

# Adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions in three languages with different subordination strategies

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# Introduction

- A corpus-based study of adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions in three languages with different subordination strategies
  - Hill Mari (Finno-Ugric < Uralic)
  - Nanai (Southern Tungusic < Tungusic)
  - Forest Enets (Samoyedic < Uralic)
- Russian subordinators attested in the corpora: *jesli* ‘if’, *kogda* ‘when’, *poka* ‘while’, ‘until’, *čtoby* ‘in order to’, *potomu čto* ‘because’, *xotja* ‘although’:
  - **Hill Mari [200]:** *jesli* (82) > *čtoby* (48) > *potomu čto* (32), *poka* (32) > *xotja* (6)
  - **Nanai [100]:** *jesli* (59) > *kogda* (24) > *poka* (7) > *čtoby* (6) > *potomu čto* (4)
  - **Forest Enets [131]:** *čtoby* (64) > *jesli* (28) > *potomu čto* (19) > *kogda* (16) > *poka* (4)

Cf. observations in Khanina (2021) for Enets, Oskolskaya & Stoyanova (2013) for Nanai, Gavrilova (2011) for Meadow Mari .

# Data

- **Hill Mari** - ca. 63,500 tokens, collected by the MSU team, led by Egor Kashkin in the Mari El Republic (2016-2018), see [hillmari-exp.tilda.ws/corpus](http://hillmari-exp.tilda.ws/corpus)
- **Nanai** - ca. 40,000 tokens, collected by Sofia Oskolskaya and Natalia Stoynova in Khabarovsk Krai (2011-2017).
- **Forest Enets** - ca. 75,000 tokens, collected by Olesya Khanina and Andrey Shluinsky in the Taimyr peninsula (2009-2012).

For each corpus:

- a sample of adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions
- a sample of all adverbial clauses translated into Russian with the same conjunction

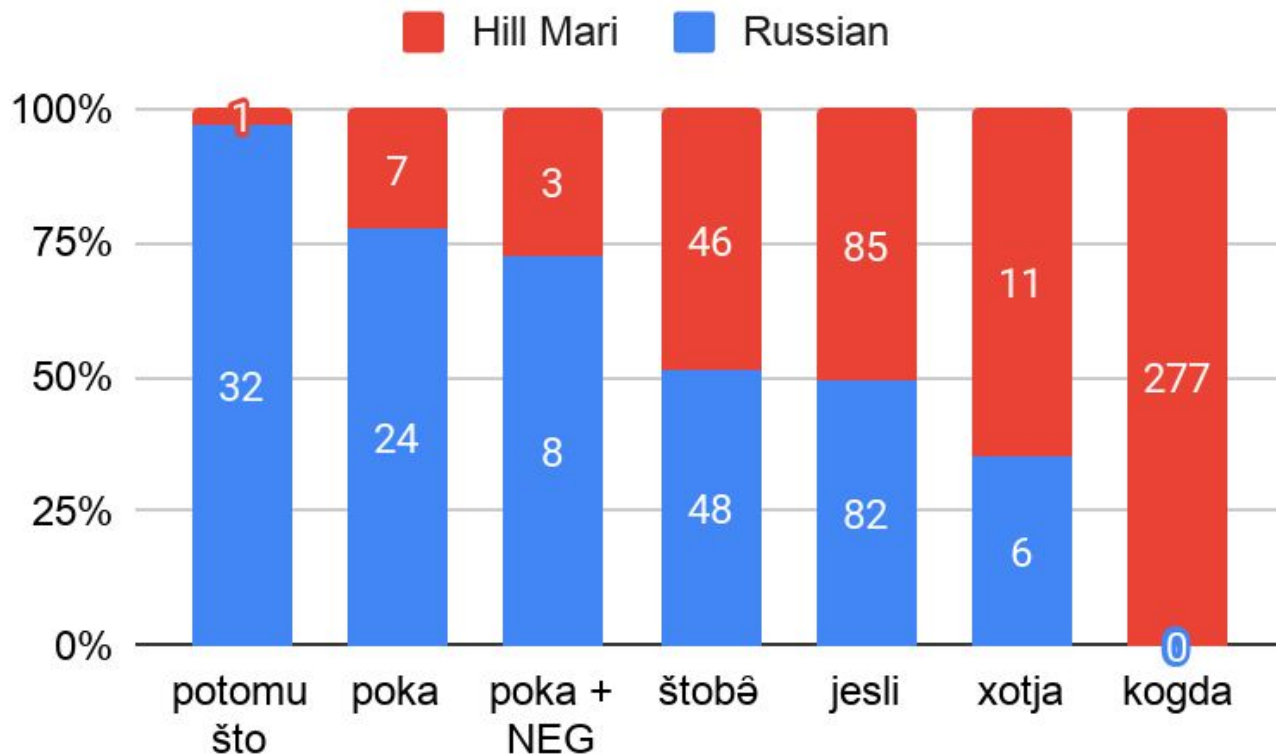
# Previous studies: Cross-linguistic generalizations

- **Matras** (2007: 56): a hierarchy of borrowability, explained in semantic and pragmatic terms:
  - concessive, conditional, causal, purpose > other subordinators (=temporal)
- **Grant** (2012: 350): within each semantic type of subordinate clauses the borrowability of a conjunction depends on how it is frequent and semantically basic/complex
  - less frequent (having more specific meanings) > more frequent (basic)
- These generalizations cannot help us to explain frequency asymmetries between different subordinators in each particular language, as well as the difference between the languages under consideration.

# Introduction

- We explain the asymmetries appealing to the **(in)congruence** between subordination strategies attested in the indigenous language (IL) vs. in Russian.
  - Cf. Sebba (2009) on (in)congruence as a mechanism regulating structural restrictions on code-switching and other contact-induced phenomena
- In order to assess the degree of (in)congruence, we will consider the following parameters (for each type of adverbial clauses / each Russian CONJ):
  - Are there semantic equivalents to CONJ in IL?
    - Are they semantically congruent with CONJ?
  - Are verbal forms in Russian and IL congruent? (both finite, finite vs. non-finite)
  - Is there a conjunction in IL?
    - With the same / different position as in Russian?

# Hill Mari: frequency of Russian conjunctions



# Hill Mari: congruence with Russian

Russian conjunction	<i>potomu što</i>	<i>poka</i>		<i>poka + NEG</i>	<i>štobê</i>	<i>jesli</i>	<i>xotja</i>	<i>kogda</i>
Hill Mari counterpart	-	NMLZ + <i>godêm</i> 'время.ACC'	- <i>šêla</i> (CVB.SIM)	- <i>meškë</i> (CVB.LIM)	<i>manên</i>	<i>gën'</i>	<i>gën'ät</i>	<i>kênam</i>
semantic equivalent	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
→ semantic congruence		±	±	±	<	=	=	>
verb form congruence		no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
conjunction		yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
→ position congruence		no			no	no	no	yes

# Hill Mari: examples

- *kogda* (0 rus / 277 hm) - prepositive *kânam* + V-fin → no slot for Russian CONJ
  - *kânam m'edv'ed'ev pr'ez'ident âl-ân*  
when Medvedev president be-PRET  
{Этот праздник придумала семья Медведевых,} ‘**когда** Медведев был президентом’
- *potomu što* (31 rus / 1 mix / 1 hm) - no semantic equivalent → the only option
  - *a krol'ik juk-âm=at a-k lâk potomu što*  
but rabbit sound-ACC=ADD NEG.NPST-3 extract  
*tädä vosp'itannyj âl-ân*  
3SG well-mannered be-PRET  
‘А Кролик не издает ни звука, потому что он воспитанный.’



# Hill Mari: examples

*potomu*: Hill Mari  
*što*: Russian

## NB Half of the conjunction is in Russian

- no sola-žâ-n*                      *läm-žä*                      *kod-ân*                      *tädä-n*                      *don=at*                      ВИДИМО                      ЧТО  
but village-P.3SG-GEN                      name-P.3SG                      stay-PRET                      3SG-GEN                      with=ADD  
*äpšätsä*                      *ti-štä*                      *âlân*  
smith-P.3SG                      this-IN                      be-PRET  
'Но название деревни осталось потому, видимо, что здесь были кузнецы' {но сохранились только остатки кузнецов}

## *Potomu što*: no Hill Mari counterpart

- sedändon* *ti vär-äštä*                      *mast'er-vlä uke*                      *âl-ân-ât*  
therefore this place-IN                      master-PL NEG.EX                      be-PRET-3PL  
{Потом уже из кирпича начали строить церковь} '**Потому что** в этом месте мастеров не было'. {пришло из других мест много людей}
- sedändon* *tän'-än*                      *motocikâl-et*                      *a-k*                      *zavoj-alt*  
therefore 2SG-GEN                      motorcycle-P.2SG NEG.NPST-3                      start-MED  
{Вместо бензина налил тебе солярку.} '**Поэтому** не заводится твой мотоцикл'

# Hill Mari: examples

- *хотя, если, чтобы*: semantically and syntactically congruent, but **postpositive** (V-fin + *gän'(at)*, V-JUSS/V-INF + *manân*) → frequent

○ *a*    **jesl'i** *teve d'iab'et'ik-vlä saxâr-âm kačk-ât nänä jasê-lan-at*  
          well diabetic-PL            sugar-ACC eat-NPST.3PL            3PL ill-MAN-NPST.3PL

‘А если вот диабетики сахар едят, они болеют’

- *manân*: apart from purpose clauses (74), it marks sentential arguments, e.g. with verbs of speech (75) [Плешак, ms.]

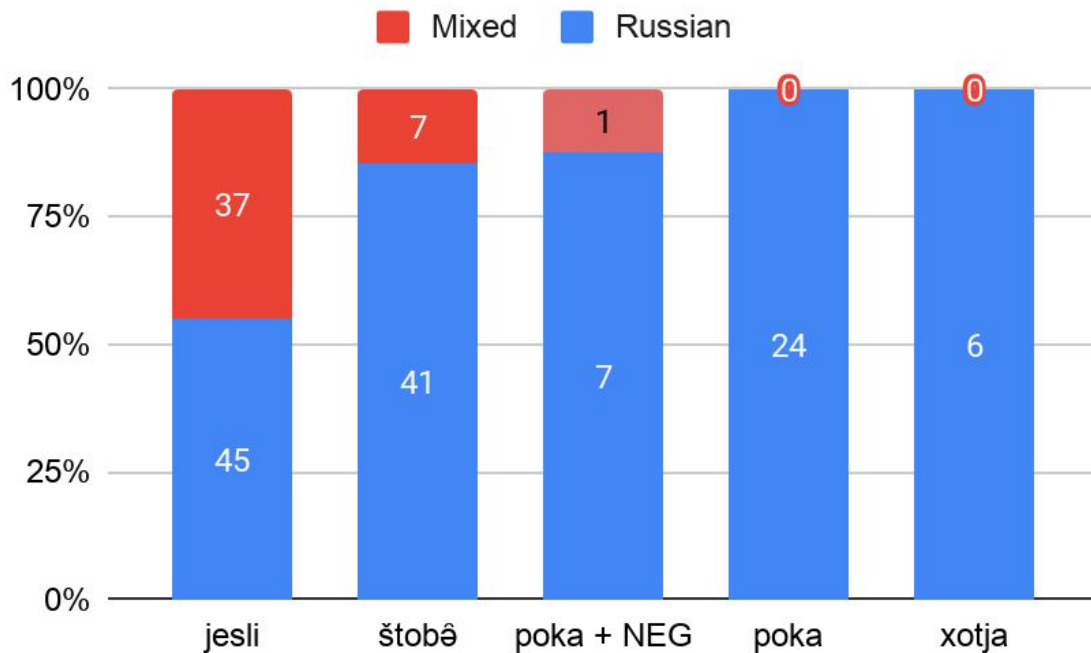
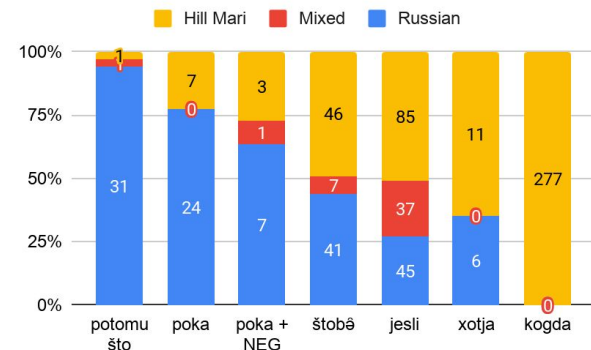
(74) *lâm-žă            änžă            šâlê man-ân,            olâm-âm            il'i            šudâ-m*  
 снег-POSS.3SG NEG.JUSS таять говорить-CVB солома-ACC или трава-ACC  
*väl-kä-žă            opt-en            šänd-ät            âlân.*  
 верх-ILL2-POSS.3SG класть-CVB сажать-NPST.3PL RETR2  
 ‘Чтобы снег не растаял, солому или сено сверху накладывали’.  
 [Корпус: «Пиво». 3]

(75) *mü            pospej-en            man-ân            ävä-m            pop-en.*  
 мед            попеть-PRET            говорить-CVB            мать-POSS.1SG            говорить-PRET  
 ‘Мама сказала, что мед поспел’.

# Hill Mari: examples

- *Пока, пока не* - no clear semantic counterpart → very frequent
  - *poka okn'a-vlä dorc-ân partê-vlä-m ubiräj-en-ät okn'a-m pädârt-en-ät*  
while.Rwindow-PL from-FULL desk-PL-ACC put\_away-PRET-3PL window-ACC break-PRET-3PL  
'Пока от окон убирали парты, окно разбили'
  - *vâčê-mâla poka mängeš xuda-lan-en a-k ke*  
wait-DEB until.R backwards thin-MAN-CVB NEG.NPST-3 go  
'Ждать надо, пока заново не похудеешь'
- Non-finite counterparts:
  - *-meškä* CVB.LIM (пока не)
  - *-šâla* 'CVB.SIM'; NMLZ + *god-ê* 'time-ACC' (пока)

# Hill Mari: Incongruence overcoming



# [Hill Mari] Incongruence overcoming: CONJ doubling

## Russian conjunction + Hill Mari Conjunction

- *jesli samân' keles-ä gän', to vidä-šä vaštalt-eš*  
if.R falsely say-NPST.3SG if then.R lead-PTCP.ACT change-NPST.3SG  
'Если неправильно скажет, то ведущий меняется'

+ *to*: 10 d. (12 R.)  
- *to*: 27 d. (33 R.)

- *dažm'insk motocikâl r'eg'istr'irâvannâj agâl gän'=ät*  
even.R Minsk motorcycle registered NEG if=ADD  
{Там никакого ГАИ нет, прав не надо, можно кататься просто так} **Даже если**  
мотоцикл “Минкс” не зарегистрирован

*daže jesli:*  
'*daže*' doubling

# [Hill Mari] Incongruence overcoming: CONJ doubling

- Purpose clauses: Russian CONJ + Hill Mari CONJ is possible(81)
- Sentential argument: CONJ doubling is not possible (82) [Плешак, ms.]

(81) *toštə təlzə-m pištə-mälä [štobə šukə pereg-ält-šə*  
старый луна-ACC класть-DEB чтобы много хранить-MED-JUSS.SG  
*man-ən]*.

говорить-CVB

‘Надо класть в период старой луны, чтобы подольше хранилась’.

[Корпус: «Работа», 11]

(82) \**maša mä gəc-nä jad-ən [štobə tü-nə*  
Маша мы EL-POSS.1PL просить-PRET чтобы внешняя\_сторона-IN2  
*šəšer šənzə-žə man-ən]*.

молоко сидеть-JUSS.SG говорить-CVB

Ожидаемое значение: ‘Маша попросила у нас, чтобы молоко стояло снаружи’.

# [Hill Mari] Incongruence overcoming: CONJ + V-nonfin

## Russian conjunction + Hill Mari non-finite form

- *До того пока cilä-n pätä-meškä*  
all-adv end-CVB.LIM

‘До того пока все не закончатся.’

Rus conj. +  
HM conv.

- *kecä läk-meškä läkt-än ke-t=ät lu=at ik*  
sun go\_out-CVB.LIM go\_out-PRET go-NPST.3PL=ADD ten=ADD one  
*cäš jakte molo täred-ät kaj-meškä*  
hour till other cut-NPST.3PL be\_visible-CVB.LIM

‘Уходили до восхода солнца, жали до одиннадцати часов, **пока не** стемнеет’

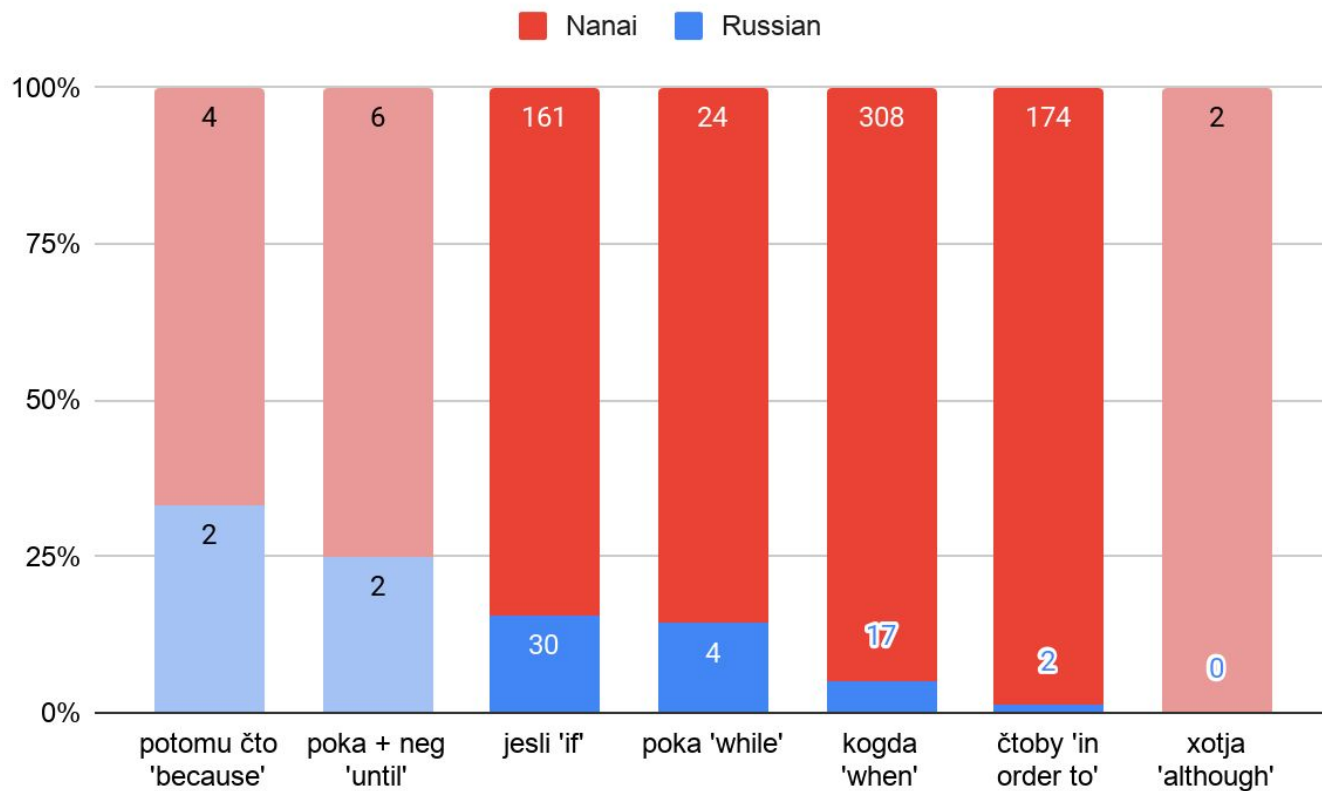
HM conv.

- *püşängä-štä пока ече äläštäš peck-ält-te*  
tree-IN yet leaf blossom\_out-PUN-NEG.PRET

‘На деревьях пока еще листья не распустились.’

Rus conj. +  
HM V-fin

# [Nanai] Frequency of Russian conjunctions





# [Nanai] Congruence with Russian

	because'	until'	if'	while'	when'	in order to'	although'
<b>Russian conjunction</b>	<i>potomu čto</i>	<i>poka+neg</i>	<i>jesli</i>	<i>poka</i>	<i>kogda</i>	<i>čtoby</i>	<i>xotja</i>
<b>Nanai counterparts</b>	-	PTCP-LOC	oseni, CVB.COND	PTCP-DAT, CVB.SIM	PTCP-DAT, PTCP-ABL, CVB.COND, CVB.SIM, CVB.NSIM	CVB.PURP	-
<b>semantic equivalent</b>	-	±	+	±	±	+	-
<b>→ semantic congruence</b>		<	=	<	>	=	
<b>verb form congruence</b>		-	+	-	-	-	
<b>conjunction</b>		-	+	-	-	-	
<b>→ position congruence</b>			-				

## [Nanai] Examples

→ Jesli ‘if’: is integrated into the Nanai clause that is structurally similar enough to that in Russian

- (1) **jesli** nuči-nəj buj-**ki-ni**      **oseni**      **FREQUENT**  
**if.R** little-HUM    die-PST-3SG **if**  
‘If a baby died’ (ssb)

Finite Verb + CONJ (NB  
the first slot is empty)

→ Čtoby ‘in order to’: is integrated into the Nanai clause that is structurally differs from that in Russian

- (2) **čtob**                              ənu-si-**gu-i**      **VERY INFREQUENT**  
**in\_order\_to.R**                    be\_ill-IPFV-**CVB.PURP-REFL.SG**  
‘In order to be ill’ (mixzar)

Purposive Converb (both  
in SS- and DS-clauses)

# [Nanai] Examples

→ Poka ‘while’: a more narrow meaning than those of its Nanai correlates

- (1) **poka** təj əmun dəgdə-či-**i-ə-du**-ni-ə **MORE FREQUENT**  
**while.R** that one fly-IPFV-**PTCP.PRS-OBL-DAT-3SG-EMPH**  
‘While one (bone) is still flying’ (æk) PTCP-DAT

→ Kogda ‘when’: a more general meaning than those of its Nanai correlates

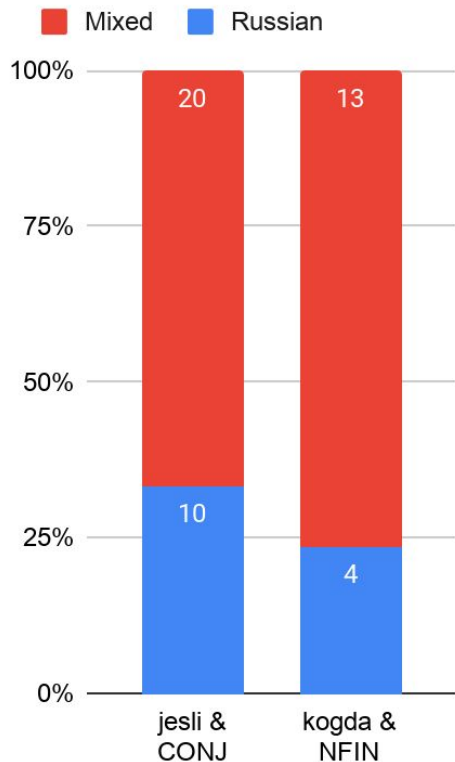
- (2a) **kogda** əni-ni bəjə-du bi-**i-du**-ji **LESS FREQUENT**  
**when.R** mother-3SG corpus-DAT be-**PTCP.PRS-DAT-REFL.SG**  
‘When his mother was pregnant’ (itg)

- (2b) tujtara **kogda** ama bur-**bučiči**-ni  
then **when.R** father die-**CVB.COND-3SG**  
‘Then, when my father died’ (itg)

**PTCP-DAT:  
Simultaneity**

**Conditional/Temporal CVB:  
Anteriority**

# [Nanai] Incongruence overcoming



→ Conjunction doubling: is frequent across 'if'-clauses:

(1a) **БОТ ели** xusə bā-ri **oseni** Doubling: more frequent  
 so **if.R** male find-PRS **if**  
 'if (she) gives birth to a boy' (itg)

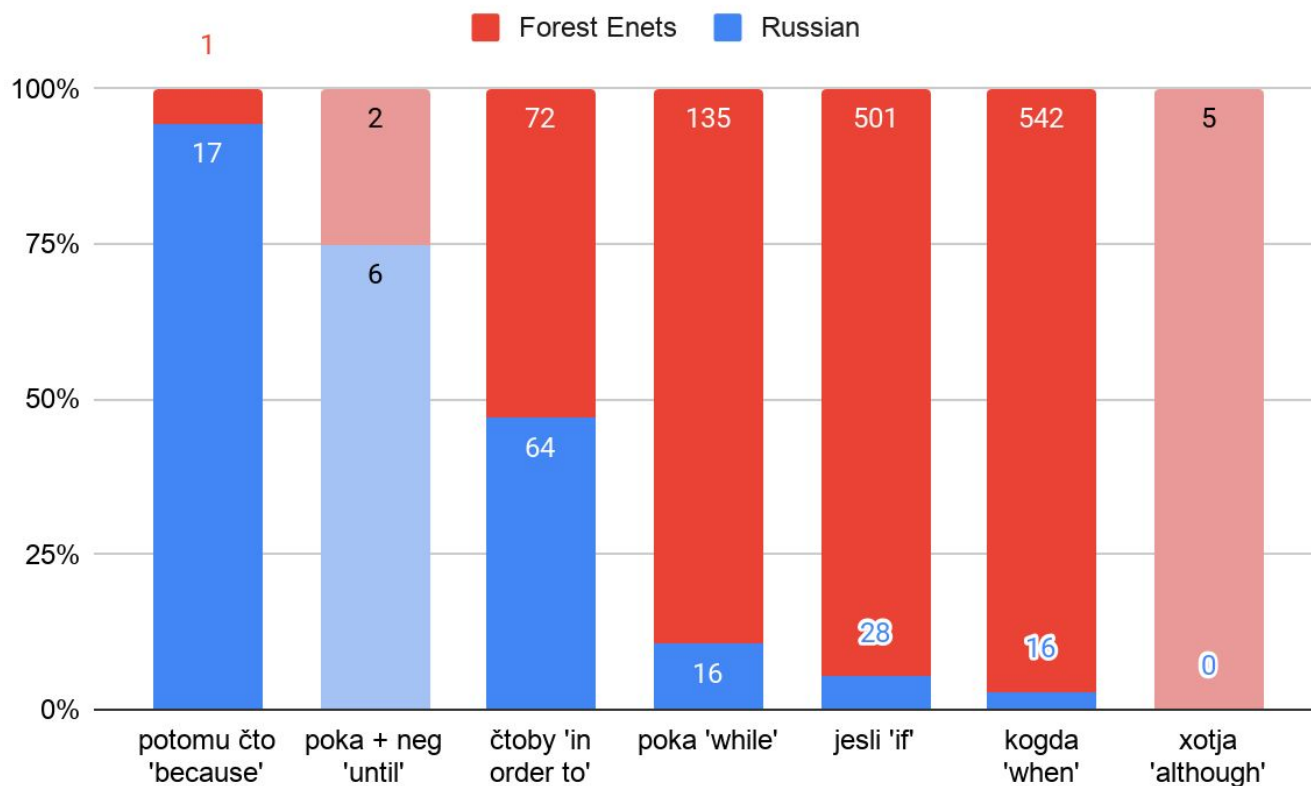
(1b) **ели** bəum-bə wā-ri Russian  
**if.R** moose-ACC kill-PRS  
 'if (they) kill a moose' (lkb)

→ Non-finite vs. Russian-like finite verbal forms:

(2a) **kogda** žaŋ'ar-i-do-i **Non-finite** (as in Nanai): a default option  
**when.R** judge-PTCP.PRS-DAT-REFL.SG  
 'When (he) judges' (rab)

(2b) a **kogda** balže-xa Finite (as in Russian): only 4 uses  
 and.R **when.R** be.born-PST  
 'And when he was born' (itg)

# [Forest Enets] Frequency of Russian conjunctions



# [Forest Enets] Congruence with Russian

	'because'	'until'	'in order to'	'while'	'if'	'when'	'although'
Russian conjunction	<i>potomu čto</i>	<i>poka+neg</i>	<i>čtoby</i>	<i>poka</i>	<i>jesli</i>	<i>kogda</i>	<i>xotja</i>
Enets counterparts	-	-	SS: INF/ DS: SUBJ	NMLZ + <i>feru</i>	CVB.COND	NMLZ-ABL, PTCP.SIM-DAT, CVB.SIM	CVB.COND + <i>ŋo</i>
semantic equivalent	-	-	+	+	+	±	+
→ semantic congruence			<	=	=	>	=
verb form congruence			+	-	-	-	-
conjunction			-	-	-	-	(+)
→ position congruence			-				

## [Forest Enets] Examples

→ Potomu čto ‘because’: a new type of finite adverbial clauses, non-typical of Enets

- (1) **patamufta** saxar diago-**bi-∅** tundra-xan **FREQUENT**  
**because.R** sugar there\_is\_no-**PRF-3SG.S** tundra-LOC.SG  
‘Because there was no sugar in tundra’ (lku)

→ Čtoby ‘in order to’: reinforces Enets non-specialized means of expressing purpose; Enets purpose clauses are structurally similar to those in Russian

- (2a) nɛnagi-niʔ **ʃtɔb** nɔʒuniʔ kanje-**ni-tʃ** **FREQUENT**  
mosquito-PL.1DU **in\_order\_to.R** we(du).ABL leave(pfv)-**SUBJ-3PL.S.PST**  
‘In order that mosquitoes leave us’ (ld)

- (2b) no **ʃtɔb** te diɔgutu-ʃ ɛtɔ  
well **in\_order\_to.R** reindeer hurry\_up(ipfv)-**CVB** so  
‘Ну, чтоб оленя подгонять это’ (ni)

DS →

Subjunctive

SS → Infinitive (“General Converb”)

# [Forest Enets] Examples

→ Jesli 'if' (as well as poka 'while', kogda 'when'): is integrated into the Enets non-finite adverbial clause with a similar meaning

(1) **jesli** ŋa-za                      bəa    ε-**bu**-ta                      **INFREQUENT**  
**if.R**    sky-NOM.SG.3SG    bad    be(ipfv)-**CVB.COND-OBL.SG.3SG**  
if the weather is bad (ni)

**Conditional  
Converb**

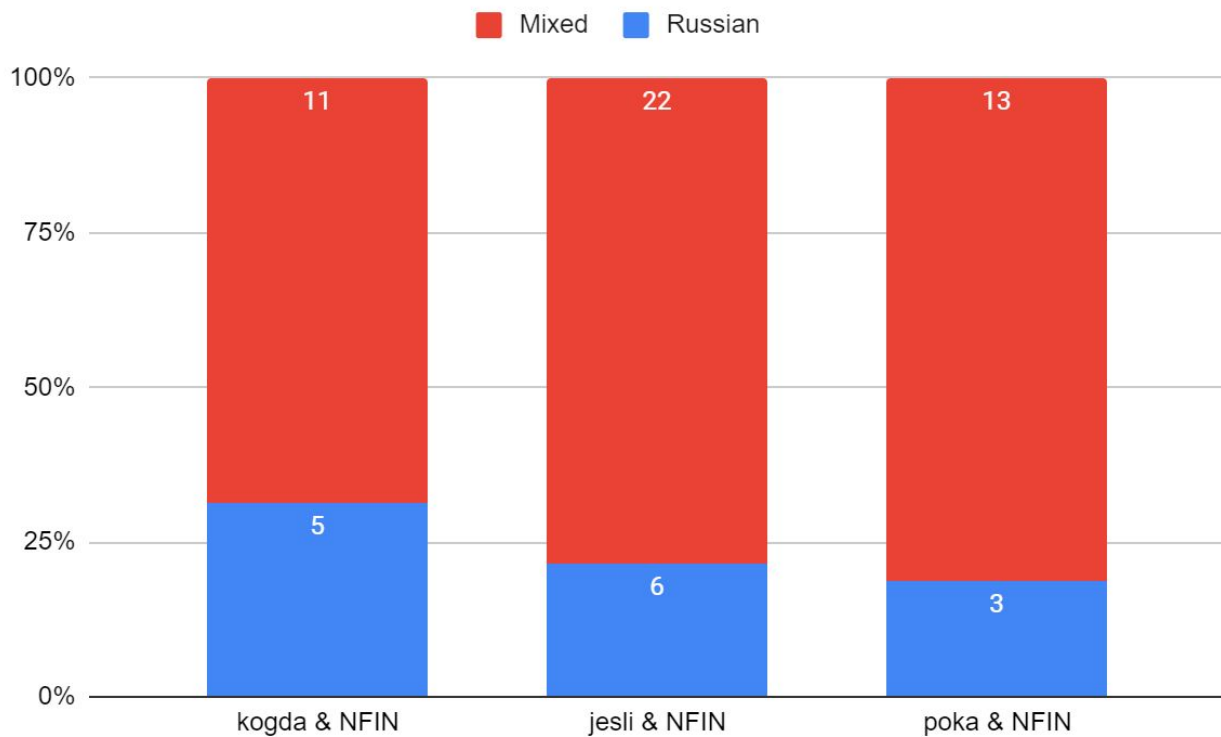
(2) səjuz        **kogda**    mu    kaʔa-**buʔuj**  
union        **when.R**    PLC    come\_down(pfv)-**CVB.SIM**  
'When the Union broke' (ni)

**Simultaneous  
Converb**

NB This is not the only option, see the next slide.



# [Forest Enets] Incongruence overcoming



# [Forest Enets] Incongruence overcoming

→ **Russian-like verbal forms:** attested, but not as a default option

a) Finite forms instead of non-finite ones:

(1a) dʒisi-za                      **paka**                      uza-xan-da                      nɔɔbera-**za**  
grandfather-NOM.SG.3SG      **for\_the\_time\_being.R**      arm-LOC.SG-OBL.SG.3SG      hold(ipfv)-**3SG.SOsg**  
'While his grandfather was holding him in his arms' (ni)

(1b) **jesli** ɔsa-d                      kɔma-**d**  
**if.R**      meat-DAT.SG      want(ipfv)-**2SG.S**  
'If you want meat' (ni)

# [Forest Enets] Incongruence overcoming

→ **Russian-like verbal forms:** attested, but not as a default option

a) Past tense instead of Subjunctive: 2 examples

- (2) εtʃuj-ʔ      ʃtɔb                      piiʔε-zutʃ  
child-PL      **in\_order\_to.R**      be\_afraid(**ipfv**)-3PL.SOsg.PST  
'In order that the children were afraid of him' (as)

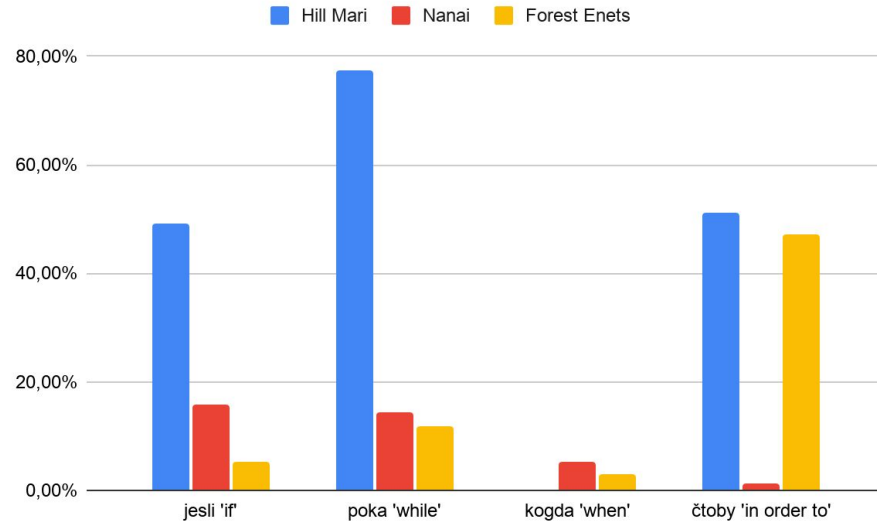
Cf. Russian Subjunctive = PST + *by* (*čto**by*** PST)

But: one example with Future tense

- (3) i amɔn    ɔzi-da-∅,                      ʃtɔb      ηɔ-da      sɔbu-ta-za  
and here(loc) be\_visible(ipfv).INC-FUT-3SG.S in\_order\_to leg-OBL.SG.3SG get(pfv)-FUT-3SG.SOsg  
'And it will appear here, it will get out its leg' (ld)

# Three languages compared

- **jesli 'if'**: Hill Mari > Nanai > Forest Enets
  - postpositive CONJ > postpositive CONJ || non-finite verbal form > non-finite verbal form
- **poka 'while'**: Hill Mari >> Nanai > Forest Enets
  - no semantic equivalent, finite strategy is available >> no semantic equivalent, strict non-finite > with semantic equivalent, strict non-finite
- **kogda 'when'**: Nanai, Forest Enets > Hill Mari
  - several non-finite verbal forms > prepositive CONJ || non-finite verbal forms
- **čtoby 'in order to'**: Hill Mari > Forest Enets >> Nanai
  - finite/non-finite clauses with DS/SS distinction, no dedicated means, postpositive CONJ > finite/non-finite clauses with DS/SS distinction, no dedicated means >> non-finite verbal form



# Three languages compared

- Resolving incongruence in finiteness
  - Hill Mari: Russian CONJ & non-finite Hill Mari equivalent → Russian CONJ + finite clause
  - Nanai, Forest Enets: Russian CONJ & non-finite equivalent → Russian CONJ + non-finite clause
- General frequency of Russian conjunctions:
  - Hill Mari (31,75%) >> Forest Enets (10,46%), Nanai (7,74%)

→ The strategy “CONJ+finite verb” is more widespread in Hill Mari and almost absent in Nanai and Forest Enets

→ Unlike Nanai and Forest Enets, Hill Mari has a long-term contact with Russian

# Discussion

## Semantic (in)congruence

Russian CONJ has no semantic counterpart in IL

TOTAL INCONGRUENCE IS ACCEPTED

Russian CONJ has a narrower meaning than its IL-counterpart

→ OK

Russian CONJ has a wider meaning than its IL-counterpart

Russian CONJ has a full equivalent in IL

TOTAL CONGRUENCE IS AVOIDED

→ RESTRICTED (semantic redundancy?)

# Discussion

## **Structural (in)congruence: CONJ+ finite clause vs. dedicated non-finite form**

CONJ + V-FIN strategy is used in IL in this particular semantic type of subordinate clauses

CONJ + V-FIN strategy is common in IL, although outside this particular type of subordinate clauses

→ OK

IL uses the non-finite strategy of subordination

**TOTAL INCONGRUENCE IS AVOIDED**

→ RESTRICTED (although possible!)

## **Structural congruence: prepositive CONJ vs. postpositive CONJ**

**TOTAL CONGRUENCE IS AVOIDED**

The position of CONJ in Russian differs from that of its IL-counterpart → OK (the slot is empty)

CONJ in Russian has the same position as in IL → BLOCKED (no available slot)

**Further questions: The impact of different types of (in)congruence? Other relevant factors?**