MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES IN FINNO-UGRIC COMMUNITIES

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Multilingual Practices in Finno-Ugric Communities

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ХОТЯ, ярам, али ачим лэсьто мон КЛИК
ОКЕЙ, ГУГЛ, ПЛИЗ, «мар со ХИПСТЕРлык?»
Англи кылъёс но мур малпанъёс,
Совето дырысь пурысьтам гуръёс,
Трос цитатаос, пичи гурт нимъёс
Мон понна со ваньмыз вал ШИКАРДОС!

Can I ask, I just don't get it
FIRST, what's HIPSTERism?
ALRIGHT, fine, I'm gonna CLICK
OK, GOOGLE, PLEASE, "what's HIPSTERism"?
English words and deep thoughts
Soviet melodies covered with mold
Lots of quotes, and names of little places
To me all that was just really AWESOME!

From Bogdan Anfinogenov's *Hipsterlyk* (performed by Муржол Underground). Translated into English with Russian and English elements capitalized by Outi Tánczos.

Bogdan Anfinogenov's Udmurt rap makes the most of multilingual resources, using English and Russian in a way that is unconventional in Udmurt literature, to say the least. It was a natural choice for the first page of this book, which deals with modern everyday encounters between languages. Many Finno-Ugric speech communities are experiencing profound transformation. The accelerating erosion of linguistic networks and the pace of change are by no means unique in a global context, but in the Finno-Ugric setting this change has become

more intense than ever. It is triggered by a fundamental restructuring of the social, economic, cultural, and political factors affecting these languages, the fall of traditional language boundaries as well as new forms of mobility and migration. Change in everyday language practices takes place via bilingualism, multilingualism, and in the case of many minorities, an increased use of the majority language. This change produces linguistic phenomena that can collectively be called *multilingual practices*, referring to any linguistic practice in which more than one language is involved. The authors of this book pay special attention to code-switching, but other viewpoints, such as the background or consequences of code-switching, are strongly represented, resulting in a rich overview of these practices.

Multilingualism has been widespread among speakers of many Finno-Ugric languages for centuries. However, until recently linguists were not particularly interested in the phenomenon itself, and also at present there is a considerable lack of studies on the diversity of multilingual practices and their influence on Finno-Ugric languages and their speakers. This book is based on papers delivered in the symposium *Multilingual practices and code-switching in Finno-Ugric communities* at the XII International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies in Oulu in 2015. It is a product of a joint project between the University of Helsinki and Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. The aim of this project, which is funded by the Academy of Finland and OTKA (*Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alapprogramok*, the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund), is to contribute to the scholarly understanding of multilingual practices and the patterns of language change and language shift. This book combines current approaches to these phenomena, ranging from studies illustrating speaker attitudes and language ideologies to studies on grammatical and semantic impact of multilingual practices. Our aim is to provide a collection of case studies representing the diversity of multilingual practices in the Finno-Ugric languages and increase the availability of research that can balance the typically Indo-European focus of code-switching studies.

Finno-Ugric languages provide a wide range of sociolinguistic situations, and also the contact situations vary accordingly. The articles in this book present cases of multilingual practices in varying situations. Case studies in this book cover contacts involving stable

state languages, such as Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian, as well as vulnerable minority languages that have been strongly connected with a traditional, mostly rural way of life (e.g., Veps, Udmurt). The types of contact and therefore also the motivations for multilingualism differ significantly, but often the case studies point to similarities in multilingual practices: community-building, innovation in communication, but also language protection. Some articles in this book analyze Finno-Ugric communities at the level of small communities, villages, or even families, while in others the macro-communities are also present in the issues that form the framework for multilingual practices: language ideologies, language policy, and development.

Many of the articles combine different approaches. However, this book can be roughly divided into two thematic parts. The first part focuses on code-switching as a grammatical issue. In the opening article of this book, **Magdolna Kovács** (PhD, University of Helsinki) and **Boglárka Janurik** (PhD, Universität Hamburg) provide an overview on how multilingual practices have been studied in Finno-Ugric Studies. This field of study has remained less known for the international scholarly community, but a change is taking place with the increase in the number of studies and diversity of approaches. Kovács and Janurik question the existence of a universal grammatical model which would work in all code-switching situations. However, they point out certain common structural features in code-switching between Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages (case marking, marking possession, expressing time, missing/marking gender, double marking). They also link structural and sociolinguistic features together and discuss the possible differences between the outcomes of the code-switching in different Finno-Ugric languages.

The following two articles introduce cases of code-switching in Udmurt. **Laura Horváth** (MA, Eötvös Loránd University) discusses intrasentential insertion, especially constructions involving Russian infinitives. She analyzes how these constructions contribute to the aspectual meaning of Udmurt matrix clauses. This article participates in the discussion on the relationship between code-switching and borrowing. **Svetlana Edygarova** (PhD, University of Helsinki) studies Russian influence in Udmurt possessive noun phrases. She uses material from a translating test taken by native Udmurt speakers. She

argues that in certain semantically-defined types of possession there is no structural interference from Russian in the data, while in expressing other, more abstract, types of possession, the interference is stronger. Edygarova also points out the differences in how speakers perceive boundaries between languages depends on their linguistic background.

Maria Frick (PhD, University of Oulu), **Riho Grünthal** (PhD, University of Helsinki), and **Kristiina Praakli** (PhD, University of Helsinki) provide quite a different case, as they present an overview of language contacts between Estonian and Finnish. In recent years, the contact between these closely-related languages, state languages of neighboring countries, has intensified significantly due to easier immigration and tourism. The authors claim that this current contact could even reverse the historical diversification processes of Finnish and Estonian. They introduce the socio-historical background for contact-induced linguistic phenomena and provide examples of the fusion of lects, codes, structures, and functions.

The second part of the book pays closer attention to the social aspects of code-switching and addresses questions of language ideologies and attitudes. In her article, **Boglárka Janurik** (PhD, Universität Hamburg) analyzes Erzya–Russian multilingual practices in public speech on the Erzya *Radio Vaigel*. She assigns speakers to three categories based on the frequency and type of code-switching and finds that in radio interviews semi-monolingual guests prevail. Janurik also analyzes reactions to code-switching and argues that despite the prevailing monolingual norm, the reporters are not more inclined to apply medium repairs with heavy switchers than with other guests.

Borbála Pachné Heltai (PhD, Hungarian Academy of Sciences), describes a case of multilingualism in a traditionally German-speaking village in Hungary, where the linguistic status quo changed after Finns started buying holiday houses there. The article illustrates the ways in which the use of different linguistic resources functions as a means for community building and where language learning is a means for making social connections.

Language development and standardization has been a crucial issue for small Finnic languages in Russia during the last three decades. These processes take place simultaneously with language shift,

leading to an increasing diversification and distinction of the speakers' linguistic norms and practices. **Ulriikka Puura** (MA, University of Helsinki) examines the idiolects of two Veps speakers, a mother and son, in the context of language shift, revitalization, and standardization. The speakers illustrate the change the Veps language has faced during the last decades in terms of its role in everyday life and in written culture. Puura's analysis reveals the ideological background of linguistic choices and representations of the Veps language and identifying as Veps in discourse. **Outi Tánczos** (MA, University of Helsinki) addresses the reactions to code-switching in sociolinguistic interviews conducted with Karelian language activists and language workers. She points out differences among different age groups in regard to using multilingual resources, and connects these findings to their language ideological background.

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Grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of code-switching in Finno-Ugric languages

Abstract This paper investigates grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of (intrasentential) code-switching in Finno-Ugric languages. By applying a comparative approach, we study how the sociolinguistic situation and the structural features of the languages in contact influence which code-switching types occur in these bilingual discourses. We give an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of both state and minority Finno-Ugric languages and discuss the problems of applying "universal" code-switching models (Poplack 1980, Di Sciullo et al. 1986, etc.) to Finno-Ugric languages. We analyze the code-switching types occurring in different contact situations involving Finno-Ugric languages following Thomason's (2005) categorization. We discuss code-switches that occur in constructions involving structural features that differ in the Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages in contact. Our results show that the length of the contact influences the occurring code-switching types, as they differ in short-lived contact situations involving first generation immigrants as compared to long-established contacts involving autochthonous minority languages. Furthermore, the structural features of the languages in contact also influence the prevailing code-switching types.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the grammatical aspects of code-switching in Finno-Ugric (henceforth, FU) languages and links findings on code-switching to certain sociolinguistic factors. Code-switching (henceforth, CS) broadly defined here, is a cover term for the "the alternative use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by bilingual speakers" (Bullock & Toribio 2009a: xii; see also Grosjean 1982: 59, Grosjean 2010: 51–52; for more discussion, see section 3.1).

In the *Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching* (Bullock & Toribio 2009c), the Finnish–English language pair is regarded by Gullberg et al. (2009: 24) as "perhaps the most systematically studied language pair with respect to CS" (concerning studies e.g., Poplack et al. 1989, Lauttamus 1990, Halmari 1997, and M Kovács 2001). Somewhat surprisingly, however, it is also considered "exotic" (Chan 2009: 184) in the same handbook (Bullock & Toribio 2009c). In fact, the FU language family seems to remain an exotic and, with the exception of Finnish, relatively uncharted area for many CS researchers.

What factors may explain this bias in research and visibility? First, the traditional and romantic ideal of collecting "pure" language data from the older and "best" speakers of the language has partly hindered CS studies in Finno-Ugristics. Turunen (1997: 208) gives an example of this practice and draws attention to the fact that, although Kettunen (1960: 216) regarded Votic as a heavily mixed language in 1960, almost at the same time a Votic data collection (Mägiste 1959) hardly contained any CS. Puristic tendencies in data collection and research have been present up to this day also in the case of small FU languages in the Soviet Union/Russia: researchers who were members of the studied speech community collected only old dialect materials. Moreover, their puristic ideology that the standard language is the best form of the language (Edygarova 2014, Saarinen 2014) resulted in complete disregard for CS. Second, even if code-switches occurred in the collected data, they were not thoroughly studied, as (intrasentential) CS was thought to be a corrupt form of language even by linguists like Weinreich (1953), and that was the case also in Finno-Ugristics. Fortunately, this trend has changed recently. Third, if CS was discussed in Finno-Ugristics earlier, these reports were often published in

languages not readily accessible to English-speaking (CS) researchers. However, this does not only concern CS studies, but partly also other Finno-Ugrian Studies (Honti 2001: 116). Fourth, before the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, researchers outside socialist countries could not even get permission to enter the Soviet Union and collect new, authentic data from smaller FU languages. This situation changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union, resulting in the accumulation of massive amounts of synchronic data.

This paper aims at filling the gap presented above. We introduce the multifaceted nature of CS in a variety of contact situations and give an overview of grammatical CS studies on FU languages and evaluate the models applied in them. We discuss whether the models used for analyzing CS in certain FU languages can also be suitable for the study of CS involving other FU languages.

Our aims are the following:

a)   to pinpoint a possible correlation between the grammatical types of CS occurring in a given contact situation and the sociolinguistic situation of the FU speech community;

b)   to investigate the generalizability of CS types in FU languages;

c)   to examine CS in light of contact-induced language change.

In this study, we apply a comparative method and rely on multiple models (discussed in detail in section 3.2). For the analysis of the connection between the attested grammatical CS types and contact-induced language change, we predominantly rely on Thomason and Kaufman (1991 [1988]), Thomason (2001), and Thomason (2005) (discussed in section 4).

Our research questions are the following:

a)   In what ways can the sociolinguistic situation of the speech community and the structural features of the languages in contact influence the type of code-switched forms that occur in a given contact situation?

b)   Do common grammatical CS types occur in general when FU languages are involved in CS or not?

c)   Can some common features of CS in different FU languages involved predict ongoing language change?

The outcomes of contacts depend on many factors. Power relations and the length of the contact seem to be relevant factors. Consequently, **our hypothesis is that CS types in newer (immigrant) FU varieties will differ from the ones attested in long-established contact situations**. On the other hand, structural features can have an impact on CS. We focus on the structural features that are present in the studied FU languages but are missing from the contact language (vowel harmony and case marking to name a few). At the same time, grammatical categories missing from the monolingual varieties of FU languages but attested in contact varieties (e.g., gender) are also discussed. For example, most of the FU languages have been in contact with Slavic languages, in particular with Russian. To see the outcomes of these contacts and especially code-switching nowadays, it is worth paying attention to the structural differences and similarities of these two language families. Typological distance/proximity and congruence should also be taken into consideration when studying CS attested between two FU languages (e.g., Estonian/Hungarian–Finnish). In Figure 1 we show the main factors playing a role in the outcome
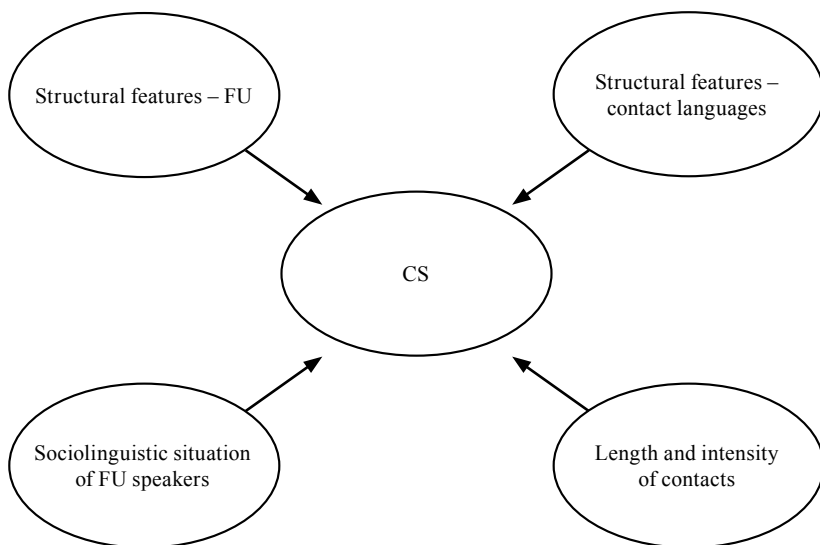

Figure 1. Factors playing a role in the outcome of CS in contact. (Factors modified from Thomason 2001: 60.)

of the CS. We could not introduce and examine all factors in detail but we aim to show the major ones (for example, attitudes are not the subject of this study).

The data used in this paper originate from earlier research carried out on FU languages. The majority of the studies have focused on Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian, whereas fewer papers investigate smaller FU languages. Our comparative study is not exhaustive, but we attempt to map the most prevailing tendencies. Examples provided in this study concern the following FU languages in alphabetical order: Erzya, Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian (also Csángó), Kildin Saami, Mansi, Mari, Udmurt, and Votic. As the authors have studied Finnish–English (M Kovács 2001), Hungarian–English (M Kovács 2001, 2005), Hungarian–Finnish (M Kovács 2011), and Erzya–Russian codeswitching (Janurik 2017), these studies are better represented in this paper. In the argumentation, also studies on Karelian, Komi, Moksha, Selkup, and Veps are taken into consideration. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

In our study, we include immigrant varieties of state languages (Australian Hungarian, Australian Finnish, and Sweden Finnish) and autochthonous languages. The latter group includes autochthonous varieties of state languages (Hungarian in Ukraine and in Slovakia and the Csángó variety) and minority languages in Russia from long established contact situations. We also refer to cases in which two FU languages are in contact: Finnish–Hungarian (M Kovács 2011) and Estonian–Finnish (Praakli 2014). Estonian–Finnish CS presents a unique instance among the FU language contact situations, as the languages are closely related and typologically similar. Otherwise, we do not focus on the contact situations that involve FU languages as the majority language. There are two exceptions to this, example 26 from Verschik 2007 on Russian spoken as a minority language in Estonia and example 27a from Kolu 2016 on Helsinki Swedish in contact with Finnish.

The structure of the study is the following: in section 2 we investigate the different sociolinguistic statuses of the FU languages, describe the situation of state languages and the two main types of minority situations, the case of immigrant varieties and autochthonous and indigenous varieties. Then we discuss how research on CS in FU languages has evolved. In section 3, the discussion of terms, definitions and theories on CS follows, with special focus on the

FU language varieties with their IE or other FU contact language	CS Research
Csángó–Romanian	**Bodó 2004**
Estonian–Finnish; Finnish–Estonian	**Praakli** 2009, **2014**; Frick 2008, Frick & Riionheimo 2013
Finnish–American/Australian English; American/Australian English–Finnish	Poplack et al. 1989, Halmari 1997, 2005, **M Kovács 2001**, 2005; Lauttamus 1990, Watson 2005
Finnish–Swedish; Swedish–Finnish	**Kolu 2016**; Henricson 2013
Hungarian–American/Australian English	Bhatt & Bolonyai (2011), T Kovács 2011; M Kovács 2001
Hungarian–Finnish	M Kovács 2011, Konyári 2016
Hungarian–French	Szabó T 2009
Hungarian–Serbian	Rajsli 2011, 2012
Hungarian–Slovakian	Lanstyák 2006
Hungarian–Ukrainian	Márku 2013
Ingrian Finnish–Estonian	Riionheimo 2007, **Riionheimo & Frick 2014**

Table 1. FU language varieties and IE contact languages (other than Russian) addressed in this study and some earlier research on CS in them. (FU–FU contacts are in italics. Studies from which examples are cited in this paper, are in bold.[1])

grammatical models on CS that have been applied by previous studies on FU languages. We elaborate on the problems and challenges of applying, for instance, the Government and Binding framework (Di Sciullo et al. 1986) or Poplack's (1980) constraints to contact situations between unrelated languages. In section 4, we analyze structural features that influence the occurrence of certain CS types in contact situations involving IE and FU languages. Section 5 is the discussion of our findings. It provides answers to the research questions, concludes the main points of each section, and suggests possible future avenues of CS study, especially concerning research on FU languages spoken in Russia.

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1.   Here we list only the studies we refer to in this article. Some language varieties, for example varieties of Finnish and Hungarian, have relatively large amount of CS-research and CS is also addressed in many articles dealing with other contact features, but it is impossible to include all research in one single article.

FU language varieties with Russian contact	CS Research
Erzya–Russian	**Janurik** 2011, **2013**, **2015**, 2016, **2017**
Karelian–Russian	Sarhimaa 1999, Pyöli 1996
Kildin Saami–Russian	**Pineda 2008**, 2009
Mansi–Russian	**Németh** (forthcoming)
Mari–Russian	**Gavrilova** 2012, **2013**
Moksha–Russian	Saarinen 2014
Russian–Estonian	**Verschik 2007**, Zabrodskaja & Verschik 2015
Russian–Finnish	Leisiö 2001
Udmurt–Russian	Shirobokova 2011, Salánki 2007
Selkup–Russian	Kazakevič 2007
Votic–Russian	Turunen 1997

Table 2. FU language varieties with Russian contacts addressed in this study and some earlier research on CS in them. (Studies from which examples are cited in this paper, are in bold.)

2. Multifaceted Finno-Ugric language contacts

The Finno-Ugric[2] language family represents a wide range of languages spoken traditionally in the northern part of Eurasia as well as in Hungary and its neighboring countries in a variety of sociolinguistic situations. We assume that in addition to the structural characteristics, the sociolinguistic situation of languages in contact also influences which CS types are to be expected.

The status of the languages and especially their level of endangerment are important factors. In order to detect connections between sociolinguistic factors and CS patterns (for a detailed discussion, cf. section 5), the sociolinguistic situation of the FU languages needs to be described.

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2.   Finno-Ugric includes the Samoyedic languages here. Together the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages are also called the Uralic languages.

2.1. Sociolinguistic diversity of Finno-Ugric languages

We divide the FU languages into three major groups, differentiating between

1) nation state languages
2) autochthonous/indigenous minority languages
3) immigrant minority languages

We intend to study whether these categories correlate with the common patterns of CS found in these contact situations. We acknowledge that this categorization simplifies the multifaceted nature of these contact situations, as the intensity and time span of the language contact, attitudes of the speakers and typological characteristics of the languages can also influence the linguistic results of the contact (Thomason 2001: 60), and, in our view, also the occurrence of CS types. The categorization is, however, necessary to facilitate the analysis of the contact data.

Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian are **nation-state languages**. Because of their status and their number of speakers, these languages are theoretically not endangered. Despite that, all three languages are protected with language policy plans from the excessive influence of other languages: Estonian from Russian, Finnish and Hungarian especially from English (Raun 1995, Est. Strategy 2004, Hakulinen et al. 2009, Reklámtörv. 2001, Korm.rendelet 2014). Although Finnish and Estonian have a relatively short history as state languages, presently and in the recent past for the majority of speakers multilingualism has been optional.

According to Laakso (2011: 33), "[t]here is no single, unified Finno-Ugrian minorityhood", and neither is there a uniform FU minority language type. The number of speakers of FU minority languages ranges from just a few speakers to a few hundred thousand for FU minority languages in Russia (see for example, Moseley 2010, Laakso 2011: 15), and to 1.2 million Hungarian speakers in Romania. All FU languages that are not state languages are minority languages, but their status varies from the category of a co-official language (e.g., Erzya, Mari, Moksha, and Udmurt) to acknowledged regional languages (e.g., Meänkieli, North Saami, and Inari Saami) to minority

languages without a special status (e.g., Kola Saami). They also differ according to the size of the speech community, age distribution, etc.

All **autochthonous FU minority languages** are endangered (see for examples ELDIA, ELDIA EuLaViBar, Moseley 2010). Most of the speech communities are experiencing a gradual language shift. The speakers are bi- or multilingual, which is a prerequisite for certain types of code-switches. Most autochthonous FU minority languages are spoken in the Russian Federation. The indigenous Saami languages are also spoken in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The FU languages spoken in the Russian Federation have typically been in contact with Russian for centuries and Russian has influenced the lexicon and the structure of these languages, but many of them were in early times or are still in contact with other languages, as well: e.g., Udmurt with Tatar or Mari with Tatar and Chuvash. (See more on endangered FU languages in Russia in Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016 and about their status, rights, and maintenance, see Zamyatin 2014, 2016.)

The Hungarian varieties in the countries neighboring Hungary form a very different subgroup of autochthonous FU minorities: as a consequence of WWI and the border changes of the Trianon Peace Treaty (1920), many Hungarian speakers became citizens of Hungary's neighboring countries which nowadays are Austria, Croatia, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine. In 2012, there were around 2.2 million Hungarian-speaking people in these countries in total (HVG-MTI 2013). This situation results in language contacts between Hungarian as a minority language and Slavic languages, Romanian, and German (in Austria) as the majority language. In Austria, there is an immigrant Hungarian minority of around 50–60,000 people (Berényi-Kiss et al. 2013: i, 15) in addition to the autochthonous Hungarian population in Burgenland (around 6,000 people). Hungarian speakers in the neighboring countries benefit from the proximity of Hungary where Hungarian is a state language, whereas FU minorities in the Russian Federation have no such support. However, all Hungarian minorities are also undergoing a gradual language shift.

Csángó, Võro and Seto, Meänkieli, and Kven represent a special group of endangered FU language varieties, whose status as a dialect or a language is being debated and which are undergoing a gradual shift due to the lack of generational transmission of these languages.

Lately, the recognition and protection of these varieties has increased, which may result in better maintenance of these varieties in the future. (About Seto and Võro see Koreinik 2011a: 1, 2011b: 2, and about the recognition of Csángó by the European Council, see Recommendation 1521 (2001) and Isohookana-Asunmaa & Tánczos 2015). The Kvens, a Finnish-origin population, are recognized as a minority in Norway in 1999 but their language, Kven (*kväänin kieli*), has only partial recognition (Granholm 2012). Meänkieli (lit. 'Our language'; 'Torne Valley Finnish'), a variety of Finnish spoken in Sweden, was already officially recognized as a minority language in Sweden in 2000 (Mantila 2000).

A different group of FU languages are the so called **(im)migrant languages**. Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian speakers have typically migrated to other countries as a consequence of economic and political reasons from the turn of the 19th–20th century up to the present. In the beginning, the main destination for immigrants was North America, later Australia, South America, and the Western European countries. This migration resulted in contacts with Indo-European (IE) languages. However, the life cycle of the contacts in immigrant situations is usually estimated to be three generations, as in the third generation language shift becomes complete (see, for example, Clyne 1991). In the Soviet Union, the migration of speakers of other FU languages was very sporadic due to the strict control of the state.

2.2. Code-switching research on Finno-Ugric languages

At the end of the 20th century, large amounts of data had been collected about CS between major FU (Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian) and Slavic languages (Slovak, Russian, etc.). In these cases, both languages involved are rich in morphology, which results in different switch types than the CS types occurring if the contact language is English, as is the case, for example, for American and Australian Finnish and Hungarian (see section 3). Research on CS involving Hungarian also includes the influence of Slavic languages on Hungarian (e.g., Lanstyák 2006 and Márku 2013). Studies on Russian–Finnish (e.g., Leisiö 2001) and Russian–Estonian (e.g., Zabrodskaja & Verschik 2015, Zabrodskaja 2009) analyze the influence of FU languages on Russian as the minority language. Swedish–Finnish CS research also

concentrates mostly on the influence of Finnish on Swedish in Finland (e.g., Henricson 2013) but there are also studies on the other direction (e.g., Kolu 2016).

Among the autochthonous FU minority languages, CS has been most extensively studied in the Finnic languages (cf. Sarhimaa 1999, Turunen 1997). Research on contacts in the linguistically diverse Volga-Kama Area (involving three language families: FU languages, Turkic languages such as Tatar and Chuvash, and the Indo-European Russian) has earlier focused mainly on lexical and structural borrowing (Hesselbäck 2005). At the moment, Udmurt–Russian is one of the most studied language contacts in the area (cf. Salánki 2007, Shirobokova 2011, Edygarova 2014, Kaysina 2014, Kantele 2016 to name a few). Mari (Gavrilova 2012 and 2013), Komi (Kuznecova 1973, Leinonen 2009), and the Mordvin languages have also been investigated in this respect to some extent (Moksha by Saarinen 2014 and Erzya by Janurik 2011, 2013, 2016, and 2017). CS between Saami and Russian has also been of interest: for example, Pineda (2008 and 2009) analyzes the conversational analytic functions of Russian elements in Kildin Saami spoken in Lovozero. He also draws the readers' attention to the existence of great individual variation in CS which is characteristic of the language use of many FU minority communities all over the Russian Federation.

In Siberia, Turkic languages (e.g., Dolgan) and FU (Uralic) languages influence each other, and contacts among FU languages have also resulted in convergence. These aspects of language contact have not been studied in detail (however, on Nganasan–Evenki/Dolgan contacts, see Siegl 2015, and on Tundra Nenets, see Jalava 2015). Although these studies show that new constructions arise in these languages partly as a result of the contact, they do not focus on or even mention CS as a possible mechanism. Since grammatical CS has not yet been studied in Samoyedic languages, we could not include these easternmost Uralic languages in the analysis (apart from a Selkup example from Kazakevič 2007). However, it would be worth seeing if these languages, partly due to intensive contacts with Turkic and Paleo-Siberian languages, showed different patterns as compared to minority languages spoken on the European side of the Ural Mountains.

2.3. Sociolinguistic status, language
   contact, and code-switching

Languages can be considered endangered for a variety of reason (cf. a detailed discussion of the topic below), one of which involves the restricted number of domains in which the language can be used. FU minority languages are typically confined to the home, while the majority language is preferred in formal domains. This results in the fact that certain facets of vocabulary, especially scientific and administrative terminology will be available only in the dominant tongue, which inevitably triggers CS (Pyöli 1996, Salánki 2007, Shirobokova 2011, etc.).

In discussing the connection between the social and linguistic factors, we also take into consideration Thomason's (2001) framework, which is a modified version of the framework in Thomason and Kaufman (1991 [1988]). In her borrowing scale, Thomason (2001: 70–71) distinguishes between four stages of language contact on the basis of the intensity of the contact and the fluency of the speakers in the source language:

1) Casual contact
2) Slightly more intense contact
3) More intense contact
4) Intense contact

In the first phase (casual contact), only lexical elements are borrowed that do not belong to the basic vocabulary. In the second phase of slightly more intense contact, lexical borrowings also include function words and slight structural borrowing is possible, as well. In the third phase (more intense contact), the structural borrowing intensifies and non-basic vocabulary is also borrowed. In the last phase (intense contact), we can find heavy borrowing both in lexicon and structure. This intense borrowing can result in typological changes of the structural characteristics of the recipient language. In section 4 we discuss how this model can be applied to the contact situations involving FU languages.

In our view, Thomason's (2001) borrowing scale can be applied to CS as well. State languages typically represent phase 1. In these cases, speakers are not inevitably fluent in the source language, if there

are bilinguals who code-switch, their CS has a pragmatic function and mainly involves discourse markers, tags, and short insertions. All three other phases are rather typical for minority languages, depending on the number of bilingual speakers within the community. In the second phase, the borrowers are bilinguals and the frequency and extent of CS is growing (longer insertions), while the majority of the community is still monolingual. In the third phase, borrowing and CS are favored by different factors and the number of bilinguals increases. CS now involves longer switches without a pragmatic function. However, the dominant language of the utterances responsible for setting the morphosyntactic structure can still be determined unambiguously. In the final stage, bilingualism and CS are extensive among speakers of the recipient language, the structure of the utterances is set by both languages, as the congruent structures allow for a mixed matrix language.

On the basis of the intensity of the contact, the minority language's level of endangerment cannot be always predicted. Although we can find similar CS types both in Votic and in the Hungarian spoken in Slovakia, their level of endangerment differs significantly. Languages in this final stage of Thomason's (2001) scale can be severely endangered, such as Votic, but this is also the result of extralinguistic factors, for instance the number of native speakers, the availability of school education, or the legal status of the speech community.

3. Theories and models on code-switching and their application to the Finno-Ugric languages

CS research has three main directions. The linguistic/grammatical studies on CS aim to find grammatical tendencies or grammatical regularities in CS to form a universal grammatical model of CS. The psycholinguistic studies of CS examine how different linguistic systems are stored in the cognitive system of bi- or multilinguals and how they become activated. Sociolinguistic studies search for social motivations of CS (Stell & Yakpo 2015a: 12). Gardner-Chloros (2009: 10) also differentiates between sociolinguistic/ethnographic, pragmatic/ conversation analytic (the functions of CS in the conversation), and

grammatical approaches. Research on CS in FU languages has predominantly focused on grammatical aspects of CS. As a result, most data available on CS concerns grammatical CS types and grammatical models are the ones which are most thoroughly tested.

In section 3.1, we discuss the terminology of CS research (both regarding CS and other multilingual practices) relevant in this paper and, in section 3.2, we give an overview of CS theories and models that have already been applied to FU languages. Our focus is on the grammatical aspects of linguistic CS, but we also involve more complex models in this overview (e.g., Auer's 1999 continuum model). Our aim is to evaluate how these models are suitable for the analysis of FU CS, what are their advantages and disadvantages, and to what extent they are applicable to a variety of contact situations.

3.1. Definitions, terms, and the focus of code-switching research

In spite of the fact that a large amount of CS research has been done, researchers still do not agree on the definition and terminology of CS. We regard CS here as a cover term for the use of (elements of) more than one language or language variety in the same discourse or utterance (Grosjean 2010: 51–52, Bullock & Toribio 2009b: 1). Agreeing with Gardner-Chloros's (2009: 4) view, we also regard switching between different dialects or dialect(s) and a standard language as CS; however, this part of CS is not the main focus of our article. Although we agree with the broad definition of CS which involves also written CS, the examples in this article involve mostly oral switches.

CS is also applied by researchers in a narrower sense, referring only to alternation between sentences. *Code-mixing* (CM), which usually labels intrasentential or intraclausal mixing of languages, is also applied as a cover term for all types of language alternation (Muysken 2000: 1). Johanson (1998) discards both the terms CS and CM and uses *code-copying* instead. According to him, there is only one base language, into which some elements of the model code are copied with these elements becoming a part of the base language. In research on CS involving FU languages, CS is the most widely used term (Halmari 1997, Sarhimaa 1999, M Kovács 2001, Frick & Riionheimo 2013,

Janurik 2017 among others), but code-mixing (Kaysina 2014) or CS and CM together (Gavrilova 2013[3]), and code-copying (Hesselbäck 2005, Praakli 2009, Verschik 2007) are also used.

Aside from the ones mentioned above, several other terms are used for the same phenomenon, for example, *language/code alternation, code interaction, code-blending, code-shifting*. (For a summary, see Boeschoten 1998.) The abundance of terms is often rather confusing in nature and makes contrastive analysis of case studies more difficult.

Newer terms for CS or CS-like phenomena diverge from the earlier ones in the sense that they are associated with modern societies and linguistic plurality, also called *superdiversity* (e.g., Blommaert & Rampton 2011), arising as the result of immigration into modern cities. Rampton's term, *language/code crossing* "refers to the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker. Language crossing involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries" (Rampton 1997: 2) in which people briefly adopt "codes, which they didn't have full and easy access to" (Rampton 1997: 7).

Translanguaging (García 2009: 140), "is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential." The goal of the speakers is to achieve better understanding, as it is in *polylanguaging* and *metrolingualism*. In *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen et al. 2011), attention is paid to the creative use of the linguistic repertoire, even when only a very limited knowledge of the other language(s) is available to the speakers. The term metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010) is used for describing communication in modern workplaces where people use more than one language (often English being one of them) every day. These concepts, and also language/code crossing, seems to cover linguistic action, in which speakers use two or more languages/codes as a voluntary, positive, and additional tool in communication. A neutral and more inclusive than restrictive term, *multilingual practices* (e.g., Nurmi & Pahta 2012), is also used for covering all types of linguistic practices in which more than one language is involved.

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3. In Russian: переключение и смешение кодов.

In connection with endangered (FU) minority languages in Russia, these concepts of city minority groups' trans- or polylanguaging or metrolingualism do not seem to work, or at least they are not typical, because bilingualism is unidirectional, i.e., usually only minority speakers have the knowledge of the majority language, Russian, but not the other way around. Thus, bilingualism is not an optional possibility for minority speakers but a necessity. Between minority groups, the language of communication is also typically Russian. In these cases, CS is usually an inside-group phenomenon of the minority speakers, because with a majority language speaker it is not possible to switch to the minority language. As Laakso (2016: 289) states, "[t]he idea of polylanguaging in its extreme form would imply some kind of a paradise of absolute linguistic freedom" – which is not the case with these endangered languages. In a different context, however, the usefulness of some of these terms is not questioned (e.g., Lehtonen 2016 on multilingualism in a Helsinki high school where the students' linguistic background covers over 20 languages).

In the past, a purist ideology for CS was characteristic of linguists as well, and even researchers on contact linguistics rejected the notion that CS was a phenomenon worth studying. In the 1950s, the attitude of researchers towards switching languages, especially intrasententially, was quite strict, for example, Weinreich (1953: 73) claimed that an "ideal bilingual" should not switch "in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence" (i.e., intrasententially). It was also regarded as a sign of lack of competence in bilingual speech. Later, however, CS has been seen as a valuable linguistic tool which can serve, among others, several social and conversational functions (e.g., Gumperz 1982, Romaine 1989: 147–164). As opposed to the change in the attitude towards CS in contact linguistics, it is a commonly held belief among FU minorities (even among linguists) that CS to Russian corrupts their language. Intrasentential CS is especially frowned upon. Studies on linguistic purism among FU minorities in Russia relate this attitude to the puristic linguistic culture in Russia (cf. Edygarova 2016, Partanen & Saarikivi 2016, etc.), which is adopted by minorities despite the fact that many speakers have very limited opportunities to acquire the standard form of their language.

The first study on Finnish–English bilingualism and CS (Lehtinen 1966) had a grammatical orientation. In later studies on CS in FU languages, grammatical and sociolinguistic approaches dominate, combined with pragmatic aspects of the phenomenon (cf. Salánki 2007, Shirobokova 2011, Gavrilova 2013, Márku 2013 to name a few). However, there are also a few pragmatics-dominated grammar studies, such as Bhatt and Bolonyai (2011) and T Kovács (2011) using Optimality theory for American Hungarian. Psycholinguistic studies have not yet been carried out extensively. The research on Komi-Permyak bilingual mental lexicon (Leshchenko et al. 2015) represents pursuits in this direction; Navracsics's (2002, 2010) studies also focus on the bilingual lexicon of Hungarian and other languages (Croatian, German, Arabic, etc.), and the psychological functions of CS. Another characteristic of this field is the scarcity of CS research on FU minority languages spoken in Siberia. Some exceptions are Kazakevič (2007) on Selkup, Khanina & Meyerhoff (forthcoming) on Enets, Stojnova & Šluinskij (2010) on Forest Enets, and Németh (forthcoming) on Mansi.

As most of the CS studies carried out in a FU context have focused on the grammatical aspects of CS, in the next section, we discuss grammatical models and frameworks of CS used also in FU CS research in more detail. We illustrate the applicability of these general frameworks with CS examples involving FU languages.

3.2. Grammatical theories or models of code-switching and FU languages

The grammatical studies of CS have mainly dealt with intrasentential switches where the different languages involved in CS are in the closest contact. In this section, we give an overview of a few well-known models of linguistic CS. We mainly discuss and evaluate theories and models which have already been applied to FU languages (Poplack 1980, DiSciullo et al. 1986, Myers-Scotton 1993a, Auer 1999, Muysken 2000). Finally, we also give an overview of theories and models that could be suitable for future studies on FU languages.

The first studies on linguistic CS sought to establish universal grammatical rules (constraints) on how elements of different languages are, could be, or should not be organized within a single sentence.

These studies refer to typological similarities and differences between the studied language pairs. Several universal linguistic constraints and models have been proposed for CS. For example, Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint and Equivalence Constraint suppose that only free morphemes and those elements of two languages can be switched which are grammatically equivalent. Poplack (1980) based her constraints on data from CS between two related Indo-European languages, Spanish and English, neither of which are agglutinative languages, and her theory seemed to work well. Later, these constraints were also applied to Finnish–English CS (Poplack et al. 1989) and they turned out to be not directly applicable to a language like Finnish with rich morphosyntax. However, instead of modifying the constraints, a new in-between term was introduced: all English-origin (code-switched) items which were not established loans but still carried Finnish morphological markers were declared nonce loans/ nonce borrowings and excluded from the analysis of CS – so their morphological adaptation did not cause problems for the theory anymore. (For critique of Poplack, see for example, Croft 2000: 211.) Later, Lauttamus (1990), for instance, used the term nonce borrowing for American Finnish–English CS and Watson (2005) for Australian Finnish–English.

Di Sciullo et al. (1986) applied the Government and Binding theory to CS. According to their theory, government constraint allows CS to appear between elements which are not in government relation and CS is not permitted between elements which are in such relation. For example, CS can appear between a subject and a verb but not between a verb and an object, unless the object carries a language carrier index (Lq), which can be, for example, matrix language determiners or quantifiers (Di Sciullo et al. 1986).

Halmari (1997) used the GB-theory for Finnish–English CS but she realized that in the case of agglutinative languages it was not enough to regard only determiners and quantifiers as language carrying indexes. Consequently, she added case marking and verbal conjugation suffixes to language carrying indexes – and thus, the theory also became suitable for analyzing FU languages.

One of the major limitations in constructing constraints was that constraints were first based on data from only one or a very limited

number of language pairs with languages often representing quite simple morphology (e.g., Poplack 1980, Di Sciullo et al. 1986). Since then, CS has been studied in numerous different language pairs. The more language pairs are studied, the more the proposed constraints turn out not to be absolute universal rules, but only tendencies at best. (Counterexamples and counterpoints among others: Clyne 1987, Romaine 1989: 115–147, Muysken 1995, Halmari 1997). Mahootian (1993) denies CS-specific constraints in discourse. Others argue for tendencies instead of constraints (e.g., Muysken 2000, M Kovács 2001).

Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (1993a) is based on a supposed asymmetry in CS: there is a base language (Matrix Language, ML), which sets the grammatical frame of the sentence into which elements of the Embedded Language (EL) are inserted. Sentences contain elements only from the ML or EL, or they are a combination of the two: ML + EL (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 77–78). In her ML Turnover Hypothesis, Myers-Scotton argues that, in some cases, CS might also have an important role in structural borrowing or even in language shift: intensive CS might cause ML turnover first in code-switched sentences, which could result in further shifting to the earlier EL, during which the EL gradually becomes the new ML, which could cause language death or the development of pidgins and creoles (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 208–228). The MLF has many additional principles and hypotheses which are further developed in later works (e.g., Myers-Scotton & Jake 2017) but we do not discuss those here in detail. Myers-Scotton (1993b) also argues for CS being socially motivated.

This model or part of it is used for CS in FU languages, for example, by M Kovács (2001) for Australian Finnish–English and Australian Hungarian–English and by Janurik (2017) for Erzya–Russian CS.

M Kovács (2001) combined grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects in her study on Finnish–English and Hungarian–English CS. She used Myers-Scotton's (1993a) model to describe the intrasentential switches with the help of the terms ML, EL, and ML + EL. Her results show that the grammatical structure of code-switched utterances by second generation Finnish–English and Hungarian–English bilinguals tend to be based more on the majority language than on the utterances of first generation speakers. Both Finnish and Hungarian case

morphology are rich and in contact with a language like English with fewer morphological elements, simplification of morphology can also be involved, for example, direct object marking when CS is involved. M Kovács's (2001) findings are based on statistical analysis, which increases the reliability of the results. She also combines the grammatical analysis with sociolinguistic factors. Her study shows that gradual shift to the majority language, which is typical in immigrant languages, can also be observed in CS via generational differences.

Janurik (2017) also relied on the MLF model in defining the ML of the utterances in Erzya–Russian CS. According to her findings, the ML language of the utterances can be unambiguously determined in more monolingual Erzya–Russian styles, i.e., when the number of Russian switches is limited and switches are typically insertions. However, Erzya and Russian can simultaneously provide the morphosyntactic frame in more mixed utterances. In these cases, there is a composite ML setting the structure. These constructions cannot be analyzed using the MLF model.

Auer's (1999) model of CS is conversation analysis-based. He describes how communicative function-based CS can cause structural changes and, therefore, how pragmatics is related to grammar. In his continuum model, the first stage is characterized by alternational CS with discourse functions, and a small amount of insertional CS. In the second stage (called language mixing), CS is a group style, insertional mixing can be present clause-internally, and it implies the existence of a matrix language. This can develop into a further stage of fused lects (of two languages), which points in the direction of the emergence of a new system. Auer's (1999) model takes into consideration the structural and the functional aspects of CS.

Auer's (1999) model is applied by Sarhimaa (1999) for Karelian–Russian CS. According to Sarhimaa (1999: 313), while some features of bilingual language mixture can be described by the continuum model and it can display the coexisting codes in synchronic variation, there is no evidence in the Karelian–Russian data which would support the claim for a diachronic change from CS to language mixing.

Janurik (2017) also uses Auer's (1999) continuum model for analysis of Erzya–Russian CS. On the basis of available synchronic data, we cannot say whether the current language mixing phase was

preceded by a CS phase characterized by switches with a pragmatic function. However, applying the continuum model, it is possible to display current variation of code types ranging from a more monolingual, CS-avoiding code type with a large number of flagged switches and switches with a pragmatic function to a more mixed code with longer and more frequent switches to Russian and with composite ML at least in some utterances. For the description of the development of heavy mixing Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse, more diachronic data would be required in order to test the accuracy of Auer's (1999) model.

Muysken's (2000, 2007) triangle model also connects the structural and the sociolinguistic aspects of CS, suggesting that sociolinguistic factors might predict the CS type (CM in his model) in the contact situation. Muysken distinguishes three types of CM: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Insertion, similar to the MLF model, presupposes the existence of a base language (A), into which congruent elements of the other language (B) are inserted. The inserted elements are typically one-word switches or phrases. The second type is alternation, a total switch from language A to language B. This type appears most typically at clause boundaries (but not always; they can also occur in the same clause but usually peripherally, e.g., in adverbials), elements of the two languages are not congruent but juxtaposed. The third type, congruent lexicalization presupposes a large amount of shared structures between the languages involved in CM. Here, lexical elements can come from either language. A gradual shift from language A to B is also possible.

Muysken (2000: 8–9) creates a typology of CS patterns on the basis of these factors. Table 3 contains a simplified version of his typology which attributes certain CS types (alternation, insertion, and congruent lexicalization) to certain sociolinguistic situations, considering the typological features of the participating languages.

The table is an adapted version of Muysken's (2000: 8–9, 221, 247) typology. He takes into account various factors (speaker type, age, attitude, etc.), here we concentrate only on his statements concerning structures of linguistic domination and structural characteristics of the languages involved. According to his model, alternation occurs in stable bilingual contact situations in which the languages are typically separated. Insertion, however, is common in colonial

Alternation	balanced bilinguals, stable bilingualism, language separation
Insertion	former colonial settings, first-generation migrants, L1 is dominant
Congruent Lexicalization	typologically similar related languages with equal prestige

Table 3. Connection between CS types and the sociolinguistic situation (table created on the basis of Muysken 2000: 8–9).

situations and with first-generation immigrant speakers who do not have the same level proficiency in both languages. Finally, congruent lexicalization is attested in contact situations involving closely related languages that are also typologically similar, which facilitates switching as a result of spoken linear equivalence. Nevertheless, congruent lexicalization can also occur due to linguistic convergence, even between non-related and typologically different languages (cf. Janurik 2017 for congruent lexicalization in Erzya–Russian data).

A special case of CS is represented by contact between FU languages, especially the closely-related Estonian and Finnish (Frick & Riionheimo 2013, Frick et al. this volume), Karelian and Finnish (Tánczos this volume), or Ingrian Finnish and Estonian (Riionheimo 2007, Riionheimo & Frick 2014). In Estonian–Finnish CS, congruent lexicalization is the dominant switch type and in many cases it is impossible to determine to which language a given CS sequence belongs (cf. Praakli 2009, Frick et al. in this volume). In Hungarian–Finnish CS (M Kovács 2011), however, the elements of the two languages are quite easily separable due to the distance of these related languages.

Backus's (2015) usage based model of CS is based on Croft's (2000) general model of language change. Backus argues that the model could account for all types of elements from another language (borrowing, CS, loan translation, grammatical interference), because they are parts of the synchronic variation and diachronic language change. He differentiates between two types of replications: 'normal replication', the reiteration of an established pattern, which represents maintenance of a pattern, and 'altered replication' which introduces a new pattern that competes with the established old ones. The so called 'ungrammatical' CS (in which code-switched elements are not inserted into the base

language according to the base language's grammar) represents the latter case. Through further reiteration, some new patterns, appearing in CS, could cause change in the base language. However, the change is not necessary. To see which is established and which is not, Backus suggests using the speakers' judgments and the criteria of frequency counted from large corpuses (Backus 2015). Stell and Yakpo's (2015b) edited volume on CS provide examples for both. For instance, Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2015) represents a case where a composite matrix in CS turns into a new (composite) language. This model has not been used to describe CS in FU languages yet. However, it would be useful to show how certain grammatical structures from the contact language enter the matrix language through frequent CS, eventually resulting in contact-induced change, for example, in the change of constituent order (a possible instance of this can be attested in Erzya–Russian CS, cf. Janurik 2017).

4. Some structural features playing a role in Indo-European–Finno-Ugric contact and code-switching

In the volume *Hungarian Language Contact Outside Hungary* (Fenyvesi 2005a), Thomason (2005) discusses typological features of Hungarian in relation to the features of the Indo-European languages (Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages) in contact with Hungarian. As the majority of these features are also present in other FU languages, we rely on her overview in discussing relevant typological features of FU languages. In the next section, we highlight some phonological, morphological, and syntactic contact features, which also play a role in CS where FU and IE languages are involved.

What Thomason (2005: 18–19) states about Hungarian in contact with Indo-European languages, might hold true also for other FU languages: "if Hungarian is under the strong influence of one (or more) of the IE languages, it is likely to retain structural features that are typologically similar to the corresponding features in the other language(s) but to simplify or lose structural features that it does not share with the other language(s). The converse should also hold […]". This contradiction does not make it easy to find common ground in structural aspects of CS.

Substantial differences between FU languages and IE languages in contact can be found in morphophonology, morphosyntax, and syntax. (About the grammatical structures of the FU languages see, for example, Sinor 1988, Abondolo 2006; about IE, see Ramat & Ramat 1998.) If structural features differ in the languages in contact, they are likely to undergo contact-induced change under the influence of the dominant language. A possible way the dominant language imposes influence on the minority language is through CS. Therefore, we discuss in section 4 what happens to these structural features in code-switched utterances. The most striking typological difference between IE and FU languages is the category of gender, which is typical for most IE languages but originally absent in FU languages. Its relevance for CS is discussed below in section 4.2.5.

It is worth mentioning that FU languages themselves are not uniform as regards their structural features (for syntax, see Vilkuna 1998). The classification of these languages along genetic lines can be misleading when it comes to their structural characteristics, as similar constructions in genetically more distant languages can be the result of secondary contacts. (See, for example Hajdú's (1975: 42) expressive diagram on how structural features like quantity, dual, internal/external cases, and the infinitive -*ni*, etc., can link together FU languages which are not closely related.) The number of cases also varies in the language family, while Finnish and Hungarian are rich in cases, the Ob-Ugric languages, genetically closest to Hungarian, are rather close to Russian as regards the number of attested cases in them.

Some of the structural features discussed in the following sections are present in all of the FU languages (e.g., case marking – however, not with the same of amount of cases), whereas others (e.g., vowel harmony) are attested only in some of them. We indicate in all cases if the given phenomenon is ubiquitous or a special feature.

In our sample, there are language pairs[4] that include immigrant varieties of state languages (Australian Finnish–English, Australian Hungarian–English; Finnish–Swedish; also cases in which the languages in contact are both FU languages, namely Hungarian–Finnish, Estonian–Finnish/Finnish–Estonian); and language pairs with

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4.   The first element is the minority language, the second language is the dominant language for the languages listed.

autochthonous varieties of FU languages both in the Russian Federation (Erzya–Russian, Kildin Saami–Russian, Mansi–Russian, Mari–Russian, Votic–Russian) and in Hungary's neighboring countries (such as Csángó(–Hungarian)–Romanian, Hungarian–Slovak, and Hungarian–Ukrainian). Finally, we also discuss contact situations in which the FU language is the majority language (Russian–Estonian, Swedish–Finnish).

The analysis follows Thomason's (2005) categories, as the subsections focus on morphophonology (section 4.1), morphosyntax (section 4.2), and syntax (section 4.3). The morphophonology section (4.1) is divided into two main parts which analyze questions of phonological integration (section 4.1.1) and vowel harmony (section 4.1.2). The section on morphosyntax (4.2), pays special attention to case marking (section 4.2.1), double marking (section 4.2.2), numerals and quantifiers with nouns (section 4.2.3), the marking of possession (section 4.2.4), and gender (section 4.2.5).

4.1. Morphophonology

Comparing Hungarian phonology to the phonology of Slavic and Germanic languages in contact with Hungarian, Thomason (2005: 13–15) focuses on some *differences in phonemes* (for example, rounded vowels in Hungarian); *syllable-initial and syllable-final consonant clusters* in Slavic and Germanic which were originally avoided in FU languages; and *vowel harmony*, which with some exceptions is absent in Slavic, Germanic, and Romance languages, but is present in Hungarian (and in other FU languages – with the exception of the Permic and Saami languages, and some Finnic languages, e.g., Estonian (while present in the Võro dialect/language)). Stress is not uniform in Slavic languages but, for example, most modern Slavic languages preserve phonemic stress, whereas stress is not phonemic in the FU languages.

As opposed to IE languages, *consonant gradation* is also a special feature of some FU languages, not mentioned by Thomason (2005) because it is absent in Hungarian but present, for example, in Saami, Finnish, Estonian, and in the smaller Finnic languages. (For consonant gradation, see some examples in Finnish and Estonian in Frick (2008), Praakli (2009) and Frick et al. (in this volume)).

In the following section (4.1.1.), we concentrate on one of the central question in CS studies, namely, whether one can distinguish borrowings from code-switches on the basis of the differences in the phonological systems of FU and IE languages (especially English and Russian).

4.1.1. Phonological integration: a criterion to distinguish between borrowing and code-switching

Along with morphological integration, phonological integration is one of the criteria widely used in distinguishing between borrowing and CS (Bullock & Toribio 2009b: 5). The phonological criterion is applicable to some contact situations, e.g., Finnish–English and Hungarian–English CS (cf. Halmari 1997 and M Kovács 2001). However, ambiguous forms are also attested in these cases and, as a result, M Kovács (2001) argues for a continuum between borrowing and CS. Example (1a) from Australian Finnish shows a code-switched form *politicians* in which English phonology is applied.

Example (1b), however, shows a case of mixed phonology: the beginning *mooninki ja after-* is a borrowing-like form with Finnish phonology, while in the second part of the word *after**noon** a change takes place to English pronunciation – most probably triggered by the stress of the English source word.[5]

(1a) *Ja   on   taidemaalare-i-ta ja   on   **politician-s**.*
and be.3SG painter-PL-PART   and be.3SG politician-PL

'There are painters and there are politicians [among them].'

(b) *Ei mu-lla ollu   siitä   ku   vaan   laittaa*
no I-ADE   be.PTCPP that.ELA than   just   make.INF

*se   mooninki ja   after**noon** tea vain   niille.*
the   morning   and   afternoon   tea   only   they.ALL

'I had nothing else to do than to prepare the morning and afternoon tea for them.'   (M Kovács 2001: 92. AusFi G1)[6]

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5. If not indicated differently, examples cited from other sources are repeated in this article with the same orthography but bold face is added to mark the code-switched element and underlining to mark the ambiguous forms. Cyrillic is transcribed and glossing is also added when relevant.

6. *AusFi* means Australian Finnish and *AusHu* Australian Hungarian, G1 refers to Generation 1 and G2 to Generation 2. The Australian Finnish and Hungarian data are described by M Kovács (2001: 47–59).

The phonological distinction is highly problematic in cases involving two languages with similar phonological systems. Sarhimaa (1999: 194) discusses this problem in relation to Karelian–Russian switching, but it also stands for switching between the Mordvin languages and Russian (cf. Moksha in Saarinen 2014: 541 or Erzya in Janurik 2017), whereas Mari phonotactics is significantly different from Russian which makes the distinction between these two contact phenomena easier.

In example (2), it is impossible to say if the word *kilometra* 'kilometer' is a borrowing or a code-switch. The Russian nominative form *kilometr* was borrowed into Erzya as *kilometra*, so we could argue that *kilometra* is the morphologically adapted form of the Russian word. However, *kilometra* is also the Russian genitive form of the noun which equally suits the context, as the head word has to be in the genitive singular if the numeral is 'two'. Consequently, in this case it is impossible to decide either phonologically or morphologically if we have a borrowing or a code-switch.

(2) *mińek viŕ-eńek*   **_naverno kilometra_** *kavto ejste-ďe-ńek*
     we.GEN forest-1PL.POSS.SG perhaps   kilometer   two   from-ABL-POSS.1PL
     'Our forest is perhaps two kilometers from us.'   (Janurik 2017: 128)

In the case of minority FU languages with almost exclusively bilingual speakers, one cannot rely on the monolingual criterion either, i.e., if a lexical item is used by monolingual speakers, it can be considered a borrowing. Another problem arises if we consider Estonian–Finnish switching, as the phonological systems of the two closely-related languages are similar, and in case of cognates, morphological criteria do not help the distinction (Praakli 2009).

As a result, researchers focusing on CS in FU languages tend to agree with the continuum models of contact phenomena (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, Thomason 2001, Backus 2015, etc.) which do not consider CS and borrowing to be distinct categories, but rather points on the two ends of the same continuum. However, even in this volume the approach of the authors is not unanimous, while, for instance, Puura, Frick et al., and Janurik do not draw distinct boundaries between the two contact phenomena (partly due to phonological reasons and partly because it is not the focus of the article), Edygarova does differentiate

between them. Opinions can differ even in the case of the same language pair. For example, in the case of the Udmurt–Russian contact situation, Horváth accepts the continuum model, whereas Edygarova separates the two categories.

4.1.2. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is attested in several FU languages, in our sample it is found in Erzya, Finnish, Hungarian, Mansi, Mari, Veps, and Votic. Due to contact, the scope of vowel harmony might become smaller if the contact language lacks this phonological phenomenon. Among others, Fenyvesi (2005b: 288) and M Kovács (2005: 337–338) report on disharmonic inflectional and derivational suffixes in American and Australian Hungarian and Konyári (2016) in Hungarian–Finnish CS.

Example (3) is produced by a Finnish–Hungarian bilingual (with good knowledge of English). In this example, the Hungarian derivational suffix and the first-person singular verbal suffix following it are disharmonic with the English-origin word *playstation* (the Finnish pronunciation is: [pleisteisøn]),[7] according to Hungarian vowel harmony, but the first-person singular verbal suffix and the derivational suffix are harmonic with each other. The picture here is more complex, because, on one hand, the rules of vowel harmony in words with mixed vowels are not the same in Standard Finnish and Standard Hungarian, and, on the other hand, because this example is from a written text and the written form of the word *playstation* (with seemingly back vowels) could have influenced the choice of the suffixes.

(3) *Ne le-gy-él ideges hogy **playstation**-oz-ok.*
not be-IMP-2SG nervous that playstation-VDER-1SG.INDEF

'Do not be nervous that I am playing on playstation.'

(HuFi G2, unpublished, M Kovács)

In Estonian–Finnish bilingual compound words, the elimination of vowel harmony is also a typical feature, because of the absence of vowel harmony in Standard Estonian. Example (4) shows that the

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7.   The word *playstation* is also used in Finnish, in addition to the Finnish word *pleikkari*, which is derived from the same English word.

bilingual solution for the expression 'to run into' is a contamination of the Finnish and Estonian expressions in which the verb is of Finnish origin but does not display vowel harmony.

(4)   *kokku törmata* < Estonian *kokku põrkama* + Finnish *törmätä* 'to
        run into'   (adapted from Praakli 2014: 393[8])

4.2. Morphosyntax

According to Thomason (2005), morphology is another field of grammar with many differences between IE and FU languages. FU languages are mainly agglutinative (case and number expressed by different morphemes), in contrast, IE languages are "primarily flectional", that, is one suffix expresses both case and number (Thomason 2005: 15). Modern IE languages have seven cases at most, FU languages can have over twenty cases; for example, Hungarian has at least nine different locative cases (Thomason 2005: 16). Estonian can be regarded as an "unusual" FU language with its flective characteristics which differentiate it from even the closely-related agglutinative Finnish language, as pointed out by Frick et al. (this volume).

If we compare the IE and FU verbal systems, we can find differences in verbal suffixing, expression of definiteness, aspect, and mode, etc. Although we also provide examples with code-switched verbs, we do not investigate the whole scale of the differences. Partly, because, except in some special types, switches with verbs are much rarer than with nouns, and partly because these examples, consequently, could be less generalizable.

In the following section, we study case marking in Stockholm Finnish, Australian and Finland Hungarian; double marking in Mari–Russian and Erzya–Russian bilingual discourses and in Hungarian–Ukrainian and Estonian–Finnish CS; numerals in Mari, Erzya, and Australian Finnish; possession in Erzya; and finally gender marking in a variety of contact situations (Votic–Russian, Erzya–Russian, Mari–Russian, Russian–Estonian, Finnish–Swedish, Hungarian–Slovak, and Csángó (Hungarian) – Romanian).

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8.   Sentence context is not provided.

4.2.1. Case marking

In case morphology, but also in verbal suffixes, bare forms can be present in CS when the languages involved are typologically different from each other. Also in contact between Swedish and Finnish, bare forms are possible because Swedish morphology is much simpler than that of Finnish. Example (5), a bare form adapted from Kolu (2016: 199), is from a Finnish–Swedish bilingual high school student's conversation in Stockholm. The argument of the Finnish verb *tulla* is in the translative case in Standard Finnish when the meaning of the verb is 'become'. In example (5), the Swedish-origin word *författare* 'writer' is in its bare form, in the unmarked nominative (*bli författare* 'become a writer'), according to Swedish grammar, instead of translative *-ksi* (*tulla kirjailijaksi* 'become a writer'), according to Finnish grammar.

(5) *mää   en   halua   tulla   författare*
     I   no.1SG   want   become.INF writer

     'I do not want to become writer.'   (adapted form Kolu 2016: 199, example 34, Stockholm Finnish data)

In Finnish–English and Hungarian–English bilingual data (M Kovács 2001), direct object marking drop occurs in CS: the object becomes unmarked morphologically when Standard Finnish rules would require genitive-(accusative) or partitive case, whereas Hungarian would require accusative. Example (6) shows the Hungarian case with the drop of the direct object marking accusative suffix.

(6) *Szeret-em   a   economics.*
     like-1SG.DEF the   economics-Ø

     'I like economics.'   (M Kovács, 2001: 193; AusHu G2)

In Erzya–Russian CS data (Janurik 2017), bare forms were not attested. This phenomenon can be explained by a variety of factors. When the rules of the two languages clash, the constructions are formed either obeying the rules of Erzya as the ML or following Russian rules (Russian elements occur as embedded language islands). Mixed constituents have an Erzya ending or, more rarely, are double marked. In case of object marking, bare forms are not ungrammatical if the object is indefinite, as indefinite objects are in the nominative case in Standard Erzya, as well.

The speakers' relatively high-level language proficiency in both languages can also play a role in the absence of bare forms. However, their proficiency has not been tested and the choice of speakers was not representative. As a result, the latter observation can be considered only the researcher's hypothesis that requires testing in the future.

As regards case marking, contact situations involving two FU languages both with a rich morphology represent special cases, as simplifications are more rarely attested in them. In her analysis of predicative verbs and their arguments in the speech of a bilingual child, M Kovács (2011) shows that verbal suffixes and case endings are rarely simplified, but that the grammatical markers of the verb and those of its arguments do not necessarily come from the same language. The Hungarian–Finnish (HuFi) bilingual example (7) represents a special case, because the interpretation of the object marking and thus the matrix language of the clause is ambiguous. The Finnish verb is equipped with the Hungarian preverb *ki-* expressing direction and aspect (perfective) but with the Finnish imperfect marker and verbal suffix for first person singular. The definite article also comes from Hungarian, but the object of the verb is either a Finnish plural form -*t* (in which the object marker is the same as the nominative) or the object is in singular and equipped with the Hungarian accusative marker -*t*. If the Hungarian accusative -*t* is used here, the clause definitely represents a case of a composite matrix in CS. If the object is marked according to the rules of the Finnish language, then the matrix language of the clause is closer to Finnish than Hungarian.

(7) *Azért   ilyen   az   orr-om,   mert*
     therefore   like this   the   nose-1SG.POSS.SG   because

   *ki-**purist-i-n**   a   **finni-t**.*
   out.PVB-press-PST-1SG   the   pimple-ACC.SG(Hu)/-NOM.PL(Fi)

   'My nose is like this because I ***squeezed*** out the **pimple(s)**.'

   <div align="right">(M Kovács, HuFi G2, unpublished)</div>

Homonymous forms are not common between Hungarian and Finnish and thus they are also not common in bilingual speech (except when they are used as a source of humor), due to the distance between the two languages. However, they are common, for example, between Estonian and Finnish and also often occur in bilingual data (Praakli: 2009: 101, 128–130, Frick & Riionheimo 2013).

In example (8), Hungarian is the source language for all of the elements in the utterance, except for the object which is a Finnish-origin noun with the Finnish partitive case marker (*rahkaa* 'cottage cheese.PART'). Just like the previous example (7), this could also be regarded as a case of a composite matrix. If Hungarian was the matrix language, then the Hungarian accusative case marker should be used (*rahkát* 'cottage cheese.ACC').

(8) *Ve-tt-em*　　　　*rahka-a,*　　　　*meg*　*ilyesmi-t.*
　　　buy-PST-1SG.DEF　cottage cheese-PART　and　such-ACC

　　　'I bought cottage cheese or some such.'

<div align="right">(HuFi G1, M Kovács, unpublished data)</div>

There are cases in which a construction from the source language is inserted as a chunk and the case ending is attached to an unadapted chunk. In example (9), the Russian word for 'kindergarten' is an embedded language island to which the Kildin Saami locative ending is attached (Pineda 2008: 49).

(9) *roobxušš-e*　[…]　*ďetskij saďĩk-eśt*[9]　　　(Pineda 2008: 49)[10]
　　　work-PRET1SG　…　kindergarten-LOC.SG

　　　'I worked in a kindergarten.'

In connection with Selkup–Russian CS, Kazakevič (2007: 14–21) also points out that in addition to Russian high frequency adverbs and particles (like *srazu* 'once', *polno* 'enough'), there are also Russian multiword idiomatic expressions inserted into Selkup utterances. The same tendency can be observed in other contact situations as well, for instance, in Erzya–Russian CS (Janurik 2017) or in Udmurt–Russian CS (Shirobokova 2011: 123–124).

4.2.2. Double marking

In examples (7) and (8), a switch is possible as speakers "harmonize" the constructions in the two languages (e.g., the object-marking requirements in Hungarian and in Finnish). However, if the constructions

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9.　Transcription and glossing were provided by Michael Rießler.
10.　The example in Cyrillic in the original source: Рōбхушше […] детский сади-кэсьт.

are incongruent in the two languages, a compromise occurs (Sebba 2009) which involves the insertion of bare forms as seen above (examples 5 and 6). Another strategy applied by the speakers in these cases is double marking, i.e., the system morphemes are doubled (both languages provide elements to the structure).

Gavrilova (2012: 58) discusses examples of double marking in Mari–Russian CS. For instance, the Mari comparative suffix (-*rak* 'more') is used on a Russian comparative form *boľše* 'more' in a double comparative construction *boľšiَrak* 'even more, lit. morer' (see example (10), shortened from original).

(10) *tide   ilyš-lan   **boľšy**-rak kelšen   tol-yt   čem   memna*
     this   life-DAT   more-COMP   agreeably come-3PL than   we
     'They are more cut out for this life than we are.'   (Gavrilova 2012: 58)

In example (11) of Erzya–Russian CS, the Russian preposition *dľa* 'to' and the dative ending in Erzya -*ńťeń* co-occur in the same phrase.

(11) ***daj-ut***   *lamo*   ***dľa***   *veľe-ńťeń*
     give-3PL   a.lot   to   village-DEF.DAT
     'They give a lot to the village.'   (Janurik 2015: 210)

Possession can also be marked twice in the Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse, first by the Russian possessive pronoun (*moja* in nominative, *mojej* in prepositional case) and second by the Erzya possessive suffix as in example (12) (Janurik 2015: 210). The speaker uses the feminine form of the Russian possessive pronoun which is in accordance with the fact that the referent of the word ('mother') is feminine, but additionally it can also be attributed to the word's ending in -*a* (which triggers the use of the feminine declension in Russian). Erzya does not have gender as a grammatical category and code-switched utterances show variation as far as gender marking and gender agreement is concerned (cf. section 4.2.5. below).

(12) ***etot stíx***   *v*   ***pamjať***   *o*   ***moj-ej***
     this poem   in   memory   about   my-INS
     ava-m
     mother-1SG.POSS.SG
     'This poem is for the memory of my mother.'   (Janurik 2015: 210)

Márku (2013: 118) provides an example (13) for double marking in Hungarian–Ukrainian bilingual speech. A bilingual speaker demonstrates the way they usually speak in the community by uttering a mixed sentence, in which the finite verb form and the preposition are in Ukrainian and the preposition is followed by the Hungarian head word containing a Hungarian illative case marker. Furthermore, the subject is not overt which abides by the pro-drop rules of Hungarian. (Double marking also occurs in the Finnish–English and Hungarian–Finnish data (M Kovács 2001: 195–197), but only in a few cases.)

(13) *Szoktunk ilyent mondani, hogy* **id-u** **na** *kórház-ba*.
 'we also say like' that go-1SG to hospital-ILL

 'We also say like I go to hospital.' (Márku 2013: 118)

Double marking can also occur in verbal constructions; however, it has not been extensively studied in CS research concerning FU languages. Example (14), provided by Riionheimo & Frick (2014), is from Ingrian Finnish in which the verb can be equipped both with the Finnish third person singular ending (vowel lengthening *-e* > *-ee*) and its Estonian equivalent (*-b*). The authors (2014: 414) mention several other bilingual innovations. As over half of their informants use CS, it is very probable that those constructions emerge from CS, but, unfortunately, contexts for the use of these verbs are not provided in the article.

(14) Fi *tule-e* + Estonian *tule-b* > IngFi *tule-e-b* '[(s)he] comes'
 (adapted from Riionheimo & Frick 2014: 423, example 3d)

The existence and the spread of double marking in CS need more investigation in FU language contacts. According to studies cited above, it does not seem to be common in Hungarian–English, Finnish–English (M Kovács 2001), Hungarian–Finnish (M Kovács 2011) contacts, whereas Gavrilova (2012) argues that it is widespread in the Mari–Russian context and present also in Erzya–Russian code-switched utterances (Janurik 2017).

4.2.3. Numerals and quantifiers with nouns

Numerals (marking more than 1) and quantifiers require plural in IE but singular in HU, and the partitive case typically in the Finnic languages. The singular has been replaced or is being replaced by the plural in some of the minor FU languages spoken in the Russian Federation (e.g., Erzya and Udmurt). It is also a widespread phenomenon that dates and compound numerals are expressed by Russian code-switched phrases in these languages. These Russian code-switches are inserted into the matrix language as chunks, as unanalyzed units. In example (15) (Janurik 2011: 137), the Russian phrase *vośeḿnadcaṫ ľet* 'eighteen years' is inserted as one unit into the Erzya utterance, the word 'year' is in genitive plural as required by the rules of the Russian language and the Erzya inessive ending is attached to the whole phrase.

(15) *mirďe-ńeń*   *ľiś-iń*   ***vośeḿnadcaṫ***   ***ľet***-*se*
husband-ALL   go-PST.1SG   eighteen   year-INE

     'I got married when I was eighteen.'   (Janurik 2011: 137)

In her study of Mari–Russian CS, Gavrilova (2013: 71) also discusses code-switches involving Russian numeral phrases. Example (16) is a chunk in which both the noun and quantifier are Russian lexemes inserted into the Mari utterance as an embedded language island.

(16) ***glavnyj***   ***skidk***-*ym*   *tušto*   ***desjaṫ***   ***procent-ov***-*ym*   *yšt-et*[11]
important   discount-ACC   there   ten   percent-GEN.PL-ACC   do-2SG

     'It is important that you give a ten percent discount.'

                           (Gavrilova 2013: 71)

A similar tendency is attested in Mansi (Németh forthcoming) in example (17)[12]. The expression of time is entirely in Russian (both the noun 'year' and the numeral 'forty-one') and is inserted as a chunk into the otherwise monolingual Mansi utterance.

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11. The example in Cyrillic in the original source: Главный скидкым тушто десять процентовым ыштет. The original Russian translation:
'Главное, даешь скидку десять процентов'.
12. The original Hungarian translation: 'Aztán 41-ben visszahozták az apjukat.'

(17) *tuwəl*   **sorak**   **perv-om**   **god-u**
     then   forty   one.ORD-DAT   year-DAT

     āśi-ten   *utə*   *juw-tot-we-s-ət*
     father-3DU.POSS.SG[13]   erm   back-bring-PASS-PST-3PL

     'And then, in '41, the father of both of them, erm, was brought back.'

                                            (Németh forthcoming)

There are, however, counterexamples as well, in which the inherited numerals are still used, especially with numerals under ten. Example (18), provided by Pineda (2008: 51), represents a special case, as the Kildin Saami expression 'four years' is preceded by a Russian pronoun and followed by a Russian discourse marker. Still, the Russian elements do not trigger CS, both numerals are expressed in Kildin Saami in the utterance.

(18) **mńe**   *njeellj*   *õg-a*   **naverno**   *leajj*[14]
     1SG.DAT   four   year-DIM.NOM.PL   probably   be.PRET3SG[15]

     leannč   *võdd*
     be.FUT3SG   five

     'I was probably four, maybe five years old.'   (Pineda 2008: 51)

Sarhimaa (1999: 234) has similar findings for Karelian: "Russian numeral phrases carrying Russian system morphology are almost exclusively used in place of the inherited numerals in Karelian in general. Inherited Karelian compound numerals, especially, are seldom found, even in the speech of the most traditional speakers." This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that mathematics is only taught in Russian and service is also provided only in Russian in banks and official places (see also Pyöli 1996: 295, Turunen 1997, Salánki 2007: 164–166, Shirobokova 2011: 117), and Puura in this volume). However, this tendency is observable also beyond the minority languages of the Russian Federation. Example (19) is from Australian Finnish (M Kovács 2001:199):

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13. The glossing is changed in the case of possession.
14. The example in Cyrillic in the original source: Мне нелль ыга наверно ляйй, лянч выдт.
15. Transcription and glossing were provided by Michael Rießler.

(19) *Se kesti sitten **till nineteen-hundred forty-five.***
　　'It continued then till 1945.'　(M Kovács 2001: 199, example 232; AusFi2)

In the language use of Finnish American teenagers, English is the
dominant language when it comes to compound numerals or count-
ing. Halmari (2005: 430) sums up this process as follows: "L1 loss is
always lurking "beyond twenty"". The question that arises here is at
what point we can consider these to be borrowings instead of code-
switched forms. If the numerals from the dominant language become
the sole forms used, we can talk about, at least in this respect, a fused
lect (Auer 1999) in which variation is replaced by fixed forms.

4.2.4. The marking of possession

Possession is another relevant issue in CS involving FU and Indo-Eu-
ropean languages. Possession is marked by possessive pronouns in IE
but possessive suffixes are typical in many FU languages. However,
Estonian or colloquial Finnish, for example, nowadays follow the IE
system in that respect. The order of the constituents also presents a
problem in contact situations involving Russian, as Russian has a pos-
sessee–possessor constituent order as opposed to a possessor–posses-
see order typical in the FU languages. Edygarova (this volume) focuses
on Russian influence in Udmurt possessive phrases using translation
tests. The insertion of Russian phrases as chunks is attested in her data,
but this pattern is also common in Erzya–Russian CS, with hybrid
forms as well. In example (20), the order of the constituents follows
the Russian rules, whereas the Russian genitive marker is replaced by
its Erzya equivalent and an Erzya possessive suffix is used instead of a
Russian possessive pronoun *moj* 'my' (the monolingual Russian form
would be *moj učiťeľ maťemaťiki* 'my mathematics teacher'):

(20) **śexťe** pek　uľń-eś　　vadŕa　**učiťeľ-em**
　　most　very　be-PST.3SG　good　teacher-1SG.POSS.SG
　　maťemaťika-ń　**di**　**angľa-ń**　keľ-eń
　　mathematics-GEN　and　English-GEN　language-GEN
　　'My best teacher was the mathematics and English teacher.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Janurik 2017: 135)

4.2.5. Gender marking in verbs and nouns

If we contrast FU languages as a whole, for example, with most IE languages which FU languages are most often in contact with, one of the most striking difference between them is that gender marking is (almost) non-existent in the FU languages but mostly present in IE. This topic has been studied to some extent, but further investigations are needed.

As regards verbal conjugation, questions of aspect and gender marking have been studied in detail in CS with FU languages (cf. Horváth this volume). Contact situations involving Slavic languages with an elaborate aspectual system are especially intriguing cases. Gender marking in nouns is typical for IE, while gender is not a grammatical category in the FU languages (Thomason 2005: 16). In Russian, gender marking is present also in verbal conjugation, in the past tense. If Russian finite (past tense) verbal forms are inserted into the matrix language, the question of gender agreement arises.

In the following, we show examples in which gender marking is attested in FU languages as a consequence of language contacts with IE languages. Turunen (1997) observed that gender marking is attested for some nouns in Votic, which he regarded as a Votic-Izhorian mixed language with a "heavy Russian component" (Turunen 1997: 208). (In the case of Votic, which is a heavily mixed language, it is hard to separate borrowed words from one-word switches. Consequently, we consider them code-switches here.) In example (21), the Russian quantifier *vsja* 'all' is in the feminine form because the Votic head noun *kala* 'fish' with its syllable final *-a* resembles Russian feminine nouns. Moreover, the Russian word for 'fish', *ryba*, is feminine. In applying the feminine form of the quantifier with the Votic word *kala*, a Russian grammatical pattern is used.

(21) *kala mukkā   mahsettī / **vsja**   kala   annettī*
      fish according.to pay.PASS all.F.SG fish.NOM give.PASS.PST

     'It has been paid according to [the number of]
     fish / all the fish was given [away].'   (Turunen 1997: 211, example 2)[16]

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16. The original translation in Finnish: 'kalan mukaan maksettiin / kaikki kalat annettiin'. (Turunen 1997: 211, example 2.)

Sarhimaa (1999) investigated the duty and obligation construction, which included the Russian-origin word *dolžen* '[is] obliged to' in Karelian. She found that in this construction it is prototypically the masculine singular form of the word (*dolžen*) that is also used with a feminine Experiencer or plural Experiencer (Sarhimaa 1999: 118). In comparison, in Russian the feminine or plural form has to be used in a similar construction. This is not surprising, as Karelian, like other Uralic languages, does not typically mark gender. (However, in addition to the most prototypical use of the *dolžen* construction, in (more Russian-influenced) mixed varieties of the Karelian language, the feminine form (*dolžna*) is also used.) According to Sarhimaa (1999: 309), the necessive construction with *dolžen* might already be an established borrowing or on the way to becoming an established borrowing.

This construction also occurs in other FU–Russian contact situations. For example, masculine, feminine, and plural forms (*dolžen, dolžna, dolžni*, respectively) are all attested in Mari–Russian (examples from Gavrilova 2013: 89, 90, 95, 151) and in Erzya–Russian (Janurik 2017: 155–160) CS. However, there are also cases in which we can find gender mismatch (typically masculine for feminine, but not the other way around). As also seen above in Karelian, the masculine singular form *dolžen* is the default form in Mari and Erzya, as well.

The use of gender agreement shows individual variation in both contact situations. Factors such as Russian proficiency and the animacy of the experiencer can possibly influence the choice of forms. In example (22), showing Erzya–Russian CS (Janurik 2017: 163), there is gender mismatch, as the masculine form of the adjective (*dolžen* instead of *dolžna*) is used as a predicate, even though the experiencer is a feminine Russian word.

(22) ***učiťeľńića-****nok*   ***dolž-en*** *sa-ms*
    teacher.F-1PL.POSS.SG   must-M   come-INF1

    'Our teacher has to come.'

In example (23), a Mari-Russian code-switched utterance (Gavrilova 2013: 95), the Experiencer is not overt. However, the speaker is a middle-aged woman who uses the feminine form when talking about herself. In example (23), the predicate also triggers a complete switch

to Russian, as the infinitive argument of the predicate also abides by the rules of the Russian language.

(23) *Jÿdym Domoďedovyško alamo den **dolžna dobiraťśa***[17]

jÿdym	*Domoďedovy-ško*	*ala-mo*	*den*
at.night	Domodedovo-ILL	something	for

dolžna	***dobiraťśa***
must.F	get.to

'Tonight (I) have to get to Domodedovo for something.'

(Gavrilova 2013: 95)

In Erzya–Russian CS, gender agreement is also present in code-switched Russian predicates in the past tense. According to Janurik (2013: 133), the presence of gender agreement (the use of the Russian markers *-l, -la, -lo* with masculine, feminine, and neutral singular subjects, respectively) is connected to the animacy hierarchy; utterances having more animate subjects (e.g., names of persons or personal pronouns) are more likely to have gender agreement. In example (24), the feminine speaker is talking about her life, and uses the feminine past tense form of the Russian predicate. In this utterance, all the other elements are from Erzya; still, the Russian rule of gender agreement is obeyed.

(24)

mon	*mejľe*	***ŕeši-l-a***	*tosto*	*tu-mo*	*kudo-v*
I	later	decide-PST-F	from.there	come-INF2	house-LAT

'I decided later to come back home from there.'   (Janurik 2013: 133)

While in Erzya–Russian CS the Erzya pronominal subject is typically overt, Mari shows variation in this respect. In example (25a), the pronominal subject is present, whereas in example (25b), it is covert even though it would be required in Russian (Gavrilova 2013: 94). The presence or absence of pro-drop features in CS utterances should be studied in more detail (involving information structure, etc.) in order to understand the factors behind this variation.

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17. The example in Cyrillic: Йӱдым Домодедовышко ала-мо ден должна добираться. The original Russian translation: 'На чем-то должна добираться ночью в Домодедово' (Gavrilova 2013: 95).

(25a) *uke,   myj   **opozda-l-a***[18]
    no   I   be.late-PST-F

    'No, I was late.'

 (b) ***na-́verno*** *sadlan* *tyj-ym* ***pr̆edloži-l-a*** *tudo*[19]
    perhaps   therefore you-ACC   propose-PST-F   it

    'Perhaps that's why she proposed it to you.'   (Gavrilova 2013: 94)

The Votic, Mari, and Erzya examples are cited to show how Russian gender marking can influence FU languages which originally had no gender marking. On the other hand, if FU languages are in contact with IE languages without any or very limited gender marking (e.g., English), this feature will not be involved in CS. Whether this is a spreading phenomenon in all FU languages in contact with Russian or rather an extreme case present only in some of them, needs further investigation.

    Verschik (2007: 86) studies the reverse viewpoint: how gender marking can be neglected in certain Russian varieties in Tallinn by the influence of a FU language, Estonian. In example (26), the Estonian word *ainekava* 'syllabus' is used. A word ending in -*a* could easily be regarded as being a feminine noun type, according to the rules of the Russian grammar. If this would be the case, the locative preposition *v* 'in' would require the noun to have the form in the prepositional case with -*e*: *v ainekave*.

(26) *étogo*   *v*   ***ainekava***   *ne*   *napisano*
    this.GEN   in   syllabus   not   written

    'this is not written in the syllabus'   (Verschik 2007: 86, example 2a)

According to Verschik (2007), the indicators of the gender-marking drop are coming both from the Estonian mother tongue speakers' group when speaking Russian and from bilinguals who are fluent speakers of Russian.

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18.   The example in Cyrillic: Уке, мый опоздала. The original Russian translation: 'Нет, я опоздала' (Gavrilova 2013: 94).

19.   The example in Cyrillic: наверно, садлан тыйым предложила тудо. The original Russian translation: 'наверно, поэтому она предложила тебя' (Gavrilova 2013: 94).

In Swedish–Finnish bilingual discourse, gender marking can oc-
cur in a variety of ways. If the matrix language is Swedish into which a
Finnish word is inserted, gender marking can be completely neglected
(following the Finnish rule, where gender is not marked), it can obey
Swedish gender-marking rules, or the inserted word can receive half-
marking. The latter case of half-marking is shown in example (27a),
provided by Kolu (2016) from Helsinki Swedish–Finnish bilingual
discourse, in which a Finnish word is inserted into the Swedish minor-
ity language[20]. The other examples (27b, c, d) illustrate the complexity
of the possible variations. To use the term ''gender'' here, however, is
problematic to some extent, as the historical gender types can nowa-
days be considered instead to be declination types.

(27a) *ja gö:r de-n dä:r* **yöpaita**
     I make the-Fhist there nightdress

    'I make the nightdress.'
                        (Kolu 2016: 194, example 16, Helsinki Swedish–Finnish)[21]

 (b) **ja gör de-n där* **yöpaita-n / yöpaida-n**
    I make the-Fhist there nightdress-GEN(-ACC)
                      (Swedish–Finnish bilingual, hypothetical)

 (c) *ja gör de-t där nattlinne-t*
    I make the-Mhist there nightdress-Mhist
                          (monolingual Swedish)

 (d) *tee-n tuo-ta yöpaita-a / tuo-n yöpaida-n*
    make-SG1 that-PART nightdress-PART that-GEN(-ACC) nightdress-GEN(-ACC)
                          (monolingual Finnish)

In example (27a), the Finnish word ending in *-a* (*yöpaita* 'nightdress')
fits the Swedish *-en* declination-type (historical feminine type) and in
the example it gets a Swedish definite article (*den*). However, the dec-
lination type *-(e)n* should also be visible on the noun itself (*yöpaita-n*),
according to the Swedish matrix language, but it is missing from the
example. (Probably, due to the fact that if the Finnish word would get

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20.   Both Finnish, the language of the majority, and Swedish, the language of the
minority, are official national languages is Finland.
21.   Examples 27b–d are forms created by the present authors to illustrate the pos-
sible complexity of the interplay of gender and grammatical case in bilingual speech.

the *-n* ending it would render the syllable closed and also change the stem (*yöpaidan*). Moreover, it would cause homonymy, as it would look like the Finnish ("accusative"-)genitive case of the word). The Swedish equivalent (*nattlinne*), however, belongs to the *ett*-declination (historical masculine) as is shown in example (27c), so the picture is more complex. Finnish has no gender but it would require either the ("accusative"-)genitive or partitive case (*yöpaidan* or *yöpaitaa*) in monolingual Finnish, depending on aspect (example 27d), according to Finnish grammar.

Example (26) and examples (27a, b, c, d) show that gender marking in code-switched utterances can present a challenge in contact situations also when IE languages are the matrix language into which elements of a FU language, which lacks gender as a grammatical category, are inserted. As a result of close and prolonged contact, FU languages without gender marking can trigger the loss or decline of gender marking in IE languages.

4.3. Syntax

In syntax, there are both differences and similarities between IE and FU languages. However, differences do occur among FU languages, as well. For instance, there is no common basic word order which would be typical for all FU languages today (Vilkuna 1998). The original (reconstructed for the proto-language) and typical word order for FU languages is SOV and the surface word order in IE is SVO but there are also other factors influencing it. Languages with SOV word order typically have postpositions, whereas SVO co-occurs with prepositions. In noun phrases, in an SOV system, the adjectives precede the head noun – but the same can be found also in many IE languages (English, German, Russian, etc.). The constituent order in code-switched phrases has been studied to some extent in Udmurt–Russian (e.g., Edygarova this volume) and Erzya–Russian (Janurik 2017) CS.

Agreement is partly different and partly similar in IE and FU languages: the verbal predicate agrees with the subject in person and number in both language families but, for example, in some FU languages (like Hungarian, Erzya, and Moksha), the transitive verb also agrees with the object with respect to definiteness (Thomason 2005: 17–19).

Other syntactic features of CS in FU languages have not been extensively studied. As a result, these complex questions cannot be addressed in this comparison in detail.

Here we provide a couple of examples of Subject – Verb/Predicate agreement in number. Lanstyák (2006, citing Kapczyová 2004: 21)[22] provides an example from Slovak-dominant Hungarian–Slovak bilinguals who produce sentences in which the subject is from the Slovak language and it contains a Slovak plural (*kolotoč* 'carousel' > PL *kolotoče*) but the Hungarian predicate verb contains a Hungarian 3rd person plural (see example (28)):

(28) *gyünnek a kolotoč-e iss vagy cirkusz gyün.*
come-3PL the carousel-PL also or circus come.3SG

'[There] also come the carousels or the circus comes.'

<div align="right">(Lanstyák 2006: 126)</div>

Bodó (2004) describes discussions of identity with the Csángós, and not grammatical characteristics of CS, but in his article one can also find examples of bilingual subject agreement. In example (29), the Csángó(–Hungarian) subject *mük* ('we') is in plural, and the verb *vagy-unk* ('[we] are'), as well as its predicative/nominal part, *ulyan-ok* ('such.PL'), is also in plural, but the apposition, which also should agree with the subject, is in Romanian, and equipped with the Romanian plural *-i*. The function of using CS is clear, the speaker wants to draw distance between his minority group and those who mention them with this stigmatized word, *ceangă-i* (Csángó-PL). Also the last word in example (29), the Romanian word *corcituri* 'mixed PL' (SG *corcitură* lit. 'mixed blood; mixed breed'), agrees with the plural subject *mik* 'we', with the verb *vagy-unk* 'are PL1' and with the predicative participle *vigyitëtt-ek* 'mixed PL'. Informant2 uses here CS for the same reason as Informant1 utters the word *ceangăi*, that is, to show how Csángós are stigmatized by majority speakers.

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22. The original manuscript of Kapczyová 2004 (Kapczyová, Ildikó 2004: Nyelvkiépülés. Bratislava: FF UK. SzeminNymáriumi dolgozat.) was not available to the authors of this article.

(29) INFR1
*há(t) mük ulyan-ok vagy-unk, **ceangă-i**, (.) ugy mojd-nak*
well we like-PL be-PL Csángó-PL so call-3PL
mink-öt. ee më(r)t há(t) mik vigyit-ëtt-ek vagy-unk [ez a-]
we-ACC um because well we mix-PTCP-PL be-PL this the
'Well we are those, Csángós. They call us like this. Because we are mixed. This –'

[…]

INFR2
corcitur-i.
mixed.PL
'Mixed.'

<div align="right">(shortened from Bodó 2004)</div>

A similar agreement challenge can also be found in Hungarian–French bilingual speech (see, for example, Szabó T. 2009: 8).

5. Discussion

In this paper, we studied CS in FU languages from certain grammatical, structural, and sociolinguistic aspects. In order to discuss these, we had to describe the multifaceted nature of FU language contacts and the similarities and differences in the sociolinguistic status of these speech communities (section 2.1). As a next step (in section 3), we gave an overview of grammatical models of CS which were created for and/or tested on other language pairs, and in which grammatical factors are linked to sociolinguistic ones (e.g., Auer 1999, Muysken 2000, Myers-Scotton 1993a). In our opinion, these models are inevitable also for the study of linguistic change as connected to CS. As follows, we discuss the applicability of these models to CS in FU languages.

In discussing the grammatical studies on CS involving FU languages, our aim was to give an overview of the structural factors on which previous studies focused, as these typological aspects are essential for planning a more general and more extensive study of CS in FU languages.

Halmari (1997) modifies Di Sciullo et al's (1986) Government and Binding model. She includes suffixes (both case marking and verbal suffixes) which are typical in agglutinative languages in the category of ML indexes (e.g., quantifiers, demonstrative pronouns, etc.). This modification is inevitable in the case of agglutinative languages, otherwise it would not be possible to apply the GB model to them. However, Halmari does not connect the theory to sociolinguistic factors.

M Kovács (2001) in her model based on the immigrant (community) language of Australian Finns and Hungarians relies on Myers-Scotton's (1993a) MLF model and broadens the use of the model and connects it to language shift as Myers-Scotton does. M Kovács's results show that there is a statistically significant difference in the CS patterns of the first and second generation: the first generation's CS is more borrowing-like, or of the insertion-type (Muysken 2000), while the second generation's code-switched utterances diverge from the original ML to a greater extent. Accordingly, M Kovács argues that intensive CS, at least in the immigrant communities, can be one of the possible factors promoting language shift. However, it is also possible that intensive CS only co-occurs with language shift that is why the gradual turnover of the matrix language is more characteristic in the second generation. M Kovács uses a continuum model to describe the turnover of the ML. Janurik (2017) also applies a continuum model to depict the variation in CS strategies of Erzya–Russian bilingual speakers whose utterances differ with respect to whether they have Erzya as the ML or a composite Erzya–Russian ML. Their observations should be compared to further data from different contact situations possibly involving more speakers and more (FU) languages.

Auer's (1999) continuum model can be applied for the description of synchronic variation (used by both Sarhimaa 1999 and Janurik 2017). However, it remains an open question whether FU languages also underwent historical change from a CS through a language mixing phase leading to the emergence of fused lects depicted in the model. If that is the case (additional diachronic research on CS in FU languages is needed to prove it), Auer's continuum can be compared to Thomason's (2001) borrowing scale, which presents the connection between the intensity of the contact and the structural changes in the

languages involved. It would be also worth studying why language shift (ML Turnover in Myers-Scotton's 1993a terms) is more typical generally and also for FU minority languages rather than the emergence of fused lects.

There is also a need to use statistical methods with large data sets to see which are common features present in minority FU languages in general, which are more idiosyncratic characterizing only one language or a smaller language group. (Adamou 2016 also argues that statistical analyses should be carried out on large data sets.) For example, double marking seems to be common in Mari, according to Gavrilova (2012), but, for example, it is quite rare in Australian Finnish and Hungarian. The marking of gender is present in many FU languages in contact with Russian (Mari, Saami, Erzya, etc.); it would be worth studying its range statistically, as well. The same concerns the use of numeral phrases which are common in FU minority languages in Russia and present also, to some extent, in the immigrant varieties of the state languages, but seem to be missing from the language use of autochthonous Hungarian minorities, possibly due to the better sociolinguistic status of these speech communities, to their larger numbers, and to their access to mother tongue education.

This paper focuses only on a limited number of structural factors, mainly involving the domain of morphology and morphosyntax. The reason for this is the scarcity of phonological studies of CS in FU languages. However, similarities and differences in the phonological systems of the languages in contact are studied to some extent in almost all of the existing studies of CS, in relation to the difficulties of differentiating between CS and borrowing in some language contact situations (e.g., Moksha–Russian). Having considered these problems, we argue for the existence of a continuum ranging from borrowing to CS and we do not classify these phenomena as distinct categories.

When it comes to the study of CS in FU languages, syntactic research is also rather limited, further studies should definitely focus on syntactic questions. Research on information structure in these contact situations should also explore differences in the utterances of highly proficient speakers as opposed to the language use of speech communities undergoing language shift who are under a greater influence of the majority language.

An intriguing aspect of CS in FU languages in contact with IE (especially Slavic) languages is the emergence of gender and gender agreement. Gender as a grammatical category is missing from all FU languages. Gender agreement, however, occurs in code-mixed utterances (Karelian, Votic, Mari, and Erzya, etc.). The spread of this phenomenon can cause typological changes in the future in these mixed varieties. That is why further research should also focus on the study of gender and gender agreement in these and other contact situations. Results of previous studies suggest that these changes are present in FU languages that are in contact with Slavic languages (Russian, Slovak). Case marking and possession, however, are also present in other FU languages. As a result, we can claim that certain typological factors are relevant only in contact situations involving a certain group of languages (Slavic, or more generally, Indo-European) in contact with FU languages.

The types of CS found in FU minority languages seem to show correlations both with their sociolinguistic situation and the typological characteristics of the languages involved. Muysken's 2000 typology of CS (Table 3 in section 3.2) fits the described contact situations to some extent. Congruent lexicalization and hybrid forms are common in Estonian–Finnish switching, in which two typologically close (and also related) languages are involved with a relatively equal prestige. However, congruent lexicalization is also present in case of Erzya–Russian switching which can be attributed to their long-established contact despite the typological differences in the two languages. Insertions are common in all cases, not just in the minority varieties spoken in the Russian Federation, which can be described as (post-)colonial contact settings. According to Gavrilova (2013: 33), alternation frequently occurs in Mari–Russian switching, despite the fact that the bilingual situation cannot be described as balanced as Muysken's (2000) model would suggest.

Consequently, the criteria Muysken (2000) uses are not sufficient if we intend to predict the CS types occurring in contact situations involving FU languages. Especially, as this model cannot account for the variation present in these CS discourses which can be attributed to individual preferences but also to the purist attitudes of the speakers.

Another difference in the CS patterns of these contact situations concerns the occurrence of bare forms, which are typical in immigrant

varieties (American/Australian Finnish, Australian Hungarian – at least in contact with English), whereas indigenous and autochthonous varieties (Mari, Erzya, Veps, Karelian, etc.) are more likely to display double forms or embedded language islands. Nevertheless, in closely related languages, like (Ingrian) Finnish and Estonian, double marking is also typical (for example, in verb tense marking), and some rare occurrences of the phenomenon can also be found in immigrant languages.

As mentioned above, contacts between FU languages result in harmonized switch forms, especially in Estonian–Finnish CS. In these cases, the matrix language of the utterances cannot be defined unambiguously.

Auer's model (1999) is also applicable to all FU languages in which some new grammatical constructions arise. Backus's (2015) usage based model tells us about the mechanism of how changes via altered reiteration could happen in general. However, in order to test and refine these models on FU languages, a large amount of data would be required.

The contact situations involving FU languages differ with respect to the extent of the language mixture, as well. Immigrant varieties represent a more clear-cut situation in which the CS patterns of the speakers and the matrix language of the utterances can be predicted on the basis of the generation to which the speakers belong (cf. the continuum model in M Kovács 2001). As opposed to this, the language use of minorities in the long-established contact situations shows a greater degree of variation (depending on age, knowledge of the standard variety, linguistic purism, etc.). For instance, Edygarova (2014) describes the various styles Udmurt–Russian bilinguals have which display different levels of CS.

In this paper, we have given an overview of the multi-faceted research on CS involving FU languages. We found correlations between the sociolinguistic situation of the speech community and the attested CS types. For example, zero forms occurring frequently in the utterances of first generation immigrants were not common in long-established contact situations, regardless of the structural distance of the languages in contact. Structural features, however, also had an influence on the CS types. A different constituent order resulted in double marking, and dominant languages with an elaborate gender-marking

system brought gender agreement into bilingual utterances involving FU languages that lack gender as a grammatical category.

Sociolinguistic factors and language attitudes have a great role in the process of language maintenance or shift and these factors should be analyzed in more detail, also in connection with CS. Although the number of speakers decreases from census to census, multigenerational bilingualism can be attested in these contact situations. Further research also must pay more attention to the use of small minority (FU) languages in new domains provided by the globalized world (for example, on the internet) and the multilingual varieties, which emerge as a result. As regards new data in FU languages, it is also desirable that CS data collection be extended to FU languages in contact with non-IE languages. For example, contact with Turkic languages in the Middle-Volga area and in Siberia in Russia. Research already showed that in these contact situations new constructions are also attested in the Samoyedic languages (Siegl 2015, Jalava 2015), and it would be worth investigating whether these or other constructions arise via CS.

Our aims in this paper were to describe the correlation between the grammatical types of CS and the sociolinguistic situation of the speech community, to discover to what extent these attested types were general in contact situations involving FU languages, and to analyze the possible connection between CS and contact-induced change. Our results show a clear correlation between sociolinguistic factors and the attested CS types (e.g. the scarcity of bare forms in the language use of indigenous as opposed to immigrant minorities). We discussed the generalizability of the CS types in connection to the applicability of the universal CS models to these contact situations. Finally, we analyzed the connection between intensive language contact and the contact-induced features in Finno-Ugric languages (e.g. the emergence of gender agreement).

Our paper could only give an insight into the growing body of CS research on FU languages. In order to acquire a more uniform picture of CS in FU languages, a FU CS database should be created using standardized criteria which would enable future statistical analysis of CS types. Moreover, research should also be extended to involve the easternmost FU (Uralic) languages as well as both spoken and written data. Studies on the pragmatic functions of CS and the sociolinguistic aspects of these contact situations would also be inevitable.

Abbreviations

1	first person	INDEF	indefinite
2	second person	INE	inessive
3	third person	INF	infinitive
ABL	ablative	INF1	first infinitive
ACC	accusative	INF2	second infinitive
ADE	adessive	INFR	Informant
ALL	allative	IngFi	Ingrian Finnish
AusFi	Australian Finnish	INS	instrumental
AusHu	Australian Hungarian	LAT	lative
CM	code-mixing	LOC	locative
CS	code-switching	M	masculine
COMP	comparative	Mhist	historical masculine
DAT	dative	ML	matrix language
DEF	definite	MLF	Matrix Language Frame
DIM	diminutive	NOM	nominative
DU	dual	ORD	ordinal (number)
EL	embedded language	PART	partitive
ELA	elative	PASS	passive
F	feminine	PL	plural
Fhist	historical feminine	POSS	possessive
FU	Finno-Ugric	PRET	preterite
FUT	future	PST	past
G1	Generation 1	PTCP	participle
G2	Generation 2	PTCPP	participle perfect
GEN	genitive	PVB	preverb
HuFi	Hungarian in Finland	SG	singular
IE	Indo-European	VDER	verbal derivational suf-fix / suffix deriving a verb
ILL	illative		
IMP	imperative		

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Összefoglaló

Tanulmányunkban a kódváltás grammatikai és bizonyos szociolingvisztikai aspektusait vizsgáljuk a finnugor nyelvekben. Kutatásunk egyik célja, hogy megvizsgáljuk a korábbi kutatásokban használt grammatikai kódváltási modelleket és a finnugor nyelvekre való alkalmazhatóságukat, illetve, hogy összefüggéseket keressünk a kódváltás grammatikai típusai és a kontaktushelyzetben levő beszélőközösség szociolingvisztikai helyzete között. Célunk eléréséhez a finnugor nyelveket – nagy leegyszerűsítéssel – a következő csoportokra osztottuk: államnyelvek, az államnyelvek kisebbségi változatai e nyelvek szomszédságában (történelmi kisebbségek), illetve őshonos kisebbségek, valamint bevándorló kisebbségek. Dolgozatunk további célja annak kiderítése, hogy az eddigi szakirodalom eredményei alapján általánosíthatók-e bizonyos kódváltástípusok a finnugor nyelvekre vonatkozóan, illetve, hogy ezek a kódváltástípusok összefüggésbe hozhatók-e a kontaktusalapú nyelvi változásokkal. Tanulmányunk eredményei rámutatnak arra, hogy az ún. univerzális kódváltási modellek nem alkalmazhatók változtatások nélkül a finnugor nyelvekre (sem az agglutináló nyelvekre általában). Néhány, a szociolingvisztikai szituációt és a nyelvi változásokat is figyelembe vevő elmélet (Auer 1999, Myers-Scotton 1993a, Muysken 2000) alkalmasabb a vizsgálatokra. Tanulmányunkban bemutatunk bizonyos kódváltástípusokat, amelyek összefüggésbe hozhatók a finnugor és az indoeurópai nyelvek strukturális különbségeivel (pl. az ún. kettős morfológia alkalmazása, a nyelvtani nem jelölésének kérdése), illetve a kontaktushelyzet időtartamával és a beszélőközösség szociolingvisztikai helyzetével.

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Aspect and code-switching in Udmurt: the case of the Russian infinitive + Udmurt *karįnį/kariśkįnį*

Abstract The present paper[1] aims to discuss some cases of intrasentential insertion on the basis of blog texts and structured interviews with Udmurt-Russian bilinguals conducted in Udmurtia in 2015. The main goal of this paper is to show some examples of constructions involving Russian infinitives (with the Udmurt verbs *karįnį* 'to do' and *kariśkįnį* 'to do: REFL') and discuss the ways they can contribute to the aspectual meaning of Udmurt matrix clauses. This paper aims to study, for instance, whether imperfective Russian infinitives tend to be used in imperfective Udmurt sentences, and perfective infinitives in perfective ones. Special attention is paid to cases where the aspectual value of the sentence is expressed by both the inserted Russian infinitive and also the Udmurt matrix verb, mainly in case of habitual events, but other aspectual values (e.g., progressivity) are taken into consideration as well. This article also deals with the notion of borrowing and code-switching, as these complex verbs consist of a Russian source language infinitive and an Udmurt matrix verb, and mentions some relevant criteria for deciding whether these can be understood as borrowings or code-switches.

1. Introduction

1.1. Aims and key questions of the study

Russian verbs can often be inserted into the Udmurt matrix sentence in their infinitive forms (which is the dictionary form of the Russian verbs): they can be integrated into the Udmurt syntactic frame by adding either an Udmurt matrix verb to them, or by attaching an adaptation suffix (*-t*). In my paper, I am focusing primarily on the former case: I plan to study constructions in which the infinitive of a Russian verb (INF$_{RUS}$) is followed by the Udmurt verb *kari̩ni̩* 'to do' (or *kariśki̩ni̩* – the same stem with an Udmurt reflexive suffix). In this case, the Udmurt matrix verb carries the inflectional and derivational markers, while the Russian verbs occur in their infinitive forms:

(1)   *Soos   mar   ke   muso   gine[2]   **sporit́***
         3PL   what   if   lovely   PCL   argue:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$
         kar-o   val.   (Udmurt Corpus, henceforth UdmCorp.)
         do-PRS.3PL   AUX.1PST

         'They were arguing in a very lovely way.'

Although these constructions in Udmurt have been studied as a strategy of verbal adaptation (Usacheva & Biryuk 2016, Csúcs 1990, Salánki 2008) and there are studies on, for instance, the attitudes toward using these constructions among different age groups (Salánki 2008), no attention has been paid to the aspectual role of the Russian infinitives yet. Therefore, the main goal of my paper is to examine the aspectually relevant features of these constructions, analyze some examples, and discuss the way these Russian infinitives can contribute to the aspectual meaning of the Udmurt sentences.

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2.   In this paper, I give the examples from blog texts (and also those from interviews) in a Latin transcription. The examples that have been transcribed into the Latin alphabet by others, I have left as such. When there are errors in spelling in the blog text examples (such as Cyrillic *o* in the place of the Cyrillic *ö*, which would be, in a Latin transcription, Latin *o* instead of Latin *e̩*, the Cyrillic *ö* corresponding to the back vowel *e̩* in the Latin transcription), I also give the original example in Cyrillic transcription in the footnotes.

The aspectual nature of the Russian verbal system (i.e., the aspectual verbal "pairs") makes these constructions very interesting from an aspectual point of view (for further details, see chapter 3): this feature of the Russian language would make it automatically possible for either the perfective or the imperfective forms to always be used in these constructions with the Udmurt matrix verb. However, insertion does not seem to be made automatically: as we can see in diagram 1, which shows all the examples of the Udmurt electronic text corpus I used (see chapter 1.3), there are constructions involving imperfective and perfective Russian infinitives, as well:
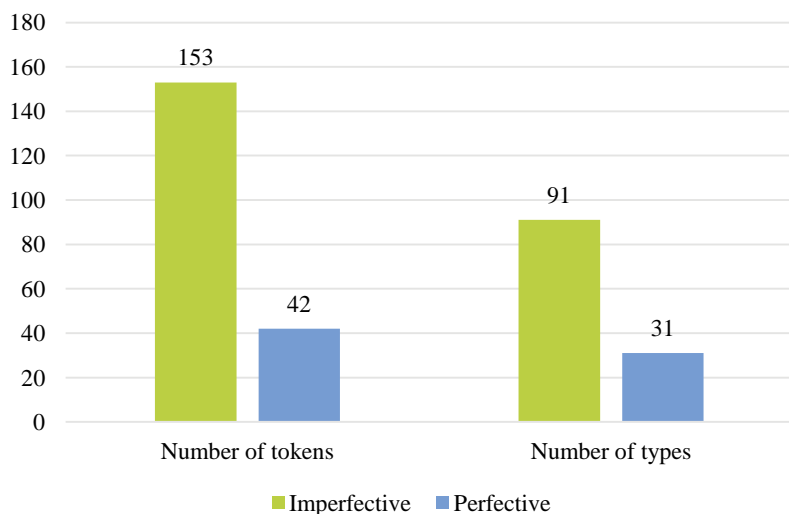
Diagram 1. Distribution of Russian infinitives in constructions involving *karị̑nị̑/kariškị̑nị̑* by IPFV/PFV aspectual value (based on the examples from UdmCorp.).

Four so-called biaspectual verbs (Janda et al. 2013: 1) have also been found in the corpus: *kriťikovaťʹ* 'to criticize', *lunaťiťʹ* 'to sleepwalk', *instagrammiťʹ* 'to use instagram', and *reklamirovaťʹ* 'to advertise'. Among the examples, we can also find the imperfective and the perfective infinitive form of the same Russian verb, e.g., *zakazịvaťʹ*:IPFV – *zakazaťʹ*:PFV 'to order', that is, both aspectival forms of the same Russian verb can be used.

Apparently, there is a decision Udmurt speakers have to make when using compound verbs with inserted Russian infinitives that have an aspectual pair: they have to choose between the imperfective and perfective forms of the Russian infinitives in every single case. Therefore, the aspectual point of view in studying these constructions is worth taking into account.

This opportunity for using IPFV/PFV Russian infinitives raises the question of whether this phenomenon can affect aspectual markedness in Udmurt. And if it can, then how do these constructions work: do imperfective Russian infinitives tend to be used in imperfective Udmurt sentences, and perfective infinitives in perfective sentences? Does the Russian aspectual system have any effect on the use of the Russian infinitive or the matrix verb? And finally, what happens in the following cases:

1) When an aspectual meaning has to be expressed on the verbal level in Russian, and on the sentence level in Udmurt (when the aspectual function does not have any overt marker in Udmurt, while in Russian, the aspectival form of the verb expresses the aspectual value).

2) When the aspectual markedness seems to be obligatory in Udmurt (e.g., in case of past pluractional habitual events, see chapter 3.2.2.3). In this case, does the aspectual meaning in question have to be marked on the Udmurt matrix verb as well, or does it not necessarily have to be marked on both parts of these constructions?

3) When there are discrepancies between aspectual conceptions in these languages.

The use of the two different Udmurt verbs (*karịnị* 'to do' and *kariśkịnị* 'to do:REFL') and an assumable correlation between using INF$_{RUS}$ followed by *kariśkịnị* and INF$_{RUS}$ with the Udmurt nativizer suffix -*t* will also be discussed. In addition to these research questions, Udmurt do-constructions will also be debated in relation to borrowing and code-switching.

1.2. The Udmurt speech community

The Udmurt language belongs to the Permic branch of the Finno-Ugric language family and is spoken in the Russian Federation: mainly in Udmurtia, but also in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, and the territories of Kirov and Perm. Its closest relatives are the Komi-Zyrian and the Komi-Permyak languages.

The Udmurt language has been especially in contact with the Bulgar-Turkic, Mari, Tatar, and Russian languages, with contacts with the latter beginning in the 12th–13th century (Salánki 2007: 57). Udmurt/Russian bilingualism has become increasingly common in the 20th century (Salánki 2007: 43), which is at least partially due to the fact that in the 1960s, the language of education of the Soviet Union officially became Russian (but it had already gradually moved to Russian since the late 1930s, cf. F. Gulyás & Speshilova 2014: 60) instead of national languages. At the same time, assimilation processes intensified (Pusztay 2006: 29). In the 1990s, language planning (which had also taken place in the 1920s) started up again and Udmurt became a co-official state language of Udmurtia alongside Russian in 2001[3]; however, its use is generally restricted to non-official situations (Salánki 2007: 56).

The current oldest generation can be regarded as the first actually bilingual generation and the Udmurt speech community (and especially the younger generation) is now considered an almost exclusively bilingual/multilingual community (Salánki 2007: 81–85). In the 2002 census, e.g., only 1.6% of Udmurt speakers declared that they cannot speak Russian (F. Gulyás & Speshilova 2014: 60). The number of speakers has been continuously decreasing (2002: 463 837 speakers, 2010: 324 338 speakers according to VPN 2002, ELCat/ELP, Moseley 2010, and Lewis & Simons & Fennig 2016) and Udmurt is often considered to be an endangered – more specifically, "threatened" (ELCat/ELP), "definitely endangered" (Moseley 2010), or "developing" (Lewis & Simons & Fennig 2016) language.

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3.   The new status of Udmurt was specified in the Constitution of the Udmurt Republic in 1994. The language law was adopted in 2001 (Zamyatin 2014: 95).

1.3. Data

In my paper, I will rely on examples collected from a pilot version of an Udmurt electronic corpus (UdmCorp.), more specifically, from a subcorpus of blog texts (160 000 words, from 2011–2015). Other examples are taken from 3 semi-structured interviews (~147 min. altogether) I collected in 2015 in Udmurtia, in its capital city, Iževsk, and in Aleksandrovo, a village in Northern Udmurtia.

The sociolinguistic profile of the interviewees is shown here:

Informant	Age	Location of Residence	Education or work	Dominant language
No. 19/2015	24	Iževsk (earlier: Aleksandrovo)	university student (MA)	Udmurt
No. 32/2015	31–50[4]	Aleksandrovo	storekeeper	Udmurt, Russian
No. 33/2015	59	Aleksandrovo	collective farmer	Udmurt

Table 1. The sociolinguistic background of the speakers.

It is worth mentioning that speakers often have negative attitudes towards using these constructions (Salánki 2008: 184), especially for meanings that also have an Udmurt equivalent. On the basis of this research, we can assume that these constructions may be less used in carefully composed texts or carefully produced utterances. Therefore, examples chosen from less carefully produced conversations (the informant being talkative or the interviewer and the informant knowing each other quite well) and from blog texts seem to be adequate as sources of data: the language of blog texts written by young people is usually much closer to the vernacular variety of spoken Udmurt than texts produced by mass media sources (for information on Udmurt language varieties, see, e.g., Edygarova 2014).

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4.   The exact age of this informant remained unspecified.

2. Expressions involving *karini/kariśkini*

As was mentioned earlier, one of the possible ways Russian infinitives can be inserted into Udmurt/Russian bilingual speech is through use of constructions consisting of an embedded Russian infinitive complement (the dictionary form of Russian verbs) and an Udmurt matrix verb (*karini* or *kariśkini*), which carries the inflectional and derivational markers. Cross-linguistically, this strategy is considered to be used quite often: the strategy of one of the 4 types of the so-called bilingual verbs mentioned by Muysken is identical with the strategy mentioned above, that is, they are "bilingual complex verbs, consisting of an embedded language lexical verb and a matrix language helping verb", frequently with matrix verbs such as 'make' or 'do' (Muysken 2000: 184–185). These matrix verbs have lost their original lexical meaning and their only function is to integrate the verb of the source language.

In the literature, the verb of the recipient language in these constructions is referred to as a "native verb" (Winford 2010), "light verb" (Wohlgemuth 2009, Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2005), "helping verb", "matrix verb", "matrix auxiliary verb", "(native) auxiliary" (Muysken 2000). Muysken (2000: 185) states that he prefers the term "helping verb" over, e.g., auxiliary. In this paper, I will use the term "matrix verb" and have also decided not to use the term auxiliary in the glosses or in the running text, due to the problems of categorizing the notion of an auxiliary as well as its terminological diversity ("auxiliary", "auxiliary verb", "AUX", "helping verb", "auxiliary-like functional elements", etc.) (see, e.g., Heine 1993: 4–8, Anderson 2006: 4). For a number of authors, the notion of an auxiliary is mainly associated with the domain of TAM. In their opinion, auxiliaries are non-suffixal elements on the lexical verb–functional affix continuum marking functions such as tense, aspect, and modality (and also the domain of, e.g., negation or voice) (see, Heine 1993: 4–5, 16–22), while in other works, the term auxiliary is "applied to a much wider range of grammatical and/or lexical phenomena" (Heine 1993: 5). Auxiliaries are often said to have no lexical meaning or to be semantically bleached at least to some extent (Anderson 2006: 6, Heine 1993: 20–21), but this property itself does not seem to allow us to regard these Udmurt matrix verbs as auxiliaries. The term "light verb" is

also rather problematic because the term itself is "deliberately vague" (Wohlgemuth 2009: 103): in Wichmann & Wohlgemuth (2005), and in Wohlgemuth (2009), e.g., the term "light verb" is employed for auxiliary-like verbs of a broad referential scope (like 'do' or 'make') used in complex predicates. However, in these works, light verbs are not entirely separated from auxiliaries, as they are claimed to have an auxiliary-like function. Butt (2010), for example, attempts to draw a sharp distinction between auxiliaries and light verbs and proposes that they constitute a separate syntactic class. In her opinion, one of the typical characteristics of light verbs is that they inflect like full verbs and they do not develop away from the original form, as auxiliaries do, because they do not enter the grammaticalization cline. She thinks that light verbs can signal, e.g., telicity, causation, benefaction, or surprise, but they can also affect the Aktionsart of the predication: the exact characteristics of light verbs differ cross-linguistically (Butt 2010). As the only function of Udmurt verbs of the complex predicates in question is to insert Russian infinitives into the Udmurt syntactic frame, they do not seem to fit entirely with this characterization either, therefore, the term "matrix verb" will be used for the Udmurt verbs of the complex predicates in question.

In this chapter, I aim to determine the environments the two different Udmurt verbs (*karịnị* and *kariśkịnị*) can be used in. I will also introduce another way of inserting INF$_{RUS}$ into Udmurt, and mention some cross-linguistic examples.

2.1. *karịnị*

The primary lexical meaning of *karịnị* is 'to do':

(2) *Ton   tatịn   mar   kar-iśk-od?*   (UdmCorp.)
    2SG   here   what   do-PRS-2SG
    'What are you doing here?'

In addition to the primary lexical meaning (and the secondary lexical meaning: 'change SG into SG'), *karịnị* can also be used with nouns, adverbs, and adjectives to create verbal expressions:

(3) *So-jaz   ar-e* [...] *pįd-ze   no   mar   ke   vẹ́š*
     that-INE.3SG year-ILL   leg-ACC.3SG and   what   if   pain(ful)
     kar-i-z.   (UdmCorp.)
     do-PST1-3SG

     'She hurt her legs […] last year.'

In the INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions, *karįnį* loses its original mean-
ing and serves as a verb that helps SL infinitives to be inserted into
the Udmurt utterances, the INF$_{RUS}$ provides the lexical meaning. The
strategy seems to be productive, and among the examples we can find
the imperfective and the perfective infinitive form of the same Russian
verb, as well:

(4) ***produktį   zakazįvať   kar-iš́k-om***   (Informant No. 32)
     product:PL$_{RUS}$ order:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS-1PL

     'We order products.'

(5) *Mon zakazať   kar-i   zįret-en   tabań*   (UdmCorp.)
     1SG   order:INF.PFV$_{RUS}$ do-PST1.1SG   zyret-INSTR   tabań

     'I ordered tabań ['Udmurt pancake'] with zyret
     ['sauce from milk, egg, and flour'].'

2.2. *kariškįnį*

Kariškįnį has the same *kar-* stem with the suffix -*šk*. Historically, -*šk*
is reconstructed to Proto-Permic as originally a reflexive suffix and
is homonymous with the marker of present tense (in 1st and 2nd per-
son: -*šḱ*). However, the latter is assumed to be a descendant of the
PU frequentative suffix **šk* (for further details, see Bartens 2000:
189–90, 286).

Although the -*šk* suffix is regarded as being a reflexive suffix, it
covers a range of functions. In addition to "true reflexives" (for the
term see, e.g., Gerritsen 1986), medio-passive verbs also occur with the
same -*šk* suffix, which is to say, the -*šk* suffix also has a medio-passive
function. More generally, it is a typical tool for encoding impersonal-
ity, more accurately, referentiality-sensitive impersonals/R-impersonal-
als (for the term see, e.g., Malchukov & Ogava 2011) (F. Gulyás &
Speshilova 2014: 68–69, F. Gulyás 2016: 141):

(6) *keźyt   kar-iśk-e*   (F. Gulyás 2016: 141, English translation by me)
    cold   do-REFL-3SG

    'It has become cold.'

The general lexical meaning (e.g., 'to happen', 'to end up (some-where)', 'to become', 'to turn to/into') of *kariśkĭnĭ* can be defined only with difficulty, as it is typically used in expressions:

(7) *kin_ke   bordĭ   kar-iśk-ĭnĭ*   (Kozmács 2002: 168, glossing
    somebody   beside:ILL   do-REFL-INF   and English translation by me)

    'to take sides with somebody'

In the constructions involving Russian infinitives, *kariśkĭnĭ* with the so-called reflexive suffix occurs with Russian reflexives: infinitives with the so-called reflexive postverbal suffix (Comrie & Thompson 2007: 351) -*śa*. This construction can convey a reflexive meaning:

(8) *Mon ta blog pĭr **piaritśa**   no   mar no*
    1SG this blog via advertise.oneself:INF.IPFV.REFL_RUS PCL what PCL
    kar-iśk-ĭnĭ   ug   tĭršiśkĭ.   (UdmCorp.)
    do-REFL-INF   NEG.PRS.1SG   try.CNG

    'I have no intention of advertising myself via this blog or something.'

The interpretations of -*ŚA* (-*śa/-ś*) are on a continuum from the so-called true reflexive (e.g., *mĭtśa* 'to wash itself') to the passive (Gerritsen 1986: 87–92), as the Udmurt reflexive suffix also has other functions beyond reflexivity. Thus, there are also R-impersonal constructions among the examples:

(9) ***otravitśa**   kar-iśk-iśkem*[5]   (UdmCorp.)
    poison:INF.PFV.REFL_RUS   do-REFL-PST2.1SG

    'It seems that I have been poisoned.'

(10) *A   tare   ĕdja-z   **stroitśa***
     and   after.that start-PST1.3SG to.be.built:INF.IPFV.REFL_RUS
     *kar-iśk-ĭnĭ   **gorod**.*   (Informant No. 19)
     do-REFL-INF   town_RUS

     'And after that, the town started to be built.'

---

5.   lit. *Отравится* (sic!) *кариськиськем*

The use of these reflexive forms is not always motivated by a reflexive or impersonal meaning, but sometimes instead by the lexical meaning of the INF$_{RUS}$. In the following example, the verbal construction has neither a reflexive, nor an impersonal meaning. The Russian reflexive verb *dobit'śa* is used here because this perfective reflexive form of the perfective nonreflexive Russian verb *dobit'* 'to beat, to beat to death' has the meaning 'to get to somewhere, to achieve'. The Udmurt verb *kariški̯ni̯* involving reflexive *-śk* is used, therefore, only because of the reflexive form of the INF$_{RUS}$:

(11) *Kompliment-jos*   *śana*   *nomi̯r-e*   ***dobitša***
      compliment-PL   except   nothing-ACC   achieve:INF.PFV$_{RUS}$

      ej   *kariški̯.*[6]   (UdmCorp.)
      NEG.PST1.1SG   do.CNG

      'Beyond compliments, I have achieved nothing.'

2.3. INF$_{RUS}$ + *karini̯* or *kariški̯ni̯*?

As we can see in diagram 2, both *karini̯* and *kariški̯ni̯* can occur with imperfective as well as perfective Russian infinitives:
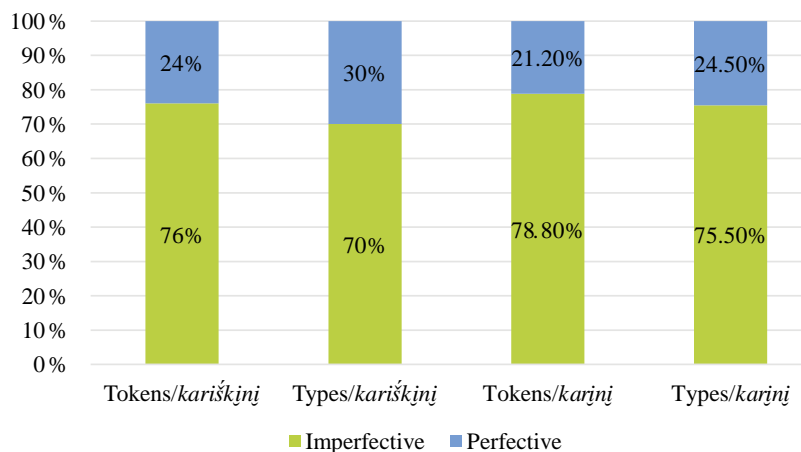
Diagram 2. Distribution of IPFV and PFV INF$_{RUS}$ + *karini̯* and *kariški̯ni̯* (based on the examples from UdmCorp.).

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6.   Lit. *Комплиментъёс сяна номыре добиться ой (sic!) кариськы.*

In other words, aspectuality does not seem to be a crucial factor in choosing between the two matrix verbs. What does, however, seem to be important is the use of INF$_{RUS}$ with the ending -śa: in the examples from the UdmCorp., *kariśkiṇi* was always (25 tokens = 100%) used with these types of infinitives, while *kariṇi* was never used in such cases. It seems that every time reflexive INF$_{RUS}$ is inserted into the Udmurt syntactic frame, *kariśkiṇi* has to be used, while *kariṇi* is used in the other cases.

2.4. INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' or INF$_{RUS}$ + NTVZ suffix?

INF$_{RUS}$ can be also integrated into Udmurt by attaching a nativizer -*t* suffix to it:

(12) *so-len* **predraspoložennosť-ez** **tože** *val*
      3SG-GEN susceptibility$_{RUS}$-3SG too$_{RUS}$ be.PST1

      kil-jos-ti **izučať-t-iṇi**. (Informant No.19)
      language-PL-ACC learn:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$-NTVZ-INF

      'She also had an affinity for learning languages.'

Suffix -*t* has several functions, e.g., causative, factitive, and momentaneous, due to the fact that this Permic suffix results from the merger of different Finno-Ugric suffixes (Bartens 2000: 288–291). In Udmurt, -*t* has developed an additional function, as it is also a general verb-adaptation marker.

INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' is referred to as being characteristic of the standard language, while INF$_{RUS}$ + NTVZ suffix -*t* is considered vernacular style (Edygarova 2014: 395). However, speakers very often have negative attitudes towards using both of these strategies (Salánki 2008: 184).

Both the INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions and the INF$_{RUS}$ + NTVZ suffix are used in general by Udmurts. However, INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions are considered to be more common in the Southern dialects, while the INF$_{RUS}$ + NTVZ suffix is more common in the Northern (or Middle, see Edygarova 2014: 395) dialects. According to Salánki (2008: 182–184), this phenomenon can be explained, e.g., by an earlier Russian influence on the Northern Udmurt dialects (for further details, see Salánki 2008: 182–184), based on Wichmann's and Wohlgemuth's loan verb integration hierarchy: light verb strategy < indirect insertion

< direct insertion. That hierarchy states that do-strategy ("light verb strategy") is associated with a lower degree of integration and with a lower degree of bilingualism while strategies involving a nativizer suffix ("indirect insertion") correlate with a stronger contact situation (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2005: 11–12). It is, however, worth mentioning that Tatar has the same strategy (Fattakhova & Mingazova 2015: 305, Wohlgemuth 2009: 344), and it may not be a coincidence that Tatar has been in long-term contact with the Southern Udmurt dialects where these do-constructions are reported as being frequent.

It is, however, worth mentioning that there seems to be at least one other reason for choosing one strategy over another: namely, that Russian reflexive infinitives do not seem to allow the Udmurt -*t* suffix to be attached to them (e.g., **stroit′-śa-tɨ-nɨ* 'to be built'). Therefore, the use of the reflexive INF$_{RUS}$ + *kariśkɨnɨ* seems to be the only way to express a reflexive or some kind of impersonal meaning when inserting INF$_{RUS}$ into Udmurt sentence frames. For example, Informant 19, who was raised in Northern Udmurtia (Aleksandrovo, Kez district) but has been living in Iževsk for years now, uses the same amount of INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions as INF$_{RUS}$ with the nativizer suffix -*t* (7+7 examples). However, 6 of the 7 INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions occur with reflexive Russian infinitives, therefore, the informant may use the constructions mainly because INF$_{RUS}$ with the nativizer suffix -*t* can not convey reflexive or impersonal meaning.

However, Informant 33, who has been living in Aleksandrovo for decades and who was born in Northern Udmurtia (Kez district) as well, uses INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions, too, and usually not in case of reflexive Russian infinitives. Informant 32, who is also from Northern Udmurtia but who lived among Russian-speaking people for several years along Lake Baikal, uses these constructions very frequently. I have found 23 tokens from this informant's interview and just two of them occur with a reflexive Russian infinitive.

Thus, dialectal factors or reflexive or impersonal meaning of the INF$_{RUS}$ do not seem to be the only reasons in the background. It happens, e.g., that the same INF$_{RUS}$ is used in the same paragraph, written by the very same blogger, presumably just for stylistic reasons or in case of non-reflexive infinitives, they are completely compatible with each other:

(13) „*Žariť*   *kar-ono-a"*, – *jua-śk-o.*   *Kivalt-i-z*
   roast:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PTCP-PCL   ask-PRS-1SG   direct-PST1-3SG

   ji̯r-i̯n-i̯z.   „***Yes***," – *šui̯-sa*   *sult-i*   ***plita***
   head-INSTR-3SG   yes$_{ENG}$ say-CVB   stand.up-PST1.1SG   stove$_{RUS}$

   dori̯   ***žariť-t-i̯ni̯.***   (UdmCorp.)
   to   roast.INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$-NTVZ-INF

   ''Do I have to roast it?' I am asking. She/he directed me with her/
   his head. 'Yes,' I said and stood up to go to the stove to roast it.'

And finally, both PFV (14) and IPFV (15) INF$_{RUS}$ can be used with the
nativizer suffix:

(14) ***vkľučiť-t-iśk-o***   ***ot_baldi̯***   (Informant No.19)
   turn.on:INF.PFV$_{RUS}$-NTVZ-PRS-1SG   randomly$_{RUS}$

   'I turn on [the television] just because.'

(15) *ťelevizor taži̯* ***perekľučať-t-i̯sa***   *ul-k-o*   (Informant
   television so   switch.over:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$-NTVZ-CVB live-PRS-1SG   No.19)

   'I just keep switching the TV over.'

2.5. INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' in a cross-linguistic perspective

As was noted earlier, similar (V/INF$_{SL}$ + V$_{RL}$ 'do') adaptation strategies
can also be found in other languages. In Japanese, e.g., the verb *su ru*
'to do' can be combined with Chinese nouns, and this strategy has also
been used of late with English nouns and verbs (Winford 2010: 174,
Muysken 2000: 196). In Sarnami (Surinam Hindustani), the verb *kare*
'to do' occurs with Dutch embedded verbs, usually with verb stems,
although in very rare cases also with Dutch infinitives:

(16) ***opgeven***   *kare*   (Muysken 2000: 201, glossing by me)
   give.up:INF$_{DUT}$ do$_{SARN}$

   'give up'

According to Winford, using compound verbs (consisting of a SL stem
and a RL verb 'to do', 'to make', which carries the inflections) is a
common technique in languages where the morphologically complex
verbal structure "acts as a barrier to borrowing of verbs" (Winford
2010: 178–179).

As was mentioned in section 1.1, Russian infinitives (unlike, e.g., Dutch infinitives used in Sarnami compound verbs) have a very specific feature: they very often form aspectual verb pairs. Therefore, Udmurt speakers have to choose between the imperfective and the perfective form of Russian infinitives every time when using them in Udmurt matrix sentences. In the following section, I aim to show the importance of this matter and the effect it has on the aspectuality of Udmurt matrix sentences.

3. The aspectual role of Russian infinitives in Udmurt matrix sentences: cases of progressivity and habituality

Referring to one of the research questions introduced in section 1.1 concerning the systematicity in the use of imperfective Russian infinitives in imperfective Udmurt utterances and vice versa, there does seem to be such a tendency, as we can see in examples (17) and (18). Example (17) describes an imperfective habitual event and the INF$_{RUS}$ is also imperfective:

(17) **produktį**   **zakazįvat́**   *kar-iśk-om*   (Informant No. 32)
(=4) product:PL$_{RUS}$ order:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS-1PL

    'We order products.'

As an aspective counterpart to this example, the perfective infinitive form of the imperfective infinitive *zakazįvat́* can also be found in the blog texts. Here, the event is not habitual or imperfective, because it is a perfective telic action that took place once in the past:

(18) *Mon* **zakazat́**   *kar-i*   *zįret-en*   *tabań*   (UdmCorp.)
(=5) 1SG   order:INF.PFVRUS   do-PST1.1SG   zyret-INSTR   tabań

    'I ordered tabań ['Udmurt pancake'] with zyret
    ['sauce from milk, egg, and flour'].'

Concerning the other aforementioned aims of this study (see chapter 1.1), we have to take into consideration some facts regarding the aspectual system of Russian and Udmurt first. Russian aspect is the topic of a vast literature (e.g., Forsyth 1970, Leinonen 1982, Borras &

Christian 1971, Mønnesland 1984, Dahl 1985, Borik 2002). The case of Udmurt is quite the opposite, there are no comprehensive studies about the aspectual system of Udmurt, and aspect is often treated as a topic of verb morphology with frequentative derivation usually being mentioned (cf. Karakulova 2002, Perevoščikov 1962, Serebrennikov 1960). I will make no attempt to discuss the aspectual system of these languages comprehensively. For the sake of completeness, however, I aim to describe the basic facts mainly in connection with progressivity and habituality – the main aspectual point of views of this study.

In Russian, verbs are usually recognized as being either perfective or imperfective, in other words, they are often called "aspectual pairs". There are also so-called biaspectual verbs that do not mark aspect overtly, but function in different contexts as either perfective or imperfective (Janda et al. 2013: 1). Udmurt does not have this feature: while the Russian verbal system is dominated by aspect (Borras & Christian 1971: 117), in Udmurt, aspect is determined to a greater extent by other parts of the sentence, and it is not necessary for aspect to be marked on the verb. When, however, aspect is marked on the verb, then it is not marked by IPFV/PFV verb forms (that is, there are no aspectual verbal pairs in Udmurt), but by FRV suffixes -*l(V)/-lʹlʹa* or by several compound tenses or grammaticalized converb constructions (cf. Horváth 2013, see also Čhaidze 1967, Kelʹmakov 1975, Zaguljaeva 1986, Karakulova 1997, Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000, Horváth 2015). The Russian aspectual system is often more explicit on the verbal level aspectually than the Udmurt one (see, e.g., Mønnesland 1984), but there are also counterexamples, e.g., when using different adverbs of manner or when there is a sequence of different actions (see, e.g., Dahl 1985: 76–77, Forsyth 1970: 63, Borras & Christian 1971: 125).

For these reasons, I aim to study aspectual functions that usually remain grammatically unmarked (e.g., PRS-HAB) as well as functions that are marked (PROGR, PST-HAB) in Udmurt: whether or not these latter functions must be marked on both parts of the constructions $INF_{RUS} + V_{UDM}$ 'do'. In addition to examining examples, I will also examine the notions of progressivity and habituality, as well as their aspectual markers, in Udmurt and Russian.

3.1. Progressivity

3.1.1. The notion of progressivity

Progressivity is often understood as a subtype of imperfectivity (see, e.g., Comrie 1976: 24–40), an aspectual reading that "views an action as ongoing at reference time" (Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 126). There are also contexts where the progressive "indicates a situation […] that frames another situation" (Comrie 1976: 30). In the past and the future, event time – usually given with a subordinate clause but also possibly with a separate clause – is the reference time of the progressive event, while in the present, reference time coincides with speech time (Kiefer 2006: 95). Dahl declares that cross-linguistically, the prototypical uses of progressive grams all involve the meaning of 'on-going activity', the progressive is not used for expressing stative events. In the case of languages with an IPFV:PFV distinction, the prototypical contexts of the progressive would be imperfective, however, IPFV and PROGR (and also continuous) should be distinguished from each other. (Dahl 1985: 91–93.)

3.1.2. Past progressives in Udmurt and Russian

In Udmurt, there is no overt progressive marker in the present tense. Concerning past domain, progressivity is always expressed with a compound tense (durative preterite) grammatically. This tense consists of a present form of a conjugated verb and an auxiliary in the past. It is said to "give a continuous background to other events with short durations in the past" (Kelʹmakov & Hännikäinen 2008: 270, translation by me), and is the only dedicated grammatical mean for expressing progressivity in the past:

(19) *kua   kịz* […] *azbar-amị   leček-i-z.*
     spirit pine   yard-ILL.1PL descend-1PST-3SG

   Mi   šud-išk-om val.   (Kelʹmakov 1981: 129)
   1PL   play-PRS-1PL AUX.1PST

   'The pine spirit […] descended into our yard. We were playing.'

Although progressive aspect cannot be expressed by other grammatical means, the durative preterite can also convey other imperfective meanings, for instance, habituality (Horváth 2013: 117–118). Therefore, the durative preterite seems to be linked with the imperfective aspect in general, and is not an exclusively progressive gram (for general imperfectives, see Dahl 1985: 88).

In Russian, there is also no dedicated marker for expressing progressivity: imperfective forms express progressivity and also, e.g., habituality (Borras & Christian 1971: 117). Perfective forms in the present tense cannot have an actual present interpretation or a progressive reading (Borik 2002: 137), and imperfective forms tend to also be used in the past (Borras & Christian 1971: 123, Leinonen 1982: 99–100).

3.1.3. Examples with INF$_{RUS}$

In the UdmCorp., five progressive constructions have been found involving INF$_{RUS}$, all of them in the past tense: the matrix verbs are in the durative preterite tense and the Russian infinitives are imperfectives. That is, progressivity is expressed not only with the imperfective aspect of the INF$_{RUS}$ but also with the tense of the Udmurt matrix verb.

In the following example, the INF$_{RUS}$ *sporit′* 'to argue' is in imperfective aspect, and the Udmurt matrix verb *karịnị* 'to do' occurs in the imperfective durative preterite past form:

(20) *Soos   mar   ke   muso   gine*
(=1)   3PL   what   if   lovely   PCL

    sporit′   kar-o   val.   (UdmCorp.)
    argue:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS.3PL   AUX.1PST

    'They were arguing in a very lovely way.'

3.2. Habituality

3.2.1. The notion of habituality

As, e.g., Dahl (1985: 97) states, "It may be easiest to characterize HAB by what it is not". What is, however, thought to be common to all habituals is that they have a characteristic function – they are considered

to be customary or usual. The problem is, as Comrie himself clarifies (1976: 28), that the decision as to whether a situation is characteristic or not is not in itself a linguistic one. In other words: how many times does somebody have to do something for us to call it characteristic? Therefore, it seems to be very useful to take into consideration theories working with scalarity. According to, e.g., Bertinetto and Lenci (2012) and Mønnesland (1984), habituals have a characterizing function even if the event is at the bottom end of the frequency scale (events with adverbs like 'seldom', 'sometimes', etc.). Mønnesland even mentions adverbs with zero frequency ('never') denoting Slavonic frequentative habitual events.

There are also differing opinions among scholars about the notion of habituality and the connection between habituality and other values, or the role of the repetition (whether it has or does not have an effect on habituality). In, e.g., the opinion of Comrie (1976) and Mønnesland (1984), events can be habitual even if there is no repetition involved, as in (21):

(21) *Simon used to believe in ghosts.*   (Comrie 1976: 27)

While Comrie declares that when it comes to habituality, repetition is not excluded (Comrie 1976: 28), in Mønnesland's theory, the term frequentative habitual is used for cases involving repetition, and stative habitual for cases where there is no repetition involved, as in (22):

(22) *I used to know him.*   (Mønnesland 1984: 59)

There are, however, other theories (e.g., Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Bertinetto & Lenci 2012, LeBlanc 2010), which assume that in habitual events there is always repetition involved. According to Bertinetto & Lenci (2012), habituals are gnomic imperfectives, and they differ from other gnomics (e.g., generics) in, for example, pluractionality. Repetition, however, can be understood in very different ways: it is important to take into consideration, whether each occurrence of the event has a separate time frame or not, whether the time frame is closed or not, etc. In Bertinetto and Lenci's theory, for example, there are two main types of pluractionality: while event-external pluractional events repeat themselves in a number of different situations and on different occasions (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012: 852),

in case of events denoting event-internal pluractionality, there are repeated micro-events occurring in one and the same situation (micro-events that do not have separate time frames)[7] (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012: 852), for example (loc.cit.):

(23) *John swam daily in the lake.*   (event-external)

(24) *Yesterday at 5 o'clock John knocked insistently at the door.*
                                                        (event-internal)

Bertinetto and Lenci (2012: 852) state that iterativity (and also habituality) is a subtype of event-external pluractionality. They propose criteria to distinguish habituality from iterativity, e.g., by specifying the number of micro-events and closing the time frame for iterative events:

(25) *Last year, John visited his mother eleven times.*
                                          (Bertinetto & Lenci 2012: 855)

In my paper, I rely on theories working with scalarity and I will differentiate between pluractional and non-pluractional events as well as cases of limited repetition. However, I plan to discuss only pluractional habitual events.

3.2.2. Habituals in Udmurt and Russian

Generally speaking, habituality is often expressed in Russian with imperfective verbs. Imperfective forms are considered to be "always felicitous" in habitual contexts (Borik 2002: 140), in all temporal forms. Perfective forms are not excluded either, although only in certain syntactic environments (Leinonen 1982: 104). Mønnesland (1984: 54–55, 61) also mentions that in Russian, unlike, e.g., in Slovene, in case of total habitual events (for the notion of totality see, e.g., Dahl 1985: 73–76, Kravchenko 2008: 195–206), the aspect of the verb has to be changed according to the aspect at the sentence level, that is, due to habitual adverbials, the imperfective form of the verb is typically

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7. This type of pluractionality is called 'internally multiple' (Forsyth 1970: 154) or 'iterative' in some works (e.g., Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 317, LeBlanc 2010: 67).

used. In case of Udmurt, there are no aspectual verbal pairs in the aspectual system: present tense habituals (PRS-HAB events) are usually unmarked, while suffixes and tenses used in past habitual (PST-HAB) sentences are linked with the imperfective aspect.

3.2.2.1. PRS-HAB events in Russian and in Udmurt

As was stated earlier, PRS-HAB aspectual value is generally expressed in Russian with imperfective verbs. In case of habitual adverbs like 'always' or 'usually', in general, the imperfective aspectual form is used (Borik 2002: 71). However, PRS-PFV forms can be also used with adverbs like *vsegda* 'always', *inogda* 'sometimes', *často* 'often', and *každįj ďeń* 'every day', in specific circumstances: when making a prediction or expressing some kind of potential meaning (Mønnesland 1984: 58, Forsyth 1970: 173–178). Borik also declares that PRS-PFV verbs always have a future time reference as they cannot get a progressive reading. The tense system in Russian is "aspectually constrained" (Borik 2002: 137), future tense is expressed periphrastically if the verb is imperfective and synthetically if it is perfective (Bickel & Nichols 2007: 170). Thus, in Russian, "aspectival form and temporal meaning are very closely linked" (Borras & Christian 1971: 117) and these PRS-PFV forms expressing predictions are linked with the future tense.

Because of the lack of aspectual verbal pairs, habituality in the present tense can be grammatically unmarked in Udmurt (see example 26) or it can also be expressed by the so-called frequentative suffix (see example 27). This frequentative suffix has two alternations (-*lį* or -*lˊľa*) depending on which verb stem type it is attached to: -*lį* is usually added to the so-called first verb type (stem -*į*- verbs) and -*lˊľa* to the second verb type (stem -*a*- verbs):

(26) *Koťku* [...] *uram-e pot-išk-o   šunįt diśaśkį-tek*. (UdmCorp.)
     always   street-ILL go.out-PRS-1SG warm dress-CVB.ABE

'I always [...] go out to the street without being dressed warmly.'

(27) *Eššo jįr-į   berlo dįr-e   viś-įl-e*   (UdmCorp.)
     yet   head-1SG late   time-ILL ache-FRV-PRS.3SG

'Up until recently I used to get headaches.'

3.2.2.2. PRS-HAB examples with INF_RUS

In my data, all PRS-HAB Udmurt matrix verbs with INF$_{RUS}$ were un-marked, and the Russian infinitives tend to be used in imperfective aspectual form:

(28) *Kuletem   arberi-os-tị **zapominať**   kar-iśk-o* (UdmCorp.)
      unnecessary thing-PL-ACC remember:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS-1SG

    'I remember unnecessary things […]'

In example (29=17=4), the informant is speaking about their job at the school, which is to order food regularly, and the IPFV INF$_{RUS}$ is used:

(29) ***produktị   zakazịvať   kar-iśk-om***   (Informant No. 32)
(=17) product:PL$_{RUS}$ order:INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS-1PL
(=4)
    'We order products.'

When using Russian imperfective infinitives in the Udmurt syntactic frame, the habitual aspectual value becomes more explicit and is less compositional than it is without using INF$_{RUS}$. This is because in Udmurt, PRS-HAB events are not always marked on the verb with the frequentative suffix.

3.2.2.3. PST-HAB events in Russian and in Udmurt

In the past tense, habituals are usually in their imperfective aspectival form in Russian (Forsyth 1970: 154), as PFV is more common in case of PRS-HAB events than in the past domain (Leinonen 1982: 107). In Udmurt, event-external past pluractional habitual events can be expressed in four different ways grammatically:

Properties	Marker(s)	Structure of the markers
+ pluractionality (event-external)	1. Frequentative suffix (simple past=PST1)	1. *-lị / -l'l'a*
+ characterizing property (gnomic property)	2. Durative preterite	2. V.PRS + AUX.PST1/PST2
	3. Durative preterite + frequentative suffix	3. V.FRV.PRS + AUX.PST1/PST2
+ PST	4. Frequentative preterite (rare)	4. V.FUT + AUX.PST1/PST2

Table 2. Aspectual means for expressing past pluractional habituality in Udmurt (based on corpus-based research, see Horváth 2015).

3.2.2.4. PST-HAB examples with INF$_{RUS}$

Past habitual INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' constructions tend to have IPFV SL in-
finitives and habituality is also marked on the verb of the RL. Udmurt
matrix verbs have the same aspectual markers as Udmurt past habitu-
als usually have, PST-HAB value can be expressed by:

1) INF$_{RUS}$ in an IPFV aspectual form and by durative preterite tense
with a FRV suffix on the matrix verb:

(30) *A   mịnịm   tunsịko   pot-ịl-e   val   kot'kud*
    and   1SG.DAT interesting seem-FRV-PRS.3SG AUX.PST1   every

    *gužem,   **ďeń   vojenno-morskogo   flota**   soos*
    summer   day$_{RUS}$ naval.GEN$_{RUS}$ fleet.GEN$_{RUS}$ 3PL

    *eš-jos-ịn-ịz   ľukašķị-sa   **praznovat'** […]   kar-ịl-o*
    friend-PL-INSTR-3SG get.together-CVB   celebrate.INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do- FRV-3PL

    val   šuịsa.   (UdmCorp.)
    AUX.PST1 CONJ

    'And I used to find it interesting that every summer on Navy Day he
    used to get together with his friends and they used to […] celebrate.'

Here, the habitual value of the infinitive *praznovat'* 'to celebrate' is
supported by the cyclicity adverbial *kot'kud gužem* 'every summer'
and by the other durative preterite occurring in the main clause.

2) Durative preterite (without a FRV suffix):

(31) *Soos* […] ***biznesmen**-jos   val,   aďami-os,   kud-jos-ịz*
    3PL   businessman$_{RUS}$-PL COP.PST1 person-PL   who-PL-3SG

    *kot'kud   no   **riskovat'**   kar-o   val*
    all.of.them PCL   risk.INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-PRS.3PL AUX.PST1

    aśśe-len   ulon-azị.   (UdmCorp.)
    themselves-GEN life-INE.3PL

    'They […] were businessmen, people, who all used to take risks
    in their lives.'

3) Frequentative suffix with the simple past tense:

(32) *Ȝ́uč   kịl-ịn   umoj   veraśk-išk-o   val,*
    Russian   language-INE good   speak-PRS-1SG AUX.PST1

    *no   **rod**-ez   **putat'**   kar-ịl-i.*   (Informant No. 32)
    but   gender$_{RUS}$-ACC mix.up.INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-FRV-PST1.1SG

    'I used to speak Russian well, but I used to mix up the genders.'

3.3. Discrepancies between the aspectual systems of Udmurt and Russian

3.3.1. Discrepancies: PST-HAB

In cases of event-external pluractional habitual events in the past tense, when the frequentative suffix is used in the simple past to mark habituality on the matrix verb, usually, imperfective Russian infinitives are used (cf. example 32). However, one example, in which the Russian infinitive is in the perfective aspect, does not show this tendency (there is one example in the corpus with the imperfective *predstavl'at′* + V_{UDM} 'do' expressing a habitual event, that is, it is possible for both the imperfective and perfective forms of this infinitive to be used in complex predicates):

(33)   *Mon* [...]   *so*   *oščuščeńi-os-tị,*   *kẹt-ị*   *šurd-ịsa*
     1SG   that   feeling-PL-ACC   stomach-1SG   pain-CVB

    predstavit′   *kar-ịl-i.*   (UdmCorp.)
    imagine.INF.PFV$_{RUS}$ do-FRV-PST1.1SG

    '[After this fir had burned down, I used to climb up to the top of the tree in my mind,] and I used to imagine these feelings.'

3.3.2. Discrepancies: distributives

Forsyth uses the term 'multiple action' in a broader sense than 'repeated action'. He states that the former also includes a distributive meaning, that is, "the performance on one or more occasions of similar actions involving different subjects or objects" (Forsyth 1970: 154).

    In the following examples, this distributive meaning may be the reason why an imperfective Russian infinitive is used. Without the distributive reading (different subjects, participants of the event), the event should be understood as perfective. The Udmurt matrix verb is in its infinitive form but without a FRV suffix:

(34)   *vožmat-i-zị*   *sobere*   *kịžị*   *so-je*   *kul-e*
     show-PST1-3PL   then   how   that-ACC   have.to-PRS.3SG

    zapolńat′   *kar-ịni.*[8]   (UdmCorp.)
    fill.in.INF.IPFV$_{RUS}$ do-INF

    'then they showed, how it has to be filled in.'

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8.   *возьматизы* (sic!) *собере кызьы сое кулэ заполнять карыны.*

In (35), a different strategy is used: the Russian infinitive is in its perfective aspectival form and conveys a telic meaning, while the distributive pluractional meaning is expressed by the Udmurt matrix verb + frequentative suffix in the simple past tense:

(35) *Noš   nịrị̆š   „**proverit'**"   kar-ị̆l-i-zị̆*
    but   first   check.out.INF.PFV.RUS   do-FRV-PST1-3PL

    „dokument-jos-mes".   (UdmCorp.)
    document-PL-ACC.1PL

    'But first they checked out our documents.'

3.3.3. Discrepancies: predictions, future time reference, the role of adverbs of manners

As I mentioned in section 3.2.2.1, in Russian, present perfective forms are used in specific circumstances. The choice between the IPFV and PFV form of Russian infinitives is generally determined by the same facts as for finite verbal forms (Borras & Christian 1971: 152). In the following, I examine cases of INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' from the UdmCorp. where the perfective infinitive can be explained by these circumstances.

    Perfective INF$_{RUS}$ can be used in sentences where the habitual adverb *kot'ku* 'always' occurs. These sentences are regarded as not being habituals, for example, by Mønnesland (1984: 58) as they denote constant potentiality but not habituality:

(36) *So   kot'ku   **pod'd'eržat'**   kar-o-z   mar   ke   už*
    3SG   always   support.INF.PFV$_{RUS}$ do-FUT-3SG   what   if   work

    bịdest-išk-od   ke.   (UdmCorp.)
    finish-PRS-2SG   if

    'She will always support you, when you are going to finish some work.'

Here, the Russian aspectual system may have an effect on the use of the perfective INF$_{RUS}$: in Russian sentences stating predictions (see Mønnesland 1984: 58, Forsyth 1970: 173–178), the prediction of atelic events is also expressed with perfective verbs in the present tense. Thus, the aspectual form of the INF$_{RUS}$ in the INF$_{RUS}$ + V$_{UDM}$ 'do' construction seems to be linked with the predictional meaning. In other words, 'future' perfective in Russian can have certain modal uses and possibility/impossibility

is one of them (Borras & Christian 1971: 177). Udmurt does have a future tense, therefore, future tense can be used for these types of sentences (predictions) while the use of the perfective Russian infinitive is very likely a result of influence from the Russian surface structure.

In (37), the predictional meaning may be the reason for using the perfective form of the INF_RUS. The future time reference is expressed by the aspect of the Russian infinitive. The Udmurt matrix verb is in the present tense in this case:

(37) *A   tak   ᵹ̌uč́-jos   li̯dᵹ̌́-o   ke,   udmurt-en-i̯z   no*
    and   thus   Russian-PL   read-PRS.3PL   if   Udmurt-INSTR-3SG   PCL

    zainťeresovatša   *kar-iśk-o,*   *di̯r*[9]   (UdmCorp.)
    be.interested.in.INF.PFV.REFL_RUS   do-REFL-PRS.3PL maybe

    'And thus if Russians read [it], they will be interested in the Udmurt language'

In the following example, the Udmurt matrix verb is in the future tense but the sentence is not a prediction, that is why the Russian infinitive *dosťigatʹ* is not in its PFV aspectival form. The aspectual value of the sentence, however, is telic and perfective: somebody is going to reach some goal. In these cases (where there is a future reference and the event is perfective), present perfective forms are used in Russian. In this example, however, the IPFV INF_RUS is used along with the future form of the Udmurt matrix verb:

(38) ***to***   *so*   ***nasti̯rno***   ***ceľ-ze***   ***dosťigatʹ***
    then_RUS   3SG   persistently_RUS   goal_RUS-ACC.3SG   reach.INF.IPFV_RUS

    kar-o-z.   (UdmCorp.)
    do-FUT-3SG

    '[If he plans to get a girl to like him,] then he is going to reach his goal through persistence.'

According to Dahl, in such cases, where many other languages use the perfective, many manner adverbials tend to co-occur with the imperfective aspect in Russian. It is used when the action itself – rather than its result – is relevant (Dahl 1985: 77), the emphasis is made on the progress instead of the result:

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9. lit. *A так зучъес* (sic!) *лыдзо* (sic!) *ке, удмуртэныз но заинтересоваться к арисько, дыр*

(39) *On   pisal   piśmo   medlenno.*   (Dahl 1985: 77,
      3SG   write.PST.IPFV.3SG   letter   slowly   glossing by me)

‘He wrote the letter slowly.’

The following sentence involving ‘fast’ instead of ‘slowly’ is, how-
ever, also “quite all right with the perfective aspect” (Dahl 1985: 77).
In this case, attention is paid instead to the attained result and not to
the progress:

(40) *On   napisal   piśmo   bystro.*   (Dahl 1985: 77, glossing by me)
      3SG   write.PST.PFV.3SG   letter   fast

‘He wrote the letter fast.’

According to one of my native speaker consultants (Y.S.), (38) means,
in Udmurt, that somebody is going to reach their goal “after trying
to reach it many times, for a long time” and similarly to the Russian
system, using the adverb ‘quickly’ in the same sentence in (41), the
perfective form of the INF$_{RUS}$ would be used in Udmurt instead:

(41) *So   ǯog   cel´-ze   dos´ignut´   kar-o-z.*   (Y.S.)
      3SG quickly   goal$_{RUS}$-ACC.3SG   reach.INF.PFV$_{RUS}$ do-FUT-3SG

‘He is going to reach his goal quickly.’

4. Russian infinitives in Udmurt do-constructions: cases of borrowing or code-switching?

There are examples in the UdmCorp. that have an Udmurt equivalent
verb, that is, there is no “semantic gap” they fill: the bloggers have
chosen these INF$_{RUS}$ constructions over their Udmurt equivalents, e.g.,
sporit´ karįnį ‘to argue’ : Udm. *keretįnį, keśaśkįnį* ‘id.’. In some cases,
however, the meaning cannot be expressed by an Udmurt verb (e.g.,
Rus. *analizirovat´* ‘to analyze’, Rus. *adapt´irovat´śa* ‘to adapt’) or it can
be expressed by an Udmurt verb that also has other meanings (e.g.,
Rus. *zakazat´* ’to order’; Udm. *kurįnį* ‘ask somebody for something’,
‘to order’).

According to Salánki (2008: 182), adaptations of Russian infinitives when there is no Udmurt equivalent can be considered established loans (lit. 'standard borrowings') and constructions that have Udmurt equivalents as nonce borrowings. Usacheva and Biryuk (2016: 135) consider all of them to be verbal adaptations, borrowings. According to Wohlgemuth (2009: 103–109), for example, do-strategy is a very common accommodation technique for accommodating loan verbs. These types of constructions are referred to as cases of code-mixing by Muysken because the process is completely productive and there is no phonological or semantic integration into the host language (2000: 185).

The phonological integration into the host language is referred to very often as a factor in deciding whether an item is a loan or a code-switch. However, according to Winford (2010: 182), for example, both a code-switch and a borrowing may or may not be adapted to the phonology of the host language. In addition, although there are languages whose phonological systems do differ greatly from each other, such as Finnish and English, and therefore the classification of code-switches and borrowings is easier (see, e.g., Halmari 1997: 47–48, Kovács 2001: 63–64), there are borderline cases even in these types of languages as well as in those that do not differ greatly from one another phonologically. In the case of Udmurt and Russian, this criterion usually does not help in differentiating between borrowings and code-switches because of the long-term connection between these languages. In the past there were some consonants missing from Udmurt: Russian *c, f, χ* for which the consonants *č/ć, p, k* were used as substitutes; however, this is no longer the case. In the do-constructions, for example, a substitution is not made for Russian *χ*: *hitrit́ kar-* 'to be sly, to dodge'.

Had the infinitives entered the Udmurt grammatical system with one of these forms, either the imperfective or perfective, then we could refer to them as borrowings (or we would refer to them as such after a while). There are studies, for instance, in which the continuum between borrowing and code-switching is regarded as a process. Gardner-Chloros has pointed out that "Every loan presumably starts life as spontaneous CS and some of these switches then generalize themselves among speakers of the host language" (Gardner-Chloros

2010: 195) and then they become loans. In the case of these Russian infinitives, speakers have to choose between the two aspectival forms of the Russian infinitive according to the aspectual meaning of the utterance, so it seems that using them will never be entirely automatic. In addition to this, as was shown in section 3.3, Russian infinitives do not always show the Udmurt aspectual surface structure, but instead sometimes show that of Russian. And similarly to the verbal switches that are not integrated morphologically into the Udmurt clause, Udmurt clauses involving do-constructions can also have Russian argument structure instead of that of Udmurt. Therefore, in my opinion, these can be regarded as code-switches.

5.   Conclusion

In this paper I have provided a brief analysis of the different patterns for insertion of Russian infinitives into Udmurt matrix sentences with the help of two Udmurt words meaning 'to do'. As has been shown, reflexive Russian infinitives tend to occur only with one of the matrix verbs and not with the NTVZ suffix.

The examples show that there seems to be a systematic use of the aspectival form of Russian infinitives: imperfective Russian infinitives tend to be used in imperfective Udmurt utterances and vice versa. In many cases of past progressive and past habitual events, aspectual meaning was expressed by both parts of the construction: in addition to the imperfective INF$_{RUS}$, imperfective aspectival forms of the Udmurt matrix verb were used due to the fact that past progressives and past habituals also have an overt aspectual marker in Udmurt. In other words, the examples I have found so far show that when the aspectual meaning has to be grammatically marked in Udmurt, the matrix verb usually takes the overt markers. There are cases, however, in which a perfective Russian infinitive is used in habitual sentences or in case of distributives. In these cases, only the Udmurt matrix verb conveys the pluractional meaning with an overt marker.

PRS-HAB value does not always have an overt marker in Udmurt, therefore, due to the imperfective Russian infinitive, the aspectual meaning becomes more overt aspectually in these sentences.

It is worth emphasizing that the Russian infinitives do not always show Udmurt aspectual surface structure, but instead sometimes the Russian one, for example, in case of predictions or use of adverbs of manner. The argument structure of the Udmurt clause involving a do-construction can also come from Russian instead of Udmurt. And finally, we have to state that there seems to be no canonical way to use Russian infinitives when the surface structures of the two aspectual systems differ from each other or also in the case when they do not differ. Generally speaking, the way aspectual meanings are expressed always depends on the choices of the bilingual speaker. Therefore, due to the features of Udmurt do-constructions, in this work they are considered to be code-switches rather than borrowings.

List of abbreviations

AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural
CNG	connegative stem	PROGR	progressive
COP	copula	PRS	present
CVB	converb	PST	past
DUT	Dutch	PU	Proto-Uralic
HAB	habitual	REFL	reflexive suffix
ILL	illative	RL	recipient language
INF	infinitive	RUS	Russian
INSTR	instrumental	SARN	Sarnami
IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
NEG	negation	SL	source language
NTVZ	nativizer	TAM	tense, aspect, modality
PCL	particle	UDM	Udmurt
PFV	perfective	V	verb

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Összefoglaló

Az udmurtban többféle technika használatos orosz igei jelentések udmurt mátrixmondatokba való beemelésére: az egyik fő módszer az orosz infinitívusz használata az udmurt *karįnį* 'csinál' ige és ugyanezen *kar-* tő reflexív *-śk* képzővel ellátott alakjainak segítségével. Tanulmányomban az orosz infinitívusz használatának aspektuális vonatkozásait mutatom be, főként azt, hogy az orosz imperfektív/perfektív igealakok használata hogyan korrelál az udmurt mátrix mondatok aspektuális értékével.

Az általam vizsgált blogszövegek és a 2015-ben Udmurtiában készített interjúk nyelvi adatai alapján megállapítható az az általános tendencia, hogy imperfektív megnyilatkozás esetén az orosz imperfektív infinitívusz használatos az udmurt mátrix mondatban, perfektív megnyilatkozás esetén pedig az ige perfektív infinitívuszi alakja. Az udmurtban kötelezően jelölt aspektuális értékek – múlt idejű progresszivitás, múlt idejű habitualitás – pedig (egy példa kivételével) mind az orosz infinitívusz imperfektív alakja, mind az udmurt mátrix igéhez kapcsolódó udmurt imperfektív aspektuális jelölők segítségével kifejeződtek a megnyilatkozásokban. Ugyanakkor az udmurt és az orosz aspektuális rendszer különbsége (például egyes adverbiumok használata) esetén az orosz aspektuális rendszernek megfelelő aspektuális értékű orosz infinitívusz használata sem ritka, ugyanígy az orosznak megfelelő argumentumszerkezet használata is előfordulhat. Ilyen esetekben az orosz vagy az udmurt aspektuális rendszer jelölésmódja közötti választás mindig a kétnyelvű beszélő adott megnyilatkozásbeli döntése.

Tanulmányomban a fent említett témákon kívül foglalkozom az orosz infinitívuszok elhelyezésével a kölcsönzés-kódváltás kontinuumban, illetve a reflexív képzős orosz infinitívuszok beillesztésének feltételeivel is.

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Interference from Russian in the possessive morphosyntactic structures of Udmurt in translational test data

Abstract In the present paper, I analyze the results of a translating test. The translating test contained Russian possessive noun phrases, and Udmurt speaking informants were asked to translate them into Udmurt. In the article, I study when and what kind of interference of the Russian language appears in translated examples of the informants, and I also analyze cases when the interference does not appear. The material demonstrates that in morphosyntactic structures expressing basic possessive relationships (e.g. when the possessor is a concrete animate notion and the possessee is a concrete entity, whole-part relationships) there is no structural interference of the Russian language. As soon as noun phrases express relationship between abstract, nonconcrete or inanimate nouns, the interference of the Russian language grows significantly. Furthermore, in the paper I analyze individual translating performances of the participants. I conclude that due to different linguistic experiences and skills informants separate languages differently.

1.   Introduction

Udmurt, just as many Finno-Ugrian and other languages spoken within the Russian Federation, has been in contact with Russian over a long period of time. This contact situation has not remained the same over time, but instead has been dynamic. Especially during the last 20 years, we have observed active language change and shift caused by political and social changes, the development of social media, etc. For instance, not only is the number of bilinguals among Udmurt speakers growing, but also the age of bilingualism and the use of the two languages is becoming different (Salánki 2007, Kondrat′eva & Il′ina 2008, Shirobokova 2011a, 2011b).

Presently, 552,300 people consider themselves to be Udmurt, and about 324,000 people give Udmurt as their mother tongue (Vserossijskaja perepis′ 2010)[1]. Almost all Udmurt speakers have knowledge of Russian (Shirobokova 2011); however, the Russian-speaking population does not know Udmurt. The Udmurt language has the status of an official language in the Udmurt Republic, but in reality this status has more of a symbolic meaning than a practical one. For example, Udmurt is taught in so-called national schools as the "mother tongue" subject, but it is not used as the language of instruction. It is not possible to get official services in Udmurt. In some villages, especially in the South of the Udmurt Republic, services in Udmurt exist; however, all official documentation has to be completed in Russian. There are only a few media channels in Udmurt which cannot compete with Russian-language media[2].

Another important feature of modern Udmurt is that its spoken version differs significantly from its standard version (Edygarova 2013, 2014). In particular, the vernacular language is based on dialects which are highly variable. In the colloquial style, intensive borrowing and switches into Russian are typical. The standard variety was formed in the 1930s and became quite well established during the Soviet period. After perestroika, a new wave of language standardization

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1.   See the demographic description in Vasileva & Voroncov 2008, Shirobokova 2011.
2.   For more on the functioning of the Udmurt language see Vasil′eva & Voroncov 2008; Kondrat′eva & Il′ina 2008; Shkliaev & Toulouze 2001.

began, and from then up until the present, language purism has been the main tendency in standard discourse (Edygarova 2014). Thus, switches into Russian and use of dialect forms (if they are not defined as standard forms) are not permitted. However, such a purist style exists mostly as a written form, while in spontaneous speech it is difficult to avoid interference.

A number of studies has been published on the functioning of modern Udmurt (Salánki 2007 and 2012; Shirobokova 2011a, Shirobokova 2011b; Kondratʹeva & Ilʹina 2008; Vasileva & Voroncov 2008; Shkliaev & Toulouze 2001; Pischlöger 2016, etc.). There are also studies on lexical borrowing, e.g., Nasibullin 1995, Tarakanov 1981, 1992, etc. However, there are only a few studies on interference at the grammatical level, e.g., in Kaysina 2013, Kelʹmakov 2000. The purpose of the present study is to give concrete linguistic examples of Russian interference and explain, linguistically and with reference to the social background of the speakers, why they occur.

This paper deals with interference from Russian in Udmurt possessive constructions in material from the translating test (TT). This study takes into account cases when interference occurs as well as those when it does not. The important questions at the focus of this study are 1) which possessive structures are more susceptible to interference from Russian and which are less so; and 2) what are the linguistic and social factors, which permit or prevent this interference.

The choice of possessive constructions as the main research object is due to the fact that I researched this category in Udmurt for my PhD thesis (Edygarova 2010). In particular, the focus of my research was on the semantic expression of the possessive relationships in modern Udmurt and the linguistic coding of these expressions.

The specific nature of my data is that they are based on the translating test. There have been many discussions about this method, including criticisms of it (see section 3.1). The present study also contributes to a better understanding of how translating tests may be used for sociolinguistic investigation.

2. Theoretical background

The language interference in this paper is studied in the framework of borrowing and code-switching. Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) conclude that borrowing and code-switching are separate phenomena. One of the important criteria for distinguishing code-switching from borrowing is, in the case of borrowing, the replication of the item in a monolingual context (Matras 2009: 147). Another criterion is that borrowing usually refers to the diachronic process by which languages enhance their vocabulary, while code-switching is reserved for instances of spontaneous language mixing in the conversation of bilinguals (Matras 2009: 106). Furthermore, code-switching happens in individual utterances (Gumperz 1982).

In the study of code-switching there are three types of approaches: sociolinguistic (ethnographic), conversation analysis or pragmatic, and grammatical (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 10). In the analysis of my data, I apply the pragmatic approach and try to understand and explain why particular interference appears. However, it is important to point out that code-switching is mostly about spontaneous speech, while my data are taken from a translating test where speakers have different speech tasks and conditions (see further discussion on the translating test in section 3.1). Therefore, I also involve the sociolinguistic method and explain the interference according to social backgrounds and the linguistic practices of informants. Furthermore, the research focus when studying code-switching is to analyze and explain the presence of the interference; however, this approach does not explain the absence of the interference. For this reason, my data analysis is organized in such a way that it also explains when code-switching (and also borrowing) does not occur. In particular, I analyze how informants translated peculiar possessive relationships, thereby demonstrating that some semantic relations expressed by possessive noun phrases permit interference, while other relations do not.

The main focus of my research is possessive noun phrases, more precisely how the dependent compound is marked in translated answers and what kinds of Russian interference may appear in translated phrases. In my translated data, there are two kinds of interference from Russian morphosyntax: 1) informants insert Russian phrases entirely

in Russian as in an original Russian sentence and 2) they use a derivational suffix borrowed from Russian, in particular the suffix *-oj*. For the first type of interference I use the term *insertion*[3] and for the second type I use the term *borrowing*. With the exception of the translation data, in my study I also refer to the spontaneous speech of the informants. In particular, I note how much they mix languages in their free communication. For this purpose, I use the term *code-mixing*, which refers to the alternation between Udmurt and Russian without specifying which kind of alternation occurs in their speech.

In his work, Matras (2009) generalizes studies on language contact and describes contact effects in several grammatical levels and categories. In particular, he notes (Matras 2009: 208) that negation, possession, and existentials express essential and salient semantic relations, and every language has specific grammatical structures for expressing these; therefore, direct borrowing of word forms does not often occur in these categories.

Among the possessive noun phrases in my translating test there are constructions with case markers (genitive) and adjectival derivational suffixes (*-yj, -aja, -oje*). Matras argues (2009: 212) that derivational and inflectional morphology behave differently in contact situations. In particular, inflectional morphology is applied at the sentence level, and derivational morphology at the word level. In language contact situations, borrowed derivational morphology almost always accompanies borrowed lexicon. Furthermore, derivative forms are more borrowable compared to, for example, case markers. Based on this knowledge, the material for my data analysis is divided into two sections: the analysis of examples with case markers (section 5.1) and derivational markers (section 5.2).

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3. Definitions of code-switching types can be found in Muysken 2000, Matras 2009: 101–145.

3. Material and methods

3.1. The translating test

The present study is based on material from the translating test which was collected during fieldwork in the Udmurt Republic in March 2011. Sociolinguistic data collected using the test method are a special issue for discussion since effects observed in tests and spontaneous speech can differ (Sarhimaa 1999: 212–219). However, test data can be also useful for specifying tasks and settings for implementing a test. In her work, Sarhimaa studies syntactic constructions in Karelian expressing duty and obligation. When she describes her translating test, she considers three aspects that were accounted for in the analysis of her translating test data (from Russian into Karelian): characteristics of the test sentences, the effects of the translating performance, and characteristics of the individual test informants. (Sarhimaa 1999: 217–219.)

The main objective and concept of my TT was to study how modern Udmurt speakers codify possessors in noun phrases expressing different possessive relationships. This idea came from a previous study (Edygarova 2010) where I studied semantic and morphosyntactic expression of the possessive category in the modern Udmurt language. This study was based on material in the standard language (texts from literature and the mass media) and in the dialects (text collections published by V. Kelʹmakov). In Edygarova (2010), I discovered that possessor marking in Udmurt is semantically and discursively specified and the use of the genitive is restricted to the active possessor (section 4). In Russian, the genitive can express a wider range of possessive relationships, has a wider range of grammatical functions, and has a higher grammaticalization level. Furthermore, the morphosyntactic patterns of attributive possessive constructions in Udmurt and Russian differ significantly. In Udmurt, the possessor precedes the possessee; when the possessor is marked with the genitive, use of possessive suffixes (corresponding in person and number to the possessor) on the possessee is obligatory. In Russian attributive noun phrases containing the genitive, the possessor follows the possessee and does not have any additional markers. Thus, another

purpose for the TT was, through elicitation, to determine whether Udmurt speakers are able to encode in their mother tongue the same Russian semantic expressions by using different grammatical strategies, whether there is a difference in their use of the genitive in Udmurt and Russian, and how Russian influences their use of their native morphosyntax.

For that purpose, informants were asked to complete the translating test which contained 74 sentences in Russian containing possessive constructions expressing different kinds of possessive relationships (section 4). Examples were read in Russian and informants had to translate them into Udmurt orally without reading. The answers were recorded using a tape recorder and later transcribed. In addition to the translating task, free interviews (around 20–30 minutes with each informant) were also conducted and recorded. The tape recorder was switched on in front of the informants who then concentrated on their translating task and did intensive linguistic work. However, the task was not to translate the sentences into "beautiful" or "correct" Udmurt, but to do it according to their language skills and intuition. Furthermore, informants were not aware that I was interested in the possessive marker.

Considering the translating test performance of the informants, Sarhimaa (1999: 218) cites Larjavaara (1990: 420) who states that translating stimulates the informants to use more Russian-influenced constructions than they would in spontaneous speech. However, Sarhimaa argues that it can be equally likely that informants can consciously avoid copying patterns from the source language when translating from one language to another. Furthermore, Sarhimaa notes that there are different degrees of source language interference that is caused by different degrees of linguistic awareness. In particular, some informants were aware which material was of Russian origin and tried to avoid this in their translations. My hypothesis is that the effects of translating depend on the structures which are translated: if both languages have similar ways of coding, most probably the translating will stimulate the use Russian-influenced structures. However, if morphosyntactic structures differ significantly between both languages, a speaker may be more aware of these differences and intentionally seek to avoid the interference (see Conclusions for further discussion).

Furthermore, Sarhimaa (1999: 218–219) notes that a translating test instructs informants to change and separate languages. So, translators consciously follow this task. It is not evident that the informants who used "pure" Udmurt morphosyntactic structures in the TT use the same "pure" patterns in their spontaneous speech. However, my data demonstrate that also when translating, informants "separate" languages in different ways (see Conclusions).

3.2. The sociolinguistic background of the informants

26 individuals participated in the translating test (Table 1, pp. 124–125). Some of them are members of my family, fellow villagers, friends, and friends of friends. Eight informants are from the village of Porozovo (Šarkanskij district), which is within the Middle dialect region. Five individuals are from the village of Syrjez′ (Alnaškij district), which is within the Southern dialect area. The remaining 13 informants at the time of the interview were living in Iževsk, but most of them were born in different parts of the Udmurt Republic and have different dialect backgrounds. The selection of informants in each group was made according to the same criteria: gender, age, education, and occupation were taken into particular consideration.

The age cohort consists of three groups: informants between (1) ages 16 and 19[4] (a total of 6 individuals); (2) ages 22 and 32 (12 individuals); and (3) ages 48 and 87 (8 individuals). Informants from the first group are young people who are studying in their last grade at school or are at the beginning of their university studies. They live with their parents in the countryside or if they moved to the city for their studies still have close contact with their parents. Informants from the second group are students from the upper grade of the university and young workers who are independent from their parents. Some of them already have their own families. Finally, the last group should be divided into two cohorts; however, the number of informants is not sufficient for that. Informants in this group are at the peak of their careers, though there are also pensioners.

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4.   These ages signify the youngest and oldest informants in each group.

Most of the informants speak Udmurt as their mother tongue and have different levels of proficiency in Russian. In Table 1, one can find a classification of the bilingual skills of the informants. This classification was made according to the place of residence and occupation of the informants, and also according to my personal judgments during interviews. Thus, concerning the Udmurt and Russian proficiency of the informants, 3 types of informants were distinguished[5]: informants with (1) dominant Udmurt, (2) dominant Russian, and (3) with equal bilingual skills. The first type concerns informants who use Udmurt in everyday life: in family, at work, in their neighborhood, etc. Individuals from Syrjez′ and Porozovo villages belong to this group. These villages still have Udmurt-speaking communities and infrastructures. Some adults even have poor knowledge of Russian; and one informant from Syrjez′ is a monolingual Udmurt speaker (who did not participate in the TT). In Table 1, only two informants are defined as individuals "with dominant Russian". These people use Russian in everyday life, and speak Udmurt only with certain people and in certain places. Finally, the informants "with equal bilingual skills" use both languages actively, e.g., they use Udmurt with family members and they use Russian outside of the family.

Another classification of informants is based on language repertoire, in particular with respect to the knowledge of the Udmurt standard language. These informants can be also divided into 3 groups: informants (1) with "high" (7 people), (2) "medium" (10 people), and (3) "low" (9 people) levels of proficiency in the SdL (standard language). The evaluation of SdL proficiency was made according to the studies of informants and also by my personal evaluation of the author during the work and discussion with informants. In particular, informants who recently graduated or are close to graduating from the Faculty of Udmurt Philology; people who continue to use the SdL in their professional life (e.g., journalists, teachers, researchers) are considered to be in the first group. The second group consists of individuals who are still studying in the last grades in school and who did

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5. In sociolinguistic studies of the Udmurt language there are other classifications of bilingual types among Udmurt speakers. In particular, Salánki (2007: 56) and Shirobokova (2011a: 18–19; 2011b) classify Udmurt speakers according to the age of second language acquisition, in particular they define early and adult bilingualism.

IF	Age	Sex	Place of Residence	Dialect	Education
1	24	M	Porozovo	Middle	Vocational
2	57	M	Porozovo	Middle	University
3	53	F	Porozovo	Middle	University (FUPh)
4	86	F	Porozovo	Middle	Vocational
5	29	M	Porozovo	Middle	Vocational
6	26	F	Porozovo	Middle	University (FUPh)
7	24	F	Porozovo	Middle	Vocational
8	54	F	Syrjez′	Southern	Vocational
9	73	M	Syrjez′	Southern	Vocational
10	19	F	Syrjez′, Iževsk	Southern	2nd year university
11	19	M	Syrjez′, Iževsk	Southern	2nd year university
12	48	M	Syrjez′	Southern	Vocational
13	32	M	Iževsk	Southern	PhD (FUPh)
14	24	F	Iževsk	Southern	University (FUPh)
15	23	F	Iževsk	Southern	University
16	32	M	Iževsk	Middle	University
17	31	F	Iževsk	Middle	University
18	56	M	Iževsk	Southern	Vocational
19	56	F	Iževsk	Southern	University (FUPh)
20	25	M	Iževsk	Southern	University
21	16	F	Iževsk	Southern	10th grade
22	18	F	Iževsk	Northern	1st year university (FUPh)
23	18	M	Iževsk	Northern	1st year university (FUPh)
24	29	M	Iževsk	Northern	University
25	15	F	Kečgurt, studies in Porozovo	Middle	9th grade
26	22	F	Iževsk	Southern	5th year university (FUPh)

Table 1. The list of participants of the translating test. IF – informant, F – female, M – male, FUPh – Faculty of Udmurt Philology, SdL – standard language.

Occupation	Bilingual skills	Knowledge of SdL
Carpenter, Votkinsk	Dom. Udmurt	Low
Engineer in Porozovo	Dom. Udmurt	Low
Teacher in Porozovo	Equal biling.	Medium
Pensioner	Equal biling.	Low
Driver in the neighbour village	Equal biling.	Low
Civil service in the neighbour village	Equal biling.	High
Part-time student	Dom. Udmurt	Low
Pensioner	Dom. Udmurt	Medium
Pensioner	Dom. Udmurt	Low
Student	Dom. Udmurt	Medium
Student	Equal biling.	Medium
Tractor driver in Syrjez′	Dom. Udmurt	Low
Researcher	Equal biling.	High
Artist, journalist	Equal biling.	High
Artist	Dom. Russian	Medium
Musician	Equal biling.	Medium
Civil service	Equal biling.	Medium
Welder	Equal biling.	Low
Teacher	Equal biling.	High
Administrator	Equal biling.	High
Student	Dom. Udmurt	Medium
Student	Dom. Russian	Medium
Student	Equal biling.	Medium
Editor	Equal biling.	High
Student	Dom. Udmurt	Medium
Student	Equal biling.	High

well in the "mother tongue" subject; individuals who graduated from school or the Faculty of Udmurt Philology, but since that time have not used the SdL actively anymore. Finally, the last group is composed of individuals who did not do well in Udmurt language at school; individuals who do not use the SdL in professional life; individuals who do not read and write regularly in the SdL.

In this study, concrete answers from specific informants are given and information about each informant is given in parentheses after every example. The profiles of informants are coded the following way: for example, in (53FPm) the number refers to the age, F – to the gender (female or male), P – to the place of residence (P – Porozovo), and the last letter signifies the level of proficiency in the standard language of that informant (m – medium).

4. Linguistic characteristics of the possessive category in Udmurt

The category of possession is a semantic category which is a complex cultural concept. Linguistic expression of this concept is defined by social and cultural specificities. For instance, different linguistic societies can define different possessive relationships and code them with specific linguistic markers (Heine 1997, Taylor 2005, Seiler 1987). The study of the category of possession in Udmurt (Edygarova 2010) concluded that the semantic core of the prototypical possessive relationship in Udmurt includes a possessor which is in most cases (but not always) human. The possessor is a concrete definite entity, and has active status or behaves as a controller or active possessor. This relationship is encoded with a construction using the genitive[6], as in, e.g., (1), (2), and (3). In (1), the possessor is a typical animate and definite item. (2) represents a possessive relationship where the actual possessor/owner or controller is encoded as a possessee (so-called "owner of owner" (Kategorija 1989: 68); (Taylor 2005: 230)), e.g., *the author of the book*, etc. This relationship is also encoded using the genitive, since the grammatical properties of the actual animate possessor are transmitted to the actual

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6.   In cases when the possessor has the function of direct object in the sentence, the genitive marker is replaced with the ablative.

possessee. Finally, in (3), the possessor *institute* has the status of a controller over the possessee *museum*, and is marked using the genitive.

(1) *Olokytys'-mar* *kyl-is'k-i-z* <u>*anaj-e-len*</u> <u>*kuara-jez*</u>[7].
  somewhere-what hear-REF-1PRT-3SG mother-1SG-GEN voice-3SG

  'Somewhere my <u>mother's voice</u> had heard.' (Badretdinov 2007: 9)

(2) <u>*Žužges*</u> <u>*admin'istraci-len*</u> <u>*jyr-yz*</u> *lykt-i-z.*
  Žužges administration-GEN head-3SG come-1PRT-3SG

  'The <u>head of the administration</u> of Žužges [village] came.'
              (Udmurt dunne 05.12.2006: 6)

(3) <u>*Inst'itut-len*</u> <u>*muz'ej-a-z*</u> *ad'žyton* *us'tis'k-i-z.*
  institute-GEN museum-INE-3SG exhibition open-1PRT-3SG

  'In the <u>museum of the institute</u> an exhibition has opened.'
              (Udmurt dunne 05.12.2006: 4)

Another type of prototypical possession is a whole-part relationship. In this case, as a rule, the possessor precedes the head and is in the nominative, as in (4) and (5).

(4) *Ug* *tyrm-o* *val* <u>*piosmurt*</u> <u>*ki-os*</u>.
  NEG.PRS.3 luck-PL AUX.1PRT man hand-PL

  'There was lack of <u>men's help</u>.' (Lit. 'There was lack of <u>men's hands</u>.')
              (Kel'makov 1990: 96)

(5) *Šukk-e* <u>*purt*</u> <u>*nyd-yn*</u>.
  hammer-PRS.3SG knife handle-INS

  '[He] hammers [the handkerchief] with a <u>knife handle</u>.'
              (Kel'makov 1990: 40)

When the possessor is definite, but inanimate, and does not have the status of a controller, a construction containing the elative is used, as in (6) and (7).

(6) *Ta* <u>*ogaz'ejas'kon-ys'*</u> <u>*jozči-os*</u> *šuldyr* *ul-o*.
  this organization-ELA member-PL cheerful live-PRS.3PL

  'The <u>members of this organization</u> live cheerfully.' (D'žečbur 2006: 2)

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7. The transcription of Udmurt sentences is based on scientific transcription of the Cyrillic alphabet; however it is adapted by myself, e.g. I use different combinations for affricates, I use h instead of x.

(7) | *Udmurt* | *kun* | *un'ivers'it'et-ys'* | *dyšetis'* |
| Udmurt | state | university-ELA | teacher |

'A <u>teacher of</u> Udmurt State <u>University</u>' (Invožo 2007: 25)

Furthermore, some expanded possessive relationships, which are marked with the genitive in many other languages (e.g., in Russian, English, Finnish, etc.), have specific patterns of coding in Udmurt. For example, the dependent component of a nominal phrase can be marked with an adverbial if it expresses the purpose or specialization of the head's notion, as in (8) and (9). However, the use of an adverbial with an attribute appears only in the standard language.

(8) | *Al'i* | *myn-e* | *udmurt* | *kyl-ja* | *urok.* |
| now | go-PRS.3SG | Udmurt | language-ADV | lesson |

'The Udmurt <u>language</u> lesson is going on at the moment.'

(Kelʹmakov & Hännikäinen 1999: 188)

(9) | *Dizajn-ja* | *inst'itut-len* | *muz'ej-az* |
| design-ADV | institute-GEN | museum-INE.3SG |

'In the museum of the <u>institute of design</u>' (Udmurt dunne 2006 : 4)

The TT was constructed according to the semantic characteristics of the possessor which are specific to Udmurt (defined in Edygarova 2010). In particular, the TT includes the typical animate and definite possessor, constructions like "owner of owner", the inanimate definite possessor in the status of a controller and non-controller, whole-part relationships; a dependent component expressing purpose and specialization, etc. However, all the constructions were written in Russian. The possessive semantic relationships, which were presented above, in Russian in the TT were constructed using (a) the genitive (in the majority of constructions), as in (10); (b) possessive adjectives, as in (11); and (c) relational adjectives, as in (12).

(10) | *Iz* | *kuhn'-i* | *poslyša-ls'a* | *golos* | *mat'-eri*[8]. | (TT) |
| from | kitchen-GEN.F | hear-PST.SG.M | voice | mother-GEN.F | |

'The <u>mother's voice</u> was heard in the kitchen.'

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8. In this paper, for practical reasons Russian sentences are transcribed in the same way as Udmurt sentences.

(11) *Pet'-ina*   *s'estra*   *uže*   *hod'-it*   *v*   *škol-u.*   (TT)
Petja-ADJ.F   sister   already   go-PRS.3SG   to   school-ACC

'Petja's sister already goes to school.'

(12) *D'et'i*   *rabota-jut*   *v*   *škol'nom*   *ogorod'-e.*   (TT)
children   work-PRS.3PL   in   school.ADJ.PREP.M   garden-PREP

'Children are working in the school garden.'

Thus, one more point of interest for the general study of morpho-syntactic variation was to analyze which possessive relationships are easiest to convert from Russian into Udmurt and which are not, which constructions permit interference from Russian easily and which do not, and what types of Russian language interference appear in these constructions.

5. The results of the study

In this section I will analyze translations of possessive noun phrases in the TT by the informants listed in Table 1. The scope of this article does not permit a detailed analysis of all the translated structures, therefore, I will present data only on the constructions which show the most prominent features of interference. In particular, I will analyze phrases which showed less interference from Russian followed by those with the highest degree of interference from Russian.

The TT contained Russian constructions with case morphology (the genitive case), and with so-called relational and possessive adjectives, e.g., *škol'naja bibliot'eka* 'school library', *škol'nyj ogorod* 'school garden', and *Pet'ina s'estra* 'Petja's sister', etc. As was noted in section 2, derivational and inflectional morphology in language contact situations may have different features. Therefore, to show the differences in translating Russian noun phrases with genitive and adjective modifiers in my TT, I will analyze these examples separately.

Below I give the original Russian sentences that the TT contained. Then I give examples of translations into Udmurt noting each concrete informant from Table 1.

5.1. Structures with case morphology

5.1.1. Structures which have no interference from Russian morphosyntax

In the TT there were six examples containing a typical possessor. Three Russian examples out of six are given below.

(13) *Pet'a – <u>brat</u>   <u>Natal'-ji</u>   <u>Vas'il'jevn-y</u>.*   (TT)
     Petja   brother Natalja-GEN Vasiljevna-GEN

   'Petja is <u>Natalja Vasiljevna's brother</u>.'

(14) *<u>Drug</u>   mojevo   mladš-eva   <u>brat-a</u>   uš-ol*
     friend   1SG.GEN.M   young-GEN.M   brother-GEN   go-PST.SG.M

   v   armi-ju.   (TT)
   to   army-ACC.F

   'The <u>friend of</u> my younger <u>brother</u> went to the army.'

(15) *Iz   kuhn'-i   poslyša-ls'a   <u>golos</u>   <u>mat'-eri</u>.*   (TT)
     from kitchen-GEN.F hear-PST.SG.M voice   mother-GEN.F

   'The <u>mother's voice</u> was heard in the kitchen.'

(13) and (14) were translated into Udmurt using the genitive by all 26 informants. In (15), two informants chose transitive constructions and for that reason used the ablative. Examples of translations are given below. Udmurt possessive structures in (13a), (14a), and (15a) correspond to both standard and vernacular varieties.

(13a) *Pet'a   Natal'ja   <u>Vasil'jevna-len</u>   <u>vyn-yz</u>.*   (26FPh)
      Petja   Natalja   Vasiljevna-GEN   younger.brother-3SG

   'Petja is Natalja Vasiljevna's (younger) brother.'

(14a) *Myn-am   piči   <u>brat-e-len</u>   <u>eš-ez</u>   košk-i-z*
      1SG-GEN   small   brother-1SG-GEN   friend-3SG   go-1PRT-3SG

   armi-je.   (29MPl)
   army-ILL

   'The <u>friend</u> of my younger <u>brother</u> went to the army.'

(15a) *Kuhn'a-ys'*   *kyl-is'k-i-z*   *anaj-len*   *kuara-jez.*   (25MIh)
     kitchen-ELA   hear-REF-1PRT-3SG   mother-GEN   voice-3SG
     'The <u>mother's voice</u> was heard in the kitchen.'

In the other three constructions (which were not presented here), there is also almost no variation. There are only 2–3 examples of the genitive varying with the ablative, which are the result of the choice between a transitive and intransitive construction by the informant.

The current data show that the typical possessor has no marker variation in coding. This material corresponds to Matras who states that "… the less borrowable value is protected by frequency, routine, and casualness of usage" (Matras 2009: 161). It means that when we deal with typical or prototypical linguistic categories, these categories can prevent variation, including morphosyntactic influence from Russian. In (14a), one lexical borrowing from Russian is presented *brat-e-len* 'my brother's', but it contains Udmurt morphology (the Udmurt possessive suffix and genitive), and does not concern the structural level of the construction (it does not contain the Russian genitive and the word order of the head and the dependent correspond to that of Udmurt).

In the TT there are also other noun phrases that do not show interference from Russian. Most of these also belong to the casual or everyday lexicon, and express core possessive relationships, in particular the whole-part relationship. The Russian examples (16), (17), and (18) are given below.

(16) *V* <u>*načal'-e*</u>   <u>*n'ed'el'-i*</u> *u* *men'a* *mnogo urok-ov.*   (TT)
     in beginning-PREP.N week-GEN.F at 1SG.ACC many   lesson-GEN.PL
     'At the <u>beginning of the week</u> I have many lessons.'

(17) *Na* <u>*dn'-e*</u>   <u>*bočk-i*</u>   *jest'*   *muka.*   (TT)
     on   bottom-PREP   barrel-GEN.F EX.PRS flour
     'There is flour at the <u>bottom of the barrel</u>.'

(18) *Na* <u>*veršin'-e*</u> <u>*gor-y*</u>   *rast'-ot*   *sosna.*   (TT)
     on   top-PREP   mountain-GEN.F grow.PRS.3SG pine
     'A pine tree grows on the <u>top of a mountain</u>.'

Table 2 demonstrates that in translations there is a variation of Udmurt structures, in particular some informants chose the nominative, while others preferred the genitive. However, there is no the interference from Russian.

	GEN	NOM	Missing
Example (16)	14	11	1
Example (17)	GEN	NOM	Missing
	12	13	1
Example (18)	GEN	NOM	Missing
	4	22	0

Table 2. The frequency of the use of markers or expressing whole-part relationships.

Examples in Udmurt are given below: in (16a) and (17a) the possessor is marked using the nominative, while in (18a) it is marked using the genitive.

(16a) *Arn'a*   *kutskon-yn*   *mynam*   *tros*   *urok-e.*   (56MIl)
  week   beginning-INS   1SG.GEN   many   lesson-1SG
  'At the beginning of the week I have many lessons.'

(17a) *Gurez'*   *jyl-yn*   *pužym*   *bud-e.*   (73MSl)
  mountain   top-INE   pine   grow-PRS.3SG
  'A pine tree grows on the top of a mountain.'

(18a) *Bekče-len*   *pydes-az*   *van'*   *piz'.*   (19MIm)
  barrel-GEN   bottom-INE.3SG   EX.PRS   flour
  'There is flour at the bottom of the barrel.'

5.1.2. Structures showing interference from Russian morphosyntax

In this section, structures showing Russian interference will be discussed. The results of this study demonstrate that when the possessor is no longer animate or human or when it does not express a whole-part relationship, the percentage of morphosyntactic variation of the possessor marker grows significantly, and interference from Russian

becomes more possible. In particular, different degrees of interference appear in constructions expressing titles and affiliations where the actual possessor becomes the grammatical possessee, e.g., *the director of the institute*. Usually, these phrases belong to the official discourse which is mostly covered by Russian, and thus, belong to "the Russian world". In the standard Udmurt language, there also exist means to encode these relationships, but not all speakers are familiar with these.

5.1.2.1. Structures showing moderate interference

Two Russian examples are given below. These examples represent the *director of the institute* type of possessive relationship. Here the grammatical possessor becomes an inanimate object, as in (19) and (20).

(19) *Na soveščanie   prigla-s'ili   predsedat'el'-ej   sovhoz-ov.*   (TT)
    on meeting.ACC.N invite-PST.3PL director-ACC.PL.M state.farm-GEN.PL.M

    'Directors of state farms were invited to the meeting.'

(20) *Predsedat'el'   sovhoz-a   Jugdon   priby-l*
    director   state.farm-GEN.M Jugdon   come-PST.SG.M

    na   soveščanie.   (TT)
    on   meeting.ACC.N

    'The director of the Jugdon state farm had arrived to the meeting.'

Statistical results show significant variation in the use of the possessor's marker by informants. The figures are given below in Table 3.

Example (19)	ABL	ELA	NOM	RUS	Missing
	11	7	4	2	2
Example (20)	GEN	ELA	INE	RUS	Missing
	17	5	1	2	1

Table 3. The frequency of the use of markers with inanimate possessors.

The possessor in (19) was encoded using the ablative by a majority of informants, as shown in (19a), which corresponds to the standard and vernacular coding strategy. The possessive construction in (19a) is complicated. First, the possessor is marked using the ablative because its possessee is the direct object of the sentence; second, both

the possessor and the possessee are in plural form; third, the possessee is marked with the possessive suffix; and finally, it is also in its plural accusative form.

(19a) *Soveščani-je* <u>*sovhoz-jos-les'*</u> <u>*töro-os-ses*</u> *öt'-i-zy.* (32MIh)
　　　meeting-ILL 　　state.farm-PL-ABL 　director-PL-3.ACC.PL 　invite-1PRT-3PL

　　　'<u>Directors of state farms</u> were invited to the meeting.'

Seven informants had used the elative to encode the possessor in their translations of (19). This pattern is also grammatical and expresses spatial possession. Four individuals encoded the possessor using the nominative and, thus, placed the focus on the indefinite character of the possessor. Finally, two informants used the Russian genitive construction and inserted it into the Udmurt sentence, as in (19b) and (19c). Two individuals did not translate the sentence.

(19b) *Sobrani-je* ... **na soveščanie** 　*öt'-i-zy* 　　**predsedat'el'-ej**
　　　meeting-ILL **on meeting.**ACC.N 　invite-1PRT-3PL 　**director-ACC.PL.M**
　　　sovhoz-ov. (24FPl)
　　　sovhoz-GEN.PL.M

　(c) *Soveščani-je öt'-i-zy* 　**predsedat'el'-ej** 　*sovhoz-len* ...
　　　meeting-ILL 　invite-1PRT-3PL 　**director-ACC.PL.M** 　sovhoz-GEN
　　　sovhoz-ov. (23FIm)
　　　sovhoz-GEN.PL.M

　　　'<u>Directors of state farms</u> were invited to the meeting.'

(20) was translated by a majority of the informants using the genitive as in the standard and vernacular languages, e.g., (20a). The possessee here is a subject in singular form, therefore, the possessor is marked with the genitive. The possessor is also in apposition with *Jugdon*, the name of the state farm, which precedes the possessor in its Udmurt variant. But in the Russian sentence, all components of the possessive construction are reversed.

(20a) <u>*Jugdon*</u> <u>*kolhoz-len*</u> <u>*predsedat'el'-ez*</u> *vu-i-z*
　　　Jugdon 　kolkhoz-GEN 　director-3SG 　　arrive-1PST-3SG
　　　soveščani-je. (18FIm)
　　　meeting-ILL

　　　'<u>The director of the Jugdon state farm</u> had arrived at the meeting.'

Five informants used the elative, while one used the inessive to indicate spatial possession. One informant did not translate the sentence. Two informants had used Russian structures, as in (20b) and (20c).

(20b) ***Predsedat'el'*** ***sovhoz-a*** ***Jugdon*** *lykt-i-z*
      director **sovhoz-GEN.M** **Jugdon** come-1PRT-3SG

      l'ukas'kon-e.   (19FIm)
      meeting-ILL

 (c) ***Predsedat'el'*** ***sovhoz-a*** ***Jugdon*** *lykt-i-z*
      director **sovhoz-GEN.M** **Jugdon** come-1PRT-3SG

      soveščani-je.   (24FPl)
      meeting-ILL

      '<u>The director of the Jugdon state farm</u> had arrived at the meeting.'

In general, almost all informants successfully translated (19) and (20) using Udmurt morphosyntax. The young female informant (24FPl) inserted Russian structures in both phrases. This informant had the highest score among informants in using Russian structures. She also mixed languages in the free conversation interview. Her dominant language at the time of the interview was Udmurt (she was a distance learner and lived in her home village); but she also had good proficiency in Russian. I think, the result of her translation performance can be explained by the fact that she had more difficulties in the cognitive task of translation compared to the other informants. Even though she had good knowledge of both languages she could not quickly find Udmurt equivalents.

In (19c), a young female informant with Russian as her dominant language (23FIm), who had reacquired Udmurt not long time ago, could not translate the noun phrase into Udmurt. In my opinion, Udmurt grammatical structure was complicated for her: the word order is different from Russian, the use of the ablative instead of the genitive, a complicated combination of possessive and plural accusative forms. In (19c), she uses the possessee first like in Russian with Russian morphosyntax, then she tries to translate the possessor using the Udmurt genitive, but realizes her mistake and finishes by inserting a Russian structure. In (20b), another young female informant (19FIm) also uses a Russian structure, because, I believe, the apposition with Jugdon made the noun phrase complicated.

Most of the informants included the borrowed terms *predsedat'el'* 'director' and *sovhoz* 'state farm' in their translations, with some exceptions, e.g., in (19a) the informant uses the word töro 'head; director'. Both can be considered as borrowings since they were presented and established during the Soviet years as new concepts and Russian lexemes were adapted as standard variants in Udmurt. After perestroika, Udmurt terms became favored for the concept of *director*, e.g., *kuz'o* 'lit. owner, proprietor', *töro* 'chief', *jyr* 'lit. head'. However, the words *kolhoz* and *sovhoz* remained and have no Udmurt equivalent. Furthermore, these nouns can be considered as terms belonging to an institutional lexicon, in particular referring to a particular type of establishment. As Matras (2009) notes, these kinds of terms are typically borrowable.

Even though most of the informants translated the noun phrases in (19) and (20) using Udmurt morphosyntax, in spontaneous speech the situation can be different. The identical noun phrase does not occur in my spontaneous speech data; however, (21) shows an example from the internet.

(21) *Oz'y ik **predsedat'el' kolhoz-a** s'rys' no tan'i.*
this   also **director   kolhoz-GEN.M** about   PRTC that

'The same [is written] here also about the <u>kolkhoz director</u>.'

(http://elibrary.unatlib.org.ru/bitstream/handle/
123456789/27138/udm_book_2515.pdf?sequence=1)

In my spontaneous speech data there is a similar example, e.g., (22).

(22) ***Poka**, pe, **komand'ir čast'-i** öz vu-y,*
until   PRTC **commander unit-GEN.F** NEG.PRT.3 come-SG

vs'o nado pročist'it', šu-o.   (24MPl)
everything must clean.INF say-PRS.3PL

'They say, everything should be cleaned [the snow]
before arrival of the [military] <u>unit's commander</u>.'

In my spontaneous speech data there are also examples of lexicalized noun phrases, e.g., in (23). These phrases typically remain in Russian.

(23) *Mi, naprimer, dyšet-i-m **azbuka morze-ez**.*   (24MPl)
1PL   for example learn-1PRT-1PL **code   Morse.GEN-ACC**

'We learned, for example, <u>Morse code</u>.'

5.1.2.2. Structures showing the most frequent interference from Russian

Constructions which express abstract relationships and have complicated morphosyntactic structures, e.g., with several possessive noun phrases or apposition, show the greatest degree of interference or switches into Russian, e.g., in Russian examples like (24) and (25).

(24) *Natal'ja Vasil'jevna – <u>kandidat</u> <u>filologičeski-h</u>   <u>nauk</u>.*   (TT)
      Natalja   Vasiljevna   candidate philological.GEN.PL science.GEN.PL.F

    'Natalja Vasiljevna is a <u>candidate of the philological sciences</u>.'

(25) *Natal'ja   Vasil'jevna   –   <u>dekan</u>   <u>fakul'tet-a</u>*
      Natalja   Vasiljevna   Dean   faculty-GEN.M
    romano-germansk-oj   filologi-i.
    Romano-Germanic-GEN.SG.F   philology-GEN.F

    'Natalja Vasiljevna is the <u>Dean of the Faculty</u>
    of Romano-Germanic Philology.'

Many informants had difficulties in translating these structures. In particular, only eight individuals could translate the phrase in (24) using Udmurt morphosyntax; while, for (25), 16 individuals translated the phrase with the rest of the informants repeating the Russian phrases without changing them (see Table 4).

Example (24)	RUS	ADV	INST		Missing
	15	7	1		2
Example (25)	RUS	GEN	INE	NOM	Missing
	10	13	2	1	0

Table 4. The frequency of the use of markers in examples (24) and (25).

In standard Udmurt, the possessor *sciences* in (24) is encoded using an adverbial, as in (24a). In the vernacular variety, an adverbial does not occur in this function. In (25), the possessor *faculty* is encoded using a genitive in both standard and vernacular varieties, as in (25a).

(24a) *Natal'ja   Vasil'jevna –   filologi   <u>nauka-os-ja</u>   <u>kandidat</u>.* (56FIh)
      Natalja   Vasiljevna   philology   science-PL-ADV   candidate

(25a) *Natal'ja   Vasil'jevna –   romano-german   filologi-len*
      Natalja   Vasiljevna   Romano-Germanic   philology-GEN

      <u>*fakul'tet-ez-len*</u>   <u>*dekan-ez*</u>. (56FIh)
      faculty-3SG-GEN   Dean-3SG

The difference between the number of Russian insertions in (24) and
(25) can be explained by the fact, that a) in (25) the noun phrase has a
more concrete meaning and is closer to the prototypical relationship of
possession ("owner of owner" type of possession); b) in (25), the geni-
tive, the general marker of possession, is used. Thus, here the stand-
ard and vernacular forms coincide. In (24), the noun phrase *candidate
of sciences* has a more abstract meaning and does not express core
possession. Furthermore, in standard Udmurt the dependent of this
phrase is encoded using an adverbial. As my earlier research (Edyga-
rova 2017) demonstrates, an adverbial in this function is an invention
of the standard language; and in vernacular speech or traditional dia-
lects it does not occur with this function. Thus, in essence only those
informants who had good knowledge of the standard language could
reproduce the standard form in their translation, as in (24a).

    Another construction that has a high interference score is pre-
sented in (26).

(26) <u>*Čempion*</u>   <u>*Rossi-i*</u>   *po*   *kikboksing-u*   *priehal*
     champion   Russia-GEN.F   according   kickboxing-DAT.M   come-PST.SG.M
     v   Iževsk.
     in   Iževsk

     '<u>The champion of Russia</u> in kickboxing came to Iževsk.' (TT)

The translating results shows that informants used different strategies
to translate the phrase *Russia's champion in kickboxing*. This con-
struction in (26) is complicated, and, similarly to (20), has apposition
po kikboksingu. In the standard variant, the apposition is inserted be-
tween the possessor *Rossia* and possessee čempion and marked using
an adverbial; the possessor *Rossia* may be marked using a genitive or
elative, as in (26a). 14 individuals were able to translate the phrase us-
ing proper Udmurt syntax. Three informants inserted the entire phrase

in Russian, as in (26b). In (26b), a young male informant started to use Udmurt morphosyntax, but was not able to translate the apposition and instead inserted the entire phrase in Russian. Furthermore, two informants translated the possessive phrase *Russia's champion* using Udmurt morphology, but gave the apposition in Russian, as in (26c). Finally, five informants marked the apposition with an Udmurt marker and inserted the possessive construction in Russian, as in (26d). The difference between (26c) and (26d) probably can be explained by the supposition that informants in their translating task had focused first on different structures: one individual may have been more concerned with translating the apposition, while another may have been more focused on translating the possessive construction. Two informants did not translate this construction.

The phrase contains words with a particular meaning and has characteristics similar to the phrase *predsedat'el' sovhoz-a Jugdon*. However, the total score for the use of Russian morphosyntax in translating the phrase *Russia's champion* is 8, while in (20) the number of Russian insertions is only 2. It seems that the complicated character of the construction in (26) influenced the high degree of interference from Russian. This complicated character can be seen in the presence of a) apposition and b) a double noun phrase in this example, i.e., 'Russia's champion' and 'champion in kickboxing'.

(26a) *Iževsk-e vu-i-z ... Rossi-ys' kikboksing-ja čempion.* (26FPh)
Iževsk-ILL arrive-1PRT-3SG Russia-ELA kickboxing-ADV champion

(b) *Roš'š'ia-len čempion-ez ... **čempion Roš'š'i-i***
Russia-GEN   champion-3SG   **champion Russia-GEN.F**

 ***po kikboksing-u* *lykt-i-z Iževsk-e.* (24MPl)
 according kickboxing-DAT.F come-1PRT-3SG Iževsk-ILL

(c) *Rossija-len čempion-ez **po kikboksing-u***
Russia-GEN   champion-3SG   **according kickboxing-DAT.M**

 lykt-i-z Iževsk-e. (54FSm)
 come-1PRT-3SG Iževsk-ILL

(d) *Kikboksing-ja **čempion Roš'š'i-i** lykt-i-z*
kickboxing-ADV **champion Russia-GEN.F** come-1PRT-3SG

 Iževsk-e. (19MIm)
 Iževsk-ILL

 'The <u>champion of Russia</u> in kickboxing came to Iževsk.'

The above examples are taken from my translating test. In sponta-neous speech the situation could well be different. My spontaneous speech data demonstrate that informants switch quite often into Russian when they use appositional phrases with Russian prepositions, including the preposition *po*, e.g., in (27).

(27) ***Za klass*** *tyr-o* ***po*** ***količestv-u det'-ej***. (53FPm)
    for class pay-PRS.3PL **according number-DAT.N child-GEN.PL**

    '[Teachers] are paid **for classes according
    to the number of children**.'

Finally, there is one more construction that showed high interference from Russian, seen in particular in Russian example (28).

(28) *V mart-e sosto-its'a festival' mod-y*.
    in March-PREP to.be.held-FUT.3SG festival fashion-GEN.F

    'In March a <u>fashion festival</u> will be held.' (TT)

The translating results for example (28) are given in Table 5.

Example (28)	RUS	ADV	GEN	NOM	INST
	10	11	3	1	1

Table 5. The frequency of the use of markers in example (28).

This phrase has a non-typical inanimate possessor; the meaning of the phrase is abstract and does not belong to the everyday or basic lexicon (except that of professionals). In Udmurt, the relationship in the phrase is defined as objective, but not as possessive. Therefore, in the standard language the dependent is marked using an adverbial, as in (28a). As stated earlier, adverbials functioning as attribute markers appear only in standard discourse. Therefore, the use of adverbials in this function occurs mostly among informants who have knowledge of the standard language. Among other informants a Russian phrase was mostly inserted.

(28a) *Juštolez'-e moda-ja festival' orč-o-z*. (26FPh)
    March-ILL fashion-ADV festival to.be.held-FUT-3SG

 (b) *Mart-e lu-o-z* ***festival' mod-y***. (24MPl)
    March-ILL to.be-FUT-3SG **festival fashion-GEN.F**

    'In March, a <u>fashion festival</u> will be held.'

5.2. Structures with derivational morphology

The TT had two kind of phrases with derivational morphology: possessive phrases with so-called possessive adjectives, as in (29), (30), and (31), and possessive phrases with so-called relational adjectives. Russian possessive adjectives are formed from nouns describing animate entities using the markers *-ov* (*-jev*), *-in, -ij*, etc. The adjective precedes the head and has agreement with the adjective in gender and number.

(29) <u>*Pet'-ina*</u>   <u>*s'estra*</u>   <u>*uže*</u>   *hod'-it*   *v*   *škol-u*.   (TT)
Petja-ADJ.F   sister   already   walk-PRS.3SG   in   school-ACC.F

'<u>Petja's sister</u> already goes to school.'

(30) <u>*Maš-iny*</u>   <u>*igrušk-i*</u>   *do sih por*   *ne*   *vybrosi-li*.   (TT)
Maša-ADJ.PL   toy-PL   still   NEG   throw-PST.PL

'[They] still haven't thrown <u>Maša's toys</u> away.'

(31) *Ja*   *našo-l*   <u>*soba-čju*</u>   <u>*kost'*</u>.   (TT)
1SG   find-PST.M   dog-ADJ.ACC.F   bone.ACC.F

'I found a <u>dog's bone</u>.'

In examples (29)–(31) possessive phrases express core possessive relationships and the nouns within the phrases belong to basic vocabulary. Udmurt does not have possessive adjectives and examples from above are encoded using case markers. In particular, the possessive adjective in (29) was encoded using the genitive by 100% of the informants, as in (29a). In (30), 23 individuals used the ablative, as in (30a); and three individuals used the genitive. In (31), 16 informants translated the adjective with the ablative and 10 informants with the nominative, as in (31a). All these structures exist in standard and vernacular varieties.

(29a) <u>*Pet'a-len*</u>   <u>*suzer-ez*</u>   *vetl-e*   *ini*   *škol-e*.   (24FPl)
Petja-GEN   sister-3SG   go-PRS.3SG   already   school-ILL

'<u>Petja's (younger) sister</u> already goes to school.'

(30a) <u>*Maša-les'*</u>   <u>*šudon-jos-se*</u>   *taččyoz'*   *ö-z*   *kušt-e*   *naj*. (15FKm)
Maša-ABL   toy-PL-3SG.ACC   still   NEG.PST-3   throw-SG   yet

'[They] still didn't throw <u>Maša's toys</u> (away).'

(31a) *Mon   šed't-i   puny   ly-ez*.   (57MPl)
　　　1SG　find-1PRT.1SG　dog.NOM　bone-ACC

　　　'I found a <u>dog's bone</u>.'

The data demonstrate that, as in section 5.1, when phrases express prototypical relationships of possession, there is very little alternation of the dependent marker and there is no interference from Russian morphosyntax. In this case, derivation or case-marking in the original Russian sentence does not influence the translation.

　　　The situation is different for Russian relational adjectives. Relational adjectives can be formed from nouns expressing an object, property, time, place, etc. by using the masc. *-yj (-ij)*, fem. *-aja*, and neut. *-oje* markers. While possessive adjectives are formed from animate nouns, relational adjectives, as a rule, are formed from inanimate nouns. In the TT there were several Russian phrases with such adjectives, e.g., as in (32), (33), (34), and (35)

(32) *Moj brat   hodi-t   v   muzyka-l'nyj   kružok*.   (TT)
　　 my   brother go-PRS.3SG to music-ADJ.ACC.M circle.ACC.M

　　 'My brother goes to a <u>musical circle</u>.'

(33) *Jemu   nravi-las'   t'eatr-al'naja   žizn'*.   (TT)
　　 3SG.DAT please-PST.3SG theatre-ADJ.F   life

　　 'He liked <u>theatre life</u>.'

(34) *Ja   ljub-lju   sidet'   v škol'-noj   bibl'iotek-e*. (TT)
　　 1SG like-PRS.1SG sit.INF   in school-ADJ.PREP.F library-PREP.F

　　 'I like to sit in the <u>school library</u>.'

(35) *Ja   ljub-lju   risovat' na klass-noj   dosk-e*.   (TT)
　　 1SG like-PRS.1SG draw.INF on classroom-ADJ.PREP.F board-PREP.F

　　 'I like to draw on the <u>classroom board</u>.'

Udmurt does not have specific markers for forming relational adjectives. The traditional Udmurt way of forming so-called relational adjectives from nouns is to juxtapose these nouns before the head, or to use a nominative form. Nevertheless, the modern Udmurt language has a tendency to use explicit ways for encoding semantic and grammatical relations between two components of a noun phrase: the

nominative form is replaced by case markers or by markers borrowed
from Russian. In the translation of examples (32)–(35), the semantic
content of the phrases is important: in (32), the concept *music* ex-
presses the purpose of the head *circle*, and, therefore, in the standard
language is marked using the adverbial case, as was done by six in-
formants in (32a) (see Table 6). In examples (32)–(35), informants de-
fined a concrete possessive relationship and used the genitive, e.g., as
in (34a); a spatial relationship and used the elative, as in (35a), or the
inessive; or they defined possession in non-concrete terms and used
the nominative, as in (33a).

Example (32)	RUS	ADV		NOM	
	19	6		1	
Example (33)	RUS	GEN	ELA	NOM	INE
	11	5	2	6	2
Example (34)	RUS	GEN	ELA	NOM	INE
	11	6	4	4	1
Example (35)	RUS	GEN	ELA		INE
	11	5	9		1

Table 6. The frequency of the use of markers in examples (32)–(35).

Translations of these phrases into the standard language are given
below.

(32a) *Mynam vyn-y krez'gur-ja kružok-e vetl-e.* (56FIh)
1SG.GEN younger.brother-1SG music-ADV circle-ILL go-PRS.3SG
'My brother goes to a <u>musical circle</u>.'

(33a) *<u>T'eatr</u> <u>ulon</u> so-ly kel'š-e val.* (56FIh)
theatre life 3SG-DAT please-PRS.3SG AUX.PST
'He liked theatre life.'

(34a) *Mon jarat-is'ko pukyny <u>škola-len</u> <u>bibl'oteka-jaz</u>.* (15FKm)
1SG love-PRS.1SG sit.INF school-GEN library-INE.3SG
'I like to sit in the <u>school library</u>.'

(35a) _Klass-ys'_   _doska_   _vyl-yn_   _mon_   _jarat-is'ko_
      classroom-ELA   board   on-INE   1SG   love-PRS.1SG

      suredas'kyny.   (29MIh)
      draw.INF

      'I like to draw on the <u>classroom board</u>.'

However, as we see from Table 6, the majority of informants in all cases had used structures borrowed from Russian, in particular they had used borrowed adjectives with the borrowed marker *-oj* (sometimes also *-yj*), as in (32b)–(35b).

(32b) _Mynam vyn-y_   **_muzykal'noj_** _kružok-e_ _vetl-e._ (25MI-h)
      1SG.GEN younger.brother-1SG   **music.ADJ**   circle-ILL go-PRS.3SG

      'My brother goes to a <u>musical circle</u>.'

(33b) _So-ly_   _jara_   **_t'eatral'noj_** _ulon._   (57MPl)
      3SG-DAT   please.PRS.3SG   **theatre.**ADJ   life

      'He likes <u>theatre life</u>.'

(34b) _Mon_ **_škol'noj_**   _bibl'oteka-jyn_   _jara-s'ko_   _pukyny._   (73MSl)
      1SG   **school.**ADJ   library-INE   love-PRS.1SG   sit.INF

      'I like to sit in the <u>school library</u>.'

(35b) _Mon jarat-ko_   _suredany_ **_klassnoj_**   _doska_ _vyl-yn._ (16FIm)
      1SG love-PRS.1SG draw.INF   **classroom.**ADJ board   on-INE

      'I like to draw on the <u>classroom board</u>.'

Compared to the rest material of the TT, examples (32)–(35) represent the highest percentage of interference from Russian. However, in examples (32)–(35), the Russian interference is different than in examples from section 5.1. In section 5.1, entire phrases (lexicon and morphosyntax) are inserted from Russian into the Udmurt sentences. But in 5.2, forms like *muzykal'noj* are not direct insertions from Russian, but instead are borrowings. Interestingly, in all examples with relational adjectives in translated samples, code-switching does not appear at all, in Udmurt sentences in particular there are no phrases entirely inserted in Russian (e.g., with Russian prepositions).

The marker *-oj* is borrowed from Russian and phonologically adapted in Udmurt. It is used in modern Udmurt as a means for

borrowing and adapting Russian relational adjectives, as Udmurt does not have its own functionally similar marker. Thus, the marker *-oj* can be considered an Udmurt suffix of Russian origin. The suffix *-oj* was formed before the Soviet period under the influence of the Russian language. In particular, from the three gender variants of the Russian adjective suffixes, e.g., *-yj*, *-aja*, and *-oje*, one common suffix *-oj* (like *-öj* in Komi) was formed, as Udmurt does not have a gender category. Today this suffix is considered an integrated Udmurt suffix.

G. Baraksanov (1964: 51) noted that in the early period of the development of the Komi standard language, adjectives borrowed from Russian were marked using the Komi suffix *-sa*, e.g., *Sövetsa respubl'ika* 'Soviet republic'. However, later it was replaced with the Russian-influenced -öj. Something similar happened in Udmurt. During the Soviet period this suffix became the most productive for encoding relational adjectives borrowed from Russian, e.g., Rus./ masc. *sovetskij* – Udm. *sovetskoj*, Rus./fem. *t'eatral'naja* – Udm. *t'eatral'noj*, etc.

The replacement of a proper Komi suffix (*-sa*) with one borrowed from Russian and adapted into Komi (*-öj*), and the introduction of an Udmurt variant (*-oj*) to the standard language, was also determined by the strategies of language planning in the Soviet Union. As Kreindler notes (1979: 48), at the end of the 1930s, Russian was declared a source of linguistic enrichment for minority languages and purist tendencies regarding these languages were abandoned. As Vahrushev states (1975: 49), at the end of the 1930s, active lexical borrowing from Russian became popular in the process of Udmurt language standardization.

After perestroika, during the second wave of language purism in Udmurt (Edygarova 2014), this borrowing tendency broke down and proper Udmurt means became popular again in standard discourse. Thus, the use of adverbials in the standard language, instead of *-oj*, which had been borrowed from Russian, became favored in examples like *musical circle*. This suffix *-oj* had a sort of register shift: it was introduced as a standard form at the end of the 1930s, but after the second wave of standardization it became vernacular style. However, the habit of using the same strategy remained, especially in the colloquial or unofficial variety.

The high frequency of use of the borrowed *-oj* marker in examples (32)–(35) can be explained, first of all, by the fact that this suffix was established and integrated into the standard and colloquial languages already a long time ago. Furthermore, it may be that in taking the translating test it was easier for most informants to adapt the same structure with a similar and well-known derivational strategy instead of looking for different grammatical strategies that exist only in standard discourse. Even though informants with high knowledge of the standard language or purist attitudes had translated phrases using other Udmurt morphology, in their spontaneous speech they would use the variant with *-oj*.

Matras (2009: 212) states that borrowed derivational morphology almost always accompanies borrowed lexicon. The present data correspond with this observation: the suffix *-oj* in the data appears only with Russian words and never with Udmurt words. At the same time, Russian-borrowed words do not necessarily take Russian-borrowed inflection, as in (32c). In (32c), an Udmurt adverbial case suffix is used with the Russian word *muzyka* 'music'. If the dependent component is expressed using an Udmurt word it automatically takes Udmurt morphology, as in (32a, d).

(32c) *Myn-am vyn-y   ve'l-e   **muzyka-ja kružok-e**.* (54FSm)
     1SG.GEN younger.brother-1SG go-PRS.3SG **music-ADV circle-ILL**

 (d) *Myn-am brat-e   krez'gur kružok-e vetl-e.*   (24FIh)
     1SG.GEN   brother-1SG music   circle-ILL go-PRS.3SG

    'My brother goes to a <u>musical circle</u>.'

Furthermore, it seems that the lexical variant of the head also has influence on the morphology of the dependent. If the head is expressed with a Russian word, the dependent probably will have the Russian variant with *-oj*. The TT contained Russian sentence (36).

(36) *D'eti   rabota-jut   v   škol'-nom   ogorod-e.*   (TT)
    children work-PRS.3PL in school-ADJ.PREP.M garden-PREP.M

    'Children are working in the <u>school garden</u>.'

Among all informants only one had used the form *škol'noj*, as in (36b), and most others used Udmurt morphology (see Table 7), as in (36a).

Example (36)	RUS	GEN	NOM	ELA
	1	9	15	1

Table 7. The frequency of the use of markers in example (36).

(36a) *Pinal-jos* *uža-lo*   <u>*škola*</u> <u>*bakča-yn*</u>.   (24FIh)
     child-PL   work-PRS.3PL school garden-INE

 (b) *Pinal-jos* *uža-lo*   <u>*škol'noj*</u>   <u>*bakča-yn*</u>.   (24FPl)
     child-PL   work-PRS.3PL **school**.ADJ garden-INE

     'Children are working in the <u>school garden</u>.'

The phrase *school garden* is similar to the phrase *school library* in (34). But translation results are significantly different: only one borrowing in (36) and 11 in (34). The translated material demonstrates that in (36) all informants translated the head *garden* with the Udmurt lexeme *bakča*, while in (34) only 3 informants used the Udmurt neologism *lyd'z'is'kon'n'i* 'library' with the rest using the Russian word *bibl'ioteka*. It seems that there is a tendency that if a head of a noun phrase has a concrete and casual meaning and is expressed with basic Udmurt vocabulary (e.g., garden), then there is more of a chance that Udmurt morphology will be used on the dependent. In (33), the head was also encoded using the basic Udmurt word *ulon* 'life', but the interference is very high despite this when comparing it to the phrase *school garden*. In my opinion, one reason for this is the abstract meaning of the head and the phrase.

6. Interference of Russian and the profiles of the informants

In this section, I will give scores for the use of Russian-influenced structures in examples (29), (31), (35), (36), (37), and (38). In particular, I give the scores of informants according to how many Russian-influenced structures they used in their translations. I will briefly describe individual specificities of translating results for some informants. I will then analyze the data according to their language repertoire and according to the age cohorts of the informants (see section 3.2).

The results show that four individuals did not use Russian-influenced structures at all. All these individuals have high proficiency in the standard language and their profession and everyday occupation is connected with the standard Udmurt language, e.g., among them there is a researcher-linguist (32MIh), journalist (24FIh), experienced teacher of Udmurt (56FIh), and fifth-year student of the Faculty of Udmurt Philology (22FIh). All of them lived at the time of the interview in Iževsk and also used Russian actively.

Four individuals had a score of 1. Most of them also had a high level of proficiency in the standard language. One informant with medium proficiency in the SdL (54FSm) paid special attention to using only Udmurt forms, in particular she tried to use neologisms (e.g., *lyd'z'is'kon'n'i* 'library'). Her everyday work is not connected with Udmurt; she does not have philological education and she gets knowledge of the SdL from newspapers.

Four individuals had a score of 2. Two had graduated from the Faculty of Udmurt Philology, but for some years had no longer used the SdL. In this group, there is one informant with Russian as their dominant language (23FIm) who had acquired Udmurt not long ago[9]. The Udmurt she had learned was the SdL. In her answers there are more ungrammatical forms, but she knows standard forms better than some individuals whose dominant language is Udmurt. Furthermore, for this informant it was also typical to separate the two languages: for her it was important to find an Udmurt equivalent even though this equivalent could be ungrammatical.

12 individuals had a score between 3 and 5. Most had a low level of proficiency in the SdL (seven individuals) and the rest had medium proficiency in the SdL. Five individuals used Udmurt as their dominant language, six individuals used both languages equally, and one used Russian as their dominant language. For eight of the individuals in this group, their main professional tasks were not connected with reading and writing (in any language), e.g., a tractor driver from

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9. Actually, the informant said that she had passive knowledge of Udmurt also in her childhood, which she learned from her grandmother, and also from her village environment. She learned Udmurt again in adulthood when she met her Udmurt-speaking boyfriend. Furthermore, the only Udmurt language variety that her boyfriend spoke was the SdL. He did not have knowledge of Russian at this time.

village (48MSl), a welder from Iževsk (56MIl), a driver (29MPl). Three individuals used only Russian at their work places, though not very much, e.g., one informant worked in civil service (31FIm), another was a musician (32MIm).

Only the informant with Russian as her dominant language (18FIm), who had a score of 3, was engaged in activities connected to language use, in that she was a first-year student in the Faculty of Udmurt Philology. Despite the fact that she had a similar profile to the other Russian dominant informant (23FIm), they had differing language use histories. The first informant (18FIm) was born in the North of the Udmurt Republic in an assimilated village. Code-mixing had always existed in her family: her parents mixed languages (her mother often spoke Udmurt and her father answered in Russian); she spoke only Russian with her younger sister and Udmurt with her grandparents. Her kindergarten and school were Russian-speaking. However, she acquired Udmurt well enough to study in the Faculty of Udmurt Philology. In her opinion, she had a good teacher of Udmurt in school who could engender and support her interest in the language. Probably, because the informant (18FIm) always has been in a code-mixing environment, she does not separate the two languages in the same way as the other informant (23FIm) does: for the first informant (18FIm) Udmurt and Russian are on a single continuum of her communication language, and this is the usual way of communicating she has experienced since her childhood. For the other informant (23FIm), Udmurt is like a foreign language and communicating in Udmurt demands more attention and effort in order to separate the two languages.

Two individuals had a score of 6 or had used Russian structures in all these examples. Among them is a young female informant from Porozovo (24FPl) who was already mentioned in section 6.2. For this informant, the translation task was difficult and likely for this reason she had the highest rate of use of Russian structures. Another informant with the same high score of 6 is a young male student from the North of the Udmurt Republic (18MIm) who was a first-year student in the Faculty of Udmurt Philology at the time of the interview. His performance in translating was good. I think that the reasons for his high rate of Russian interference are the following: he speaks both languages in his family (Udmurt with his parents and brother and Russian

with his 5-year-old sister) and code-switching might be a natural part of his everyday life. The last two years he studied in a mixed school: half of his classmates spoke Russian and the other half – Udmurt, including him. At the time of the interview, he had studied for 7 months already in the Faculty of Udmurt Philology, but he was not yet skilled in the Udmurt standard language.

In my data, there is an evident connection between knowledge of the standard language and the use of Russian-influenced structures (see Figure 1). In Figure 1, the average score for people with a high level of proficiency in standard Udmurt (see Table 1 for the informants' profiles) is 0.57; the score of the medium group is 2.9; while the score of the group with low proficiency is 4.5. This is not surprising as the people with a high level of proficiency in the Udmurt standard variety deal professionally with this language and perform different linguistic tasks every day in both languages. Thus, for these individuals
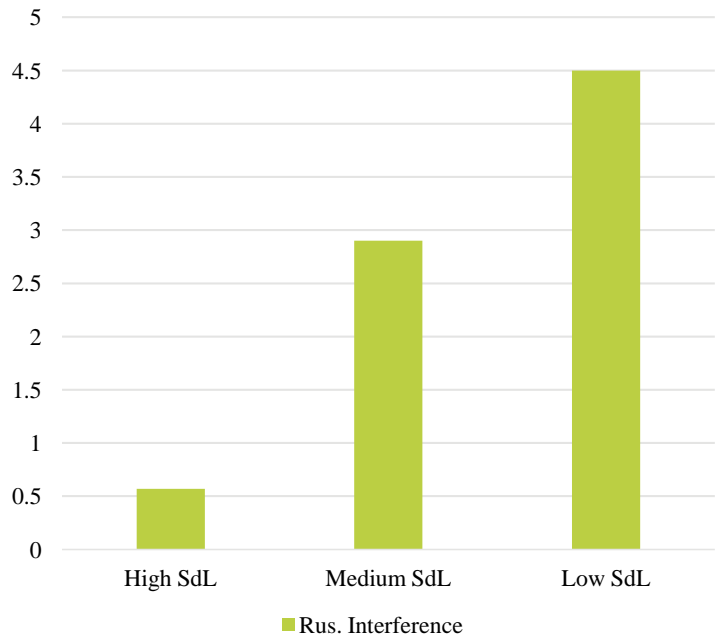
Figure 1. Standard language proficiency and the use of Russian-influenced structures.

translation and finding Udmurt equivalents is an easier cognitive task than for those who do not engage in linguistic work or do so only passively. Furthermore, knowledge of standard Udmurt structures helps avoid Russian interference, because in the vernacular variety in some cases analogical proper Udmurt structures do not exist, e.g., the use of an adverbial with an attribute in *musical circle*, in (32). In (32), only those who translated this phrase with Udmurt morphosyntax could use the adverbial in this function (with the exception of one informant with a high level of proficiency in the standard variety who used the nominative).

Below, in Figure 2, the use of Russian-influenced structures is given by age group. It is difficult to make clear conclusions here, as informants have different language profiles in these groups. The score of the youngest group is a little higher (3.5). In this group, all informants have a medium level of proficiency in the standard language. The medium group has a score of 2.1. In this group, almost all informants
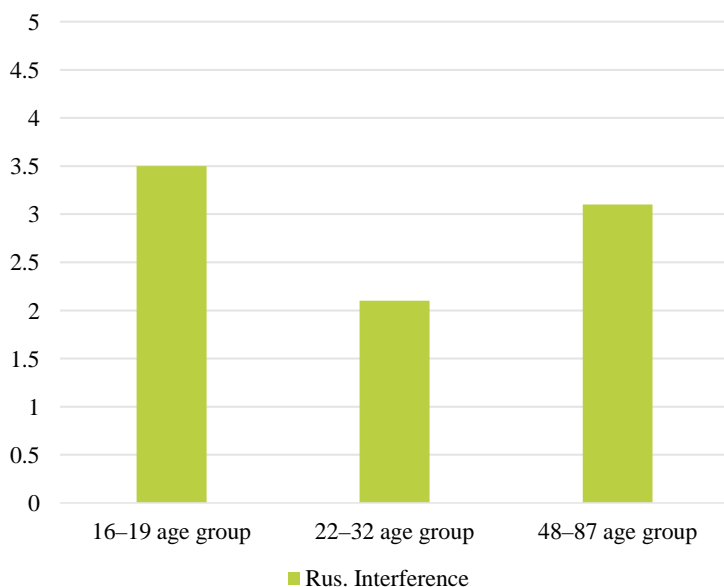
Figure 2. The use of Russian-influenced structures by age group.

have a high level of proficiency in the SdL, including three individuals with individual scores of 0. However, individuals with the highest score of 6 are also found here. In the last group, there is only one informant with an individual score of 0. In my opinion, additional data are needed to analyze the language behavior in each age group.

Furthermore, I analyzed the data according to the use of both languages (see Figure 3). Since my sample only contained two Russian dominant individuals, I will discuss their results separately and in Figure 3 will compare only the results of the informants with equal and dominant Udmurt language use. The results show that the score of the Udmurt dominant individuals is higher than that of those who use Udmurt and Russian equally. As was noted in section 4.2., with the exception of two individuals, all Udmurt dominant informants live in villages. They speak Udmurt with family, neighbors, and also with village public services. Two Udmurt dominant individuals who do not live in village are first-year students who still have close ties with their families. Spontaneous speech data from these informants demonstrate that some use Russian structures to a moderate extent, e.g., (73MSl), (48MSl); and some mix languages intensively, e.g., (24FPl), (24MPl), (57MPl). However, all use Russian-influenced structures in their speech. The informants (73MSl), (48MSl), and (57MPl) also have poor knowledge of Russian. It seems that the unique style of each informant is connected with their individual language experience and also with their cognitive experience of separating languages. First of all, these informants do not do linguistic work professionally. They are mostly non-mobile people with tight Udmurt-speaking networks. Even though they are always in contact with Russian (through TV, radio, reading, visitors, and city visits), they are not used to a situation of active language separation or change. Therefore, probably, the act of translating, searching for equivalents in their mother tongue, was difficult for them, especially when attempting to find standard forms. For that reason it was easier for them to insert Russian forms.

Informants who use Russian and Udmurt equally live in Iževsk. This group includes all the informants who are professional language users, which also influenced the final score of this group. As a rule, people who use the Udmurt SdL in their professions, also have a high level of proficiency in Russian and they are also used to writing and

producing high quality texts in Russian. Indeed, they are used to writing in both languages. There are also village inhabitants with equal language use, e.g., (53FPm), (29MPl), (26FPh), and (86FPl). These individuals use Russian in their work place, while the female pensioner (86FPl) speaks Russian with her three sons and Udmurt with her daughter (who she was living with) and neighbors. Informants from this group live in a situation of active language change: they use both languages every day in different domains. This factor has probably developed their ability to separate languages and to operate easier with both languages. This ability is especially prominent in conscious language use. We clearly see it in the case of the individuals with a high level of proficiency in the SdL. The TT was a highly conscious linguistic task to separate two languages. Individuals who do this task consciously every day were able to find all necessary equivalents in their mother tongue. However, in spontaneous speech some of these informants actively mixed languages, while some did not.
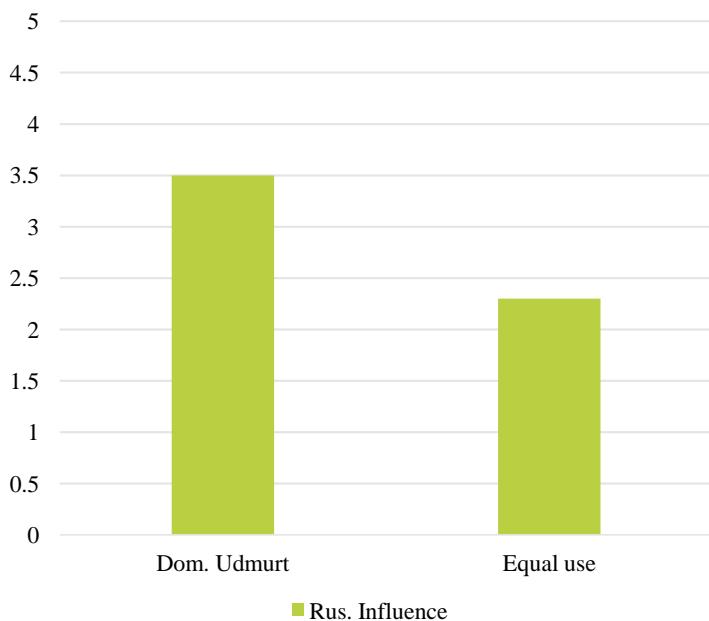
Figure 3. The use of Russian-influenced structures according to bilingual skills.

7. Discussion

In this section, I discuss what factors influence Russian interference in my TT data based on the material from sections 5 and 6. There are two different types of factors: linguistic and sociolinguistic.

Summarizing the material from section 6, it is possible to define the following linguistic factors that influence the code choice of informants in their translating strategies:

a) Semantics and pragmatics or discursive specificities of phrase components,
b) Degree of phrase lexicalization, and
c) Structural, morphosyntactic, and lexical specificity of noun phrases.

In this study I researched the marker of the dependent component of possessive attributive noun phrases. The use of case markers with attributes differs from their use with other sentence components. In particular, in the former case it is applied on the word level, while in the latter case it is used at the sentence level. Thus, the marker choice of an attribute, first of all, depends on the relationship of the head and the dependent. Possessive noun phrases express established relationships and have established structures. However, in Udmurt established possessive relationships and constructions are different than in Russian. For example, in Udmurt only the relationship between an animate or active definite possessor and an object, and whole-part relationships can be considered as established (I consider these to be prototypical Udmurt possessive relationships). Genitive and possessive suffixes are used to express this relationship and the nominative is used to express whole-part relationships. Other possessive-like relationships are not well-established (or grammaticalized). For this reason, I believe, all my informants were able to translate Udmurt possessive phrases using proper morphology, which utilized the same construction containing the genitive and possessive suffix. In this case the morphology of the original Russian phrase does not influence the translation. In section 5.2, possessive adjectives were also translated by 100% of informants using Udmurt genitive constructions.

The variation and also interference of Russian appears when informants deal with non-well-established categories. They chose markers according to the kind of relationship they define between two objects or notions, e.g., they chose locative case markers when defining position within a space, etc.

It seems that Russian interference mostly appears where relationships, concepts, and objects are more abstract; and when they are distant from prototypical relationships. Thus, they can be defined as Udmurt-specific and Russian-specific. The relationships and constructions, which are typical for the Udmurt traditional context and are established in the language, can be converted by a majority of informants into Udmurt. The relationships and constructions, which are not typical and which are not well-established linguistically (and basically do not exist in the Udmurt context) remain in Russian. The exception is standard discourse.

The choice of Udmurt or Russian morphology also depends on structural complexity. For example, in (26) the appositional phrase was the reason for some informants using a Russian construction.

Furthermore, Russian interference is prominent where functionally analogical structures exist in Udmurt. In particular, Udmurt has borrowed the derivational suffix *-oj* from Russian. As was noted in section 5.2, this suffix was established in both vernacular and standard varieties during the Soviet period. Even though during the second wave of language standardization this suffix fell out of favor in the standard language, in vernacular discourse it remains popular. In my opinion, therefore, in the TT used in this study, Russian phrases with this suffix had an influence on translated structures. This did not occur with possessive adjectives, because Udmurt does not have analogical structures. At the same time, it seems that availability of this suffix in Udmurt prevented code-switching in these examples, and this suffix was used as a converting tool.

Considering the language choice of the lexical components of each phrase, my data demonstrate that when informants use borrowed morphology, there is a direct influence on lexeme choice: the borrowed derivative suffix *-oj* is added only to borrowed Russian lexemes and never to Udmurt lexemes. However, borrowed Russian words can take Udmurt case markers. In the case of the *-oj* suffix, the choice of

the head in Russian or Udmurt can have influence on the Russian or Udmurt morphology of the dependent, as in *school garden* (36) and *school library* (34), but it seems that this does not follow for abstract concepts such as *theatre life* (33).

One of the main sociolinguistic factors, which explains different levels of Russian interference in the translating results of the informants, is how the informants separate the two languages when translating. The analysis of my data showed that individuals separate Udmurt and Russian differently. Three types of conscious language separation are given below:

1) Individuals who do linguistic work professionally are able to separate Russian and Udmurt morphosyntactic structures easily; they have knowledge of standard strategies for coding different relationships in Udmurt and Russian; thus when translating from Russian into Udmurt they focus on producing proper standard Udmurt structures.
2) Furthermore, one informant (54FSm) who does not work as a professional language user also produced proper Udmurt structures, because she took a position of using only Udmurt forms.
3) Another informant (23FIm) requires conscious effort to speak Udmurt since she learned Udmurt recently and for her it remains like a foreign language. In the dichotomy of mother tongue and foreign language, the need for her to be able to separate both languages became actualized.

Furthermore, the data show that some informants did not focus on language separation but instead on how they could express the meaning of a Russian sentence in a proper Udmurt way. For example, individuals who are not professional language users and have no special linguistic position are less aware of standard linguistic forms. They translated phrases according to their linguistic intuition and inserted Russian phrases when these phrases belonged to a Russian-specific context. Among these people several groups can be defined:

1) Individuals who use mostly Udmurt and do not often encounter the need to separate both languages.

2) Individuals who are used to mixing languages, e.g., (18FIm) and (18MIm). It seems that these informants acquired a mixed language in childhood or late in their schooling and this style became a sort of natural language for them.

3) There are also informants who separate languages situationally, e.g., at work and home, with certain people. However, linguistically this separation corresponds to the dichotomy of Udmurt-specific and Russian-specific structures.

My spontaneous speech data demonstrate that in unconscious or spontaneous language use the language separation strategies may be different than in the translating test. In particular, people with a high level of proficiency in the SdL may or may not mix languages in their spontaneous speech. Also Udmurt dominant individuals may or may not mix languages. Individual styles depend on an individual's language use history, which develops, in addition to other factors, also as a result of unplanned events, e.g., the choice of different day care for different children can have an influence on language shift between siblings or between parents and their child; having a particular teacher in school; their spouse; etc. It seems that when people encounter the need to deal with two languages, they develop their own individual behavior and knowledge in how to deal with them.

8. Conclusion

In this study I provided concrete examples of Russian-language interference in Udmurt morphosyntax. In particular, I investigated the interference on the noun phrase level. My results illustrate that on the noun phrase level one important factor that affects interference (or absence of interference) is the semantic relationship of the head and dependent as well as grammatical expression of this relationship. If a grammatical construction that expresses a particular relationship is well-established in a language, then code-switching is dispreferred. My data also showed that relations between concrete and definite concepts are better established in the Udmurt language than between abstract non-concrete concepts. Furthermore, morphosyntactic constructions

also can have different degrees of establishment and can belong to different language registers, e.g., possessive noun phrases using the genitive (and ablative) are well-established and distributed in all language registers, while noun phrases using adverbials are mostly known in the standard or official register. Interference appears, as a rule where non well-established constructions should be used.

In this study, two types of interference were investigated: borrowing and code-switching. In my translation data, examples containing the borrowed affix -*oj* were analyzed. Many informants used this affix to translate relational adjectives from Russian. This borrowed affix, which is well-established in Udmurt, helped them (or was the easiest way) to convert and integrate abstract noun phrases into Udmurt structures. Thus, code-switching does not appear in these examples at all. Code-switching, or insertion of whole noun phrases in Russian, appears where informants were not able to find appropriate Udmurt structures for abstract and non-concrete relationships or where structures were too complicated, e.g., double phrases and appositions.

My study also shows that the knowledge of different language varieties influences Russian interference: in particular the knowledge of standard structures permits the coding of all kinds of relationships using Udmurt morphosyntax and avoiding morphosyntactic interference. However, only language professionals know these forms and apply them mostly in conscious language use.

In the introduction, I noted that almost all Udmurt speakers are bilinguals. While all my informants also had knowledge of both Udmurt and Russian, they knew different varieties of these languages and operated in different ways with these languages. Some used both languages as part of their usual communication style, some spoke one language as a foreign language, etc. The specific nature of language use is very unique to each individual and defined by individual language use experiences and history.

The translating test method can be useful in the study of language interference, in particular, it may help define the types of varieties a speaker can produce, the types of linguistic structures speakers are able to produce, etc. The results of this method can be compared: for example, the translating results of individual informants. However, it is important to pay attention to the grammatical specificities of

translated structures in both languages. If both languages have simi-
lar ways of coding, most probably translation will stimulate the use
Russian-influenced structures, for example, in my data, intensive use
of the suffix *-oj*, which is borrowed from Russian, was defined by
the influence of original Russian forms containing *-yj*, *-aja*, and *-oje*.
However, if morphosyntactic structures differ significantly in the two
languages, a speaker may be more aware of these differences and seek
to intentionally avoid this interference. For example, in my data, in the
case of noun phrases containing the genitive, informants recognized
this difference between both languages and they actively worked to
find appropriate forms in Udmurt.

Sarhimaa (1999: 218–219) notes that translation can stimulate
informants to consciously separate languages. My data demonstrate
that when translating, different informants also separate languages in
different ways, in particular, linguistically more experienced speak-
ers (e.g., professional language users or individuals who have a clear
separation of languages in their lives such as family – out of family)
are able to separate languages better than other speakers (e.g., those
who have been used to mixing languages since early childhood or who
mostly use one language).

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INS	instrumental
ACC	accusative	M	masculine (gender)
ADJ	adjective	N	neutral (gender)
ADV	adverbial	NEG	negation
AUX	auxiliary	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	PL	plural
ELA	elative	PREP	prepositional (case)
EX	existential verb	PRS	present tense
F	feminine (gender)	PRT	preterite
FUT	future	PRTC	participle
GEN	genitive	PST	past tense
ILL	illative	PX	possessive suffix
INF	infinitive	REF	reflexive
INE	inessive	SG	singular

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Вакчияк статья сярысь

Та статьяын мон эскерисько, кызьы туала удмуртъёс удмурт кылазы ӟуч кылэз пырто. Статья лэсьтэмын ӟуч кылысь удмурт кылэ берыктон тестлэн материалэз вылын. Информантъёс притяжательной кылсочетаниосты берыктӥзы. Анализ возьматэ, огшоры притяжательной сочетаниосты вань информантъёс берыктыны быгато, отын ӧвӧл ӟуч кылысь асэстэм конструкциос. Нош абстрактной сочетаниосты ваньмыз уг быгато берыктыны, соку ӟуч структураос ӵемгес пумиськыло. Со сяна, та уж возьматэ, туала удмуртъёс удмурт но ӟуч кылъёсты пӧртэм сямен висъяло шуыса.

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A linguistic encounter between neighbors and relatives:
reconnecting Estonian and Finnish in terms of contemporary multilingualism

Abstract Contemporary mobility between Estonia and Finland is a versatile example of a sudden rise of the intermingling of two languages in a diverse language sociological context. The political situation, which prevailed after World War II and during the second half of the 20th century, prevented direct contacts between the Estonian and Finnish speech communities to a very large extent. Everyday contacts were very limited for several decades and took place only very irregularly regardless of the geographical adjacency of the two countries. In the 1990s, the situation changed abruptly after Estonia regained its independence, and some years later free travel was permitted. Currently, both Estonia and Finland are members of the European Union, which has brought the labour markets as well as the cultural and social networks of the two countries very close to one another and strongly contrasts with the earlier situation.

Intensive cultural and societal interaction influences the language use of individual people and micro communities in multiple ways. It is seen most illustratively in the private sphere. A regular boat connection between Estonia and Finland brings

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millions of people across the Gulf of Finland annually and tens of thousands of people have permanently or temporarily settled in their neighbouring country. The shared historical background and inherent grammatical and lexical features of the Estonian and Finnish languages are a substantial part of everyday contacts. These characteristics constitute the basis for mutual interaction and support the learning and adoption of practical skills in the neighbouring language.

This article discusses variance in code-switching between Estonian and Finnish both from a structural and interactional viewpoint. By code-switching we refer to the multiple morphological and morphosyntactic ways in which Estonians living in Finland and Finns living in Estonia combine their two sets of linguistic resources. To illustrate this, we use data both from social media and face-to-face conversations.

1. Introduction

In the long term, the current contact situation may reverse historical diversification processes of Finnish and Estonian. As a matter of fact, there are integrating trends which actually decrease the divergence between the two languages at issue. This is seen most clearly at a local level in micro communities. The current article aims at outlining different aspects involved in code-switching and the parallel use of Estonian and Finnish in interaction. In what follows, the term *code-switching* will be used as a default concept to refer to cases in which lexical and/or morphosyntactic material from at least two different languages appears in the same conversation (see, e.g., Kovács 2009: 24, Frick 2013: 10).

Our main purpose is to demonstrate the varied sources and effects of code-switching, as well as the fusion of lects, codes, structures, and functions between two closely related languages. The topic will be focused from three different perspectives which are the sociohistorical background, the role of morphological and word-level phenomena, as well as the integration of multilingual patterns into the morphosyntax of the recipient language.

This paper is organised so that the introduction is followed by a concise overview of language contacts between Estonian and Finnish in section 2. The data used in this study are introduced in section 3.

More generally speaking, the contacts between the Estonian and Finnish speech communities are an illustrative example of contemporary mobility and a rapid change of the cultural context as they reflect our contemporary social environment. This aspect is discussed in section 4, which provides an overview on the historical contacts and modern mobility, the settling of an Estonian-speaking population in Finland and of Finns in Estonia. More detailed analysis of the nature and preconditions of code-switching phenomena is presented in the two following sections. In section 5, we discuss the shared grammatical and lexical basis between Estonian and Finnish in terms of inflectional morphology, labelled as the most language-specific domain by typologists (Haspelmath 2007). Furthermore, given that the intertwining of different language resources occurs at a morphosyntactic level, the diversity of actual code-switching instances is illustrated in section 6. These are followed by a brief discussion of analysed phenomena in section 7.

2.   Earlier research on Finnish-Estonian contacts

The contacts between Estonian and Finnish can be examined both from an areal and an interactional viewpoint. Areal contacts between Estonian and Finnish have mainly been researched on the basis of lexical influence and the diffusion of cultural words in a historical context (Björklöf 2012, Grünthal 1998, Punttila 1992, 1996, Söderman 1996). Less information is available on the simultaneous usage of the two languages in actual communication situations and the crossing of language borders in social networks. However, it is well-known, for instance, that the inhabitants of northeastern Estonia and the Finnish-speaking population of certain islands of the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland and the adjacent mainland regularly exchanged their food products in 19th century and early 20th century (Björklöf 2012: 8–15, Elstrok 1999, Luts 1968, 1969, Vilkuna 1964: 144–155). Communication took place on the basis of what is currently labelled as receptive multilingualism: employing a language different from their partner's while still understanding each other mostly without the help of any additional lingua franca (see Rehbein, ten Thije & Verschik 2012). It is even reported that the Finnish partners attempted to make their

language sound more Estonian in order to make their products more attractive (Björklöf 2012: 15, Elstrok 1999: 37–38).

Research into Estonian-Finnish multilingualism increased considerably during the beginning of the 21st century, although there still remain relevant gaps in the research of historical contacts, as well. Previous works have shed light on the structural aspects of the intertwining of the given languages and code-switching in Estonian-Finnish data, including morphological convergence in the speech of Ingrian Finns in Estonia (Riionheimo 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013a, 2013b), morphological integration by Finnish students in Estonia (Frick 2008), and bilingual compounds (Frick 2009). Riionheimo and Frick (2014) compare structural characteristics of code-switching of young and old Finns in Estonia. Sulkala (1994, 1996), Hintsala (1996), Kaivapalu (2005), Jokela and Paulsen (2010), and Spoelman (2013) focus on language acquisition while Härmävaara (2013, 2014, 2017), Kaivapalu and Muikku-Werner (2010), and Verschik (2012), have studied Finnish-Estonian receptive multilingualism. Three doctoral dissertations offer larger and more detailed accounts of code-switching: Hassinen (2002) focuses on bilingual first language acquisition, Praakli (2009) employs a code-copying framework based on the model of Lars Johanson (1993, 2002), and Frick (2013) views code-switching from an interactional linguistic perspective. More recently, Praakli (2014, 2016) as well as Härmävaara and Frick (2016) have focused on the pragmatics of Finnish-Estonian code-switching.

The parallel use of Estonian or Finnish with a major Indo-European language has been studied, as well. The contact between Estonian and Russian, for instance, and the intertwining of these two speech communities have been reported in several studies (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013, Jürgenstein 2012, Verschik 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2016, Viikberg 1989, Zabrodskaya 2005, 2009), whereas contacts between Finnish and English have been examined in different areas (cf. Kovács in this volume), as have contacts between Finnish and Swedish (see, e.g., Fremer 2000, Saari 2006, Henricson 2013).

Sociolinguistically, the contact situation between Estonian and Finnish – as well as that of Estonian or Finnish with Russian – diverges considerably from that of Russian and other Finnic languages such as Karelian that have a lower social status and a limited space of usage

(cf. Karjalainen & al. 2013, Puura & al. 2013, Sarhimaa 1999), while Estonian and Finnish are typical European languages and are applied in a wide array of modern urban domains. Structurally, the language contact situation described in the current article is a contact between languages that share the lexical and grammatical basis and are thus less distinct than the Finnic languages are in comparison with Russian.

3. Data

The empirical part of the paper is based on multilingual practices among Estonians living in Finland and Finns living in Estonia. Examples will be presented from the speech and informal writing of both Estonian and Finnish informants based on two earlier data sets (see, Praakli 2009, Frick 2013), which are substantially compatible (see, however, Frick 2013: 48–49).

The material representing Estonians in Finland consists of both spoken data (Praakli 2009), and written data from social media (Praakli 2016). Semi-formal interviews were carried out in 2000–2002 and 2005 with 25 Estonian speakers in the city of Tampere, and these yielded a total amount of 30 hours of conversations (Praakli 2009). When presenting examples in the following, we will use the abbreviation EST_INT to mark these data. The social media data (EST_SM) were collected in 2015 and consist of ca. 465 Facebook wall posts together with their comments (Praakli 2016). All informants are recent migrants who have moved, alone or with their families, to Finland after 1991, hence, after Estonia regained its independence. The vast majority of this group are young or middle-aged Estonian-speakers with a heterogeneous sociolinguistic background. At the time of the interviews, the informants spoke colloquial standard Estonian as their mother tongue (L1) and Finnish as a foreign language (L2). Most of the informants have learned Finnish through everyday interaction after migrating to Finland as adults.

Likewise, the data casting light on Finnish in Estonia consist of both spoken and written informal language. Seven recordings of everyday conversations, a total of 15 hours, were made between 2000–2010. The conversations are mainly conducted among Finnish

students and work-related migrants in the city of Tartu, and the main language of the conversations was Finnish. Approximately 200 examples of code-switching to Estonian were attested in the data. These examples are marked FIN_CONV in the following. Written informal data were drawn, firstly, from about 2000 e-mail messages from Finns to Finns, in which a total of 550 code-switching instances to Estonian were found (marked FIN_EMAIL). Basic information and metadata of the participants were collected by means of a web-based questionnaire, which focused on the language choices in different domains.

There is considerable variation between the code-switching patterns of individual speakers. Generally speaking, the main languages of communication of Estonians in Finland were Finnish and Estonian. As a rule, English (but sometimes also Russian) was used as the *lingua franca* only with people speaking some other language. The responses by Finns living in Estonia revealed that both Estonian (public sphere) and Finnish (private sphere) are used as dominant languages in certain domains. English is present especially in media and occasionally used as a lingua franca. Nevertheless, despite the aim to compare parallel cases in Estonia and Finland, the survey conducted amongst Finns in Estonia is not entirely compatible with that of Estonians in Finland. Yet, the surveys clearly indicate that Finns in Estonia have somewhat fewer opportunities to use their L1 in the public sphere than Estonians do in Finland. (Frick 2013: 12–17; Praakli 2017.) This is not a surprising result, as the Finnish-speaking population in Estonia is considerably smaller than Estonian in Finland. Nevertheless, it contradicts the widely spread belief among Finns that Finnish can be widely used in Estonia.

The extracts are chosen in order to illustrate code-switching at the sentence-level. Nevertheless, code-switching is also common in **non-sentence-like** units such as greetings or expletives. In our data, in which the base language of the texts is always the speakers first language, sentence-level code-switching is typical for speakers, who have had time to acquire the grammar of the second language, while greetings are often adopted at a very early stage after arrival to the new country (see, e.g., Frick 2013: 16–17). As emphasized in language contact studies (Clyne 2003, Matras 2006, Muysken 2000, Thomason 2001, Winford 2003), it is not always possible, or necessary, to make an explicit distinction between word-level borrowings and code-switching.

The next section will provide a short typological outline of some of the most fundamental differences between Estonian and Finnish.

4. The diversification of Estonian and Finnish

Linguistically, contacts between closely related languages are a rather frequent phenomenon as language boundaries often emerge through a gradual diversification of dialects and geographically adjacent communities. There are several examples of rather vague isoglosses in different parts of Europe, for instance, if one considers the relationship between various Germanic, Slavic, and Romance languages. Compared to other modern European countries and language areas, Estonian and Finnish yield a rather different language contact situation as they are typologically and historically different from Indo-European languages, both belonging to the Finnic branch of the Uralic languages.

Despite transparent shared vocabulary and similar inflectional paradigms there are considerable morphological and other typological differences between Estonian and Finnish. Paradigmatically, most inflectional categories are attested in both languages, including both a rich case system and verb inflection. However, although Estonian and Finnish share the vast majority of paradigmatic categories, there are striking differences in the inflection of individual words, the way grammatical relations and semantic structures are manifested.

More fine-grained distinctions are seen in the inflection of cases that display core grammatical roles. In Estonian they are strongly eroded and often display flexive forms whereas Finnish typically has segmental suffixes. Furthermore, at the syntactic level, Estonian often exhibits analytic verb phrases instead of the higher degree of synthesis manifested in Finnish. Consequently, in some typological studies Estonian has even been labelled as a completely flective (alternatively fusional) language (Korhonen 1996 [1980]: 187, [1982] 208, Skalička 1975, Viitso 1998: 110). From a more holistic viewpoint, this claim does not hold and is limited only to some key categories (Grünthal 2000, Rätsep 1981, Tauli 1984, Viitso 1990). Yet, in comparison with other Uralic languages, Estonian clearly exhibits a more frequently

analytic structures and is syntactically closer to Standard Average European in many ways (Erelt & Metslang 2006, Metslang 2009).

From a historical perspective, the contrast between two modern standard languages, such as Estonian and Finnish, reflects only a recent stage in a long-term development and the political context of the end of 19th and beginning of 20st century. Although the first efforts to create a literary language in both countries were made in the 16th century and the development of the following centuries gradually led to the establishment of a normative standard (Raag 1999, 2008), a more widespread adoption of a standard language did not begin before 20th century. The foundation of a school system based on a national language effectively promoted the use of a common standard in Estonia (Karjahärm & Sirk 1997, Talve 2004) and Finland, where the effect of school education in the national language began already at the second half of 19th century (see, e.g., Hakulinen & al. 2009: 25–27). While dialects and areal variants were still the dominant variants of both Estonian and Finnish during the first half of the 20th century, urbanisation, the intensifying of education, and mass media gave the upper hand to the spread of a literary standard and new colloquial variants based on the language of cities and the public sphere.

The beginning of the 20th century was an especially intensive period in the contacts between Estonian and Finnish, with hundreds of Finnish words purportedly borrowed into Estonian from Finnish. This occurred parallel with systematic language planning and was aimed at enriching lexical nuances by importing new units from a closely related language. (Chalvin 1992, Raag 1999, 2008, Rätsep 1976, 1981.)

Due to the Soviet occupation of Estonia, migration between the two countries stopped for almost 50 years (see Grünthal 2009; Koreinik & Praakli 2017; Rausmaa 2007, 2013; Zetterberg 2007). Contacts were re-established and new migrant communities arose around the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Compared to those contacts that occurred in a limited local framework, the contemporary contacts between Estonian and Finnish are very profuse and most likely more intensive than ever. Table 1 sums up the history of language contacts between Estonian and Finnish from the mid-19th century until today, and the sociological and political context that affected these contacts (based on Grünthal 2009: 237–238).

Period	Sociohistorical and political context	Linguistic processes
1850–1900	The rise of modern national culture in Finland and Estonia, both parts of the Russian empire. The position of the Finnish language becomes stronger, while the public use of Estonian remains very limited. Mutual trading in the eastern area of the Gulf of Finland.	Areal contacts and borrowings between northeastern Estonia, Ingria, and southeastern Finland, including insular regions. First literary loans are borrowed from Finnish into Estonian.
1900–1940	Intensive cultural interaction. Political contacts emerge between the two independent states in the 1920s. Nationalism in both countries. Areal contacts and occasional migration.	Intentional intensive borrowing of literary loans from Finnish into Estonian. Areal diffusion continues to some extent. Increasing importance of the standard language in both communities.
1940–1965	World War II causes a total interruption of contacts between the two sides of the Iron Curtain. During the post-war period many Ingrian Finns settle in Estonia.	No areal contacts. Occasional language contacts in micro communities, which, however, remain undocumented.
1965–1990	A gradual increase of travel and contacts under strict control. Finnish radio and television broadcasts can be followed on the northern coast of Estonia.	No areal contacts. Bilingualism in micro communities among Ingrian Finns in Estonia. Increasing lexical borrowing from Finnish to Estonian, models of modern concepts.
1990–2004	Intensive cultural, social, economic, and political contacts. A sudden increase of mutual networking and mobility. Estonia and Finland are integrated by Western political collaboration, trade, and legislation. Increase of mixed marriages. Extensive tourism and travel.	Intensive language contacts. The Finnish model is consulted in Estonian language planning, the renewing of lexicon and public usage of language. Simultaneous usage of the two languages in speech communities and micro societies such as families, student and working groups.
2004–	Both countries are member states of the EU. Free labour mobility. Transnationalism, commuting. Regular intensive mutual collaboration, social, cultural, and economic interaction. Even more extensive tourism and travel.	Simultaneous usage of the two languages in numerous speech communities and micro societies such as families, student and working groups.

Table 1. The sociohistorical context of contacts between Estonian and Finnish.

One of the specific characteristics of contemporary migration between Estonia and Finland is transnationalism (Jakobson & al. 2013, Koreinik & Praakli 2017: 87–88; see also Hyvönen 2007, Kingumets 2008, Kauber 2015), which refers to the multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states (cf. Vertovec 1999: 1). The geographical adjacency of these countries and that of their capitals, Helsinki and Tallinn, which are located only a distance of roughly 80 kilometers away from each other, facilitates various cross-border practices, such as commuting for work, study, tourism, economic, political, cultural activities, etc. At present, thousands of Estonians commute weekly to Finland (VisitFinland 2016), while thousands of Finnish tourists visit Tallinn[2].

Sociolinguistically, Estonians residing in Finland, Finns residing in Estonia, as well as Estonians and Finns commuting between Estonia and Finland represent relatively "new" language communities. In 2015, there were officially 48 087 people in Finland who had registered Estonian as their mother tongue (Tilastokeskus 2016) and 2621 people in Estonia, whose mother tongue was reported to be Finnish (Eesti Statistika 2016, RL0421, RL0431).

The Estonian immigrant community in Finland is the second-largest group in terms of mother tongue after the Russians, with Russian officially having 72 436 speakers (Tilastokeskus 2016). The number of Estonians living or working in Finland grew rapidly after Estonia's entry into the European Union in 2004. Since 2006, Finland has been the main destination country for Estonian citizens, particularly among the young working-age population (PHC 2013). Similarly to other immigrant groups in Finland (Rapo 2011), Estonians tend to concentrate in metropolitan areas, i.e., Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo in the Uusimaa region in southern Finland, and in other major cities, such as Tampere, Turku, and Lahti, situated at a distance of roughly two hundred kilometres or less from Helsinki (see Koreinik and Praakli 2017).

The number of ethnic Finns in Estonia, officially totaling 7321 in 2015 (Eesti Statistika 2016, RV022[3]), includes recent migrants, as

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2. According to the Foreign Ministry of Estonia, 900 000 Finns stayed overnight in Estonia in 2014 (Välisministeerium 2016). An even bigger number of visitors and tourists pay a daily visit without staying overnight.
3. The code (e.g., RV0222) specifies the statistics used.

well as Ingrian Finns who migrated to Estonia from other parts of the Soviet Union mainly in the 1940s and 1950s (see, e.g., Anepaio 1999). The last Estonian population census carried out in 2011, reported 1519 Finnish citizens living in Estonia and 2621 people whose mother tongue was Finnish (Eesti Statistika 2016, RL0421, RL0431). During the past decade (2004–2014), an annual average of 192 people born in Finland moved to Estonia according to the Estonian Statistical System (Eesti Statistika 2016, RVR09).

Compared to the high number of Estonian migrants in Finland, the situation of migrant Finns in Estonia is different. According to official statistics, the Finns do not belong to the largest ethnic minorities in Estonia, which lists three Slavic-speaking groups as the largest ones, namely, Russians (330 258 people in 2015), Ukrainians (22 562), and Belarusians (12 215) (Eesti Statistika 2016, RV022). According to the Embassy of Finland (2016), the majority of Finns in Estonia live in and around the capital Tallinn and are currently working either for Finnish companies or private entrepreneurs. Moreover, ca. 1300 Finnish students study in Estonia (op.cit.).

5.   A morphological and lexical preamble: diversification and reunification

This section will give an overview of the phonological and morphological characteristics of code-switching between Estonian and Finnish. The main focus is on morphology and inflection of words. In the research of language contacts and code-switching, switching individual words and borrowing are often considered as the first stage of foreign influence and many scholars even consider it a subtype of code-switching (Clyne 2003: 70–102, Kovács 2001: 63–64, Matras 2009: 101–145, Myers-Scotton 1992, 1993, Thomason 2001: 131–156). In the contact situation between Estonian and Finnish, a word is more than a single lexical unit because a word often includes grammatical information on morphological rules. The same is valid for other similar instances in which languages displaying inflectional morphology are involved. This encompasses both affixal forms and stem alternation. The inflection of words is the basic means for marking grammatical

relations and, as mentioned above, in addition to basic vocabulary, Estonian and Finnish share basic inflectional categories. As a rule, verb inflection is based on suffixal forms. Furthermore, most inflectional cases are in common and transparent for both speakers with the exception of cases marking core grammatical functions, which are influenced by the strong erosion of suffixes in Estonian.

Although morphology and, more precisely, inflectional morphology, is considered the most language-specific feature any language can have (Haspelmath 2007, 2010: 664–674; for recent discussion of language-specific and comparative categories, see *Linguistic Typology* 20 (2016)), there are many conjugation and declension types in Estonian and Finnish that share the inflectional stem. This is true for two-syllable vowel-final words, such as Estonian and Finnish *kala* 'fish', *muna* 'egg', which do not display intervocalic consonant alternation. However, as noted, typologically there are some fundamental differences between the inflection of grammatical cases. Morphologically, one of the most influential sources for divergence are different stem alternation rules, which affect both single and geminate plosives in both languages, and have a much wider impact on word stem structure in Estonian.

The distinction between the nominative, genitive, partitive, and illative singular in Estonian is mainly based on flexion and has special importance for distinguishing between the subject and object, the nominal core arguments. In certain word types this has led to extensive syncretism, which blurs the grammatical effectiveness of inflectional morphology (Baerman 2005, Baerman & al. 2005, Blevins 2005, Grünthal 2001, 2007, 2010). The similarities and dissimilarities between Estonian and Finnish word inflection have been analysed in more detailed from a contrastive perspective by Remes (2009).

Table 2 illustrates the basic similarities and typological differences between Estonian and Finnish core grammatical cases. The chosen words belong to the shared lexicon, *käsi* with two historical alterations which are the weakening of intervocalic *t* and the common Finnic sound change *ti > si, pesä ~ pesa* historically a two-syllable non-alternating stem with an open vowel in the second syllable, *tytär ~ tütar* a consonant-ending two-syllable word historically alternating with a three-syllable stem.

	'hand'		'nest'		'daughter'	
	Estonian	Finnish	Estonian	Finnish	Estonian	Finnish
NOM	*käsi*	*käsi*	*pesa*	*pesä*	*tütar*	*tytär*
GEN	*käe*	*käde-n*	*pesa*	*pesä-n*	*tütre*	*tyttäre-n*
PTV	*kätt*	*kät-tä*	*pesa*	*pesä-ä*	*tütar-t*	*tytär-tä*
ILL	*kätte*	*käte-en*	*pessa ~ pesasse*	*pesä-än*	*tütre-sse*	*tyttäre-en*

Table 2. The main differences between Estonian and Finnish case inflection.

Considering the purpose of the current article, the point is that despite a major typological difference in the inflection of the genitive, partitive, and the illative, which is an adverbial case, the word stem still remains identifiable on the basis of the other language involved. Estonian and Finnish *käsi* 'hand' is identifiable for the speakers of either language on the basis of the nominative form and the historical consonant stem *kät-*, although the actual case forms diverge from one another and are based on differing inflectional strategies.

The morphophonological splitting between Estonian *pesa*, Finnish *pesä* 'nest' is manifested in the divergence of the stem and the loss of vowel harmony and the lack of front vowels in non-initial syllables in Estonian. The stem *pesa* does not directly correspond to any identical Finnish stem. In principle, *pesa* would be entirely possible in Finnish and displays a similar vowel sequence as *mela* 'paddle' (Estonian *mõla*), i.e., a back vowel instead of a front vowel in the second syllable. In this case, the word would not follow the vowel harmony rules of *pesä*. Yet, there is no such word as *pesa* in Finnish and the word *pesä* can only be perceived as *pesa* in Estonian, thus corresponding to its etymological cognate.

Finally, the third example in Table 2, Estonian *tütar*, Finnish *tytär* 'daughter' shows more commonalities between the two languages. Estonian *tütar* has replaced the front vowel *ä* in the second syllable with the corresponding back vowel *a*, as in *pesa* above. However, the nominative and partitive forms display a consonant stem *tütar*, which increases the morphological distinctiveness of the word and makes it a more transparent parallel of Finnish *tytär* in an actual speech situation. In all three examples it must be emphasized that, ultimately, the syntactic position of a given word plays an equally important role in the

understanding of its semantic role for both first- and second-language speakers (see, Kaivapalu et al. 2014; Kaivapalu 2015).

Considering the phonological differences between Estonian and Finnish, certain basic differences are reflected in the adoption of code-switched words. More generally speaking, these characteristics can also be considered a specific type of word formation (see also Praakli 2014). In the data, when adapting Finnish words to the phonotactic rules of Estonian, Estonians living in Finland frequently eliminate vowel harmony as in Est. (colloquial) *üritusjohtaja* < Fi. *yritysjohtaja* 'business executive' and Est. (col.) *henkilotunnus* < Fi. *henkilötunnus* 'personal identity code'. In these words, the second-syllable front vowel, more precisely Finnish *-y-* and *-ö-*, is replaced with a corresponding back vowel in Estonian, namely *-u-* and *-o-*.

Another characteristic way of adjusting Finnish nouns to Estonian phonology is the spreading of apocope, the loss of word-final vowels, in multisyllable Finnish nouns, such as Est. (col.) *poliis* < Fi. *poliisi* 'police', Est. *maistraat* < Fi. *maistraatti* 'city administrative court'. And finally, one other typical example of the difference between Estonian and Finnish phonology, long vowels are shortened in unstressed syllables as in Est. (col.) *sairala* < Fi. *sairaala* 'hospital'.

The importance of these differences can also be observed in the opposite direction of borrowing when Finns in Estonia adapt Estonian words to Finnish phonological rules, if the stem diverges from the expected Finnish one. The preference for vowel-final nominative forms is shown by the addition of a final vowel in singular nominatives, such as Fi. (colloquial) *viikki* < Est. *viik* 'tie; draw', Fi. (col.) *korppi* < Est. (col.) *korp* '(students') association', Fi. (col.) *masina* < Est. *masin* 'machine'. Certain nouns and adjectives have a word-final *-n* in Finnish, a substitution for the loss of this element that has taken place in Estonian as in Fi. (col.) *praktilinen* < Est. *praktiline* 'practical', Fi. (col.) *võimalinen* < Est. *võimeline* 'able, capable'. In the latter case, Finnish *voima* 'strength; force' is an etymological cognate of Estonian *võim* 'authority; power'. Instead of applying the corresponding Finnish stem, the Estonian stem and its semantic properties are preserved in the transmitted derivation.

Finally, a very illustrative difference between the vowel paradigms is that Estonian has the central vowel *õ*, which is completely

absent in Finnish. Conceivably, in colloquial speech, it is normally substituted either with Finnish *ö* or *o* as in Fi. (col.) *röömus* < Est. *rõõ-mus* 'happy; joyful', Fi. (col.) *joulisii* powerful.PTV < Est. *jõulisi* pow-erful.PTV 'powerful, forceful'[4]. Furthermore, in informal written data, the possibilities of dexterous orthographic solutions are occasionally used by both Estonians and Finns. These include the substitution of Estonian *ü* and *õ* with Finnish *y* and Estonian *õ* with Finnish *ö* or *o* following the phonological substitution described above.

   Like phonological adaptation, morphological integration is a ba-sic tool for the adoption of new units in both data sets (see Frick 2008, 2013: 16–17; Praakli 2009: 115–140, 2015: 391). It happens most typi-cally by adding L1 suffixes to L2 nouns and verbs, which are thus in-tegrated into the recipient language of the conversation. In general, the adoption of Finnish vocabulary into Estonian or vice versa is not com-plicated as the basic syllable structure of inflectional stems in both lan-guages most commonly ends in a vowel and vowel stems are preferred, as a rule (VISK §55; 63–77, Viitso 2003: 10–81). However, as both languages display quite extensive morphophonological alternation fol-lowing language-specific rules, the integration of a given word affects the stem, affix, and inflectional rules of the word at issue. Extracts (1) and (2) are taken from a mailing list of Finnish students studying in Es-tonia. The authors of the informal excerpts are native Finnish speakers.

(1) *Koite-taan*   *pääs-tä*   *latino+**pidu**-un.*
     attempt-PASS   get-INF   Latino.party-ILL
     'Let's try to get to the Latino party!'   (FIN_EMAIL)

In (1), the stem of the compound word *latinopiduun* is inflected like any two-syllable Finnish word with a CVCV stem. The illative case is indicated by the lengthening of the word-final vowel and the na-sal, accordingly -V^2V^2n. However, in Finnish the stem is always in the strong grade if the given word displays consonant gradation, whereas an intervocalic -*d*- never occurs in a strong grade in inherent vocabu-lary. In Estonian, none of the possible illative forms of the word *pidu* 'party', which are *peo-sse ~ pidu-sse ~ pittu*, correspond to the Finnish

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4.   In the word *joulisii* the partitive form of the word is based on the lengthening of the stem vowel, characteristic of colloquial Finnish but different from the standard language displaying a word-final -*a* in plural.

illative. Moreover, morphosyntactically the allative form *peo-le* party-ALL is more common and would be expected in this context. The plural nominative displays the normal consonant gradation rules in Finnish and the stem occurs in a weak grade in a closed syllable. Thus, the plural form (2) *latinopidut* is comparable with the Finnish cognate stem *pito : pido-t* party-PL 'parties'.

(2)   *Hei, joo   mu-lle paita ja   latino+**pidu**-t   on*
      hi   yes   I-ALL   shirt   and   Latino+party-PL is
      tä-llä   hetke-llä   "on hold".
      this-ADE   moment-ADE   on hold
      'Hi, yes, a shirt for me, and the Latino party is "on hold"
      at the moment.'   (FIN_EMAIL)

In the analysed data, verbs are integrated in a similar manner, which is seen, for example, in the native Finnish speakers' use of colloquial Finnish infinitive forms and modification of the consonant gradation when necessary, as in Fi. (col.) *nakattua* < Est. *nakatuda* 'to catch (a disease)' and Fi. (col.) *piiluu* < Est. *piiluda* 'to snoop'.

    Another type of morphological integration is seen in (3), a spoken utterance by an Estonian residing in Finland. It is not possible to decide on the basis of the recording, whether the stop in the last syllable is a Finnish voiceless dental *t* or an Estonian voiceless alveolar or post-dental *d*. The interpretation of *maahanmuuttajaida ~ maahanmuuttajaita* depends on which language is considered to be the grammatical base language. In Finnish, the expected plural partitive form would be *maahanmuuttajia* lacking an overtly manifested plosive in the suffix, whereas in Estonian the given stem type ending in *-ja* would suggest a plural partitive ending *-id* as in *õpetaja-id* teacher-PTV 'teachers'. The informant actually combines the plural partitive formation rules of both languages involved.

(3)   *Mina ela-n   sellise-s maja-s,   ku-s   on*
      I   live-1SG   such-INE house-INE, where-INE is
      *palju   **maahan+muuttaja**-i-t/d-**a**.*
      many   immigrant-PL-PTV-PTV
      'I live in such a house, in which there are many immigrants.'
                                             (EST_INT)

The morphological dimension of code-switching discussed here is pervasive because it involves basic typological differences. In his analysis of Estonian morphological paradigms Blevins (2005: 7–8) notes that, actually, the kennform category varies between declension types. The concept of a kennform (the English *leading form* is less frequently used) originates from Wolfgang Wurzel's (1984) natural morphology and suggests that certain inflectional forms include the core information of the declension or conjugation type, whereas the rest of the paradigm is predictable on the basis of the kennform. Hence, it may be either the nominative, genitive, or partitive singular depending on the stem, declension type, and its permutations. However, it is likely that it is not solely a word-level prosodic structure or morphological form that determines the kennform of bilingual Estonian and Finnish phrases. As Müller (2013) has recently emphasised, morphological phenomena are paired with morphosyntactic values. Shared syntactic characteristics such as case government and word order increase or decrease the similarity embedded units and the context.

The next section will focus on the morphosyntactic properties of code-switched elements and syntactic impact of code-switching in more detail.

6. Morphosyntax of Estonian-Finnish and Finnish-Estonian code-switching

The discussion in this section will follow Muysken's (2000) classification of code-switching patterns, alternatively *code-mixing* in his terminology. We will start by discussing examples of congruent lexicalisation, then insertions (in Muysken's terms), and finally the alternation of morphosyntactically complete chunks of speech. Muysken's model is based on the presumption that some language pairs share linguistic structures despite apparent lexical differences. Congruent lexicalisation can happen when two languages share a linguistic structure, and speakers fill this structure with lexemes from the two languages (Muysken 2000: 122–153). In Finnish and Estonian, the basic constituent order and argument structure are shared. For instance, the order of the head and modifier of a genitive phrase is the same in Estonian

and Finnish as the genitive attribute always precedes the head and several modifiers may follow one another. This is seen in (4), which is taken from an e-mail message written by a Finn living in Estonia. The recipient language of the message is Finnish.

(4) *Kato-i-n   muuten   mi-tä   ema+joe-n*
     watch-PST-1SG   otherwise   what-PTV   Ema+jõgi-GEN
     äri+keskukse-n   sauna-n   vuokraaminen   maksa-a.
     business+centre-GEN sauna-GEN   hiring   cost-3SG
     'By the way, I checked how much renting
     the sauna of Emajõe shopping centre costs.'   (FIN_EMAIL)

Extract (4) involves two genitive phrases. The first one is a calque of the name of an Estonian business centre *Emajõe ärikeskus* consisting of two compound nouns. In both cases the stem belongs to shared vocabulary, namely Estonian *jõgi* : *jõe* 'river', Finnish *joki* : *joen* 'id.', and Estonian *keskus* : *keskuse* 'centre', Finnish *keskus* : *keskuksen* 'id.'. Moreover, the word Estonian *saun* : *sauna*, Finnish *sauna* : *saunan* belongs to the shared lexicon as well. These parallels allow for the smooth transfer of an Estonian phrase into colloquial Finnish without violating its inherent morphosyntactic structure. However, in the given case the point is that the genitive phrase and the constituent order constitute the morphosyntactic pattern in which lexical modifications are done.

Another type of switching benefitting from lexical similarities between the languages is translations that are created by means of an item-by-item translation of the source unit (Frick 2009; cf. Verschik 2002, 2004a, 2016 on Estonian-Russian data). These are typically complex lexical units, either compound words or phrasal expressions which are phonetically close but have a different meaning as in (5).

(5) *Minu   töö-ks   on   ürituste+vaheline*
     I.GEN   job-TRA   is   company/happening.PL.GEN.inter
     arvuti+võrku-de   loomine.
     computer.network-PL.GEN   creating
     'My job is to create computer networks
     between companies/activities.'   (EST_INT)

In (5), the Finnish noun phrase *yritystenvälinen* 'between companies' serves as the model for the phonetically similar Estonian adjective

phrase *üritustevaheline* consisting of lexical cognates. The code-switching includes a semantic loan because in monolingual Estonian, the phrase would have a different meaning 'between events'. More precisely, the difference is based on the different meaning of the modifier, Finnish *yritys* 'company; enterprise' and Estonian *üritus* 'happening, activity'. However, the word itself was originally borrowed from Finnish, first as a verb *üritama* 'to try' (Rätsep 1976: 215–216).

There are also examples of code-switching, in which lexical similarities between the two languages play no role. In (6)[5], a genitive phrase resembling a compound noun consisting of *söökla* 'canteen' and *haju* 'smell', exploits a similar morphosyntactic relationship between the modifier and the head. Neither *söökla* nor *haju* bare any phonetic resemblance to their etymological cognate in the other language.

(6) *Siellä   on   **söökla**   haju   ku   joku*
    there   be.3SG   restaurant(.GEN) smell   when   somebody
    teke-e   ruoka-a.
    make-3SG   food-PTV

    'There is the smell of a canteen when somebody is cooking'
                                             (FIN_CONV)

The modifier in (6) *söökla* 'canteen' is clearly exhibited in Estonian, but because of the lack of morphological marking as an *a*-stem bisyllabic word it is impossible to determine the case on the basis of the inflection. It can be encoded both as the nominative and genitive. In both languages both nominative and genitive cases are possible in the modifier of a compound noun. The genitive, in the given example is, however, the most probable choice of case in both languages and especially in Estonian because the modifier occurs in the genitive considerably more often than the nominative.

Muysken's model includes other types of code-switching, as well. One of these is insertion, which is used when a given structure is not shared by the two languages. In this case, the speaker has to adapt the morphosyntactic characteristics of the utterance in order to combine the two elements (Muysken 2000: 60–95). However, insertions are very rare in our data. We suspect that this has to do with the

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5.   This example is analysed from another perspective in Frick (2013: 49–50).

structural similarity and genetic affinity of the languages. It is also noteworthy that the contact situation is new, the speakers represent the first generation and use both their L1 and L2 in monolingual contexts. A different kind of contact situation of the same language pair has lead to more intensive intermingling of the languages also on the structural level (Riionheimo & Frick 2014).

Some bilingual compounds can, with some notes of caution, be regarded as insertions. The selection of the case of the modifier depends on the semantic relation of the modifier and head. As a rule, the genitive case is much more common in Estonian than Finnish. There are examples, in which the genitive case is obligatory in Estonian, while Finnish uses the nominative. Such is the compound word denoting 'kidney book' in (7), taken from an e-mail message of a Finn living in Estonia.

(7) *Mä   oon   täydellisesti   menettä-nyt   hermo-ni   se-n*
     I   am   totally   loose-PST.PTCP   nerve-1SG   it-GEN

    neeru*+kirja-n*   *kanssa...*
    kidney.GEN+book-GEN   with

    'I've totally lost my nerve with that kidney book.'   (FIN_EMAIL)

In (7), the Estonian modifier *neeru* 'kidney' is in the genitive case whereas the nominative form would be *neer*. A monolingual Finnish compound with a similar meaning would, however, require the modifier to be in the nominative case as in *sieni+kirja* mushroom.NOM+book.NOM 'mushroom book'. Thus, the compound is based on modifying both the lexical and morphosyntactic characteristics of *neeru* according to Estonian grammar. Nevertheless, this corresponds to the phonological adaptation of Estonian words in Finnish discourse (cf. section 3). In the given example the Estonian genitive ends in a final vowel, which is an inflectional stem resembling most Finnish nominative case forms.

The discussion above also illustrates the relative ease with which speakers can switch between Estonian and Finnish. Since the languages share a great deal of their morphosyntactic structures, they remain intact in most code-switching types. There are, nevertheless, some examples, in which two different morphosyntactic structures are combined. Although speakers of Estonian and Finnish need not make many morphosyntactic modifications subsumed to code-switching, this is

not the whole picture. As we saw in the analysis of compound nouns, structure does not exist in isolation of the lexicon. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish whether a switch happens at the "structural" or "lexical" level. An example of this is semantic loans of multi-word constructions.

Semantic loans are a special subtype of code-switching, in which the meaning is taken from the other language, although a given word is seemingly monolingual. When the semantic loan occurs in a syntactic unit consisting of several words and is governed by internal morphosyntactic relations, a semantic loan can occur as an insertion-like modification of the morphosyntactic structure. In (8) and (9), the quantifier *kaikki* 'all' is located in a sentence-final position, follows the predicate *on* 'is' and is a part of the Finnish lexicon. Extracts (8) and (9) are taken from a mailing list of Finnish students in Estonia. The authors of the excerpts are native Finnish speakers, and the recipient language is Finnish.

(8) *Se   on   **siis**   lyhyesti   **kaikki**.*
     it   is   then   briefly   all

     'Thus, this is briefly all.'   (FIN_EMAIL)

(9) *Joo,   nää   on   **kaikki**   ÕIS:ssa   ja   K. Kuuse   sano-i*
     yes,   these   is   all   ÕIS-INE   and   K.   Kuuse   say-PST.3SG
     *että   **tää**   **on**   **kaikki***
     that   this   is   all

     'Yes, these are all in ÕIS and K. Kuuse said that this is all.'
                                                               (FIN_EMAIL)

From the perspective of Finnish syntax, the expected default value of the two examples, *kaikki* must be followed by a locative modifier as in (9) *kaikki ÕIS:ssa*. The two other occurrences lack this morphosyntactic value and actually obey Estonian lexically derived syntactic rules corresponding to the use of the Estonian cognate word *kõik* 'all'. The phrase *tää on kaikki* 'this is all' in (9) indicates that everything has been said about the topic (cf. Estonian *see on kõik*). Structurally, the phrase consists of a pronominal subject, the predicate, and the quantifier.

We will next move to the alternation of units, for which morphosyntactic modification is not an issue. Alternation involves switching

chunks of speech so that the speaker moves from using structures and lexicon of one language to that of the other. Since the applied lexicon matches the language of the structure of each chunk, then no morphosyntactic modifications are needed. (Muysken 2000: 96–121.) Extract (10) is drawn from an e-mail message of a Finnish student living in Estonia.

(10) *Kuten   kaikki   kuul-i-mme,   kuningatar   on*
     like   all   hear-PST-1PL   queen   is

     tulo-ssa   vierailu-lle   perjantai-na,   minkä   vuoksi
     coming-INE   visit-ALL   Friday-ESS   what.GEN   because.of

     õpetus   ei   toimu *klo   12   jälkeen   ja*
     teaching   NEG   occur   clock   12   after   and

     keskkonna-n   praksi-a   ei   oo.
     environment-GEN   practice-PTV   NEG   be.CNG

     'As we all heard, the queen is coming for a visit on
     Friday, due to which there will be no classes after 12,
     and no class in environmental medicine.'   (FIN_EMAIL)

The above extract (10) is one of the few examples in the data, in which not only a longer chunk of speech or informal text is switched, but also the morphosyntactic organisation of the text changes together with the switch. The Estonian phrase *õpetus ei toimu*, literally 'teaching doesn't take place' has no direct morphosyntactic equivalent in Finnish. It is placed in a Finnish subordinate clause and framed by a Finnish subordinating phrase *minkä vuoksi* 'due to which' and an adverbial clause *klo 12 jälkeen* 'after 12 o'clock'.

7.   Discussion

Similarly to code-switching between Finnish and English (see, e.g., Halmari 1997, Kovács 2001) and respectively between Finnish and Swedish (see, e.g., Fremer 2000; Saari 2006; Henricson 2013), the intertwining of Estonian and Finnish in speech and informal writing takes place by combining two different lexical and grammatical resources, which are combined for functional and communicational purposes. It is commonly believed that structural similarities facilitate

code-switching while differences between the two languages provide a fertile ground for textual and pragmatic uses of code-switching. Preliminary analysis of Finnish-Estonian code-switching suggests that this may also apply in the contact between these two languages (see Frick 2008). In general, code-switching occurs between both genetically and typologically distant and close varieties. In either case, speakers may benefit from the lexical and structural similarities and differences and utilise their language resources for practical purposes.

Basically, the parallel use of two or more languages increases the resources of individual speakers and different forms of variation in speech. Unlike in more uniform language communities, the alternation between the lexicon, phrases, constructions, and collocations is based on more random criteria when several languages are involved. While idiosyncratic variation within a given speech community has the advantage of personal combinations following the rules and limits of that community (cf. Kurki 2005: 28, Labov 2001: 33–34, Milroy & Milroy 1997: 50–53, Mustanoja 2011: 75, Paunonen 2003: 236), the adoption of two different systems makes this much less predictable.

Although Estonian and Finnish share their basic vocabulary and grammatical foundations, as mentioned above, the way lexicon and grammar are chosen is language-specific to a very large extent. Consequently, idiosyncratic variation becomes much more divergent and unsystematic.

Abbreviations

ADE	adessive	NEG	negative
ADJ	adjectivizer	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	PASS	passive
CNG	connegative	PL	plural
ESS	essive	PST	past tense
GEN	genitive	PTCP	participle
ILL	illative	PTV	partitive
INE	inessive	SG	singular
INF	infinite	TRA	transitive

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Naaber- ja sugulaskeelte kohtumine: eesti ja soome keele omavaheline lõimumine ja mitmekeelsus 21. sajandil

Kokkuvõte

Tänapäeva tihe liiklemine Eesti ja Soome vahel on loonud erakordselt soodsad tingimused eesti ja soome keele vaheliste mitmekesiste kontaktide tekkeks. Pärast teist maailmasõda kuni Eesti taasiseseisvumiseni kehtinud poliitiline olukord pidurdas suhtlemist ja lausa takistas vahetuid kontakte mõlema keele kõnelejate vahel. Igapäevaseid kokkupuuteid oli vähe ja vaatamata riikide geograafilisele lähedusele tuleb neid hinnata pigem juhuslikeks. Olukord muutus järsult 20. sajandi lõpul, kui kehtestati viisavabadus ning oli jälle võimalik vabalt üle Soome lahe sõita. Praeguseks on nii Eesti kui ka Soome Euroopa Liidu liikmed, tänu millele on ka tööturg, kultuurilised kokkupuuted ja sotsiaalsed võrgustikud järjest lähedasemad. Varasemaga võrreldes erineb praegune olukord mitmel viisil.

Intensiivsed kokkupuuted kultuuris ja ühiskonnas mõjutavad inimeste ja inimrühmade keelelisi kombeid ja valikuid mitmeti. Üle Soome lahe sõidavad tänapäeval miljonid inimesed aastas. Kümned tuhanded eestlased elavad Soomes alaliselt või ajutiselt, soomlasi viibib Eestis ohtralt. Ühine ajalooline taust ja keeltevahelised grammatilised ja leksikaalsed sarnasused nähtuvad igas argipäeva kohtumises. See vundament võimaldab ladusat argisuhtlust ja praktilist keele omandamist naaberriigis.

Käesolev artikkel vaatleb eesti ja soome keele vahelist koodivahetust, eeskätt struktuurilisi ja suhtlusstrateegilisi erijooni. Eriti pööratakse tähelepanu Soomes elavate eestlaste ja Eestis elavate soomlaste keeles esinevatele vahenditele, millega ühendatakse eesti ja soome keele morfoloogilisi ja morfosüntaktilisi iseärasusi. Näiteid tuuakse nii sotsiaalmeediast kui ka intervjuudest.

MAI FRICK, RIHO GRÜNTHAL & KRISTIINA PRAAKLI

Naapuri- ja sukulaiskielet kohtaavat: suomen ja viron lähentymisestä 2000-luvun monikielisissä tilanteissa

Tiivistelmä

Nykyinen liikkuvuus Suomen ja Viron välillä on luonut otollisen ympäristön suomen ja viron kielen välisille kontakteille eri tilanteissa. Toisen maailmansodan jälkeen ja 1900-luvun loppupuolelle asti vallinnut poliittinen tilanne haittasi ja jopa esti suorat yhteydet viron ja suomen puhujien välillä. Arkiset kohtaamiset olivat hyvin vähäisiä ja satunnaisia usean vuosikymmenen ajan huolimatta maidemme maantieteellisestä läheisyydestä. 1990-luvulla tilanne muuttui yllättäen, kun Viro itsenäistyi uudelleen, ja matkustus vapautui joitakin vuosia myöhemmin. Tällä hetkellä Viro ja Suomi molemmat kuuluvat Euroopan Unioniin, mikä on lähentänyt työmarkkinoita, kulttuuriyhteyksiä ja sosiaalisia verkostoja. Nykytilanne siis poikkeaa aiemmasta suuresti.

Intensiiviset kontaktit puhujayhteisöjen välillä vaikuttavat yksittäisten ihmisten ja ryhmien kielenkäyttöön monella tapaa. Suomen ja Viron välillä matkustavat nykään vuosittain miljoonat ihmiset ja kymmeniä tuhansia virolaisia asuu Suomessa pysyvästi tai väliaikaisesti. Myös suomalaisia asuu paljon Virossa. Yhteinen historiallinen tausta ja kieltemme väliset kieliopilliset ja sanastolliset yhtymäkohdat tulevat näkyviksi arkisissa kohtaamisissa. Ne luovat pohjan vuorovaikutukselle ja helpottavat käytännön kielitaidon omaksumista naapurimaassa.

Tämä artikkeli käsittelee suomen ja viron välisen koodinvaihdon rakenteellisia ja vuorovaikutuksellisia piirteitä. Koodinvaihdolla tarkoitamme tässä erityisesti Suomessa asuvien virolaisten ja Virossa asuvien suomalaisten keinoja yhdistää suomen ja viron morfologisia ja morfosyntaktisia piirteitä. Havainnollistamme tätä sosiaalisesta mediasta ja kasvokkaiskeskusteluista otetuilla esimerkeillä.

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Radio Vaigel: voice of the Erzya people –
code-switching patterns of Erzya–Russian bilinguals

Abstract This paper focuses on the code-switching (CS) patterns of bilingual Erzya–Russian speakers on the basis of semi-structured interviews recorded from Radio Vaigel (literally 'Radio Voice'). Two main questions are studied in this paper: whether different CS styles are equally represented on the radio, and whether the reporters' repair strategies vary depending on the CS style of the guest. My hypothesis is that reporters prefer more monolingual varieties and use other-repairs with heavy switchers.

I use Muysken's (2000) model to identify switch types occurring in the data. On the basis of these attested CS types and their frequency, I assign the speakers to three CS categories devised for the description of the Erzya–Russian contact situation. The three main groups range from a semi-monolingual Category 1 (C1) to Category 3 (C3) characterized by heavy switching. The broadcast time provided to speakers of each category is calculated to see which category is more preferred.

Results show that C1 speakers prevail in the radio interviews, both as regards the number of C1 invited guests and the broadcast time they are provided. The second part of the analysis is based on Gafaranga's (2000) model and focuses on the medium repairs of a reporter and 15 of her interviews with guests (5 interviews selected with speakers of each category). Results refute the hypothesis that reporters use more medium repairs with heavy switcher guests.

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the variety of code-switching (CS) patterns in Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse. Erzya is a Finno-Ugric minority language spoken in the Russian Federation. Its closest relative is the Moksha language. Outsiders as well as members of the community debate the language status of these varieties. This view is also reflected in the 2010 Russian Census which does not differentiate between Erzyas and Mokshas, and provides a single combined figure for the two communities under the name Mordvin. According to the 2010 Russian Census, there are 744,237 ethnically Mordvin people in the Russian Federation with 392,941 speakers of the two Mordvin languages. While the census does not differentiate between the two Mordvin varieties, I still consider Erzya a language. Both Erzya and Moksha have standard varieties and they are both de jure official languages of the Mordvin Republic. This, however, does not guarantee equal status with Russian in practice. Another problem is that 73 percent of Mordvin speakers live outside the Mordvin Republic in a diaspora situation.

All the Erzya speakers are bilingual in Erzya and Russian, and their language use varies according to the extent of CS to Russian. While spoken discourse and informal written genres typically contain CS, formal written discourse lacks Russian elements. There is a general assumption that media products (especially journals) prefer Erzya neologisms over Russian borrowings and avoid CS. In this paper, I intend to study whether this is the case with Radio Vaigel by analyzing the language use of reporters and their guests.

My hypothesis is that language use on the radio involves phenomena typical in informal discourse, as a result, CS is present in the interviews, especially in the language use of the guests. Another question concerns the language use of the reporters, whether their speech contains code-switches and whether they impose the monolingual Erzya variety on their guests, e.g., by correcting them when they code-switch. Furthermore, do these corrections involve only vocabulary or also grammar?

Mahootian (2005) studies CS in Spanish–English publications, and analyzes how the norms of the speech community are represented in the media. Her inferences are also applicable to the Erzya–Russian contact situation. She also refers to Sebba's (2002) term "orthographic regime" which she describes as follows: "publishing, as an institution, adheres most to orthographic standards such that texts for publication are the most regulated with respect to language separation, and noninstitutional types of writing, such as personal letters, diaries and so forth fall into less and less regulated domains" (Mahootian 2005: 365). She also argues that it is a sign of an accepted community norm if texts containing CS are published in products of the written media, e.g., in well-established journals, while she attributes Spanish-only texts to the purist attitude of the bilingual community. In the Mordvin Republic, the Russian and Erzya languages tend to be separated in formal written media. It is therefore intriguing to analyze the language use patterns on Radio Vaigel in order to see whether it shows characteristics of formal or informal discourse or both.

After this brief introduction, in section 2, two models of CS are described and discussed: Muysken's (2000) typology and Gafaranga's (2000) categories. Applying Muysken's (2000) model, I categorize the guests on the basis of their CS types, and provide excerpts from the Erzya data demonstrating the language use in each category. In this section, I also discuss Gafaranga's (2000) model on the basis of which I analyze one reporter's and her guests' turns in fifteen interviews, focusing on the reporter's medium repairs. In section 3, the presentation of the data and methodology are given. I discuss the characteristics of this special type of data and explain the principles for selecting the interviews. I also describe the role of Radio Vaigel in Erzya media. In section 4, the results of the analysis are presented. I carry out a quantitative analysis on the broadcast time provided for speakers of each category. I then focus on the language use of the reporter and analyze her medium repairs. The presentation of results is followed by the conclusion and suggestions for further research in section 5.

2.   Models of CS

Code-switching (CS) has been studied from various perspectives, but these approaches have rarely been combined in different studies. Recently, however, there is an increasing interest in an interdisciplinary approach to CS (Isurin et al. 2009, Stell & Yakpo 2015, etc.).

In this paper, I study the CS types of bilingual Erzya–Russian speakers from two main perspectives: the structural perspective is adopted to categorize the speakers on the basis of their CS forms (using Muysken's 2000 typology), while the pragmatic approach (Gafaranga's 2000 model) is applied to analyze how speakers negotiate language use norms and deviations from it, whether they prefer a monolingual or a bilingual medium. I do not combine the two models in my analysis, I use each of them to study a different aspect of CS. However, the two models are compatible: Muysken (2000: 103) discusses two types of flagging in his typology, pragmatically and structurally motivated ones. The former type can be identified with medium repair which is a central concept in Gafaranga's (2000) model.

The definition of CS also varies from model to model and the term refers to different language contact phenomena. Although I use a broad definition of CS following Grosjean (1982: 145): "the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation", I also discuss other (more narrow) definitions of the phenomenon. The structural model I apply for the analysis of the Erzya–Russian speakers' CS patterns, constricts the term CS to mean: "rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event" (Muysken 2000: 1). For the CS type under scrutiny in this paper, namely intrasentential language alternation, Muysken applies the term code-mixing which concerns "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (Muysken ibid.: 1). Gafaranga also narrows the definition of CS, and uses it for flagged switches, or medium repairs in his terminology, acknowledging only instances where the speakers consciously switch.

Another central question in CS studies is the differentiation between CS and borrowing. In different models, there are a number of criteria applied by the authors, ranging from phonological and morphological integration to frequency and acceptance by members of the

speech community. A series of case studies have shown that phonological and morphological integration might be present, but not necessarily so, in the case of borrowings and switches (cf. Zabrodskaja and Verschik 2015: 449 on Estonian–Russian code-switching). In my view, CS and borrowing are not distinct categories, but represent a diachronic continuum as described by Backus (2015) in his usage-based model. The distinction between the two categories is especially complicated if the switch involves only one lexeme. For practical reasons, I mark all of the Russian-origin elements in the utterances with bold face, and tackle the problems of categorization further when discussing the examples.

2.1. Muysken's model

Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse is characterized by variation as regards CS. In order to describe this variation, the CS types occurring in this discourse have to be defined. Muysken (2000) creates a typology of intrasentential code-switching (called code-mixing in his model). He differentiates between three main categories: insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Assigning the actual switches to these types present some typical problems, I discuss them below in detail.

Insertion involves a word or a phrase which is embedded in the base language frame. In example 1, the Russian discourse marker *naverno* 'perhaps' is inserted into the otherwise Erzya construction:

(1) *toso*   *son*   *ruz-oks*   ***naverno***   *mora-ś*[1]
  there he   Russian-TRANSL   perhaps   sing-3SG.PST

  'There he sang presumably in Russian.'

Discourse markers present a problem for categorization, especially if they occur on the periphery of an utterance. They are not integrated into the morphosyntactic structure of the utterance. However, in cases such as example 1, they can be considered insertions due to the position they occupy, as they are inserted into an Erzya-only sequence.

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1. I use the Finno-Ugric transcription both for Erzya and Russian, as this makes it unnecessary to determine which Russian-origin elements are borrowings and which are code-switches.

In the case of alternations, the switch involves both grammar and lexicon, and can occur turn-internally or between turns (Muysken 2000: 5). In example 2, the switch takes place with the phrase *kak propal ḃez ́vesťi sorok vtorom godu* 'as went missing in '42' which is a citation from the Russian archive materials and it triggers a full switch to Russian. Triggering is a central concept in the study of CS, described as early as 1967 by Clyne. The term refers to the insertion of additional source-language elements set off by the CS of a single word or expression. These types of examples and alternation in general are rather rare in the Erzya material, they typically occur only as citations.

(2)   **centraĺnoj**   **arhiv**-*eń*   **dokuḿent**-*se*
       central   archive-GEN   document-INE

       son jut-i   **kak**   **propa-ł**   **ḃez**   **́vesť-i**
       he   go-3SG   as   lost-PST.M   without   news-GEN.SG

       sorok   **vtor-om**   **god-u**   *i*   *vśo*
       forty   two-PREP.SG   year-PREP.SG   and   all

       'In the document of the central archive he is mentioned
       as "he went missing in '42" and that's all.'

The other Russian-origin elements of the example, *centraĺnoj* 'central', *arhiv* 'archive', and *dokuḿent* 'document' are ambiguous as regards their borrowing versus CS status. The adjective *centraĺnoj* 'central' is adapted to Erzya; the form required by Standard Russian would be *centraĺnij*. In the other two cases, the switched lexemes are integrated into the utterance using Erzya morphological markers. As discussed above, however, this cannot be considered an absolute factor for the differentiation between borrowings and code-switches. As a result, I mark these lexemes as Russian-origin elements with bold face, but do not analyze them separately here. The differentiation between borrowings and code-switches is especially complicated in the case of discourse markers, such as *náverno* 'perhaps' in example 1, that are not integrated morphologically into the utterance and are easily borrowed between languages (Matras 1998). Russian discourse particles are attested as loanwords in many minority languages of the Russian Federation (cf. Leinonen 2009 for Komi or Saarinen 2014 for Moksha, to name a few).

Finally, in congruent lexicalization "two languages jointly provide the grammatical structure of the clause, and the vocabulary comes from both languages" (Muysken 2000: 122). Although Erzya and Russian are typologically different languages, they have similar grammatical constructions that can be filled with lexical elements from both languages. The 'it seems to me' construction in monolingual Erzya (*mońeń maŕavi*) and in monolingual Russian (*mńe kažetśa*) are combined in example 3:

(3) *mońeń* **_kaž-et-śa_** *ťese* *sińenst* **_ńe_** **_huže_** *karm-i*
    I.DAT   seem-3SG-REFL   here   they.DAT   not   worse   will.be-3SG

    'It seems to me that it will not be worse for them here.'

These three types of CS do not occur in the Erzya data to the same extent. Insertion is the most common type of switching, alternation is limited to longer switches used as citations, and congruent lexicalization occurs only in heavy CS discourse, in which the differentiation between the two languages is rather difficult.

2.2. Gafaranga's model

Gafaranga (2000) argues that as opposed to the traditional monolingual view of bilingual language use which considers CS as an interplay of two (or more) languages, in his model, the code used for communication is not considered a language, but the medium of communication. Code-switching occurs if the speakers negotiate about this medium, if they are aware of and mark the point of switches. In Muysken's (2000) model, these switches are called flagged switches as opposed to smooth ones. Switches can be flagged with a non-verbal (laughter, pause, etc.) or verbal marker (false start, hesitation marker, discourse particle, etc.). These switches are pragmatically salient. In pragmatic models in general, and Gafaranga's model in particular, only these instances are defined as CS, "whereby speakers show awareness of alternating between two structurally distinguishable codes" (Stell 2015: 1). In Gafaranga's model (Gafaranga & Torras i Calvo 2001), language choice is a social action and, thus, analysis focuses on the way speakers react to their own and their partner's language choice acts.

The norm of communication is defined by observing the deviations from the medium. According to Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo (2001: 210), "once a medium of an interaction has been adopted, any departure from it is repaired unless it is meant to be functional". Gafaranga's model focuses on these so-called medium repairs. Repairs can be self-repairs or other-repairs, but self-correction is more common. Medium repairs are always initiated by the speaker and they usually occur turn-internally. If the other speaker provides the missing expression, the initiator of the medium repair has to acknowledge it before the conversation can resume. "In medium repair, the speaker draws on other languages in his/her repertoire and signals the other-languageness of the element used" (Gafaranga 2000: 344). In medium repairs, speakers name the language they switch to or they indicate that this is the expression people usually use. Medium repair can involve translation, too. It is common to combine these medium repair types. Auer (1995: 124) describes this phenomenon as a tendency for contextualization cues to bundle. In example 4, there are two indicators of medium repair, the expression *ruzks meŕems* 'to say it in Russian' and the determiner *iśťat* 'these kinds of' (the latter type of flagging can also be considered a deictic marker, cf. Halmari 1997):

(4) *erźa-ť-ńe-ń*   *toso*   *eŕamo-do*   *uľ-iť*   *iśťa-t*
Erzya-PL-DEF-GEN   there   life-ABL   be-3PL   this.kind-PL
ruz-ks   *meŕ-ems*   ***sʼvidiťeľstva**-t*
Russian-TRANSL   say-INF   proof-PL

'There is this kind of, to say it in Russian,
evidence that the Erzyas lived there.'

Repairs are reactions to problems (e.g., missing word or expression) speakers face in talk organization. In medium repairs, the speaker signals this problem by flagging the switch site. There are, however, other cases of switching which are not flagged and are not considered as deviations from the norm, but rather direct application of the norm. These switches are labelled as other-language repairs in Gafaranga's model and are "instances which are not signaled by speakers themselves as deserving any notice" (Gafaranga & Torras i Calvo 2001: 204).

In other-language repair, it is clear only to the analyst that two languages have been used. Structural approaches such as the Matrix Language Frame Model (Myers-Scotton 2002) also take into account these types of switches and presuppose that one of the participating languages is dominant (the base or the matrix language). In cases where switching is frequent, analysts might not be able to determine what the dominant language is. Gafaranga (2000) avoids this problem by accepting that language alternation can be part of the medium.

Gafaranga (2000) differentiates between two types of medium: monolingual and bilingual. In the bilingual medium three modes are possible: the parallel mode, the halfway mode, and the mixed mode. The parallel mode involves two languages, but both of the speakers' turns are monolingual without any alternation. In the halfway mode, only one of the speakers alternates, the other uses a monolingual code. In the mixed mode, both participants alternate: "all participants alternate between their languages, both between turns and within turns, without attending to the linguistic origin of the various elements they are using". The mixed mode is defined also as "unmarked codeswitching" in Myers-Scotton's (1993) model.

Analysis should focus not only on the flagging itself, but also on the question what elements are flagged. Rosignoli (2011) studying flagging in Italian–English code-switching found that higher frequency elements are less typically flagged. "A similar relation holds between flagging and different grammatical categories, with nouns being less flagged than adjectives or verbs" (Rosignoli 2011: III). I study this hypothesis in the Erzya data in section 4.2.2.

Flagging can occur also at switch points where the constructions in the two languages are not congruent. I do not elaborate on this type of flagging in this paper, as it is characteristic rather of the bilingual mode, and it is not represented in my data.

2.3. Categorization of the speakers

For the analysis of the CS types in the Erzya–Russian CS data, I devised a categorization model. On the basis of the applied CS types and their frequency, three categories of speakers can be defined: Category 1 (C1), Category 2 (C2), and Category 3 (C3). These categories are not rigid, a speaker might be characterized as a C2 speaker in an informal situation and a C1 speaker in a formal one. If we take into account the speech community and not the individual, the categories can represent different stages throughout the history of a language contact situation. This type of variation in CS has been illustrated in different continuum models, cf. Treffers-Daller 1998, Auer 1999, and Kovács 2001. Treffers-Daller (1998: 185) applies Grosjean's (1982) language mode continuum ranging from the monolingual mode to a bilingual mode with in-between modes involving more and more switching. Treffers-Daller enhanced this model with a hierarchy of constituents: different switches are likely to occur at different points of the continuum. Speakers on the monolingual end tend to make peripheral switches involving interjections, later adverbials and nouns, usually established borrowings. On the bilingual end, longer constructions can also be switched along with words belonging to the basic vocabulary.

In the Erzya–Russian model, insertions occur in all categories, but C1 speakers predominantly have shorter, typically one-word switches, while longer insertions with Russian morphological markers are much rarer, their number increases as we move on to C2 and C3. Example 5 is an excerpt from an interview with a typical C1 speaker. Most of her switches are one-word insertions and established borrowings: conjunctions (*što* 'that' from Russian *čto* 'that' and *eľi* 'or' from Russian *iľi* 'or'), adverbs (*samoj* 'most', *raz* 'once'), or discourse markers (*vot* 'well'). The superlative form *samoj pokš* 'the biggest, lit. the most big' is a Russian-type construction which is one of the possible ways to express the superlative in Standard Erzya. There are also morphologically integrated Russian nouns (e.g., Erzya *smisla* 'meaning' from Russian *smisl* 'meaning'). The discourse marker *vśo ravno* 'anyway' is inserted into the Erzya sequence as a single unit, a chunk.

(5) *i* **vot** *arś-an* **što vot** *ťe* *ńaka-ś* *ejkakš-t-ne-ńeń* **vśo**
and well think-1SG that well this doll-DEF.SG child-PL-DEF-DAT all

ravno *pŕa-s* *alamoška meźejak put-i* **što raz**
the.same head-ILL little something put-3SG that once

ťeťa-ť-ńe *ava-ť-ńe* **samoj** *pokš kazńe-ńť* *tońeť*
father-PL-DEF mother-PL-DEF most big present-GEN.DEF.SG you.DAT

kaz-iź *sinst* **tože** *eŕav-i siń* **uže** *uľ-i*
give-DEF.3SG<3PL they.GEN also need-3SG they already be-3SG

dolg-*ost* *ťe* *ťeťa-ť-ńe-ń* *ava-ť-ńe-ń* *ikeľe*
debt-3PL.POSS this father-PL-DEF-GEN mother-PL-DEF-GEN before

što *eŕav-i sińenst ľezd-ams eŕav-i sińenst*
that need-3SG they.DAT help-INF need-3SG they.DAT

sval sińďest arś-ems sinst **uže** *a*
always they.ABL think-INF they.GEN already not

ki langs ńeźeď-ems ťejťer-est **eľi**
who onto rely-INF daughter-3PL.POSS or

ćora-do-st baška **i vot** *ťe-ť* **veśe** *ńaka-ť-ńe*
son-ABL-3PL.POSS besides and well this-PL all doll-PL-DEF

vot *iśťamo pokš* **smisla** *marto*
well like.this big meaning with

'Well, I think that this doll will put something into the head of
the children anyway. If the parents have given you the biggest
possible present, they also need, they also owe the parents, they
have to help them, they have to think of them often, they don't
have anybody else to rely on apart from their daughters and sons.
And well, all of these dolls have such an important meaning.'

Typical C2 speakers use insertions (discourse markers, adverbs,
nouns) also found in C1. However, there are common CS patterns in
C2, which are entirely missing or very rare in C1 speakers' language
use. For instance, Russian-origin verbs are typically inserted with Er-
zya morphological markers into utterances (e.g., *robotiń* 'I worked'
from the Russian verb stem *robot-* 'to work') in C1-type discourse;
while in C2, the insertion of the Russian finite verbs, or in C3, the
insertion of the whole verbal phrase without any adaptation is also
common. In example 6, the Russian finite verb *otnośitśa* 'relate' has
an Erzya argument *potmo ormaťńeńeń* 'to internal illnesses' in the da-
tive case which is the equivalent of the Russian prepositional phrase
(*k* 'to' + dative case) required as an argument in monolingual Russian.

An interesting and typical feature of C2 is that the Russian past tense feminine marker *-l-a* is retained in the verb *zaššiššala* 'defended' even though Erzya does not have gender as a grammatical category. As a result, there is gender agreement between the Erzya subject *mon* 'I' and the Russian predicate *zaššiššala* 'defended':

(6) **boľše vse-h**   **vśe-go**   *mon*   **robot**-*iń*
more   everybody-GEN.PL   all-GEN.SG   I   work-PST.1SG

kardiologija-so **dišśertacija-**ńť   *mon*   **zaššišša-l-a**
cardiology-INE   dissertation-GEN.SG.DEF   I   defend-PST-F

gastroenterologija-so ťe ťev-eńť   *ejse*   **tože**
gastroenterology-INE   this   work- GEN.SG.DEF   inside   also

kuvať   **robot-**iń   *alamo-ń*   *alamo-ń*   **veśe**
long.time   work-PST.1SG   little-GEN   little-GEN   all

razďel-ť-ńe-ń   *mon*   **faktičeski** *jut-iń*   *kona-t*
section-PL-DEF-GEN   I   practically   go-PST.1SG   which-PL

otnoś-it-śa   *potmo*   *orma-ť-ńe-ńeń* **di** *ška-ś*
relate-3SG-REFL   internal   illness-PL-DEF-DAT   and   time-DEF.SG

kuvaťs *veďgemeń-ďe* *lamo* **i** **príhoďi-l-o-ś** *eŕva*
for.long   fifty-ABL   many   and   have.to-PST-N-REFL   all

kodamo **robota-**so **robot-**ams
kinds   work-INE   work-INF

'Most of all I worked in cardiology, I defended my dissertation in gastroenterology, in this field I also worked for a long time, little by little I practically covered all the sections which are related to internal illnesses, this is a long time, more than fifty years, and I had to do all kinds of jobs.'

Typical CS patterns characteristic of C3, can be observed in example 7. For instance, Russian predicative adjectives (*dolžno* 'has to') and finite verb forms (*zakľučajut* 'they conclude') occur in the excerpt, along with discourse markers (*sobstvenno* 'practically', *tak kak* 'so'). Hybrid forms can also be found in the possessive construction *upravľeńie śelśkogo hoźajstva rajonoń* 'administration of agriculture of the region' in which the genitive markers are from both languages (-*a* from Russian in *hoźajstva* and -*oń* from Erzya in *rajonoń*), but the order of the constituents follows the rules of the Russian language. In addition to single verb switches, there are cases in which the predicate and its argument(s) are both Russian elements inserted as a chunk: *zakľučajut soglašeńije* 'make an agreement'.

(7) **kažnoj**   **učastńik**-*eńť*   *ťe*   **programa**-*ńť*   *marto*
every   participant-GEN.DEF.SG   this   program-GEN.DEF.SG   with

ḿińisťerstvo   **seľsk-ogo**   **hoźajstv-a**-*ś*   **upravľeńie**
ministry   rural-GEN.SG   economy-GEN.SG-DEF.SG   administration

seľsk-ogo   **hoźajstv-a**   **rajon**-*oń*   *di*   **ferḿer**-*eś*
rural-GEN.SG   economy-GEN.SG   region-GEN   and   farmer-DEF.SG

zakľuča-jut   **soglašeńije**   *veťe*   *ije-ť*   **tak**   **kak** *ťe*
conclude-3PL   agreement   five   year-PL   this.way   how   this

ferḿer-*t-ne* **dolžn-i**   *veť-ams*   *eśe-st*   **hoźajstva**-*so-ńť*
farmer-PL-DEF   have.to-PL   lead-INF   own-3PL.POSS   farm-INE-DEF.SG

veťe   *ije-ť*   *ťe*   **soglašeńija**-*so-ńť*   *siń*   *ńevť-iť*   *žaro*
five   year-PL   this   agreement-INE-DEF.SG   they   show-3PL   how.many

skoťina-*ń*   **pŕa**-*t*   **každij*   *ije-ń*   *sinst*   **dolžn-o**   *uľ-ems*   **nu**
cattle-GEN   head-PL   every   year-GEN   their   have.to-N   be-INF   well

i   **sobstv́enno**   *kodamo*   **kakom**   **oḃjom-e**   *siń*
and   properly   what   what   amount-PREP.SG   they

dolžn-i   **proizv́es-ťi**   **produkcija**
have.to-PL   produce-INF   product

'Every participant in this program with the Ministry of Agriculture or
the administration of agriculture of the region and the farmer make an
agreement for five years, so the farmers have to fulfil this agreement
at their farm for five years, they show how many cattle they have
to have every year and also what amount they have to produce.'

Language use in C3 is characterized by heavy switching. The ques-
tion arises whether this type of discourse can be considered a variety
of Erzya, or whether it is instead an emerging mixed language. From
a synchronic perspective, it can be regarded as a heavy CS variety of
Erzya which in time can develop into a language if sociolinguistic
circumstances of the speech community favor this change.

In conclusion, the extent of CS increases as we move from C1
to C3. While there are CS types present in all the categories (e.g., the
insertion of discourse particles), finite Russian verb forms occur in C2
and C3, and hybrid constructions are typical only for C3 discourse.

3. Data and methodology

The code-switching data I studied consist of 109 interviews conducted on Radio Vaigel during the period between April 2013 and January 2015. Using the Radio Vaigel data, two aspects of the Erzya–Russian discourse can be studied simultaneously: on the one hand, characteristics of the spoken discourse, and preference for and promotion of the monolingual language in Erzya media, on the other. Radio Vaigel was established in 2007 and broadcasts every weekday from 16:00 to 19:00. These broadcasts consist of one hour of music followed by one-hour broadcasts in Erzya and Moksha, respectively. The Erzya program consists of the news, an interview with a guest, a report of current events in the Erzya community, and short lectures on Erzya culture and traditions. Recordings of the programs are occasionally uploaded to the radio station's website (‹vaigel.ru›), so that Erzyas and Mokshas living outside the Mordvin Republic also have access to them. The uploading, however, is rather sporadic, not all the broadcasts are made available, which also limits the amount of data available for the analysts.

In this study, I focus on the interview part of the available recordings. During the period under scrutiny (April 2013 to January 2015), three reporters invited 109 guests out of whom 67 were women and 42 men. In total, the recordings are approximately 19 hours long. The first part of my analysis focuses on all 109 interviews, as I am interested in the reporters' preferences in choosing their guests. First, I analyze the CS types of the guests using Muysken's (2000) typology, and assign them to three categories on the basis of their CS patterns. Second, I count the number of guests invited to the show taking into consideration the category they have been assigned to. Third, the broadcast time provided for each speaker is studied.

As a second part of my analysis, I focus on the interviews of one reporter. Because Reporter 1 (R1) conducted 83 interviews as opposed to 19 interviews by R2 and 7 by R3, I chose R1's recordings as the subject of my analysis. I selected 15 of her interviews on the basis of the given guest's CS patterns: five interviews were chosen for each category, in order to have all the categories equally represented. The length of the interviews varied from six to twelve minutes, the 15 interviews were altogether 3 hours and 16 minutes long in total.

Sociolinguistic factors were not taken into consideration in choosing the interviews. On the one hand, there is only limited information available on the sociolinguistic background of the speakers: it is usually only their profession or current position we get data on, their age or level of education remains in most cases unclear. Women are over-represented in the data, the reporter herself is female, and the number of female guests is 11 as opposed to 4 male guests. This is generally true for the Radio Vaigel interviews, as mentioned above.

I chose interviews in which both participants took several turns in order to study the interaction between them. In the data, some of the interviews were without turns, because the invited guest was eager to speak and was not interrupted or the reporter's questions seem to have been cut from the audio file. I omitted these interviews for obvious reasons. As I was interested in medium repairs, I focused on flagged switches occurring in the data: when they occurred and what type of switches were flagged. By analyzing these, I established whether the communication partners agree on using a bilingual medium, and whether their turn-taking was showing characteristics of the parallel, the halfway, or the mixed mode.

4. Results

In this section, I discuss the results of the two analyses. First, I focus on the broadcast time provided for speakers representing the three categories, then I focus on the length of the interviews. Second, the reporter's language use is analyzed, and her medium repairs are discussed in detail.

4.1. Broadcast time

The extent to which Radio Vaigel promotes monolingualism and represents the variation within Erzya–Russian discourse can be analyzed by taking into account the broadcast time speakers of different categories are granted. To carry out this analysis, I used a corpus of 109 interviews. Figure 1 shows the number of speakers from each category invited to the show. 59 invited guests used CS typical of C1, followed by 33 for C2, and 17 for C3.
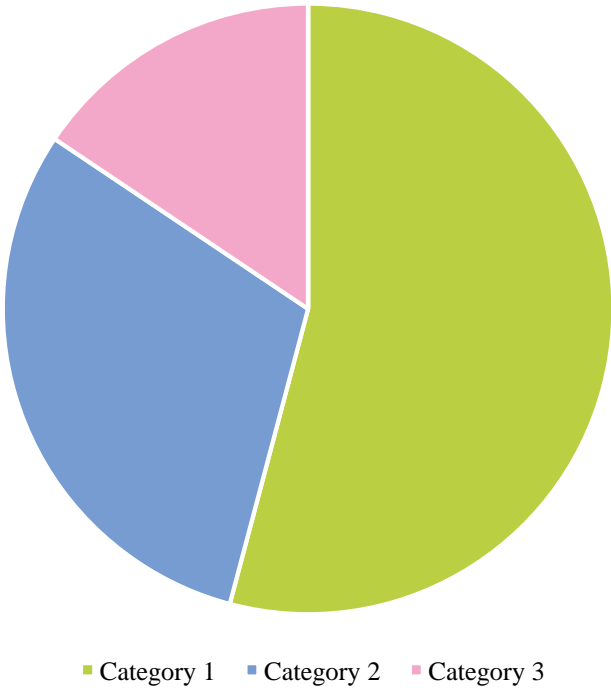
Category 1   Category 2   Category 3

Figure 1. The number of speakers for each category.

As a second step, the broadcast time provided for each speaker had to be analyzed. Figure 2 represents the length of the interviews for each category of speakers. Figure 2 shows a similar pattern to Figure 1: C1 speakers dominate, followed by C2 and C3 speakers. The length of interviews with C1 speakers is 11 hours and 15 minutes in total, C2 speakers' recordings are 4 hours and 56 minutes long, and C3 speakers are given 2 hours and 17 minutes. However, if we take into consideration the absolute time provided to different speakers, it is possible that although fewer C2 and C3 speakers are invited to the studio, each of them is given the same amount of time regardless of their CS style.

■ Category 1   ■ Category 2   ■ Category 3
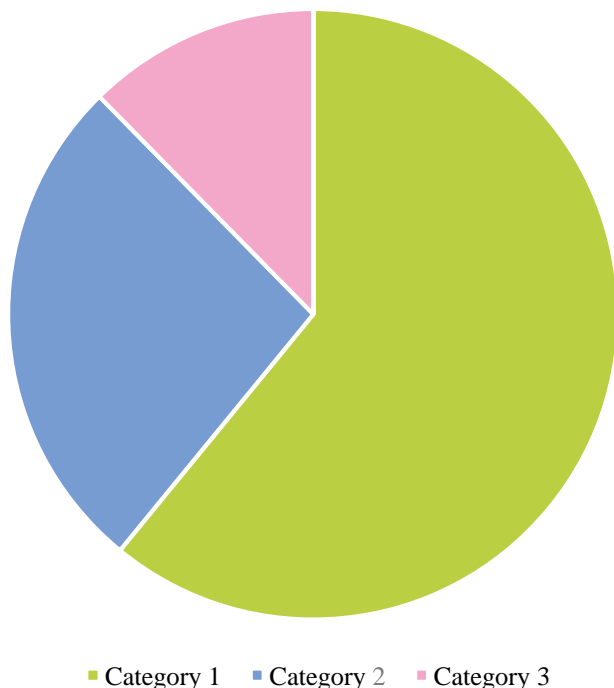
Figure 2. The average length of the interviews.

If we divide the time dedicated to speakers of one category with the number of speakers in the given category, we can see that the hypothesis is flawed. While the C1 speakers' recordings are on average 11.43 minutes long, C2 speakers are given generally 8.82 minutes, and C3 speakers 8.18 minutes. C2 and C3 speakers are not only less likely to get invited to Radio Vaigel, but they are also given less broadcast time.

In the 109 interviews analyzed, C1 prevailed both as regards the number and the length of the interviews. The length of the interviews also varied, the less mixed the language use was, the longer the interview lasted. The length of the interviews in total shows the same pattern as Figure 1. Both analyses had the same result: C1 prevails in the data.

4.2. The reporter

As a second part of my analysis, I focus on fifteen interviews recorded by the same reporter. I am interested in the language use of the reporter and also her repair strategies: which category the reporter can be assigned to on the basis of her CS patterns and whether the general policy of Radio Vaigel to prefer varieties of Erzya with less switching influences the reporter's choices, i.e., whether there are more medium repairs in her speech when talking to C2 or even C3 speakers and whether she corrects guests when using Russian elements in their speech.

4.2.1. The reporter's language use

I analyze the language use of the reporter and define which category she belongs to on the basis of her CS patterns. In this section, I focus on smooth switches, flagged switches are analyzed in the next section (section 4.2.2.). Insertion is the only type of switch that occurs in her speech. In the following table, we can see the reporter's switch types, i.e., what Russian elements she inserted into the Erzya discourse.

Type of insertions	Examples
Discourse markers	*nu* 'well' *ladno* 'okay'
Adverbs	*v́ezd́e* 'everywhere'
Nouns	*finanśirovańija* 'financing'
Chunks	*inśťitut obrazovańijasto* 'from the Institute of Education'

Table 1. Insertion types in the reporter's speech

In the following, I illustrate the major insertion types occurring in the reporter's speech. As we saw in Table 1, discourse markers are a typical type of insertion. In example 8, the only Russian element in the Erzya utterance is the discourse particle *nu* 'well' (and the conjunction *i* 'and').

(8) **nu i** *paŕak avoľ mizolks-so ťev-ť uľń-eśť*
    well and maybe not smile-INE work-PL be-PST.3PL

    'Well, probably they were not happy assignments.'

Discourse markers typically occur in a peripheral position in her speech, as the word *ladno* 'alright' does in example 9.

(9)   **ladno**   *katka-ť-ńe-ń*   *a*   *kiska-ť-ńe-ńeń*   *śeďejak*   *staka*
      alright   cat-PL-DEF-GEN   not   dog-PL-DEF-DAT   even.more   difficult

      'The cats are still okay, but for the dogs it is even more difficult.'

Insertions can involve adverbs as well, in example 10 the spatial adverb *vezďe* 'everywhere' is inserted into the Erzya utterance.

(10)   *ton*   *Taňa*   **ˇvezďe**   *arś-an*   *uľ-at*
      you   Tanja   everywhere   think-1SG   be-2SG

      'Tanja, you are everywhere, I think.'

Longer switches are also possible, but they are inserted as one unit, as chunks. These longer insertions, as the use of the name of a Russian chronicle *poˇvesť vˇreˇmennih ľet* 'Tale of Bygone Years' in example 11, have a pragmatic function: a quotation of the original title.

(11)   *umoń*   *jovtamo-ť-ńe-se*   **poˇvesť**   **vˇreˇmenn-ih**   **ľet**   *toso*
      ancient   texts-PL-DEF-INE   tale   transitory-GEN.PL   year.PL   there
      iśťa   **ˇzo**   *eŕźa-ń*   *raśke-ďe-ńť*   *ľedśńema-t*   *uľ-iť*
      this   also   Erzya-GEN   people-ABL-DEF.SG   recollection-PL   be-3PL

      'In ancient texts, Povestʹ vremennix let (Tale of Bygone Years) the Erzya people are also mentioned.'

There are cases in which more switches co-occur in the utterance. In example 12, we can find a chunk, the name of a Russian newspaper along with the discourse marker (*ješšo* 'also').

(12)   *mon*   **ješšo**   *sod-an*   *tiń*   *ńej*   *važod-ťado*
      I   also   know-1SG   you.PL   now   work-2PL
      vana   **Narodnoje**   **Obrazovańije**   **žurnal**-*oń*   *pŕavt-oks*
      well   national   education   journal-GEN   director-TRANSL

      'I also know that you now work, well, as the director of the National Education Journal.'

The reporters usually avoid code-switches and even loanwords from Russian. If they do switch, the Russian elements are integrated into the Erzya discourse by means of Erzya morphological markers. In example 13, the phrase *insťitut obrazovańija* ('institute of education')

is switched as a chunk in which the Russian possessive construction is retained, the possessee precedes the possessor. The construction is inserted into the Erzya utterance as a multiword item, as a chunk by means of an Erzya elative ending (-*sto*).

(13) *avoľ umok   uľń-eś   inže   **insťitut   obrazovańi-ja**-sto*
     not   long.ago   be-PST.3SG   guest   institute   education-GEN.SG-ELA

     'Not long ago there was a guest from the Institute of Education.'

The possessive construction in Standard Erzya would require a possessor–possessee order, the phrase in example 13 would, therefore, be formed as *obrazovańijań insťitut* 'institute of education, lit. education's institute'.

    We can also find examples in which no switching occurs, no Russian elements are inserted, but the structure copies the possessee–possessor order of constituents in a Russian possessive construction.

(14) *stuvt-iń   ľem-eze   moro-ńť*
     forget-PST.1SG   name-3SG.POSS   song-GEN.SG.DEF

     'The name of the song is "I forgot".'

There is one example in the fifteen interviews, where the reporter's entire turn is in Russian. It is typical for Erzya speakers to use numerals in Russian, especially when numerals are bigger than 'ten' and when dates are concerned. This tendency is also observable in the language use of other minorities in the Russian Federation (Sarhimaa 1999: 234). Still, reporters, other media workers, and teachers usually tend to use Erzya numerals or use both variants. In example 15, the reporter opts for the Russian numeral phrase. It might be understandable if the reporter were talking to a guest who uses the numerals in Russian. In this case, however, the Erzya variant is provided by the guest (*komś śiśemeće ije* 'twenty-seventh year'), while in the next turn, the reporter uses the Russian equivalent. What is more, no self- or other-repair follows this incident which might be explained by the fact that the reporter is surprised and her language use is not as closely monitored as it usually would be.

(15) Guest:

mińek komś śiśemeće ije koda **panśionat**-*oś ťese panžov-ś*
our twenty seventh year how home-DEF.SG here open-PST.3SG

i uľ-iť mińek kona-t ťese robot-iť **pŕamo** *panžoma-ń*
and be-3PL we.GEN which-PL here work-3PL directly opening-GEN

či-ste
day-ELA

Reporter:
dvadcať *śeń* **ľet**
twenty seven year.PL

'Guest: our retirement home was opened 27 years ago and there are
people who have worked here since the very day the home was opened.
Reporter: twenty-seven years?'

To sum up, the reporter typically uses discourse markers, adverbials,
and chunks in these fifteen interviews. These are all insertions and
smooth switches. On the basis of this, the reporter represents C1.

As the next step in the analysis, I focus on her types of flagged
switches.

4.2.2. Medium repairs

The following table (Table 2) shows the turns taken by the reporter
and the guests, and her number of flagged switches.

	Turns	Flagged switches
C1-01	13	–
C1-02	19	2
C1-03	22	–
C1-04	10	1
C1-05	7	1
C2-01	14	3
C2-02	17	2
C2-03	15	1
C2-04	7	–
C2-05	11	–
C3-01	14	1
C3-02	19	1
C3-03	14	–
C3-04	21	–
C3-05	14	–

Table 2. The number of turns and flagged
switches in the reporter's language use.

On the basis of the data represented in Table 2, we can claim that the number of switches is not consistent with the category of the speaker with whom the reporter is talking. However, it is possible that the type of medium repairs used in different interviews varies in the three categories. The types of medium repairs in the reporter's language use include naming the language, translation, and reference to other speakers. In this section, I am going to show examples of the most typical medium repairs. After each example, I indicate which interview the excerpt is taken from with the code C1-01, etc. (C1, C2, and C3 again refer to the category the speaker belongs to, whereas 01, 02, etc. indicate the number of the interview.)

In my corpus, the most typical case for medium repair is when the language the reporter is switching to is named, involving phrases like *ruzks jovtasa* 'I say it in Russian' as in example 16 (or *ruzks meŕems* 'to say it in Russian', cf. example 21 below).

(16) *vešńe-ťanok*   *meźe**buťi***   *od*   ***noṽinka**-t*   *ruz-ks*
search-1PL   something   new   novelty-PL   Russian-TRANSL
jovta-sa
tell-DEF.3SG<1SG

'We are looking for something new, a novelty to say it in Russian.'

(C2-01)

Another typical repair phrase is *koda meŕiť* 'how they say' (or also *koda meŕems* 'how to say') with which the reporter indicates that she is looking for the right word or she is referring to the way other people name that given phenomenon.

(17) *koda*   *meŕ-iť*   *ťe*   ***ṕizvańija***
how   say-3PL   this   calling
'As they say, is it calling?'   (C2-03)

In medium repairs, the flagged element can be just one word or a whole construction. The switch can involve a Russian word or a Russian element phonologically or even morphologically adapted to Erzya. For instance, the Russian word *ṕizvańije* 'calling' in example 17 occurs in the form *ṕizvańija*, i.e., it is adapted to Erzya. (It is typical for Russian abstract nouns ending in *-ije* to be adapted to Erzya with an ending *-ija*.)

The repair in example 18 demonstrates another type of medium repair: translation. In a parallel construction, the reporter first uses the switched Russian element *možno* 'it is possible' and then its target language equivalent *meŕevi* 'it is allowed, it is possible':

(18) *poladića-ks*   *kińgak*   ***možn-o***   *ľemď-ems*   *meŕe-v-i*
    successor-TRANSL   somebody.GEN   possible-N   name-INF   say-REFL-3SG

    ľemď-ems
    name-INF

    'Can anybody be named as her successor?'   (C1-04)

It is also very common that C1 speakers combine different forms of medium repair in one utterance. As mentioned above (section 2), Auer (1995: 124) argues that contextualization cues tend to bundle. In my data, the following combinations of medium repairs were attested (I indicate the medium repairs by underlining them):

1)   translation and naming of the language:

(19) *eŕav-i*   ***štobu***   *uľe-veľ*   ***finanśirovańija-zo***   ***i***
    need-3SG   that   be-3SG.CONJ   financing-3SG.POSS   and

    finanśirovańija-ś   *sval*   *ška-ń*   *uľe-ze*   *ruz-ks*
    financing-DEF.SG   always   time-GEN   be-3SG.OPT   Russian-TRANSL

    jovta-sa   ***stabilnoj***
    tell-DEF.3SG<1SG   stable

    'There has to be financing and the financing
    has to be constant, to say it in Russian, stable.'   (C2-01)

2)   discourse marker and reference to other people:

(20) *lamo-t*   *tap-iť*   *čovor-iť*   *erźa-ń*   *mokšo-ń*   *raśke-ń*
    many-PL   smash-3PL   mix-3PL   Erzya-GEN   Moksha-GEN   people-GEN

    oršamopeľ-ť-ńe-ń   *ťej-iť*   *koda*   *meŕ-iť*   ***nu***
    clothes-PL-DEF-GEN   make-3PL   how   say-3PL   well

    sťiľizovannoj-ť
    stylized-PL

    'A lot of people mix up the Erzya-Moksha folk costumes,
    they make, how to say, well, stylized ones.'   (C3-01)

3) naming of the language, translation, and determiner *kodatkak*
    'some kind of':

(21) *paŕak ťe   ška-s   uľ-iť   koda-t-kak*
      maybe this time-ILL be-3PL some.kind-PL-EMP

      ruz-ks   meŕ-ems iďeja-t meľ-ť   aŕśema-t
      Russian-TRANSL say-INF idea-PL opinion-PL thought-PL

      'Maybe at this time there are some kind of,
      to say it in Russian, ideas, thoughts.'   (C2-02)

If the switch is flagged and the other-languageness of the element is
indicated, longer expressions from Russian can also be inserted into
the Erzya utterances as chunks: as "superstrate constituents with ac-
cepted meanings as a whole whose internal structure is unanalysed
by monolinguals" (Blaxter 2015: 222). This is especially typical with
frequently used expressions as well as names and titles, as in example
22 (cf. also example 11 in section 4.2.1.).

(22) *iśťa   ľem-eze-jak   gruppa pomošš-i   ɓezdomn-im*
      like.this name-3SG.POSS-EMP group   help-GEN.SG homeless-DAT.PL

      životn-im   iśťa   son ľemďe-v-i   ruz-ks
      animal-DAT.PL   like.this it   name-REFL-3SG Russian-TRANSL

      'This is how it is called, the group for helping homeless
      animals, this is how it is called in Russian.'   (C2-01)

Although guests also make medium repairs (cf. examples 23–26 be-
low), especially speakers of C1, they usually do not comment on the
reporter's medium repairs. In example 23, first the reporter initiates
medium repair, by indicating the search for the right word and nam-
ing the language to which she is going to switch with the phrase *koda
ruzks meŕems* ('how it is in Russian'). In the next turn, the guest (a
C1 speaker) partly repeats the repair and partly translates the Russian
expression (providing the Erzya equivalent *vaňks* 'clean, pure' for the
Russian adjective *čistij* 'pure, clean'), acknowledging that Russian
is not part of the medium. She even goes further and uses the form
entuzijazma ('enthusiasm') which is adapted to Erzya morphological
rules, as usually an *-a* is added to the Russian nouns ending in conso-
nant clusters (like *entuzijazm* 'enthusiasm') in Erzya. Common inter-
national borrowings enter the Erzya language through Russian, these
serve as bridge words which facilitate CS.

(23) Reporter:

ńejeń	*ška-ś*	*iśťamo*	*staka*	*ťe*	***blog*-*oń***
contemporary	time-DEF.SG	that	hard	this	blog-GEN

veťamo-ś	*ťe*	*koda*	*ruz-ks*	*ruz-ks*	*meŕ-ems*
leading-DEF.SG	this	how	Russian-TRANSL	Russian-TRANSL	say-INF

čistij	***entuzijazm***	***iľi***	*ťe-ń*	*kise*	*jarmak-kak*	*pand-iť*
pure	enthusiasm	or	that-GEN	for	money-EMP	pay-3PL

Guest:

ťe	***čistij***	***iľi***	*vańks*	***entuzijazma***	*jarmak-ť-ńe-ń*
this	pure	or	pure	enthusiasm	money-PL-DEF-GEN

kijak	*a*	*pand-i*
no.one	not	pay-3SG

'Reporter: Now we live in hard times… To write the blog is, as in Russian…to say it in Russian, pure enthusiasm, or are you paid for that?
Guest: It is pure (in Russian) or pure (in Erzya) enthusiasm, nobody is paying me money for that.'   (C1-02)

As we can see, it is not only the reporters who use medium repairs, they can be found also in the speech of the guests, but mainly in the utterances of C1 speakers (both reporters and their guests). Speakers who are representatives of other categories apply only one type of medium repair: translation. The occurrence of translation as medium repair in the speech of C2 and C3 speakers can raise doubts about the status of translation as a medium repair strategy. These translations can result from the fact that speakers intend to use a synonym and consider the switched word as an element of the same language, while it is only the analysts who define it as a Russian word. In example 24, the inserted Russian word (*ṕeŕeizdavať* 'to republish') is translated into Erzya (*od noldams* 'republish, lit. publish again'). However, the use of the Erzya equivalent does not necessarily indicate that the speaker rejects the bilingual medium, it can also be understood as clarification or a synonym applied to convey the intended meaning. In this case, the medium repair status of the translation is doubtful for two reasons. On the one hand, the speaker uses only one translation and other medium repair types are absent in her interview. On the other hand, she is a heavy switcher who inserts Russian elements without any flagging into her utterances in other cases.

(24) ***učebńik-ť-ńe***   *siń*   ***uže***   *eŕav-iť*   ***ṕeŕeizdav-ať***
course.book-PL-DEF   they   already   need-3PL   republish-INF

od   *nold-ams*
new   publish-INF

'The course books, they already … need to be
republished, published again.'   (C2-02)

In the following example, a C3 speaker also marks the switch point with a translation. It is interesting to see, however, that she translates the Erzya word into Russian, not in the other direction, which presupposes that the speaker intends to clarify the meaning (indicating that the name of the bird *kargińe* 'crane' is a rare Erzya word that needs translation into Russian) and not to exclude Russian from the medium.

(25) *moń*   *uľ-i*   ***kružok-om***   *ťeatr*   ***mordovsk-oj***   ***ďetsk-oj***
I.GEN   be-3SG   circle-1SG.POSS   theater   Mordvin-GEN.SG   child-GEN.SG

stuďij-i   *kargińe*   ***ṕeŕevoď-a***   ***žuravľik***
studio-GEN.SG   crane   translate-GER   crane

'I have a circle, the Mordvin Children's Studio Theater called
Crane (in Erzya), in translation Crane (in Russian).'   (C3-01)

There is only one speaker who does not belong to C1, but also uses medium repairs other than translations. In example 26, the C2 speaker flags the insertions of a Russian finite verb form *reguľirujet* 'regulates' with the phrase *ruzks meŕems* 'to say it in Russian'. The flagging seems random, as she switches smoothly to Russian finite verb forms throughout her interview.

(26) ***mozga-ńť***   *ejste*   ***veśe***   ***zaviś-it***   ***mozga-ś***
brain-GEN.SG.DEF   from   all   depend-3SG   brain-DEF.SG

ŕeguľiruj-et   *ruz-ks*   *meŕ-ems*   ***veśe***
regulate-3SG   Russian-TRANSL   say-INF   all

'Everything depends on the brain, the brain regulates,
to say it in Russian, everything.'   (C2-05)

To sum up, the reporter's use of medium repairs does not depend on the guest's CS style, flagged switches occur in all categories, thus the reporter always insists on a monolingual medium, no matter who she is talking to. All her repairs are self-repairs, while she emphasizes that she prefers C1, she does not initiate other-repairs even with C3 speakers, i.e., heavy switchers. The mode varies between the monolingual mode when she is talking to C1 speakers and the halfway mode when talking to C2 and C3 speakers. There are no interviews in which the mode would be mixed or parallel.

Finally, the following table illustrates what type of insertions are flagged most in the reporter's speech. The results are not in accordance with Rosignoli's (2011) findings (cf. section 2.3.). In my data, predominantly nouns are flagged, followed by longer constructions, adjectives, and finally predicative adjectives. It is interesting to see that nouns are flagged despite the fact that they are adapted to Erzya and/ or they have Erzya grammatical markers (mainly the plural marker).

Type of insertion	Number of occurrences	Examples
Nouns	6	17, 21
Adjectives	2	19, 20
Predicative adjectives	1	18
Constructions	3	22, 23

Table 3. Flagged insertion types in the reporter's speech.

In the Erzya data, we can find flagged established borrowings, as well (cf. example 21), which also contradicts Rosignoli's (2011) findings. This might be explained using Treffers-Daller's model in which not only the switched constituents can be predicted depending on the monolingual or bilingual nature of the mode, but also flagging which is rather common on the monolingual end, but gives its place to smooth switches as we move to the bilingual end. This means that more monolingual speakers might flag their switches, even when they insert established borrowings into their utterances, because "the speaker tries to speak either language in its "pure" form" (Treffers-Daller 1998: 185).

5.   Conclusions

This paper studied CS patterns and medium repairs in the language of reporters and their guests at Radio Vaigel. The two questions raised in this paper concerned the extent to which different CS styles are represented on the radio and in reporters' strategies.

Using Muysken's (2000) model, speakers were assigned to different CS categories, ranging from a semi-monolingual C1 to a heavy switching C3. On the basis of the results, we can claim that Radio Vaigel promotes the semi-monolingual variety of Erzya by giving C1 speakers more broadcast time.

As a second step, the CS style and medium-repairs of a reporter were analyzed using Gafaranga's (2000) model. While the reporter was categorized as a C1 speaker on the basis of her CS types (discourse markers, adverbials, and chunks), she did not correct even the heavy switchers, and the number of her medium repairs did not depend on the CS style of the guest. All her medium repairs concerned vocabulary, no backtracking of grammatical constructions could be attested.

The radio data enabled the study of a wide variety of speakers, but provided only limited access to their sociolinguistic background. Further research should focus on the language use of a smaller community to investigate how speakers use different CS styles in various situations and to understand the motivating factors behind their choices.

List of abbreviations

1	1st person	F	feminine
2	2nd person	GEN	genitive
3	3rd person	GER	gerund
3SG<1SG	3rd person singular object, 1st person singular subject	ILL	illative
		INE	inessive
		INF	infinitive
3SG<3PL	3rd person singular object, 3rd person plural subject	M	masculine
		N	neutral
		OPT	optative
ABL	ablative	PL	plural
C	category	POSS	possessive
CONJ	conjunctive	PREP	prepositional
CS	code-switching	PST	past
DAT	dative	R	reporter
DEF	definite	REFL	reflexive
ELA	elative	SG	singular
EMP	emphatic	TRANSL	translative

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Összefoglaló

A tanulmány az erza–orosz kétnyelvű beszélők kódváltási típusait vizsgálja a Vajgel Rádióban elhangzott félig strukturált interjúk alapján. Két fő kérdés áll az elemzés középpontjában: egyrészről a különböző kódváltási stílusok ugyanolyan mértékben jelennek-e meg a rádióban, másrészről a riporterek javításai függenek-e a vendégek kódváltási stílusától. A kiinduló hipotézis szerint a riporterek az egynyelvű változatot részesítik előnyben, és javítják a gyakori kódváltó beszélők nyelvhasználatát.

A kódváltástípusok osztályozására Muysken (2000) modelljét alkalmazom. A beszélőket három, az erza–orosz kontaktushelyzetet leíró, kódváltási csoportba sorolom az alkalmazott kódváltástípusaik és azok előfordulási gyakorisága alapján. A három csoport a csaknem egynyelvű C1 kategóriától az erősen kódváltó beszélőket magában foglaló C3 kategóriáig terjed. Az egyes kategóriákba tartozó beszélők számára biztosított műsoridő hossza alapján megállapítható, melyik kódváltási stílust preferálják a rádióban.

Az eredmények azt mutatják, hogy a rádióinterjúkban az első kategória beszélői dominálnak, mind a meghívott C1 kategóriás beszélők számát, mind a számukra biztosított műsoridőt tekintve. Az elemzés második része Gafaranga (2000) modelljén alapul, és egy riporternek és 15 vendégének (kategóriánként öt interjú) médium-javításaira fókuszál. Az eredmények megcáfolják a kiinduló hipotézist, miszerint a riporterek a gyakori kódváltó vendégek esetében több javítást alkalmaznak.

Резюме

В настоящей работе рассматриваются типы кодовых переключений эрзя-русских билингвов на основе полуструктурированных интервью, прозвучавших на радио «Вайгель». В центре внимания нашего анализа два главных вопроса: во-первых, проявляются ли различные виды кодовых переключений в радиопрограммах в одинаковой мере, во-вторых, зависит ли применяемая репортерами стратегия исправлений от разновидностей кодовых переключений приглашенных гостей. Согласно исходной гипотезе, репортеры предпочитают одноязычную версию и исправляют речь говорящих, часто использующих кодовые переключения.

В данной статье типы кодовых переключений классифицируются по модели П. Мэйскена (2000). Носителей языка можно отнести к трем группам, описывающим современное состояние эрзя-русских языковых контактов, а именно на основании применяемых говорящими типов кодовых переключений и их частотности употребления. Эти три группы охватывают широкий спектр говорящих от практически одноязычных, входящих в категорию С1, до говорящих, часто использующих в своей речи кодовые переключения, относящихся к категории С3. С учетом объема эфирного времени, предоставленного говорящим отдельных категорий, можно определить, какому виду кодовых переключений отдается предпочтение на радио «Вайгель».

Результаты анализа показывают, что в интервью на радио преобладают говорящие первой категории как с учетом числа приглашенных говорящих категории С1, так и предоставленного им эфирного времени. Вторая часть нашего анализа основана на модели Дж. Гафаранги (2000), и в фокусе внимания стоят исправления типа «medium repair» одного репортера и его 15 гостей (выбрано по 5 интервью с представителями каждой категории). Выводы данного исследования опровергают исходную гипотезу, согласно которой репортеры применяют больше исправлений в случае говорящих, часто использующих кодовые переключения.

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When Hungarian and Finnish meet a local German variety:
new everyday linguistic practices in a settlement of southern Hungary

Abstract The focus of this paper is the presentation of linguistic practices of a German minority settlement in Hungary, Geresdlak, where a high number of houses have been bought by German and Finnish families. The main language used in the village is Hungarian; however, the local German dialect and other varieties of German continue to be part of the community's linguistic repertoire. During the process of language shift, starting after the Second World War, typical functions have been attached to these varieties. Globalization processes, seasonal migration, growing tourism, and digital technology, however, are leading to the development of new language contexts in the everyday life of the village. As a result, not only are new linguistic practices being formed, but the various language varieties also appear in new functions in these contexts: the use of a variety, for example, can make a speaker or a cultural event authentic. The examples analysed in the paper show that these recent roles of the language varieties develop as the result of the communication partners' common semiotic work, and this common work launches further discourses in the community on language, culture, and identity.

1. Aim and structure of the paper

The aim of this paper is to describe changing linguistic practices in a multilingual settlement in Hungary. The majority of the inhabitants of Geresdlak belongs to the German minority of Hungary, but Hungarians and Roma also live in the village. In addition, Finnish, German, and Austrian citizens have bought houses in the village. These foreigners spend time seasonally in the settlement. Due to the process of language shift, starting after the Second World War, the German varieties were rolled back into the private sphere and nowadays Hungarian is the most used language in the village. However as a consequence of seasonal migration and increasing tourism activities, the language varieties used in the community appear in new contexts and serve new functions. These changes also influence the inhabitants' attitudes and beliefs about languages, language varieties, and the linguistic-cultural resources of the community.

First, the study briefly summarizes the main focuses of previous traditional sociolinguistic studies on the German minority in Hungary. After that it gives an insight into recent questions about linguistic practices of minority communities in the time of globalization and migration, which highlight discursive-ethnographic aspects and remain less examined in the Hungarian context. The theoretical introduction is followed by the description of the settlement at the focus of this study and the methods used for data collection.

The second part of the paper gives an overview of the changing linguistic practices of the community with a focus on the inhabitants with German ethnicity. As a background – building upon sociolinguistic interviews and participant observations – the paper presents the main differences in the linguistic practices and in the linguistic repertoire of each generation (the oldest, middle-aged, and younger generations). Then it illustrates with concrete examples, how the linguistic varieties used nowadays in the settlement enter new contexts and how new functions of these varieties are constructed in the actual social settings and practices. The interviews are analysed in a qualitative way, while the selected examples are analysed in a discursive-ethnographic frame, focusing on questions of authenticity and commodification.

2. Previous research on the topic and theoretical background

The German community is one of the thirteen acknowledged minorities in Hungary. According to census data (2011), about 186 000 people belong to this community, but according to the community's own estimate their number is higher: about 200 000–220 000 (Nemzetiségi adatok 2014; Nemzeti és etnikai kisebbségek 2000). Germans were settled in Hungary and the Carpathian Basin between 1689 and 1805 in three major waves. The settlements were concentrated in six larger areas. One of these is the so-called Schwäbische Türkei, an area that covers the three southern counties of Hungary (Somogy, Tolna, Baranya) (Szilágyi 2004, Szabó 2006). This is where Geresdlak, the settlement that I examine, is located. Developing after the initial settling, the German villages were typically isolated from the majority society both linguistically and ethnically, until the Second World War. However, the formerly German-speaking villages have since become ethnically mixed (Hutterer 1991) and the previously closed language islands are now open and diverse linguistic and cultural communities (Mattheier 1994: 104, Knipf 2004: 284). In the present day, the primary language of communication in these villages is Hungarian.

The questions of language use in the German community in Hungary were first examined from the perspective of language geography and dialectology (Manherz 2014: 1–8). Later, the focus of research was put on such linguistic and cultural issues that derive from the German community's minority existence, their relation to the majority, and the questions of German as a foreign language of high prestige. Following the political changes of 1989, several new questions emerged as a consequence of strengthening identity (see for example Erb 2007b), a new, stronger relationship with the mother country, and the growing number of possibilities to learn foreign languages and work abroad (Erb & Knipf 2001).

The questions of linguistic contacts, language choice, linguistic varieties, and ethnic identity have come into focus (Manherz 2014: 8–10). Erb and Knipf put the issue of language shift at the focus of their inquiry (Erb & Knipf 1999, 2001) and discuss the significant shift in the use of German language varieties (Erb & Knipf 2001:

326). In several of her works, Erb examines language attitudes in detail (2007a, b), while Gerner (2003) and Bindorffer (2005) focus on language and national-ethnic identity[1].

One of the central statements of the above and many other studies, which are based on empirical data collection and are focussed on minority language use, relate to the generation-specific stratification of the language use of Hungary's German minority: the younger the informant is, the more likely it is that the local German dialect is not part of his or her linguistic repertoire. The division of language use according to language use domains is also an outstanding statement of these studies: the use of German is mainly present in private (e.g., the family) or symbolic domains (e.g., places relating to religious life).

In addition to the more traditional sociolinguistic approaches, the works of Susan Gal maintained anthropological and ethnographic viewpoints of the linguistic practices of the German minority as early as the late 1980s. In her research on a German-speaking town of southern Hungary, she analyzes language ideologies of the community by also taking into account the larger political economic context. The author outlines how the status, power, and authority of the languages are conceptualized within the community (Gal 1993: 352), she also distinguishes, in local practices and talk about language, three forms of resistance to current official policies and the dominant ideas on which these are based (ibid. 348).

Since the beginning of the 2000s, social changes have occurred to such a degree that as a result patterns of linguistic practices described in earlier works have been significantly rearranged. Globalization processes and digital development have brought along new communication forms, and they also demand a new terminological approach in sociolinguistic research (cf. Blommaert 2007, 2010). Although the use of minority varieties has decreased, globalization, the internet, and increasing tourism often go hand in hand with the multiplicity of languages in minority communities (Dlaske 2015: 246). These activities do not mean automatically that the minority varieties are used more, but

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1. By the middle of the 2000s, the research on the questions of minority language use and ethnic identity have accelerated both among Hungary's German and other minorities (for example a national comparative language shift research done among seven minorities in Hungary see Bartha 2006, Bartha & Borbély 2006).

they sometimes "result in ideological transformation" (Gal 2006: 24). Cultural tourism provides new possibilities for communities that use minority languages and have rich cultural traditions, so that they can economically benefit from their local culture and heritage, which also includes their language (cf. Heller & Pujolar & Duchêne 2014, Dlaske 2015, Kauppinen 2014, Pietikäinen 2010). In such patterns, minority language often appears as a source of authenticity, through which the community might offer something local and unique to visitors. Linguistic sources, which are interpreted as authentic, may appear in the linguistic landscape, tourist products, accommodations, cultural events, etc. However, authenticity is not an evident feature of these products, community places, or regions. It is the result of a multiplayer, discursive work, often influenced by the patterns of the power structure where players decide what is authentic, that is, an economically usable part of cultural heritage (Dlaske 2015: 243–244).

Research that examines these recent contexts of minority languages approach language and linguistic practices within a wider, discursive framework. However, their considerations have their roots in the work of earlier scholars, such as Bakhtin (see Gal 2006: 17). In the 'paradigm of mobility' (Jaworski 2014: 527), the fixed boundaries between languages are questioned, and during analysis, researchers interpret language as a practice instead of a system or a tool of communication (see Pennycook 2010). Language accomplishes numerous social tasks and is not just a technology for naming the world (Gal 2006: 15). As a result, not only language in a narrow meaning (as a system), but its multimodal environment and the material features of this environment are also put at the focus of research (see for example Dlaske 2015, Jaworski 2014). A crucial question will be how communication partners choose in a creative way from the set of semiotic tools actually surrounding them, adapting to the situation, and how these linguistic practices are interpreted by speakers and listeners through existing language ideologies (Gal 2006: 17). By putting the examination of social action at the focus, researchers rely ever more intensely on the methods of discourse analysis and ethnography, in addition to those of traditional sociolinguistics (e.g,. Dlaske 2015, Pietikäinen, Dufva & Mäntylä 2010, Dufva & Pietikäinen 2009). In the following I will apply these recent theoretical considerations in the Hungarian context.

3. The examined settlement

Geresdlak is located in southern Hungary; it has appr. 750 inhabitants. The settlement has developed by merging two formerly independent villages, Püspöklak and Geresd. The current linguistic picture of the settlement is defined by two basic processes, one of which is the way the situation of the German ethnic community in the village has developed. German settling occurred in the first half of the 18th century. German families that arrived in the villages during this time did not come from one single area, thus the German language varieties they brought were also mixed. Most probably, the basis of the local German language variety, developed later via unification, was the Fulda dialect (Erdődy n. d. 20, Wild 2006: 93). The ethnic structures of the settlements had been formed by the end of the 18th century. One of the villages was completely German, while in the other there were ten Hungarian families alongside the German majority. The settlements had school education as early as the middle of the 18th century (Erdődy n. d. 22). The language of education was determined by the teacher's language knowledge, which was mostly German until the last third of the 19th century.

During the time of reprisal following the Second World War, the German inhabitants of the settlement were forced to relocate and move in together, so that Hungarian-speaking settlers could move into the empty houses. As the informants put it many times, the settlers did not know how to cultivate land, and since they could not make a living as a result, many of them moved away from the village soon thereafter. Then those who had been relocated slowly started to buy back their houses. However, as a result of an anti-German public climate and politics, the local German language variety was rolled back into the private sphere, and the assimilation of the previously closed community to the majority society quickly accelerated.

In 1968, the two villages were united. At the end of the '80s, the club life of the village had some kind of a boost: there started to operate a dance group and a choir. In addition, an increasing number of ex-inhabitants came back from Germany and bought houses in Geresdlak. What is more, German citizens who had not had a former relation to the village also started to buy houses; they appeared in

Geresdlak with a recreational aim. At the time of writing of this article (in the spring of 2016), 25 houses of the village are owned by German owners and a further one has an Austrian owner.

In addition to historical events concerning the inhabitants with a German ethnic background, the present-day composition of the inhabitants in the settlement is determined by another important tendency: since the early 2000s, 24 houses have been bought by Finnish people, who live there seasonally. This type of mobility is an interesting research topic for several research areas (geography, demography, linguistics, etc.). Depending on where the actual movement on the continuum between migration and tourism is, what the particular aims of it are, what the destination (urban or rural areas) is, or what the age of the person (active or retired) is, there are different terms in the literature (for example, retirement migration, tourism-led migration, second homes, temporary migration, cf. Illés & Michalkó 2008).

The Finnish wave of buying houses started in Geresdlak by chance; then after the first acquisition, the process went on as a chain reaction, via families and friends. The age of the Finnish people who bought houses in the village is mixed. The retired people spend four months in the village in general, typically in spring and autumn. Younger people come to Geresdlak for the summer, but they also spend shorter or longer periods there during other times of the year. According to the interviews conducted with them, the Finns are attracted to Geresdlak by the good climate, the beauty and good placement of the village, and people's directness. The settlement has developed active relations with Finland, Geresdlak has three Finnish sister settlements.

Roma inhabitants have long been part of the community of the village and they remain so today. The majority of Roma families that live in the village today came as settlers from various parts of the country. They form a linguistically and culturally heterogeneous group (there are both Romani and Boyash families among them); they mostly use their own language varieties in the private sphere. According to the majority's estimate, approximately 10% of the inhabitants are Roma.

In addition to the German minority, Roma, and Finnish inhabitants, there are inhabitants with Hungarian ethnicity living in the village, too, who came to Geresdlak either as settlers after the Second

World War or via interethnic marriages. There are also inhabitants with Croatian origin who came to live in Geresdlak from nearby settlements, generally via marriages.

The settlement now has its own municipality and board of representatives together with a German municipality. There is also a school and a kindergarten. Both institutions have so-called German minority education. According to my own observations at these institutions and my interviews with the educators in the kindergarten, in practical terms this program means that the words of everyday actions are also said in German (e.g., during cleaning, putting on and taking off clothes, eating, etc.), and children also learn German games, sayings, poems, and songs. In school, German is taught in weekly classes (five times a week), out of which one each week is usually about the culture of the German minority living in Hungary.

4. On the methods of data collection

I have been doing field work in the village since 2009. So far, I have undertaken sociolinguistic interviews with about 150 informants. The interviews focused primarily on the linguistic repertoire, everyday linguistic practices, language attitudes, and interethnic relations of the informants. My informants primarily come from the local German ethnic community, and I have also interviewed almost all the Finnish people who have a house in the settlement. It is also among my goals to explore the language use and the role of the Romas, but so far I have only had a small number of informants among them. (Due to the small amount of data, this paper does not aim to present the linguistic practices of the local Roma community. However, we need to note that language shift in the Roma community is very advanced, and that the language varieties and culture of the Romas do not appear in any forms in the public domains and the linguistic landscape of Geresdlak.)

Along with the interviews, photos, audio and video recordings and language use diaries are also part of the data set. I follow the informants' posts on social media sites which are available to me, and

I collect all kinds of written documents that are attached to the settlement (printings, articles, magazines). When I am undertaking field work, I regularly take part in the community life of Geresdlak; I record my observations in a field work diary. I have organized several Finnish language courses for interested inhabitants. In the following, I will show, on the basis of qualitative analysis of the interviews and my participant observations, what languages and language varieties appear in the community's linguistic repertoire.

5. Contact between local German varieties and Hungarian: the diversity of German varieties in Geresdlak

Different varieties of Hungarian started to appear in the linguistic practices of every generation during the period when assimilation in the community accelerated following the Second World War. Similarly to other German settlements in Hungary (see Erb 2007b, Deminger 2004, Erb & Knipf 2001), the use of the local German variety has by now radically pulled back to the private sphere, and currently the primary language of communication – no matter the speaker's age – is Hungarian. At the same time, many forms of bi- and multilingualism are present in the community, and the language shift can by no means be considered a finished process (Heltai 2012).

In the linguistic practices of the oldest residents (above age 65), the local German variety is still present. They use the local variety mainly among themselves during everyday conversations on the street with neighbours, or during everyday work in the kitchen and the garden. It also often appears in the domains of religious life (during prayer at home or in small talk before and after mass). In the family, language choice depends very much on the actual topic and the linguistic competences of the participants. Frequent code-switching is typical, too (see Knipf 2003: 276). It is quite typical for younger family members to use resources of a different variety during conversations with elders. This heterogeneity of repertoires and practices within one single family is well illustrated by this interview excerpt below:

Inf (Informant):

  […] *Én a lányokkal a legtöbbet svábul[2] beszélek, de ők magyarul válaszolnak.*

  'To my daughters I mostly talk in Swabian
  but they usually answer in Hungarian.'

  […]

Fw (Field worker):

  Aha. Akkor ők is jól megértik.
  'So they understand it, too.'

Inf: *Persze. Persze. Megértik. Még.*
  'Yes, yes. They understand it. Still.'

Fw: *És tudnának is beszélni?*
  'And could they speak, too?'

Inf: *Tudnak még beszélni. Az A., a kisebbik, az pláne így tud beszélni. Egy kicsit, hát másképpen, mert hogyan is mondjam, ő-*
  'They can still speak. A., the little one, she can speak well.
  A little bit different though, because how to say, she-'

Inf3: *Az iskolában biztos.*
  'In the school, certainly.'

Inf: *Nem az iskolában, hanem egy német családnak-*
  'Not in the school, but for a German family-'

Inf2: *-tervezte a házat.*
  'She designed a house.'

Inf: *Ja, tervezte* […] *és azokkal ugye telefonált meg lement oda és németül beszélt, hát akkor nem ilyen svábul, mint mink, hanem egy kicsit hát kicsit másképp ugye.*

  'Yes, she designed and with them she talked over the
  phone and also went there and spoke German, so not this
  Swabian, like us, but a little bit different, you know.'

  (Inf = elderly woman, Inf2 = middle-aged woman, Inf3 = elderly
  woman)

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2.   The term *Swabian* is generally used by Germans in Hungary and by the majority, too, to indicate local German varieties, independent of actual dialectological characteristics.

The German repertoire of the middle-aged speakers (aged between 45 and 60) is also very heterogeneous. They used to use the local variety during family socializing, sometimes they also use it today when talking to elderly people. At the same time, they also use knowledge learned at school. In addition, features of different varieties learned during staying and working in German-speaking areas are part of their repertoire (cf. Knipf 2003: 275–276). An interview made with a middle-aged speaker illustrates the characteristics of the linguistic practices of this age group well. The informant told me that code-switching is typical of the whole community; however, they do not even notice it.

> *Akkor magyarul* [beszélünk, ha mindannyian összejövünk a családban]. *De mondom, ez biztos, hogy egyikünk se figyel fel erre, de nagyon keverten beszélik, mindenki a faluba. Úgy közétesz egy-egy német szót vagy elkezd beszélni németül, aztán magyarul fejezi be a mondatot vagy éppen fordítva.*

> 'Then we speak Hungarian [when the whole family comes together]. But as I say, I'm sure that none of us pays attention to it, but they all speak in a very mixed way, everybody in the village. So he or she puts in a German word, or starts to speak German, then finishes the sentence in Hungarian, or the other way around.'

This manifestation seems to support recent approaches according to which multilingual speakers do not interpret code-switching as switching between clearly separable languages and linguistic knowledge, but it is rather a creative and automatic use of the semiotic tools they have at their service (García 2009, 2011).

This generation uses German varieties actively in an appropriate context, although not on an everyday level:

> *Folyamatosan nem beszéltem a férjemmel németül, most esetleg egy-egy ilyen kifejezést vagy nem is tudom. Meg hát persze most ha ilyen volt, hogy vannak német rokonaink, ha azok itt vannak, akkor egy idő után, akkor másfél-két nap után tényleg németül beszéltünk. Akkor mindenki a házban németül beszél.*

> 'I didn't speak German continuously with my husband, maybe an expression here and there, but I don't really know. And of course, when we have German relatives, when they are here, then after a while, then after one and a half or two days, we really speak German. Then everybody in the house speaks German.' (the same informant)

The even younger ones (under 40) mostly rely on the German knowledge they gained in kindergarten and school. However, as they heard the communication of their grandparents, they have also been surrounded by the local German variety within their own families.

> *Igen* [értem a svábot]. *Azt mondom, hogy mondjuk ritkán használt szavakat esetleg nem értek, de mondjuk jelentős, tehát általában kifejezésben teljes egészében. Tényleg csak szavak vannak, amit néha nem értek pontosan.*
>
> 'Yes, [I understand Swabian]. I'm saying that I may not understand rarely used words, but significant and commonly used ones, I understand completely. It is really only sometimes that I don't understand words precisely.' (ca. 27-year-old informant)

In certain situations they make use of their knowledge of Swabian, usually with a symbolic function. In such cases, features of the local variety serve as emotional elements (cf. Erb & Knipf 2001: 325).

> *Szoktunk néha a haverjaimmal, van egy-két ugyanilyen sváb kötődésű, persze szoktunk svábolni sokat így viccből, de inkább, merhogy nevetünk, merhogy nevetünk rajtuk egy kicsit* [ti. az idősebb beszélőkön].
>
> 'We do sometimes, with my buddies, I have a few buddies of Swabian background like me, naturally we often practise this sort of Swabian talk just for fun, or rather because we laugh, because we laugh at them a bit [viz. at older speakers].' (the same informant)

Thus, the local German variety in these situations also becomes a tool for expressing ethnic identity, "Swabian background". Similarly, the variety which the informant considers useful in everyday life also appears in the interview as a tool, although not a symbolic one but rather a tool that leads to economic advantages:

> *Ami miatt én németül jobban szeretnék tudni, mint amennyire most tudok, az csak amiatt van, hogy mondjuk ezt a munkámban vagy bármilyen privát célomban hasznosítani tudnám. Tehát önállóan a nyelv szeretete mondjuk nekem semmit sem jelent, hanem egy eszköz.*
>
> 'Why I'd like to speak German better than I do now is only so that I could use it in my work, say, or for some private goal. The love for language on its own doesn't mean anything to me, but it's a tool.'

On the whole, German varieties used in the village are very hetero-geneous. They are part of people's linguistic repertoire, although to an extent that varies from person to person. With speakers' mobil-ity, employment, and touristic activity, these varieties are in con-tinuous movement, too, coming into contact with other varieties (cf. Blommaert 2010).

6. The appearance of another Finno-Ugric language: new contexts and forms of linguistic practices

The appearance of the Finns in the settlement has brought along sev-eral changes in the linguistic practices outlined above. On the one hand, due to the openness of both the Finns and the locals, the Finns in the village have a very active social life (for more details see Heltai 2014a). They meet regularly and have strong relationships with their closer friends and neighbours, which result in new domains for mul-tilingual linguistic practices (Heltai 2014b). On the other hand, we can observe a language learning activity both from the Finns' and the locals' side. Thus, the language learning activities and experiences, together with the appearance of a new culture in the community and the meeting with the new cultural habits are thematized and become part of everyday life. In addition to new domains for the use of spoken language, the various varieties used in the community and the semi-otic tools and visual symbols attached to these appear in new contexts (cf. Pietikäinen 2010, Kauppinen 2014).

The search for local, authentic values is a typical feature of both residential tourism and shorter tourism visits (Mantecón & Huete 2009, O'Reilly 2003). The Finnish informants in the interviews regu-larly emphasize that they like Geresdlak because of its special char-acterics, and they would not be content if their appearance changed anything in everyday life. It is obvious, however, that their mere ap-pearance modifies the linguistic-cultural features of the village. It de-pends on the context and the players, what is considered authentic language use or a local cultural characteristic. Thus, in connection with organizing local cultural events, a discussion is launched among

the locals, too: What can be attached to the German heritage of the village? What are the characteristics of the Hungarian majority? What does a good community event or celebration look like? What tools and symbol systems should it have, and which of these are "real"/authentic? These open or implicit discourses can be tracked both in oral and written multilingual manifestations/conversations, in the dynamically changing linguistic landscape of the settlement, and in the linguistic products connected to the domains of tourist life. In the following, I will show a few examples of these.

6.1. Heterogeneous linguistic resources in conversations – expressing authenticity and belonging to the community

The appearance of the Finns brings along with them new types of multilingual spoken and written conversations to the community. Conversations between locals and Finns are primarily built upon German linguistic tools. However, partly because of informal language learning resulting from natural everyday relationships, and partly due to more formal language learning activities, they creatively use both Hungarian and Finnish languages, too. The piece of a conversation below is from a social media site. The chat was started by a Finnish house owner posting a photo of her infected grape cluster.

Finn 1

Kann jemand sagen, was fur Krankheit? Es gibt nur mit ein zölö.
'Can somebody say, what kind of infection
it is? It is only with one zölö.'

Finn 2

Azt hiszem lisztharmat benne van
'I think it has lisztharmat inside it.'

Finn 2

Hogyan nesz ki levelek?
'How do the leaves look like?'

Hungarian

> *Lisztharmat? A levél ép, nem tűnik betegnek. Napszúrás? Kezdődő botritis?*
>
> 'Powdery mildew? The leaf is intact, it doesn't seem infected. Sunstroke? Starting botrytis?'

Finn 3

> *En tiedä lisztharmatin nimeä suomeksi, joku härme tai home se olis varmaan?*
>
> 'I don't know the name of lisztharmat in Finnish, but it might be some kind of mould?'

Finn 1

> *Tämä on verannan reunimmainen köynnös kadun puolella. Harmi, jos muu kuin kuumuuden ja kuivuuden vaikutusta.*
>
> 'It is the outermost grapevine of the veranda on the side of the street. It would be bad if it wasn't only from the heat and drought.'

Finn 1

> *Luultavasti Lisztharmat, vegeten, sanoi Jo., kun S. haluaa biorypäleitä....Naapurin mummolla on myytävänä myrkyt siihen. Tähän tulokseen tuli viinikerho J:n kellarilla eilen.*
>
> 'It is probably Lisztharmat, vegeten, Jo. said, because S. wants bio grapes….The neighbouring lady sells poison for it. This is what the wine club found out yesterday in J's cellar.'

The topic of this conversation is unusual for this social media site. It refers to a local, authentic activity: grape cultivation, which the Finns are trying to learn from the locals. For the entire conversation, the participants naturally use non-standard features of the different languages (or features, which can be associated with certain languages, cf. Jørgensen et al. 2011). The Finnish house owner who posted the photo asks her question in German but she writes its key word in Hungarian: *zölö,* in standard Hungarian *szőlő* 'grape'. This code-switching is intentional, thus it has a symbolic role. From the Finnish language user's perspective, demonstrating Hungarian language knowledge probably best expresses that she belongs to the community and she is open to the locals. Belonging to the community, she symbolically

"becomes eligible" for learning the authentic know-how of grape cultivation. With the use of German as a basic code, Finn 1 probably wished to make her question understandable both to other Finns as well as to local people. At the same time, obviously, she could have got much more information by asking this question in the village from her neighbours and acquaintances via spoken conversations. Thus, using German in this context does not really facilitate the collection of information, but it rather helps Finn 1 appear as an authentic person, a member of the community in this social domain.

The conversation is continued by Finn 2, however, he does it in Hungarian, although Finn 1, who initiated the chat and to whom he directs his answer, has much less Hungarian knowledge. However, his first sentence, *Azt hiszem lisztharmat benne van* 'I think it has lisztharmat inside it', probably has the intentional role of transferring and transmitting information between the locals, who do not speak German, and Finn 1. His next question, *Hogyan nesz ki levelek?* 'How do the leaves look?', although it is clearly aimed at Finn 1, is written in Hungarian, too. Finn 2 is one of the most active grape cultivators among the Finns, his primary language used in the village is Hungarian. Thus, in his case, the use of resources associated with Hungarian is also a symbol of his expertise, which confirms that he can participate in the conversation as an authentic person eligible to form an opinion.

Hungarian 1 is a local inhabitant without German linguistic knowledge who uses his own resources, so Finn 2 successfully linked in a local person to the conversation by answering in Hungarian. However, neither Finn 2 nor Finn 3 (who also has Hungarian linguistic knowledge) translate Hungarian 1's answer for Finn 1, but they continue the chat in Finnish. Now, Finn 1 also goes on in Finnish, giving further information for her question. Then Finn 1, in her closing remark, describes the result of a spoken conversation run on this issue, confirming our presumption that she could get a real solution from people who do not see her post on the social media site. This final remark reflects the hybrid language use of oral conversation and the multitudinous linguistic sources that are applied: in addition to *lisztharmat*, this is indicated by the use of the word *vegeten* which means 'because of this, because of that' in the local German variety.

In this short multilingual conversation, aside from its obvious aim of getting information, we can also track the participants' action to build image and identity, and to construct their roles in the community. The different linguistic and semiotic sources become the tools of this social action, and they serve as the indexes of authenticity and of belonging to the community.

6.2. Semiotic resources expressing authenticity and exoticness in the linguistic landscape

The different varieties of the linguistic repertoire of the community also regularly make their way into new contexts in the dynamically forming linguistic landscape of the village. The two signs (pictures 1 and 2) can be found in the public spaces of Geresdlak. The first one is on the wall of the kindergarten, while the second one stands in the village border advertising the annual steamed dumpling festival (*Gőzgombóc Fesztivál*), a major cultural event reviving German traditions. The poster on the kindergarten's wall was made within the framework of a kindergarten development project; right below it there is another chart with the amount of European Union support. With its

Picture 1.

Picture 2.

positioning, the sign advertising the steamed dumpling festival makes the cultural event the emblem of the village, while also having a practical informative function.

On the poster in the kindergarten, the languages used in the village are visualized by multimodal tools (cf. Moriarty 2014, Jaworski 2014): the text is written in German and Finnish, while Hungarian is represented by a visual symbol, the national crest. The appearance of German is not a surprise as it is also an institution that runs German linguistic education. However, the Finnish can be regarded as symbolic. Although it is below the German text, its visual properties, its size and colour, are the same as those of the German part. This equivalence suggests mutual acknowledgement and positive interethnic relations. The relationship between the kindergarten and the Finns is very significant because the Finnish residents of the village provided the kindergarten with financial support several times. Nevertheless, the representation of the two languages is put into a new interpretative framework if we observe it together with the official poster below it referring to European Union funds (picture 3). On the lower poster, the

Picture 3.

flag of the European Union is also there opening new, global spaces (cf. Pietikäinen 2014) in the dialogue between the two charts. The lower poster activates the context of the EU, the politics of free mobility and permeability between countries, for the observer. Thus, the bottom up local community development and the top down political intention meet on the posters.

The sign advertising the cultural event activates a very colourful linguistic and semiotic set of tools. The antiquated style of its letters (in the top right part of the chart) refers to past times. The photo below the text, which resembles the familiar, intimate world of the home, also emphasizes this nostalgic atmosphere. However, the part including the date and the website of the event refer to its official, organized character. The white strip with the date can be removed and renewed each year: the layers of the past evoked by the poster and the present meet in one place and time (cf. Pietikäinen 2014: 486–487).

At the top left corner of the sign, clearly standing out from the rest of it, is the word *hévöknédli* which can be associated with the local German variety; however, the Hungarian orthography is used for the German expression, and *knédli* can be associated also with Hungarian. For Hungarian speakers *knédli* is indexical for German

(and Slavic) cuisine. Below it is its Hungarian equivalent *gőzgombóc* 'steamed dumpling'. In the region of Fulda from where the German settlers came to Geresdlak, steamed dumpling is known as *Hefeknödel* or *Hefeklöße* (Wild 2016). In the case of the version on the sign *Hévö* stands for *Hefe* 'yeast' and *knédli* for *Knödel* 'dumpling'.

The applied visual features evoke the image of a piece of paper blown by the wind. The use of the resources of the local variety and this image of something accidentally emerging from the past refers to past times, partially forgotten cultural domains, and the world of grandparents who used to make steamed dumplings and spoke the local German variety. The change of the hierarchy of languages is in harmony with this, too: the German variety, attached to the past when it had priority, stands before Hungarian now. The linguistic game is also a tool for expressing authenticity: those who understand this text know what an "original, real" steamed dumpling is like. This is how minority language use becomes a tool for expressing authenticity, serving marketing aims in its new role.

6.3. The commodification of minority language and culture: minority intentions, majority rules

The steamed dumpling festival advertised on the poster above was organized for the ninth time in 2015. The festival, which was originally organized for a local audience, has now become an entertainment event attracting thousands of people. In 2012, the festival won the right to use the trademark HÍR (Hagyományok-Ízek-Régiók/Traditions-Flavours-Regions) via a tender by the Ministry of Agriculture. Since then, the Hungarian sign with this trademark and the sentence "*You can buy a HÍR product here*" regularly appears at community events as a legitimizing symbol, in diverse linguistic-cultural contexts. In the fourth picture, the sign can be seen in the village's canteen on the day of the festival. In the fifth picture, it is seen at a festival in Finland, at which the village of Geresdlak participated due to its sister settlement relationship. While in the Hungarian context (picture 4) the sign identifies the official acknowledgement and trademark, it completely loses its top down role in the Finnish environment: the Hungarian text here becomes a symbol of exoticness (picture 5).

Picture 4.

Picture 5.

In 2014, the steamed dumpling festival was included in the so-called Baranya Megyei Értéktár, usually translated as "Collection of Baranya County Values". ("Values" here means more or less "a valuable part of Hungary's national heritage".) The Collection of Values was created on the basis of a parliamentary regulation; its aim is to identify and officially recognize items of culture specific to Hungary. The county committee has the right to recommend that the items ("values") in the County Collection be included in the "National Collection of Values", after which these "values" may move to the even more prestigious category of "hungarikums": "The Hungarikum Committee, named in the law, is eligible to declare upon individual evaluation certain national values, recorded in the Hungarian Collection of Values as worthy of being differentiated and highlighted, and being especially significant values of the Hungarian nation due to their characteristics, uniqueness, specialness, and quality, hungarikums" (http://kincsesbaranya.hu/ertektarak-rendszere/).

The description above illustrates the duality of the commodification process of minority culture. Growing tourism and interest provide minority communities with the opportunity to show their heritage, revive their traditions, and even to gain economic benefits as a result. At the same time, the rules of semiotic and narrative processes that make these cultural traditions visible in the market are determined by the majority and the nation state. This is how a cultural festival built on minority traditions can become "an especially significant value" of Hungarian national culture in the narratives.

A portion of the German minority culture in Geresdlak has now become a protected, official brand. Small festival products have also begun to emerge. The booklet of recipes and the postcards in Picture 6 can be bought all year round at the various exhibitions of the settlement, but the symbolic cutting board in Picture 7 is a product which is successfully sold on its own with the trademark "Steamed Dumpling Festival" (*Gőzgombóc Fesztivál*).

Picture 6.

Picture 7.

7.   Summary

In the everyday linguistic practices of Hungary's German community, especially from the end of the Second World War, many language varieties have a role. In Geresdlak, just like elsewhere, the local German variety gradually receded to the private sphere as the processes of assimilation accelerated (cf. Knipf-Komlósi 2001, 2003, Erb & Knipf 1999, 2001). In parallel, in institutional domains, community members learned varieties which are closer to the German literary language. Following the political changes of 1989, formerly relocated people bought houses in the village and other German varieties became part of the community's repertoire as German media became available and sister settlement relations were established with Austria. With the multiplicity of varieties, the linguistic repertoire of the speakers has also changed: certain generations know different registers and styles of the various language varieties, to a degree that varies based on the events and experiences of their lives. Thus, the process of language shift is present; but none of the generations in the village can be considered monolingual.

Particular functions have been assigned to certain German varieties during the process of language shift. However, in Geresdlak, as a consequence of the local and global changes in the last decade, not only the language varieties used in the community have become more colourful but new contexts for language use have emerged, as well. These new contexts have emerged as a result of an increase in tourism and its subsidiary activities (making brochures, organizing cultural events, managing international relationships) as well as due to new forms of community life (informal and formal everyday connections with Finnish inhabitants and the tools for expressing the resulting interethnic relations in the linguistic landscape), or by the appearance of new communications tools (the use of social media websites and digital devices in everyday conversations, etc.). In these domains, certain language varieties may provide new functions, one of which is the expression of authenticity. The examples in my paper indicate that a code-switching may make the participant of a conversation an authentic speaker, or that the appearance of a language variety on a poster might legitimize a cultural event. The way in which participants of

these spoken, written, or visual conversations create these functions and then choose to interpret them is the result of common semiotic work (Dlaske 2015: 245–246).

The system of rules concerning the use of semiotic tools, however, depends on the actual power system. When a minority community, using the possibilities offered by mobility and tourism, revives or capitalizes on its linguistic and/or cultural features in the domains of cultural life, it is often forced to do so according to the rules of the majority society. These tensions then launch new discourses on language, culture, and authenticity within the community, as well. While today in Europe the value of multilingualism, the protection of non-dominant languages, and the necessity of speaking languages is regularly thematized in language and education policies, communities speaking minority language varieties face new challenges locally.

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Összefoglaló

A tanulmány Geresdlakon, egy magyarországi német nemzetiségi településen tapasztalható nyelvi gyakorlatokkal foglalkozik. A faluban németek és finnek vásároltak meg nagy számban házakat. A településen az elsődlegesen használt nyelv ma már a magyar, ugyanakkor a helyi német nyelvjárás és más német nyelvváltozatok továbbra is részei a közösség nyelvi repertoárjának. A második világháborút követően elindult nyelvcsere folyamatában e nyelvváltozatokhoz különböző funkciók kezdtek el kapcsolódni. A globalizáció jelenségei, a szezonális migráció, a növekvő turizmus és a digitális technológia napjainkban ugyanakkor új nyelvi kontextus kialakulásához vezetnek a településen. Ennek eredményeképpen nemcsak új nyelvi gyakorlatok alakulnak ki, hanem a különböző nyelvváltozatok is új funkciókban jelennek meg: adott nyelvváltozat használata például autentikussá tehet egy kulturális eseményt. A tanulmányban elemzett példák rámutatnak, hogy a nyelvváltozatok különböző szerepei a kommunikációs partnerek közös szemiotikai munkájának eredményeként alakulnak ki, majd e változások újabb diskurzusokat indítanak el a közösségben nyelvről, kultúráról és identitásról.

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Language modes and conversational code-switching in contemporary Veps – a microanalysis

Abstract This study focuses on the idiolects of a mother and her son, both speakers of Veps, a seriously endangered Finnic language. The interviewees represent two types of default Veps speakers, as the first one is an "authentic" speaker of Rural Colloquial Veps and the latter strives to use the contemporary Veps Standard and is a member of the Veps intelligentsia. This article analyzes idiolectal variation of these two active native Veps speakers in conversation-functional code-switching, focusing on re-iteration and voicing. The context consists of social factors that give rise to differences in the interviewees' multilingual idiolects. I argue that the interviewee involved in the development of the Veps Standard has a strong mental standard consisting of an ideal, pure Veps language, which he consistently strives to maintain. This is most notably seen in data gathered in the presence of researchers. He avoids using the mixed code and systematically flags his conversational code-switches. A purist ideology supposedly underlies his choice of Veps language mode. Quite the opposite, the speaker of Rural Colloquial Veps freely exploits her bilingual Veps mode in the discussions analyzed here. Although her bilingual Veps mode is mixed with Russian quite thoroughly, I argue that in conversational code-switches she moves towards an even more Russian-influenced mode.

1. Introduction

This study contributes to the discussion of language as a social construct. It discusses the conversational functions of code-switching of two multilinguals in a language situation that is characterized by a lengthy language contact between Veps and Russian, language shift of Veps speakers, and multi-layered Russian convergence in the Veps language. Discussion is linked to the question of whether different linguistic codes are organized as separate 'languages', and what a certain 'language' essentially is (see e.g., Auer 2007, Gardner-Chloros 2009, Blommaert & Rampton 2016, Laakso, Sarhimaa, Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Toivanen 2016). The language mode continuum model (as presented in Grosjean 2008) is used as a framework for describing the language choices multilingual speakers make during conversation. The main goal is to examine language alternation patterns in light of factors such as language proficiency, attitudes, and ideologies, which, on one hand, are participant-related and, on the other hand, are situational, emphasizing the role of the interlocutor and the formality of the discussion. Language alternation is considered meaningful for negotiating and indexing identity in interaction, although the level of awareness of language alternation is supposed to vary between different language users and different conversational situations (see e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993). A micro-level approach, studying code-switching in two idiolects was chosen, because in the case of a seriously endangered language such as Veps, language shift on the community level has increased variation on the idiolectal level.

The data (chapter 3) are drawn from four recordings of two Veps speakers that are known both within the Veps community and outside of it. Maria Abramova[1] belongs to the last generation of fluent rural Veps speakers (see Puura, Karjalainen, Zajceva & Grünthal 2013: 104–105) that acquired Veps in early childhood as their first language and only later learned Russian as a second language. Her city-dweller son Nikolai Abramov[2] acquired Veps and Russian simultaneously at

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1. Maria Abramova and Nikolai Abramov gave their consent at the time of data gathering to use these data non-anonymously.
2. I wish to dedicate this study to the memory of Nikolai, who passed away in January 2016 at the age of 55.

home in early childhood. He belongs to the small Veps elite or intelligentsia that uses and at the same time takes part in developing the Veps standard language. Nikolai, as one of the primary Veps writers and possibly the most acknowledged Veps poet, has an important role as the voice of a fading language. In light of their linguistic biographies, the interviewees represent two different kinds of idealized Veps speakers. The Veps language spoken by the elderly villagers is most often perceived as the "true" Veps language among contemporary Veps speakers. It is a common belief that when the elders pass away, the language will disappear. There are also Veps speakers who consider the standard Veps language to be the correct version of Veps and consider the mixed variety of the villagers to be a deficient one (Puura & al. ibid. 2013: 134–135, cf. 2.2).

Although Nikolai acquired Veps at home, in the same village where his mother Maria is still living, their output differs notably in terms of accepting code-switching and the degree of Russian influence in their speech. Henceforth, the term *code-switching* (CS) is used as a technical cover term to describe alternation of Veps and Russian (sometimes Veps and Finnish/English/German) during a conversation. Occasions of code-switching are analyzed as means of contextualization in two conversational functions frequently arising in the data, namely voicings and paraphrasings. According to Gumperz (1982: 131), different resources such as code-switching can be applied as *contextualization cues* with which "speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows". A contextualization cue is a non-referential part of the conversation that has an impact on the formation of the meaning. Prosody, change in rhythm, pauses, hesitation, overlapping, sequence openings and closings, gestures, and facial expressions are typical examples of contextualization cues. With code-mixing I refer to such grammatical interference from another language that cannot be interpreted to carry conversational meaning (see excerpt (1) in section 2; for in-depth discussion on the terminology of CS, see e.g., Kovács 2009, Gardner-Chloros 2009: 10–13, section 2).

The main research questions emerging from the data are the following:

1) What kind of social factors construct the multilingual profiles of the interviewees?
2) How do the discourse-related code-switches of the interviewees differ? What effect does the interlocutor have?
3) What implications does the analysis have with respect to Veps language revitalization and/or maintenance?

This paper is structured as follows: In section 2, the background of the present bi- and multilingual situation of Veps-speakers is briefly described. Section 3 presents the data and theoretical approach of the current study along with short linguistic biographies of the interviewees. In section 4, the empirical data are used to discuss the varieties of code-alternation in spoken Veps. In section 5, conclusions are drawn and further discussed.

2. Veps language and effects of language contact and multilingualism

2.1. Veps language, Veps speakers

The contemporary Veps language consists of two main varieties that are not always considered mutually intelligible. Here these are referred to as Rural Colloquial Veps and the Veps Standard. Rural Colloquial Veps includes three dialects, several local sub-varieties, and different idiolects. Until very recently the speakers of what we call the 'Veps language' have not shared a common understanding of a uniform language community at all, but instead the identities have been local (see Grünthal 2015: 29–33, Zaitseva 2015: 160). This may even be the case for many Veps today, as many rural Veps are quite unaware of the number of the Veps speakers and the actual size of their nation.

The Veps language is spoken in northwestern Russia in the Republic of Karelia, Leningrad oblast, and Vologda oblast. Throughout documented history, the Veps have been one of the linguistic minorities in this area (see e.g., Joalaid 1997). The rapid shift from predominantly Veps-speaking communities to the present predominantly Russian-speaking Veps people was brought about by socio-political

developments in Russian/Soviet society and was influenced by changes both on regional and national levels. From the 1930s onward, social changes such as collectivization, centralized administration, migration into towns, and the spread of uniform mass media affected the Veps as well as Russians in the area. (Grünthal 2011: 271–273, Strogalʹščikova 2005: 225–233). The number of Veps speakers has faced constant decline since then. There were more than 30 000 speakers of Veps at the beginning of the 1930s, whereas in the latest population census of 2010 there were 3613 individuals declaring some kind of knowledge of the Veps language. Fluent Veps speakers are mainly elderly and all speakers have a command of Russian, which is the prestige language (Puura et al. 2013: 27; 102–111). The development of minority languages was favored for a short period in the 1930s in the Soviet Union, during which time the first standard for the Veps language was also hastily developed. Primers were written and Veps was used as the medium of instruction for a few years. In 1937, the standard Veps language was banned as a result of Soviet oppression (see e.g., Musaev 2007) From that point on, Veps was no longer used in education, administration, or any other official domain during the Soviet era (Puura et al. ibid. 42–52).

In the beginning of the 1990s, the Veps Standard was reintroduced by native researchers and language activists. Small-scale revitalization efforts have been undertaken since then, but these have not been able to reverse the pace of language shift. The current Standard is based on four main principles, according to the most prominent language activist Nina Zaitseva (2006: 30). Firstly, the most common variants are chosen. Secondly, features from different dialects are taken into account. Thirdly, emphasis is placed on features that differentiate Veps from other Finnic languages, and fourthly, archaic Veps forms are favored. It seems that as strong underlying principles one might add to these the use of the closely related Finnish and Estonian literary standards as models as well as the avoidance of Russian influence.

Most regular Veps people, who are not part of the small Veps intelligentsia that is mainly settled in Petrozavodsk, are not familiar with the Veps Standard. The Standard is used to a small extent in media, but Veps-language media are not available to an equal degree in all Veps areas, especially outside of the Republic of Karelia. In addition, the

use of the Latin script instead of Cyrillic hinders the elderly speakers from using the Standard (Puura et al. 2013: 102–108). Currently the Veps Standard is mainly used by the academically educated Veps activists.

2.2. Linguistic outcomes of contacts between Veps and Russian

As there are no monolingual Veps speakers, the premise of this study is that in principle, contemporary Rural Colloquial Veps is a set of mixed varieties within which Russian influence is pervasive. In the Veps spoken by the oldest (65+) generation, using Russian elements is the rule rather than the exception. This is the case in excerpt[3] (1), which is spoken by Maria to her son Nikolai and the Finnish researcher:

(1)   ***doroga**d   teg-i-ba   väheiž-uu   dei   enamba-d   ei*
        road.PTV   make-IMPF-3PL little-ADESS and   more-PTV   NEG.3SG

        remont**oi   dei, **leshoz**ad   vededa-s ka   **douzon
        renovate.CNG and forestcorporation.PL pull-PASS and **must.M**

        *hii   **remontir**uida **dorog**an. **Nu**   dei   ei   treb**uigoi***
        they **renovate**.INF **road**.GEN **but**   and   NEG.3SG **demand**.NEG.PL

        *nike-d   ka. **deputat**a-d   dei,   **deputat**o-i-d*
        no-one-PL yes **representative**-PL and   **representative**-PL-PTV

        ***vyberi**-mei **a**   e-m   nägi-ške-d   sil'm-he   jo*
        elect-1PL   **but**   NEG-1PL see-FREQ-PL   eye-ILL.PL   already

        kaks' vo-t   ka.
        two   year-PTV yes

'They built some **road** and they do not **repair** it any further. The **forest corporations** freight [timber] and they **should repair** the **road**. **Well**, and **no**body **makes demands**. **Representative**s and, we **elect representatives but** we have not seen them in two years already.'   (Maria 2007)

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3.   In the examples, the first line of the transcript is a rough transliteration of what was said following the current Veps orthography (while maintaining the most distinctive dialectal features). This is followed by a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss in excerpts where elements from Veps and Russian are mixed on a morphological level. The last line is an idiomatic translation. Veps morphemes are in *plain italics*, morphemes clearly of Russian origin and longer Russian units are in ***bold*** (also in the translation). For English and Finnish insertions SMALL CAPS have been used.

In excerpt (1), there are no clear discourse-related code-switches. Instead, this is a mixed narrative hosting several morphologically integrated Russian verbs, nouns, and discourse particles used in sentences built mainly on Veps grammar. Moreover, there is at least one occurrence of morphosyntactic transfer, namely the Russian-origin necessitative construction (the duty and obligation construction DOC) **douzon** *hii* **remontir**uida **dorog**an (for DOC in Karelian see Sarhimaa 1999). The excerpt contains no significant pauses, nor does it show any other signs indicating hesitation or flagging the switches. Instead, it is produced with ease, fluidity, and without doubting; it is used as the unmarked language mode in this conversation.

Russian loanwords, code-switching, and code-mixing in contemporary Veps are difficult to distinguish due to the long duration of this language contact situation and the abundance of Russian influence. The phoneme inventories of Veps and the northwestern Russian dialects are similar due to long-term phonological convergence; therefore, it is not simple to distinguish between a loan and CS according to phonological principles (on these, see e.g., Kovács 2009: 25). There are different layers of Russian (and Slavonic) influence in Veps beginning with loanwords borrowed into an earlier Finnic variety (see e.g., Kallio 2006, Saarikivi 2000), influence occurring later as a result of mutual contacts between Veps and Russian, and ad hoc insertions and CS in the contemporary spoken language. A previous study (Novožilova 2006) suggests that code-switching would typically occur in Veps in the following categories: adjectives[4], large numerals, adverbs, and conjunctions. Discourse markers (such as Russian *hot'*, *vidimo*, *nu*, *vot*), words or phrases that are relatively independent of the syntax, are, according to many researchers, the most frequently switched elements in a language contact situation (see Myers-Scotton 1993). As *nu* and *vot* are the most often used particles in Russian discourse, it is evident they are also frequent in Veps conversation. Interjections, such as *vsë ravno* are typically switched, too. These Russian

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4. Novožilova (ibid.: 152) suggests that especially among the younger generations of Veps speakers adjectives would typically be code-switched. This observation is based on data gathered by translation tests, which do not sufficiently prove that the adjective category would have been affected by abundant Russian borrowing, at least no more than other nominals.

fillers are obviously an integral part of Veps conversation and in the data discussed here, both interviewees use them constantly. One might argue that these fillers are actually *de facto* part of the Veps language. Cultural loans are also very common, especially institutional terms that have unique referents. There are many borrowed core forms that have (or had) native equivalents. Also, affective terminology (swearing, discussion related to drinking alcohol) is typically switched in Veps. This is the case also in other languages found in intensive contact situations, such as e.g., Basque (see Lantto 2014). It seems rather reasonable to agree with Kovács (2009) and others that loans and CS are at opposite ends of a continuum with ad hoc insertions found somewhere in between. In the case of Veps and especially with respect to the scope of this study, which focused on clause-level multilingual practices and not only on individual lexemes, there is no reason to draw a strict line between a loan and a CS.

Novožilova claims (2006: 156–157) that the oldest speakers in her data (over 65 years) integrate Russian elements when necessary without flagging the change of language in any way, while the less fluent middle-aged generation would be more aware of their own code-switches and their incomplete competence of Veps and, therefore, mark the switches (see also Siragusa 2017: 119–120). There are also notable differences in flagging the switches in my data, but in my data differences in CS behavior cannot be explained by lack of proficiency in Veps. Certain findings (Grünthal 2003, Mullonen 1967) suggest that there is also notable syntactic transfer from Russian to Veps, for example, the DOC construction present in the excerpt (1). Karjalainen (forthcoming) argues that continuous Russian influence has deeply affected the Veps indefinite pronoun system through morpheme transfer as well as morphological pattern transfer. It is evident, although not yet comprehensively described, that Veps grammar as well as its lexicon are profoundly affected by Russian. According to Thomason (2001: 14), "with intense enough contact, any feature can be transferred from any language to any other language, no matter how different the two languages are typologically".

2.3. Attitudes and ideologies

Attitudes and ideologies are important factors when explaining differences among speakers accepting practices associated with heteroglossia, such as code-switching (Sallabank 2013: 60, O'Rourke & Ramallo 2013, Lantto 2016). Veps speakers' attitudes towards code-switching and language mixing were examined as part of the ELDIA data collection in 2011 (for more information on ELDIA – European Language Diversity for All, see Laakso et al. 2016, ‹eldia-project.org›). As shown in Puura et al. (2013: 140–142), most Veps speakers acknowledge that language mixing is common in contemporary Veps. However, mixing is more widely condemned than accepted among speakers. According to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 15), a negative stance towards CS is typical in speech communities in which switching is common but the attitudes towards authority are tense. Elderly rural people, mostly women, are seen as speaking "pure" Veps, though there are some who consider the written standard to be the correct form of Veps (Puura et al. ibid.: 134–135).

An ideology of purity is considered to be a "rejection of hybridity" where languages and their speech communities are considered as clearly distinct entities that ought to be kept separate. Purist activities aim to clear a language of undesirable elements, which most typically are of foreign origin, such as CS or loans. (Lantto 2016, Langer & Nesse 2012.) The ambiguous perception of the Veps language and the assumption that pure Veps is spoken solely by the elderly women whereas the literary standard is the correct language, reflect the Russian discourse on civilized language use versus the primordial language of the rural people (Lähteenmäki 2015), the so-called Russian standard language culture (Edygarova 2016). The interviewees in the present study were not asked explicitly about their opinion on mixing Veps and Russian or the new standard language and its status in contrast to colloquial Veps. Yet in these data a purist ideology is manifested implicitly through Nikolai's avoidance of the influence of the dominant language, Russian.

3. Two speakers with different linguistic profiles

3.1. Interview data

The approach in this study is inductive and empirical. The research questions arise from conversational language, observations made during fieldwork trips in 2006–2009, and more detailed analysis of the data. The field trips were part of the project "The Veps Language Community" (on data gathering see Grünthal 2011: 278–282, Karjalainen 2016: 41–43). The non-native interviewer spoke Veps in all discussions using Russian vocabulary when lacking adequate Veps terminology and also copying the presupposed unmarked bilingual code from time to time. The interviewees knew that the interviewer was also able to speak Russian, but they were accustomed to using Veps with him during the later interviews.

The data presented here were recorded and later transcribed. The data are described briefly in Table 1.

Year	2007	2008	2009	2014
Length	29:50	8:02	22:52	1:37:00
Participants	Nikolai Maria Finnish researcher	Nikolai Finnish researchers	Maria Finnish researchers	Nikolai Finnish researcher
Main topics	Neighbors, current everyday life	Trip to Sweden, multilingual communication	Life experiences, Soviet life	Earlier life experiences, education, work
Languages used in the situation	Veps Russian Finnish	Veps Russian English German Finnish	Veps Russian	Veps Russian Finnish
Formality of the discussion	Casual and relaxed	Very casual, humorous	Relaxed	Semi-formal

Table 1. Data description.

The recordings differ in terms of length, formality, and topics. The discussion from 2007 is very informal. It takes place in Maria's kitchen during breakfast preparations with the topics changing freely and without the researcher guiding the conversation in any specific direction. Also, the discussion taped in 2009 is quite relaxed, although it is basically a very free interview – or at times more of a long monologue spoken by Maria. Nikolai's interview conducted in 2014 is somewhat more formal, as the researcher is asking about the professional aspects of his life. However, the two had grown very familiar with one another over the years and the interview setting itself seemed very relaxed, as Nikolai would lie on the couch during the discussion. The recording from 2008 is composed of a short story told by Nikolai on a particular evening for the Finnish researchers; it is a situation where he as well as the listeners are laughing a great deal.

Social factors governing the type of code-switching used in a given situation are divided into three groups according to Gardner-Chloros (2009: 42–43). The first are factors affecting all speakers of a given variety, such as prestige, power relations, and the contextual nature of particular varieties. These are briefly covered in section 2. Secondly, factors such as differing degrees of proficiency in the contacting language varieties; language ideology, for example, purism; social networks; and social change affect the CS behavior of the individual speakers or members of different subgroups, e.g., different age cohorts of Veps speakers. These will be discussed in 3.2. Thirdly, there are factors within the conversation, for example, topic, interlocutor, which affect the language mode (Grosjean 2008) chosen and the number of code-switches produced by the speakers. These are discussed in 3.3. The total number of CS was not counted in the data, partly because it would have required making an artificial differentiation between a loan and CS, and also because of the focus on the functions of multilingual language use.

3.2. Speaker profiles

The following short linguistic profiles are biographies based on the interviews and further information gathered during fieldwork. The latter include structured interviews based on a sociolinguistic questionnaire.

ULRIIKKA PUURA

Maria Alekseevna Abramova was born in 1932 in the village of
Mäggärv[5], a village neighboring Ladv[6] where she has resided most
of her life. Her parents and family spoke Veps as their native lan-
guage, which she acquired as her sole first language at home. Maria
says her mother never even became fluent in Russian. Maria herself
attended four years of school in Mäggärv during the war years. She
learned Russian quickly when her family was deported to a complete-
ly Russian-speaking area at the end of the 1930s[7]. According to her,
her whole family shifted to speaking Russian in all domains. Maria's
younger brother, born during the deportation, did not learn to speak
Veps at all. Consequently, intergenerational language transmission
was partly interrupted within her family already at this stage. Maria
herself had to readopt Veps as a language of communication when she
returned to the village four years later in 1941, as she reported to have
forgotten Veps during the deportation.

    Maria's late husband, Nikolai's father, was a local Veps from
Ladv. When asked about their language use at home, Maria says they
used Veps as well as Russian with each other and the children. Niko-
lai claims, however, that the family only spoke Veps at home during
his childhood.[8] **Nikolai Viktorovič Abramov** was born in 1961 in
Ladv. He has an older sister, who currently resides in the municipal
rural center located a distance of less than an hour by car from Maria.
Although claiming that the family spoke only Veps at home, Nikolai
estimates that he learned Veps and Russian simultaneously at home as
his first languages and that he was equally fluent in both when enter-
ing school. In contrast to his mother, who finished only four years
of primary school, Nikolai completed basic education and secondary

5. Mäggärv is found on the map under Russian *Minickaja*. Mäggärv and Ladv are
located in Kurbinskaja volost of Podporožkij rayon in Leningrad oblast.
6. Ladv is divided into four administrative units: *Makar'evskaja* (Veps *Sepän
agj*), *Kazyčenskaja* (Veps *Pagast*), *Fëdorovskaja* (Veps *Ondrein agj*), and *Vasilevs-
kaja* (Veps *Järven taga*). On administrative units see Grünthal 2011: 278–282.
7. Her father was accused of being a kulak. He managed to flee before deportation,
but the rest of the family was deported to Novgorod oblast where her father joined
them later on.
8. This shows the difficulties in relying on self-evaluation regarding language use.
We can assume that both languages were used and that Nikolai acquired Russian at
home in early childhood.

school, then studied at a technicum[9], and later on studied at the university without graduating. All education took place in Russian only: using Veps at school was not supported in any way, instead it was said to hinder pupils from learning proper Russian.

When asked about language proficiency, Maria estimates her skills as equal in Veps and Russian. However, she says that because she is used to speaking Veps more often, she makes mistakes when speaking Russian. A clear Veps accent characterizes her spoken Russian. She uses Veps in most unofficial domains on a daily basis. Much as most Veps of her age (see Puura et al. 2013: 107–108), she is not able to write in Veps, although she has learned to read Veps by following the example of her son and by regularly reading the *Kodima* newspaper. Despite these difficulties, she is an author of texts in Veps and her lyrics and poetry have been published in anthologies such as *Verez tullei* 2006. For this reason, she is currently acknowledged as a Veps poet. Her proficiency in literary Russian has not been evaluated, but one may assume it is fluent or good, as this is the case among Veps in general (see Puura et al. ibid.: 108) and also as Maria received her basic education in Russian and has daily access to Russian media.

With regard to other languages, Maria has no foreign language skills. Nikolai applies the resources of more languages than his mother in his activities. He learned colloquial Veps at home and in the surrounding village but later adopted the Veps Standard as his dominant way of speaking. He has taken part in developing the Veps Standard for the past two to three decades. In his work as a journalist at the Veps-language newspaper *Kodima*, he has belonged to the small group of Veps who have adopted the new standard and the newly-developed vocabulary. As a poet he says he has avoided Veps neologisms in order to keep his texts familiar to the people outside of the small intelligentsia in Petrozavodsk. In addition to Veps, Nikolai has used Russian as a writer and editor. Before working at *Kodima* he worked as a journalist at a Russian newspaper. He claims that he is equally fluent in Veps and Russian. In addition, he has proficiency in several other languages. He studied German at school and during recent years he has learned English through the media, especially from the internet. He has acquired basic skills in Finnish through collaboration with Finnish-speaking

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9.   A non-university level higher education institution.

scholars and culture workers in Petrozavodsk and in Finland and also by visiting Finland several times[10].

Home life is different for Nikolai and Maria. Nikolai lives in the predominantly Russian-speaking city of Petrozavodsk where one does not hear Veps anywhere else other than on occasions especially connected with Veps culture. Maria lives in a predominantly Veps village of less than 100 permanent inhabitants[11] where the vast majority of her neighbors communicate in Veps. Nikolai has access to all available Veps language media such as the *Kodima* newspaper, literature, radio and television broadcasts, using Veps online, whereas Maria's contact with materials in the standard Veps language is limited to reading the monthly newspaper and books her son brings to the village during his visits. The few Veps television and radio broadcasts are not accessible in Leningrad oblast where Maria lives. Both Nikolai and Maria read and follow Russian mainstream media actively. Furthermore, Nikolai follows foreign media through the internet to some extent, while Maria does not have access to the internet at all.

3.3. Conversational functions of code-switching and the language modes of Maria and Nikolai

The conversational functions of code-switching in Veps have not been previously studied in depth. However, Siragusa's (2017: 115–120) examples of uses of CS in different contexts resemble the typology of conversationals functions of CS by Auer (1995) (see 4). Novožilova (2006: 161), basing her study on the ideas found in Auer (1999), suggests that in Veps, CS has lost its discourse-related meaning because it is an integral part of spoken Veps and therefore is neutral in use. However, there is evidence that language mixing and conversational code-switching actually do co-exist (see e.g., Frick and Riionheimo 2013 on Finnish-Estonian CS). In the next section I will show that

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10. Finnish is one of the Finnic languages spoken in the Republic of Karelia, and it has had official status as a language of administration there. Therefore, it holds a special status in the Republic and is considered a prestige language.
11. According to official data, there were almost 200 people living in Ladv in 2006, but during fieldwork it became apparent that this number is exaggerated (Grünthal 2011: 278–282).

code-switching is conversationally meaningful in Nikolai's Veps, and it also operates as a contextualization cue at least in voicings in Rural Colloquial Veps, although Maria's base language can be characterized as thoroughly mixed.

Following the model of the language mode continuum as presented by Grosjean (2008), the difference between the spoken Veps of Maria and Nikolai represents various situational continuums between a hypothetical monolingual Veps language mode and a bilingual Veps-Russian mode. According to Grosjean (ibid.: 36) a language mode is "the state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms at any given point in time", and it is up to the bilingual "to decide, usually quite unconsciously, which language to use and how much the other language is needed" (ibid.: 38). Accordingly, a speaker displays a monolingual Veps language mode when speaking Veps with a monolingual Veps interlocutor. A bilingual Veps mode contrasts with the previous one as Russian is actively used. Nevertheless, Veps functions as the base language in a typically informal situation. Grosjean postulates an intermediate language mode between the two ends, which suggests that, in the examined case, Russian is slightly more active than in the monolingual mode, in which Russian is mostly deactivated, but never completely. The topic of discussion, the situation of the actual discussion, and the background of the interlocutors defines where the interaction falls on this continuum. (Grosjean ibid.: 40).

4. Code-switching in Maria's Rural Colloquial Veps and Nikolai's Veps Standard

The data show that the idiolects of Maria and Nikolai differ both in frequency of code-switching and types of CS produced. Maria is a frequent code-switcher and she usually does not mark her CS by metalinguistic comments or pausing. Her CS can be described as fluent code-switches. Nikolai, however, systematically avoids long code-switches. CS typically occurs in reiterations, metalinguistic side-comments, and explanations that are mostly external to the main narration line. Nikolai often marks his CS explicitly with metalinguistic commentary,

i.e., flagging. In the analyzed data, morphosyntactic Russian influence seems more typical in Maria's speech. Throughout the data, there are examples such as (1) (see above) in which switching between Veps and Russian does not serve any discourse-related purpose and does not arise from inadequate linguistic resources. The bilingual language mode merely operates as Maria's unmarked choice characteristic of vernacular speech.

Conversational-functional types of code-switching include voicings, change of participant constellation, side comments, reiterations, topic shift, and topicalization (cf. Auer 1995: 120). In Maria's and Nikolai's data, CS occurs most often in **voicing** and **reiteration**. Code-switched voicings are more common for Maria, whereas code-switching in reiteration is more typical for Nikolai.

4.1. Voicing

Voicing is an act where someone's words are being replicated. Voicing refers to something that was (or could have been) said, thought, or written in another speech situation by another person or by the speaker herself. It presents the quotation as direct (for relevant literature, see Frick & Riionheimo 2013: 570). Voicing something in the original language is typically seen as authentication of the voice-persona[12] or evaluating or distancing the speaker's stance of what was said. I will examine in more detail below whether voicing takes place in the original language. It may be assumed that negotiating social identity as a Veps speaker or a multilingual user of different languages and indicating differences between discussions in different languages motivate CS in voicing.

Consider excerpt (2), where Maria first voices her neighbor and then herself, Nikolai's turn invokes the voice-persona of a local Russian speaker.

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12.   A voice-persona (as used by Frick & Riionheimo 2013: 575) is activated by "the shift of the deictic center from the speaker in the here-and now to the voice-persona", i.e., the voice-persona is the person whose words are being animated through replicating them.

(2)   Maria:

muite Miša om, Makarovo, mugažno bard pästtud, eglei loukas
Manja tjotja, zdorovo, *ka minä sinägi meiden Nikolain kartte*
bardan näge kazvatid

'By the way, Miša has, Makarovo, also grown a beard,
yesterday in the shop "Good day, Auntie Manja" and I "You
also have grown a beard like our Nikolai, I see!".'

Nikolai:

Finčenko minei sanui, äi om minei hüvä bard, sanui, venäks
blagorodnyi, oblagorazyvaet, *sanub,* [laughs] *aha, sanub ninga*

'Finčenko told me I have a very fine beard, he said, in
Russian, **noble, makes you noble**, he says, aha, says so.'

<div align="right">(Maria and Nikolai 2007)</div>

In (2), with respect to Maria's voicing of her neighbor, Miša, the question of whether it should be counted as CS is ambiguous. *Manja tjotja, zdorovo* can be accounted for either as dialectal Northern Russian or mixed Veps, whereas *zdorovo* is used in colloquial Russian but also frequently by Veps as an everyday greeting in Central Veps villages. The word for 'aunt' in Veps speech is generally *tjotja*, as many kinship terms are borrowed from Russian. Maria continues voicing her own wording in Veps by stating *sinägi meiden Nikolain kartte*, which implies that the interlocutor was also at that time addressed in Veps by her and could speak Veps. Thus, Maria's first voicing here is an example of mixed Veps rather than CS. Nikolai continues by quoting Finčenko initially in Veps, despite the fact that the quoted partner does not speak Veps. The deictic pronoun in *om minei hüvä bard* 'I have a fine beard' reveals that this is indirect reported speech. Instead, the following code-switching ***blagorodnyi, oblagorazyvaet,*** is marked as a CS and therefore considered as direct reported speech by labelling it explicitly as being Russian (*venäks* 'in Russian').

In most of the voicings in these data, context reveals either explicitly or implicitly who is being voiced. In cases of code-switched voicings, the context most often confirms that the given person spoke, wrote, or used another language. Still, a voicing need not be connected to a specific person. Consider excerpt (3) where Maria recalls a Soviet order on how to fulfil her work duties:

(3) *käst-tas* ***sorok sotok* norma**-*n* **vypolni-t'** *nu ka, – –*
order-PASS forty square meters norm-GEN fulfill-INF well yes

mäne-d, kaiva-d kaiva-d kaiva-d, a **vypolni**-*da e-d*
go-2SG dig-2SG dig-2SG dig-2SG but fulfill-INF NEG-2SG

voi **plan**a-*d ka i,* **poluči**-*d mi-n*
be_able.CNG plan-PTV yes and receive-2SG what-GEN

'You are told **forty square meters norm to fulfill, well,**
and – – you go, dig dig dig but you cannot **fulfill** the plan
yes and what do you **get**.' (Maria 2009)

In (3), the voice-persona is an anonymous representative of Soviet power. Here Maria does not refer directly to anybody's words but addresses in more general terms the orders of the Soviet representatives. The voicing is not completely in Russian, as the word *norm* is inflected for the Veps genitive case. It is, however, a more monolingual stretch of Russian used inside of the Veps base language in this discussion. This is in contrast with the Russian verb *vypolnit'*, which shows the Russian infinite form in the voiced section, and ***vypolni**da*, which has a Veps infinitive suffix in the following clause.

The village where Maria lives is mainly Veps-speaking. As a rule, her conversations with Russian-speaking interlocutors are marked with code-switched voicing in Veps speech. In example (4), the interlocutor is a monolingual Russian-speaker.

(4) *minä kaika sano-n Saša tari sinei*
I always say-1SG Sasha need.SG3 you.ALL

pohitree by-t', *ne*
cunning.CMPR be-INF no

'I always say: Saša you need to be more cunning, don't you?'
(Maria 2007)

Here Maria initiates her turn with a Veps reporting clause *mina kaika sanon,* but instead of switching immediately to Russian, she initiates the voicing in Veps *tari sinei* 'you need to' and only then switches completely to Russian. According to previous studies (see Frick & Riionheimo 2013: 577), there is no need to switch the language of the entire reported part. The new information in example (4), for instance, is placed in a post-verbal position and suffices to show that voicing is performed. Another contextualization cue in this clause is manifested by the change

in the deictic pronoun *sinei* which precedes the code-switched passage. In contrast to this kind of bundling of contextualization cues (see Auer 1995: 124) in which several lexico-syntactic devices mark the voicing, Maria's speech includes parallel examples in which the main cue marking the presence of a voice-persona is the CS, as shown below in (5). The town of Podporož'e is the administrative center of the area. All official correspondence must be conducted in Russian.

(5)

> M: **adres** *oleiž ka minä kirjutaižin.*
>
> 'If I had the **address** I would write.'
>
> N: *lugtas, oigetas Podporož[jaha?] oigetas kirjan*
>
> 'They read it, they send the letter to Podporož'e.'
>
> M: *Podporož[jaha?] kästtasoi mišto* **ispolnjate**
>
> 'To give orders to Podporož'e to **take care of their duties**.'

<div align="right">(Maria and Nikolai 2007)</div>

As in (4) and (5), Maria casting herself as a Russian-speaking voice-persona indicates that she is a bilingual actor. Example (6) is illustrative of self-voicing in the same sense. The excerpt focuses on the generation gap between Veps grandchildren and grandparents: it is a linguistic parallel of the breakdown of intergenerational language transmission. The grandchildren are monolingual Russian speakers who do not have any proficiency in Veps. Maria is talking about her life in the past and says that her grandchildren cannot imagine what life used to be like.

(6)   *ka n'ugu* **vonuk**o-i-le   *sanu-n, pene-d ka* **babuška** **èto**
      yes now   grandchild-PL-ALL say-1SG small-PL yes grandmother this

     skazka, *sanu-b,* **ne,** *ninga, sanu-n nece-n elo-n ka sanu-n,*
     fairytale say-3SG NEG so   say-1SG that-GEN life-GEN yes say-1SG

     ne skazka Dimoška, ne skazka, èto na samom,
     NEG fairytale Dimoška NEG fairytale it   PREP **same.INSTR**

     da kak vy, togda vyži-li,   kak, *ka* **vyži-li**.
     and how you then survive-PST.PL how yes survive-PST.PL

'Yes now I say to the **grandchildren**, [they are] small yes "**grandmother this is a fairytale"**, [he] says", "**no**, it is like that", I talk about my life and say "**not a joke Dimoška, not a joke, it is the same as you, at the time we had to survive, how**, yes **we had to survive**".'

<div align="right">(Maria 2009)</div>

In (6), Maria voices both herself and her grandson in Russian, the language of the original speech event. Nevertheless, she returns to speaking Veps immediately after the first voicing. After the second voiced passage of herself speaking Russian, she continues the story in her neutral Veps.

There are code-switched voicings in Nikolai's speech as well, but mostly these are explicitly flagged as Russian CS. However, this is not the case in (7), where he applies another strategy by translating the voicing into Veps afterwards.

(7) *hän iče   sanu-i   minä olen* **poslednyj poèt derevni**,
    3SG himself say-IMPF I   be-1SG last   poet village-GEN
    jäl'gmäine külä-n   runoilii
    last   village-GEN   poet
    'He himself said I am the **last poet of
    the village**, the last poet of the village.'   (Nikolai 2014)

In (7), the voice-persona is Russian-speaking. This is the only example from Nikolai where the voicing is not explicitly marked as Russian before switching. The switch is nevertheless flagged by its translation. The interviewer would have understood the Russian insertion anyway and, therefore, the translation also serves a purist function in showing that he is also able to produce the same in Veps with some effort.

The example drawn from the 2008 data is a referative story in which Nikolai talks about his trip to Sweden. It includes an exceptionally large number of occurrences of voicing, but instead of speaking Veps or Russian, the voice-personas mostly speak foreign languages, either English or a mixture of German and English, which are foreign to all participants present (the others being speakers of Finnish and Estonian). In addition, some Finnish lexemes appear, such as *bussi* ('bus', instead of Russian and Veps *avtobus*) as in (8). Nikolai voices himself most consistently speaking English, as in (8), but there are also Swedish people voiced in English, which suggests that it was the actual language used. Only when the voice-persona has clearly been a Russian speaker, the voicings are performed in Veps.

(8)   *kacon sid' toine siižub **BUSSI** vuu **BUSSI** mugoi kaks' etažid, nu
      minä kacon en muga, jo astun, tulin,* I'M SORRY, I'M RUSSIA,
      JOURNALIST, JOURNALIST KODIMA NEWSPAPER, *en sanon
      Petrozavodsk, dumein hii ei tekoi kus om, Sankt-Peterburg*

      'I look then, another stands, A BUS still A BUS, that kind of a double
      decker. Well I look not that way, I walk, I came, "I'M SORRY, I'M
      RUSSIA[!], JOURNALIST, JOURNALIST KODIMA NEWSPAPER". I did not
      say Petrozavodsk, I thought they do not know where it is, [I say] St.
      Petersburg.'   (Nikolai 2008)

While switching into English, as in (8) above, Nikolai does not index
the switch nor does he translate it as he does while code-switching
into Russian. Apparently, he finds it clear enough for the listeners that
English voicings are foreign elements within a stretch of Veps speech.
In the case of Russian insertions, Nikolai apparently finds it impor-
tant to underline that switching is always intentional, not a part of his
Veps repertoire, and he makes sure that the interviewer understands
his change in position when switching into Russian.

4.2. Reiteration

According to Gumperz's (1982: 78) definition, reiteration is an act of
communication where "a message in one code is repeated in the other
code, either literally or in somewhat modified form." Corresponding
to modified wording, change in prosody or other means of expression
is typical in monolingual speech and also indicates self-repair when
speakers want to ensure that the interlocutor understands. In a multi-
lingual setting the speakers may use another language to accomplish
the same effect. (Gumperz ibid.: 98; Harjunpää & Mäkilähde 2016:
171). As summarized in Harjunpää and Mäkilähde (ibid.: 194), code-
switched reiterations have been given functions such as emphasizing,
clarifying, or translating the focal point of the utterance.

    There are different motivations for translating what was said ear-
lier: either there are problems in understanding and a lack of adequate
means for expression in the other language, or, multilingual itera-
tion can be applied as a simple modification of what was said earlier
through changing the language (Harjunpää & Mäkilähde 2016: 170).
Maria's reiterations typically represent the latter type. In (9), Maria

emphasizes her opinion by paraphrasing *en teä kut* 'I don't know how' with the Russian insertion *ne predstavljaju* 'I cannot imagine'.

(9)   *e-n*   *teä*   *kut*   *nene*   ***russkaja**-d*   *mei-le*   ***pobed-i-**ba*
      NEG-1SG know.CNG how those Russian.FEM-PL we-ALL win-PST-3PL

      nemc**o-i-d*   *ningom-i-d,*   *e-n*   *teä*   *kut,*   ***ne
      german-PL-PTV such-PL-PTV NEG-1SG know.CNG how   NEG

      predstavlja-ju
      imagine-1SG

      'I don't know how those Russians won those
      Germans. I don't know how, I cannot imagine.'   (Maria 2009)

In (9), switching into Russian does not need to be a special contextualization cue. The given example is more likely a case of repetition, in which a loan construction is used inside of the mixed base language as part of Maria's bilingual mode.

     In the data, Maria's reiterations are always switches from Veps to Russian, as in (10), not the other way around.

(10) ***nakladni***   *joug*   *pan-tud,*   ***protez***
      artificial.MASC   leg   put-PST.PTCP   **prosthesis**

      'An artificial leg was implanted, a prosthesis.'   (Maria 2007)

In (10), Maria first uses a mixed construction *nakladni joug* in which the Russian adjective *nakladnoj* is displayed in an ambivalent form[13]. Furthermore, Maria clarifies the meaning with the lexeme *protez*, which is an international loanword in Russian and which most likely has been borrowed into Veps through Russian. For this reason, it is not analyzed as a clear case of CS, but rather as an example of emergent mixed language use. However, Maria's tendency of repeating the Veps utterances in Russian (or in more Russianized mixed Veps) and not the other way around, could suggest that for emphasizing the focal point, Russian is considered more prominent.

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13.   Maria may produce an analogical masculine-like form of the adjective, which would either be a gender-neutral un-marked form or, on the other hand, it could be a masculine form agreeing with the Veps head noun *joug* ,which ends in a consonant. The corresponding Russian construction would have the feminine noun *noga* 'foot' requiring a feminine adjective *nakladnaja*.

In the data, Nikolai's direction of translation runs two ways, although more often he paraphrases or translates Russian insertions into Veps, as in (11).

(11) *nügud luge čto olen minä, venäks sanuda mišto olen **rossijanin
vepsskogo proizhoždenija**. vepsäks minei sanuda olen vene-*
[laughing] *venämalaine, vepsän, Venäman vepsläine*

'Now I think **that** I am, to put it in Russian that I am a
Russian of Veps origin. For me to say it in Veps I am
Rus-, Rossijan, Veps, Veps of Russia.'   (Nikolai 2014)

In (11), Nikolai creates an ad hoc Veps translation *Venäman vepsläine* for what is the conventional and official way of stating one's nationality in Russian, ***rossijanin vepsskogo proizhoždenija***. In minority languages of Russia, official topics are typical environments for CS in Russian to occur (see e.g., Turunen 1997 on Votic-Russian CS). The switch is first marked as Russian with the phrase *venäks sanuda* and then paraphrased in Veps, which is also marked as an intentional metalinguistic comment with *vepsäks minei sanuda* 'for me to say in Veps'. In the bilingual mental lexicon, the items used more often (or more recently) are more easily available and since the dominant language is Russian, Russian words will be used first, especially if they lack an exact equivalent in Veps

In (12), Nikolai (N) explains a morphologically integrated Russian-based verb to the interviewer (I) in Russian.

(12)

N: *ampu-i-ba,   ii   hän-dast, **a**   miše hän-dast, **predupr-**ittä*
shoot-IMPF-3PL NEG.3SG 3SG-PTV   but that 3SG-PTV   warn-INF

'They shot, not [to shoot] him [dead] but in order to warn him.'

I: *ka ka*
yes yes

'Yes yes.'

N: ***predupredi-t'***
warn-INF

'To warn.'

(Nikolai 2007)

Although the interviewer indicates that he has understood what Nikolai says, the latter immediately translates the last Russian verb stem of his utterance. The same Russian verb **predupredit'** is used to explain the first occurrence in which it is conjugated as a Veps lexeme *preduprittä* with the Veps participle ending *-ittA*. The first occurrence of the verb can be interpreted as a loan and the second as CS, because it is in its Russian infinite form. The reason for using the Russian verb here may be based on the differences of the aspectual systems of Veps and Russian. In (11), Nikolai wants to clarify that the purpose of the shooter was not to kill the person, but to warn him by shooting at him. This is not clear in his Veps passage, as *ambuiba händast* is aspectually ambivalent. Obviously a more detailed analysis of this kind of convergence of the Veps and Russian systems would require another study (for a parallel study on Russian and Erzya, see Horváth in this volume). For the purposes of the current article, we may conclude that Nikolai probably does not feel obliged to translate the adapted Russian verb for a fellow Veps speaker, but finds it necessary in the presence of an outside researcher. However, as Nikolai knows that the researcher understands Russian, it suffices to translate the verb using the exact same verb in Russian.

There are a couple of instances in which the Finnish language emerges in conversations between Nikolai and the interviewer. Such cases as (13) show that in addition to Nikolai's intermediate Veps mode, his language choices are at least partly governed by the linguistic repertoire of his interlocutor (see also (8) above).

(13) *kudam oli **Svirskie ogni**, Sᴠʏᴠᴀ̈ʀɪɴ ᴠᴀʟᴏᴛ*
      'which was the **Lights of the Svir [River]**,
      the ʟɪɢʜᴛѕ ᴏꜰ ᴛʜᴇ Sᴠɪʀ' [river]'   (Nikolai 2014)

Again, there is no need to translate the Russian name of the local newspaper, Svirskie ogni, into Finnish because the interviewer would not otherwise understand it. Rather Nikolai builds a mutual friendly atmosphere by taking into account the interviewer's native language and perhaps takes pride in his Finnish language skills.

Negotiation is a device Nikolai uses often, as in the following excerpt (14), where he tries to come up with a Veps translation for the name of an educational institution.

(14) *jälges **škol**ad minä openzin Piteriš, Piteriš mugoi om, venäks
tehnikum, en teda kut sanuda, el'gendad-ik nece ii **institu**t a
penemb, i sigä i nece oli **soldat**aks mändä, **oficer**aks, mugoi hän
kuti **poluvoennyi**, PUOLI **vojna**n, nu nece oli **topografija**, **geodezija***

'After **school** I studied in St. Petersburg, in St. Petersburg there is
this kind of, in Russian **technicum**, I do not know how to say, do
you understand, not an **institute** but smaller and there and it was to
become a **soldier**, an **officer**, like a **half military**, [Finnish] HALF
war, well it was **topography**, **geodesy**.'   (Nikolai 2014)

In (14), Nikolai first regrets that he cannot make up a Veps word for
Russian *tehnikum* (non-university level higher education institution),
then asks whether the interviewer understands and then explains what
kind of institution he is talking about. He then continues with translat-
ing the *poluvoennyi* into mixed Veps-Finnish, although using the Rus-
sian-origin word *vojna*. This suggests that he does not completely trust
the interviewer's knowledge of Russian. As seen in (14), the topic of
education is a source of abundant loan words, which would most prob-
ably go without marking if not addressed to the researcher.

Nikolai's code-switched reiterations are more typically meant to
facilitate Veps language interaction than to modify the wording us-
ing Russian. They are mostly self-corrections, instead of empathetic
repetition. The constant flagging shows that he systematically displays
an intermediate Veps mode, trying to maintain his Veps as pure as
possible, but from time to time struggling with adequate vocabulary.
It can be argued that in these data Maria is performing an act of story-
telling in bilingual Veps mode, but Nikolai is concentrating on the act
of speaking Veps and representing himself as a Veps Standard speaker.
Structurally, Nikolai's CS is mostly alternational switches where lan-
guages are kept strictly in their own domains. These appear typically
in adjunct positions, and there is a clearly identifiable point where
Veps is switched to Russian. Maria's code-switches are more often
either insertional switches or congruent lexicalization (according to
the definitions in Muysken 2000). Maria uses code-switching in rep-
etition far less than Nikolai, and there are no occurrences in her data
where code-switching in paraphrasings should have a conversational
meaning. In certain instances, Maria and Nikolai apply more similar
strategies. Although very clearly avoiding Russian influence, Nikolai

occasionally integrates unmarked Russian items into his speech. The question then is why Nikolai does not index CS or try to avoid it. A possible explanation is that the transfer of a Russian morphosyntactic structure is not transparent enough for him to consider it Russian. Borrowing Russian vocabulary is more transparent and, in principle, easier to avoid.

5. Conclusions and discussion

In this study, the sociolinguistic background information and the ethnographically reconstructed context of the discussion settings were used to interpret the similarities and differences between the two Veps speakers concerning their conversationally functional code-switching. It was taken as a premise that their linguistic output in the data is different largely because of their linguistic biographies. There are different codes inside a language community. In addition, individual speakers use different language modes. I wanted to compare community level codes which I call the Veps Standard and Rural Colloquial Veps.

Firstly, as shown in section 3, **the interviewees differ on most sociolinguistic variables**. What they have in common is that they are both native speakers of Veps from a predominantly Veps-speaking family. They share an interest towards producing texts in their native language, and both have published poetry in Veps. They belong to different generations of Veps speakers, Maria to the last fluent speaker group, Nikolai to the age cohort where Russian is the dominant language for all. Maria has only basic schooling, whereas Nikolai is academically educated. Maria has worked in a rural environment, Nikolai in urban, white-collar jobs during the last decades. Maria lives in a predominantly Veps-speaking village, Nikolai in a Russian-speaking city. Maria's linguistic repertoire consists of Rural Colloquial Veps and dialectal and Standard Russian. Nikolai, in addition to speaking Rural Colloquial Veps and dialectal Russian, received his education in standard Russian, and learned some German, English, and Finnish. Most importantly, Nikolai has been working in close contact with the Veps Standard – a variety that is only somewhat familiar to Maria through the Veps media she has only recently learned to read.

Through Russian higher education and Veps Standard language planning Nikolai has been influenced by Russian standard language culture (see e.g., Edygarova 2016), which is highly normative and values strict correctness of language use.

Secondly, as shown in section 4, the **conversationally functional code-switches in the data reflect the differences in the linguistic socialization of Maria and Nikolai**. The premise of colloquial Veps as a mixed variety was chosen based on observations during fieldwork in Veps villages and on those in earlier studies (Novožilova 2006, Puura et al. 2013, Karjalainen 2016). Analyzing conversational functions of code-switching was chosen instead of grammar of code-mixing, because in a fading language community the differences between idiolects are significant and I find it questionable whether a holistic picture of e.g., constraints of CS could even be drawn. Maria's speech mode (Grosjean 2008) in these data is bilingual, i.e., her Veps is characterized by language mixing and code-switching. A frequently occurring conversationally functional CS in Maria's data are voicings, which are analyzed here as reflecting her identity as a bilingual actor.

Nikolai's CS is most typically composed of explicitly marked reiterations, which are interpreted to have arisen at least partly due to the presence of the outside researcher. It was not expected beforehand that Nikolai would be so heavily influenced by the Veps Standard and would experience this heavy pressure towards maintaining as much of a monolingual Veps mode as possible in the presence of the researcher(s). After all, he had assisted in the sociolinguistic fieldwork carried out by the interviewer during several years, during which all kinds of codes ranging from mixed Veps to monolingual Russian had been used by the Veps who were interviewed. In addition, the researcher also switched occasionally into Russian, typically when lacking adequate vocabulary in Veps. Despite this, in the context of these discussions Nikolai willingly implements social norms of "pure" Veps. He explicitly marks his switches as Russian, and they are usually motivated by the non-availability of the Veps equivalent. As a rule, they are translated afterwards into Veps. An ideology of a "perfect bilingual" that is able to keep the two systems apart from each other seems apparent (see Auer 2007: 321, Matras 2009: 4–5, 104–105). Language negotiation is an important device for Nikolai

in interacting with the Finnish researcher, but not with his mother, at least in this discussion (2007). In addition, Nikolai occasionally seems to level his Veps trying to come closer to Finnish, which is a closely related prestige language and a model for the Veps Standard as well as the native language of the researcher. The data suggest that Nikolai is highly aware of his linguistic output.

This study would have benefited greatly from analyzing a conversation between Nikolai and Maria without outsiders present, but these kinds of data were not available. It can still be argued that Maria's movement along the language mode continuum (Grosjean 2008: 45–46) would remain on the same bilingual end with some other Veps-speaking interlocutor aside from the Finnish researcher. On the other hand, Nikolai probably would have moved towards a more bilingual Veps mode when speaking with other bilingual native Veps speakers.

Thirdly, **Nikolai's aspiration towards a monolingual Veps mode suggests that linguistic purism affects the intelligentsia that uses and develops the Veps Standard**. In her anthropological analysis Siragusa (2017: 119–120) comes to similar conclusions. I claim that an ideology of purism affecting Nikolai is one of the factors explaining the differences in his and Maria's multilingual practices (on purism in other Finno-Ugric language communities see Edygarova 2016, Tánczos in this volume). Recent research (e.g., O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013, Edygarova 2016; Tánczos in this volume) has shown that the speaker elites of endangered languages are prone to protect their language from the threat of their state language by aiming at strict separation of the minority and the majority language by avoiding loans and CS.

In Russia, national and standard languages are generally valued over minority or non-standard languages (see Edygarova 2016). Although code-switching is characteristic of the current dialectal Veps, it is not perceived acceptable on the community level. At present, Rural Colloquial Veps and the Veps Standard co-exist without really sharing common ground. The standard is not easily available to the elderly that are not able to read the Latin script. The Standard also strictly avoids Russian influence. According to e.g., Sallabank (2013: 172–173) standardizing minority languages may in fact diminish linguistic diversity as it "tends to disregard mixed varieties as inferior

forms of language use". If the standard is used by only a small group of minority activists, the "existence and prestige position of the standard tend to demarcate those who do not master the standard outside the (educated, middle-class) community" (Langer & Nesse 2012: 611). There is evidence that in stronger minority language communities code-switching may also be seen as a token of one's authenticity as a speaker of a minority language (i.e., Lantto 2016), but considering the Russian standard language culture it can be expected that there currently are no signs of such attitudes towards Veps varieties. The effect of building a standard language, i.e., purist ideologies regarding the desirability of the standard only, may lessen the variation in Veps in the future. On the other hand, the Veps Standard could also serve two important functions for language maintenance: if it would come to be used by speakers of different varieties of Veps, it would enable fluent communication – spoken as well as written – among all the Veps. More importantly, in an ideal situation the Veps Standard could serve as a unifying symbol for the Veps people.

Abbreviations

ADESS	adessive	INF	infinitive
ALL	allative	INSTR	instrumental
CMPR	comparative	NEG	negative
CNG	connegative	PASS	passive
FEM	feminine	PST	past
FREQ	frequentative	PTCP	participle
GEN	genitive	PTV	partitive
ILL	illative	PL	plural
IMPF	imperfective tense	SG	singular

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Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksessa analysoitiin kahden tunnetun vepsäläisen, edesmenneen runoilija Nikolai Abramovin ja hänen äitinsä Maria Abramovan diskursiivisia koodinvaihtokäytänteitä keskustelu- ja haastattelutilanteissa ulkopuolisen tutkijan läsnä ollessa. Taustaksi on kuvattu molempien informanttien kielelliset elämäkerrat. Nikolai on työskennellyt vepsän standardikielen parissa vuosikymmeniä sekä kouluttautunut yliopistotasolle saakka täysin venäjänkielisessä ympäristössä. Maria on elänyt pääosan elämästään vepsänkielisessä ympäristössä eikä hallitse standardivepsän konventioita, muttei täysin myöskään standardivenäjää. Aineisto osoitti Marian ja Nikolain keskustelufunktioisten koodinvaihtojen eroavan toisistaan. Maria käytti keskusteluissa selvästi kaksikielistä kielimoodia (Grosjean 2008), sillä hänen kielellisiä valintojaan luonnehtivat vepsän ja venäjän sekoittaminen sekä runsaat koodinvaihdot. Usein esiintyvä koodinvaihtotyyppi Marialla oli referointi (voicing), jonka tulkittiin liittyvän hänen asemoitumiseensa (stance) kaksikielisenä toimijana. Maria referoi venäjänkielisten puhekumppaniensa repliikit johdonmukaisesti venäjäksi, samoin kuin omat vuoronsa venäjänkielisiksi oletetuissa keskusteluissa. Nikolai sen sijaan vaikutti analyysin valossa olevan äärimmäisen tietoinen roolistaan vepsän standardikielen edustajana. Hänen koodinvaihtonsa olivat tyypillisimmillään metakommentein merkittyjä toistoja tai käännöksiä tilanteissa, joissa jotakin käsitettä tai asiaa oli syystä tai toisesta pakko selventää venäjäksi. Puristinen ideologia, pyrkimys mahdollisimman "puhtaaseen", venäläisistä lainoista vapaaseen vepsään tutkijalle esitettynä kielimuotona näytti motivoivan valintoja. Taustalla voi nähdä myös täydellisen kaksikielisen ideaalin: vähemmistökielten puhujaeliittien on osoitettu usein kokevan tarvetta suojella kieltään enemmistökielen vaikutuksilta pitämällä kielet tiukasti erillään välttämällä sekä lainoja että koodinvaihtoa.

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Multilingual practices and speaker attitudes: the case of Olonets Karelian

Abstract The aim of this paper is to examine the interplay of individual plurilingualism, societal multilingualism, and language ideologies in the case of Olonets Karelian. It is connected to studies on new speakers, language maintenance, and language contact. This paper sheds light on speaker attitudes concerning the use of several languages within a single discourse, code-switching, in discussions on the Karelian language situation. Code-switching is studied as a social phenomenon that defines groups and may act as an indicator of group identity. The data consists of five sociolinguistic group interviews that were made in the ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) project. The Karelian language has a long history of language contact with the Russian language, and Karelian language use is characterized by code-switching. Karelian has not been an essential marker of Karelian identity. The data of this study suggest that today the monolingual norm is gaining ground among young speakers. They seem to prefer a language variety that does not contain many Russian loanwords or code-switching. This hints at that the language is receiving a new role in the construction of Karelian identity.

1. Introduction

The Karelian language belongs to the Finno-Ugric languages. It is divided into several varieties and has approx. 25 000 speakers in the Russian Federation (Census 2010). This paper focuses on language attitudes towards multilingual practices and the ideologies behind them among speakers of the Olonets Karelian variety. It attempts to answer the following questions:

1) Do the interviewees show a tendency towards monolingual or multilingual language use?
2) Does the use of multilingual elements and reactions to it differ between age groups and speaker profiles (traditional speaker, new speaker)?
3) What kinds of language attitudes and ideologies can be identified?

The data for this study are from Olonets Karelian that is spoken in the southern parts of the Republic of Karelia, northeast of Lake Ladoga. Most Karelian speakers live in the Republic of Karelia where they are offered some support by the State Law on the State Support of the Karelian, Veps, and Finnish Languages in the Republic of Karelia, but Karelian is not a state language (Zamyatin 2013: 138–139).

The language use and language competence of speakers of the Olonets Karelian variety were studied in the ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) project (2010–2013, ‹http://www.eldia-project.org/›), the aim of which was to re-evaluate and promote individual and societal multilingualism in Europe. The domains where Karelian is used are few. It has only a symbolic presence in public life. Therefore, one can speak of a diglossic situation (in the broad sense of the term) between Karelian and Russian. There is also diglossia between the Karelian vernacular and the literary variety that is taught in schools and used in the media. (Karjalainen, Puura, Grünthal, Kovaleva 2013.)

Karelian speakers have lived in a multilingual setting for centuries, and Karelian-Russian language alternation is a frequent phenomenon (for an in-depth analysis of Karelian code-switching see Sarhimaa 1999). Practically all speakers know at least Russian in addition to Karelian. The long and intense contact has led to the development of several linguistic codes. Sarhimaa (1999) distinguishes

several Karelian codes, ranging from the nearly monolingual Traditional Karelian through Neo-Karelian, which permits extra-sentential code-switching, to the intensely code-switching Russian-Karelian and Karussian (a Russian-based language form with code-switches to Karelian). The use of these codes is not determined by the language skills of the speaker in Traditional Karelian. In addition to these codes, Sarhimaa (ibid. 243) identifies a Finnish-Karelian code, a Finnish-oriented variety of Karelian. It is mostly used by those who lived under Finnish occupation in the beginning of the 1940s and is often triggered by the presence of Finns (ibid. 306–307).

Despite the de facto multilingualism, the notion of individual plurilingualism, in the sense that someone claims having several native languages, is not widely adopted among Karelian-speakers. They prefer to choose just one language as their native language. (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 152.) The Russian concept of *rodnoj jazyk* (often translated as heritage language) needs to be addressed here. Unlike "mother tongue" or "native language" (or Karelian *muamankieli*), it does not presuppose that it should be learned from parents, but may be claimed as one's own also through more distant family background. It is to be understood more as the language one identifies oneself with (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 96–97). The sometimes encountered discrepancy between the reported native language and the actual language competence may also have its roots in the traditional essentialist view that dominated in the Soviet Union where ethnic identities and languages were seen as unchanging entities, and ethnic ties as given. (Lähteenmäki 2015: 31; Zamyatin 2014: 58.)

During perestroika and the collapse of the Soviet Union, language planning for Karelian was relaunched. At the end of the 1930s a literary language had been hastily created, but it did not become widely used and changing political circumstances also ruled out its development (Pasanen 2006: 117, Sarhimaa 1995b: 77). In creating the new standard language, developing vocabulary has been central. The new literary standard is mostly spread through Karelian textbooks, dictionaries, and other academic material, but it is also used in newspapers and fiction that reach a slightly broader audience. However, the standard differs from all spoken varieties of Karelian. (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 10, 37–38.)

2. Multilingualism and language ideologies

In Europe the idea of languages as bounded, countable systems that clearly differ from each other has been prevalent since the Enlightenment, and has become a key element in ethnolinguistic nationalism (Gal 2006: 14–16). In this *monological* conceptualization, a language is viewed as a single entity and an enclosed system. This is manifested in the concept of national languages. In this view, languages can be abstracted to grammar rules and forms, which become the center of attention in their study. Also bias for written language is typical, and often the standardized language, the most unchanging and unified variety, is valued more than other varieties. (Dufva et al. 2011: 111.) In this view, multilingualism is often considered merely a stage leading to language shift (Laakso 2016: 293). The monological approach focuses on the differences of a language from other languages and stresses its autonomy, sometimes taking the form of linguistic purism. (Dufva et al. 2011: 111.) According to Gal (2006: 15) it is an ideology: "Such a configuration of assumptions deserves to be called an ideology of language because it takes a perspective on the empirical world, erasing phenomena that do not fit its point of view; ideology too because it is linked to political positions."

The counterpart concept for the monological approach is *dialogism*. It stresses the changing nature of language as well as linguistic diversity, both inside a language and between languages, and the effects of language contact. This approach is strongly functionalist. It conceptualizes using language as a communicative activity, where one exploits various linguistic resources. (Dufva et al. 2011: 110, 114.) This idea has come to the foreground in linguistics and it has been approached from slightly different angles, producing terms like *polylingualism*, *languaging*, and *heteroglossia* (Blommaert & Rampton 2011: 7).

Dufva et al. (2011: 120) point out that "theories of language connect to ideologies and values that may not be explicitly recognised any more but that work as a hidden agenda within a particular framework or a theory". The conceptualization of the nature of language affects the roles certain language forms have in society and also how people value their own abilities to utilize different linguistic resources.

Often determining whether an item is a loanword, a code-switch, or just a lexical item of the language in question is not an easy task, and in the dialogical approach it may not even be reasonable. Drawing such lines is not the focus of this paper either, although the difference between borrowings and code-switches has been an important issue in code-switching studies. However, the idea of languages as separate entities and of certain linguistic elements as "foreign" or "native" is very relevant to this paper, because that is the view many, if not most, speakers of Olonets Karelian have adopted, and also the view the surrounding society reflects. In Johanna Laakso's words "it seems that modern European minorities everywhere are indoctrinated with the idea of languages as distinct entities which are better kept apart" (Laakso 2016: 289). This idea is also closely intertwined with identity and group-belonging (Saarikivi & Toivanen 2015: 4–5).

The present-day linguistic diversity of the world appears not only in the multitude of languages, but also in the emerging types of diversities, as described by Saarikivi and Toivanen (2016: 1–5). These diversities contradict the monolingual ideology, and therefore may be difficult for the community to accept. The speakers' reactions to these diversities may be approached through language attitude studies. Language ideologies and attitudes are closely related and sometimes used synonymously. Based on several definitions (see e.g., Woolard 2008: 4–5), I use *ideology* to denote people's sets of beliefs concerning the natural role and societal position of a language and also its speakers, and I use *attitude* to denote their individual, relatively stable reactions to more concrete linguistic phenomena, such as code-switching, bilingualism in families, etc. (Baker 1992: 10–15).

2.1. Issues of language ownership

Language ownership is a notion covering issues related to the questions of who has power over a language: who is considered a legitimate speaker of a language, which language variety is considered the norm, who has control of language development. The answers to these questions, for their part, define the form the language and its speaker community will take. Typical elements in the discourse on language ownership are, for example, the notions of mother tongue, native speaker, and pure, authentic language. (O'Rourke 2011: 327–328.)

The concept of *linguistic purism* has been defined in several ways by several scholars (see Thomas 1991: 10–12), but the definitions agree in that purism is an attitude which evaluates languages and regards certain varieties as purer and superior to others. Antipathy to foreign elements is typical. According to a definition by Riessler and Karvovskaya (2013: 83) "purists express evaluative attitudes towards an alleged original state of culture as more pure than, and hence superior to, the actual existing heterogeneity, which they experience as inferior or corrupted owing to innovation". Purism may have a negative effect on language revitalization, as it creates gaps between generations: if only the variety spoken by the old is considered pure and authentic, it may discourage the young from learning and using the language (Dorian 1994: 480). Dorian (ibid.) also describes the problem of competing varieties, where typically a standardized one is favored by language activists, whereas one spoken by older speakers is considered more authentic, and thus puristic attitudes operate in different directions.

It has been stated that in many minority language communities the older speakers do not value the younger generations' way of speaking, even if these generations have learned the language at home, but ridicule them for code-switching (Gardner-Chloros 2007: 481). This estrangement may be even more pronounced, if the young are new speakers of the language. Hornsby (2015: 108) defines the term in the following way:

> A "new" speaker has acquired (or is in the process of acquiring) the language in a formal, education setting; he/she is positively disposed to the language being learned; and, in some cases, the "new" speaker might not originate from the ethno-linguistic group in question.

O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo give a simple definition: new speakers are "individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners" (O'Rourke et al. 2015: 1). For such languages where language transmission in families has ceased, the new speakers represent a possibility of passing the language on. Also many young

speakers of Karelian can be identified as new speakers: they are people who have learned little or no Karelian at home, but instead have learned it at school and in higher education, and continue using the language in at least some spheres of life.

Because the new speakers usually acquire the language in the form of the standard language, their language variety may differ from that of the traditional speakers in lexicon, pronunciation, and grammar. The relationship of traditional speakers and new speakers in the frame of language ownership is a topic that has increasingly been studied. In many communities the traditional speakers regard their language variety as the authentic one. (Hornsby 2015, O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011, O'Rourke & Pujolar 2015, O'Rourke et al. 2015). This authenticity is often connected with a sense of "belonging somewhere". According to Woolard (2008: 2)

> The ideology of Authenticity locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community [...] To be considered authentic, a speech variety must be very much "from somewhere" in speakers' consciousness, and thus its meaning is profoundly local.

Therefore, the village (where the "authentic" speech is passed on) and the city (where the speech of the new speakers is learned) often form into antitheses.

2.2. Language ideologies in Russia

In Russia, the multilingual setting (cf. e.g., Saarikivi & Toivanen 2015) is interestingly combined with the prevailing monolingual outlook, where languages are perceived as having separate spheres of use. Despite the multilingual nature of the Russian Federation (and its predecessors, the Soviet Union and Tsarist Russia), Russian has played the leading role in public life (cf. e.g., Pavlenko 2008). In official communication, languages have been kept apart and simultaneous use of several languages has been rare. This is reflected also in education that typically takes place in monolingual frames where different languages are kept apart within their respective lessons. Russia has experienced a rise of linguistic purism in the past decade. The Russian

language functions as a symbol and component of national unity, and laws restrict the use of foreign vocabulary and idioms, which are understood as carriers of foreign ideas that threaten the Russian world view. (Kopotev 2009, Lähteenmäki 2015.) Russia's linguistic culture (the ideological framework including language ideology, language attitudes, etc., cf. Schiffman 1996) could be described as a standard language culture, in which the standard is valued and considered the correct form of language for public use, or furthermore, the only genuine form of the language (Edygarova 2016, Milroy 2001: 530–537). Edygarova (2016: 330–333) points out that allowing just one literary variety has a long history in Russia: for centuries writing took place in the highly valued Old Church Slavonic, and after that in a strictly standardized form of Russian. The standard became the norm also in (public) speech, and variation was not tolerated.

Also other communities share puristic attitudes similar to the Russian language tradition. For example, among Udmurt, Komi, and Komi-Permyak speakers the standard language is becoming the only valuable variety of the language, although not all speakers have the possibility to learn the standard (Edygarova 2016). In a standard language culture like Russia, it is the educated who have the power to decide what kind of language is considered correct and good, and language minorities demonstrate the same power relations (cf. e.g., Edygarova 2016, Scheller 2011: 100–101). However, Pischlöger (2016) presents Udmurt social network sites as an example of a minority language forum where multilingual resources are applied without puristic attitudes.

In addition to the standard language, the language variety of the oldest generation of speakers may also be considered to be a form of authentic language. Scheller (2011: 99) describes the situation among Kildin Saami speakers in Russia where older speakers criticize the young for using Russian loan words and structures, incorrect pronunciation, and poor lexicon and even shut them out from the speech community. Also many of the Olonets Karelian informants of the ELDIA share the view that "pure" Karelian is spoken by the elderly (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 144–145). In her article from 2006, Annika Pasanen reports about and warns against the attitude that Karelian should be spoken only by those who know it perfectly (Pasanen 2006: 129).

In the case of Karelian, one must also mention the role scholars have had in shaping the idea of "pure" language. According to Sarhimaa (2000: 201–202) the studies of Finnish scholars of the past reflect the idea of pure and uniform spoken Karelian, from which foreign influence has been cleared out.

Also for minorities, linguistic purism often serves as a way of constructing identity. For example, Wertheim (2002) has studied the role of linguistic purism in differentiating the Tatar ethnos from the Russian one, and Riessler and Karvovskaya (2013: 96) report that especially words that are recognized as Russian have become the subject of puristic attitudes among Kildin Saami speakers. This attempt to shut out Russian linguistic elements most likely derives from a similar ideological background as the post-Soviet derussification processes that took place in ex-Soviet countries and states (Wertheim 2002, Pavlenko 2008: 282–283). Wertheim (ibid.) describes this "deliberate 'removal' of the 'colonial' language from the public sphere", e.g., replacing Russian neologisms and geographic names with alternative terms and names.

3. The data: sociolinguistic group interviews

The data of this study consist of five group interviews that were made in the ELDIA project. The interviewees were speakers of Olonets Karelian and represented four age groups. The first age group consisted of people aged 18 to 29 (abbreviated AG 18–29), the second group of people aged 30 to 49 (AG 30–49), the third group of people aged 50 to 64 (AG 50–64) and the fourth group of people from 65 years of age (AG 65–). In addition, an interview with two other people representing the age group 65– was included. (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 67–77.) I named this latter group AG 65–B.

The interviews were conducted in Petrozavodsk in March 2011 during the ELDIA project by native Karelian speakers, but often with a Finnish researcher present. I did not take part in the interview sessions, but as a project member I had access to the data later. I received the data as recordings and as transcriptions. I have modified these transcriptions occasionally if I have disagreed with the original transcriber.

The interviews were carried out in groups of 5 to 9 people, except for AG 65–B, which had only two interviewees (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 70). This interview was included in the data because the interviewees were prominent figures in the sphere of Karelian language and culture and therefore their linguistic behavior and attitudes were also of particular interest. The length of the interviews ranged from 56 minutes to 1 hour 25 minutes, and in total their length was 6 hours 4 minutes. The topic of the interviews was language use and the perspectives of Olonets Karelian. Many (but not all) of the interviewees were or had been connected with the Karelian language through their work as teachers, journalists, scholars, etc. In AG 18–29 the majority of the interviewees were university students of Karelian. In addition, one of their teachers took part, which may have made the nature of the conversation resemble a classroom situation. (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 71–76.)

Karelian is a part of the interviewees' multilingual repertoire, the consistency of which varies between speakers. Table 1 shows the three languages most used in the interviews, Karelian, Russian, and Finnish, and also where the interviewees *typically* had learned these languages. For instance, in AG 30–49 there was a person whose parents had spoken Russian to her, but I have not marked that in the table, as she was the only one out of this group. A significant difference between AG 18–29 and AG 30–49 is that AG 18–29 had generally not learned Karelian from their parents, but from their grandparents and through education. This is in line with the results of the survey of 300 respondents carried out in the ELDIA (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 174). AG 30–49 shows the change in the role of Karelian. Whereas the older generations might have needed Finnish in their working life, Karelian has become necessary at work for some people in the AG 30–49. An interviewee from AG 65–, who has worked in the cultural sphere, recalls that through most of his carrier he used Finnish, and it was not until the 1990s when he first could use Olonets Karelian in his work. Finnish has also been important in cultural contacts and tourism with Finland. Interviewees in AG 65– relate positive memories from their school days during the wartime when they attended Finnish school for some years. One interviewee recalls that the Finnish teachers did not discourage speaking Karelian (unlike the Russian teacher of another interviewee). In addition to these three languages, English was also used by one person.

Karelian	AG 18–29	AG 30–49	AG 50–64	AG 65–
parents		x	x	x
grandparents	x	x	x	x
university	x	x		
work		x		

Russian	AG 18–29	AG 30–49	AG 50–64	AG 65–
home	x			
day care / school	x	x	x	x

Finnish	AG 18–29	AG 30–49	AG 50–64	AG 65–
school				x
university	x	x		
work			x	x

Table 1. The languages used in the interviews and where they had been learned.

4. Code-switching in the interviews

I searched for cases of code-switching in the interview recordings and their transcriptions. I use the term code-switching as an operational tool denoting any applying of two or more languages in one discourse situation, not only intentional, stylistic code-switching. In the data, code-switches are sometimes flagged but also often are without any marking of switching from one repertoire to another. I do not attempt to determine different types of code-switching or its difference from loans, as the focus of this paper is on the reactions to recognized foreign elements. Karelian has a multitude of old loan elements from Russian (see Sarhimaa 1995a for a description of language contacts in Karelia and Sarhimaa 1999 for discussion on code-switching vs. loans), and many of these are hardly recognized as "foreign" elements anymore. Therefore, these fall beyond the scope of this study. In addition to these elements of Russian origin, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an item represents Finnish or Karelian, because the lexicon and grammar of these close cognates overlap.

According to Lantto (2015: 13) it is typical in a minority language context that the minority language acts as the matrix or base

language, and elements from the socially dominant language are inserted into it. In these interviews, the context of research on Karelian also directed the choice of the base language quite strongly, which was Karelian in all of the interviews.

I paid attention to the frequency of code-switching in different age groups and also to the varying reactions to it. I distinguished three different reactions: *repair*, *self-repair*, and *word-finding*. The frequency of code-switching varied between age groups. These differences are illustrated in Table 2, in which the asterisks symbolically indicate the relative amount of code-switching (CS). The table also shows the reactions to code-switching.

CS and reactions to it	Age group (AG)				
	AG 18–29	AG 30–49	AG 50–64	AG 65–	AG 65–B
Amount of CS	*	*	**	***	**
Repairs	***	*	*	*	*
Self-repairs	*	*	**	*	***
Word-finding	*	-	**	**	*

Table 2. Amount of code-switching and reactions.

The other speakers did not react to much of the code-switching in any way. In many cases it produced either a repair or self-repair, or was preceded by a conversational strategy I call word-finding. By repair I mean the situation where a speaker corrects another speaker's speech. In self-repair the speaker begins a segment of discourse, stops and begins again, this time replacing an item with an alternative in a different language. Example 1 contains a self-repair, in which a Finnish form is replaced by a Karelian form, and a repair by another interviewee. The speaker numbers (S8, S4 etc.) refer to informants in the ELDIA studies.

(1)[1]

S8 Nu tiettäväine minä enembi PAISTAN[2] ven'aks pagizen.
S4 Pagizen, tiijät kui sanoa oigei.

'S8: Well of course, I SPEAK, I speak more Russian.
S4: I speak, you know how to say it right.' (AG 18–29)

1. normal = Karelian, CAPITALS = Finnish
2. verb conjugated according to Finnish grammar, but the meaning in Finnish is different: 'to fry, to bake'

By word-finding I mean interaction, in which the speaker asks for others' help in finding an appropriate expression in Karelian (Example 2), choosing the strategy of utilizing common polyglossic resources. Word-finding in this data is typically begun with a formula such as *no kui sanoa* ('how to say it', cf. Russian *kak skazat'*). The same formula is used in conversations rhetorically without expecting an answer, but in the interviews it mostly functions as a genuine question. In example 2 it produces an answer from another member in the group, and the first speaker accepts the answer by saying *da* ('yes'). There are other Russian elements in the same turn from the speaker, but they trigger no reaction. Apparently they are considered acceptable code-switching or simply go unnoticed, as the speaker does not flag them in any way. A Karelian equivalent for 'extraterrestrial' is probably not known to the speaker (or the other participants), and Russian adverbials are commonly used in Karelian. By contrast, 'to explain' is more a part of basic vocabulary, and therefore the speaker seems to deem using Russian here as inappropriate.

(2)[3]

S9 Inihmine tuli miun miulluo vot <u>perepisyvat'</u>, hän oli iče ven'alaine i hän minul küzüü: mimmoine on teile oma kieli? Mie hänele sanoin karjalan kieli, mie olen karjalaine, miun on karjalan kieli. Hänel oldih tämänmoizet silmät da hän miul kačoi ken tämä on <u>inoplanetjanin</u> vai ken <u>voobšče</u>, da, hän oli <u>na stolko</u> i miule pidi hänele, no kuin sanoa <u>što ob″jasnjat'</u>.

S6 Sellittiä.

S9 Da.

'S9: A person came to me, well, <u>to fill out the census</u>, he was Russian himself and asks me: What is your language? I said to him "Karelian, I am Karelian, my language is Karelian". He had eyes like this and he looked at me: who is this, <u>extraterrestrial</u> or <u>whatever</u>, yes, he was <u>like</u>, and I had to, well, how to say it that "<u>to explain</u>".
S6: Explain.
S9: Yes.' (AG 65–)

The relatively frequent use of repairs, self-repairs, and word-finding in all interviews points to high metalinguistic awareness and self-monitoring. Greater metalinguistic awareness and ability to direct attention

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3. <u>underlined</u> = Russian

to the form of language is considered an advantage of plurilingualism (see e.g., Galambos & Hakuta 1988). I also interpret it as a sign of negotiating what is "good Karelian".

4.1. Differences in code-switching between age groups

Age group 18–29

The participants in AG 18–29 were mostly students of the Karelian and Finnish languages at Petrozavodsk State University. One of the students had learned both Karelian and Finnish from her father and Russian from her mother. The others were from Russian-speaking homes, although many with Karelian-speaking grandparents.

Code-switching was rare in this group, and if it happened, the speakers switched immediately back to Karelian. Repairs were much more common in this group than in the other groups, and were mostly made by the teacher (Example 3).

(3)
> S5 Minä ezmäi vastain karjalakse sit rubein eroittamah suomen kieldü da karjalan kieldü da no ülen äijäl <u>pomogala…</u>
> S4 Avutti.
> S5 Avutti se karjalan kielen tiedo suomeh kieleh.
>> 'S5: First I replied in Karelian, then I started to distinguish Finnish from Karelian and it <u>helped</u> a lot…
>> S4: Helped.
>> S5: Helped to know Karelian when learning Finnish.'

Code-switching in this group could be analyzed as a communication strategy, with which not fully competent speakers are able to express themselves. Disfluency and resorting to Russian (the dominant language) hints at a situation, where the language is an object of study rather than a resource for interaction (see e.g., Kalliokoski 2009: 314–315). However, as Kalliokoski (ibid. 315) points out, this requires such assumptions about the intentions and competence of the speaker that no one can reliably make. Often this kind of interpretation is based on the ideal of monolingualism, where deviation from the monolingual norm is considered a lack of competence. It seems, nevertheless, that

a certain connection between the speaker's role as a competent or incompetent speaker affects to what extent code-switching is allowed. While the students switched code quite little, the teacher (the formally competent speaker) had some longer turns in Russian when speaking to the interviewer.

The student with a Finnish and Karelian language background quite often also used Finnish lexicon or grammar. This form of code-switching elicited repairs and self-repairs (see Example 1). The way in which the forms regarded as Finnish were corrected shows that they were interpreted as undesirable transfer rather than as polylanguaging. It is interesting that the speaker represents a simultaneously trilingual individual, and the interaction between her native Karelian and Finnish languages goes back far beyond the classroom setting, but this fact is not acknowledged by the other participants.

Age group 30–49

This group consists mainly of people working with the Karelian language, and code-switching remains on a low level. This tendency is broken by two men working outside the language sector. One of them uses Finnish constantly and also some English, and only seldom adapts his speech into the Karelian frame. He is aware of this choice and apparently also aware of breaking the situational norm. The norm has been made clear in the beginning when – unlike in the other interviews – the interviewer demands a participant to speak Karelian. The Finnish-speaking person mentions that his language competence in Finnish is stronger than in Karelian. However, his use of English in Example 4 points to code-switching as a symbol of belonging to a larger, more international world, and using Finnish may at least partially serve the same purpose.

(4)[4]

> S10 KOREA JA KARJALAA NIINKU SEKOITETAAN MAAILMASSA, muailmassa.[5]
> S2 Muailmas.
> S2 Ja Palalahtas sanotah moailmas vai kui, Palalahtel, mustatgo?
> S5 Muailma.
> S10 EN EN MUISTA, KOSKA MÄ OLEN SYNTYNYT IHAN IHAN *in the heart of the city.*
>
> '[S10: KOREA AND KARELIA ARE LIKE MIXED UP IN THE WORLD, in the world.
> S2: In the world.
> S2: And in Palalahta they say "in the world (different dialect form)", or how is it in Palalahti do you remember?
> S5: The world.
> S10: NO I DON'T REMEMBER, BECAUSE I WAS BORN QUITE QUITE *in the heart of the city*.'   (AG30-49)

The other participants discuss differences in Karelian dialects, but S10 opts out referring to his city origins, although it was he who initiated the topic by using a Karelian linguistic feature in his speech: the diphthong *ua* (*muailmassa*) replacing the Finnish *aa* (*maailmassa*). The topic of Karelian linguistic features combined together with the use of English, when S10 disqualifies himself from the conversation, strengthens the dichotomy between Karelian villages and the outside world, where not Karelian, but other languages are spoken.

In this group there is no reaction to most cases of code-switching. The other participants are not affected by the Finnish and English code-switching, but remain in the overwhelmingly monolingual mode.

Age groups 50–64 and 65–

Participants in these groups include (retired) employees from the language sector but also people from other fields. In these interviews, code-switching is regular and often goes unreacted to. Repairs are rare. It seems that in these groups code-switching is the unmarked choice

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4. *italics* = English
5. The Russian words for Karelia (*Карелия*) and Korea (*Корея*) sound slightly similar and Korea is much better known, which explains why people confuse them according to the interviewee.

(cf. Myers-Scotton 1993: 117–131). Sarhimaa (2006: 125) describes the situation among many Karelian speakers: "[…] they may experience and use all the varieties at their disposal like monolinguals use stylistic and functional varieties of their sole language". This seems to be true for many speakers in these age groups.

Gumperz (1982: 66) presents the sociological concepts of in-group and out-group in the linguistic context where in the in-groups the speakers express and create group unity by using a linguistic we-code that distinguishes them from the out-groups. In this case the bilingual Karelians, who are more or less balanced bilinguals, may be considered an in-group, in which code-switching functions as the we-code.

Example 5 shows relatively intense Karelian-Finnish-Russian code-switching.

(5)

   S8 <u>Vot u nih takaja gramota byla po russkomu jazyku, ja vot etot vopros u menja</u>, JÄI AUKI SE KYSYMYS JOTTA MINÄ EN TIETÄ MISSÄ OPISKELTIIN MEITÄN MEIJÄN ÄI- MINUN ÄITI JA MINUN (0.5)

   S4 Tuatto.

   S8 Ei, ei tuatto, ÄITIN, ÄITIN <u>dvojurodnye sjostry</u>.

   S2 sevoittarekset

   S4 SERKUKSET sevoittarekset

     'S8: <u>So they were literate in Russian, this question</u> WAS LEFT OPEN, THE QUESTION ON THAT I DON'T KNOW WHERE THEY STUDIED, OUR MO-, MY MOTHER AND MY (0.5)

     S4: Father.

     S8: No, not father, MOTHER'S, MOTHER'S <u>cousins</u>.

     S2: cousins

     S4: COUSINS cousins'   (AG 65–)

Switching between Russian, Finnish, and Karelian is mostly smooth and not flagged. Example 5 contains repairs: S2 and S4 provide Finnish (*serkukset*) and Karelian (*sevoittarekset*) alternatives for the Russian *dvojurodnye sjostry* 'cousins'. There is also a self-repair, when S4 first suggests *serkukset*, then Karelian *sevoittarekset*. S2 and S4 seem to take the pause as signaling word-finding, because earlier in the discussion S8 has used *dvojurodnye sjostry* without any reaction from the other participants.

A special feature of age group 65– is the amount of code-switching between Karelian and Finnish. There are speakers who code-switch minimally between Karelian and Russian, but frequently between Karelian and Finnish. Most likely the presence of the Finnish researcher boosted code-switching, as observed by Sarhimaa (1999: 307). Possible reasons for why Finnish-Karelian code-switching seems to bear no stigma could be positive memories connected with time spent in school, the fact that the Finnish language does not constitute a significant threat to Karelian anymore, the relatedness of the languages, and perhaps also positive personal contacts with Finns. Finnish may be closer to the heart also because of its role as one of the Finnic languages of the republic, belonging to the same family as Karelian and Veps, sharing a history of repression, but also having been a flagship of the Finnic languages with literature, theater, etc. Niina Kunnas (2007: 303) has studied the presence of Finnish features in White Sea Karelian. Finland and Finns enjoy prestige and, therefore, many Karelians wish to gain their acceptance by modifying their speech. Kunnas explains this phenomenon with prestige transfer: the White Sea Karelians cannot access the Finnish standard of living, but they can make their language more Finnish (ibid.). The Olonets Karelians generally have less contact with Finns, but it is possible that the Finnish language holds a similar prestigious position at least for some speakers.

The older age groups apply the word-finding strategy more often than the other groups. Example 6 shows a situation where the speaker demands a translation from the other participants when she is not content with the verb of Russian origin (*žiälöijä* 'to pity' < Russian *žalet'* 'to pity') she uses first.

(6)

 S3 nečidä tuattoa eule kai meidü ainos <u>žiälittih</u>, no no kiäntäkkee se
   sana
 S2 autettih
 S4 autettih
 S3 aut- au- -tettih

   'S3: There is no father, all <u>pitied</u> us, well, well, translate that word
   S2: helped
   S4: helped
   S3: he-helped'   (AG 65–)

The frequent use of word-finding hints at the presupposed Karelian norm in the interview situation despite the shared resources in several languages. It bears witness to knowledge of shared linguistic resources and a feeling of equality in the group, which makes it possible to negotiate the Karelian equivalent without signaling lack of competence. It may also serve as a tool in group-building.

The age groups 65– and 65–B differ in the amount of repairs, self-repairs, and word-finding. The amount of word-finding is smaller in 65–B, whereas the amount of self-repair is larger. The main explanation for these differences can be found in the nature of the discussion. The two participants of 65–B often speak in long, monologue-like turns and do not turn to each other much. Both have experience in giving public speeches and expressing their opinion on linguistic and cultural matters. I connect this experience with the perceived attempt to keep to a chosen variety of language and to avoid code-switching. The aim seems to be a Karelian variety that is kept apart from both Finnish and Russian, as illustrated by the self-repairs from speaker S4 in Examples 7 and 8:

(7)
  S4 öö no jälles sodo- s- voinoa tuatto ruadi mečäs
      'Well, after the war – war father worked in the forest'

The speaker begins the word *soda* 'war' which he then replaces with *voina* 'war' (< Russian *vojna* 'war'). The reason for this self-repair taking place in the unexpected direction (from Karelian-origin to Russian-origin) is most likely that he finds *soda* closely resembling Finnish *sota* 'war'. Also knowing Finnish, he is perhaps uncertain of whether it really belongs to the Karelian lexicon, and chooses to replace it with the loanword *voina* commonly used in Karelian.

(8)
  S4 sanoi <u>vyšoi matematika</u> se kai korgie <u>matematika</u>
      'he said <u>high mathematics</u>, that all high <u>mathematics</u>'

In Example 8 the speaker quotes another person's speech, using the original Russian elements in a Karelianized form, and then translates it to Karelian (albeit all the people present know Russian). In his quote he omits the attribute – head agreement of Russian: *vyšoi* 'high'

corresponds to the Russian masculine form *vysšij* 'highest' whereas *matematika* 'mathematics' is a feminine in Russian. I interpret this as Karelianizing his speech by eliminating the (assumed) original gender agreement alien to Karelian. Also *vysšij* is adapted to Karelian > *vyšoi*. It is difficult to determine, whether "vyšoi matematika" here represents Russian or Karelian. Probably because of this ambivalence, the speaker chooses to add an expression that is definitely recognizable as Karelian (*korgie matematika*), again underlining his language choice.

4.2. Views on multilingualism in the interviews

The interviewees shared experiences and views on multilingualism during the interviews. Linguistic purism or monolingual ideologies are not just recent phenomena in Karelia. An interviewee from age group 50-64 recalls that her grandmother insisted that the children speak only Karelian to her, not Russian (Example 9).

(9)

S7 koishäi ainos pagizimmo karjalan kielel, pihal ainos karjalan kielel, baboinkel, baba vai, sano ven'akse sit vičal terväh suat. Hänenkel pidelii vai karjalan kielel pa- paista

'At home we always spoke Karelian, in the yard only in Karelian, with granny, granny was just, say it in Russian and you'll soon get a spanking, with her one was supposed to speak only Karelian'

(AG 50–64)

In age group 65-B, an interviewee addresses the monolingual and monocultural ideology of Russia as a source of problems for the Karelian language (Example 10):

(10)

S3 karjalan kielen hüväksi meil on ülen vaigei ruadoa gu meidü ei äijäl suvaija

'It is difficult for us to work for the Karelian language because they [the Russians] don't like us very much.' (AG 65–B)

The attitudes of speakers of other languages towards Karelian are mentioned by other participants as well. Generally, the picture is that nowadays speaking Karelian in public does not bother anybody,

although in the past it may have provoked negative attention. In Example 11, the speaker describes the reactions of other passengers if she speaks Karelian on a trolleybus.

(11)

S3 ülen hü- ülen hüvin se heile miellüttäü <u>što</u> minä karjalakse no <u>vot</u>
da ei sanota <u>što</u> sinä midä midä karjalakse pagizet ei

'They like it very much <u>that</u> I in Karelian, <u>well</u>, they don't say <u>that</u>
you, why, why are you speaking Karelian, no'   (AG 65–)

It looks like the presence of several languages in everyday life in Karelia is met with positive feelings. The interviewees spoke positively about knowing more than one language. Linguistic diversity in the form of different dialects of Karelian was appreciated, although the need for a standard language was brought up. Diversity in the form of mixing languages (i.e., code-switching, excessive borrowing) was treated more critically, as shown in example 12.

(12)

S3 Sit müö <u>naverno</u> vai sen kielen rikoimma, ihan ven'an kielen
segazin sinne.

'Then we <u>probably</u> ruined the language, mixing in Russian.'

(AG 65–B)

The villages are generally considered the stronghold of pure Karelian, as confirmed by the ELDIA survey (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 144). Describing the role of the Karelian language in Karelian identity, Sarhimaa (2000: 199) claims that the Karelian identity is tied more with locality and social networks than with language. In the issue of authenticity, locality and language intertwine. The focus on locality in the ideology of authenticity, as presented by Woolard (2008: 2), provides an explanation for why the standard form of Karelian is sometimes considered inauthentic. The traditional village milieu functions as the symbol of Karelian tradition and is seen as the natural domain of Karelian language use, and Petrozavodsk, albeit an important center for language development, has not gained a similar status.

However, in age group 18–29 a comment is made on how Russian loanwords penetrate even the village language (Example 13). The speaker exhibits purism towards words of Russian origin.

(13)

   S4 No müö sanommo tiä tiettäväine "jiäškuappu", ga sie küläs sanotah "<u>holodil'niekku</u>", da toiči olen kuulluh vie "kusbo ollah minun <u>ključat</u>" sit ei avaimet, kai mostu sanuo jo otetah kieleh.

      'Here we of course say "jiäškuappu" but in the village they say "<u>holodil'niekku</u>"*,* and sometimes I've also heard "where are my <u>ključat</u>", and not "avaimet", all such words are being taken into the language.'   (AG 18–29)

The neologism *jiäškuappu* ('refrigerator') is a Finnish calque, and the speaker prefers it to the Russian loan *holodil'niekku* 'refrigerator' (Russian *holodil'nik*). Similarly, the Karelian word for 'keys' *avaimet* is considered better than the Russian loanword *ključat* 'keys' (< Russian *ključ*).

5.   Discussion

The undergoing fragmentation of the Karelian language community has brought about great linguistic diversity in relation to multilingual elements (Partanen & Saarikivi 2016, Sarhimaa 1999). The interview with age group 18–29 shows a tendency to avoid code-switching. The ELDIA survey (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 143–144) shows that the young speakers are thought to switch code (or "mix languages") more than the older or the middle-aged speakers. Kovalëva (in Karjalainen et al. 2013: 56) claims that in particular the young apply code-switching as a communication strategy, and that the use of Russian elements has become accepted as a social norm. The interview data contradict this view. This may be due to the lesson-like setting of the interview, but also the effect of time: the youngest group of speakers is already somewhat detached from the traditional speaker community. They are also in the position of a new speaker, in which they might be not considered genuine members of the speaker community (see e.g., O'Rourke & Ramallo 2013: 288–290). However, it is not age group 30–49, either, that shows the most free use of multilingual resources, but the older groups 50–64 and 65–. Another possible explanation as to why the younger groups keep to the monolingual norm is that they

experience speaking Karelian in public as a performative task requiring the use of a monolingual variety, similarly to the prominent figures of age group 65–B, while in age groups 50–64 and 65– the language used for communication is not placed under the same scrutiny.

In relation to the language there is an asymmetry of power manifested within the age groups. These originate from social roles, as in AG 18–29 the teacher who has access to the privileged variety of Karelian, or the language workers in AG 30–49 who aim at setting the model for using Karelian.

The data of this study suggest that young speakers favor Traditional Karelian or Neo-Karelian, as determined by Sarhimaa (1999). Puristic speech may be a way of differentiating the minority (language) from the majority. Sarhimaa (ibid. 237) evaluates the Karelian group identity as fairly weak, and questions a straightforward relationship between group identity and minority language in the Karelian context. She suggests that Karelian and Russian are both indexical of the same group identity. Now there seem to be changes taking place in this sphere. The perceived weakness of group identity may have encouraged the language activists and professionals to focus on a pure language form as a symbol of unity and difference from others, strengthening the role of language in identity construction. The puristic tendencies may be explained by the desire to balance the overvaluation of Russian (also explicated by the state, see Lähteenmäki 2015) and strengthen Karelian. It is also a natural result of the way of perceiving languages as separate entities that are and should be kept apart. Active polylanguaging may even be regarded as a sign of the minority language's linguistic poverty (see Siragusa 2012: 132–133), and it looks like the younger generations have adopted the monolingual norm.

The situation hints at two contradicting ideologies: **xenophobic purism** and **authentic speaker ideology**. The xenophobic puristic ideology (Thomas 1991: 80) stresses the Karelian language as free from foreign elements and as clearly differing from other languages, whereas the authentic speaker ideology considers the form of Karelian spoken by the older generations, who have learned the language from their parents, as the correct one, despite the numerous loans and code-switching. The situation resembles that among the Basques (Lantto:

2016), where the Old Basques (see Lantto for determination of New and Old Basques) use more code-switching than the New Basques. Despite this their speech is considered more authentic than the New Basque, which in turn is regarded as "purer". One could also speak about **ideology of traditionalism**. Jane H. Hill (1992) describes this kind of traditionalism among Nahuatl speakers using the term *nostalgia*: the authentic language is connected with the traditional, rural way of life in the past. A similar line of thought has been discerned among Karelian speakers and in the Karelian media (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 93–94, 145–147). Ulriikka Puura (in this volume) has observed a corresponding phenomenon among the Veps. The drawback with this ideology is that it naturalizes the position of Karelian in the rural past and in the fading villages, not in modern urban society, when the language definitely would need new domains of use in order to become a truly functional modern language with visibility in the society.

The future of the Karelian language lies with the youngest speakers, who seem to speak a more standardized variety of Karelian. It remains to be seen if the new variety will expand to become an everyday language or remain the language of just those working in the field of language development. Problems will occur if new speakers are left in the role of not fully competent speakers or language learners. Kovalëva and Rodionova (2011: 33) see university graduates as the key people for bringing back Karelian into everyday family life. A follow-up study on where the students of Karelian end up after their studies and what role the Karelian language plays in their later life would be extremely valuable.

Key to transcription of examples

normal = Karelian
italics = English
CAPITALS = Finnish
<u>underlined</u> = Russian

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Tiivistelmä

Tarkastelen yksilöiden ja yhteiskunnan monikielisyyden sekä kieli-ideologioiden kohtaamista ja vaikutusta toisiinsa aunuksenkarjalan kontekstissa. Artikkeli limittyy uuspuhujien, kielen säilyttämisen ja kielten kontaktien tutkimukseen. Se tuo esiin puhujien asenteita karjalan kielen tilannetta koskevissa keskusteluissa tapahtuvaa koodinvaihtoa kohtaan. Koodinvaihdolla tarkoitan useiden kielten käyttöä samassa diskurssissa. Koodinvaihtoa käsittelen sosiaalisena ilmiönä, joka muodostaa ja määrittää ryhmiä sekä voi toimia ryhmän identiteetin indikaattorina. Aineistonani olen käyttänyt viittä ELDIA-hankkeessa (European Language Diversity for All) tehtyä sosiolingvististä ryhmähaastattelua. Karjalan kieli on pitkään ollut kontaktissa venäjän kanssa, ja koodinvaihto on leimallista puhutulle nykykarjalalle. Karjalan kieltä ei ole pidetty karjalaisen identiteetin keskeisenä markkerina. Tämän tutkimuksen aineiston perusteella näyttää siltä, että nuoret puhujat ovat enenevässä määrin omaksuneet yksikielisen normin ja suosivat kielimuotoa, joka ei sisällä monia lainasanoja tai koodinvaihtoja. Tämä viittaa siihen, että kielen rooli karjalaisen identiteetin konstruoinnissa on muuttumassa.

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