

# MULTILINGUALISM AND LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES IN THE LOWER REACHES OF YENISEY



Olesya Khanina

Institute of Linguistics, RAS

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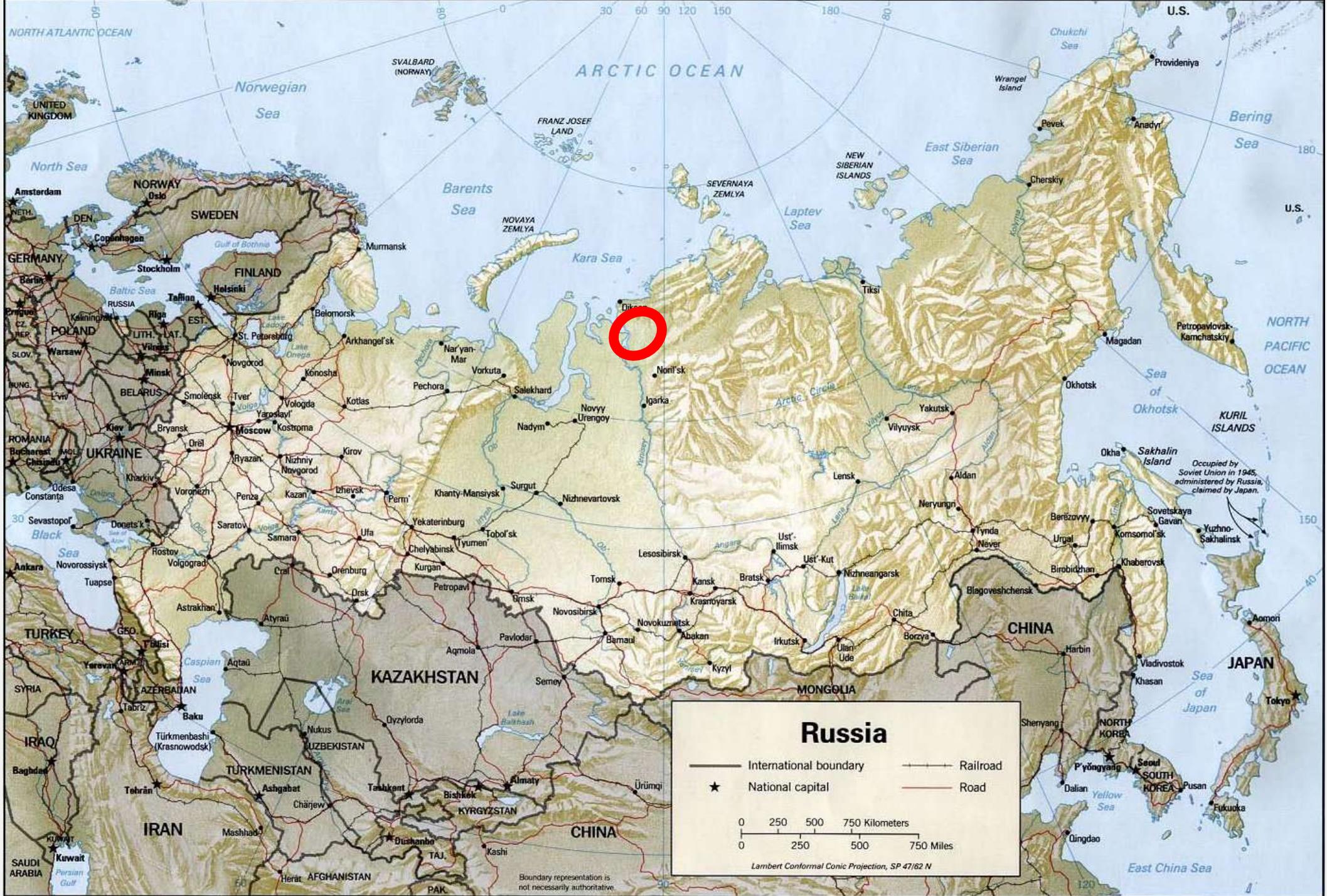
## GOAL OF THE TALK

- to contribute to a typology of language practices in small-scale multilingual communities
- 1930 – 1970
- Samoyedic (Uralic) speakers of the north-eastern part of the lower Yenisey

## METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

- This is a part of a bigger sociolinguistic and ethnographic study of communities of practice/social networks (1930-1970), geographically based in Vorontsovo and Ust-Awam:
  - via a study of linguistic biographies of the generation born in the 1900-1930s as developed in a series of extended semi-structured interviews with their descendants (2017, ca. 20 interviews)
    - cf. papers by Dobrushina & Zakirova, Pupynina, Amelina
- Language ideologies cannot be compared with language practices, as this is a study of the past.
- Background of this study: study of languages of the area and their mutual influences.

1	<b>Все эти вопросы заполняются для каждого человека, про которого респондент может рассказать: эго, родители, сиблинги, бабушки</b>
2	Этническое имя (если есть)
3	Фамилия, имя, отчество
4	Год рождения, год смерти
5	Этничность: самосознание - почему, кем считают окружающие - почему, объективные данные (если возможно)
6	Краткая биография 1: дошкольное детство (особое внимание к social networks: с кем жил, с кем дружил; особое внимание к migration)
7	Краткая биография 2: школа (особое внимание к social networks: с кем жил, с кем дружил, с кем работал; особое внимание к migration)
8	Краткая биография 3: после школы до брака/детей (особое внимание к social networks: с кем жил, с кем дружил, с кем работал; особое внимание к migration)
9	Краткая биография 4: в браке/с детьми (особое внимание к social networks: с кем жил, с кем дружил, с кем работал; особое внимание к migration)
10	Краткая биография 5: взрослые дети/внуки (особое внимание к social networks: с кем жил, с кем дружил, с кем работал; особое внимание к migration)
11	Языки респондента: качественная оценка по каждому языку, умение писать/читать, отношение к каждому языку (на чем любит говорить)
12	История и контекст усвоения каждого языка
13	С кем на каком языке говорит и говорил (включая животных - олени, собаки, птицы и т.д.), с кем на каком языке (было) никак нельзя говорить
14	Знание фольклора на каждом языке
15	Школа: где она была, интернат или нет, в каком году пошел респондент, на каких языках говорил до школы, какие языки усвоил в школе
16	Какой этничности были люди там, где жил респондент, и на каких языках в каких ситуациях они говорили (для всех уровней - поселок, деревня, город)
17	Какое к каждому этносу/языку было отношение респондента в каждом месте из 16? Что он считал нормальным - общение с кем на каком языке
18	Какое к каждому этносу/языку было отношение окружающих в каждом месте из 16? Что считалось нормальным - общение с кем на каком языке
19	Приезжали ли гости в детстве? Этничность? На каких языках, с кем и когда они говорили
20	К кому ездили родители в гости в детстве респондента (брали его/ее с собой)? Этничность? На каких языках, с кем и когда они говорили
21	Контекст интервью: что респондент знает про интервьюера и какие у него ожидания относительно того, что тот хочет услышать
22	Технические данные интервью: дата, место, наличие аудио/бумажных записей, кто еще присутствовал, длительность



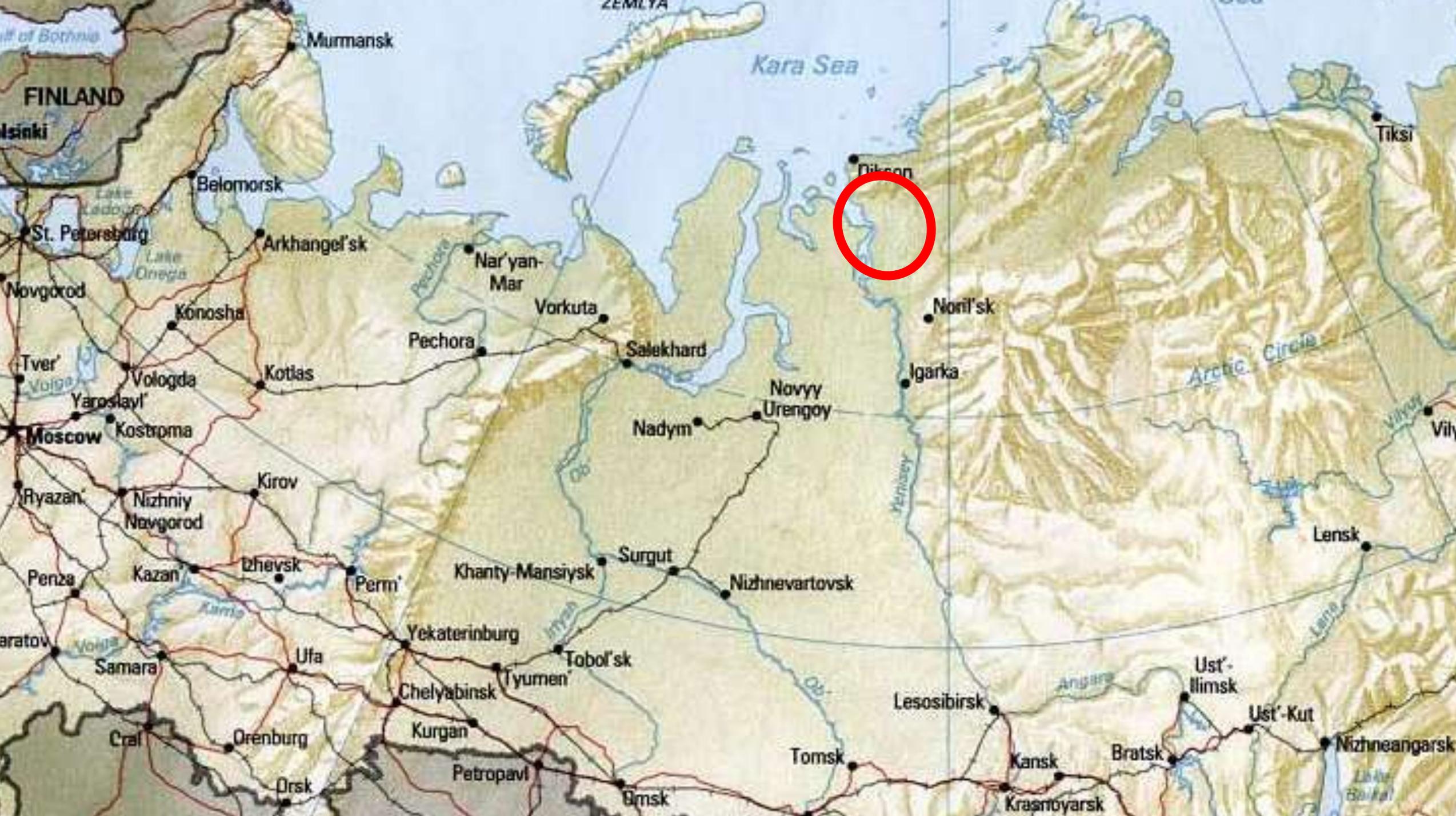
**Russia**

- International boundary
- ★ National capital
- +— Railroad
- Road

0 250 500 750 Kilometers  
0 250 500 750 Miles

Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, SP 47/62 N

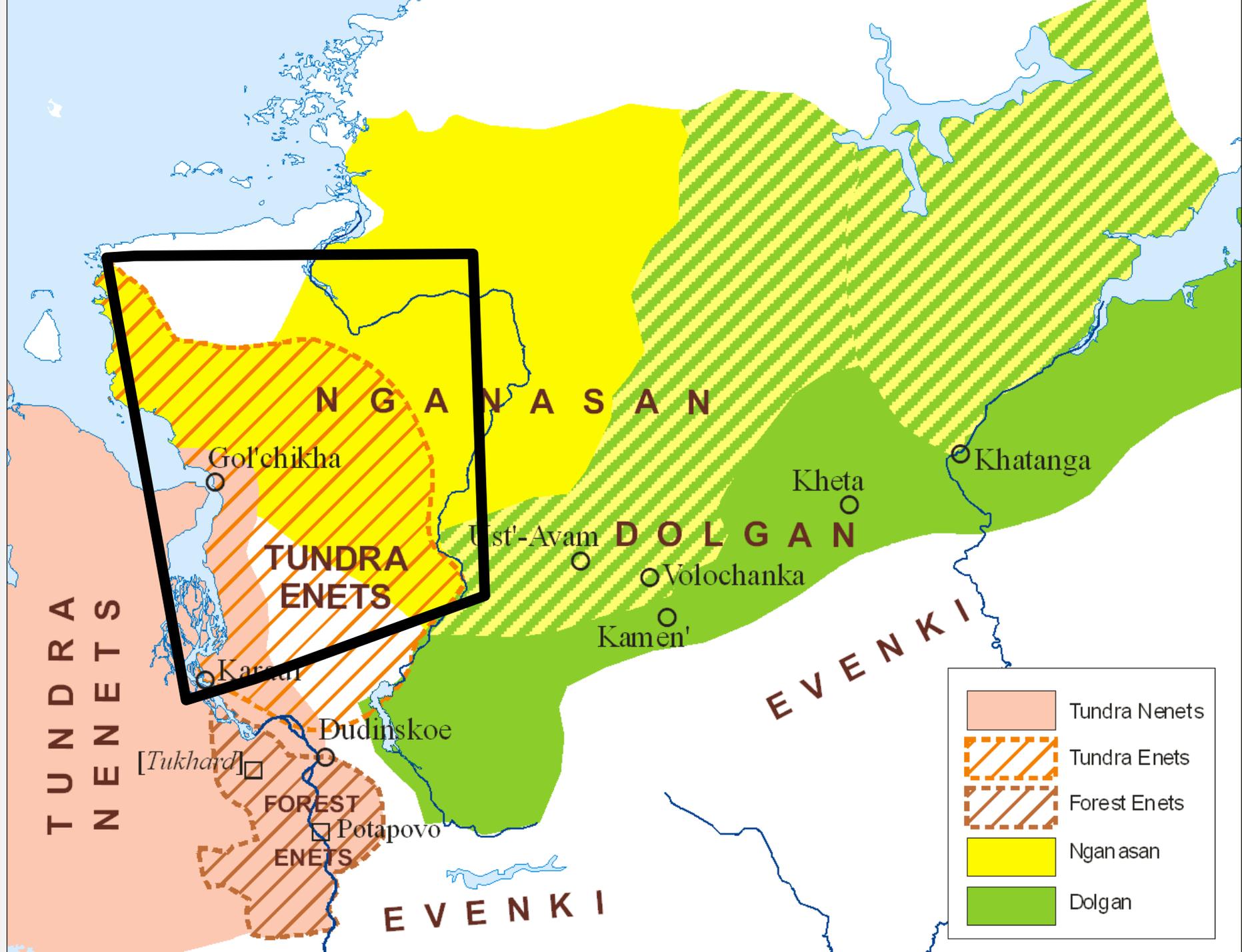
Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.



MAP BY  
YURI  
KORYAKOV

1930-1970

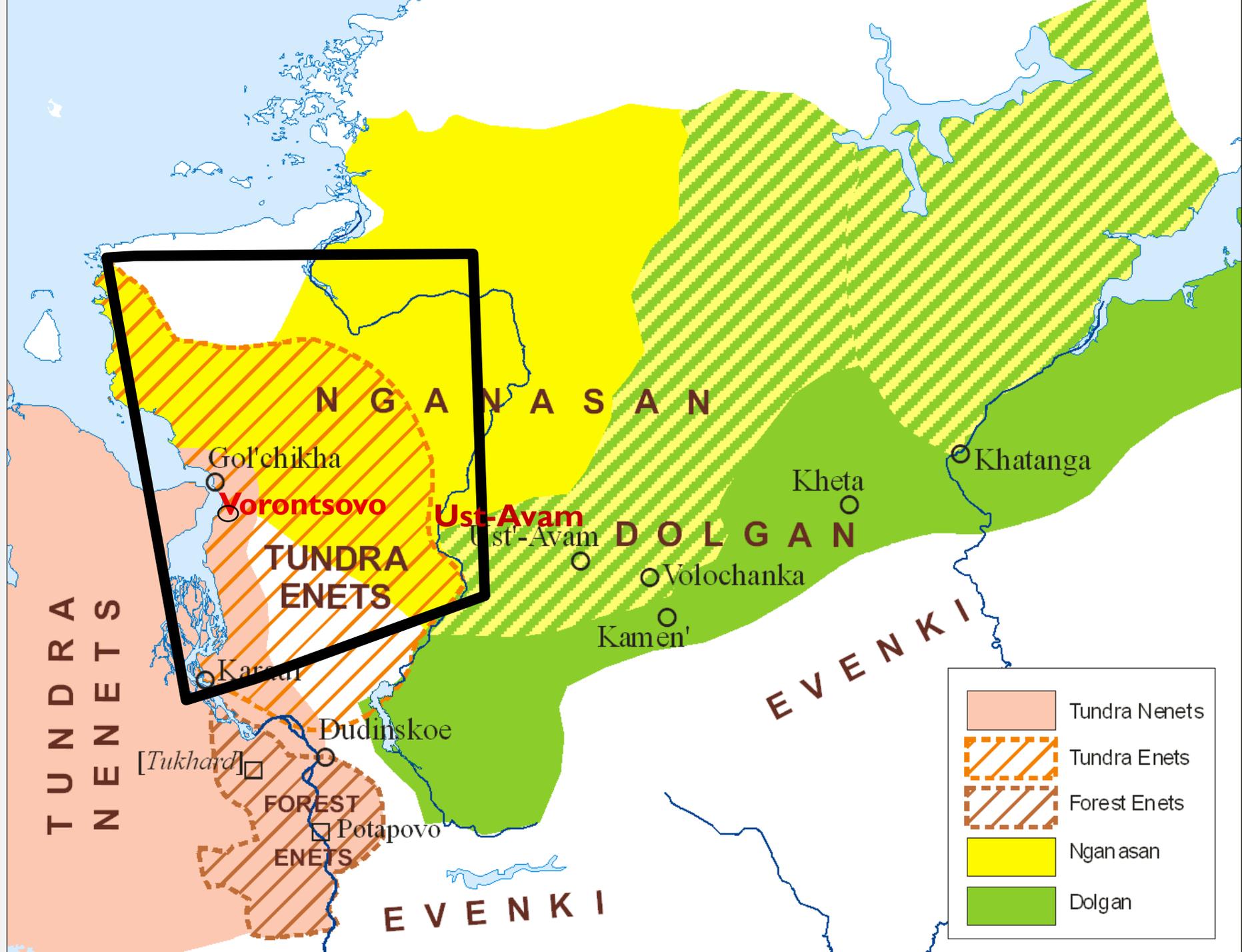
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1930-1970

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## LINGUISTIC PRACTICES (I)

- Mixed marriages, visits to family/friends in spring, exchange of reindeers
- Languages are related (Northern Samoyedic):
  - TE/TN ~ German/Dutch, Russian/Polish
  - TE/Ng ~ German/Norwegian, Russian/Bulgarian
  - TN/Ng ~ English/Norwegian, Russian/Latvian
- After some period of close contact (e.g. life in the same household), all speakers develop at least some understanding skills
- No external lingua franca

## LINGUISTIC PRACTICES (2)

- Vorontsovo:
  - Numbers of ethnic groups (1926): TE (330) > TN (150) > Ng (50)
  - Numbers of ethnic groups (1960s): TE (160) > TN (200) > Ng (5)
  - **Individual repertoires, active bilingualism (by numbers):**  
**TE-TN > TE-TN-Ng (1930-1940), TE-TN > TN > TE-TN-Ng (1950-1960),**
- Ust-Avam:
  - Numbers of ethnic groups (1960s): Ng (230) > TE (35) > TN (5)
  - **Individual repertoires, active bilingualism (by numbers):**  
**Ng > Ng-TE > Ng-TE-TN > Ng-TN**

Dolgikh 1949, Vasilyev & Tugolukov 1960, Vasilyev 1970

## LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

- no prestige asymmetry in any case
- multilingualism is estimated positive: when assessing linguistic proficiencies of their late relatives, respondents usually overestimate than underestimate
- such overestimation is connected to the ideology of ‘it was normal to at least understand the languages of those ethnic groups that you have contacts with’ – even if such contacts were sporadic (cf. ability of Ng in Ust-Avam to understand TN)
- high level of linguistic tolerance

# LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE

- I have found basically no negative attitudes to any type of linguistic activity:
  - everyone speaks the way s/he wants, and if the motivation is not understood by a respondent, it's always 'how strange, I do not understand' and never 'How awful, disgraceful, S/he was mocked for it, S/he should not have done it'.
  - (This is true for indigenous languages of the region: the ability to speak only Russian is always commented on negatively.)
- Likewise, no moral or aesthetical value was ascribed to any linguistic event/repertoire.

## A POSSIBLE EXCEPTION: TN IN VORONTSOVO

- A group of TE migrated from the Vorontsovo area to the Ust-Avam area in the 1930s
- Reasons: famine, earlier collectivization/shamanism prosecution
- BUT also 'they were offended by the Tundra Nenets' (who were poorer before the Soviet times)
- In the 1930s-1960s TN became more numerous than TE who inhabited this area for at least 300 years; there appeared TN who did not speak TE

## WHAT IS A NATIVE LANGUAGE?

- The language s/he has acquired first? - Not necessarily
- The language of his/her mother/father? - Not necessarily
- The language of the predominant ethnic group around him/her? - Not necessarily
- **The language of the ethnic group that s/he considers himself/herself belonging to?**
  - **Yes, but note that a person can change his/her ethnic group during his/her lifespan!**

# LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

- Languages do express identity in essentialist fashion (as in Western language ideologies):
  - there are no dual identities,
  - identities are not used in indexical fashion (as when speakers index different identities to different stakeholders),
  - BUT the identity may change once (?) during the speakers' life
    - e.g. *Those Enets, who became Nganasans, they could speak their language and Nganasan*
    - TE who moved to a predominantly Ng area changed their identities to Ng (spoke Ng to their spouses and to their children, spoke TE with other TE adults)
    - a TN woman is considered TE when she arrives to a clear TN settlement, at the left bank, though she herself does not speak TE;
    - women can change their identity after marriage – 2 cases (first husband vs. second husband);

## LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

- Language used with the spouse and children: the language of the ethnic identity of the father (note that men do not change identity by marriage)
- TE was always used among adults who could speak TE ~ ‘language of the adults, of the old folk’ ~ language of the storytelling
- We do not know much about what was discussed by these adults in TE, as their descendants, who report these communicative events, did not understand TE!

# CONCLUSION

2 cases (Vorontsovo vs. Ust-Avam) with quite similar ideologies:

identity = language, but a change is possible (when the change happened in Ust-Avam, only the new native language was used with the children),

and it is 'natural' for TE to understand/speak the language of their neighbors

+ in the earlier times, for TN and Ng as well (why? reindeers?)

and similar dynamics: TE became assimilated by more numerous TN/Ng (more clear case in Ust-Avam, less clear case in Vorontsovo where the process was interrupted by a shift to Russian)

- Lüpke, Frederike. 2016. Uncovering small-scale multilingualism, In *Critical Multilingualism Studies* 4.2, 35-74.
- How do the cases described fit into the typology of multilingual settings?

**Table 1.** Parameters and values for a heuristic approach to multilingual settings

<b>Values</b>			<b>Parameters</b>
Reciprocal multilingualism	Receptive multilingualism	Passive multilingualism	Comprehension and production of codes
No monolingualism practiced	Monolingualism practised by many group members	Monolingualism practised by all/most group members	Pervasiveness of multilingualism
Pervasive intrasentential code-mixing	Little code-mixing	No code-mixing, mainly code-switching	Code interaction
Multilingual ideologies	Partly erasing ideologies	Monolingual ideologies	Ideologies of multilingualism
Indexical identities	Dual identities	Essentialist identities	Scope of identities
			
<b>High degree of multilingualism</b>		<b>Low degree of multilingualism</b>	

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THANK YOU