

Typology of small-scale multilingualism
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Lower Kolyma Multilingualism

And its linguistic outcomes

Maria Pupynina

ILS RAS/IL RAS, St. Petersburg/Moscow

Natalia Aralova

CNRS & Université de Lyon



The site



Languages

- Yukaghir
 - Even
 - Chukchi
 - Yakut
 - Russian
- } Minority languages
- } Dominant languages

Multilingual individuals can speak 3+ languages



Research questions

- Can the Lower Kolyma linguistic situation be characterized as small-scale multilingualism?
- Which sociolinguistic patterns can we infer about the past of the region?
- How does this sociolinguistic situation influence the languages of the region?

Sociolinguistic survey in Nizhnekolymskii district

- Conducted in Cherskii and Kolymskoye in 2018
- Written surveys
- 76 subjects (over 25 years old) whose parents (at least one of them) were born in the region between 1933 and 1989
- Questions on language repertoires of subjects and their parents
- Questions on language use (e.g. which languages did you use in school)
- + 15 oral interviews with detailed information on subjects' migrational histories

Language repertoires (subjects): 13 repertoires, 76 subjects



Monolinguals	3
Russian	3
Bilinguals	23
Russian & Chukchi	19
Russian & Yakut	3
Russian & Even	1
Trilinguals	19
Even, Russian & Yakut	6
Chukchi, Russian & Yakut	5
Chukchi, Even & Russian	4
Chukchi, Yukaghir & Russian	4

Quadrilinguals	28
Yukaghir, Even, Russian & Yakut	9
Chukchi, Even, Russian & Yakut	4
Chukchi, Yukaghir, Russian & Yakut	4
Chukchi, Yukaghir, Even & Russian	1
Quintolinguals	13
Chukchi, Yukaghir, Even, Russian & Yakut	13

Language repertoires (fathers): 21 repertoires; 74 subjects

Monolinguals		Trilinguals		Quadrilinguals	
	24		14		8
Russian	11	Even & Yakut & Russian	2	Yukag. & Even & Yakut & Rus.	1
Yakut	3	Chukchi & Yakut & Russian	2	Chukchi & Even & Yakut & Rus.	4
Chukchi	10	Chukchi & Even & Russian	5	Chukchi & Yukag. & Even & Rus.	1
		Chukchi & Even & Yakut	1	Chukchi & Yukag. & Even & Yakut	2
Bilinguals		Chukchi & Yukaghir & Russian	2		
	21	Chukchi & Yukaghir & Yakut	1	Quintolinguals	
Russian & Yakut	7	Chukchi & Yukaghir & Even	1		7
Even & Yakut	5			Chukchi, Yukaghir, Even, Russian & Yakut	7
Yukaghir & Yakut	2				
Yukaghir & Even	1				
Chukchi & Russian	5				
Chukchi & Even	1				

- The subjects born between 1878 and 1960

Language repertoires (mothers): 25 repertoires; 75 subjects

Monolinguals	10	Trilinguals	16	Quadrilinguals	9
Russian	3	Even & Yakut & Russian	1	Yukag. & Even & Yakut & Rus.	2
Yakut	1	Yukaghir & Even & Yakut	3	Chukchi & Even & Yakut & Rus.	1
Chukchi	4	Chukchi & Yakut & Russian	2	Chukchi & Yukag. & Yakut & Rus.	3
Even	2	Chukchi & Even & Russian	4	Chukchi & Yukag. & Even & Rus.	1
Bilinguals	29	Chukchi & Even & Yakut	1	Chukchi & Yukag. & Even & Yakut	3
Russian & Yakut	4	Chukchi & Yukaghir & Russian	4		
Even & Yakut	4	Chukchi & Yukaghir & Even	1		
Yukaghir & Yakut	1			Quintolinguals	10
Yukaghir & Even	1			Chukchi, Yukaghir, Even, Russian & Yakut	10
Chukchi & Russian	8				
Chukchi & Yakut	1				
Chukchi & Even	7				
Chukchi & Yukaghir	3				

- The subjects born between 1883 and 1963

Historical outlook: the 19-th – beginning of the 20-th century



Traditional ecologies:

- Chukchi – reindeer herders
- Even – nomadic hunters (reindeer for transport uses)
- Yukaghir – nomadic fishermen and hunters (just several reindeer per family for transport)

Historical outlook: the 19-th – beginning of the 20-th century



- Multilinguals of Yukaghir/Even origin are mentioned in the literature (Iokhelson 1926, Maidel 1984, Sinjavin 1911, 1913 etc.)
- Usually these multilingual speakers were Even male hunters who had to travel long distances and met a lot of other's camps on their way
- Or they were Yukaghir mediators who helped Russian administrative workers. Yukaghir translators or guides could speak 4+ languages
- Yukaghir and Even women who married men from other ethnic groups (Chukchi, Yakut or Russian) usually switched to their husband's languages
- Possibly - Yukaghir-Even bilingualism (some Yukaghir tribes totally switching to Even and vice versa).

20th century after 1917

Sociolinguistic interviews, archives and literature data show that mass multilingualism (3+ languages) emerged after the establishment of the Soviet rule.

Important factors

- Changes in traditional economies – establishment of *kolkhzes* (collective farms)
- School education
- Increase of interethnic marriages

Changes in traditional economies

- *Kolkhozes* (Andriushkino and Kolymskoye)

Nomadic brigades
(Chukchi, Even,
Yukaghir - usually
monoethnic)

Hunting points
(Even, Yukaghir,
Chukchi)

Fishing points
(Yukaghir, Even,
Chukchi)



Changes in traditional economies

- Before that, there were a lot of hunting places and fishing spots used by small Yukaghir and Even family groups.
- Chukchi always followed certain routes along their vast pastures. Only summer pastures overlapped with some Yukaghir territories and only winter pastures overlapped with Even lands.
- The ethnic groups met only occasionally and did not communicate much.
- The Soviet administration used only several hunting and fishing spots as 'working places' for kolkhoz employees – the ones which were on the way of nomadic brigades. Some spots also served as supply stations for nomadic brigades moving through. The situations of interethnic communication near these spots became the norm.

Overlapping of fishing spots and nomads' routes

A ford
where
reindeer-
herding
brigade usually
crosses the
Chukochya
river during
summer moves



Chukochya

a fishing point
(up to now)
and supply
post for
reindeer
brigades (up
to 1990)

Overlapping of fishing/hunting spots and nomads' routes > multilingualism

- My mother considered it polite to speak the guests' language' (typical phrase of people of Even and Yukaghir origin to describe parents' linguistic behavior)
- We used to play with Even children from the neighbourhood, and I learned a lot of commands in Even (Elderly lady of Chukchi/Yukaghir origin)

School education: Andryushkino vs. Kolymskoye



Multilingualism (typical language repertoires)

Andriushkino

- Yukaghir
- Even
- Yakut
- Russian

Small-scale


Kolymskoye

- Chukchi
- Yukaghir
- Even
- Yakut
- Russian

Linguistic outcomes of Lower Kolyma multilingualism: data

- Tundra Yukaghir: a corpus of published texts, a short paper (Kurilova 2014)
- Lower Kolyma Even: a small corpus of texts collected by Maria Pupynina in 2018, and a detailed description (Sharina & Kuzmina 2018)
- Kolyma Chukchi: a corpus of texts collected by Maria Pupynina in 2013-2018

Linguistic outcomes of Lower Kolyma multilingualism: the influence of Russian



Tundra Yukaghir, Lower Kolyma Even, Kolyma
Chukchi < Russian

- Phonetics: elders often claim that younger speaker speak with accent
- Multiple lexical borrowings (names of new objects and phenomena)
- Syntax: conjunctions, word order etc.

Tundra Yukaghir: influence of Yakut

Agricultural terms

Adverbs, conjunctions, e.g. olus 'too', nahaa 'very'

!! The number of borrowings in the speech of consultants originating from Andryushkino is lower than in the speech of Kolymskoye residents

Tundra Yukaghir: influence of Russian via Yakut



саакар < якут. саахар < рус. сахар;
кильиэп < якут. килиэп < рус. хлеб;
кулууп < якут. кулууп < русск. клуб;



Tundra Yukaghir: influence of Even

enye 'mother' < enin 'мать'

amaa 'father' < ama(n) 'father'

akaa 'elder brother' < aka 'brother'

ekya 'elder sister' < eke 'elder sister'

Tundra Yukaghir: influence of Chukchi



Only several considerably old loanwords

katka 'axe' < chuk. γ atte 'adze'

Awiaa 'yesterday' < Chuk. Aiwe 'yesterday'
(?)

Lower Kolyma Even: influence of Yakut

Numerous and frequent lexical borrowings

- Discourse particles: *araj* 'once, and.here', *bolla* < *buolla* '~surely', *uonna* 'and', *je* 'well, finally', *dayani* 'also'
- Adverbs: *na:r* 'always', *bukatın* 'completely', *bayar* 'perhaps'
- Nouns: *ohok* 'stove'

Lower Kolyma Even: influence of Yakut

Structural changes: debitative constructions

- The dialect lacks necessitive mood found in the other dialects
- Developed two constructions under Yakut influence (Sharina & Kuzmina 2018: 87)
- One of them is a calque from Yakut construction “potential participle + proprietive suffix (+ copula)”
- Another one involves Yakut particle *tusta:x*

Lower Kolyma Even: influence of Yakut

Future participle + Yakut debitative particle (+copula)

koral	bi-jeŋe-n	tusta:x	bi-hi-n
corral.R	be-fut.ptcp-3sg	deb.ptl.Yak	be-pst-3sg

There must have been a corral (at that time). (TS_parents: 77)

Cf. Yakut

Bar-ïax	tusta:x
go-pot.ptcp	deb.ptl

He must go. (Sharina & Kuzmina 2018: 87)

Lower Kolyma Even: influence of Yukaghir

- Numerous lexical borrowings from Yukaghir (Sharina & Kuzmina 2018: 109-110)
 - Nouns: several semantic groups
 - Kinship: *kiaya* ‘grandfather’ < arch. Yuk. *kagija*, *emje* ‘younger sibling’, *epie* ‘older sister of the father’ etc.
 - Body parts: *amun* ‘bone’, *sisxa* ‘finger’
 - + certain birds, insects, reindeer terminology, tools

Kolyma Chukchi: influence of Yukaghir and Yakut

Chukchi < Yukaghir
moqən < muoha 'whitefish'

Chukchi < Yakut

One speaker of Chukchi used Yakut modal particle *duu* in her speech

The overall influence of Even, Yukaghir and Yakut is very small

Linguistic outcomes of Lower Kolyma multilingualism

Areal features:

- Interjections used by all residents
 - ətsəka-joo 'it's cold' (Yukaghir?)
- Affricate /tʃ/ (absent or rare in the variants of eastern Chukchi)

Linguistic outcomes of Lower Kolyma multilingualism: summary

- Yukaghir: lexical borrowings into from Yakut, Even and Chukchi
- Even: strong influence of Yakut (both lexical and structural), lexical influence of Yukaghir
- Chukchi: very little traces of language contact
- → Further investigation will be done



Conclusions

- Lower Kolyma multilingualism is an ephemeral phenomenon, it existed only during 70-80 years
- Only three languages of the maximum language repertoires of five languages were equal hierarchically (=small-scale multilingualism), the other two (Russian and Yakut) were dominant
- Linguistic outcomes of multilingualism reflect the long-lasting interrelationship of Even and Yukaghir and the growing influence of dominant languages
- What is left is Even\Yakut\Russian multilingualism with Russian as the most dominant language

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