



ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ АГЕНТСТВО НАУЧНЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЙ РОССИИ
**ИНСТИТУТ
ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ**
РОССИЙСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК



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Историческая лингвистика и "поле": новые перспективы

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Малые языки в большой лингвистике 2021, 23-24 апреля 2021



Введение



- 1. Историческая лингвистика
 - больше, чем компаративистика
 - почему-историческая лингвистика (Evans 2017, 2018)
 - социолингвистика и поле
- 2. Старательная дивергенция: разные, но очень похожие - Австралия (Miceli 2015) и Океания (François 2011)
- 3. Неожиданная конвергенция (или провал метафоры дочерей): похожие, хотя должны быть разными – Австралия (Rumsey 2018) и Нижний Енисей (Khanina & Gusev 2020)
- 4. Перспективы: экспедиции за социолингвистикой

Больше, чем компаративистика

- «Лингвистическая компаративистика — это то же самое, что сравнительно-историческое языкознание, такая наука, которая сравнивает языки **с целью понять, родственны ли они друг другу**» (С. Бурлак <https://postnauka.ru/faq/32145>)
- Историческая лингвистика как история развития языков во времени и пространстве
- «эволюционная типология» по (Кибрик 1992) / language diversification
- Междисциплинарные исследования
- (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.**»

Объяснительная почему-историческая ЛИНГВИСТИКА

- Почему языки развиваются так, а не иначе?
- Внутренние причины:
 - (Evans 2017): "It is here that the seeds of diversification can be found and **the actual processes of diversification studied as they unfold**. If this is the case, the best place to look for answers to the diversification problem, as it pertains to languages, lineages and the distribution of typological features across regions and families, is at **the micro-level of the speech communities themselves**"
 - (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."
 - principle of uniformitarianism / принцип однородности
- Внешние причины:
 - (Heggarty 2015): «**real-world contexts** dictate not so much which particular changes occur, but which **patterns of divergence** may emerge from any changes»
 - No principle of uniformitarianism / никакого принципа однородности

Причем тут «поле» (и социолингвистика)

- Внутренние причины
 - Микроуровень современных языковых сообществ: лингвистика, социолингвистика
 - Чем более разные языки описываются на микроуровне, тем мы ближе к цели
 - Нам интересны как языковая вариативность / language variation как основа любых изменений, так и языковые идеологии / language ideologies как направляющая сила любых изменений
- Внешние причины
 - История в самом широком смысле, включая палеогеографию, палеобиологию, популяционную генетику, а также устную историю / oral history
- Социолингвистические описания современных сообществ (особенно охотников-собирателей) как окно в прошлое.
 - Прежде всего как окно в прошлое этих же самых сообществ, но не только
 - В большинстве случаев речь идет, на самом деле, не о современных сообществах, а об очень недавнем прошлом современных сообществ (в пределах нескольких поколений назад) (Dobrushina 2013), (Khanina 2019)

2. Старательная дивергенция: разные, но очень похожие

- Сознательная языковая дивергенция
 - Семья пама-нюьнга, Австралия (Miceli 2015): замещение лексики
 - Небольшой объем когнатной лексики (200) при небольшом фонологическом расхождении

Table 5: *kampa- ‘cook in earth oven’, extracted from appendix of Alpher (2004)

Uradhi	<i>aβa-</i>	‘cover with sand’
Wik-Mungknh	<i>ka:mp-</i>	‘cook in earth oven’
Djabugay	<i>gampa(:)</i>	‘cook in earth oven’
Wirangu	<i>gamba-</i>	‘cook, eat’
Kaytetye	<i>ampe-</i>	‘burn’
Manjiljarra	<i>kampa</i>	‘cook, burn’
Warlpiri	<i>kampa-</i>	‘be burning – of fire; burn it – of fire’
Walmajarri	<i>kampa</i>	‘cook it’
Nyangumarta	<i>kampa-</i>	‘cook it’ (tr), ‘burn’ (intr)
Martuthunira	<i>kampa</i>	‘be burning, be cooking’
Jiwarli	<i>kampa-</i>	‘cook, burn’
Yingkarta	<i>kampa-ñi</i>	‘be burning, be cooking’

- Один и тот же концепт выражается неродственными лексемами / high number of etyma per concept


2. Старательная дивергенция: разные, но очень похожие

□ Сознательная языковая дивергенция

□ Семья Northern Vanuatu, Океания (François 2011): лексика, но не грамматика

HW	sisə	tati	jəjmə ⁹ len	wu ⁹ loy	k ^w e	i	nə	məŋa	ta
LTG	nihə	tat	lolməren	ɛrβe	k ^w ε	e	nə	βəŋəβəŋə	mətə
LHI	kej	tetne	ylal	ɣalse	k ^w ɔ		n-	βap	munɣen
LVP	kij	te	ylal	tʃəjmat	tʃek ^w ε		n-	βaβap	ŋm ^w ɔniɛn
VLW	⁹ gij	et	ylal	ɣalsi	te ⁹ gb ^w ε		n-	ɣatɣat	njɔnɣin
MTP	kij	et	ɪylal	ɣalsi	k ^w εte		nɔ-	hɔhɔle	nɔnɔnɣin
LMG	tær	ɪ	ɣɔlɔl	ʔərmaʔ	ʔæ.kiʔis		n-	tektek	mɔɣɔt
VRA	ⁿ dir	ɪʔ	lamai	entɛɣ	ʔin		in	tɪktɪk	mu ⁿ di
VRS	nɪr	ɣɪɪ-	ylal	wareɣ	ten		ɔ	k ^w ak ^w	namøɣɣin
MSN	nɪr	ete	liɪ	manɛ	βis		ɔ	ɣatle	mɔɣɔnin
MTA	nra	ɣate	ɣlala	mantay	t ^k w		o	βaβae	naŋm ^w unina
NUM	nir	βitis	ɣil	liŋliŋi	mi		u	luwluw	namɣin
DRG	nɪr	sɔwse	βɪɣɪl	taβul	te		na	lɪŋa	-ɣin
KRO	nɪr	tɪ	rɔŋ	taβul	wos.mele		ɔ	βalβalaw	namɣin
OLR	nɪj	tɪ	rɔŋ	βɪɪ:	wos.mele			ususra:	mɔtʃ
LKN	ɣɪ:	ati	rɔŋ	keɾe	aβoh.male			elɪŋa	-nɣɪtʃ
MRL	ker	ti	βalɣẽar	minmin	tɪk ^w itẽa		nə-	liŋɪ	-ɣẽan
	3pl	NOT.YET ₁	know	properly	NOT.YET ₂	[OBL]	ART	speech	POSS:1incl.pl

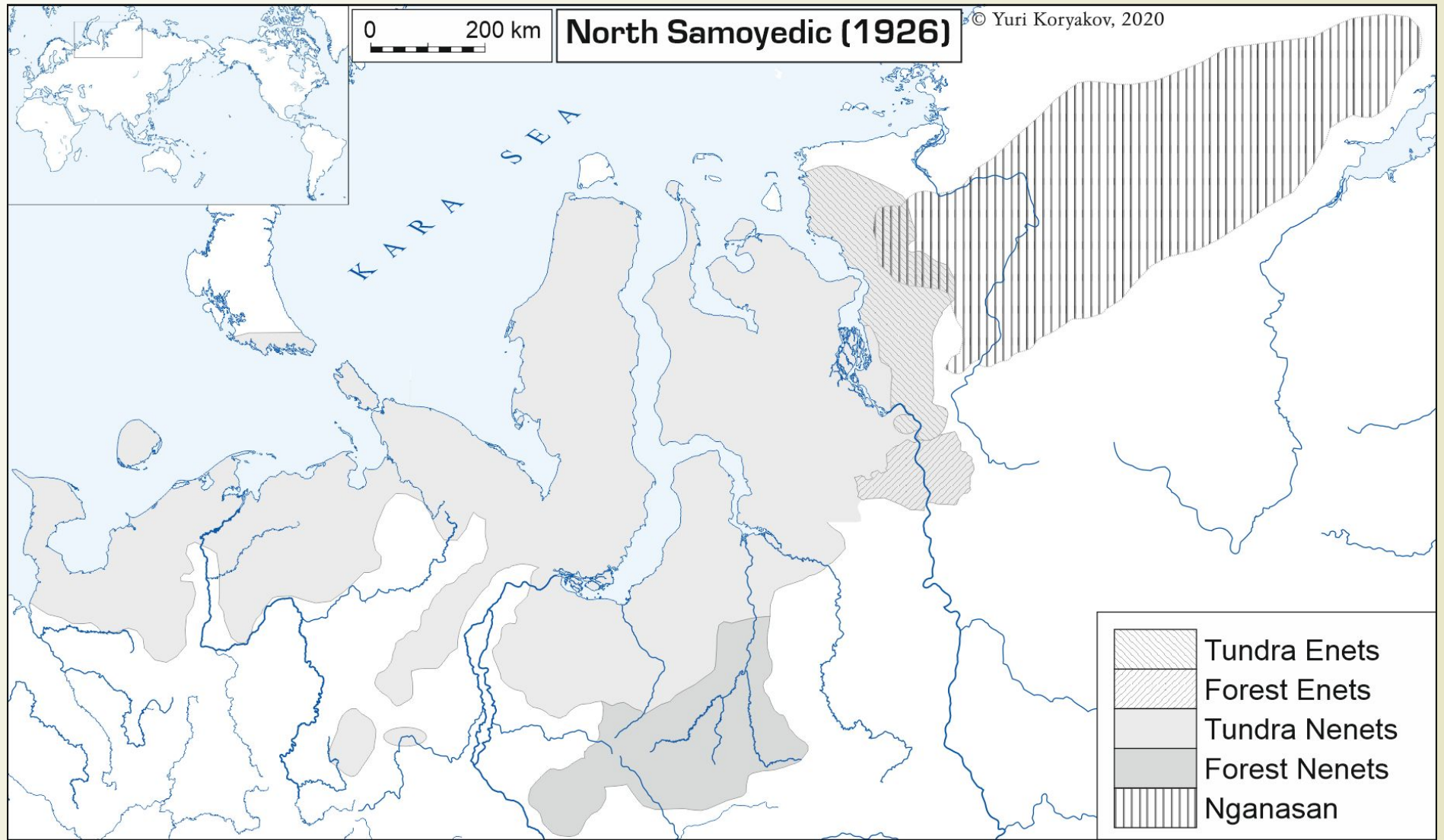
'They don't know our language very well yet.'



3. Неожиданная конвергенция (или провал метафоры дочерей): похожие, хотя должны быть разными

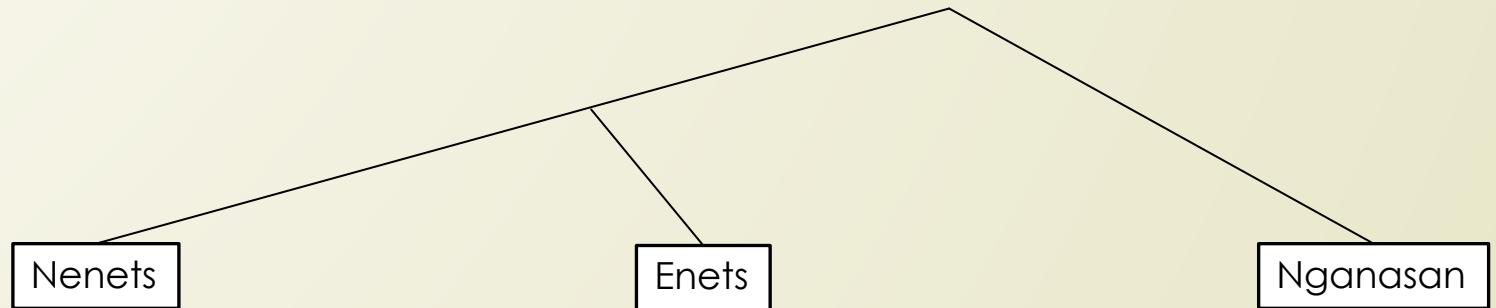
- Семья Warroran, Австралия (Rumsey 2018)
 - в географическом центре пересекаются границы всех трех подгрупп этой семьи (лексические расхождения между подгруппами очень четкие и осознаваемые людьми),
 - в этом географическом центре все многоязычны на языках этих трех подгрупп, что способствует распространению инноваций
 - тем самым, оказалось, что некоторые фонетические изменения происходили игнорируя подгруппы, а архаичная фонетика осталась только на периферии
- Нижний Енисей (Khanina & Gusev 2020)

1. Introduction



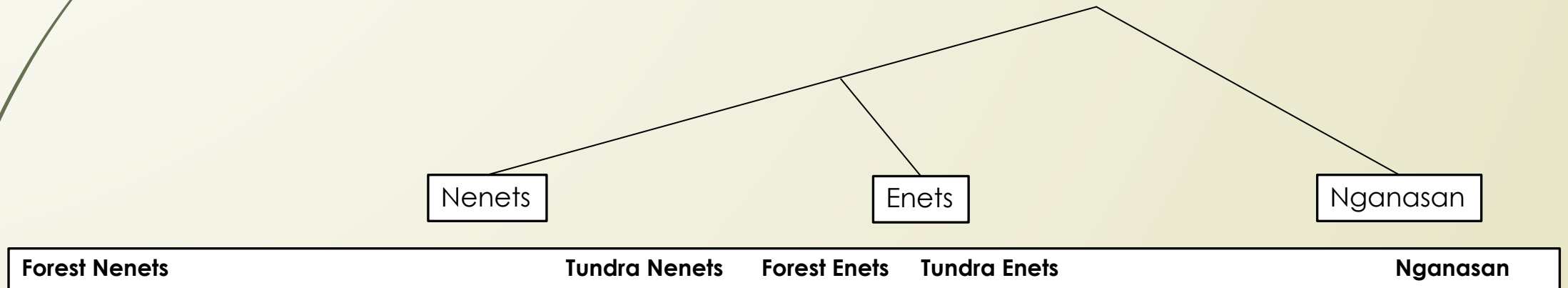
1. Introduction


- Uralic > Samoyedic > Northern Samoyedic
 - split off from PSamoyedic 1500-2000 years ago
- 3 "groups" of languages: Nenets, Enets, Nganasan
 - divergence based on numerous phonetic, lexical, and grammatical innovations




1. Introduction

- Uralic > Samoyedic > Northern Samoyedic
 - split off from PSamoyedic 1500-2000 years ago
- 3 "groups" of languages: Nenets, Enets, Nganasan
- Today: 5 reified languages, 4 linguistically separate languages (Enets)





2. Numerous centers of wave-like innovations

- (1) Clear innovation in the south: Past Interrogative
 - (2) Clear innovation in the center: Personal pronouns
 - (3) Possible innovation in the north (under the contact influence): Numerals 11-19
 - (4) Unclear scenario, south vs. north: Demonstrative/Interrogative pronouns
 - (5) Unclear scenario, east vs. west: Auditive
- 

Example 1: clear innovation in the south

Past and Past interrogative

- Forest Enets & Nenets:
 - a new past tense formed with a postfix,
 - the old (common Uralic) past in *-sǎ used in the interrogative contexts as a dedicated Past Interrogative.
- Nganasan:
 - the old Past in *-sǎ is used as Past,
 - Past Interrogative formed with another suffix -hu (< *-pǎ, no clear etymology)
- Tundra Enets:
 - the new past tense formed with a postfix,
 - Past Interrogative formed with the suffix -ba (< *-pǎ, no clear etymology),
 - No affix from *-sǎ.

	FN	TN	FE	TE	Ngan
Past	new	new	new	new	old
Past Interr	new	new	new	old	old

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Shading
indicates
innovation

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Past	new	new	new	new	old
Past Interr	new	new	new	old	old

Example 2: clear innovation in the center

Personal pronouns and emphatic suffixes

- All NS languages have personal pronouns for 3 numbers (sg, du, pl):
 - Nganasan: SG-DU-PL are suppletive (*mənə* 'I', *mii* 'we two', *mij* 'we').
 - Nenets & Enets:
 - SG as a base (ex. TE, FE *mod'i* 'I'), the bases are not always cognate
 - possessive suffixes are added to it for DU and PL (TE, FE *mod'i-n'i?* 'we two', *mod'i-na?* 'we').
- All NS languages can have emphatic morphology on personal pronouns ('only', 'even'..):
 - STEM + EMPH + POSS
 - Forest Nenets, Tundra Enets & Nganasan: short pronominal stems (ex. TE *mo-l'io-no* 'only me', *mo-l'io-n'i?* 'only we two', *mo-l'io-na?* 'only we').
 - Tundra Nenets & Forest Enes: full pronominal stems (ex. FE *mod'i-ruu-no* 'only me')

	FN	TN	FE	TE	Ngan
Bare pronouns	new	new	new	new	old
Pronouns with emphatic morphology	old	new	new	old	old

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Shading indicates innovation

	FN	TN	FE	TE	Ngan
Bare pronouns	new	new	new	new	old
Pronouns with emphatic morphology	old	new	new	old	old

Example 3: possible innovation in the north

Numerals from 11 to 19.

- Eastern Tundra Nenets (Yenisei, Gyda) & Yurak & Tundra Enets & Nganasan:
 - simple juxtaposition of words for 10 and 1/2/3/4/... (ex. TE *biuʔ ʃize* 'ten two' = '12')
 - in Eastern TN this co-exists with a more complicated pattern from Standard TN
 - The same in Kamas and Mator (South Samoyedic), and also in Tungusic and Turkic.
- Forest Enets & Nenets:
 - a more complicated pattern (ex. FE *biu-koz ʃize bəzade* 'ten-ABL.SG two surplus')
 - in Forest Nenets & Western Tundra Nenets (BZ=standard) vs. Central Tundra Nenets (Yamal) other words can be used, but no juxtaposition.
 - The same in Selkup (South Samoyedic), and other Uralic languages.

	FN	Western TN (=standard)	Yamal TN	Gyda TN	Yenisei TN	FE	Yurak	TE	Ngan
11-19 complex	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
11-19 simple	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

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	FN	Western TN (=standard)	Yamal TN	Gyda TN	Yenisei TN	FE	Yurak	TE	Ngan
11-19 complex	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
11-19 simple	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

Shading indicates innovation

Example 4:

unclear scenario, south vs. north

Demonstrative/interrogative pronouns

- Tundra Enets & Nganasan:
 - a pronominal series with a common suffix **-rəjä* (not attested elsewhere):
TE *eloe* 'such, this', *təroe* 'such, that', *kuroe* 'which, what',
Ngan *əmləd'i*, *tərəd'i*, *kurəd'i*.
- Forest Enets & Nenets:
 - the same series, but with a different suffix **-rsä*:
FE *əlse*, *tərse*, *kurse*,
TN *tärća*, FN *tät'śa* (in Nenets, only one member of this series has left).
- These two variants may be ultimately related.

	FN	TN	FE	TE	Ngan
Dem. pron.	<i>*-rsä</i>	<i>*-rsä</i>	<i>*-rsä</i>	<i>*-rəjä</i>	<i>*-rəjä</i>

Example 5: unclear scenario, east vs. west

Auditive

- Verbal morpheme marking the auditive source of information
- 2 different markers of auditive: **-mano* and **-mono*:
 - their mutual relationship is not clear
- Tundra Nenets dialects: both markers, with different frequency distribution:
 - almost exclusively *-manon* in the west (BZ, Standard TN),
 - both actively used in the center (Yamal),
 - almost exclusively *-monon* in the east (Yenisei)
- Forest Nenets, Enets, Nganasan: **-mono* (FN *-monon*, FE *-munu*, TE *-mono*, Ng *-munu(j)*)

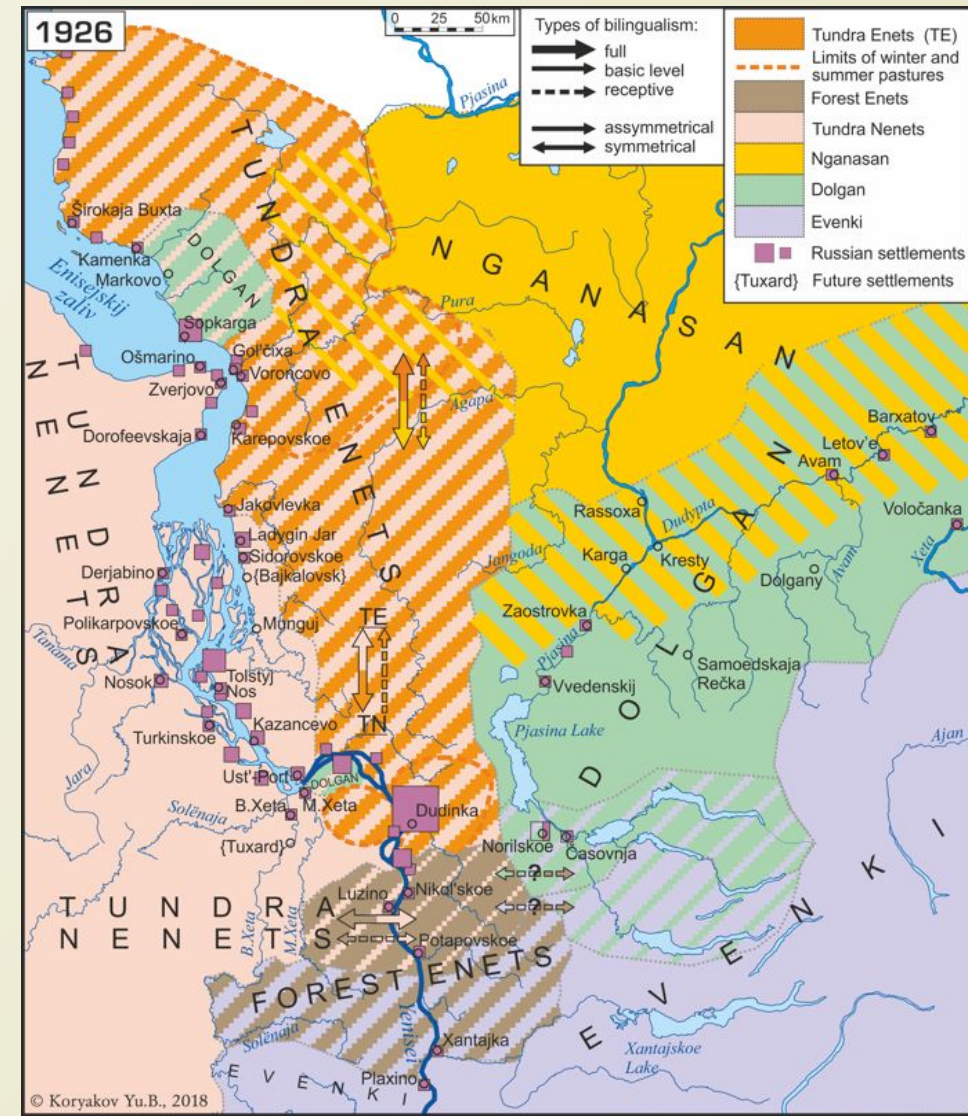
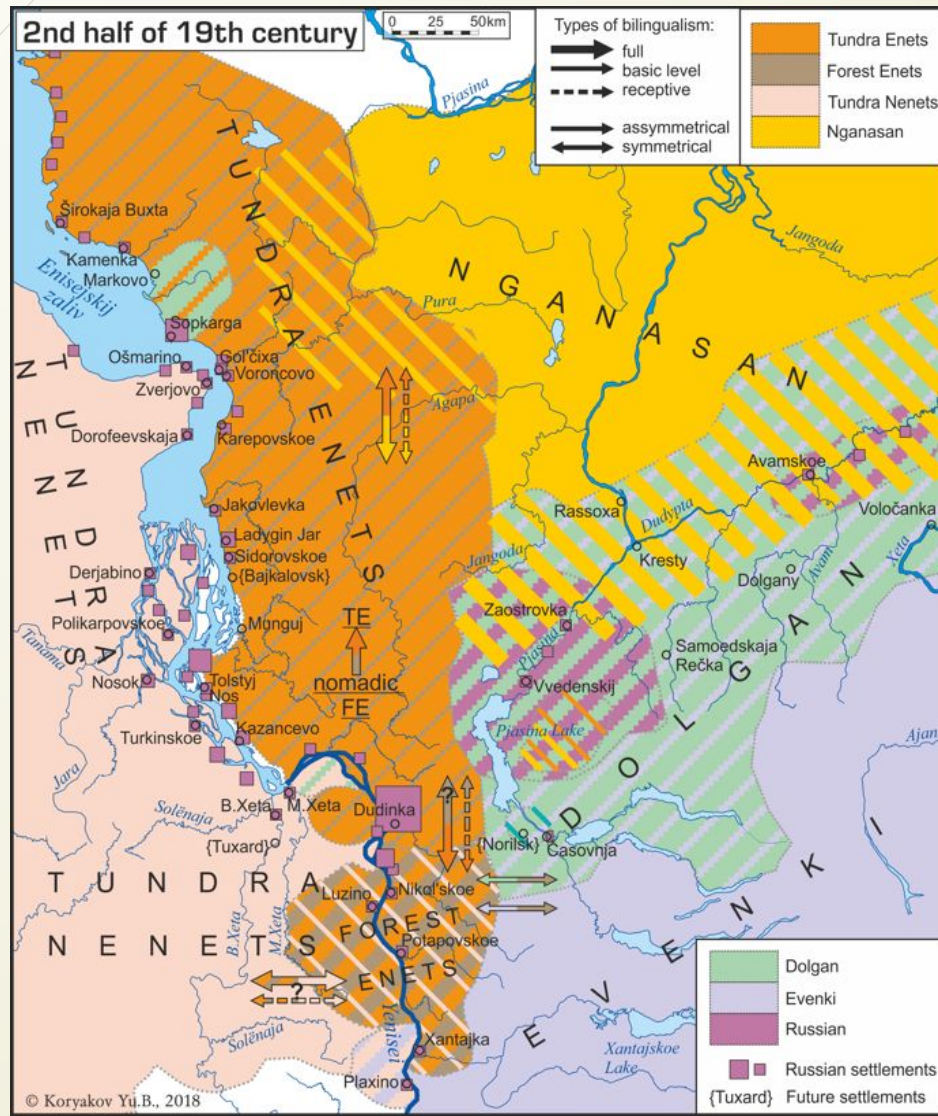
	TN west	TN center	TN east	FN	FE	TE	Ngan
<i>*-mano</i>	+	+	(+)	-	-	-	-
<i>*-mono</i>	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+

3. Sociolinguistic history of NS

- Despite huge distances, nomadic Northern Samoyedic speakers have always been **in contact** with each other.
- The last 150 years: **mutual bilingualism** for all cases of neighborhood of different NS languages
 - at least receptive/passive, often each party speaking its own language
 - The difference between NS languages is similar to the difference within Germanic:
 - no immediate mutual understanding between the 3 'groups' (Enets, Nenets, Nganasan),
 - phoneme recalculation in case of borrowings.
 - usually without any socio-economic dominance of one group over the other.
 - 17th - 19th cent.: numerous cases of **bilateral language shifts** by smaller groups of people (selected clans).
 - **Egalitarian language ideologies** reconstructed for the Lower Yenisei of the 1930s:
 - all NS languages had equal social weight,
 - the language of the family was usually predicted from the language of the majority, not from the patrilineals of the parents,
 - low weight of languages in social identities (cf. Sutton 1978, Merlan 1981, Singer 2018).

(Khanina & Koryakov 2018), (Khanina 2021)

Multilingualism at the Lower Yenisei





3. Sociolinguistic history of NS

- The working hypothesis:
 - the divergence of NS languages from the common ancestor has been accompanied
 - by bilingualism in border areas,
 - by occasional language shifts.
 - Both resulted in secondary linguistic convergence of these related languages.



Перспективы



- Экспедиции за социолингвистикой
 - Социолингвистические анкеты и интервью
 - Языковые идеологии
 - Языковая вариативность
 - Социолингвистика как наиболее глубокая степень погружения в язык?
- Социолингвистика как неотъемлемая часть исторической лингвистики
- Историческая лингвистика как эволюционная типология