Russian Influence in Iźva Komi Sibilant Articulation

Niko Partanen

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Introduction

- ► My PhD studies are about variation in Komi
- ► Last three years I've been involved with compilation of different Komi corpora (Udora + Iźva)
- ► Lots of research done on Komi dialectology, but access to digital + georeferenced data gives new possibilities
- ► I work currently in INEL project in Hamburg University
    - ► Will include two Komi varieties in the future
- ► I use in this study Iźva Komi corpus which will be archived in the end of 2016
    - ► Project led by Rogier Blokland, Michael Rießler and Marina Fedina, funded by Kone Foundation

# Komi language – Iźva dialect
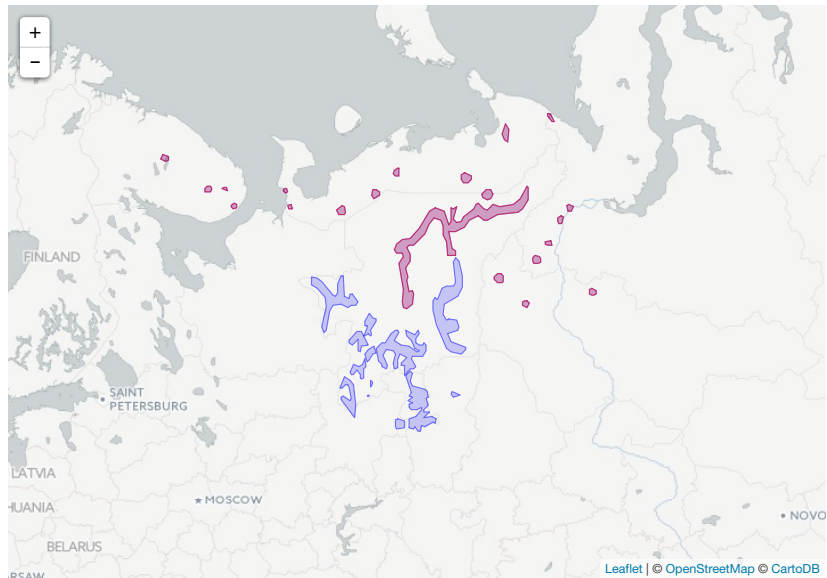
Epicenter of expansion – Ižma village
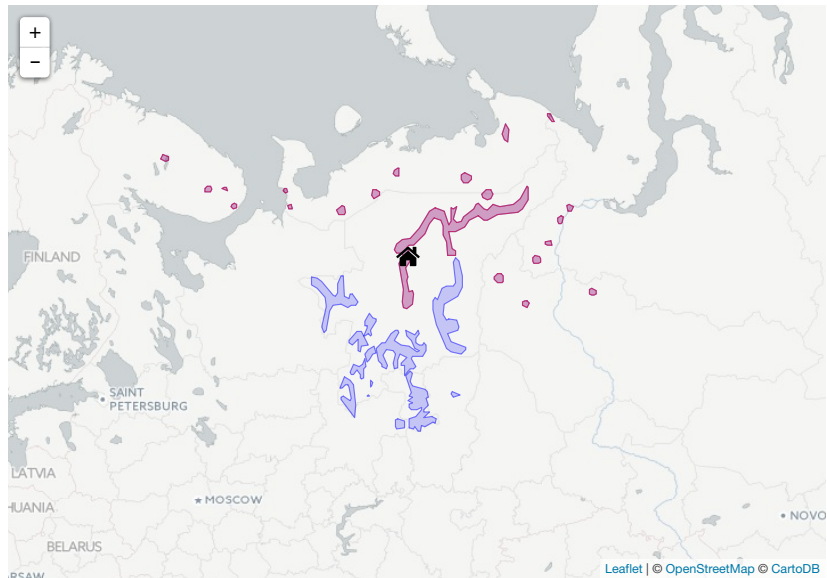
Background

- Dialects and mid-sized languages not often included in language documentation projects (Grenoble, 2013, 47)
- Of course it does change things if there are speakers
  - Role of elicitation different
  - Lots of data available (our corpus contains both old and new data)
  - No concept of **last speaker**
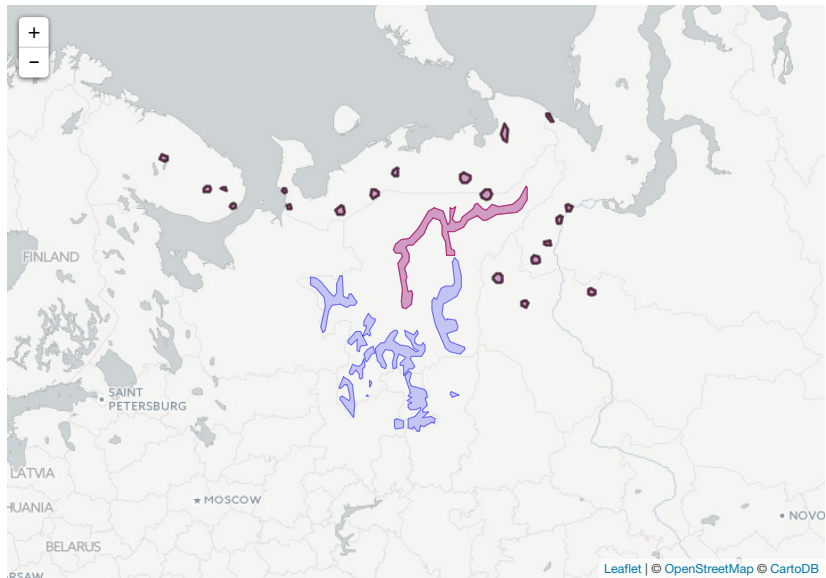 - We also try to ignore the concepts of good and bad speaker

Why Iźva?

- Komi is too big to be taken at once
- Iźva dialect has particular contact history (connects to Kola Saami Documentation Project (Rießler, 2005) etc.)
- Diaspora varieties often seriously endangered

Just a note – Iźva is an offshoot of Upper-Vym dialect
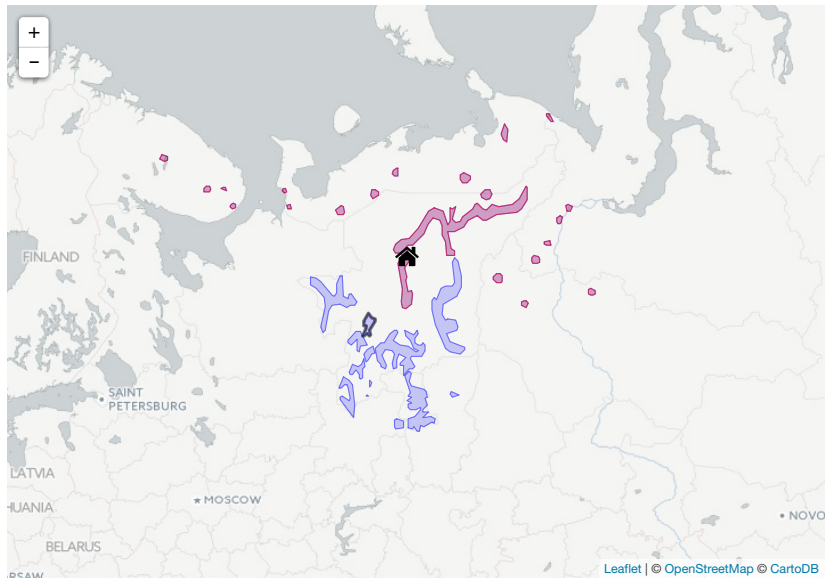
This area had considerable lack of Russian presence

- Ižma itself populated from Upper Vym at the 16th century
- Expansion since 19th century
    - Much mobility ever after

- Connected to the reindeer husbandry
- Strong Russian and Nenets admixture
- Local contacts with Saami, Khanty and Mansi

Iźva Within Komi

- Shares developments with rest of Northern Komi Zyrian dialects
- Especially the relation to Upper Vym is very transparent
- Mutually intelligible with all Komi varieties
- Culturally and ethnically distinct Komi subgroup
- No local written practice

Figure 1: Lud festival

My data

- Iźva Komi Documentation Project – funded by Kone Foundation in 2014-2016.
- Four fieldwork periods by now
- Cooperation with local researchers
- Semi-structured interviews, not much elicitation
- Majority of the recordings in Komi, but also some in Russian
- Attempts rough balance through conscious selection of what to transcribe (roughly in following order)
  - geographical regions
  - age groups
  - sex
  - different genres and registers present
- I don't claim that the corpus is balanced!

	labial	dental	alveolar	(alveolo-) palatal	velar
stop	p b	t d		c ɟ	k g
nasal	m	n		ɲ	
fricative	v	s z	ʃ ʒ	ɕ ʑ	
affricate			t͡ʃ d͡ʒ	t͡ɕ d͡ʑ	
(lateral) approx.		l	j	ʎ	
trill		r			

Figure 2: Komi consonant inventory

	labial	dental/alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar
stop	p pʲ b bʲ	t tʲ d dʲ			k g
nasal	m mʲ	n nʲ			
fricative	f fʲ	s sʲ z zʲ	ʃ ʒ		x
affricate		ts	t͡ʃ	ɕ	
approx.	v vʲ	l lʲ		j	
trill		r rʲ			

Figure 3: Russian consonant inventory

Example

(1) "2026+*menam* **poƛoʎeɲijeɨs** *, kod* **səvetskəj vospitaɲije** *dɨrjaȼɨs*
 my   generation , who soviet   upbringing time

    i   kodked me **pervej** *voʃji* **zanimajt͡ȼini biznesnas , da ,**
and with.who i first started practice bisnes , and ,

    mijan **vsʲo-taki uʒe** **vremja** *pete kud͡ʑ vojvɨlas* **uʒe**
our all.this already time escapes as to.north already

    mi **uʒe daʒe vot** *pensʲi-* , **predpensʲioɲejeȼ** *, voʃjim ke*
we already even well retire- , preretired , started if

    uʒe i *viȼo:nɨ , i etʃa pəriȼmɨʃtalim*
already and get.sick , and little.bit got.little.bit.old

My generation which had Soviet upbringing and with who I started
first to practice business, right, our time is already ending we are
already in age before pension, we started maybe already to get ill, we
got a bit old … (kpv_izva20140324-1)

What about the sibilants?

vot nalən sɨələm, sɨələm da, vot menam zev una mijkə,	Well they say "heart", "heart", yes, I have many examples.
i najə viɕtaləni "mi praviʎna ɕoɽɲitam, mi koʎim vaʒsə", me ʃua "kutʃəma ti praviʎnəja?"	And they say: "We speak correctly, we retained the old (way)", and I say: "how do you speak correctly?"
a seni eməɕ ətkimin jəz kodjas	And there are some people who,
ʃuam pərisʤikjas, i naja mian moznas ɕoɽɲitəni.	let's say the older, and they speak in our way.
a tomjasis uʒe nalən sɨələm, pukslʲi, vot sidʒi najə uʒe ɕoɽɲitəni	But the youngs, they already have "heart", "sit down", well this is how they already speak.
da, sɨ vösna mij nalən ötik rotɕ͡ vlʲiejanije	Yes, because they have one Russian influence.
məd kə vidʲiimo hanti mansʲii ɲeɲeckəjis toʒə kutʃəmakə petkɕ͡tɕːə	On the other hand Khanty, Mansi and Nenets (influence) comes out.

Figure 4: Citation from Valentina Viktorovna Filippova (kpv_izva20111014VVF-1)

Areal features within Iźva

- There are lots of features which vary inside Iźva speaking area
  - level of deaffricatization
  - **palato-alveolar sibilants pronounced as palatalized**
  - some reanalyzation of morphology (gəgərvonɨ ~ vonɨ gəgər)
  - metathesis: ninem > nimen
  - palatalized/palatal environment related vowel changes: ҫəd > sʲed ~ ҫed / ҫəkɨd > sʲekɨd ~ ҫekɨd,
  - Some sporadic (?) changes: medҫa > medja
- This variation tends to get really messy when one takes a closer look
  - Related probably to the high mobility of speakers

Several patterns

- ç > sʲ in all environments: /sʲələm/, not /çölöm /
- ç everywhere, sʲ only in Russian words: /pensʲija/
- sʲ everywhere, ç only in Russian words: /vobçe/ (or whatever is in local dialects)

As all speakers are bilingual, the both (several) systems necessarily coexist.

Geographic distribution

- Occurs sporadically around Nenetsia and Kola Peninsula
- Is less geographically delineable than I thought, but within Iźva exclusively outside Komi Republic
- Not enough data from Siberia, but something is going on

Is this Russian influence?

- ▶ The fact that this pronunciation is not common on the areas where Iźva spread over non-Russian speaking areas could also be used to argue it is related to Russian indeed.
- ▶ Some evidence suggest that similar phenomena would be going on also on other Komi dialect under more-than-ordinary Russian influence – Upper-Sysola (this has been attested on few speakers in Užga village) (Uotila, 1986).

Fast comparison

	Iźva	Upper-Sysola
Russian phonemes	f, x, ts	f, x
more than usual Russian lexicon	TRUE	TRUE
Palatalization of sibilants	TRUE	TRUE
wovel change in pal. env.	ɕöd > sʲed	ɲaɲ > ɲeɲ, jaj > jej

▶ In Iźva palatalization seems to co-occur areally with extended deaffricatization.
▶ For history of deaffricatization in Iźva, compare to Upper-Vym (Баталова, 1982, 53), but (Rédei, 1978) and recording 290:3a in Kotus archive).

Adaptation of Russian elements

- There has been contact between Komi and Russian since 12th century (Leinonen, 2006, 235)
- Russian loans also are similarly layered
  - Old dialectal loans: челядь 'children'
  - Relatively new loans, but well adapted to Komi
  - Of course lots of loans are just passing through Russian, cf. /interesnəj/ (compare (Kalima, 1910))
- Russian mixed mode has became the unmarked casual norm (compare (Partanen and Saarikivi, 2016) for Karelian, (Janurik, 2013) for Erzya, (Ferguson, 2016) for Sakha)

About language attitudes

- It is often reported that mixed contact varieties are stigmatized
- This is present also within Komi varieties, expressed in lamenting about poor Komi knowledge as every word is Russian
  - Not that much within Iźva
- Connects with purity-discourse within Standard Komi Zyrian community
  - Iźva is somewhat outside this community
  - Similarly this discourse is largely absent
- Instead incorporation of Russian elements seems to be one feature which is used to **define** speech as Iźva
- May sound strange – but compare Meänkieli and Finnish

Examples

(2) *A что за конференция Италияын?*
but what prep conference italy-ines

What is the conference in Italy? (personal email to Niko Partanen at 09/08/16 17:50

(3) *tak vot kər kak tseloveka ved^j*
so here reindeer like human right

Well the reindeer is like a human, right. (kpv_izva20120606-feya)

Different examples

(4) *i   nɨa   tulɨsədʑ̂   obɨt͡ɕne mɨjke   , blagoveʃeɲ:eas ved*
   and they until.spring usually something , annunciation right

   ɕedʲmovo apreʎa , right ?
   seven   april   , yes   ?

And usually by the summer they (do) something, the Annunciation is
seventh of April, right? (kpv_izva20140327-3)

vedʲ > ved
blagoveɕeɲʲ:e > blagoveʃeɲ:e
sʲedʲmovo > sʲedʲmovo

Theoretical background

- The concept of bivalency very useful here (Woolard, 1998)
  - Not so much a selection but interaction
  - Some elements belong to both languages equally or along a continuum

- Relative similarity between Komi and Russian phonologies
  - Compare rus. rʲespublʲika, kpv. respubʎika, sah. öröspüübülüke (Ferguson, 2016, 146)
  - What is left to distinguish Komi and Russian tends to be on palatals and vowel reduction
  - Compare: kpv. /ɕemja/, rus. /sʲemʲja/, orthographically [семъя]]and [семья]

- No stigma doesn't mean no importance:
  - Pronouncing Komi well prestiguous, but so is Russian!
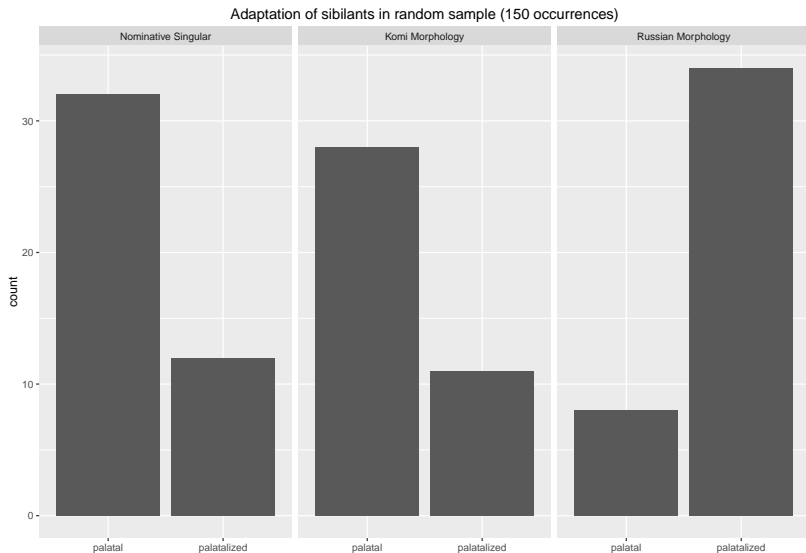 - Similarly there is stigma both with "bad" Komi and "bad" Russian

- Some cases more bivalent than others, especially nominative singulars
- However, as both languages have quite rich morphology, one often has to make further decisions
- I was interested about whether there is a salient difference in phonological adaptation between cases like: восьмого ~ восьмойын '8th', or газет ~ газетсьыс ~ газеты 'newspaper', or посёлку ~ посёлокас 'to the village', or российская ~ россияса, or северные ~ севернӧй
- кӧзяин ~ хозяин ~ сельскохозяйственный

Data sampling

- ▶ Sampling different types and looking into them more closely
  - ▶ Not that simple with corpus that's still under construction!
- ▶ Sample has been pre-filtered by few conditions
  - ▶ No only Russian texts
  - ▶ No tokens from foreign researchers (me, Michael Rießler and Rogier Blokland)
  - ▶ No tokens from data which has no audio alignment
  - ▶ No tokens from direct linguistic elicititation (though could be interesting to look more, at least one Kola Komi speaker shifts ɕ > sʲ exclusively in elicitation)
  - ▶ No personal names (place names ok) (referentiality-issues)
  - ▶ No Saami or Nenets mixed in

- In the corpus subset there are 130393 tokens (out of original ~220,000), among which there are:
  - 398 Russian/Komi bivalent nominative singulars
  - 831 Russian stems with clearly Komi morphology
  - 109 Russian stems with Russian morphology (within non-multiple clause long code mixing)
  - Examples: *"**Тысячи-тысячи голов** вед öнi мыйкекареныс..."*, *"**Восемесят восьмом году** Митрей дяде рöдитчема."*, *"Гашке, **потом для газеты** тай аддисныс"*

Some results

Adaptation of sibilants in random sample (150 occurrences)

Summary

- Lots of things happening around palatals ~ palatalization
- Processes and ideologies around code-mixing not straightforward
- If we want to document natural speech then this is what it is
- Corpus needs more balancing to different genres and registers
- We have to get much more creative in our recording sessions

References

R packages used:

- FRelan (Partanen, 2015)
- plyr (Wickham, 2016)
- dplyr (Wickham and Francois, 2016)
- ggplot2 (Kahle and Wickham, 2016)
- ggmap (Kahle and Wickham, 2016)
- leaflet (Cheng and Xie, 2016)
- knitr (Xie, 2016)
- rmarkdown (Allaire et al., 2016)

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Баталова, ⍰. ⍰. (1982). *Ареальные исследования по восточным финно-угорским языкам (коми языки)*. Издательство "Наука".