Altaic-type) structures (1'):

(1') *?хэт   жарила-ди-рэ   и   ǯэр-či*

      all   grill-rep-cvb.nsim   and   eat-prs

'One grills all this stuff <u>and</u> eats it' (constr.)

- ?Possible increase of bi-finite structures in modern Nanai Speech (V-cvbV-fin > V-fin V-fin): it needs further investigation.

3. Nanai: interference with Russian

- Other Russian conjunctions in Nanai Speech:

(1) *если bəjum-bə wa:-ri или=же тара wa:-ri…*
    elk-acc kill-prs or=ever   bear kill-prs

'If one kills an elk or if one kills a bear...' (texts)

- Cf. an amalgam «co-A-co B» construction:

(2) *если   si: xusə   bi-či   oseni…*
    if   2sg   masculine be-pst   if

'If you were a man…' (texts)

- Cf. Oskolskaya & Stoynova 2013 for more detail.

4. Nanai Russian: interference with Nanai

- Mat-borrowing:
  - Nanai particles in Nanai Russian.
- Pat-borrowing (borrowing of the model):
  - comitative constructions;
  - pseudo-SVC's.

Cf. Sakel 2007 for the notions used.

- Correlations with sociolinguistic features.
- Abbreviations used:
  - NanRus = Russian Speech of bilingual Nanai speakers;
  - SRus = Standard Russian

4.1. Nanai particles in Nanai Russian: =*tAni*

- The contrastive (adversative) =*tAni*: instead of Russian conjunctions *u*, *a* 'and, but' (1) or together with them (2):

(1) *Әпіә\говорю … меня=tani* <смех> *мачеха … меня по башке\тукнула*<смех>(itg) 🔊

'I say: Mommy, <u>and</u> my step-mother has beaten me on my head!'

(2) *Этот … так\по углам\ … рисунки/ нанайские, а в середине/=tani веточка/… еловая\…* (itg) 🔊

'There are Nanai pictures on the corners, <u>and</u> in the middle there is a pine branch'

- NB In texts with code-switches: cf. one more Nanai fragment in (1).

4.2. Nanai particles in Nanai Russian: *=dA:*

- *=dA:* as a DP-coordinator, Mat/Pat-borrowing

(1) *Сестры\=da братья\ они там жили…* (iao)

'Sisters <u>and</u> brothers, they lived there'

- There are possible prototypes for this strategy in both languages:

  - In Russian: «N *да* N» *дед да баба* (+ «N *и* N»)

  - In Nanai: «N N=*dA:*», «N=*dA:* N=*dA:*»

- Da-construction in Nanai Russian as a compromise between SRus-model and Nan-model.

- A continuum between Russian-like uses and Nanai-like ones.

4.2. Nanai particles in Nanai Russian: =*dA:*

- Features: mixed
  - can be combined with Russian *u* 'and'
  - prosody: enclitic (at least in most of uses) <- Nan
  - phonetics: no vowel harmony (=*da*, *=*də*) <- SRus

4.2. Nanai particles in Nanai Russian: =*dA:*

word order: <- Nan, SRus

- N da N (=SRus), (1); N=da N (=SRus+Nan), (2)
- N N da (=Nan), (3)
- N da N da (=Nan), (4)

- A continuum of examples (one and the same speaker):

(1) *…я одела куртка/ да это\…* (fna)

 'I put on my jacket=DA <u>and</u> this thing…'

(2) *…линька\=да всякий сига\ было, ну/* (fna)

'There were tenches=DA <u>and</u> some kinds of white-fishes'

(3) *…десять килограм мука/ и десять килограм крупа\ =да…* (fna)

'Ten kilogram flour <u>and</u> ten kilogramm cereals=DA'

(4) *…там сколько\ в Моск= офицер\=да майор\=да* (fna)

'There in Moscow – there are so many officers=DA <u>and</u> majors=DA'

4.2. Nanai particles in Nanai Russian: =*dA:*

- ## The Russian *u* 'and' with Nanai-like prosody:

(1) *…барбарис\ там и всякие-всякие\… и дикие яблоки\ и/ черемуха\ и/ и ягод= как это… еще … какие-то были… барбарис\ барбариса\=да и/… ой\ название забыла…* (gpd)

'Barberry <u>and</u> different (berries), <u>and</u> wild apples, and bird cherry, <u>and</u> some more berries … barberry <u>and</u>…I don't remember the name…'

4.3. Nanai models in Nanai Russian: comitative constructions

(1) *Дедушка\бабушкой\ … мать\ … всё\ … я\ … сестры все умерли* (iao)

'Grandfather, grandmother-INS, mother – that's all … me … sisters – they all died'

(2) *Мама\папа\братом\на бе=(рег) это... на Амур ездили/ там …* (fna)

'Mother, father, brother-INS used to go to Amur-river'

- SRus: «N *с* N-ins» (*дедушка с бабушкой*).
- Nanai: «N N-ins»; «N-ins N-ins».
- Nanai Russian:
  – no preposition <- Nan;
  – intonation <- Nan;
  – only Subject position, only personal nouns <-Nan;
  – the locus of INS: *«N-ins N-ins» <- SRus.

4.3. Nanai models in Nanai Russian: pseudo-SVC's

- Nanai: Altaic-type «cvb + V» sentential coordination.
- Standard Russian: SVC's with motion verbs and position verbs *сидит читает*, *пошел покурил* (cf. Weiss 2012).
- Nanai Russian: >> SVC's or pseudo-SVC's with a wider range of verbs.
- The influence of Nanai «cvb + V» coordination strategy?

4.3. Nanai models in Nanai Russian: pseudo-SVC's

(1) *Разный\трава варила\положила* (fna)
'(She) cooked various herbs and added them'

(2) *Она давно-давно упала\сгнил(а)* (vsg)
'It fell and rotted long ago'

(3) *А там ... где-то ... что-то люди галдят-соревнуются\чо-то всё прямо... Дерутся-ругаются\Чо-ли хотят чо взять\не могут никак взять* (vsg)

'And there somewhere people are chattering and competing, fighting and quarreling, they want to take something and cannot take it'

- No simple calques attested (?*галдя соревнуются*, ?*упав сгнил*).

- Rather indirect influence: SVC as the closest structural equivalent to Tungusic converbial constructions.

4.3. Nanai models in Nanai Russian: pseudo-SVC's

- a) no serialization in Nanai;
- b) bilingual speakers do not associate Nanai "converbs" with Russian converbs;
- c) a taxis opposition SIM vs. NSIM:
  - Nanai: different converbs (-*mi* vs. -*rA*);
  - Nanai Russian: prosody (stress on V2 vs. on V1).
- d) examples like (1): phasal SVC's (= INF in Standard Russian, cvb-forms in Nanai):

(1a) *А потом я рыбачила\начала...* (fna)

'And then I started to fish'

(1b) *начала рыбачить* (SRus)

(1c) *sogdatawa wa:-mi təpčiuxəmbi* (fish.acc kill-cvb begin.pst.1sg) (Nan)

4.4. Correlations with sociolinguistic features: preliminary suggestions

- Hierarchy:

Pat (SVC, comit.) > Pat/Mat(=*dA:*) > Mat(=*tAni,* some uses of =*dA:*)

- Factors: age, early/late bilingualism, level of education; use of L1; level of L1; SA-situation.
- Pat-borrowing:
  - the eldest speakers: fna(1930), spk (1930), vsg (1932);
  - the least standard Russian;
  - late bilingualism: no pre-school knowledge of Russian;
  - 1-2 classes of school education.

4.4. Correlations with sociolinguistic features

- Pat/Mat-borrowing:
  - + iao(1934), gpb (1935), gao (1939);
  - higher level of education;
  - earlier bilingualism.
- Mat-borrowing:
  - + itg (1945);
  - determined by SA-situation: a feature of Nanai-style speech: >> code-switches, the instruction "Tell it in Nanai!"

5. Concluding observations

- Coordination domain: very different patterns in Nanai (Tungusics) and Russian (Slavics).
- A good illustration of mutual influence:

  a) bilinguals' Nanai <- Standard Russian;

  b) bilinguals' Russian <-Nanai.

- Both lexicon and grammar is involved.
- The accommodation processes in Nanai Russian: different ways of resolving the structural conflicts between Nanai Grammar vs. Russian Grammar.