

LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR WORLD

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LANGUAGE CONTACT OR LANGUAGE ATTRITION: INSTRUMENTAL IN KAMAS

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In this paper, we compare the use of the instrumental/comitative marker *-z'i?/-se?* in Kamas (Southern Samoyedic, extinct in 1989) across two corpora, the Donner's collection as published in [Joki 1944], and the recordings of Klavdiya Plotnikova being transcribed in the ongoing INEL project [INEL].

Kai Donner worked with Kamas speakers in 1912 and 1914; already at that time only some people over 45 spoke the language well. His posthumously edited Kamas materials [Joki 1944] include a dictionary, 14 coherent texts and two lists of riddles, as well as a grammar sketch which lists *-se?* as the instrumental case suffix (hereafter “INS”). It states the suffix to have instrumental and comitative functions [Joki 1944: 135]. (See [Künnap 1971] for discussion on the origin of this suffix.)

The last Kamas speaker Klavdiya Plotnikova, discovered during a fieldtrip of A. Matveyev in 1963, by that time had not spoken her language for some 20 years. However, she still remembered the language to some extent, and in the subsequent years reactivated its use while working with linguists. She has been recorded on tape by several researchers in 1964–1970. So far, over 20 recordings have been transcribed and translated into English, totalling ca. 5h30. Plotnikova's Kamas, strongly influenced by Russian, exhibits high levels of attrition, with drastically reduced grammar and lexicon [Klooster 2015]. It is thus expected for the uses of the INS to align more with Russian patterns, although as we show it is not always exactly the case.

The Donner's subcorpus is in general smaller (ca. 600 sentences, 2 500 words) and contains 32 occurrences of INS. Most of them are divided almost equally between typical comitative and instrumental uses. Comitative in subject position is encountered with predicates of motion, the verb ‘live’, and some actions like ‘eat’, triggering either singular or plural agreement on the verb. There are also 2 instances of object comitative, with verbs of action (‘kill’) and motion (‘lift’). Instrumental-like uses include instrument proper (“shoot with an arrow”), body part as instrument (“press with one's foot”), means (“smear sth. with blood”) and material (“make a tent with moose's skin”). One instance marks a causal relation (“because of (eating) bread”). Note that the latter two types (material and cause) are not characteristic of Russian instrumental or comitative. Two occurrences with the verb ‘put’ seem to reflect argument marking specific for this verb, which has parallels in Selkup (“put bark into fire”, lit. “put fire with bark”). Another 3 cases can be classified as manner adjuncts (“go/do smth. the good way”, lit. “with good”; Rus. “по-хорошему”).

Plotnikova's subcorpus contains, as of now, ca. 22 500 words, and over 230 occurrences of INS marker. More varied functions can be found here than in Donner's collection. Naturally, we cannot rule out the possibility that some functions of the marker were not documented by Donner. Otherwise the default explanation for “new” functions of the INS would be the influence of corresponding Russian markers, both bare instrumental and comitative (“с + Instr.”). For instance, predicative uses with the verbs ‘be’, ‘turn into’ follow Russian instrumental (“be a queen”, “turn into a wolf”), while attributive and depictive uses (“soup with meat”, “they came with a gun”) follow Russian comitative.

However, exact Russian parallels cannot always be found. One such case is an affected body part of the Patient (“catch sb. by the hand”, Rus. “схватить за руку”). In both Northern [Kuznecova et al. 1980] and Central Selkup [SSLC], closely related Southern Samoyedic, this function is ex-

pressed by prolativ. Another case is means of transport (e.g. “ride on horseback”, “go on a boat”), quite prominent in Plotnikova’s subcorpus. In Donner’s corpus in such contexts an adnominal attributive construction is used (“a white-horsed hero comes”), although Donner’s dictionary cites one example with INS (“cross sth. on horseback”) [Joki 1944: 9]. Bare instrumental can also take this function in Selkup ([Kuznecova et al. 1980: 175; Kuznecova et al. 1993: 25]), as well as in Turkic Khakas [Baskakov 1975: 76], with some dialects of which Kamas speakers had active contacts. Finally, marking the language as in “speak in my language” with bare instrumental is also well attested in Khakas, while peripheral in modern Russian.

Several concurrent explanations can be suggested, depending on the particular case. One possibility is a generalization of the instrumental function as part of the language attrition process, whereby a single marker takes over related functions. Another one would be the influence of neighbouring languages.

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LEXICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE FORMER PRESENCE OF UNANGAM TUNUU IN CURRENTLY ALUTIIQ AREAS

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Unangam Tunuu (UT, aka Aleut) is member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family; its extreme divergence was long thought to be a result of its assumed isolation from other languages, the length of time since the branches of the family split, and the effects of prehistoric contact with an unknown substrate language (Bergsland 1986, Krauss 1990, Fortescue et al. 2012). Recent work in archaeology and genetics, however, does not support these assumptions: there appears to have been long-term cultural contact with both neighboring Eskimo and non-Eskimo groups, with several periods of more intense contact, particularly around the historic boundary of the eastern Unanga \hat{x} and Alutiiq peoples. The most recent period, from about 1000 BP, involved the entire Pacific Coast area and may have involved some degree of population replacement (Smith et al., 2009). The nature of this contact is still unclear: Maschner (2016) argues for a former affinity between the cultures of the Aleutian Islands and Kodiak, and the recent arrival of Alutiiq culture on Kodiak, which displaced an indigenous population closely related to the Unangan. Steffian et al. (2016) argue for long-term continuity on Kodiak and thus several thousand years of indigenous Alutiiq culture, recent external influences from the north, and extensive trade and warfare with neighboring cultures, including the Unangan.

A number of linguistic studies have noted UT features shared with neighboring languages, including neighboring Eskimo (esp. Alutiiq) languages (Bergsland 1986, 1994, mostly regarding lexical borrowings) and Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit (AET) languages (Leer 1991, Fortescue 1998, 2002, etc., Berge 2016, mostly with reference to grammatical features), without proposing a specific period or mechanism of contact. In this paper, I focus on the lexical evidence of contact, in particular on borrowings between UT and Alutiiq, Dena'ina, and Eyak. The pattern of borrowing is unequal: more than two thirds of the identified borrowings between UT and Alutiiq flow from the former into the latter (e.g. UT *chagi-x̂* 'halibut' > Alu *sagiq* 'halibut; UT $-x̂$ 'absolutive case, citation form'). Kari (1989, 2013) identifies a number of Dena'ina words of Alutiiq origin (Alu *sak'itaq* 'common murre' > D *shangideq* common murre (Kari 1989: 563). A closer inspection reveals that most are originally from UT: UT *sakita-x̂* 'common murre' > Alu *sak'itaq* (Leer 1978) > D *shangideq*. Likewise, UT place names are found in Alutiiq areas but not vice versa, including, most famously, the Trinity Islands south of Kodiak: Tugidak Island, (UT *tugida-x̂* 'moon, month'). These have been assumed to have been adopted when Unangan were brought to Kodiak by the Russians. However, there appear to be far more Unanga \hat{x} -origin names. Some may have been coined after a UT word was borrowed, as in *Alimarsaq* from Alu *alima(q)* 'dog salmon,' < UT *alihma-x̂* 'dog salmon; however, others have no known Alutiiq etymology, but they correspond exactly to a UT source, as in *Sanruk* 'Ame Bay' cf. UT *sangū-x̂* 'stomach, belly.' Evidence of UT place names are found as far as Prince William Sound.

I show that borrowings between UT and Alutiiq supports archaeological findings suggesting the former presence of UT in contemporary Alutiiq-speaking areas. I suggest that UT was found on the northern Pacific Coast as far east as Prince William Sound until as late as 800 BP, when the arrival of the Alutiit resulted in the replacement of UT on Kodiak, a westward wave of UT along the Aleutian Islands, (Woodbury 1984, Berge 2010). I further suggest that the presence of the Unangan on the eastern Pacific Coast placed them in direct contact with non-Eskimo groups, a precondition for establishing that the presence of AET-like grammatical features in UT are due to language contact (cf. Thomason 2001).

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NINILCHIK RUSSIAN IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF ALASKAN RUSSIAN¹

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Ninilchik Russian is a unique variety of the Russian language. We believe it is a remnant of Alaskan Russian – a language that emerged at the end of the 18th century as a result of Russian colonial presence in Alaska and served as a means of communication in Russian America until the end of the Russian period in 1867. By that time Alaskan Russian became the native language for the people of mixed Russian/Native origin (Creoles) residing in various parts of Alaska. As a result, some varieties of Alaskan Russian kept developing and serving as a means of communication, creating and maintaining cultural identity of local communities long after the “Russian period”. Ninilchik was one such place and, due to many factors combined, became a major location where this linguistic variety survived till the beginning of this century.

It is obvious that in Russian colonial times some forms of Russian were spoken in every place where Russian presence was noticeable. What is not obvious and demands special research is proving that at the end of 18th-beginning of 19th century there existed a *lingua franca* which emerged as a result of contact between Russian and the indigenous languages of Alaska. We believe that this *lingua franca* was a specific variety of the Russian language of that time. At the beginning of the 21st century, we can only glimpse that variety by the “iceberg tip” in the form spoken by representatives of the Ninilchik community. This situation is like what archaeologists face when they reconstruct a culture from the presently available remnants. Attribution in time plays a crucial role in such reconstruction. Therefore, one of the first steps in this work is building a timeline determining the stages/varieties of Alaskan (Ninilchik) Russian. This is represented in Table 1.

Table 1

Timeline for changes in Alaskan Russian (AR) and Ninilchik Russian (NR)

<i>Beginning from:</i>	<i>Stage / variety</i>	<i>Processes</i>
Mid 18 th century	Common AR	Aleut-Russian bilingualism
Late 18 th century	Alutiiq-influenced variety of AR	Alutiiq-Russian bilingualism
1840s	Established NR	Russian monolingualism
1920s	Endangered NR	Russian-English bilingualism
WWII	Obsolescent NR	Dominance of English, decay of NR

In this paper we provide data from our 2017 fieldwork regarding two of the abovementioned processes: *Alutiiq-Russian bilingualism* and Russian *monolingualism*.

Contacts between the Alutiiq population around the Kenai peninsula and the Russian-speaking Ninilchik residents continued up to the 20-th century; in such communities as *Nanwalek* and *Port Graham* Russian was spoken until recently. As always in the case of sparsely populated areas, the role of individuals and specific circumstances would have crucial impact on the linguistic choices in the community. We explored such individual case in *Nanwalek*.

In exploring the *Russian monolingual* stage of Alaskan Russian we pay attention to the fact that the so-called “Russian” population of Russian America represented many regional, social, and eth-

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nic groups, which influenced the development of Alaskan Russian, its resulting form, and its significant variation among families and individuals.

Second, less discussed, but probably even more important fact is that Alaskan Russian has always existed as an oral language. For a number of years crucial to its development Ninilchik Russian did not experience any influences of any kind from written languages: it was a monolingual community where the overwhelming majority was illiterate. Thus, Ninilchik Russian syntax had no interference from the syntax of a written language.

WHAT'S IN A LINGUISTIC MESH?

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The term ‘mesh’ was introduced in Fortescue (1998) specifically in relation to circumpolar languages with their roots in the Siberian Mesolithic. It was used to characterize situations where a number of languages in a region share an array of lexical, morphological and typological features but where straightforward reconstruction of a common source is beyond the reach of standard historical linguistic methods. This covered everything from recognized Sprachbunds of unrelated languages to situations where a suspected early communality, a shared genetic core, is obscured by physical dispersal and successive layers of borrowing, structural as well as lexical. Is the term just a cover-up for ignorance of actual deep relations, genetic or otherwise? A detailed look at the core of the proposed Uralo-Siberian mesh, which correlates Proto-Samoyedic, Proto-Yukagir and Proto-Eskimo, will show that there is potential in the concept for much more than that. It can for example help coordinate linguistic data with the findings of archaeology and human genetics in determining the most likely scenario for population movements and contacts within a specific region in the distant past. Different historical levels of mesh for the same general region may be distinguished, with differing potential for borrowing from neighbouring languages. The relative importance of lexical, morphological, and typological features for partial reconstructions of deep relationships will be discussed, as will the correlation of time depth and relative speed of change.

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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND DEVELOPMENT IN ARCTIC CANADA AND GREENLAND (1) AND (2)

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In the first part of this colloquium I shall discuss the prehistorical source of the Eskimo-Aleut languages, focusing on the Inuit branch of the family. This will cover a bird's-eye view of what is known of the earliest movements of speakers of the proto-language out of Siberia and of subsequent migrations within North America – involving minimal contact with neighbouring language families – that have resulted in the spread of dialects we see today. I shall then sketch the emergence of some of the most characteristic traits of these languages, in particular their ergativity and the recursivity of their highly logical derivational morphology (traits not usually associated with 'polysynthetic' languages), but also their complex morphophonemic behaviour.

In the second part I shall briefly discuss the present situation of the Inuit dialects of Canada and Greenland: their geographical and economic settings, the viability of their survival, the numbers of speakers, their different orthographies and written productions, the prevalence of bilingualism and diglossia in their contact with colonial languages, as well as something of the history of their description. Neologisms and problems of defining the lexicon in these highly polysynthetic languages will be focussed on. A short sample text in Polar Eskimo (Inuktun) will be analysed as typifying the common structure behind all the dialects concerned.

DIFFERENCES IN PROCESS OF LANGUAGE CHANGE IN WRITTEN AND SPOKEN FORMS OF THE KET LANGUAGE: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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Ket is an endangered language spoken in Central Siberia [Vajda 2004]. Nowadays there are no more than 30 fluent speakers due to the process of language shift to dominating Russian language. In the same time Ket experiences contact-induced language change in both spoken and writing forms. The degree of changes and code-switching in spoken language varies for different native speakers [Galiyamina 2016], while the written form shows the most dramatic impact.

Our corpora consist of more than 30 oral texts collected during Ket expedition and about 30 written texts. All texts have morphological glosses and some of them have syntactic ones.

Ket writing tradition is rather young. Firstly, the Ket alphabet was created in the beginning of XX century. But in 1930s it was prohibited by the Soviet government. The new alphabet appeared only at the end of the century. However, at this time young people and children could not speak Ket anymore (it was not spoken at home on everyday basis, therefore transfer of language from one generation to another was cut) while adult speakers did not see the need for writing or reading.

Thereby, we can say that all Ket written texts were created in an unnatural communicative situation. The vast majority of them are from school textbooks which were written specially for learning goals (see for example [Nikolaeva 2000]). These texts were composed or translated from Russian by native speakers (with no steady literacy tradition) and show such a great influence of Russian syntax and sometimes morphology that was not registered in the spoken form of language.

For example, in (1) we can see the SVO word order which is basic for Russian language, but for Ket it would be SOV [Grishina 2005, Krjukova 2012]. The latter is quite solid in the spoken form.

- (1) *am daketilbet Biiltđiŋa knigaŋ*
mother gave to Biilt book
'Mother gave Biilt a book' [Nikolaeva 2000].

In written texts we can notice other processes connected with calques of Russian morphological and syntactic constructions. See (2) below where the author of Ket written text prefers Russian possessive construction to Ket one.

- (2) a. *miškini otmetka-ŋ* [Nikolaeva 2000]
Michael.POSS mark-PL

instead of

- b. *miška-da otmetka-ŋ*
Michael-POSS mark-PL

In the first example the Russian possessive form is used.

In our talk we will show this process in written language in comparison with spoken one and will discuss the concept of language standard in the situation of language shift and code-mixing in consideration of differences between spoken and written language, texts and corpora.

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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND SHIFT IN THE RUSSIAN-EURASIAN CONTACT ZONE

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Existing evidence indicates that the structures of multiple indigenous languages in Eurasia are changing due to contact with Russian (Anderson 2017; Grenoble *in progress*; Malchukov 2003), regardless of the typological structure or genealogical affiliation.

In this talk I present an investigation of the sociolinguistic dynamics of language change and loss in Eurasia and a study of the linguistic processes and effects of this shift and loss. In order to understand the dynamics of contact-induced change and shift, we must consider a nexus of linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors that drive language change and shift, and Eurasia provides a useful testing ground. Situating the spread of a single donor language, Russian, across a wide group of typologically and genealogically distinct languages within a framework of language ecologies enables us to examine similarities and differences in linguistic ecologies at macro- and micro-levels. These languages have in common a partially shared history in terms of contact with Russian, by virtue of being part of the Russian (and Soviet) empires, although these histories differ in their particulars. Many of them are in contact with languages other than Russian, but at present shift is primarily unidirectional to Russian.

At a macro-level, they have been subject to similar language and education policies, and similar patterns of colonization; while at a micro-level, their language ecologies differ in a great many ways. This provides fertile ground for investigating both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors involved in shift, and in the rate of shift and attrition. One contested claim is the role of linguistic constraints, and another the position of social factors: Thomason & Kaufman (1988:35) that “it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact.” At the same time, Matras (2007: 34) argues that “borrowing is motivated by cognitive pressure on the speaker to reduce the mental processing load by allowing the structural manifestation of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge” (see also Elšík & Matras 2006; Heine & Kuteva 2005; Lucas 2012; Matras 1998).

In this talk I provide a road map for investigating these claims, and a preliminary analysis of three linguistic parameters: word order, case usage, and subordination strategies in contact situations with Russian, drawing on my own field data on Evenki (Tungusic, head-final) and supplemented by other published data. These three parameters were chosen for the focus of investigation because they are interconnected. Word order is known to interact with other morphosyntactic features, including the case marking system. There is a (non-perfect) correlation between the constituent order flexibility and the presence of the case marking system in a language, such that languages with more flexible constituent order also tend to use morphological case marking to signal grammatical function assignment, suggesting a complexity trade-off between constituent order flexibility and case marking (Sinnemäki 2014). Mirroring the typological patterns, a number of language processing and artificial language learning studies found that language learners (and users) are biased against excessive redundancy of grammatical encoding—more case marking is produced (and therefore more production effort) only when it carries the benefit to reduce uncertainty of the intended message, suggesting the observed typological correlation between constituent order and case marking is at least partly the output of a learning process that is sensitive to the trade-off between processing effort and communication success (Fedzechkina et al. 2016, 2012; Kurumada & Jaeger 2015).

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AUDITIVE IN SAMOYEDIC AND YUKAGHIR: A RELICT OF ANCIENT CONTACTS?¹

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Samoyedic languages, especially North Samoyedic, are known for having a dedicated form denoting non-visual perception – most often aural, but tactile and even endophoric as well. A typical example from Tundra Nenets is cited below:

- (1) *ješa-*” *šepa-nda* *muña* *šejra-won-do*’.
metal-PL pocket-GEN.3SG inside ring-AUD-3PL
‘The chinking of money is heard in his pocket’ (Tereschenko 1965: 543, glossing and English translation after Nikolaeva 2014: 113).

In Selkup, Auditive is attested very scarcely, and only in Northern (Taz) dialect. On the other hand, North Samoyedic languages – Nenets, Enets and Nganasan – use Auditive in full measure, and also share some peculiarities of its use, for instance a very frequent use of this form with the verb ‘say’ introducing a quotation, cf. an example from Forest Enets (Siegl 2013: 113):

- (2) *alki-je* *čiki rođa-je* *ma-mnu-đa: mod’in, ma-ńuw,*
enormous-PEJ this Russian-PEJ say-AUD-3SG IDU say-ASS.3SG
Norilškij túrma-xađ šimnič
Norilsk prison-ABL.SG run.IDU.PST
‘The large one, the Russian said: “we two”, he said “fled from the camp in Norilsk”.’

In fact, uses like that shown in (2) clearly make up the overwhelming majority of all uses of the Auditive in texts; for Nenets and Nganasan the predominance of the verb of saying over other verbs in Auditive can be easily seen in texts, and Khanina & Shluinsky (mscr.) note that in Tundra Enets, the only three attested natural examples of Auditive are with the verb *man-* ‘say’.

In Gusev (in print) it was argued that the Auditive in Samoyedic may go back to the constructions consisting of a verbal noun and a verb ‘be heard’, something like ‘his coming is heard’; later the verb of sound was dropped, and the verbal noun took over the meaning of the whole construction. The arguments supporting this hypothesis are (very briefly) that (a) the auditive forms still have nominal morphology; (b) at least in Enets and Nganasan they can be formally considered as a plural form of the verbal noun; (c) at least in Nganasan the construction that may be the source of the Auditive forms still exists:

- (3) *Ńi-gə-tj-đə* *nənsu-?* *Tahariaa buə-mu-lai-t’ü* *ŋanuə sojbu-tu-?*
NEG-ITER-PRAES-3SG.R stand.up-CN now speak-VN.IMPF-LIM-3SG really be.heard-PRS-3PL.S
‘He never gets up. One can only hear him speaking’ (TKF_990812_EvilSpirit_flkd: 350–351²).

On the other hand, in Yukaghir, there exists a construction that involves an instrumental form of the verbal noun followed by the verb *medu:-* ‘be heard, perceivable’ (Maslova 2003: 409–411); it is claimed that this pattern is only possible with this verb. It denotes events perceived most often by ear, but also by other means of perception (ibid.).

¹ Research underlying this study was supported by Russian Science Foundation grant #17-18-01649.

² An example from the from the Nganasan Spoken Language Corpus <https://corpora.uni-hamburg.de/hzsk/de/islandora/object/spoken-corpus:nslc-0.1>.

(4) *mit-in ol'lōdoj čomōd'e jow'le-lek kel-le mede-j-l*
 I-DAT very be.large-ATTR disease-PRED come-ANR:INSTR be.heard-PFV-SF
 'I feel a terrible disease coming (of the shaman's extra-sensory perception).'

(5) *taŋ parā-ge juku+joŋžā mart'luø epie-gi tāt modo-lle*
 that time-LOC small-goose daughter grand.mother-POSS CA sit-SS:PFV
juø-t mol-le medi-ś [...]
 see-SS:IPFV say-ANR:INSTR be.heard-PFV:INTR:3SG
 'At that time, the grandmother of small-goose's daughter, after sitting in this way for a while, looked around and said (lit. was heard to say): [...]

In a series of papers, Ilyina (2009, 2010, 2013) demonstrated some similarities between the Auditive in Yukaghir and Selkup. However, North Samoyedic languages show an even more striking parallelism – maybe just because Auditive in them is attested incomparably better. Besides the mere fact that in Yukaghir and North Samoyedic there exists a dedicated construction for non-visual perception, they share the peculiar use of this construction with the verb introducing the quotation (cf. ex. 2 and 5). For Yukaghir, the high frequency of the verb of saying compared to other verbs in this constructions is also clearly seen in texts (see e.g. Nikolaeva 1997).

If the Auditive in Samoyedic really goes back to the combinations of a verbal noun with the verb 'be heard', the resemblance between Samoyedic and Yukaghir becomes almost complete.

There remain at least two important differences: while in Yukaghir the Auditive construction involves the instrumental form of the verbal noun and allows (though not obligatorily) the expression of the subject of perception in Dative (literally "is heard to me"), in Samoyedic the noun is in Nominative, and the subject of perception cannot be expressed within the same clause.

In the last centuries, the Samoyedic and Yukaghir languages have been divided by large areas. I am unaware of similar constructions or forms in neighbouring languages. However, the fact that in two separate language groups there exist constructions that are typologically quite rare and moreover that these constructions share some non-trivial common traits seems to be worth attention and may be a trace of some very ancient contacts.

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ALIGNMENT SHIFT IN CHUKOTKAN: THE CASE AGAINST CONTACT-DRIVEN CHANGE

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The Chukotkan branch of the Chukotko-Kamchatkan (CK) family displays a typologically unusual kind of ergative alignment, with unambiguously ergative case marking on nouns but an “ergative split” in the verbal template (Spencer 1996). Verbs include both prefixation and suffixation of core arguments: prefixes agree with the subject (a nominative pattern), while suffixes encode the object for transitives and the subject for intransitives (an absolutive pattern).

(1) Chukchi case marking & agreement (ergative patterns in bold)

a. <i>gəm</i> <i>tə-wiri-g^ʔek</i> 1sg.ABS 1SG-descend-1SG ‘I descended’	b. <i>gəm-nan</i> <i>turi</i> <i>tə-l^ʔu-tək</i> I-ERG you.ABS 1sg-see-2pl ‘I saw you’	(Comrie 1979)
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The reconstructions of Proto-CK provided by Fortescue (1997, 2003) support a scenario in which ergative case marking was an innovation in the Chukotkan branch, rather than a retention from Proto-CK (the only remaining member of the Kamchatkan family, Itelmen, is accusative). The two most common pathways by which an accusative to ergative alignment shift is known to progress are: (i) reanalysis of a passive construction as active, with oblique marking on the demoted agent reanalyzed as ergative; and (ii) reanalysis of a possessive predicate, where the possessor (usually marked as genitive or dative) is reanalyzed as ergative (Anderson 1977).

Neither of these pathways is entirely sufficient to explain the patterns in Chukotkan. Languages of type (i) usually display ergative-instrumental syncretism, which is indeed the case for Chukotkan, yet there is no evidence of a simple passive clause that was reanalyzed. On the basis of these facts, Fortescue (1997) proposes that ergative case developed via the possessive route due to substrate effects from Yupik, where ergativity also arose via this pathway.

However, while a possessive-based reanalysis may have plausibly occurred in Chukotkan, I argue that alignment shift due to Yupik substrate effects is implausible based on the other contact-driven changes in both language families and the nature of this contact. Interaction between Chukotkan and Yupik speakers was sporadic and mostly centered on trade, so the diffusion of Yupik-based changes at the level of deep grammatical structure would have been very difficult. It is also suspect that there are no other significant Yupik substrate effects on Chukotkan morphosyntax. In fact, the heavy borrowing of Chukchi conjunctions and adverbial markers into Yupik (de Reuse 1994) points to the long-term maintenance of Yupik until well after Chukotkan diverged into its daughter languages, rather than early linguistic shift.

Instead, the complete syncretism between instrumental and ergative case-marking in Chukotkan likely points to the reanalysis of some type of passive during the development of this system, possibly in addition to the possessive route explored by Fortescue (1997). One potential source of such a reanalysis is the passive nominal participial *-jo*, where the instrumental case is still used to mark the agent of a transitive participle (Dunn 1994):

(2) <i>əməlʔo-rə-k</i> [rətəjat-jo-more] qənver mət-ekven-mək all-PL-INST forget-PART-1pl.ABS finally 1pl-set.off-1pl.PERF ‘We-the-forgotten-by-everyone finally set off’ [Chukchi]	(Skorik 1961: 383)
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Given the resemblance between the 1pl absolutive pronoun *-more* (underlyingly *-muri*) and the 1pl verbal agreement suffix (also *-muri*), I propose the following reanalysis.

(3) forgot.1PL.ABS everyone.INS \emptyset (we.ABS) > forgot.1PL.AGR \emptyset (we.ABS) everyone.ERG
 ‘we-the-forgotten by everyone’ > ‘Everyone forgot us’

In (3), the participle and the zero-marked object have been reanalyzed as a complete active transitive clause (this is possible because the Chukotkan languages allow pro-drop).

Thus, the rise of ergative case in Chukotkan may be entirely due to internal factors, and it is not necessary to resort to an explanation based on contact, which is too often invoked in cases where there is minimal historical and linguistic evidence.

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FINGLISH IN VIRTUAL COMMUNICATION: AN ATTEMPT OF A PRE-PIDGIN PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

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With globalisation and fast-changing world, language is among other things that undergo alterations both internally and externally. We now observe many languages appear in various geographic areas, changing linguistic landscape and causing mixture of languages. Even few years ago it was almost unthinkable to predict that on the territory of a certain state these languages might appear, might spread and that local population start to be interested in learning such languages.

English language being a language of globalisation (and this status of English is accepted in many cases by default) is also exposed to changes perhaps to a larger extent than some other languages. Because of a mixture of a certain European language (alongside with other local national languages) there occur pre-pidgin forms with English being a lexifier language.

The objective of the research under question was Finnish English, Finglish. As far as the terminology is concerned, we regard Finglish as a pre-pidgin form. According to J. Siegel, pre-pidgin (also called “jargon”) emerge when people first develop their own individual ways of communicating often by using words and phrases they have learned from other languages (most often from the lexifier) that they think others might be familiar with (Siegel 1999: 11).

With all fairness, linguists study two pre-pidgin forms of Finglish. The first version of Finglish was a pre-pidgin form of the first immigrants from Finland to the USA, mostly to the state of Florida. Randall (Randall 2004) has described thoroughly all the semantic and lexical feature of the first Finglish. This pre-pidgin form is regarded as an obsolete, it was not subjected to further pidginization or creolization as children of the Finnish immigrants regarded English as their mother tongue.

But considering the fact of the growing number of the world Englishes mentioned above, we came up with an idea that there should be the pre-pidgin form of Finglish that speakers somehow use nowadays tentatively in virtual communication. With this regard, we considered it appropriate to select the material for the study a social network Twitter with “Finglish” as a hash tag. To give a certain estimate to the pragmatic side of it we also carried out a contextual analysis of all the tweets with the respective hash tag. The working hypothesis we put forward was as follows: being widespread within school education in Finland and being taught at quite a good level English language should form a mixture with Finnish language predominately at lexical level. Mostly young people should be using Finglish in Internet. The research interest has been to specify the connotation, i.e. pragmatic aspect of it that micro context of a tweet post might reveal. Overall, we have analysed 398 tweet inscriptions dated from 2009 until 2017.

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TUNGUSIC LANGUAGES OF SAKHALIN: CURRENT LINGUISTIC SITUATION AND LANGUAGE FEATURES INDUCED BY CONTACTS¹

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In the paper I am going to present fresh results of the fieldwork done in Uilta, Evenki and Nanai local communities of Sakhalin in the summer 2017². The main objectives of the fieldwork were a survey of the current linguistic situation in the communities and the documentation of the local Uilta, Evenki and Nanai dialects. We worked in two towns (Okha and Poronaisk) and two villages (Val and Viakhtu) dispersed over the territory of the island. They all are multiethnic and multilingual. Beside the three Tungusic languages, the fourth Sakhalin autochthonous language Nivkh is spoken in them, so the panorama of linguistic contacts in the surveyed settlements is mostly formed by the five languages: Nivkh, Uilta, Evenki, Nanai and Russian. Linguistic situation in the communities will be described basing on the data received with the help of a questionnaire containing 41 points, which provide sociological information on the respondent (age, sex, education level, profession, occupation), his/her linguistic biography – place of birth, places of residence, family language(s) in the childhood, language(s) of school in the classes and outside classes, etc.), mother tongue, language(s) used in various communicative situations, self-evaluation of the competence in all the languages spoken or just understood, knowledge of folklore, attitudes towards the ethnic language, ethnic language classes in the village school and ethnic language preservation. The questionnaire was filled by 109 respondents.

In the surveyed Uilta, Evenki and Nanai communities both in the towns and in the villages Russian is the main means of communication in all the domains including family life. The youngest Uilta speaker is over sixty (there are four of them on Sakhalin, the fifth speaker living since 2016 in Central Russia); there is a handful of passive speakers and rememberers as well. The youngest Evenki speaker is over 65 (there appear to be only two almost fluent Evenki speakers and a handful of semi-speakers, passive speakers and rememberers on the island). As for Nanai, it seems to lack active speakers on Sakhalin, only some semi-speakers or rememberers.

The collected linguistic data allows tracing some contact induced features in the Sakhalin Tungusic languages, first of all lexical borrowings. In the paper examples will be given and discussed.

Finally, some ideas of local activists aiming at preserving and/or revitalizing their local varieties of the ancestral languages will be discussed. I'll touch upon the remarkable phenomena, mentioned in publications on language shift (see e.g. Dorian 1982; Smolicz 1992, etc.), of “returning to linguistic roots” of elderly people who have not used their mother tongue since their childhood, but started developing their ancestral language competence and working at language preservation having acknowledged themselves last speakers of the language.

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² The fieldwork was done in the framework of the project “Information system for description of minority languages of the world. Development of descriptions for endangered Altaic and Uralic languages of Russia”, being realized at the Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, and supported from the Russian Science Foundation, grant 15-18-00044.

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LANGUAGES OF TAJMYR IN CONTACT: THE 20TH CENTURY¹

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The Tajmyr peninsula in the very north of central Siberia is home to five indigenous languages: three northern Samoyedic (Tundra Nenets, Enets, and Nganasan), one Turkic (Dolgan), and one Tungusic (Evenki). Tundra Nenets, spoken today by ca. 1800 individuals from ca. 3000 ethnic Tundra Nenets of Tajmyr, is represented by a specific Tajmyrian dialect. Enets has two dialects, Forest and Tundra, which are quite similar linguistically, but whose speakers constitute two separate language communities and count themselves distinct ethnic groups, so for purposes of a sociolinguistic description, they are kept apart (each Enets variety is spoken by ca. 12 individuals from the corresponding ethnic group, each comprising ca. 90 people). The most western Dolgan dialects spoken in the central Tajmyr are quite different from the most eastern Dolgan dialects spoken in the northern Yakutia; the latter are in their turn almost identical to Yakut, but there is no sharp boundary in this dialect chain (Tajmyrian Dolgans number ca. 5400, from whom ca. 800 speak Dolgan). Nganasan is spoken today by ca. 50 individuals from ca. 700 ethnic Nganasans; Nganasan has two close varieties, western (Avam) and eastern (Vadej). Evenki is spoken by less than 10 individuals from ca. 270 Evenkis at the very south of Tajmyr; this area is not included into the present study. From the 19th century on, Russian has also been present in the area, and since the 1960s a language shift is ongoing, resulting in moribund status of Enets, Nganasan, and Tajmyrian Evenki, and seriously endangering Tajmyrian Tundra Nenets and Dolgan. Moreover, today Russian has replaced all local *lingua francas*, and traditional multilingualism patterns have all been lost.

The central question of this paper is to what extent all these languages were used outside their ethnic communities before the omnipresence of Russian, and if so, which the patterns of the multilingualism were. Who could speak several languages? With whom and when was each language actually used? How did these multilingual practices change during the 20th century? (Khanina & Meyerhoff, Subm) have reconstructed patterns of Tajmyrian multilingualism for the period 1850s-1930s based on traditional Enets narratives recorded in the 1930s, but little is known on what happened next, and how exactly the colorful picture of many languages has been replaced by Russian only.

To answer these questions, I conducted 35 extended semi-structured interviews in different locations of Tajmyr in summer 2017; all interviewees were born before the 1970s, and most of them – before the 1960s, with some individuals born in the 1920s-1930s. These interviews aimed to reconstruct biographies of the respondents' older relatives (parents, grandparents, and their siblings) with particular attention to their linguistic repertoires, their typical interlocutors in each language, and migrations within Tajmyr. As a result, a data bank of individual histories for more than 100 individuals born in the 1900s-1940s has been created, with details for many individuals cross-confirmed from several sources (many of the respondents were related, which is typical for small ethnic groups).

The processing of the data bank has just started, and this paper is devoted to the first generalizations that emerge from the data. Throughout the 20th century, there were several contact zones around Tajmyr, most of which have disappeared by now. From west to east, it is (1) the Forest Enets – Tundra Nenets contact zone on the banks of the Yenisey river, around modern settlements of Potapovo and Tukhard, (2) the Tundra Enets – Tundra Nenets – Nganasan contact zone on the eastern bank of the lower Yenisey, around the modern settlement of Vorontsovo, (3) the Tundra

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Enets – Nganasan contact zone between the rivers Yenisey, Pjasina, and even Dudypta, whose inhabitants were settled in the 1960-1970s to the villages of Ustj-Avam and Volochanka, further east of their traditional lands, (4) the Nganasan – Dolgan contact zone that started from the Dudypta river in the west and extended till the Khatanga river in the east. For each contact zone, patterns of indigenous multilingualism are reconstructed. E.g. in contact zones (1) and (3), almost identical patterns of indigenous bilingualism could be observed: (a) Forest Enets married into Tundra Nenets families in the north-west of (1), (b) Tundra Nenets married into Forest Enets families in the south-east of (1), (c) Tundra Enets married into Nganasan families in (3). In all cases, the language of the ethnic group dominant in the area was the language of the family and the language used in communication with children. At the same time, the native language of the person who married into the area was actively used as a means of communication with adults of the same ethnic origin, who were usually quite numerous in the area. Besides, family visits to the place of birth of the in-married spouse were also common, and then his/her native language was also actively used by adults. Importantly, cases (a) and (c) featured both men and women who married into areas where a different ethnic group was more numerous. The patterns of language use in (2) were more complicated due to more languages involved, and the patterns of language use in (4) were characterized by virtual lack of mixed households, though the basic knowledge of the language of their close neighbors was common both for the Dolgans and the Nganasans.

The paper will present these and some other results of the study with more details and illustrative maps, and will trace perspectives for spotting recent contact-induced language change.

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NON-STANDARD EXPRESSION OF SPATIAL SEMANTICS IN THE CONTACT INFLUENCED RUSSIAN SPEECH OF RUSSIAN FAR EAST AND NORTHERN SIBERIA¹

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It was noticed that the Russian Speech of bilinguals of Russian Far East and Northern Siberia has special features, which are estimated as mistakes by Standard Russian speakers. However, this system is not a distorted Russian but rather a new variety of the language. Stoynova and Shluinskiy (2010) mention some of these “peculiarities” in the Russian Speech of Forest Enets speakers. Nevertheless, this topic is still not elaborated enough.

In this paper we concentrate on non-standard expression of spatial semantics, in particular, in prepositional phrases. The main feature in this domain is that in most cases the preposition can be omitted.

- (1) *vot, kurtk'e il'i v rubashk'e zharko*
well jacket.LOC or in shirt.LOC hot
'Well, it is hot in the jacket or in the shirt' (Tundra Enets)

This peculiarity was mentioned for some varieties of Russian Speech of bilinguals. Cf. Daniel & Dobrushina (2013) on Daghestanian Russian, Shagal (2016: 370 ff.) on Erzya Russian. In both papers this feature is interpreted as a case of morphosyntactic interference, however its nature is in fact unclear.

In order to investigate the problem more precisely we conducted a corpus-based study. The data source was The annotated corpus of Non-Standard Russian of bilinguals of Russian Far East and Northern Siberia which is being developed by our team. The substrate languages in focus are Nanai (Tungusic), Forest Enets and Tundra Enets (Samoyedic).

To explain the preposition drop, we propose three possible hypotheses: a) it is caused by morphosyntactic influence of native languages (interference), as all three substrate languages have spatial cases; b) it is caused by phonetic reasons; c) it is caused by interaction of both factors.

The most dominant factors that influence the preposition drop in Nanai Russian and in Enets Russian seem to be of a phonetic nature. The first evident argument for it is that the only preposition which is omitted regularly in our data is *v* ‘in’ (40% omitted in both Enets Russian, 60% – in Nanai Russian). Another spatial preposition *na* ‘on’, whose meaning can be expressed with the same cases in substrate languages, was omitted only occasionally.

We studied the omission of the preposition *v* ‘in’. We examined its right context with respect to manner and place of articulation, as well as sonority and palatalization/velarization. Detailed statistical analysis shows strict correlations between the preposition drop and an initial vowel or palatalized consonant. Both Enets Russian and Nanai Russian show the same correlation. Moreover, this hypothesis is supported by the phonotactics of these languages.

However, there is some evidence for the morphosyntactic reasons as well, as the omission affects only prepositional phrases and not the word structure in general.

In our talk we provide for each of the hypotheses more pros and cons based on numerical corpus data.

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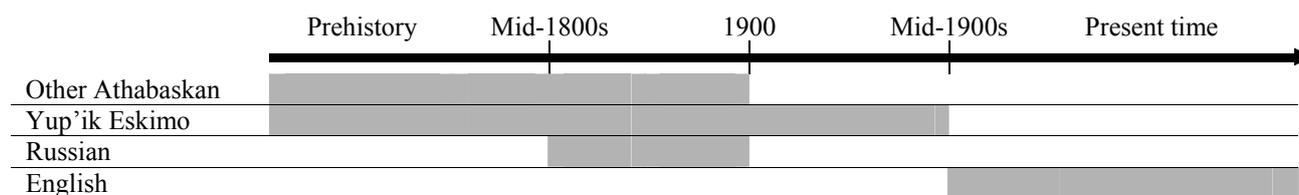
LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN THE ALASKAN INTERIOR: UPPER KUSKOKWIM¹

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Upper Kuskokwim (UK) is a small Athabaskan language still spoken by a few older persons in the village of Nikolai and some other towns in Alaska. UK population hardly ever exceeded several hundred individuals, whereas the ethnic territory is comparable to the size of Switzerland. The terrain includes riverine lowlands with tundra, swamps, and forest, as well as foothills of the Alaska range and other minor ranges. Upper Kuskokwim is a typical Athabaskan language, characterized by polysynthetic verb morphology, with highly complex morphophonemics and non-transparent morphological structure.

The network of the UK contacts with other languages consists of four layers. In the diagram below, periods of contacts within each of the layers is shown with shading. The timeline in the diagram contains three tentative boundaries, about 50 years apart.



Traditionally, interior Alaskan Athabaskan languages constituted a dialect chain, without firm ethnic and linguistic boundaries. This situation lasted until the turn of the 20th century, when the UK people established villages and became more settled than before. Borrowings from other languages are difficult to trace because Athabaskans used to have a keen feeling of sound correspondences that helped them to recalculate forms into their own phonemic system.

Contacts with Eskimos have been traditionally very weak. However, potential influence of Yup'ik upon UK could have lasted longer, in connection with the continuous expansion of the Yup'iks up the Kuskokwim river, first reaching the Middle and later the Upper Kuskokwim area. A number of important community members born in early 20th century were of Yup'ik origin and were bilingual. However, very few lexical borrowings from Yup'ik are found, one of them being *duyuk* 'salt'. No grammatical borrowings from Yup'ik can be identified in UK. Athabaskan languages are generally very resistant to grammatical and even lexical borrowing.

The period of Russian influence was short but led to much more significant results. That period started around the mid-1800s, when some Russian travelers reached the UK area. The UK people probably never acquired any Russian, but they learned Old Church Slavonic prayers by heart. About 80 Russian loanwords are identified in UK. Many of them, however, have arrived via the mediation of the neighboring Athabaskan languages (particularly Dena'ina), or Eskimo, or both. Some of the loanwords contain borrowed phonemes, never found in the native words, for example /b/ in *boze* 'God' (from Russian/OCS Боже, vocative from Бор 'God') and /ɾ/ in *anhere* 'bishop' (from Russian архиерей 'archpriest').

Finally, English influence began around WWII when a number of UK men started acquiring English. During the subsequent one or two decades bilingualism spread throughout the UK popula-

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tion, and a rapid language shift occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. A number of early lexical borrowings can be identified and distinguished from the instances of code mixing. Cf., for example, *fala'ena* 'guys, fellows', a native plural from a borrowing from English *fellow*; note that we see a non-native phoneme /f/ in this case, too. Some grammatical borrowings from English can be seen as well. Most notably, the original Athabaskan negative polarity verb forms, morphologically quite different from the positive forms, became frequently replaced by a combination of the particle *no* (from English *no*) with a positive form.

Overall, the case of UK is an instance of a highly limited contact-induced language change.

THE RUSSIAN-EVENKI “ARGOT” AND ITS TRACES IN THE MODERN EVENKI DIALECTS¹

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When describing the Evenki dialects of the Upper Lena Glafira Vasilevich (1948) mentions the existence of a so-called Russian-Evenki “argot” which comprises “mixed” forms. Vasilevich says that the Evenks living near to Russian trading posts spoke both Evenki and “argot” presuming that the “argot” would be better understood than the proper Evenki language. Vasilevich also cites several examples of the “argot” and gives her translations, though sometimes doubtful, such as:

- (1) *mogu* *d'aja-d'a-p*
mogu (<Russian ‘I can’) hide-FUTCNT-1PL(INCL)
‘if I can hide’ (‘if *we* can hide?’)

She also says that the texts which were collected by A. F. Anisimov in the Podkamennaya Tunguska region and published by him in 1936 have a lot of forms “used by the Evenks when talking to the Russians”. Unfortunately, Vasilevich does not describe the “argot” in detail and does not name the exact region where it was spoken.

Nowadays the Evenki dialects of the Upper Lena region are in an endangered condition. The number of speakers has diminished drastically. All of them speak Russian perfectly, and the “argot” is extinct if ever existed. However, the Evenki texts recorded by us in 2016 during our linguistic expedition to Irkutsk Oblast² have a lot of peculiarities. For example, the imperative form is used in the cases where the conditional converb is usually used in other dialects of Evenki.

We can suppose that these peculiarities are not simply direct borrowings from the Russian language but are instead traces of the “argot”. We cannot actually strictly prove this supposal. However we can show that:

- the texts cited by Vasilevich as having “argot” phrases and the texts from Irkutsk Oblast have similar non-standard grammar features;
- the texts recorded from the Evenks of other regions, who had less intense contacts with the Russians at the beginning of the 20th century, have different features which can be justified by more recent direct contacts with the Russian language without any argot.

Therefore, I am going to:

- cite the examples of the “argot” features in the texts collected by Anisimov;
- group the regions where the Evenks live as having more or less contact with the Russians (as described by Vasilevich and also shown by historical and census data);
- consider the texts recorded at the beginning of the 20th century in the regions having more or less contact with the Russians. Some of the cited texts have not been published yet (e.g. some of the texts collected by Vasilevich and kept in her archive at the Kunstkamera, Saint-Petersburg);

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² The expedition was financed by Russian Science Foundation, grant 15-18-00044, and organized by the Institute of Linguistics RAS in the summer of 2016, and carried out by Olga Kazakevich, Maria Egorova, Darya Popova, and Elena Klyachko.

- name the features of the “argot” and consider those which have influenced the modern Evenki language.

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Т. 1.

DATABASE OF LANGUAGE CONTACTS IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR REGION¹

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One of the integral part of the project «Dynamics of language contact in the circumpolar region»² is creating a database including all current and former populated places in this area with detailed ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic data on each settlement including information about modern and historical language and cultural contacts. The modern data for the database are taken from censuses, collected during the fieldwork and provided by specialists on relevant languages and/or area; the earlier data are extracted from censuses and published linguistic and ethnographic studies.

Among the fields provided for each settlement are number of speakers for each language (including L2 and L3); dialect affiliation; size of ethnic groups. The following information is also available for some localities or areas: language use according to the social specifics or age-grouping; languages used on the street, at home, in public, etc.; languages in education; degree of nomadism; demographic and administrative history.

Linguists are often skeptical about census data on languages and one of the additional tasks was to check how much census data correspond to real language statistics in Circumpolar areas of Russia. It has been found that experts' opinions rather support census statistics on the microlevel, that is when it concerns individual settlements.

Up to the moment the database includes the data about Circumpolar languages spoken in Russia. In future we are planning to enlarge the database by including information about languages spoken in Circumpolar areas elsewhere: Scandinavia, Northern America, Greenland.

One of the important uses of the database is creation of detailed language maps based on information from the database. Also the database can be used to better understand the framework of modern and especially historical contacts which had led to later multicultural and multilingual nature of Circumpolar area.

As appeared, one of the difficult features to include in the database and then plot on maps is nomadic and semi-nomadic way of distribution of many Circumpolar ethnic groups and their languages.

In the talk, I'll present database structure, its content, the maps created on base of this data showing historical and modern distribution of languages, movements of ethno-linguistic groups and their contacts.

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² http://iling-ran.ru/main/departments/typol_compar/circumpolar/eng

URALIC LANGUAGES OF THE YAMALO-NENETS AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT: A CHALLENGING CASE OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

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Our talk deals with the contacts between four Uralic languages (Nenets, Khanty, Selkup, Komi) in the Yamalo-Nenets autonomous area. The speakers of Nenets, Khanty and Selkup have been interacting for many centuries, and in the first quarter of the XIX century this contact situation became even more complicated due to a vast migration of Izhma Komi population (see [Povod 2006] for historical details). This linguistic area has not been studied in much detail yet, apart from some rather random lists of loanwords in traditional descriptions. However, its study seems quite challenging for areal linguistics and the typology of contact-induced change due to its historical and sociolinguistic heterogeneity combined with close genetic relations between the four languages concerned.

The data have been collected primarily in field. The fieldwork included both elicitation and text recording. In total more than 50 villages were visited in 2006–2017. The information available in the existing dictionaries, as well as some archival materials has also been taken into account. For each local idiom we collected a wordlist including 1500–3500 items from all the main semantic domains, with about 300 lexical units (also representing different domains) studied in detail in each village for their semantics, combinability, cultural connotations etc. Some grammatical issues were studied basing on both our own field data and on the existing texts and descriptions.

First, we will discuss the sociolinguistic situation in the region concerned, focusing on the main contact areas and on the sociolinguistic status of each language and linking these data to the language changes we can observe or trace back (see, among others, [Curnow 2001; Thomason 2001: 70–71] for some theoretical background). Thus, Selkup is now more “detached” from the other languages (however it maintains some contact with Tundra Nenets, Forest Nenets, and Vakh Khanty). Komi speakers live together with Khanty and/or Nenets speakers in different parts of the area, and the sociolinguistic position of Komi varies to a great extent depending on number of speakers in a particular village, maintenance of reindeer herding, contact with other parts of the Komi diaspora etc. In general, Nenets has the strongest position in this region, which results in its considerable influence on other languages, whereas Komi, being spoken by “newcomers”, is the most liable to acquire various kinds of borrowings.

Second, we will analyze the processes which can be at least hypothesized as the results of contact-induced change. Apart from lexical borrowing (see e. g. Nenets loanwords in Khanty and Komi referring to reindeer herding, parts of traditional dwelling places etc.), these cases include pattern borrowing, when one language copies polysemy patterns or the structure of a semantic domain from another one. Thus, Khanty dialects consistently oppose kinship terms (e. g. for grandmother and grandfather) depending on the maternal vs. parental line, while in the Obdorsk dialect influenced by Nenets this opposition disappeared probably following the Nenets pattern. Again, in Obdorsk Khanty a lexeme *wōl'ək* ‘slippery’, which describes all or most types of slippery surfaces across the other Western dialects, can only refer to icy bearing surfaces (e. g. to a road covered with ice) – similarly to Nenets *salət'q* ‘slippery’. Smooth (perceived by touch) and level (visually perceived) surfaces are both described as *pajli* in Obdorsk Khanty (cf. Nenets *salmuy*° with the same polysemy), while in the other Western dialects its scope is limited to visually perceived surfaces (which is rather transparent taking into account that *pajli* is derived from a noun *paj* ‘bump, heap’

referring to various visually evaluated entities). An interesting example where linguistic and cultural processes interact is provided by Komi animal terms: they include some taboos and euphemisms in the local idioms being in contact with Nenets, similarly to Nenets polysemy patterns and cultural practices.

In our talk we will compare our findings with the typological patterns of lexical borrowing found in [Haspelmath, Tadmor (eds.) 2009] and in WOLD. We will also provide some information on how the four languages concerned interact in grammar (e. g. in possessive constructions, comparative and some other types of constructions).

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THE NENETS, KHANTY, AND SELKUP LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION OF THE YAMAL REGION

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Nenets together with Khanty and Selkups are acknowledged officially as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Yamal-Nenets autonomous okrug (district) (Rus: Ямало-Ненецкий автономный округ), hereinafter referred to as the YNAO. They represent roughly 8.2% of the YNAO's population. According to the 2010 Russian Census, there are 29,772 Nenets, which 5.9% of the YNAO's entire population. Then 9,489 Khantys - 1.9% and 1,988 Selkup people who make 0.4% of the district population. The Nenets is an official minority language of the YNAO. The Khanty and the Selkup are also approved as minority languages of the district.

The Nenets, Khanty, and Selkup educational systems are very similar but differ from the Russian educational system. They are supported by the YNAO's regulation law and specified by the Regional Educational Act.

The YNAO public schools have two different types of education for indigenous children. There are Russian classes for Russian speaking children and Russian classes for bilingual pupils. Education on the Nenets, Khanty and Selkup languages is stint only in the frames of primary education. After finishing schools there is no possibility for young people to get any professional education in their native languages. In some vocational schools for e.g. in Salekhard, it is possible to get classes of native languages as optional classes. However, because of the lack of native language teachers, they are canceled. As a result, students can get their secondary school and professional education only in the Russian language. This situation showed that the status of native languages in the district is still rather low. It is still the main reason why young Nenets, Khanty and Selkup people do not want to learn and speak their native languages. However, those indigenous people who live and work in their traditional territories of inhabitation far from the Russian speaking towns and settlements speak their native languages.

MIKINO KORYAK: AN INTERMEDIATE DIALECT LINKING CHUKCHI, KORYAK AND ALUTOR

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The Mikino dialect is spoken by Maritime Koryak in Penzhina region of Kamchatka State. According to Bogoras's classification, the dialects of Koryak are divided into two large groups: Western and Eastern groups, and the Mikino dialect belongs to the former group (Bogoras 1917: 2). Very few materials are available for the Mikino dialect in the twentieth century, although Bogoras's work contains relatively rich materials based on the Kamenskoye dialect – the nearest neighbor of the Mikino dialect. One of my language consultants states that the speakers of the Mikino dialect had close contacts with speakers of other neighboring languages or dialects, such as Standard Koryak, Northern dialects of Koryak (Paren and Kamenskoye), and Ewen. Besides, as a result of the relocation of Mikino Koryak to neighboring villages in 1950s, people began to have much closer contact with the speakers of Standard Koryak and Russian.

In this paper, I will show the brief outline of the Mikino dialect using materials that I collected after 2000s. I will also examine the use of so-called non-resultative form in this dialect. The frequent use of this verb form may suggest that the dialect lies in the intermediate position between Standard Koryak and Chukchi.

'Non-resultative' in Chukchi is suggested by Muravyova et al. (2001) for the form derived from a verb stem with the circumfix *n-...-qin* (*n-jet-qin* 's/he comes' < *jet-ə-k* 'to come') to express present or habitual actions. In previous studies, this form is also called as 'Habitual' (Dunn 1999) or 'Imperfect' (Nedjalkov et al. 1993) for Chukchi, 'Property predication' for Standard Koryak (Kurebito 2010). It is quite frequently used in Chukchi, the Kamenskoye and the Mikino dialects of Koryak (*n-ə-lqət-qin* 's/he goes' < *qət-ə-k* 'to go'), but less frequently in Standard Koryak, and very rarely in Alutor. Moreover, in Chukchi, Kamenskoye and Mikino Koryak, non-resultative forms with a transitive verb stem may include the prefix *ine-/ina-* which is identical with the antipassive marker (*n-ina-ləŋu-qinaw* 's/he sees them' < *ləŋu-k* 'to see'), but this is never observed in Standard Koryak.

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POPULATION HISTORY AND POPULATION CONTACT IN SIBERIA

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Population densities in the notoriously harsh climate of Siberia are exceedingly low, and most populations – especially those of the northeast – are highly fragmented and scattered over vast territories. It is thus not easy to imagine that there would have been much opportunity for populations to interact closely enough for contact-induced language change to occur. Nevertheless, several cases of contact-induced change involving indigenous languages of Siberia are known, making this a worthwhile area to investigate in more detail.

However, like many other parts of the world Siberia lacks extensive historical records that would allow one to identify putative contact situations. This is where molecular anthropological data can help, since they can elucidate cases of prehistoric population contact that may have had a linguistic impact (cf. Pakendorf 2014a). Depending on the scope of the investigation, molecular anthropological data can be used to elucidate the modalities of the contact situation, such as identifying cases of language shift, estimating the amount of admixture, or determining whether it was predominantly individuals of only one sex that were integrated into a given population (called ‘sex-biased gene flow’ in the genetics literature).

My aims in this talk are twofold: to provide both a broad overview of population contact in North Asia as well as a detailed analysis of one case study. I will start off with a birds-eye view of the patterns of linguistic and genetic diversity in Siberia and the North Pacific Rim, highlighting some promising candidates for prehistoric language shift and contact identified in a recent molecular anthropological study (Pugach et al. 2016). I will then zoom in to an intriguing case of language contact, namely that between the Lamunkhin dialect of Even and its neighbour Sakha (Yakut; cf. Pakendorf 2009, 2014b, 2015). This has resulted in the copying of verbal inflection paradigms, a cross-linguistically exceedingly rare outcome of language contact. Using various strands of evidence from molecular anthropology, sociolinguistics, and linguistics I will try to find an explanation for this rare phenomenon.

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CHUKCHI LANGUAGE AND BORDERS (IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND TODAY)¹

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Until 1950s Chukchi persistently defended borders of their territory, longer than other nations staying more or less independent from Russian and, later, Soviet Empire. Chukchi resistance against external influence is manifested by their unwillingness to use languages of other nations when contacting with them. As the result, in modern Chukchi (except its Southern variant) the number of borrowings is not very high, not taking into account recent borrowings from Russian.

Bering Strait serves as a natural border of Chukchi language in the East. On the Asian coast of Chukchi Sea Chukchi's neighbors are Asian Yupik (Eskimo). Usually Chukchi language was used as lingua franca in marine hunters' villages. Yupik borrowings in Chukchi are rare (some marine animals' names and terms used when hunting in the sea, see [Inenliqej 1978]). Through this 'sea' border Chukchi language acquired several borrowings from English owing to American whalers: *sopa* 'soap', *maneman* 'money', *kentiqej* 'candy', *kriçmən* 'celebration' etc. There is evidence that Chukchi-English 'pidgin' was created in some villages for trade purposes. Another case of mixed language is Chukchi-Swedish simplified language, which was used and documented by members of Nordenskiöld expedition who spent winter in Polar bay. About these cases and Chukchi unwillingness to use other languages and their extensive language-simplifier skills, see [de Reuse 319–320].

There are no natural borders of Chukchi language territory in the west and south. Here Chukchi language area merges with Even, Yukaghir, Yakut, Koryak and, of course, Russian language territories.

In 18–19 centuries, trade exchange between Chukchi and Russians was worked out near the inflows of Kolyma River, on the western border of Chukchi area. However, Chukchi rarely spoke Russian there: instead, Russians learned to speak some Chukchi-Russian 'jargon' mentioned by V. Bogoras [Bogoras 1899: 9]. At the same time, here and a bit more to the south (near the river-head of Omolon) Even and Yukaghir served as herdsmen for rich Chukchi herd-owners. Apparently, they used Chukchi as lingua franca, which conquered with Yakut in this respect (see [Vakhtin 2001: 153–158]). Some elements of Yakut (e.g. *du* particle) penetrated only to Chukchi speech of Even-Yukaghir population.

In the Soviet times, Chukchis were separated by administrative borders of parts of Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, later subjects Russian Federation. The majority of Chukchis live in Chukotsky Autonomous district, though western, Kolyma Chukchi territory is a part of Nizhnekolymsky district of Sakha (Yakutia) republic. There are not many ethnic Chukchi left, though Chukchi language is still spoken by mixed Even-Yukaghir-Chukchi descendants.

A group of southwestern Chukchi, dialectologically similar to Kolyma Chukchi, is now assigned to Penzhinsky district of Kamchatsky Krai (village Ayanka). Ayanka Chukchi speakers do not contact with Koryak, though many of them also speak Even, thus breaking with Chukchi tradition of non-speaking other languages. The reason is that Evens turned to be more numerous and economically successful in the region. However, their Chukchi has not suffered any considerable influence of Even. Another situation has come about Chukchi people of the southern and southeastern borders of Chukchi territory. Some of them were assigned to Olutor district of Kamchatsky Krai where in the villages of Achayvayam, Khailino and Sredniye Pakhachi they had to work for Soviet reindeer-breeding farms together with more numerous Koryaks. As the result, Koryak-

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influenced variant of Chukchi, not very well understandable by other Chukchis, has arisen. This Chukchi variant has been influenced by Chavchaven Koryak on all linguistic levels.

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SIBILANT SHIFT IN UGRIC AS A CONTACT PHENOMENON

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In the paper, an attempt is made to reinterpret a remarkable feature of the historical phonology of Ugric languages in terms of possible contact influence.

It's a well-known fact that Ugric languages have been in long-lasting contact with Iranian languages, which is proved by a number of borrowings from Iranian into Ugric. Evidence for Iranian elements in Ob-Ugric is given *int.al.* in a landmark work by Éva Korenchy (Iranische Lehnwörter in den obugrischen Sprachen, 1972); no doubt that also Hungarian has interacted with some Iranian language(s). No matter how some concrete etymological hypotheses may be evaluated, it seems plausible that the contact in question took place on several chronological levels including the separate existence of Khanty, Mansi, and Hungarian. The contact, in spite of its long duration, is sometimes thought to have been not very intense (for example, Korenchy supposes it to have been limited to an unstable trade relationship), but this aspect needs further investigation. Anyway, it is remarkable that Ugric words of Iranian origin (supposedly) include, besides elements of “cultural vocabulary”, also some abstract nouns as well as numerals and words for natural phenomena.

With this in mind, it is interesting to take a closer look at a case of parallel consonant development in Iranian and Ugric. In Iranian, the (dental-)alveolar or prepalatal (presumably affricate) consonants going back to the Proto-Indo-European palatovelars are extensively changed into non-palatalized sibilants, i.e. into *s* and *z*, while Proto-Indo-European **s* is reflected as (**h*): Avestan *sar-* ‘shelter’, Roshani *sōr-* ‘to creep, sneak up to, lie in ambush’ < PIE **kʷel-* ‘to conceal, hide, cover’, Avestan *zan-*, Kurdish *zān-* < PIE **ǵenh₃-* ‘to know’, Old Persian *ham-* (in derivatives) < PIE **sem-* ‘together, with’. Similarly, in Ugric, Proto-Uralic **ś* (or **ć* according to some recent suggestions) loses palatalization to yield (**s*), while Proto-Uralic **s* is “ousted” from the sibilant series, being lost in Hungarian and reflected as a voiceless lateral or (**t*) in Ob-Ugric: Mansi **śow* ‘word; loud’, Khanty **sowā* ‘song; voice’ Hungarian *szó* ‘word’ < PU **śuwi* (> Finnish *suu* ‘mouth’), Mansi **tār*, Khanty **lār* ‘root’, Hungarian *ér* ‘blood vessel’ < PU **sārä*. So we have, in fact, a certain “sibilant shift”, whose nature and results look very much alike in both groups – note especially the loss of **s* in Hungarian, a development that should have involved **h* as an intermediate phase. It is not to be excluded that what we deal with here is actually a kind of contact process, probably Iranian influence in Ugric.

Discussing this hypothesis, I try to make some general theoretical comments on the phenomenon of “sound change borrowing”. I also attempt to clarify the dating of the consonant change in question, taking into account the phonological shape of several relatively late lexical borrowings from/into Iranian and Ob-Ugric languages. Besides, I consider some other cases of similar consonant development (first of all in the Samoyed branch, which, in its turn, may have been influenced by Ugric).

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KHANTY–NENETS LANGUAGE CONTACTS AS THE TRIGGER FOR CHANGES IN PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

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Contact between Khanty and Nenets language groups has occurred, and continues to occur, in three distinct zones (Hajdú 1979): (i) between Northern Khanty and Tundra Nenets across a relatively wide area that includes the western parts of the Yamal Nenets Autonomous District, (ii) between Northern Khanty and Forest Nenets in the Num-To region located in the northern corner of the Khanty and Mansi Autonomous District, and (iii) between Eastern Khanty and Forest Nenets along a long stretch of land that lies north of the central part of the Ob river and south of the watershed that forms the border of the Khanty and Mansi Autonomous District with the Yamal Nenets Autonomous District. Within each zone the nature of language contacts has been rather different due to varying historical and cultural conditions.

Whereas earlier studies have focused on loanwords and their distribution (Tereshchenko 1956: 237–238; Tereshchenko 1959; Steinitz 1959; cf., however, Katz 1975; Helimski 1982; Golovnev 1995), contact-induced phonological changes can be summarized as follows:

(i) The northernmost dialect of Northern Khanty, spoken around Salekhard (in Khanty studies traditionally referred to by its old name *Obdorsk*), differs markedly from other dialects with regard to its consonant system. What makes it special is the absence of the entire cacuminal series of consonants, which is otherwise one of the most conspicuous and characteristic features of Northern Khanty consonant systems, so that more southerly dialects possess the trio *š ɲ ʃ* (Honti 1984). In the Salekhard dialect, however, they have merged with the consonants of the dental series, and the case in point is the fact that the Tundra Nenets consonant system lacks cacuminal consonants altogether, with the Salekhard dialect of Northern Khanty having effectively gone through a filter to eliminate consonants that must have been impossible to produce by a Tundra Nenets speaker. Furthermore, the Salekhard dialect of Northern Khanty has added the palatal stop *t'* to its consonant system, which is absent in more southerly dialects but represents a quintessential member of the Tundra Nenets consonant system.

(ii) Both Northern Khanty and Eastern Khanty may have contributed to the emergence of the ‘fricolaterals’ *ʃʃ* in Forest Nenets. Their spread did start from the east, however, and was completed in the west of the Forest Nenets territory only in the 20th century (Sammallahti 1974: 32–34; cf. Vozhakova 1997).

(iii) The most drastic change induced by contacts between Khanty and Nenets involves the restructuring of the Forest Nenets vowel system. As it turns out, the Proto-Nenets vowel contrasts, largely preserved in Tundra Nenets, transformed into a system in Forest Nenets that corresponds precisely to Eastern Khanty cardinal vowels. Since non-cardinal vowels, i.e., front rounded and back unrounded vowels, could not possibly survive in Forest Nenets, where frontness and backness are strictly allophonic features, the match between the systems is quite perfect. The restructuring was brought about by a number of changes working in a ‘conspiratorial’ fashion (Salminen 2007).

The three Khanty–Nenets contact zones have not only distinct origins but also markedly different dynamics, which will be discussed in the conclusion of this presentation, which also includes comments on morphological or morphophonological innovations that may count as examples of contact-induced changes.

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CHUKCHI-RUSSIAN PHONETIC INTERFERENCE: FOCUS ON CONSONANTS

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1. Phonetic interference (or negative transfer) is usually defined as deviation from phonetic norms caused by one language influencing another. Foreign language teachers have long investigated phonetic interference, but it is also of interest in language contact studies and theoretical linguistics. Changes that one phonetic system undergo under the influence of another enrich our knowledge about both of them [Бархударова 2016].

2. Chukchi (or Chukchee) is a Chukotko-Kamchatkan language spoken by Chukchi people of the far North-East of Russia. Almost all native speakers of Chukchi also have a good command of Russian. However, phonetic systems of these two languages differ greatly. The aim of this study is to analyze the influence of Chukchi consonantal system on Russian speech of the Chukchi. The research is based on field materials from the village Amguema (Iultinsky rayon of Chukotka Autonomous Okrug).

3. The significant feature of Chukchi's Russian speech is greater articulatory energy. Stiffness as a feature of articulatory base is considered to be connected to the tendency for apical articulations, aspirated release and certain type of vowel-to-consonant adjunction [КНЯЗЕВ 1991]. Chukchi consonants [t] and [n] are described as apical, [p] and [k] – as aspirated in some positions [Скорик 1961: 27]; sometimes Russian [k] and [p_v] in Chukchi's speech are aspirated as well.

4. Russian speech of the Chukchi has another conspicuous feature – instability and heterogeneity of opposition between so called “hard” and “soft” consonants. This opposition does not exist in Chukchi; only [ʃ] is always palatalized in Amguema dialect; there is slight positional palatalization of [t] [Скорик 1961: 27]. For this reason, non-palatalized consonants in place for palatalized occur regularly in Chukchi's Russian speech; this is true for obstruent stops and fricatives and for sonorants.

5. The phonational contrast in Chukchi is completely different from Russian. In the Chukchi language all obstruents are voiceless, all sonorants are voiced, and sonorants become voiceless regularly in combination with voiceless obstruents; but voiceless consonants almost never become voiced [Скорик 1961]. Thus, it is regular for Chukchi's Russian speech to have partially or completely devoiced stops, fricatives and trills, including those in combination with sonorants and vowels. The whole sequences of sounds (3–4 segments) also become voiceless regularly.

6. Besides that, the very structure of opposition between obstruents and sonorants in Russian and Chukchi is different. For instance, Chukchi native speakers transfer features of Chukchi sonorant [w] to Russian [v^v] that in many cases behave as an obstruent. In Chukchi's Russian it is often pronounced as approximant and interacts with neighboring vowels, especially labialized; drops in consonant clusters, and, when pronounced fricatively, does not become voiceless in combinations with voiceless obstruents. At the same time, sonorant [ʃ] that has the F-structure and is considered approximant in Russian, is equivalent in articulation to Chukchi obstruent voiceless [ʃ], so in Chukchi's Russian speech it regularly becomes partially or completely voiceless, has fricative noise and occasionally, an intense lateral release.

7. Not all deviations, like those listed above, are systematic. In particular, a number of Russian consonants is articulated deeper in the oral cavity by the Chukchi. This is true for sibilants ([ʃ], [z], less commonly – [tʃ]) and trills ([r^v], less often – [rʃ]), that are articulated not in the alveolar area, but post-alveolar and even further, which considerably affects their features. This is also true for fricative velar [x], which is, in a similar way to its closest Chukchi stop analog, articulated when the back of the tongue gets closer to uvula and the edge of the soft palate. This causes changes in length,

intensity and noise structure of the consonant and it is even realized as a trill in some cases. Affricated Russian consonants [tʃ] and [dʃ] are pronounced in Chukchi's speech with no frication as a result of dorsal articulation.

8. The manner of articulation of Russian consonants is also influenced by the Chukchi language. The realizations of sounds vary significantly from speaker to speaker and in every single idiolect. For instance, the sound [rʲ] tends to be retroflex, and for this reason may be an approximant or obstruent fricative, or be a trill produced with a single period or vibrate for 2–4 periods.

9. Chukchi words have strictly circumscribed phonotactics [Dunn 1999: 38] which is not conducive for consonant clusters. Thus in Chukchi's Russian speech mispronunciations often occur in such clusters, including those with metathesis.

10. Speaking to a monolingual person, a bilingual one often tries to restrain the interference, so normal pronunciation takes place alongside with deviations, and almost as often. We hope to further deepen our knowledge on how Chukchi phonetic system is projected on Russian, and thus expand our views on both structures.

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CONTACT IN THE FUTURE: PRACTICES OF GUESSING AMONG VEPS AND RUSSIANS

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Finno-Ugric peoples and Slavonic groups residing in north-western Russia have long been in contact due to trade relations and the activities of the missionaries in the area (Pugh 1999). In this paper I will focus on the relations between Veps and Russians and how their ways of speaking reflect such long-term contact.

According to Puura et al. (2013, 44) Russian terms “in areas such as modern society, religion, military and Soviet terminology” has made their way into Vepsian lexicon. Veps have also appropriated syntactic, phonological, and morphological features into their language from those exchanges.

Long-term contact has led to movement of terms of Finno-Ugric origin into Slavonic languages (cf. Saarikivi 2006). The majority of Russian words with a Finno-Ugric origin tend to indicate aspects of the landscape and fishing (Mullonen 2006; Myznikov 2004, 52; Saarikivi 2006). For what concerns Vepsian more specifically, words which appertain to agricultural activities, herbs and plants, place names, and fishing have made their way through into north western Russian language (Loginov 1993, 134; Myznikov 2004).

While briefly presenting such structural and lexical movement, this paper will put emphasis on a way of speaking which concerns both Veps and Russians and hints at a long-term contact where not only structural features of a language are exchanged, but also practices, values, and epistemology. What I am referring to is the practice of guessing which in the Vepsian language is expressed by employing the translative case and/or the third singular person of the verb *lindä* (to become, to be). An example of this can be seen in the relation with non-human animals, e.g., *Päskheine alahaks lendab – vihmaks* (When the swallow flies low, it will rain), or in the relation with the environment more broadly, e.g., *Minä dumain, ken-žo minai linneb adiv, ku (k)hilägoh gäi ka* (And I thought to myself, ‘I am not waiting for anyone, but the charcoal is still in the oven, so there will be guests’). In the Russian language this is expressed in the use of the preposition “K” followed by the dative case, e.g. *K khoroshemu* (It will be good).

The practice of guessing allows us to identify a shared knowledge of the territory and its human and non-human inhabitants since both Veps and Russians embrace such practices after observing oddities in the behaviour of the animals and closely observing the environment in which they live.

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SVALBARD TOPONYMS IN RUSSIAN

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We address the topic of controlled linguistic contact that occurs during the geopolitical interaction between Russia and Norway. Place names appearing on the map are the first result of such contact and the easiest to observe. Here Svalbard is of particular interest due to its intricate geopolitical history and rich documentation both in Russian and in Norwegian. We analyzed the following maps:

- map of the northern part of Barents sea, for official use only, 1971;
- map of Svalbard archipelago, Moscow, 2009;
- map of Greenland sea near Svalbard, from Sørkappøya to Storvika, 1977.

In the absence of aboriginal inhabitants, Svalbard place names were first invented by seafarers who explored these territories and/ or were engaged in fishing and hunting. In the early stage of exploration, each nationality named objects in their own language, but due to the existence of mixed crews, as well as to the circulation of maps, names were somewhat standardized. As a result, a huge amount of the toponyms are translated ones, like *Ice Sound* (en) – *Isfjorden* (no) – *Залив льдов* (Zaliv l'dov) (ru) – *Baye Glacée* (fr). The international Spitsbergen Treaty (1920) recognized Norway's sovereignty over the archipelago, which led to the standardization of local place names.

Norwegians carried out normalization work by norwegianizing the names of foreign origin. It can be done in one of three possible ways:

- 1) replacing the name with the Norwegian one;
- 2) translating the whole into Norwegian or
- 3) translating only the general part (geographical term like 'city', 'river', 'bay') [2].

As a result, the normalization activity conducted by Russians in this area was reduced to the development of instructions on quasi-phonetic transmission of foreign names. Svalbard toponyms were treated simply as any other Norwegian toponym – with few exceptions. One of them is the name of the archipelago itself.

Willem Barentsz, who is officially considered to be the discoverer of the archipelago, gave it the Dutch name *Spitsbergen*, 'sharp mountains'. Russian pomors, engaged in fishing, called the archipelago *Грумант* (Grumant). The etymology of this name is unclear. In the middle of the 19th century Norwegians started to call the archipelago *Svalbard*. This name originates from Icelandic sources like *Landnámabók* ('Book of Settlements'), but it is unknown whether the land referred to as *Svalbard* is actually Svalbard-Spitsbergen. The name *Svalbard* became popular due to the rise of romantic nationalism movement in Norway. One of the prominent proponents of this name was Fritjof Nansen. Today both *Svalbard* and *Spitsbergen* are equivalent terms, but Norwegians use the former one, while Russians use the latter. In other parts of the world these terms are interchangeable; the preference for the first in Norway and the second in Russia has background in political history. The name *Грумант* (Grumant) now only refers to the abandoned Russian settlement on the Spitsbergen island (formerly known as *West Spitsbergen island*).

According to research data presented in [1], among Russian-speaking inhabitants of Svalbard loan translation is also unpopular.

Practical difficulties arising when norwegianized Svalbard toponyms are rendered into Russian are typical for all Scandinavian toponyms, namely:

1. rendering of the suffixed article;
2. the status of the geographical term.

In relation to the second item we want to discuss the case of place names containing the element fjord. According to the instruction [4], the component fjord in Scandinavian place names must be treated as a part of the transcribed item which does not belong to Russian. However, in the early twentieth century the word *fjord* was successfully borrowed by Russian and even could refer to a bay outside of Scandinavia. (Data extracted from Russian National Corpus prove this). Thus, all transcribed toponyms ending with ‘fjord’ and containing the hyphen as a delimiter coincide with the word formation model that uses the appositive syntactic relation: *Москва-река* (*Moskva-reka*, ‘Moscow River’), *Ильмень-озеро* (*Il’men’-ozero*, ‘Lake Ilmen’). Though this model is not productive in Standard Russian, in the areas of direct language contact it is much more popular – see, e.g. *Вайда-Губа* (*Vajda-Guba*, ‘Vaida Bay’). The intervention of loan Norwegian toponyms will probably give it a new lease of life – already now we can find the examples where loan Norwegian toponyms are adjusted according to the ‘Moskva-reka’ model: *Перед вами подробная карта Гейрангера-фьорда* (‘Here you can see a detailed map of Geiranger-fjord’ - Example found in the Internet).

<i>Перед</i>	<i>в-ами</i>	<i>подробн-ая</i>	<i>карт-а</i>	<i>Гейрангер-а-фьорд-а</i>
<i>Pered</i>	<i>vami</i>	<i>podrobnaja</i>	<i>karta</i>	<i>Geirangera-f’orda</i>
in-front-of-PREP	you-INST	detailed-NOM.FEM	map-NOM	Geiranger-GEN-fjord-GEN

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ON THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE CONTACTS OF RUSSIAN DIALECTS IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR AREA (USING AN EXAMPLE OF LEXICAL SEMANTIC FIELD OF MADNESS)

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Analysis of lexical means of describing mental disorders and diseases clarifies speakers’ ideas of madness and therefore of human nature. According to the data of medical reports, pathogenic influence of extremal factors in circumpolar regions causes heightened prevalence of mental disorders and diseases.

Borrowings from Russian and transformations of Russian lexemes reflect mutual influence of genetically cognate languages and give materials for world outlook peculiarities investigation. My presentation suggests the description of the motivational structure of one fragment of the lexical semantic field “Madness”. It is the area of the Russian dialects of circumpolar regions. Words and word combinations taken from the corpus of Russian dialectal dictionaries are structured according to the types of primary motivation and genetically characterized. The investigation provides evidence for etymologizing «obscure» lexemes, including borrowings from contact languages in Russian and Russian borrowings in contact languages, comparative studies on lexical-semantic varieties in the Russian and contact languages, as well as compiling educational materials on the Language History, semantics, dialectology, and typology.

Motivational models in the circumpolar zone are the following.

1. Spatial ideas and abnormal deviations: ‘to move, to budge from the right place’ (murman. *skrenut’sya*, arx. *poshatnut’sya*, *ryaxnut’sya*, olon. *smanut*), ‘to go out’ (arx. *vývesti iz uma*), ‘to spend up’ (arx., murman. *výzhýt’sya iz uma*), ‘fall down’ (pinezh. arx. *s uma svalit’sya*, arx. *pokatit’sya s uma*, *skidyvat’ s uma*), ‘to lose one’s way, to get lost’ (olon. *sbit’sya s gruntu*), ‘to make a mistake’ (tersk. *obmishulit’sya*), ‘to turn (round), to turn over’ (dial. karel. *kruzhenoj*, sib., kolým., krasnoyar. *okruzhat’*), ‘to become entangled’ (kemer. *smeshat’sya golovoj*, vyat., arx. *poputat’sya v ume*).

2. «Quantitative» ideas of madness: ‘without mind, sense’ (karel. *bezumok*, sib. *bezumlyonnýj*), ‘too much sense’ (ural. *umovat’sya*), ‘to spend up (one’s mind, sense)’ (karel. *otzyt’sya*, ural. *izumit’sya*, olon. *obumet*), ‘to lose’ (novosib. *razum poteryalsya*), ‘lack of sense’ (ural. *nedovol’nyj (golovoj, umom)*, arx., volog. *ne vo vsem ume*, karel. *uma celogo net*, arx. *ne v polnom razume*), ‘damage’ (krasnoyar. *umom nadorvat’sya*).

3. «Qualitative» ideas of damaged mind, sense: ‘abnormal, not their own’ (karel. *ne v ladax (být)*), ‘old’ (arx. *drevnij, drevnyj, drevit’, dikar*), ‘fool, unreasonable’ (sverdl. *dur*, sev.-dvin. *durit’*, sev.-dvin., tobol., xab., volog. *durnoj*, ural. *sduret’sya*, sev.-dvin. *sdurivat’*, simb., vyat. *sdurit’sya*), ‘empty, mad, violent’ (arx. *dikoman*), ‘to break’ (vyat. *porushit’sya*), ‘to become obscured, to dark’ (volog. *temen’ye*, vyat. *pomrachen’ye, moroki udaryayut na golovu (v golovu)*, tersk. *pomutilos’ v zatylke*, sib. *morok*), ‘to appear to’ (sib. *mayak*), ‘a wicked mockery, joke’ (arx. *oglupeť, zaglupyat’*), ‘not to feel’ (psk., arx. *ochunet’*), ‘to go blind’ (ural. *osovet’*), ‘immovable, petrified’ (vyat., krasnoyar. *ostamet’*, volog. *okochurit’*, arx. *oguret’*), ‘lack of significant quality’ (volog. *nedostup’*).

4. Conceptualizing madness as an illness, weakness: ‘ill’ (arx. *nerv*, ural. *psixa*, simb. *ochumit’sya*, olon. *oshavet’*), ‘to be in a state of stupor’ (olon. *zaparit’sya*), ‘bad, weak’ (vyat., volog. *blazhet’*, volog. *ispoloshit’*), ‘to poison oneself’ (krasnoyar., sib. *sbelenit’sya*), ‘a poisonous plant’ (vyat., sib., kamch. *muxomor*).

5. Hostile effects: ‘to strike’ (volog., krasnoyar. *tryaxnut’sya uma*, omsk. *choknut’sya umom, yakut. strexnut’sya*, olon., arx. *oshelomilo*, olon. *britnut’*, arx. *zashibayet*, arx., volog., olon. *obturit’*, arx. *otbit’ pamoroki*), ‘to deceive, to mock, to jeer at smb’ (olon. *galit’sya*), ‘to damage, to put the evil eye

on smb' (volog., vyat. *porchenyj*, karel. *skazhyonnij*, arx. *nasazhivat'*, tobol., yenis., irkut., sev.-dvin. *vrezhonij*), 'to frighten' (kemer. *sy'spugannij*), 'an obsession, trickery' (volog. *mannoj*, vyat., ural. *sbesit'sya*, arx. *besna*, *besnya*, *iznyalo*, lensk., omsk., zaural. *pristigat'*), 'demons' (ural. *sleshit'sya*), 'to suffer from hysteria' (arx., perm. *ikat'*, karel. *yoknut'sya*, arx. *ikota* *govoruxa*, north.-east. *klikala*, dial. *klikun*, *klikat'*).

6. Strange behaviour: 'to tremble' (karel. *tryasuchij*, arx. *tryaxovoj*), 'a man staring at smth' (priamur. *oglazet'*, zabajk. *dikosharyj*, volog., arx. *osharovet'*), 'wild' (volog., arx., sev.-dvin., vyat., irkut., yakut., sever., sverdl. *beshenec*, sib., tobol. *sdiv'yat'*, arx. *dikij*, arx., psk., smol., irkut. *odi-chat'*, 'to misbehave' (karel. *shalevoj*, *shal'nik*, sev.-dvin., arx., volog. *oshalet'*, volog., sev.-dvin., karel. *prishalivat'*, arx., volog., olon. *prishalimok*), 'to loaf' (perm., arx. *kostar'*).

7. Euphemisms (sib. *on*, *yon* 'he').

Knowledge of local traditions and way of life peculiarities allows to understand etymologies of words. Semantics of arx. *posolonnij* 'abnormal' (from «moving *posolon*», with the sun) bases on the ideas of departure of the norm (e.g. *korova posolonnaya* 'a cow going separately from the herd'). The model is defined as 'heretical (of the old Belief) → 'mad', as only old believers make religious processions clockwise, *posolon*', after the Nikon's reform and unification of religious services and ceremonies according to the greek patterns. The motivation 'salt, salted' from *sol*' is less probable, and a variant *posolyonnij* 'fool, slow-witted' seems to be the result of folk etymologization of previous *posolonnij*: phenomena and objects are often characterized according to the Sun in Arxangelsk region dialects, e.g. arx. *posolonnoye derevo* 'a tree with a trunk bended to the sunside', arx. *posolonovat'* 'A shoal of herring goes across the White Sea to the Terskoj shore'.

Perm. *bestoshnij* 'clumsy, unskilful, mad', probably, has the same root as arx. *bestochnaya*, *bestochnya* 'getting a sea animal, caught by the hunters on the coastal ice and cut off from the water', arx. *bestoch* 'a place on the coastal ice, where hunters slaughter a sea animal, cutting off his way to the water' from *tech*. As we can suppose, the perm' dialectal characteristic of a man bases on the metaphor: a man is compared with a helpless sea animal, cut off from the water ('helpless, weak' → 'mad'); the semantic shift 'a clumsy, unskilful job' → 'mad' is less probable, because such a hunting demands great dexterity. A foreign observer can think of it as of an unskilful job, though, as we can see this meaning not in the Arxangelsk region dialect, but in the dialect of the Perm' region.

The focus of etymological and semantic research of dialectal lexis has shifted from lexicography, phonology, morphology, and derivation studies to different kinds of complex research in recent decades. I would like to thank every person connected with this work for their encouragement and advice, to all of them, you have my respect and gratitude.

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СХОДСТВО НАРРАТИВНЫХ СТРАТЕГИЙ НГАНАСАНСКОГО И СЕВЕРНЫХ СЕЛЬКУПСКИХ ДИАЛЕКТОВ (SIMILARITY OF NARRATIVE STRATEGIES IN NGANASAN AND NORTHERN SELKUP)¹

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В докладе на материале фольклорных текстов рассматриваются нарративные стратегии среднетазовского диалекта селькупского языка. В отличие от центральных и южных диалектов селькупского (и даже от южной периферии северного диалектного ареала – верхнетазовских диалектов), в среднетазовском представлены нарративные стратегии, совпадающие с используемыми в нганасанском.

Во всех северносамодийских языках фольклорный нарратив организуется с использованием эвиденциальных форм. Во всех этих языках в этой роли выступает инферентив. Дополнительной особенностью нганасанского (в противоположность двум другим членам данной подгруппы – энецкому и ненецкому) является наличие специальной формой с эвиденциальным значением репортатива; соответственно, в нганасанском представлено две эвиденциальные формы, имеющие специальные дискурсивные функции. Эвиденциальные формы нганасанского используются в нарративе следующим образом:

– как инферентив, так и репортатив могут оформлять интродуктивный фрагмент нарратива; основной нарративной формой при этом выступает форма прямой засвидетельствованности – аорист (аористом в самодистике традиционно называют форму, имеющую для перфективных глаголов значение прошедшего времени, для имперфективных – значение настоящего); семантическое противопоставление инферентива и репортатива в интродуктивных фрагментах нивелировано: сходные интродуктивные фрагменты могут оформляться любой из двух рассматриваемых форм. В дальнейшем изложении я буду называть такую нарративную стратегию *аористно-инферентивной*.

– помимо этого, репортатив может выступать как основная форма повествования; ниже эта нарративная стратегия называется *репортативной*.

Распределение двух нарративных стратегий в нганасанском подчиняется следующим закономерностям: репортативная стратегия используется для рассказа о событиях, так или иначе непосредственно связанных с социумом, к которому принадлежит говорящий, тогда как инферентивно-аористная стратегия используется в фольклорных нарративах, не связанных непосредственно с социумом и его хабитатом, однако это не относит автоматически фольклорное повествование к категории вымысла.

В среднетазовском диалекте селькупского в нарративе могут использоваться две формы: форма на *-тру* и форма на *-ттынту*; для первой зафиксированы инферентивные употребления, вторая, насколько можно судить по имеющемуся корпусу текстов, имеет только специальные дискурсивные функции и вне нарративов не употребляется. С использованием этих двух форм в среднетазовском диалекте выстроены две нарративные стратегии, в точности повторяющие представленные в нганасанском:

– аористно-инферентивная с формой на *-тру* / формой на *-ттынту* в интродукции (семантическое противопоставление двух форм в интродуктивном фрагменте, как и в нганасанском, отсутствует), аорист в качестве основной формы повествования;

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– репортативная с формой на *-mmuntu* в качестве основной нарративной формы.

Распределение этих нарративных стратегий также повторяет представленное в нганасанском распределение: единственный текст, рассказанный с использованием формы на *-mmuntu* в качестве основной формы повествования, представляет собой единственное историческое предание в корпусе среднетазовских текстов.

Сопоставление данных нарративных стратегий с используемыми в других селькупских диалектах показывает, что в селькупском ареале не имеет аналогов ни одна из среднетазовских нарративных стратегий. В свою очередь, привлечение для сопоставления данных других северносамодийских языков показывает, что некоторое сходство с нганасанским и среднетазовским обнаруживает лесной энецкий.

ON LANGUAGE ECOLOGY: HOW MUCH CONTACT IS ENOUGH FOR A HEALTHY LANGUAGE?

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Like all metaphors derived by linguists from biology (*language family, language death, language endangerment*), the metaphor *language proxemics* that comes from social psychology is a powerful instrument of thinking but should not be taken too seriously or carried too far. I am using this metaphor to highlight the fact that two contacting languages can come too close to each other, or, on the contrary, stay too far apart from each other for the contact to remain ‘healthy’. If one accepts Peter Trudgill’s (2011) idea that language isolation leads to increase of linguistic complexity and to development of *mature language features* (Dahl 2004), the next logical step is that prolonged isolation can lead to over-complexity and, in the long run, possibly to a collapse of communicative abilities of the language. On the other hand, we know that excessive language contact often leads to language shift and, eventually, also to a collapse of communicative abilities of the language (Vakhtin 2006). There can, in other words, be *too much* or *too little* contact for the languages to function normally. If we accept that language contact can have different degrees, or levels, the next question is: how can we measure these degrees? In all probability, the units we can use for this lie in three different areas: area of language structure (e.g., extension of interference, number of borrowings, etc.); area of language functioning (e.g., writing in one language and speaking in another); and area of sociolinguistic domains (e.g., home language vs. office language). The level of contact in all three areas can be calculated, which will allow to determine the zone of ‘healthy’ contact of two languages.

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THE DYNAMICS OF DOLGAN CALENDAR VOCABULARY TRANSFORMATION IN 19–20 CENTURIES

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Vocabulary borrowing associated with the economic or technical innovation, – is common practice. But they are especially informative when assessing the transformations of the calendar vocabulary. Dolgans, as an ethnic group was formed from 18 in to the middle of the 19th century of the Evenks, Evens (in the amount of 50–52%), Yakuts 30–33%, Russians 15% and Samoyeds (Enets, Nenets) 3–4%. But the language pattern had some difference – at least 60% of the future Dolgans said the Yakut, 20% Russian and 20% on “Tungus”. The basis of economy – hunting, reindeer husbandry and winter fishing. Were analyzed changes of calendar vocabulary in three records for more than 150 years. The first record did not contain any term of the Yakut, preserved the name of the month “bega” (Evenks), although they already considered themselves Dolgans. In the first record (half 19 c) phenological vocabulary formally dominated, “reindeer” terms had only three months: rutting – heruli hani (heru – male reindeer), calving and gnats. The latter terms, despite the “phenological” form, in fact, direct related to the reindeer husbandry, as is associated with the device of smoky fire to protect reindeer from the gnats. Month “turan race” – “crow's month” (actually), explained as “half cold, half warm time”, the term which marking the spring equinox – the point of the “balance” of light and darkness. The first Dolgan record had phenological names of the months too, but their original meaning (nelkin – early spring, noghini – late spring) was lost, they have become “a month of new calves birth” and “spring water” (i.e. river flooding). Month “mucin bega” – July, literally “the month greening of larch”, turned to “month of gnats”. The second calendar entry of the Dolgans there was a change of term month (Evenk “bega” changed to Yakut “ya”). The name of May – June as “taba toruur ya” – reindeer calving month was translations primary sense of the term into Yakut only. July preserved his sense (“mosquito month”) received the Yakut name “berdych ya”, but there is no similar names of June or July in the native Yakut calendars. August “irgecta ya” (gadflies month) even kept original Evenk name “irgakta (gnats)”. The September – October (reindeer rutting time), became known as chiekte ya – falling off the needles in larch (with t>ch). The deer rutting begins with the subsidence of the needles of a larch, so there is a “deer” name of the month too. Thus keeping the reindeer husbandry as the basic of the economy, Dolgans preserved terms initial semantics too, just translated them into the Yakut, partially combined, with the old Evenk terms. December in the first records of Evenk and Dolgan calendars had the same name “borit bega” (“borit” – the separation, Evenk), it become to the “second half of the dark time” (at the second record). In the last record (end of 20 c) the original semantics is preserved in the names of the months with reindeer vocabulary (calving, rutting, gadflies, midges) and two winter months – November and December (“small” and “large” dark months). The native calendars of the Evenk or Yakut, have no months with such names, but they were in Samoyeds calendars. This means that reindeer herding and solar (“dark months”) vocabulary, of Dolgans consciousness (and calendar myth) dominated in the first record and after 150 years too. Winter fishing (burbot) months appeared only in the second record. January “heen ya” – month of fishing in the “headwaters” lakes (dial. from “seen” is the origin, the Yakut). The following “deering ya” – a month of fishing in deep lakes (dearing – deep, yakut, the second half of January – beg. February). “Synergien ya” – april (> “sangan” – burbot, Evenk.), had analogies only of the Khanty calendars. That is, in calendar vocabulary Dolgan no (!) any “Yakut” name of the months, and some of the names of the months (gadfly, burbot) have kept Evenk names, after the language changing. The name of the month (from “bega” to “ya”) was replaced in the second stage, denoting, thus, a formal transition

from one language to another. Herding, judging by the vocabulary, was the main occupation, and even the “month of the flood” was related to him, as the floods affected the migration of reindeer herds during the spring dispersal. The names of three winter months only belonged to the fishing. Given data do not allow a more detailed of the transformation of the calendar vocabulary during the long ethnic contacts, but it is obvious that the final step in the transition from one language to another, it is the perception of the name “units of time measure” (month). In later recordings calendar vocabulary normally preserves the original sense, but on the new language, and much less retains the original names of the months.

LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE ARCTIC EUROPE, WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON SAAMI LANGUAGES / ON NORTH SAAMI

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The Saami branch of the Uralic family is a continuum of about ten languages that stretch from the central parts of Norway and Sweden to the Kola Peninsula in Russia. While some of them are moribund, about half of them are being transmitted to new generations under the ever-growing influence of four majority languages – Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and Russian – whose predecessors have had continuous contacts with predecessors of modern Saami languages from time immemorial. Today, North Saami has approximately 20,000 speakers and is spoken by about 90 per cent of the speakers of the Saami languages.

Due to their geopolitical position in the vicinity of the well-studied languages of the Baltic Sea region, the Saami languages are among the best-studied languages of the Uralic family. **The first talk, “Language contact in the Arctic Europe, with a special focus on Saami languages”**, aims to give a general overview of the Saami languages and summarize what can be said about the earliest reconstructable language contacts in the Arctic Europe.

During the past decades, one of the central creeds of the Saami national awakening has been the idea of the linguistic and cultural unity of “one people, whose fellowship must not be divided by state boundaries”. From a linguistic point of view, this protectionism is relevant mainly to the North Saami: While many Saami languages have remained mutually intelligible with their closest neighbors, the overall diversity of the Saami languages is comparable to that of Germanic or Romance. Today, virtually all speakers of Saami languages are bilingual in their respective state languages. The inescapable bilingualism and the severe minority position have resulted in remarkable interference and changes on all levels of all languages.

The North Saami of Norway, Sweden and Finland generally wish to maintain their language in its pure and classical form to avoid the genuine danger of the state borders dividing the language community. However, despite conscious efforts to prevent the dispersal, an increasing number of North Saami speakers do face problems when communicating across the state borders that have become new dialect borders that starkly differ from the traditional ones. Communication difficulties seem to be most severe in written discourse and modern domains that are largely dependent on the majority languages and distinct national traditions.

While most Saami language communities such as those of Aanaar Saami and South Saami develop in internally uniform directions – becoming increasingly isomorphic with Finnish (Uralic) and Norwegian/Swedish (Indo-European), respectively – the situation of North Saami is the most extraordinary. From a typological perspective, it is remarkable that the three majority languages are, in a sense, forcefully pulling the language in two opposite directions.

In the second talk, “Language contact in the Arctic Europe, with a special focus on North Saami”, I will present concrete examples of the all-embracing development that seems to be dividing North Saami in two or three, only partially slowed down by language planning measures such as creation of modern vocabulary instead of extensive borrowing from diverse languages. Within the sphere of morphosyntax, examples of increasing isomorphism include differences in word order at the phrase and clause level, new patterns of argument marking, presence vs. lack of indefinite and definite articles, synthesis vs. analysis in verbal, nominal and adjectival morphosyntax, and finite vs. non-finite strategies for clause combining.

The ongoing restructuring and dispersal of North Saami is, paradoxically, accelerated by its elevated status as the dominant indigenous language of the three Nordic countries. North Saami is

subject to many ambitious measures to revitalize the language by, e.g., introducing the language in an increasing number of new domains and attempting to recreate new speaker groups through L2 education of children and adults. As a part of the general urbanization of the Nordic countries, also North Saami have migrated to distant cities in which their heritage language is overwhelmingly surrounded by three distinct majority languages and national state cultures. At the same time, the predominant language ideology requires that the language remain undivided and free from contact-induced innovations, and non-native and unconventional North Saami is often stigmatized as undesirable. I will also assess the future possibilities of North Saami as a structurally uniform language system.

Языковые контакты в циркумполярном регионе

Под редакцией О. А. Казакевич, А. А. Кибрика, Н. М. Стойновой, О. В. Ханиной

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