



ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ АГЕНТСТВО НАУЧНЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЙ РОССИИ
ИНСТИТУТ
ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ
РОССИЙСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК



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SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-UGRIENNE

HELSINKIN YLIOPISTO
HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

История языкового разнообразия на Нижнем Енисее: северосамодийские языки во времени и пространстве

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Общетеоретический контекст: что

- Историческая лингвистика как история развития языков во времени и пространстве
 - «эволюционная типология» по (Кибрик 1992)
 - история языкового разнообразия: конкретные регионы и типология
 - не только как-типология, но и почему-типология (Кибрик 1992)
- (Heggarty 2015): «It does not just happen that language lineages spread, interact, diverge or converge, as if in a social, cultural and demographic vacuum. What determines the (pre)histories of language lineages, and shapes how they relate to each other, are just **the real-world contexts that impacted upon the populations that spoke them.**»

Общетеоретический контекст: как

- Многие языковые семьи уже довольно хорошо описаны и проанализированы с точки зрения компаративистики.
→ А что происходило во внеязыковой реальности?
 - (Heggarty 2015): «**real-world contexts** dictate not so much which particular changes occur, but which **patterns of divergence** may emerge from any changes».
 - Как распространялись конкретные языковые изменения и почему именно так?
 - Междисциплинарные методы:
 - социолингвистика (языковая вариативность, языковые идеологии и т.д.)
 - география (географическая лингвистика, моделирование миграций),
 - генетика,
 - археология.

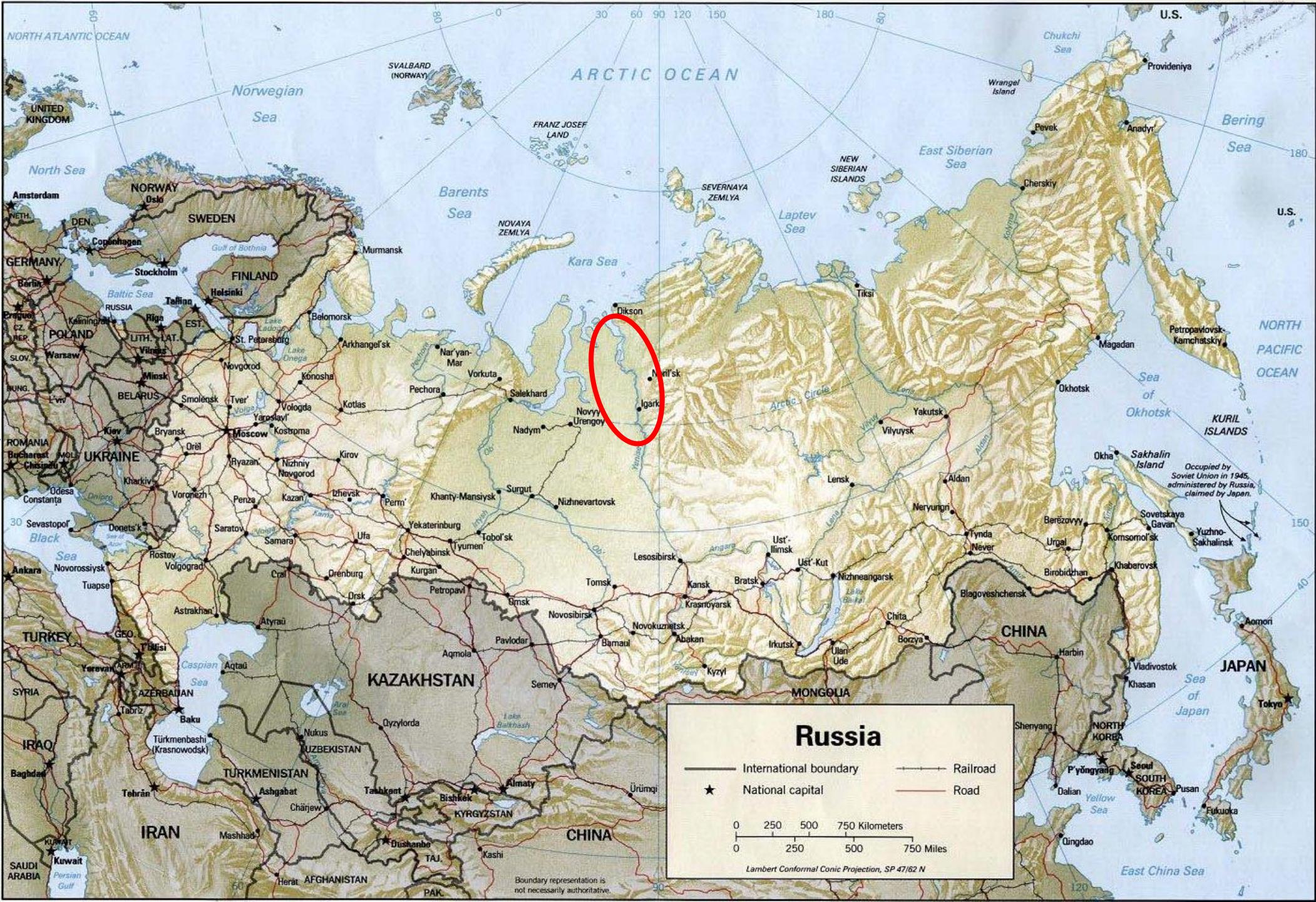
Общетеоретический контекст: зачем

- Взаимовыгодные исследования:
 - Методы других дисциплин, чтобы лучше понять собственно языковые процессы.
 - Методы лингвистики, чтобы лучше понять более общие исторические процессы.
- Исследования языкового разнообразия на Нижнем Енисее:
 - частная история самодийских и уральских языков,
 - частная история этого географического региона,
 - более общие механизмы исторического развития языковых семей в случае продолжающихся контактов между языками (языковой континуум),
 - Более общие механизмы исторического развития языков в доисторическом прошлом:

(Evans 2018): "Many have pointed out that **hunter-gatherer societies** provide the best analogues to the social and demographic conditions that shaped us through the longue durée of most of our shared human past: 95–99.999% of our history, depending who we are."

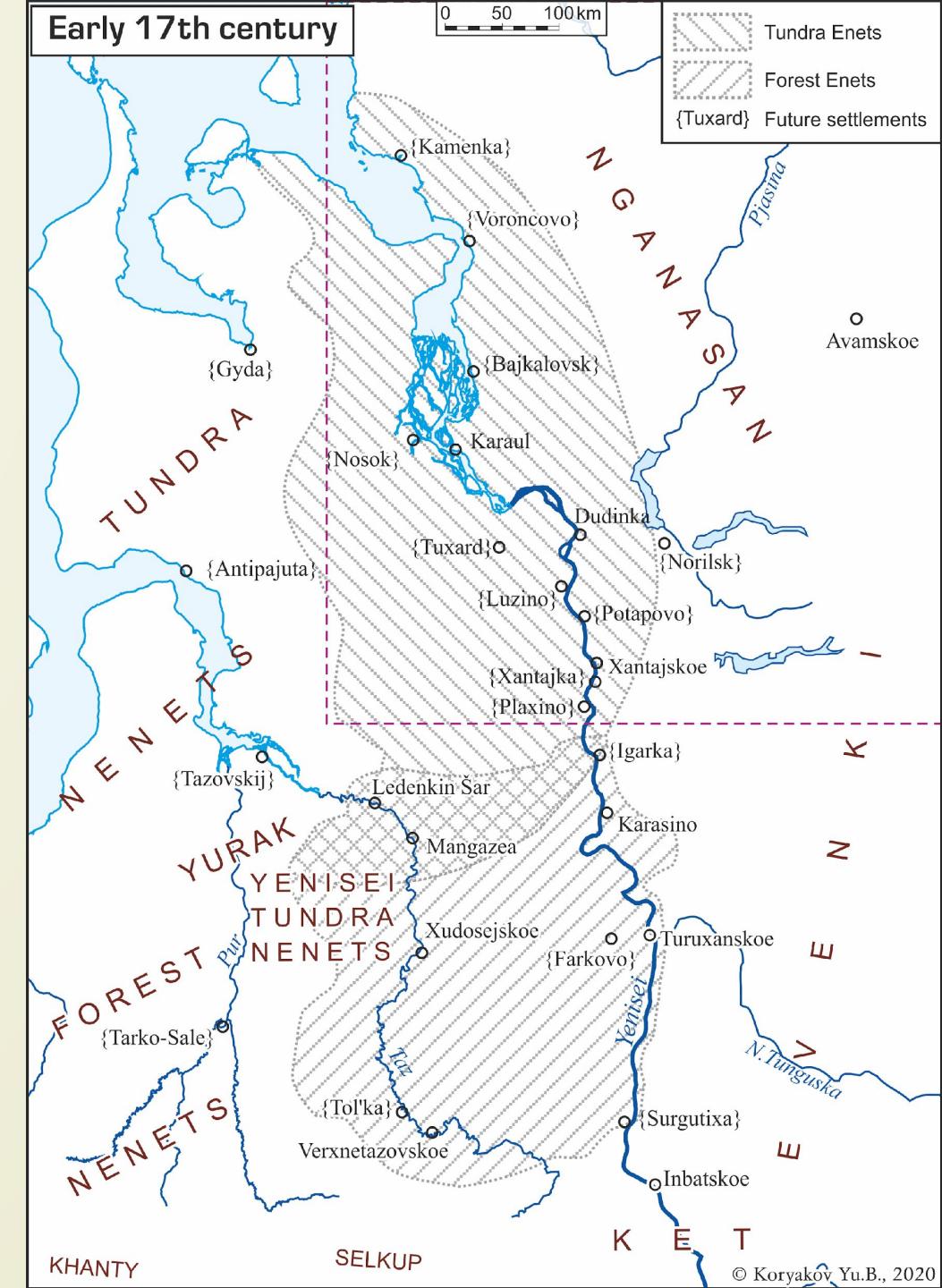
ЭКСКУРС В СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИКУ

□ Примеры из московской презентации



Languages spoken at the Lower Yenisei

- Northern Samoyedic (< Samoyedic < Uralic):
 - Tundra Nenets (and its dialects)
 - Forest Nenets
 - Tundra Enets
 - Forest Enets
 - Nganasan
 - † Yurak (Yurats)
 - With an exception of Tundra Nenets with thousands of speakers, all have always been spoken by hundreds of people at the most.
- Neighbors:
 - South: Selkup (Southern Samoyedic)
 - South: Ket (Yeniseian)
 - East: Evenki (Tungusic)
 - East: Dolgan (Turkic), in the 19th cent.
- 1000-1500 years ago: non-Uralic languages



Northern Samoyedic: overall geography



Research questions

- Where was the Proto-Samoyedic homeland? What are the estimated dates of the protolanguage break off?
- Why did Northern Samoyedic speakers leave the PS homeland?
- How did they leave it? What were their ways of migrations?
- Whom did they meet in their migrations?
- What kind of contacts were it?
- Did they keep contact with their original group? With others who migrated in a different direction? How did they do it?

Research questions

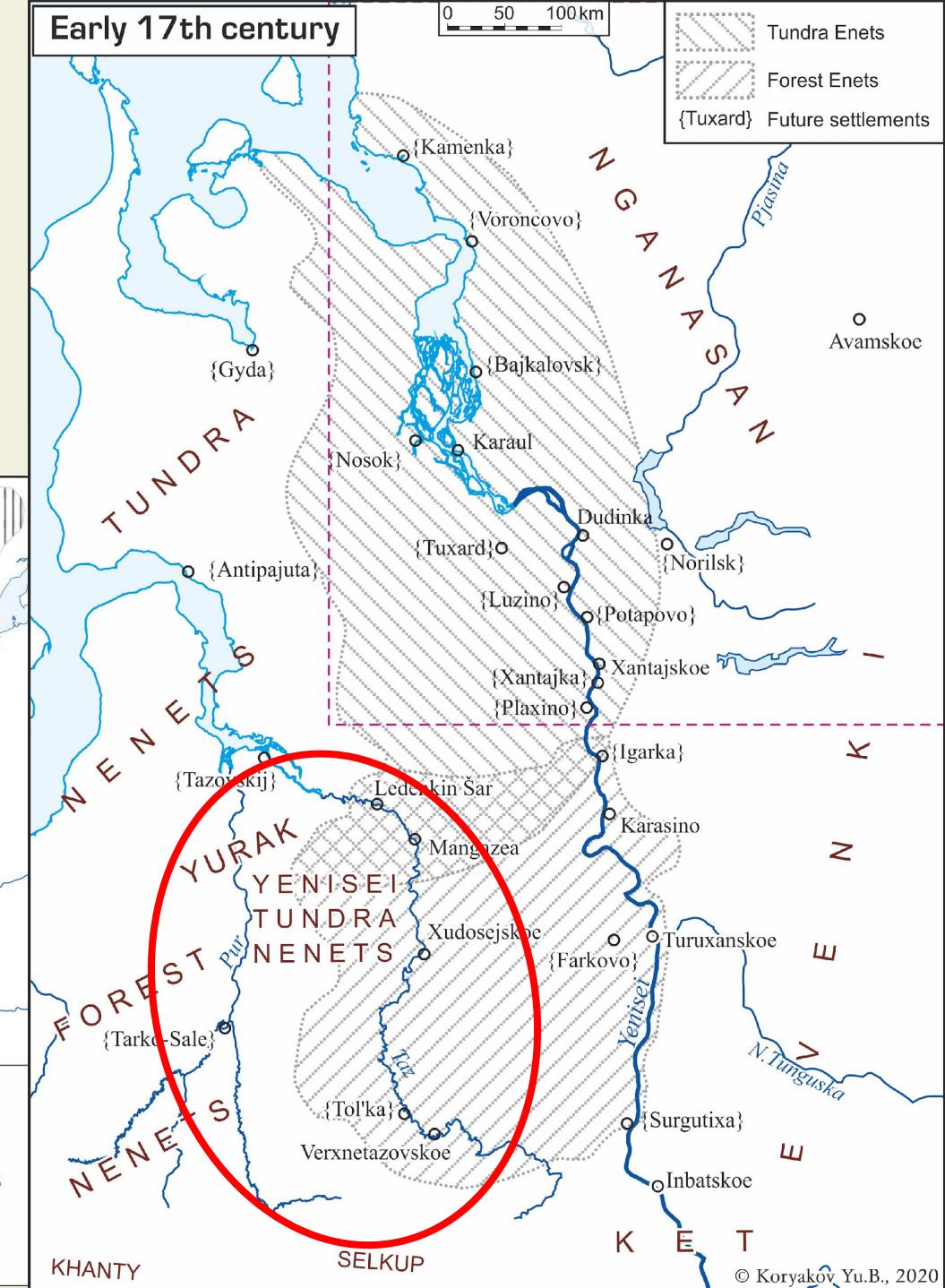
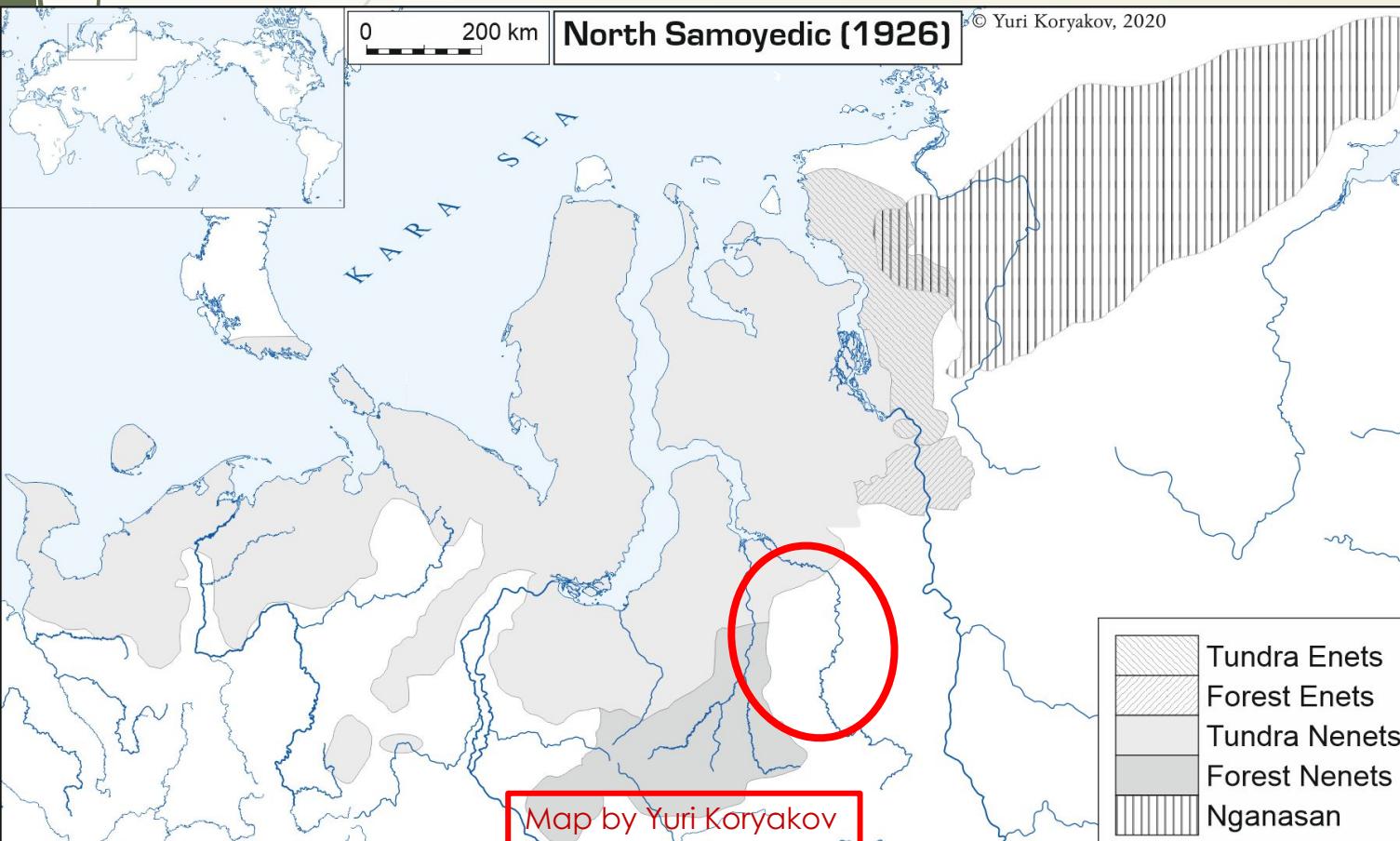
- Where was the Proto-Samoyedic homeland? What are the estimated dates of the protolanguage break off?
 - Much more to the south, 1500-2000 years ago.
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Proto-Northern-Samoyedic

The Mangazaeya area: the area of most diversity



Research questions

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Why did they go to the hostile north?

- A question that cannot be answered by linguistics.
- 2000 years ago transport reindeer herding emerged in the north of western/central Siberia.
 - Already Helimski (1989/2000) hypothesized an external reason for this abrupt split (e.g. emergence of reindeer herding).
 - Recent archeological findings (Fedorova 1998, 2002, 2019, Fedorova & Gusev 2019) could date the emergence of the reindeer herding.
 - The dates are the same!

BUT there is a contradiction:

- 4 nouns for reindeer can be reconstructed for Proto-Samoyedic (Helimski 1989/2000), spoken in the Southern Siberia,
- but archeologists interpret Yamal findings as signs of reindeer herding emergence at the Yamal peninsula or only slightly more to the south.

Research questions

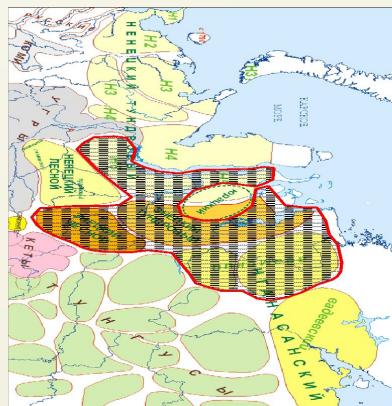
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How did NS speakers proceed to the north?

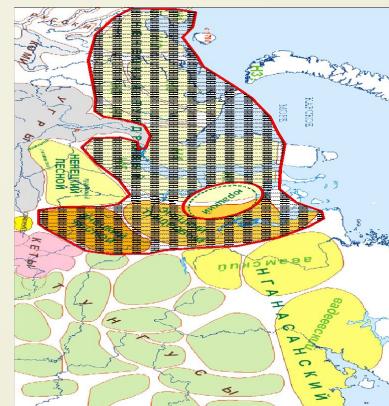
- Abruptly, slowly, or in several waves?
 - linguistic evidence, e.g. isolation by distance in vocabulary, has to be studied yet
 - My current hypothesis, to be confirmed by further studies:
 - The Nganasans were clearly the frontier people, who headed to the north first.
 - The remaining NS languages moved together to the north, to the Mangazaja area
 - Then, the Enets went to the east (and later to the north)
 - Then, the Tundra Nenets went to the north-west
 - After the sudden break off from Proto-Samoyedic, Northern Samoyedic speakers remained in close contact with each other at least for 1000 years (Helimski 2000, 1982), with slow separation of the dialect continuum into distinct languages.

How did NS speakers proceed to the north?

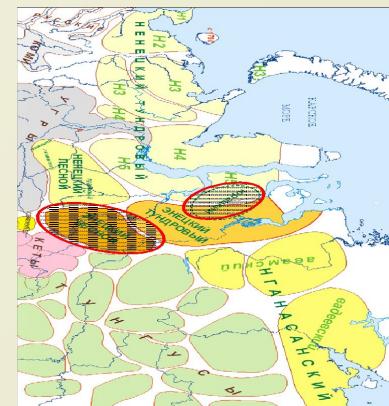
- After the sudden break off from Proto-Samoyedic, Northern Samoyedic speakers remained in close contact with each other at least for 1000 years (Helimski 2000, 1982), with slow separation of the dialect continuum into distinct languages.
 - On modern map of NS languages some isoglosses are broken (Gusev 2017), so there were sudden changes to the dialect continuum/chain



НЕНГ (ТАЙМЫРСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ), ЭНГ, ЭНГ, НГАН



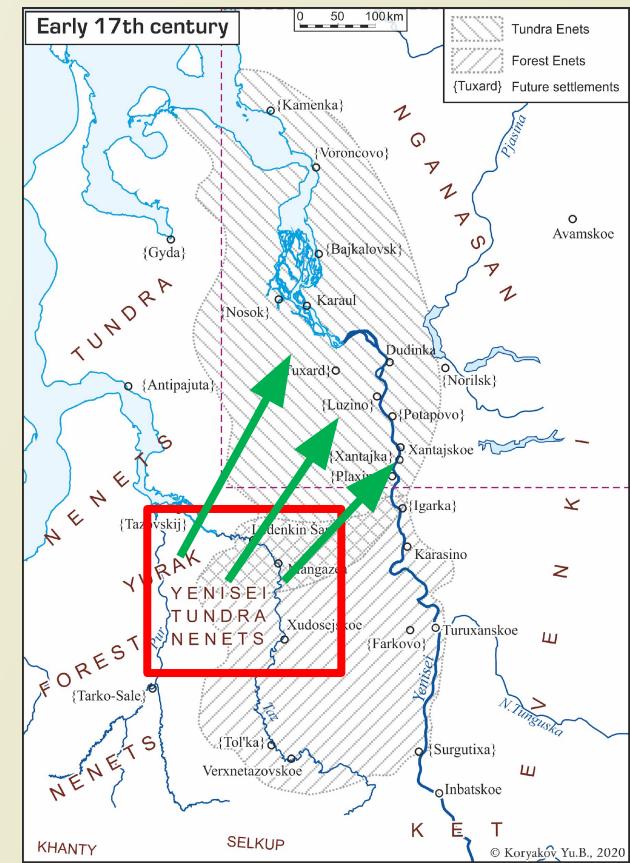
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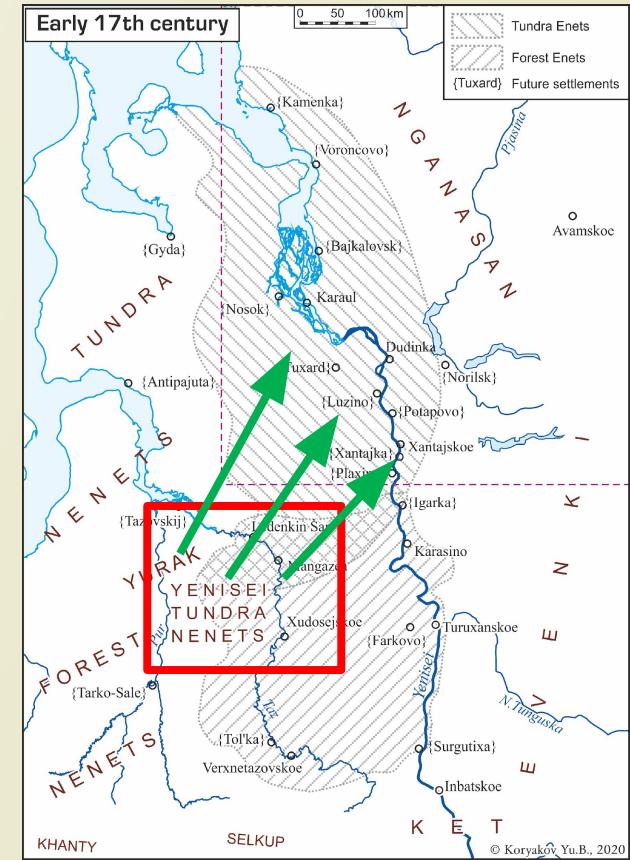
Changes in linguistic geography: 17th vs. 19th cent.

- 17th/18th cent: Tundra Nenets (Taz and Yenisei dialects), Forest Enets, Tundra Enets, Yurak yet remain in the Mangazeya area
 - Tribute records analyzed in (Dolgikh 1960): Forest Enets, Tundra Enets
 - Studies of isoglosses between NS languages point to different locations of Yenisei Tundra Nenets and Yurak than their most recent attestations, i.e. in direct contact with Forest Nenets (Gusev 2017, Khanina & Gusev, In prep.)
- 19th cent.: only Taz dialect of Tundra Nenets is spoken here, while the other 4 languages are spoken more to the north (and to the east).
- What happened? What was the sudden change responsible for messing up the dialect continuum?



Reasons of this migration

- The emergence of large-scale reindeer herding is dated for the turn of the 17th/18th cent. (Stépanoff 2017, Krupnik 1993, Golovnev 1995).
 - Size of herds: several dozens -> several hundreds of reindeer per family.
 - «Reindeer change their behaviour when the herd reaches about a hundred individuals. In turn, people have to modify their way of life when reindeer become numerous: they follow more rigid routes and roam in more open landscapes.» (Stépanoff 2017)
- The withdrawal of Yenisei Tundra Nenets, Forest Enets, Tundra Enets, and Yurak to the north could be explained by this change in subsistence pattern.

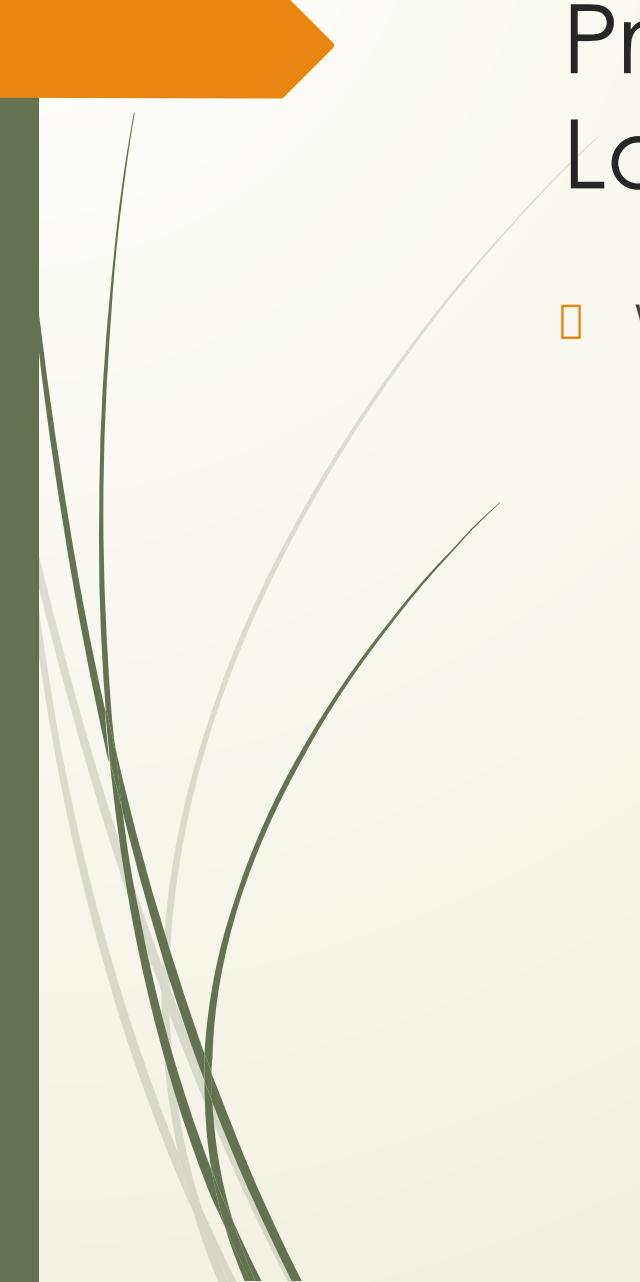


Reindeer herding & NS languages

- The two reindeer herding breakthroughs (2000 years ago and at the 17th/18th cent. turn) are hypothesized to be conditioned by **climate changes**.
- Lower temperatures -> rise in reindeer fertility & deforestation: reindeer could cross the same distances faster (Stépanoff 2017, Krupnik 1993, Kharuk et al. 2013, MacDonald et al. 2008).
- Another causal factor for the change at the 17th/18th cent. turn could be man-made fires, also leading to deforestation.
- Whatever were the supposed reasons for the reindeer herding breakthroughs, their dating is quite reliable.
- In each case, the dramatic changes in subsistence caused northward migrations of Northern Samoyedic speakers.
- More detailed studies of NS isoglosses is needed to discover more details of recent migrations (ongoing with Valentin Gusev).

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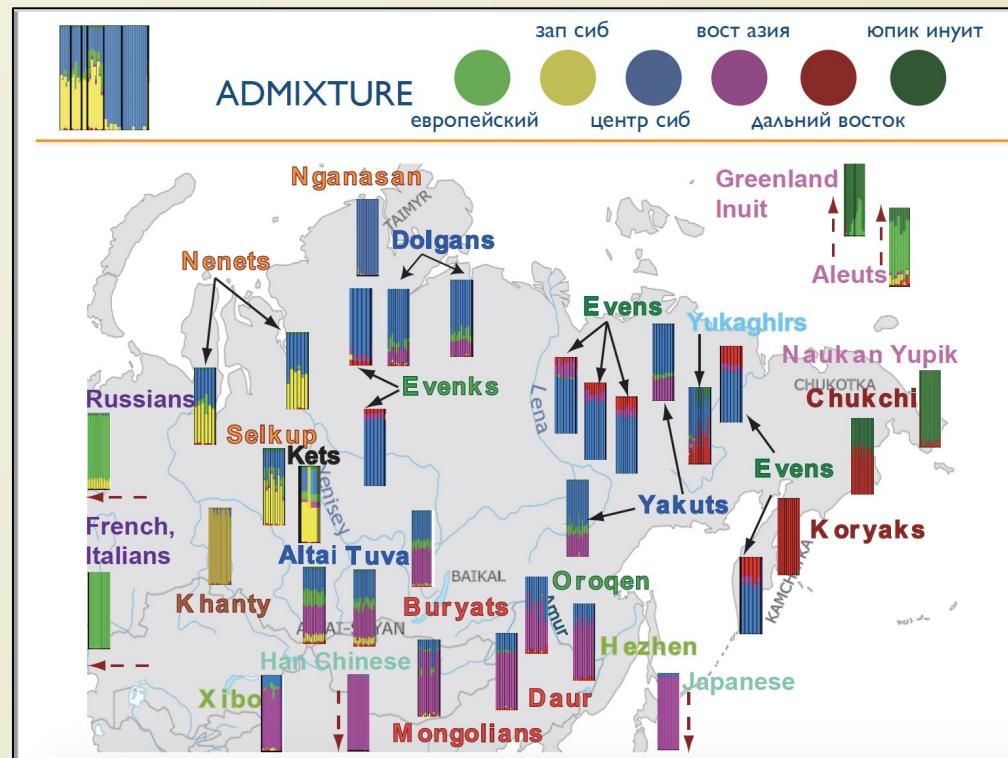
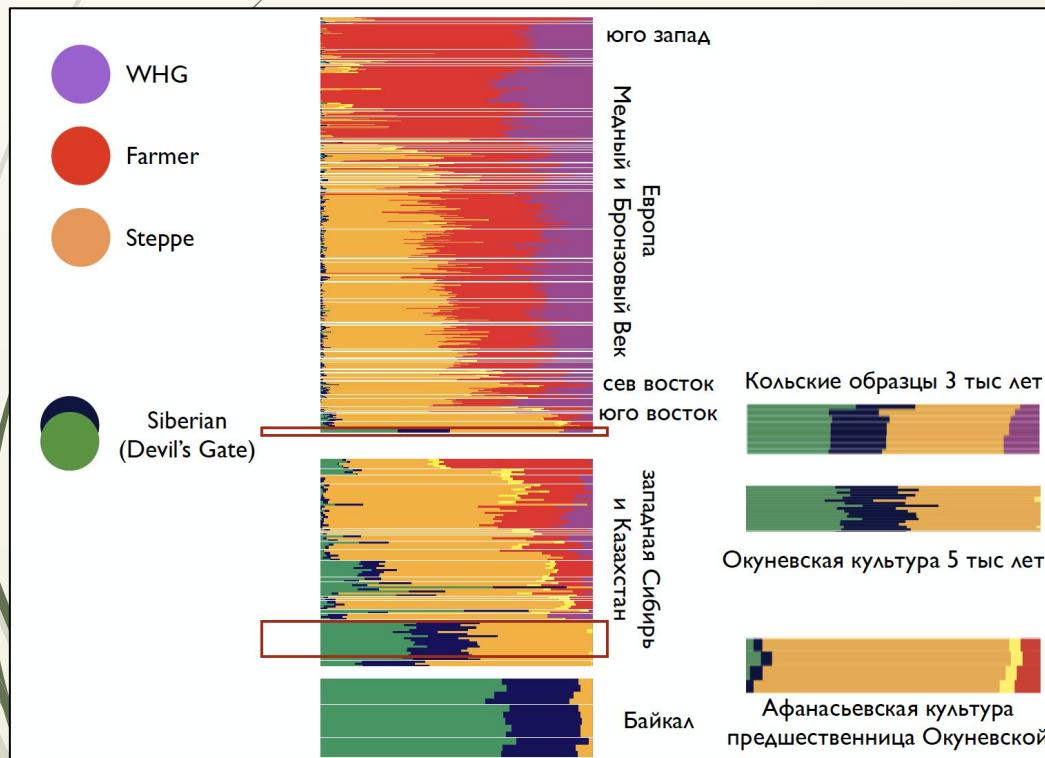


Pre-Samoyedic population of the Lower Yenisei

- Whom did they meet in their migrations?
 - (Grünthal et al. 2021): the present-day northernmost [Uralic] languages, the Saamic and Samoyedic branches, exhibit exotic substratal vocabulary and/or grammatical and phonological effects, and in most places local northern toponymy and vocabulary for tundra flora and fauna include words of exotic non-Uralic origins, showing that today's northernmost languages were the frontier languages in the spread (Aikio 2012, Helimski 2001a, Saarikivi 2006, in press).
 - (Gusev 2019, In press): Northern Samoyedic, but also - to different degrees - Northern Tungusic, Yukaghir, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, and Yakut show some grammatical and lexical patterns attested in Eskimo languages.
 - Interrogative and Auditive verbal suffixes, Anterior nominal suffix, intraclitics, endonyms 'real people'
 - More research is needed (ongoing by Valentin Gusev)
 - Numerous non-Samoyedic and non-Uralic lexemes in Nganasan
 - Current PhD research by Kaisla Kaheinen (University of Helsinki)

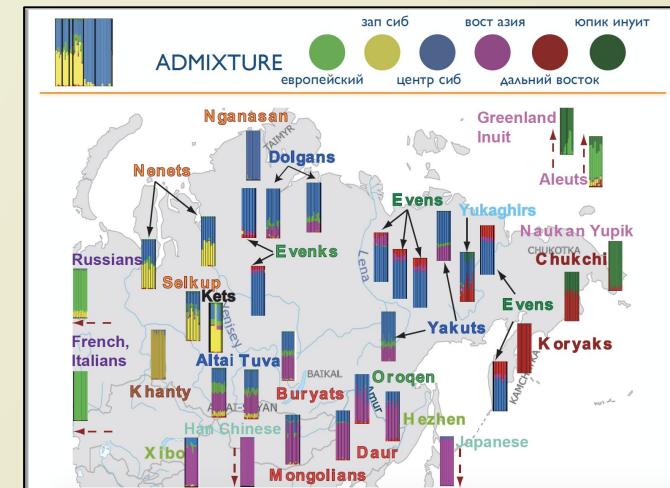
The genetic side

- Pugach et al. 2016, Sikora et al. 2019, Tambets et al. 2018, Lamnidis et al. 2018 - all very recent
- No definite answers, so far we have more questions than answers, since genetic and linguistic knowledge do not always pair nicely.



Пример: нганасане как самые «синие»

- 1) Из всех северосамодийских языков нганасанский - самый "отдельный", самый северный, сохраняющий при этом некоторые архаичные уральские черты в своей структуре и лексике. Из северосамодийских он раньше всех ушел на север (распад ПС - 1500-2000 лет назад).
- 2) Тунгусские языки начали распространяться со среднего Амура на север в Сибирь около 1000 лет назад (Janhunen 2005).
- 3) До появления самодийских и тунгусских языков на Сибири на Таймыре точно жили люди (археология), и говорили они точно не на уральских и не на тунгусо-манчжурских языках – чисто из распределения во времени.
- 4) В нганасанском языке есть пласт неэтимологизируемой лексики, т.е. не родственной нищему уральскому или тунгусскому (заимствования из эвенкийского тоже есть).
- 5) При этом довольно уверенно можно считать, что часть нганасан составили некие эвенкоязычные люди, и это было относительно недавно - в XVII веке еще (топонимика, имена тавгийских князей в XVII в.).
- 6) С точки зрения генетики нганасане и эвенки очень похожи.



Пример: нганасане как самые «синие»

- > наиболее распространенная гипотеза про историю нганасан с точки зрения лингвистики:
- (а) 1500 и 500 лет назад: самодийскоязычные встречают древнее населением с другим языком, другой язык исчезает, самодийский остается (хотя и с изменениями)
 - (б) 300-500 лет назад: контакт с эвенкоязычными, на язык это повлияло не сильно (эвенкийских заимствований не очень много).

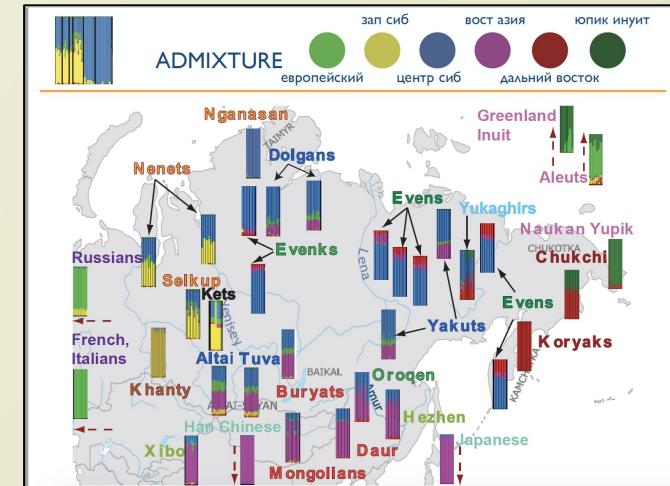
В представленной генетической картине нет подтверждения этого сценария!

- (1) нет генетического следа древнего населения Сибири: «синий» не может быть древним, т. к. он слишком одинаковый на большой территории.

Если бы самодийскоязычные истребили всех древних, не смешиваясь с ними, то современные нганасане были бы генетически более похожи на других самодийцев.

- (2) Эвенки появились на Таймыре не так давно, и чтобы давать один и тот же генетический сигнал с нганасанами им надо было бы истребить и древнее население (возможно, уже говорившее на самодийском языке), и самодийское.

Как же тогда объяснить современную генетическую близость нганасан и эвенков, если не их общим происхождением от древнего населения Сибири??



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Ways of migration

- A detailed study of Northern Samoyedic isoglosses helps to reconstruct former locations of known NS languages/dialects.
 - A work in progress by Gusev & Khanina
- A work in progress by Anna Urmanchieva: grammatic isoglosses (verbs) between NS and neighbouring languages, Selkup, Khanty, Mansi.
- Modern locations of NS languages and this reconstruction can be used for geospatial modelling for more distant past (also phylogeographical modelling of protoareas, e.g. Bouckaert et al. 2012).

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- What kind of contacts were it?
 - genetics, folklore, semantic types of substrate lexicon
- Did they keep the contacts with their original group? With others who migrated in a different direction? How did they do it?

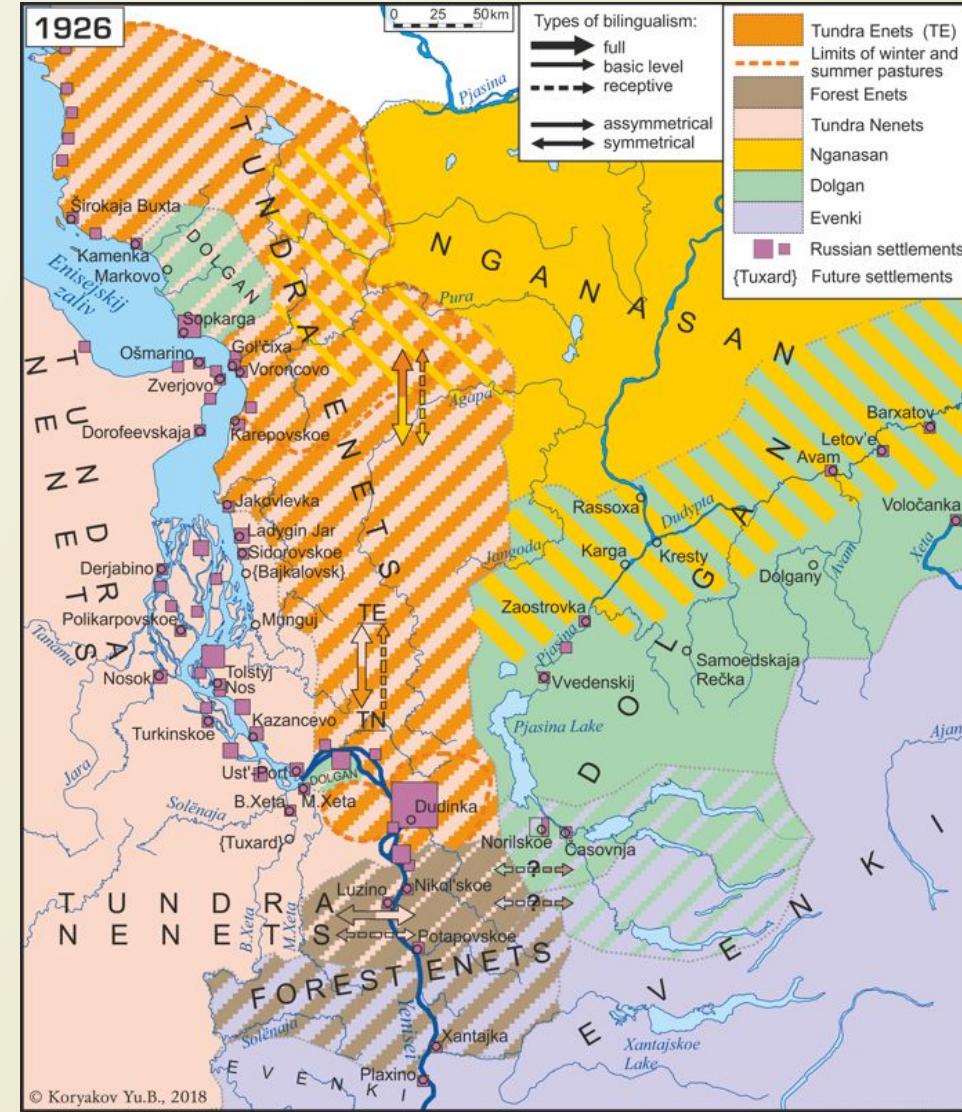
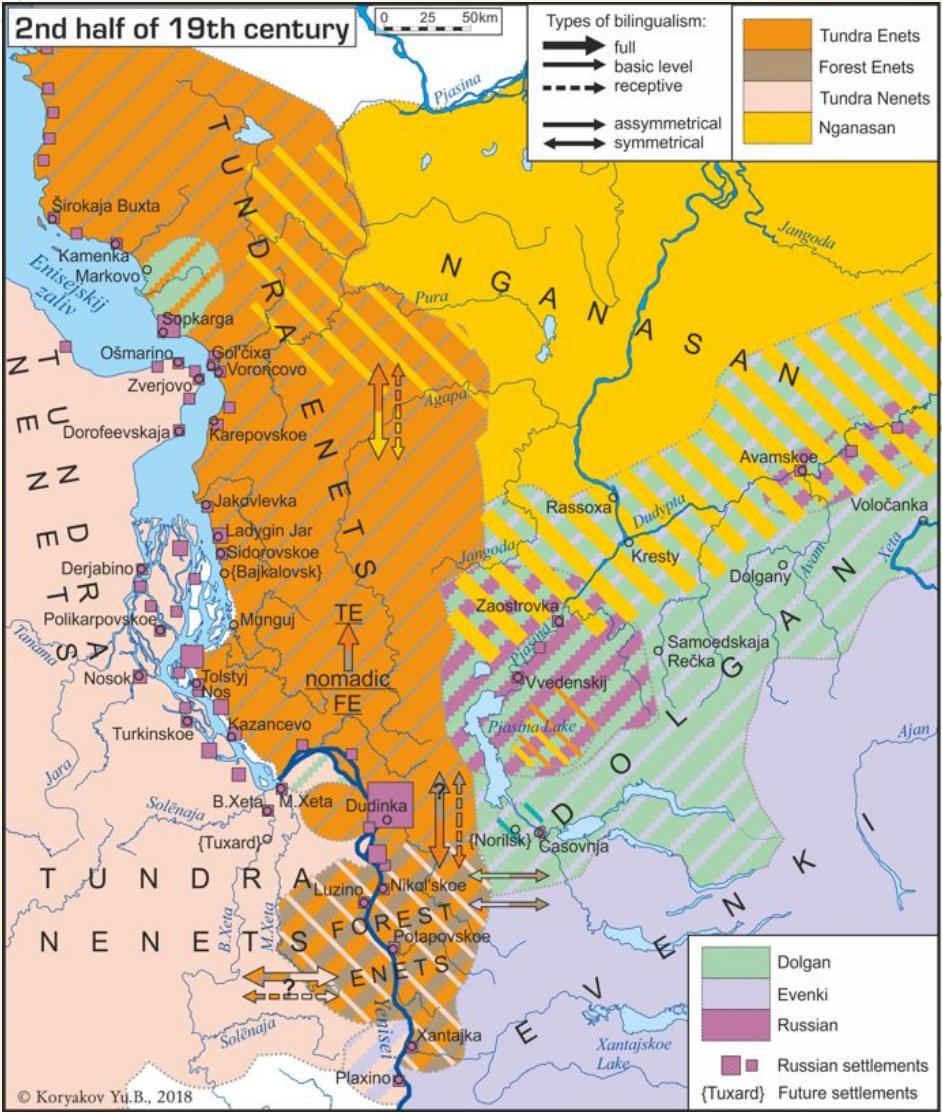
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Keeping contacts with each other

- Ethnography and sociolinguistics of the recent past (pre-Soviet) can supply an approximation of contact situation of more distant past, if linguistic data support it.
 - Here I replicate the idea of Evans (2017, 2018) that prehistoric linguistic past of small-scale indigenous communities can be reached via sociolinguistic studies of their modern communities and linguistic studies of their languages.
- Despite huge distances, nomadic Northern Samoyedic speakers have always been in contact with each other.
- The last 150 years: **all** cases of neighborhood of speakers of different Northern Samoyedic languages featured mutual bilingualism (Khanina & Koryakov 2018), (Khanina 2021)
 - at least receptive/passive, often each party speaking its own language
 - usually without any socio-economic dominance of one group over the other
 - NB: Forest Nenets has lost contacts with anyone but Tundra Nenets because of the Selkup migrations from the south

Multilingualism at Lower Yenisei



Languages and social categorizations

- (Khanina 2021): no neat division into clearly identified separate ethnic groups, each with its own language!
- A study of exonyms and endonyms of 6 local lects, including the local Russian of the 1930s, point to the existence of 6 named groups in most of them, but
 - some local languages merge some of these six groups in their lexicons (Tundra Enets & Nganasan, Forest Enets & Nenets, Forest Enets & Tundra Enets, Tundra Enets & Nganasan & Forest Enets, Tundra Enets & Nganasan & Forest Enets & Nenets)
 - some languages lack original endonyms (Tundra Enets, Forest Enets, Dolgan)
 - some ethnonyms have changed their meaning in the course of just several decades.
- Besides, there was no direct correlations between languages and social categories (neither clans, nor 'ethnic' groups).

Languages and social categorizations

- Mismatches 'named ethnic groups' <-> 'languages' attested in the 1926 census:
 - 77% of those who named themselves Tundra Enets said their language was TE, the others chose Nenets
 - 53% of those who named themselves Forest Enets said their language was FE, the others chose TE
 - 84% of those who named themselves Nenets said their language was Nenets, the others chose FE or TE
 - 50% of those who said they spoke TE, declared themselves as belonging to a different 'ethnic' group: FE, Nenets
- Multidirectional **language shifts** by clans or their fractions can be reconstructed, apparently also through a transitional phase of bilingualism:
 - 17th - 19th cent.: Forest Enets to Nenets, Tundra Enets to Nenets, Tundra Enets to Nganasan, Nganasan to Tundra Enets, Forest Enets to Tundra Enets (Dolgikh 1970, Gusev 2020),
 - family connections between clans currently speaking different languages:
 - Tundra Enets and Nenets (Dolgikh 1970: 159)

Aspects of multilingualism 1

Language use within families and child language acquisition

- Ca. 50% of all marriages in the area were mixed, i.e. multiethnic (the 1926 census).
- In multiethnic families, one language was usually chosen for communication with children, usually the one that was heard the most often in the whereabouts of the family
 - occasionally, the language of the husband could be chosen even if in the minority
 - the linguistic majority of the focus area was Enets, with TE in the north and FE in the south, and so this contributed to the maintenance of TE and FE despite numerous speakers of other languages around.
- It was rare for each parent to practice speaking different languages to the children.
- When communicating between themselves, parents used the same language as chosen for communication with children, or they spoke each their own language (=receptive bilingualism).
 - This often vanished with time as the spouse with the minority language acquired the other language.
- Children usually acquired their second and third languages when playing with their peers and while listening to the adults conversing with visitors to their tents.

Aspects of multilingualism 2

Language use beyond the family

- Everyone could at least understand all languages regularly used around them, and often also speak them.
 - Remember the relatedness of most local languages!
- Adults whose native language was not practiced in the family used every opportunity to speak it, either with adults from the same 'ethnic' group or with those having a good command of it.
 - Remember the spring visits!
- It was also common to use the language of one's interlocutor: a kind of politeness often conditioned by practical needs (if one needs something from his/her interlocutor).
- Little emblematic value: no language was seen as better than the others, and one's repertoires did not influence one's social weight.
- It was the multilingualism per se that was appreciated in contrast to any single local language.
 - The most respected adults were usually multilingual, just because rich life experience inevitably presupposed confronting many people and thus acquiring many languages.

Keeping contacts with each other

- Inetrethnic marriages described in (Dolgikh 1962) for 1926.
- Multilingual practices and language ideologies typical for the 1930s:
 - The weight of languages in social identities of the Lower Yenisei is quite low (cf. Sutton 1978, Merlan 1981, Singer 2018 for Australia).
 - All Northern Samoyedic languages have equal social weight, the language of the family is usually predicted from the language of the majority in the given locality, not from the patrilects of the parents.
 - Clan boundaries, material culture types, and languages do not form a hierarchical structure.
 - Speech communities, not language communities (Gumperz 1968, Hymes 1968, Silverstein 1996); at language contact areas, constellations of languages are better descriptors of a community than a single code (cf. Kroskrity 2018 for US, Childs et al. 2014 for Africa).
 - As a consequence of such ideologies, disappearance of languages which are not backed up by monolingual use somewhere else.

(Khanina 2021), based on sociolinguistic interviews in 2017

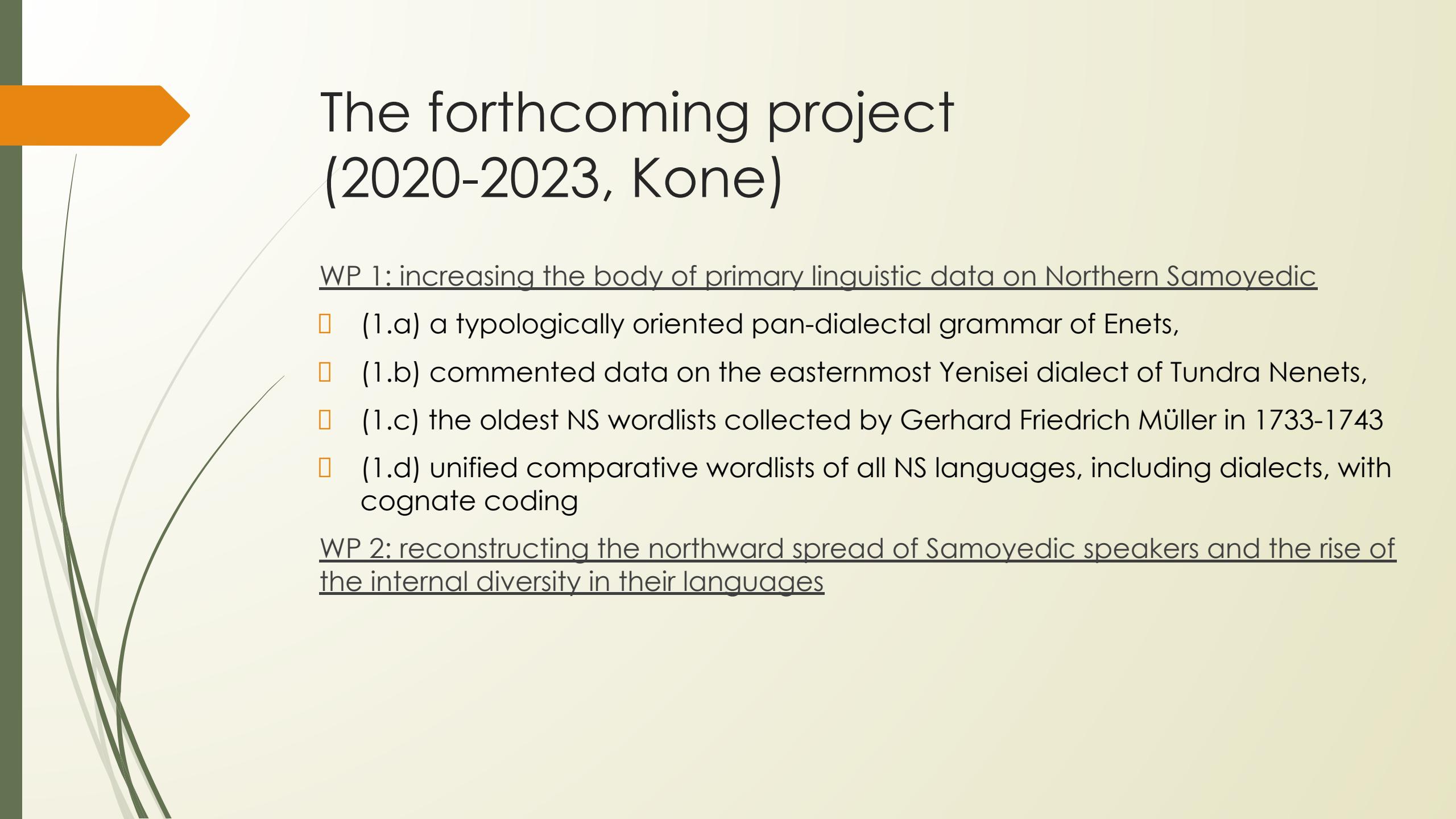


Sociolinguistic conclusions and cross-linguistic parallels

- At LY, communities (at least those with many speakers of Tundra Enets or Forest Enets) were defined not so much by the command of a language, but by the confluence of commands of several languages.
 - Ball (2011) for Upper Xingu in Amazonia, Morozova & Rusakov (2021) for a Balkan area, Childs et al. (2014) for Sub-Saharan Africa, Kroskrity (2018) for California
- At LY, linguistic identities did not play a decisive role in social identities, or local social identities were of relational nature, with several diverse components making up a complex social self
 - Singer (2018: 107-108) for Australia: "languages are not necessarily the most important aspects of people's identities at Warruwi".
 - De Vries (2012: 15) for West Papua: "languages transcend the boundaries of the clan, and speakers of the same language live on a different clan territory and may be your enemies", non-hierarchical complexity of relational identities - linguistic, cultural, and political.
- At LY, linguistic indexing of identity relied more on local social networks than on ancestry: choosing the language to use with their children, parents valued neighborhood above kinship.
 - (François, 2012: 91) for Vanuatu: in marriages across islands the dominant language of the household is usually the language of the village where the couple has chosen to live.
 - NB: a common reason for language shifts worldwide, but at LY all languages were shifted from and shifted to, so languages were equal in this respect.

Keeping contacts with each other

- How do linguistic data support the proposed language ecology?
 - Wave-like spread of innovations with numerous points of origin (Khanina & Gusev 2020)
 - The more to the past we go (Castren, Miller, etc.), the more variation is there:
 - more language varieties,
 - more variation in individual words recorded for the same language
 - -> even 150-250 years ago, the Northern Samoyedic languages were less 'separate/distinct' than today.



The forthcoming project (2020-2023, Kone)

WP 1: increasing the body of primary linguistic data on Northern Samoyedic

- (1.a) a typologically oriented pan-dialectal grammar of Enets,
- (1.b) commented data on the easternmost Yenisei dialect of Tundra Nenets,
- (1.c) the oldest NS wordlists collected by Gerhard Friedrich Müller in 1733-1743
- (1.d) unified comparative wordlists of all NS languages, including dialects, with cognate coding

WP 2: reconstructing the northward spread of Samoyedic speakers and the rise of the internal diversity in their languages

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