

To the typology of pattern borrowings: case study of subject reference change in Votic and Ingrian

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Introductory remarks

- Matras&Sakel 2004, Sakel 2007: matter (MAT) VS pattern (PAT) borrowings
- MAT: material and its phonological shape is borrowed

(1) Votic (<Finnic)

kuza-nibut'

where-INDEF

'somewhere'

Russian

gde-nibud'

where-INDEF

'somewhere'

(Markus&Rozhanskiy 2017: 463)



Introductory remarks (cont.)

- PAT: only structural patterns are borrowed while the phonological forms are not

(2) Finnish:

lapsen-tarha

child.GEN-garden

‘Kindergarten’

- In this talk: focus on PAT borrowing
- Case study: pattern of pronominal subject reference through language contact



Subject of study

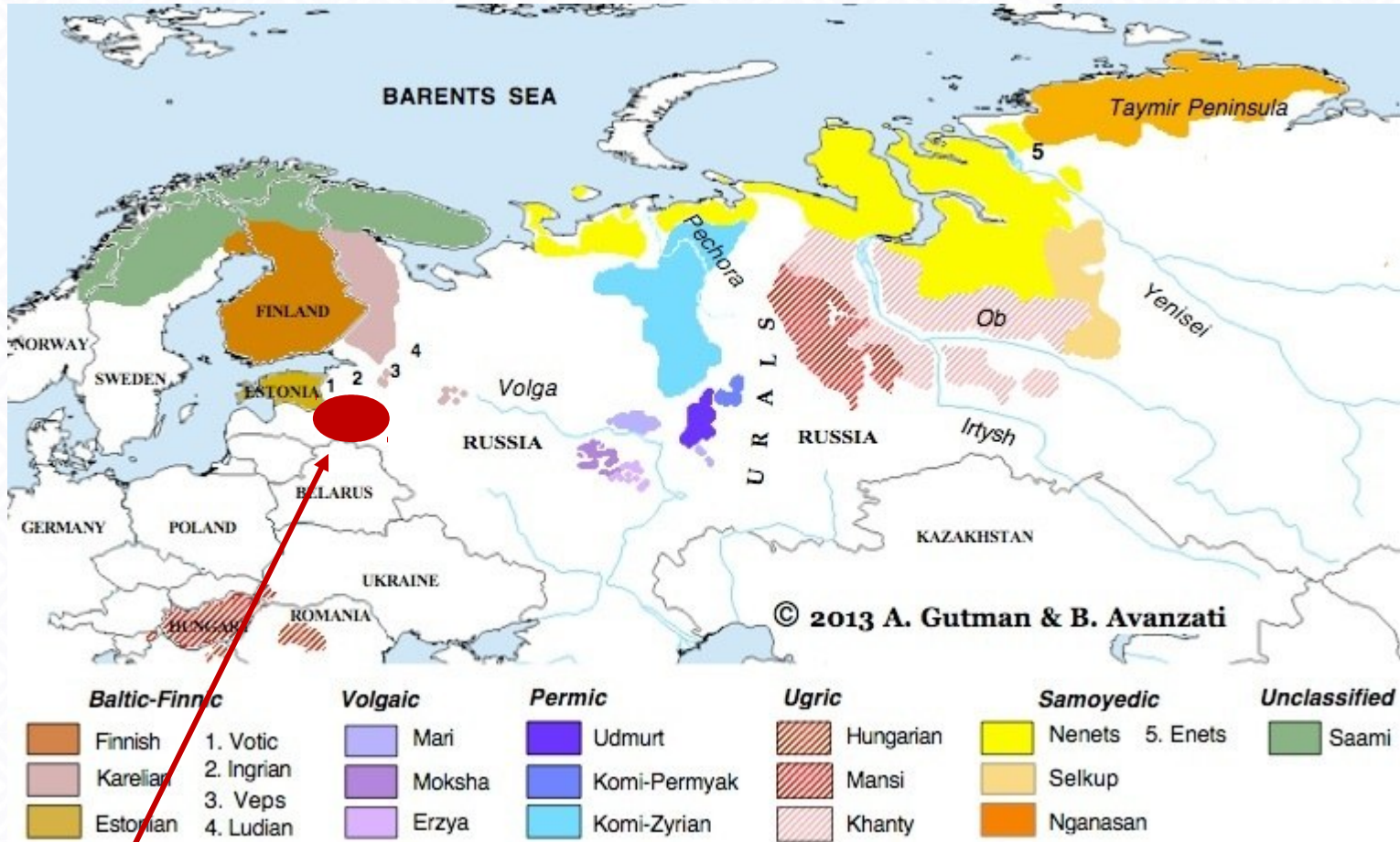
- Votic, Ingrian [Izhorian] and Ingrian Finnish
- 3 minor Finnic languages spoken in historical Ingria, today's north-western part of the Leningrad province
- Votic and Ingrian: on the border of extinction (<10 speakers for Votic, < 20 for Ingrian, all speakers are older than 80)
- Ingrian Finnish: threatened (<1000, most speakers are older than 50)

On map: a closer look




© Grünthal 2003: 17

A broader look



● Votic, Ingrian and Ingrian Finnish taken together



Pronominal subject reference in modern minor Finnic

- At first sight all minor Finnic employ a double-marking pattern for marking subject (personal pronouns + verbal inflection)
- This holds for all types of person (1st/2nd /3rd)

(3) Ingrian Finnish (2019)

miä paistan pirakka

1SG bake.PRS-1SG pie.PTV

‘I am baking a pie’

Examples (cont.)

(4) *sis tämä tul-i-ø* **VOTIC**

then 3SG come-PST-3SG

‘Then he came’ (Markus, Rozhanskiy 2011)

(5) *miä tätä e-n ekensa näh-nü*

1SG3SG.PART NEG-1SG be never see-PTCP.ACT

‘I have never seen him’

(6) *hã kũl-i-ø* **INGRIAN**

3SG die-PST-3SG

‘She died’

(7) *miä muišša-n šene-n hüväšt*

1SGremember.PRS-1SG it-GEN good

‘I remember it well’ (non-published recording by

Rozhanskiy & Markus, 2011)

Pronominal subject reference in minor Finnic (cont.)

- Zero pronouns: approximately 1/3 of all occurrences (Student's t-test, p-value<0.01)

(8) \emptyset_{pro} *men-i- \emptyset* *Rīga* **VOTIC**

go-PST-3SG Rīga.ILL

'[he] went to Riga'

(9) *ševvern* *ono* *hüvä* **INGRIAN**

only be.PRS.3SG good.NOM

što \emptyset_{pro} *penži-nšā-n* *hüvä-n*

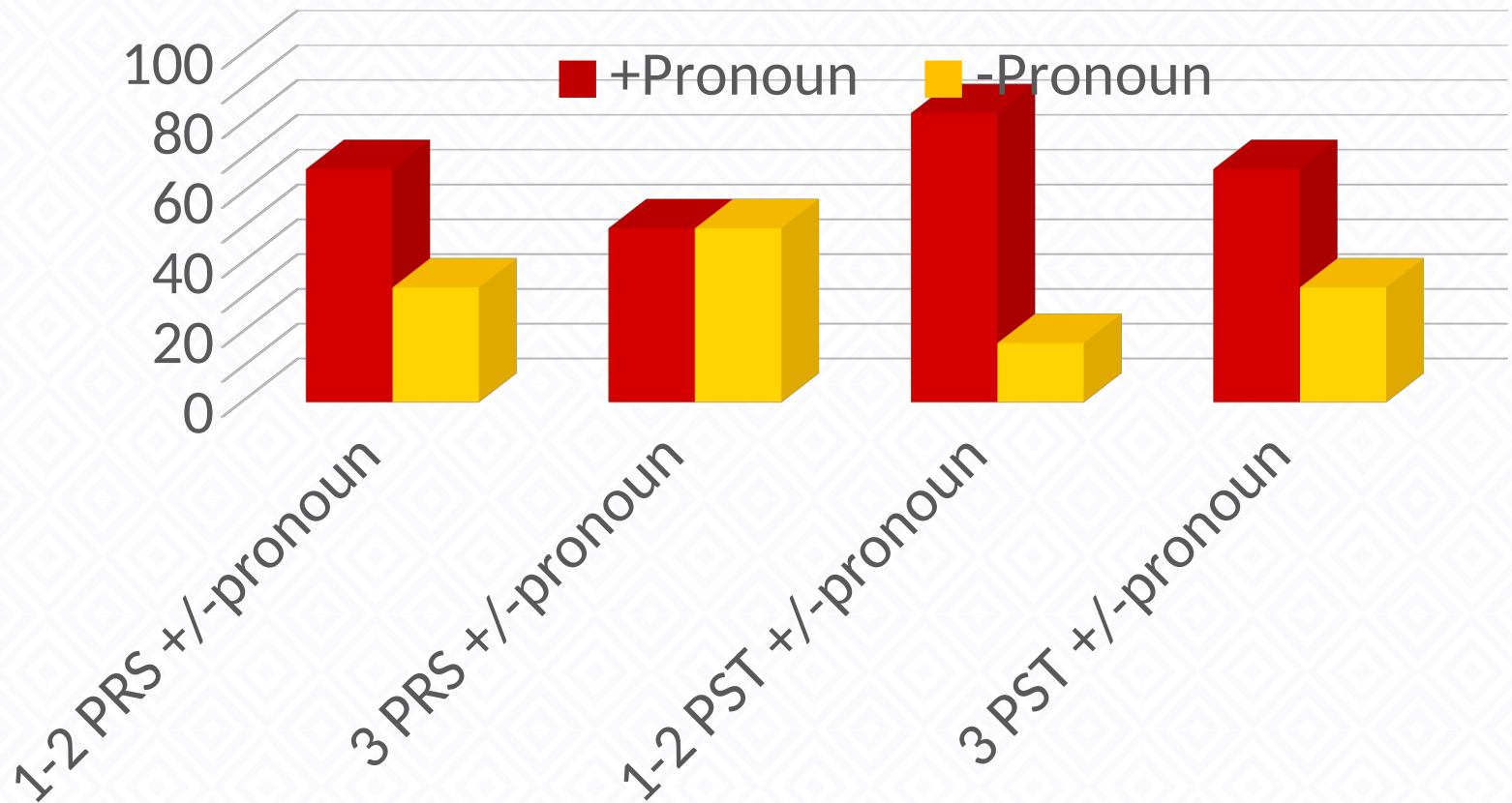
that pension-GEN receive.PRS-1SG good-GEN

'It's only good that I get a good pension.'

- But the double-marking pattern dominates in all persons (χ^2 -square, p-value< 0.01 for all three languages)

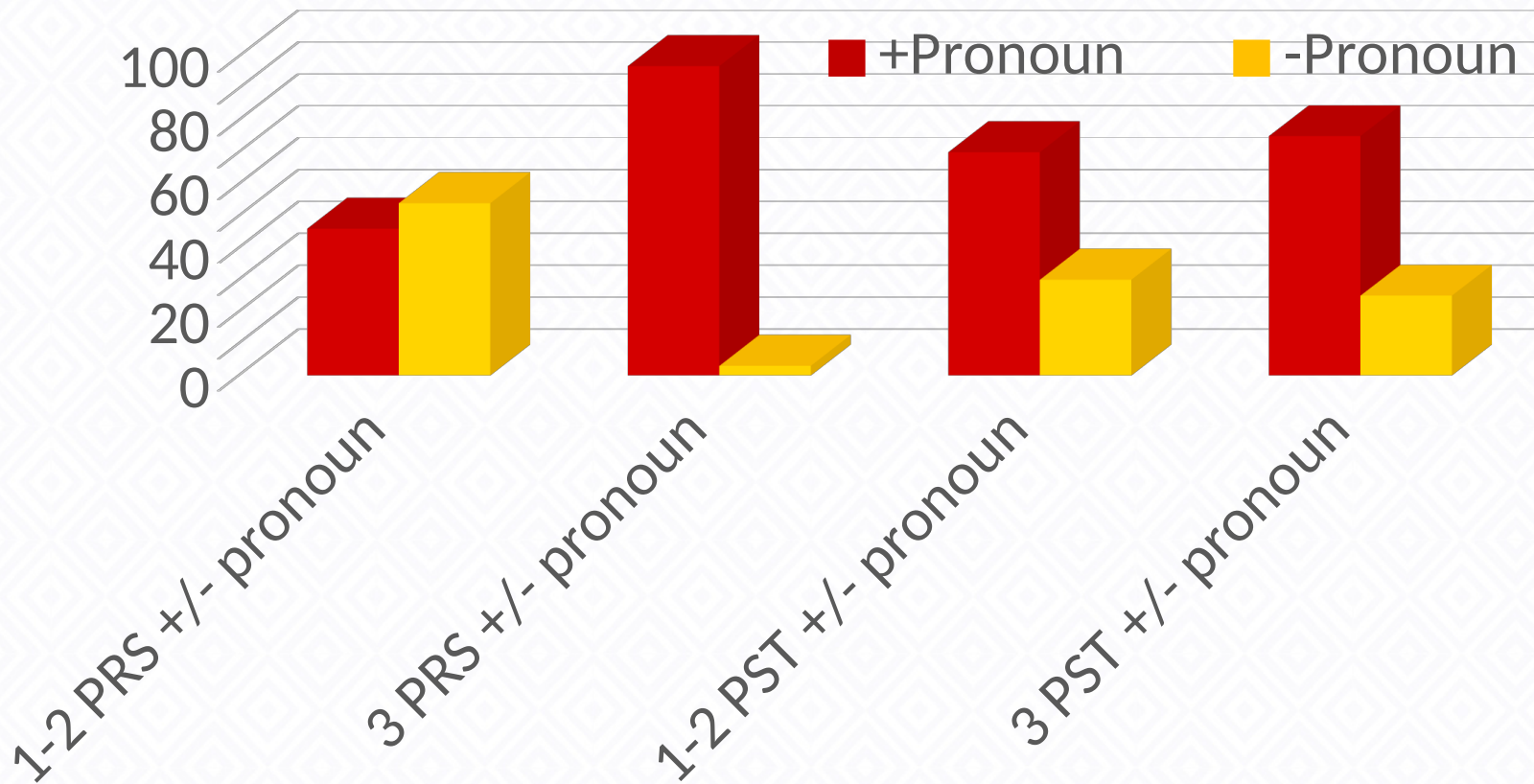
Modern Votic (lower Luga dialect)

- 7 narratives from (Markus&Rozhanskiy 2017), 117 relevant finite clauses



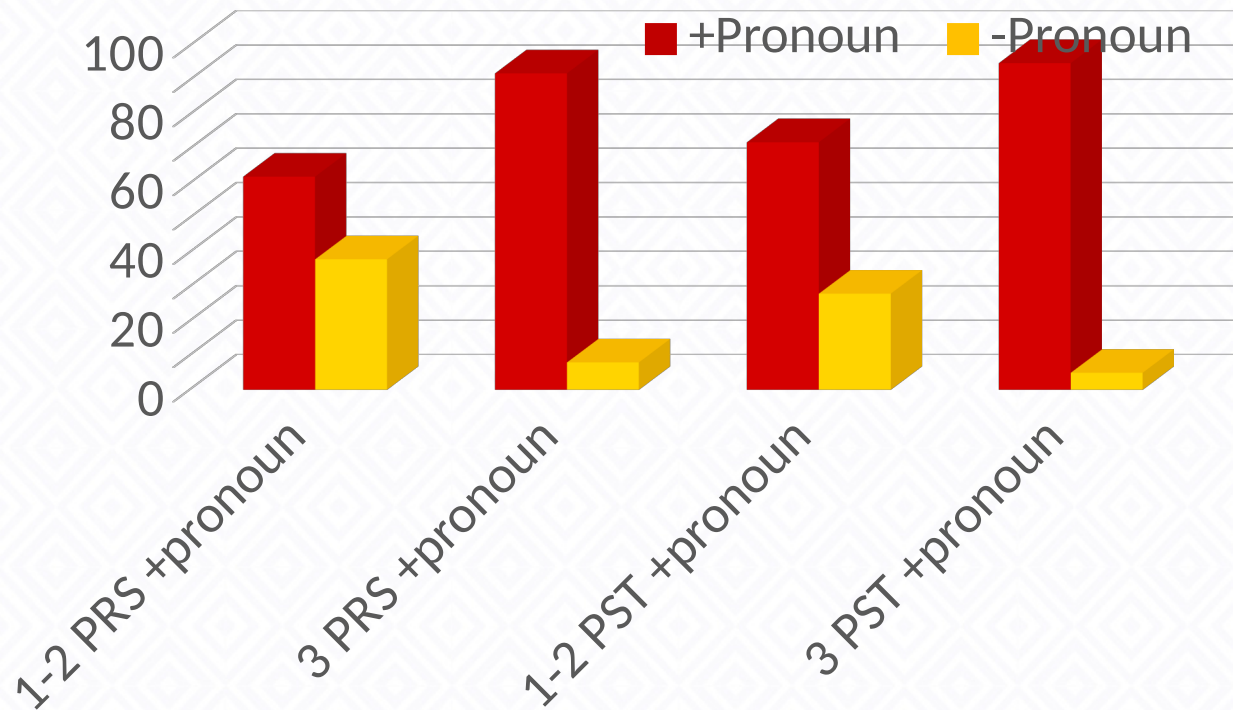
Modern Ingrian (Soikkola dialect)

- 2 narratives recorded by Markus&Rozhanskiy in 2011, 179 relevant finite clauses

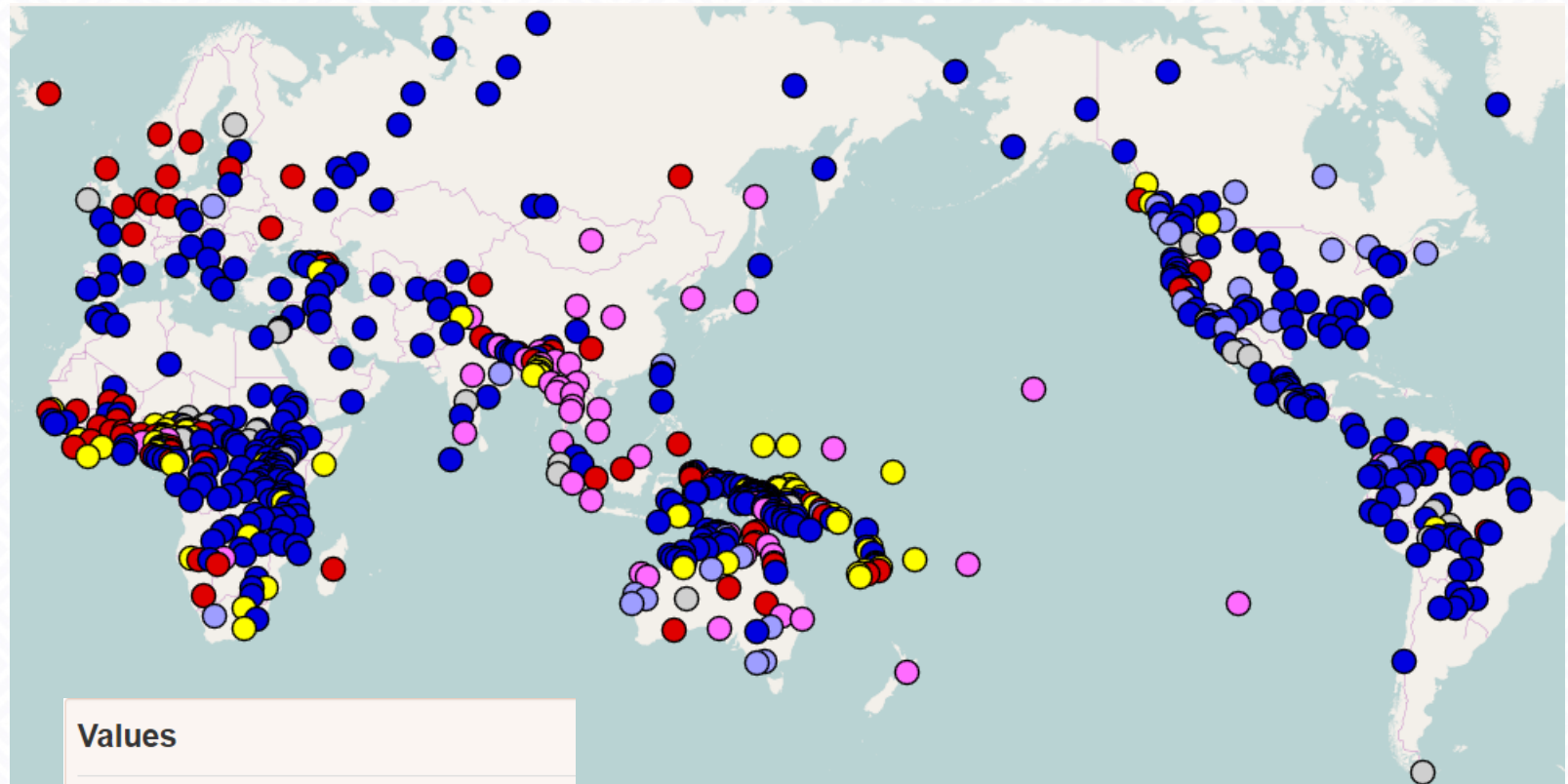


Modern Ingrian Finnish

- Data: 4 narratives of Viktor Valjakka (1988), 165 relevant finite clauses



WALS 2013: pronominal pattern as an exotic feature



Values

- Obligatory pronouns in subject position
- Subject affixes on verb
- Subject clitics on variable host
- Subject pronouns in different position
- Optional pronouns in subject position
- Mixed

Cf. also Siewierska 2004: double-marking pattern as a distinctive feature of Germanic, East Slavic and sparse Austronesian and Papuan on a sample of 402 languages

Uralic context

- Most Uralic languages use verbal inflection while personal pronouns are usually marked for emphasis or contrast (Klumpp et al. 2018: 21)

(10) Hungarian:

Megtalál-tam a megoldás-t. Egyetérte-sz?

find-PST.DEF.1SG DEF solution-ACC agree-PRS.2SG ‘I found a solution. Do you agree?’ (Németh T. Enikő 2017: 117)

- Some languages (Finnish, Estonian) have a personal split: pro-drop pattern with verbal inflection in 1st/2nd person and a non-pro-drop pattern in the 3rd person
- Minor Finnic: innovation?



Diachronic investigation for Votic and Ingrian

- 3 time spans: 19th; mid 20th ; early 21st
- 1st/2nd VS 3rd person analyzed separately
- Present and past (imperfect) clauses
- All emphatic and contrastive contexts filtered out
- Votic: 790 relevant finite clauses
- Ingrian: 571 relevant finite clauses
- Binominal test to establish the predominant pattern (pro-drop/ non-pro-drop)

Sources of the 19th century

Ingrian (Soikkola dialect):

- Fairy-tale “The Golden bird” (Porkka 1885; translation and glossing by Markus&Rozhanskiy 2012)

Votic (Lower Luga dialect):

- Fairy-tale recorded by O.A.F. Mustonen in the village of Jõgõperä (Mustonen 1883)

Sprachproben.
Ingrischer Dialekt.
Der goldene Vogel.
(aus dem Dertsch Tausend in Soikkola)

Olli enne kuningas, ja kuningahal oli kolti poika. Kuningahal oli sikki käppä saadi (pöytäarha). Saas karvoit kulnait emonnel. Jokko ö sin kätti varattamaa. Kuningas luigi omnessend aheet puust, ja jokko ö hävievä üks omnessen. Siit kuningas lähetti vanhemman poikaha vahtii, eik tahajaa varast. Se poiga mäni vahtii, heittis makkaama eiq yhänt varast. Mäni kōmmissent kotti. Irti hänsi: mikä varast? Poiga sanna: en näht. Toireti ö mäni toine poiga. Mäni dät heittis makkaama, ja makkaia taas häntuuse nasse. Mäniöl kotti taas. Ärti hänsi: mikä varast? — En näht. — Kolmannesheit ö mäni kolmas poiga. Mäni ja noiri vahtijaa; ja hää vahti pöi öh nasse. Pöien ö sikki tuli varaa. Lenni lindu. Lenni eilit kulnait sikki häntuuse. Poiga sanna: linnas. Lenni häntuuse üks kultain sulga. Poiga otti sulan ja vei vahtihöuse. Iise heittis makkaama. Tuli kuningas katsoma: kannaöl oli kultain sulga. Kuningas katsoi ja mäni pois. Poiga noiri gi-lua ja otti sulan ja vei häntuuse. Ärti hänsi: kut sik aart? Poiga sanna: mä varast en tavaat, a säin. Siid aiti saapoo: pitkät mäni, etmäni varast, ja andei käigile kol-melle pojalle heppoin. I pojat lähtie etmäni. Mäniöl kolmen kosen tedi mödä i tuli kolt töhbaarä. Hä läikittikah eri tölle. Niremp poiga mäni oigiat kätte. Mäni tedi mödä i nägi sutta tedi härent. Häneli oli puus kera i tah-toi anpa sutta. Sazi noiri lähkäimä i sanna: eik sanna

muissa. Saa mielelle, kuba siä tabot mäniä. Poiga sanna: mä mäni etmäni linnas, kumba varasti meijen omesta. Sazi sanna: lähkä omessa häntuuse täkä, sutta mielelle seikää i lähemä mäntöimä. Poiga istoi suelle seikää, i hä mänsiit oli sikekän kuningahan riigis. Sät oli se lindu, miäg va-resti omesta. Siit se sazi sooi: mä jään täkä, a sä mä varattamaa linnas, i sooi pojalle lindu on rahvooon kiet-kaan (häikisä). Sazi sooi: oda lindu, eik kert' kietkaa. Poiga mäni linnas ottamaa.

Ja siit tammijaa kuu miä odan linnas, a kietkaa en kert? Otti linnas i kietkaa. Nois tulemaa pois i odetti kuu. Ja kuningahal oli saottu: ken senen linnas varastaa, niin siit silt kerräl tahetaan. I vetii se poiga kuningahalle, ja kuni-gas hänti: kereu sä ät poiga ja kuu sä ät. Poiga saai: mä öe kuningahan poiga ja minn ättin lähetti etmäni tedi linnas. Tämä lindu käi meijen saana ja varasi omesta. Mä kilin omest ävannohel, a mäimä jöi oli tämä lindu. Ja siid lähemä otjomaä. Ja nyt mä puudun kin. — Ja siid noiri rugeolomaa, jod lainsit hänt pois. Siit kuningas saoi: ku töt muille toireti kuningahalt heppoin kuldakarjan. Ja se poiga lähti saamaa heivoit. Mäni, istoi suelle taas seik-ää. Ja lähetti sinne kuningahalle heivoit saamaa. Minniti sinne. Sazi saai taas: mit ku mäni, mi öda heppoin ilma suldöid. A ku odot sustain kera, silt-tagä puodot kuu. Ja se poiga lähti heivoit saamaa i tammijaa: kuu miä odan heppoin ilma suldöid, laa odan sustait. — Otti sustat ja panti heppoin päähä. Noiri tōmaa heivoit, i siin päägas odetti kät taas kin i vetii kuningahalle. Kuningas sanna: mit sin nähit heivoit varastaa? — Ja hää kät rugeolomaa: läze minnua pois, mä tēn minen sä käret. Ja kuningas sanna: ku tēt senen, minen miä käret. Ku tēt muille seelt kuningahan riig-est tädin, silt miä sanna suelle tāmā heppoin. I poiga lähti etmäni tättijä, i mōrii taas suelle. Siis tuli ja käi hänt toruma: mikä säi tēt niin ku mäni en käkēt. Ja poiga istoi suelle seikää. Ja lähetti mäntöimä. I mäimä sinne kuningahan räkki. Siit saai saati: sāt kunnatle minnua, oda tättijä; sāt ei ö asia sin, nyd en asia min. Ö sä



Sources of mid 20th

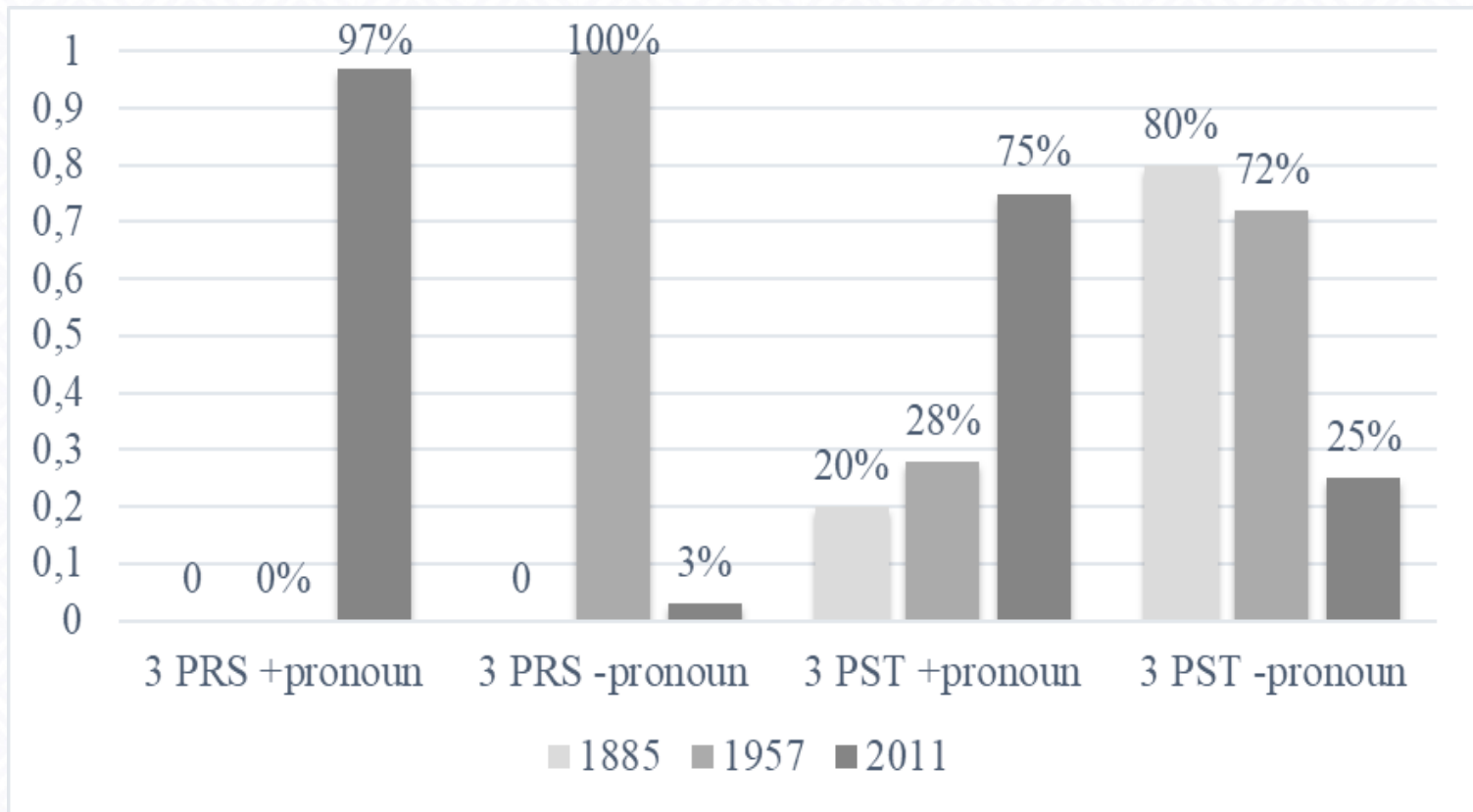
- Votic (Lower Luga dialect): 5 narratives recorded in the late 1920s (Lensu 1930)
- Ingrian (Soikkola dialect): 8 narratives of Krestina Andreeva, recorded by P. Ariste in 1957 (Ariste 1960)



Results

- In both languages a significant expansion of 3rd person pronouns is detected throughout the 2nd half of the 20th century (χ -square, p-value < 0.01)
- 3rd person:
 - 19th: pro-drop with verbal inflection;
 - Mid 20th: pro-drop with verbal inflection
 - Modern Votic and Ingrian (together with Ingrish Finnish): non-pro-drop with verbal inflection
- 1st and 2nd person: no significant changes throughout centuries, the double-marking pattern already dominates in late 19th

Expansion of 3rd person pronouns in Votic (Lower Luga dialect)



3rd person pro-drop in early Votic and Ingrian

(11) Votic:

ajõ-i-ø lawgaa-' tüwe oposee-'

lead-PST.3SG bench-GEN.SG to horse-GEN

'[He] lead the horse to the bench'

(12) Ingrian:

Männ-ī-t kolme-n kezen tē-da möda go-PST-

3PL three-GEN between road-PTV along '[They] three went down the road'

- In modern Votic and Ingrian initial pro-drop in the 3rd person is highly uncommon




Why was pro-drop lost?

- Internal scenario: no evidence detected
- Rizzi 1986, Müller 2005: strong correlation of pro-drop and rich verbal agreement (and vice versa). Systemic cross-paradigmatic loss of agreement => expansion of personal pronouns
- However, all minor Finnic languages have preserved differential personal agreement
- Contact-induced change?
- Striking resemblance to the Russian pattern where double-marking pattern is predominant but pro-drop is also permitted (from 1/4 to 1/3 of all occurrences, due to genre and discourse factors, see Kibrik 1996; Grenoble 2001; Budennaya 2018 for detail)



Sociolinguistic data

- From 18th till early 1920s: “non-forced Russification” due to an influx of Russian speakers after Ingria became the territory of Russia in 1708 (Kuznetsova et al. 2015: 154)
- In 19th century Ingrian already had many borrowings from Russian, yet most Ingrians were monolinguals (Öpik 1970: 64).
- 1920-mid 1930s (beginning of the Soviet era): tentatives to maintain minor languages (policy of “korenizacija”), several schools in Western Ingria were
- ≈ from the late 1930s: reversal of the language policy, intensive russification, massive shift to the Russian language and identity loss
- Votic: a similar process but at a much higher rate (Marcus, Rozhansky 2013: 13)



Historical events which contributed to the language shift

(1938: the decree of the Central Committee of the Party and Soviet of Peoples Commissars “On the compulsory instruction of the Russian language in schools of the national (ethnic) republics and oblasts” => a significant number of schools teaching in minor languages were closed, including several schools where Ingrian and Finnish were previously taught)

- 1943: deportation of the majority of Ingrians, Votes and Ingrian Finns to Finland via the Estonian Klooga concentration camp
- 1944: most inhabitants of Ingria returned to the Soviet Union but were not allowed to settle in their native villages. Instead, they were deported to Central Russia and Karelia and distributed among the local Russian population
- Mixed marriages with Orthodox Russian-speaking people became a norm even among Ingrian Finns, who, contrary to Orthodox Ingrians and Votes, remained Lutherans.

Deportation of 1943




(c) A. Hämäläinen, Kadonnutta inkeriä.
Transportation of Votes, Ingrians and Ingrian Finns from the Klooga concentration camp to Finland.



Pro-drop loss in minor Finnic and sociolinguistic

- 2 waves of pronoun expansion
- The first wave (undocumented, probably goes back to the 8th century): expansion of 1st and 2nd person pronouns
- The second wave (mid 20th century): expansion of the 3rd person pronouns
- Complexification -> simplification (Trudgill 2011)
- Two-step process



Complexification and simplification in minor Finnic subject reference

- Trudgill 2011: small size of population, dense social networks, large amounts of shared information, high stability, common knowledge => complexification
- This is consistent with long-lasting stable Ingrian-Russian contacts between 18th and 20th
- Emergence of a new double-marking referential pattern together with the existing inflectional one can be treated as complexification
- In contrast, later expansion of the 3rd person pronouns can be viewed as simplification (reduction of irregularity between subject reference pattern in 1st/2nd VS 3rd person)
- Drastic shift to the Russian language from the 1940s, involving massively increased contacts between adult speakers -> underlying factors of simplification



Related issues

- Expression of pronominal subjects has shown itself as a stable feature across languages (Dediu-Cysouw 2013)
- Nagy et al. 2016: pro-drop rates in 6 heritage languages of Toronto (Cantonese, Faetar, Italian, Korean, Russian and Ukrainian) show no relationship to generation
- Most minor languages of Russia did not borrow the pronominal pattern from Russian either (e.g. all Turkic and other Uralic languages)
- The usage of all minor languages was defavored and persecuted during the Soviet era, yet only minor Finnic have undergone a contact-induced 3rd person pronoun expansion
- What are the reasons for that?



Facilitating factors for 3rd person pronoun expansion in Minor Finnic

- Pre-existence of the similar pronominal pattern in 1st/2nd person

Heine&Kuteva 2003: in most cases the new structure is not entirely new; rather, it is built on some structure that already existed in the replica language

- Structural similarity: basic word order (SVO)

Thomason 2010: small typological distance as an additional factor of contact-induced change in subsystems where borrowings are rare (e.g. patterns of expression of pronominal subject)

- **The preceding emergence of the 1st and 2nd person needs further investigation*

Thank you!

