

Interference in the Russian speech of the Nganasans

Irina Khomchenkova

Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russian Language Institute, Institute of
Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences

irina.khomchenkova@yandex.ru

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Introduction

- Basically there are three possible ways how Nganasan language may interact with Russian:
 - **Rus** → **Ngan**
some changes in Nganasan
 - **Ngan** → **Rus**
local varieties of Russian
 - **Rus** ↔ **Ngan**
code-switching
- Today: Ngan → Rus

Introduction

- How speakers of indigenous languages of Russia speak Russian is interesting for many researchers
 - e.g. Russian in contact with Southern Tungusic languages (Stoynova 2018), Erzya Russian (Shagal 2016), Dagestanian Russian (Daniel, Dobrushina 2013); Forest Enets Russian (Stoynova, Shluinsky 2010);
- My goal: to describe the variety of Russian used by bilingual speakers of Nganasan

Corpus

- Corpus of Contact-influenced Russian Speech of Russian Far East and Northern Siberia (N. Stoyanova, P. Pleshak, I. Khomchenkova) within the large project “Dynamics of language contact in the circumpolar region” (by O. Khanina).
- Transcribed and annotated collection of oral spontaneous Russian speech from the speakers of Samoyedic languages (Forest & Tundra Enets, Nganasan, Nenets) and of Tungusic languages (Nanai, Ulch, Even).
- Site of the project with the pilot version of the corpus:
http://web-corpora.net/tsakorpus_russian_nonst

Nganasan Subcorpus

- The corpus of narratives in Russian from Nganasan speakers (I thank V.Iu. Gusev for the provided audiofiles).
- 3.5 hours of transcribed Nganasan Russian (10 speakers) with 532 morphosyntactic deviations from Standard Russian
- Method: mostly qualitative study.
- + Nganasan data: mostly [NSLC] & [Терещенко 1979]
NSLC: (Brykina, M, Gusev, V., Szeverényi, S. and Wagner-Nagy, B. (2016) “Nganasan Spoken Language Corpus (NSLC).” Archived in Hamburger Zentrum für Sprachkorpora. Version 0.1. Publication date 2016-12-23)

The Nganasans

- Nganasan people inhabit the Taimyr Peninsula and speak the Nganasan language.
- 2010 census: Nganasan was spoken by only 120 / 860 Nganasan people.
- Since the 19th cent. they spoke Taimyr Pidgin Russian (Govorka) (Stern 2005).

Speaker	Y.o.b.	Clauses
MDN	1923	1120
TKF	1923	1278
MVL	1929	431
THL	1930	229
PHL	1935	135
KVB	1938	1375
JSM	1939/1944	184
ChND	1946	1200
KSM	1949	88
KID	1966	710

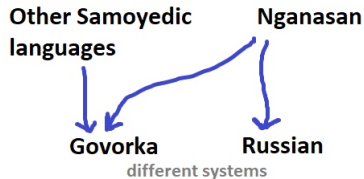
- In our Nganasan subcorpus two speakers (TKF and MDN) are regarded as speakers of Govorka – A. Iu. Urmanchieva and D. Stern worked with them while describing Govorka.

Nganasan Russian

- Govorka was well studied, see, e.g. (Хелимский 2000, Урманчиева 2010, Stern 2012, Гусев 2013)
- Govorka was used by indigenous peoples of Taimyr (including the Nganasans) in XIX-XX cent.
- Education in Russian and village settlement ⇒ Russian became prevalent.
- As far as is known, now there is no speakers of Govorka.
- The local variety of Russian differs from standard Russian as well as from Govorka.

Problem 1

- Do the varieties of Russian spoken in 1990s by the Nganasans form the post-pidgin continuum or do we see two different systems?



Acrolect	Standard Russian
↑	variety 1
Mesolect	variety 2
↓	variety 3
Basilect	Govorka

Problem 2

- 1 Inteference with Nganasan?
(clear parallels in L1)
- 2 Incomplete acquisition of Russian?
(no clear parallels in L1)
- 3 Regional or dialectal features?
(shared with monolingual speakers of the same area)
- 4 Features typical of oral spontaneous speech?
(nonstandard compared to written Russian monolingual speech, however not actually nonstandard)

Problem 2

- 1** Inteference with Nganasan?
(clear parallels in L1)
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Morphology: noun inflection

■ Change of morphological gender (declension class):

- (1) Понесет **подарку** к ней (JSM)
- (2) Два **женщин** молодой (MDN)
- (3) **Гагар**-то земля место не ходит (MDN)

Morphology: verbal inflection

- (4) Когда придет, собака **радуется**, шумит. (MVL)
- (5) Это... Я тебя **побежду**. (KVB)
- (6) Обязательно этим жиром **мазай**, Обязательно **мазай**. (KVB)
- (7) Ты теперь **едь**. (KVB)
- (8) Эти вон все **разорваты**. (KVB)

NB These examples are also possible in non-contact colloquial Russian

Morphology: derivation

■ Omission or overuse of the reflexive *-ся*

(9) А вместо него опять эта вот эта вот повязка
валяет (ChND) — instead of **валяется**

(10) Давай не **пропадайся** (KVB) — instead of
пропадай

NB A potential influence of non-standard monolingual Russian (*-ся* behaves differently in some dialects of Russian, see Kasatkin (2005: 154)).

Morphology: derivation

- Some examples can be explained by the absence of reflexive conjugation.
- No -ся & no reflexive conjugation:

(11) А вместо него опять эта вот эта вот повязка **валяет**
(ChND) — instead of валяется

(12) *D'aŋku taa-ni-ə* *d'üðü-tə*
there.is.not that.remote-LocPron-Adjz[NomSg] hand-GenSg.2Sg
s'ügümüi-ə-d'əə-raa *takəə*
bandage-Adjz-Ant-Lim[NomSg] that.remote[NomSg]
d'übə-i-ti *n'ül'ia-jt'i-ti*
throw-Drv [Stat] -Prs [3Sg.s] lie.down.straight-Drv-Prs [3Sg.s]
'Нету, вон только повязка от твоего пальца валяется'.

Morphology: derivation

- Some examples can be explained by the reflexive conjugation.
- *-ся* & reflexive conjugation:

(13) Давай не **пропадайся** (KVB) — instead of *пропадай*

(14) *Tə bəjku-naŋku hiə-tə-u koli-ði-ŋiði-gə-ti,*
well old.man-Dim[NomSg] year-LatSg-Excl fish-Vblz-Def-Iter-Prs[3Sg.s]

ŋonəi-ʔ t'ims'ə-kə-ta-ðə koli-ði-si
another.one-Adv **disappear-Iter-Prs-3Sg.r** fish-Vblz-Inf

‘Старичок все время рыбачит, пропадает на
рыбалке’.

NB possible contamination with Russian *теряться*.

Morphology: derivation

- Reflexive conjugation does not explain every *-ся* in Nganrus:

(15) Уже, говорят, на тот берег он **приплылся** (KVB) — instead of приплыл

(16) Потом, говорят, **переплылся** и рукой, говорят, махнул, что значит иди (KVB) — instead of переплыл

(17) *Təndə* *taa-ni-ə* *kəi-tə* *n'asi*
 that[GenSg] that.remote-LocPron-Adjz[GenSg] side-LatSg scarcely
kobtū-ʔiū *i-bahu* *tab-ə*,
 come.out.of.water-Pf[3Sg.s] be-Renarr[3Sg.s] there.far-Ep[LatAdv]
biǰ-ə *tajjiə*
 water-Ep[GenSg] opposite[NomSg]

‘За эту реку еле-еле, говорят, пристал (к другому берегу) там’.

Comparative constructions

- construction *om* + *GEN* is used instead of *чем* + *NOM* or *GEN*

(18) Никакой бог **от меня** выше нету. (KVB) —
instead of *выше меня* / *выше чем я*

- In Nganasan ablative marks the standard of comparison:

(19) *Tahariaa ku-ni-gəl't'i* *anika-ʔu-rbaʔa*
now which-LocPron-Emph[NomSg] big-Aug-Aug[NomSg]
d'ündüa-kəl't'ə-gitə aniʔə *d'üntüa*
horse-Emph-AblPl big[Nom.Sg] horse[Nom.Sg]
'Totally big, this horse is bigger than regular horses'.

Comparative constructions

- In Govorka the postposition *место* is used in such constructions:

(20) Такой-то **баба место** большой голова.

‘Вот такая голова, больше, чем у женщины’.

[Хелимский 2010: 389]

NB [Гусев 2012: 107, Урманчиева 2010]: the postposition *место* corresponds to **ablative**, lative, locative, prolative, allative.

Verbs of speech

- the prepositional phrase *на нее* is used instead of *ей*:

(21) Потом он тогда говорит **на нее** (KVB)

- In Nganasan allative marks the addressee of a verb of speech:

(22) **Ni-nti** *d'a* *munu-ntu*: «*Biüü-gü-ni* *tagaʔa*»
wife-GenSg.3Sg All [LatAdv] say-Prs[3Sg.s] go.away-Imp-1Du.r from.here
‘He said to his wife: ”Let’s get out of here”’.

- + interesting examples with doubling:

(23) Давай, **на жене** говорит, ты ничего не делай (KVB)

(24) И говорит этому **на хозяину** (KVB)

Negative existential construction

- In Standard Russian the subject of the negative existential construction is marked with the genitive case.
- Some speakers prefer nominative case in such contexts:

(25) **Сон** даже нету (MVL) — instead of сна

(26) А половина только, а **половина** нету (KVB) —
instead of половины

(27) **Вода** говорю вообще нет (THL) — instead of
воды

- The same pattern is attested in Nganasan:

(28) *ŋambu-ðu d'aŋguj-kə-tu*

sleep-NomSg.3Sg be.absent-Iter-Prs[3Sg.s]

‘(Tanku suffered from insomnia.) Сна не было’.

Preposition *навстречу*

- *навстречу* + GEN is used instead of *навстречу* + DAT

(29) Вот **навстречу** говорят бегут **отца** (KVB) —
instead of отцу

(30) Идет-идет **навстречу** **ветра** — instead of ветру

- Cf. Nganasan construction GEN + *n'erə d'a*:

(31) *tibijkiāʔku* *in's'üðə* *n'erə*
youth-DIM[NOM.SG] sledge [GEN.SG] before[LATADV]
d'a *torəmiʔiðə*
ALL[LATADV] run-PF-3SG.R
'A boy ran towards a sledge'.

NB rus. N + GEN *встреча отца, встреча ветра*.

Possessive construction

- In Standard Russian the neutral word order in genitive constructions is N + GEN.

(32) *Голова лисиц-ы*
head fox-GEN
‘The head of a fox’.

- the varieties of Russian spoken in Siberia often show the opposite order in such constructions, i.e., GEN + N

(33) Это взрослого человека мозг (ChND)

Possessive construction

Order	Nganasan	Enets	Spoken Russian
N + GEN	52	40	239
GEN + N	4	26	6

- Cf. Nganasan and Enets: it seems that different L1's influence Russian in different ways
For more detailed numerical data on Siberian and Daghestanian languages see (Наккарато и др. в печати)

Possessive construction

- The weak influence of Nganasan may be explained by the lack of genitive suffix [Терещенко 1979: 77]:
constructions are less congruent ⇒ there is less influence

(34) *tundy ɲojbuo*

fox.GEN head

‘The head of a fox’. [Терещенко 1979: 76]

- In Govorka there are attributive constructions:
non-marked dependent + head

(35) Турдагин Сета парень

‘сын Сеты Турдагина’.

Gender mismatches

- Gender mismatches are widely attested in the oral Russian speech of bilingual speakers of indigenous languages of Russia
 - cf. remarks in (Daniel et. al. 2010: 76-77) on Daghestanian Russian, (Shagal 2016) on Erzya Russian, (Azarova 1986) on Komi Russian + Ninilchik Russian (Daly 1986)
- The category of gender is absent in Nganasan \Rightarrow problems in Russian

Gender mismatches

- (36) Ни **одну** кусочек не кушает (KVB) — instead of один
- (37) Эта... Нюрка-то. **Он** пьет совсем (MVL) — instead of она
- (38) Старуха говорит: я ж тебе **говорил** (ChND) — instead of говорила
- General observations (higher % of mismatches > lower % of mismatches)
 - adj. > v. > pron.;
 - non-humans > humans;
 - M > F > N
 - NB a great variation across speakers
For more detailed numerical data on Nganasan, Ulch, Nanai and Forest Enets see (Khomchenkova, Pleshak, Stoyanova 2017).

Gender mismatches

Speaker	Y.o.b.	Clauses	Mismatches
MDN	1923	1120	many
TKF	1923	1278	many
MVL	1929	431	many
THL	1930	229	(not) many, (m)
PHL	1935	135	(not) many, (m)
KVB	1938	1375	not many
JSM	1939/1944	184	not many
ChND	1946	1200	almost no (m)
KSM	1949	88 (many CS)	no
KID	1966	710	almost no (m)

(39) Пойдем вон озеро **большая** (JSM)

(40) Тогда пьянка **БЫЛ** у нас (KID)

(41) А у него одна нога **БЫЛ** же (KID)

Gender mismatches

- In Govorka adjectives do not agree with nouns, they have only masculine forms (Хелимский 2010: 385). Verbs can have different gender forms, but they are not used systematically (Хелимский 2010: 391).
- D. Stern (2012) regarded MDN as a (mesolect) Govorka speaker.
- Indeed MDN prefers m-forms, but f-forms and n-forms are present as well

		m>f	f>m	n>m	n>f
mdn, 1923	v	6%	53%	67%	0%
	adj	0%	71%	86%	0%
mvl, 1929	v	4%	27%	0%	0%
	adj	18%	35%	56%	6%
kvb, 1938	v	10%	10%	0%	0%
	adj	5%	24%	7%	0%

Gender mismatches

- Since the 2nd half of XX century standard Russian has become prevalent.
- MVL: chaos not only in verbal forms, but also in adjectives: m-forms are still widespread, but other transitions like $m > f$ and $n > f$ become possible.
- KVB: mismatches in gender happen rarely, almost standard Russian.
 - mismatches: numerous, uniform > numerous, chaotic > rare, chaotic

		m>f	f>m	n>m	n>f
mdn, 1923	v	6%	53%	67%	0%
	adj	0%	71%	86%	0%
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	adj	5%	24%	7%	0%

Preposition drop

- The omission of different prepositions: e.g., в ‘in’:

(42) Потому что он попал... **Капкан** дедушки
людоеда (ChND) — instead of в капкан

- In Nganasan: LAT

(43) *D'ajka-ŋku bikəri-ʔə* *S'igiʔə-ti*
Dyaiku-Dim get.caught.in.a.net-Pf[3Sg.s] ogre-GenSg.3Sg
d'enguj-t'ə
trap-LatSg
'Dyaiku got caught in the trap of an ogre'.

Preposition drop

- The omission of different prepositions: e.g., к ‘to’:

(44) Иди домой, **родителям** теперь иди (KVB) —
instead of к родителям

- In Nganasan: ALL

(45) *ŋinəbi-ni* *d'a* *maða-ʔ-ku-miəi*
brother.in.law-GenSg.1Du **All [LatAdv]** visit-Andv-Drv-1Du.s/o.Excl
‘Let’s go visit the parents-in-law (parents of the
wife)!’

Preposition drop

- 1 morphosyntactic influence of L1: LAT corresponds to the Russian prepositional phrases with *в*
- NB This factor was mentioned as relevant in Daghestanian Russian (Daniel, Dobrushina 2013) and in Erzya Russian (Shagal 2016).
- 2 phonetic influence of L1: in Nganasan initial consonant clusters are more restricted than in Russian [Терещенко 1979: 40] ⇒

(46) Ну че ты уснула? Иди **перед** (KVB) — instead of **вперед**

Preposition drop: problem 1

- The omission of *в* or non-standard argument structure?

- (47) Они вообще не могут попадать **нганасан** (ChND) — instead of *в* нганасан
- (48) Попробуйте **его** попасть стрелой (ChND) — instead of *в* него
- (49) Прыгал-прыгал и ненцы **его** никак не могли попасть (ChND) — instead of *в* него

- ? Is the verb ‘hit’ in Nnganasan transitive?

Preposition drop: problem 1

- The omission of *на* or non-standard argument structure?

(50) Только **меня** смотри (KVB) — instead of *на меня*

- In Nganasan the corresponding verb is transitive:

(51) *Uku-tu d'a mun-u-baŋhu: «Məŋə*
Uku-GenSg.3Sg All[LatAdv] say-Ep-Renarr[3Sg.s] I[AccSg]
sət'ə-r-ü-ʔ»
scrutinize-Frq-Ep-Imp.2Sg.s
'(The old man) said to Uku: «Look at me»'.

Preposition drop: problem 2

- The omission of *к* or external possessor?

(52) И ее этот парень взял за руку и повел **себе** в чум
(ChND) — instead of *к себе*

(53) *N'aa-d'iŋ-a-ŋku* *n'üə-gəj* *kona-ʔa-gəj*
Nganasan-Fem-Ep-Dim[GenSg] child-NomDu go-Pf-3Du.s

ma-ti *d'a*
tent-GenSg.3Du All [LatAdv]

‘The daughters of the Nganasan woman went home’.

Preposition Drop

- Preposition drop in Samoyedic Russian (Tundra and Forest Enets) and in Tungusic Russian (Nanai) is described in (Khomchenkova, Pleshak, Stoynova 2017).
- It seems that in Nganasan phonetic factor is relevant in many cases, but thorough research is needed.

Lexical calques

- In Standard Russian *талантливый* is less likely to be used with inanimate nouns.

(54) Какой у меня талантневый ка = **Талантливый**
капкан. Он мне поймал зайца. (ChND)

- Ngan. *tala(n)* ‘fortune’

⇒ Rus *талант* ‘talent’ → NganRus *талант* ‘fortune’ (Gusev, p.c.)

(55) *Оу, hiətə-u, tahariāa, n’aagəə tə əmti*
EXCL EXCL-EXCL now good[NOM.SG] well this[NOM.SG]
mənə d’əŋguj-mə, d’əŋguj-mə təs’əđə talan̄kəə
I[NOM.SG] trap-NOM.SG.1SG trap-NOM.SG.1SG totally fortunate
‘I have a very good trap, my trap is lucky’.

Lexical calques

- In Standard Russian *большой* ‘big’ in the sense of ‘powerful’ is rather used with a closed set of lexemes.

(56) Он был... шаман **БОЛЬШОЙ**, Но чтобы стать еще **БОЛЬШИМ** шаманом, он решил обтянуть свой бубен человеческой кожей (ChND)

(57) *Ани?ə* *ηə?* *i-s'a koni-niākə-nə tahariābə*
big [NomSg] shaman [NomSg] be-Inf go-Sup-1Sg now
ηanasan-ə *kuhuə-təni* *hen'd'ir-mə*
man-EP [Gen.Sg] skin.of.a.man-LocSg drum-NomSg.1Sg
t'əηəði-tə-biāmbi-m
cover.with-IPfv-Renarr-1Sg.s

‘In order to become a **powerful** shaman I need to cover my drum with a skin of a man’.

Results

- An attempt to explain some frequent features of NganRus appealing to the Nganasan language data.
- Is there any evidence in favour of post-pidgin continuum?

Discussion

- Gender disagreement: drastic change from Govorka to Russian or continuum?

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Discussion

- Striking features of Govorka (see [Urmanchieva 2010, Stern 2012]) are attested only in the speech of MDN and TKF. E.g. postpositions:

(58) **Лес край** дошел (TKF)

(59) Гагар-то **земля место** не ходит (MDN)

NB THL's future tense & attributive construction:

(60) Попробовать буду (THL)

(61) Сделайте вот эти... Гуси крылья (THL)

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