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## Diachronic Aspects of Russianisms in Siberian Turkic

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**0.1** Languages belonging to the Turkic family represent one quarter of the approximately three dozen indigenous languages of Siberia; these include Yakut, Tuvan, Xakas, Shor, Dolgan and Tofalar. The Russian language has had a profound influence on the Turkic languages of Siberia during the past centuries. Of course, during this time numerous Russian lexical items have entered the Siberian Turkic languages. At the earliest period, loans were frequently limited to terms in the military/government, trade, and religious spheres and were predominantly borrowed from a variety of spoken Russian vernaculars, undergoing assimilation to the phonology of the Siberian Turkic language in question. In the Soviet period, as bilingualism spread and literacy in Russian became mandatory, loans became extremely numerous, including such syntactic items as coordinating conjunctions, formerly lacking as a class in the Siberian Turkic languages. As the generations of Turkic/Russian native bilinguals matured, a partly conscious process somewhat akin to 'decreolization' was witnessed in the pronunciation of many loans especially among young urban-dwelling speakers: an earlier assimilated form came to be replaced gradually by the actual pronunciation of the Russian source, often violating the phonotactics of a "native" utterance; this cline of pronunciations from completely assimilated to completely Russian varied individually according to such sociolinguistic and demographic factors as level of education, daily contact with Russians or urban vs. rural residence, etc. Today, codeswitching phenomena are frequently attested in the speech of the Siberian Turks. While some of the Siberian Turkic languages have enjoyed a boom in terms of overall number of speakers in the last few decades, e.g. Yakut or Tuvan, the future of others, e.g. Shor or Tofalar<sup>1</sup>, is bleak. In addition, Chulym Turkic and Baraba Tatar have already been largely assimilated to either Russian, Tatar, or both, and are omitted from most of the discussion below.

Phonologically speaking, the Turkic languages of Siberia are characterized by a more developed use of consonantal assimilation than in other Turkic areal groups, and a series of diachronically and morphophonemically active intervocalic weakenings of velars; also, consonant clusters are limited, and in some languages geminates are frequent, e.g. Yakut *uos* 'lip' < \*ayız, *appit* 'our.horse' < \*at(i)miz, *akkt* 'your.horse' < \*at(i)ñiz; Xakas *sanaa* 'to.the.ski' < \*sanaya, *müüs* 'horn' < \*münjüz; Upper Chulym *sooq* Middle Chulym *suaq* 'cold' < \*soyuc; Baraba *xannan* 'from.the.khan' < \*qandan, *pašti* 'head[Accusative]' < \*bašni; Tuvan *saqtip* 'having thought' < \*sayıñip; Shor *tutpa* 'don't hold!' < \*tutma; Altai *attıñ* 'of.the.horse' < atñi; Tofalar *qamnabas* 'not.shamanizing' < \*qamlamaz.

### 1.1 Development of the Siberian Turkic literary languages

Four Siberian Turkic languages enjoy status as literary languages in their respective regions, viz. Yakut, Tuvan, Xakas, and Altai; Shor had a literary language until 1940 when the issuing of publications in the Shor language was ceased; recent efforts have been made to revive this language.<sup>2</sup> In the years following the Revolution, Latin-based alphabets were developed for Xakas, Altai, Tuvan<sup>3</sup>, Yakut<sup>4</sup>, and Shor; as official policy, this was abandoned in favor of

Cyrillic-based alphabets for all the Siberian Turkic languages by 1941. During this period, the influx of Russianisms became quite pronounced in these languages, and contrary to the early contact period, the loans came predominantly from the written medium, aided greatly by the mass importation of Russian loans into the fledgling Turkic literary languages. Also, although instruction was officially to be offered in a variety of indigenous languages during the 1930's, in reality Russian was used almost exclusively due to the near complete lack of suitable materials and non-Russian speaking teachers (Slezkine 1994: 243). In the post-World War II era, as the titular republics and regions of the Siberian Turkic peoples became increasingly inundated with Russian immigrants (and those of other Soviet nationalities), so too did the pressure from the Russian language become particularly intense. Naturally, as the contact with Russians increased, so did the incidence of bilingualism, and ultimately, of full linguistic assimilation.

## **1.2 Recent Soviet census findings**

In the Soviet era, one must rely on the erratic and politically motivated Soviet census findings. According to Silver (1986: 76), the number of native language speakers of various Soviet minority languages may have been artificially inflated by the census' explanatory comments: if unable to decide on a native language, the respondent was instructed to choose the dominant language used in the family during early childhood. Establishing command of a second language, especially of Russian, is basically subjective, and frequently is underestimated in official counts (Silver 1986: 92); here, too, the wording on the census itself causes some confusion and inaccuracy, as the question asks for a second language of the USSR that the respondent 'freely commands'. Obviously a certain amount of politics and ethnic self-identity play a role in determining percentages of bilingualism in Russian. For example, the Uzbeks went from 15% bilingualism in the 1970 census to 49% in 1979 but back down to 23.8% in 1989 (Silver 1986: 90; Ryan 1990: 112), numbers which could in no way reflect actual reality. Percentages of bilingualism probably run higher for most of the Siberian Turkic peoples than are listed officially in census statistics.

With the statistical caveats aside, several basic developments in Russian-Turkic language contacts in Siberia during the Soviet period can be determined. The larger Siberian Turkic groups, e.g. Tuvan or Yakut, have preserved their languages to a greater degree than the smaller ones, e.g. Tofalar or Shor, which are rapidly losing out to Russian. Among the Tuvan, Yakut, Xakas, and Altai--i. e. the Siberian Turkic peoples possessing literary languages--one generally sees a slight, though perceptible, trend to greater assimilation to Russian and a massive increase in bilingualism when comparing census data from 1926 and 1959, to the later Soviet censuses of 1970, 1979, and 1989. Tuvans have had the fewest percentage of their population that have given up their mother tongue in favor of Russian; indeed, nearly a full 99% of Tuvans listed Tuvan as their native tongue even in the 1989 census figures. As mentioned above, the Baraba Tatars (8,000 in the 1959 census) have been largely assimilated to the Russians and Tatars, whose language represents their medium for schooling. The Chulym Turks are likewise not distinguished from the Tatars nor the Russians in census statistics, but numbered 4,500 in 1959; most Chulym Turks have been assimilated to Russian linguistically, having already been assimilated culturally to the surrounding populations. Both of these groups are omitted from the data below.

For most of the Siberian Turkic languages there has been a gradual increase in percentage of people who consider Russian to be their native language rather than the Turkic ancestral tongue. Compare the data on people who consider their native language to be Turkic from the 1926, 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989 census readings:

(1)

	<u>1926</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1989</u>
YAKUT	99.7%	97.6%	96.3%	95.3%	94.0%
DOLGAN	99.5%	93.9%	89.8%	88.2%	84.0%
TUVAN <sup>5</sup>	-----	99.1%	98.7%	98.8%	98.6%
XAKAS	89.9%	86.4%	83.7%	80.9%	76.6%
SHOR	93.7%	84.1%	73.5%	61.2%	57.5%
ALTAI	75.7%	89.1%	87.2%	86.4%	85.1%
TOFALAR	29.1%	89.1 % <sup>6</sup>	56.3%	62.1%	42.8%

In addition to the ever-increasing percentages of people abandoning the ancestral Turkic language in favor of Russian, a large percentage of the Siberian Turkic speakers consider themselves fluent in Russian; generally an increase is found when comparing data from 1970, 1979, and 1989:

(2)

<u>1970 %</u>		<u>1979 %</u>	
TOFALAR	90.1%	TOFALAR	96.1%
SHOR	81.1%	SHOR	85.8%
XAKAS	78.2%	XAKAS	84.2%
DOLGAN	69.5%	DOLGAN	81.1%
ALTAI	62.7%	ALTAI	79.4%
YAKUT	43.1%	TUVAN	60.0%
TUVAN	39.3%	YAKUT	58.3%

i. 1989 % bilingualism in Russian

SHOR	93.2%
TOFALAR	91.6%
XAKAS	87.7%
DOLGAN	81.3%
ALTAI	77.1%
YAKUT	69.1%
TUVAN	60.0%

ii. urban vs. rural bilingualism

<u>urban</u>	<u>rural</u>
93.4%	84.5%
86.9%	81.3%
93.1%	74.6%
87.2%	63.2%
77.1%	52.3%

During this same period (1970-89), the Turkic-speaking peoples of Siberia frequently lost ground percentage-wise to the (predominantly immigrant) Russian population in their titular republics and *oblast'*-s; of these, only Tuvan still represented a majority in the Tuvan Republic, while the Yakut, Khakass, Dolgan, and Altai all constituted minorities in their respective administrative regions, although ethnic Altai indeed constituted a greater percent of the population of Gorno-Altai in 1989 than in 1970.<sup>7</sup>

(3)

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1989</u>
TUVA ASSR			
TUVAN	58.6%	60.5%	64.3%
RUSSIAN	38.3%	36.2%	32.0%

YAKUT ASSR			
YAKUT	43%	36.8%	33.4%
RUSSIAN	47.3%	50.4%	50.3%
GORNO-ALTAI A.O.			
ALTAI	27.8%	29.2%	31.0%
RUSSIAN	65.6%	63.2%	60.4%
XAKAS A.O.			
XAKAS	12.3%	11.5%	11.1%
RUSSIAN	78.4%	79.4%	79.5%
TAIMYR-DOLGAN N. O.			
DOLGAN	11.4%	9.7%	8.8%
RUSSIAN	66.9%	68.2%	67.1%

## 2.0 Diachronic aspects of Russianisms in Siberian Turkic languages

At the earliest period of Russian-Turkic contacts, loans came from a variety of Russian dialects, and thus an apparent lack of consistency in the assimilation of the Russian loans to Turkic phonology is seen.<sup>8</sup> Over time, although some variation was still to be seen, due partly to transcription of the Turkic words by untrained ears, local variation on the Turkic dialectal level, as well as a continuation of various Russian dialect loan sources, there were nevertheless general tendencies in loan assimilation that could be observed within a given Siberian Turkic language. In the Soviet era, a variety of calques, loan translations, neologisms, and various blends thereof were initially tried as means to supplement the lexicons of these languages, e.g. Yakut *olox turuga* 'economics' (literally ['life'] ['standing-POSS']) or Tuvan *demobilizastaaškin* 'demobilization' or *militariš'idilge* 'militarization'; however Russian forms soon won out. As mentioned above, the growth of bilingualism in Russian that triggered a tendency to 're-Russianize' the (previously) assimilated loans was observed among some, especially urban-dwelling, members of the Turkic populations. While for some speakers loanwords in Russian orthography<sup>9</sup> in no way reflect actual pronunciation, among young, urban bilinguals, these represent the actual pronunciations observed. In fact, the speech of these Siberian Turks, like that of many natively bilingual peoples in a similar socio-cultural milieu, is today sprinkled generously with Russian words and phrases.

### 2.1 Yakut: Assimilation to Codeswitching

The case of Yakut (Sakha) typifies Russian's impact on the Siberian Turkic languages. First contact between speakers of these two languages happened sometime in the early seventeenth century. By 1920, approximately 2800 Russian loans are found in Yakut (Sleptsov 1964: 12). The influence of Russian grew ever stronger in the Soviet period. As of 1989 69% of the Sakha people considered themselves bilingual in Russian; in many cities this approaches 100%.

During the past centuries of Russian-Yakut contacts, loans were assimilated to the rather un-Russian phonology of Yakut, e.g. *kübüörüne* < губерния [guberniya] 'province', *bürüstüüpünñük* < преступник [prestupnik] 'criminal' or *nehiliek* < наслег [naslek] 'administrative unit of Tsarist Yakutia similar to the

Soviet era *sel'sover*'. With respect to vocalism, the following tendencies are to be observed. Stressed vowels are generally replaced by long vowels or diphthongs, with the word-stress shifting to the last syllable, as word-final syllable stress is regular in Yakut. Unstressed vowels are frequently replaced by harmonically conditioned variants. Initial *r-* in Russian gets a prothetic *A-* (a harmonizing [-high] vowel), while initial clusters get either an epenthetic vowel after the initial consonant (frequently a copy of the following stem vowel) or prothetic *I-*. The 'yotacized' vowels of Russian (especially *я* [ya] and *ю* [yu]) are generally replaced by front vowels in Yakut. In early loans, Back Harmony restrictions are rarely violated, and never so if the stressed vowel in the Russian source is in the initial syllable of the word. In most Yakut dialects, the harmonic pattern is determined by the placement of original stress in the Russian source, with bidirectional spread, if applicable; in Kolyma-area loans, the vowel harmony pattern is always determined by the initial syllable, à la 'native' Yakut words, regardless of where the stress fell in the loan source.

(4)	<b>kömülüök</b>	< камелёк	[kamelyok]	'fireplace'
	<b>kiriehile</b>	< кресло	[kreslo]	'(arm) chair'
	<b>arassiiya</b>	< Россия	[Rassiya]	'Russia'
	<b>čaaski</b>	< чашка	[čaška]	'cup'
	<b>Kiristies</b>	< Христос	[Xristos]	'Christ'
	<b>behieley</b>	< веселой	[veseloy]	'happy'
	<b>iskaap</b>	< шкаф	[škaf]	'cupboard'
	<b>booččubuoy</b>	< бог с тобой	[bokstoboy]	'God be with you'
	<b>ñahinay</b>	< не знаю	[neznyau]	'I don't know'

Among the tendencies in the assimilation of Russian consonantism to Yakut phonology, the following can be enumerated. Initial *\*p-* and *\*f-* were replaced by [b-]<sup>10</sup>, while medially, the replacement sound in Yakut was [-p(p)-]. Russian *\*v* always was realized as Yakut [b]. All labial sounds sometimes appeared as [m] as the result of sporadic, distant assimilation to a nasal sound in the word, a process that has been active in the Turkic languages for centuries (cf. the *ben/men* isoglosses of the Old Turkic period). Russian *\*g-* was generally replaced by [k-], which along with Russian *\*k-* further changed to [x-] before [a] and [o], in accordance with Yakut phonotactics.

(5)	<b>babaarina</b>	< поварня	[povarnya]	'kitchen'
	<b>kirieppes</b>	< крепость	[krepost']	'fortress'
	<b>muunta</b>	< фунт	[funt]	'pound'
	<b>xahiat</b>	< газета	[gazeta]	'newspaper'

Russian *\*n* is realized as [ñ] in Yakut when preceding *\*i* (or less frequently *\*e*); in addition, there are a variety of sporadic [n] and [l] correspondences between Russian sources and Yakut loans, as well as in the pronunciation of individual speakers of Yakut. A further characteristic of the assimilation of Russian loans to Yakut phonology is the multiplicity of sources for [s]. In final position, Yakut [-s] may reflect Russian *\*-č*, *\*-c*, *\*-s*, *\*-š*, *\*-z*, *\*-ž*, or *\*-šč*, and all of these except *\*č-*

in initial position. In medial position, the various developments are complicated by the frequent change of s > -h- in intervocalic position.<sup>11</sup> Russian medial clusters of three or more consonants and final clusters of any size were reduced in a variety of lexically specific ways.

(6)	<b>ñukulay</b>	< Николай	[Nikolay]	'Nikolai'
	<b>ñireexi</b>	< неряха	[neryaxa]	'sloven(ly)'
	<b>sonouk</b>	< залог	[zalok]	'guarantee'
	<b>siertibe</b>	< жертва	[žertva]	'victim'
	<b>čep pier</b>	< четверг	[četverk]	'Thursday'
	<b>čierbe</b>	< червь	[červ']	'worm'
	<b>xaaltis</b>	< галстук	[galstuk]	'tie'
	<b>biraaskay</b>	< братский	[bratskiy]	'brotherly'

During the course of the twentieth century, the Sakha people have become increasingly familiar with Russian. Words of Russian origin in many people's speech began to gradually sound more like their Russian sources. For example, initial [p-] became common, as did the sequences [ka-] and [ko-], e.g. *pampiliat* < памфлет [pamflet] 'pamphlet', *kaaska* < каска [kaska] 'helmet', or *kollokubuyum* < коллоквиум [kollokvium] 'colloquium', where one originally would have found [b-], [xa-], and [xo-], respectively; also some medial and final clusters began to be pronounced: *taranspartiiir* < транспорттир [transportir] 'protractor' or *kuurs* < курс [kurs] 'course' (Sleptsov 1975: 109ff.). In the present, one frequently finds forms that are pronounced by many urban dwellers in exactly their Russian pronunciation, often violating both Yakut syllable cannons and vowel harmony restrictions alike, for example *gruzovik*, *gips*, *rasa*, *rtut'*, *vrač*, *grafstvo*, *xronika*, etc. In addition to the speech of young urbanites, examples of codeswitching can be found in the dialogue of characters in the works of various Sakha authors.

(from SLEPTSOV 1975: 7)

- (7) i. *iti min kiniler pravil'naia suox povedenielarınan aayabın: üle pokazatele ürdüürün ihin oxsuhuu ljuboj miesteğe, ljuboj vremeye, besprestanno, ol üle mexanizacija laayıttan, mexanizacijata suoyuttan nezavisimo itilliax tustaax.*

'This I consider their **incorrect conduct**: the struggle against the rise of the **index** at work must be observed in **any** place (or) **any time**, **continuously**, **regardless** of whether this work is **mechanized** or **non-mechanized**.'

- ii. *uot xaya ere Kien Maarga barbitin xantan bilen biha sonno, imenno onno, tiidyin? interesno, a? ne tak li?*

'From where did you learn that fire appeared in some Kieng Maar and came **directly just here**? **Interesting**, huh? **Isn't that so**?'

## 2.2 Tuvan: Assimilation to Codeswitching

The history of Tuvan's contacts with Russian differs in several ways from that of Yakut's. First, the initial contact between Tuvans and Russians was not until the 1830's, some 200 years following the initiation of the *yasak* fur-tribute among the Sakha. However, Russian influence began to be felt fairly rapidly in the early twentieth century; according to Tatarintsev (1974: 15), in 1888 there were approximately 150 Russians in Tuva but by 1918, this number had risen to nearly 12,000, or 20% of the population. At the early period (pre-20th century), virtually no Tuvans spoke Russian, but many Russians in Tuva spoke the local language. By the time of the Revolution, some bilingualism had begun, which increased rapidly following the assimilation of Tuva into the USSR in 1944. Although Tuvans have preserved their language remarkably during the Soviet period (still 99% of the population is native speaking in 1989), 60% of Tuvans consider themselves fluent in Russian; in present-day Kyzyl, where bilingualism approaches 100%, sentences with codeswitching are not infrequently encountered.

As in Yakut, early loans were assimilated to Tuvan phonology; more recent loans are likewise pronounced by elderly persons and those less fluent in Russian in an assimilated form, although a certain amount of lexically-determined 're-Russianization' can be observed, with considerable individual variation. In order to assimilate to Tuvan phonology, Russian words generally did not have to undergo as severe modifications as was observed in Yakut. For example, Tuvan possesses [š], [ž], and [v], all lacking in Yakut but found in Russian; in addition, Tuvan has a less developed system of round harmony than does Yakut. Of course, as in Yakut, unfavored syllable structures were altered, stressed vowels were treated as long and as the trigger for the vowel harmony pattern, to which unstressed vowels were assimilated. Among consonants, both voiceless and voiced anterior stops were considered weak in the weak/strong opposition in Tuvan (cf. Sat 1973: 95-6), i.e. they are realized as [d] and [b].

(8)	<b>biristaa</b>	< верста	[versta]	'verst'
	<b>oodurba</b>	< отруби	[otrubɪ]	'bran'
	<b>mombuš</b>	< помочь	[pomočʃ]	'help'
	<b>mo:ža</b>	< вожжи	[vožʒi]	'reins'
	<b>sappik</b>	< сапог	[sapok]	'boot'
	<b>ögü(:)rze</b>	< огурец	[ogurec]	'cucumber'
	<b>čaadır</b>	< театр	[teatr]	'theatre'

As the level of familiarity and comfort with Russian grew among Tuvans, so too did the number of words that were affected by the re-Russianization process. Sat (1973: 94ff.) lists several steps in this process that one is likely to encounter in these 'decreolized' variants in individual Tuvan's speech, e.g. introduction of palatalized sounds, restoration of clusters through loss of epenthetic vowels (*kilass* > *klass*), 'de-harmonizing' Russian words (*sekredeer* > *sekretaar'*), and introduction of non-Tuvan sounds (*ögürze* > *ogurees* > *ogurec*). Mongush (1983: 57) considers the various degrees of re-Russianization of lexical items in the speech of Tuvans to reflect various stylistic registers or 'gradations', the use of which are determined by the usual sociolinguistic and demographic factors.



(13)	<u># w/Tk. lg. as native lg.</u>	<u># w/ Tk. lg. as 2nd lg.</u>
YAKUT	1205	5654
TUVAN	11	482
XAKAS	21	426
ALTAI	23	618

As is obvious from (13), a significantly larger number of Russians command Yakut both natively and as a second language than other Siberian Turkic languages. In Yakutia a kind of mutual bilingualism in Russian and Yakut arose in various settlements in the Kolyma region in the northeast; for 300 years these peoples intermarried, and, according to P. Ryabakov (cf. Korkina 1989: 64), the Russian population of Srednekolym'sk knew Yakut better than Russian at the end of the nineteenth century; the relative prestige status of Yakut in northeastern Yakutia is further demonstrated by the widespread adoption of Yakut as the mother tongue of the Evenki (85%), Even (70%) and Yukaghir (23%) of this area (Slezkine 1994: 101, 1989 census data).

<sup>1</sup> According to Rassadin (1972: 333), by the early 1970's Tofalar children rarely spoke the language, frequently answering their Tofalar speaking parents in Russian.

<sup>2</sup> For example, according to Fänsen (1983), in 1980 there were the following publications in the Siberian Turkic languages: Yakut 75 monographs, 2 periodicals, 28 newspapers, Tuvan 55/2/4, Khakass 10/1/1, Altai 23/1/1. The issuing of literature in Shor was halted in 1940 (though in 1939 there were 30 monographs and 1 newspaper printed in Shor). However, according to Kempe (1992: 78), a new program in Shor studies was established at Novokuznetsk University, and a few elementary schoolbooks and a small dictionaries were issued in Shor in 1991.

<sup>3</sup> During the first years of the Tuvan People's Republic Mongolian was the literary language of the Tuvans, so the dates on the establishment of a Latin-based alphabet was a little later for Tuvan than for the other Siberian Turkic peoples.

<sup>4</sup> There were early, mainly missionary works issued in both Yakut and Altai utilizing the Cyrillic alphabet; also, early studies on the Siberian Turkic languages, e.g. Boethlingk (1851, reprinted 1964) or Katanov (1903) likewise used a modified Cyrillic orthography.

<sup>5</sup> Tuva was the independent Tuvan People's Republic (Tannu-Tuva) during the 1926 Soviet census.

<sup>6</sup> This increase in percentage probably reflects the fact that many of the fully linguistically assimilated Tofalar (Karagass) of the 1926 census had begun listing their nationality as Russian by 1959; the overall number of people identifying themselves as Tofalar decreased dramatically during this period (from 2829 to 586).

<sup>7</sup> How the post-Soviet exodus from Siberia of ethnic Russian (et al.) immigrants, especially in the Far North, will affect the demographics of the titular regions of the Siberian Turks, particularly Yakutia, remains to be seen.

<sup>8</sup> For example in Pekarsky's masterful dictionary of 1907-30, 64% of the loans had more than one variant listed (Sleptsov 1964: 99), with some due simply to (ortho)graphic variation; even so, this percentage of variants is not inconsiderable when coupled with the generally monolithic nature of Yakut, which exhibits only slight dialectal variation. Variations can be relatively insignificant phonetically, e.g. *aptaniamaŋiŋa* ~ *aptanuomiŋa* ~ *aptanuomuya* ~ *abtanuomuya* 'autonomy', or the variants can be considerably divergent from one another, e.g. *k̄n̄ir̄al* ~ *žanaraal* ~ *ñadaraal* 'general' (Sleptsov 1975: 53-9, 61).

<sup>9</sup> As of 1977, by official decree, most words of Russian origin were to be written in Russian orthography in all languages of the former USSR using the Cyrillic alphabet. Only those early loans which were fully assimilated and sufficiently dispersed among the dialects and speakers of a given language preserved their altered orthographic form, e.g. Yakut *ostuol* 'table' < стол [stol].

The Xakas have a high rate of bilingualism in Russian in the present day; in some *raions* of Xakasia, e.g. Bogradskii, reported bilingualism approaches 95% (Krivonogov 1984: 166). The only Xakas who do not speak Russian are over 60 and live in extremely rural areas.

(from TIUKPIEKOV 1993: 4)

- (11) i. *ponimaeš', potrava üčün nime polar sayaa?! Xoy, xadarbasta, začem čaban polča?*

**'Do you understand, what the crop-damage will mean?! The sheep won't graze, what is the shepherd for?'**

- ii. *mexanizatorlar to'yızın uvažat' polbinča...pu vreditel'stvo! Vreditel'ler iblre toldıra! Ničevo, tik xal'yıspaspın! Tölederbln! Ponıameš', krugliy god tölirzln!*

**'the machine specialists show no respect... this is sabotage!. The saboteurs are all around! It's nothing, I won't leave free of charge! I'll make (you) pay! Do you understand, you will pay year round!'**

Similar phenomena are attested in other Turkic languages of Russia as well. For example, one frequently encounters Russian and Bashkir words within a single sentence (from Garipov 1969: 154).

- (12) *mineñ bratımdı frontta ranıl ittelär*  
**'my brother was wounded at the front'**

*irtägä televizorğa kakuy peredača bula*  
**'what show is on the television tonight?'**

*Min böğön vsiu noč ne spal*  
**'I didn't sleep all night today'**

#### 4.4 Russian Knowledge of Siberian Turkic languages

While at present the bilingualism of the Siberian Turks in Russian is generally unilateral in nature, i.e. the Turkic population speaks Russian and their native language, and Russians rarely know the local language, this has not always been the case. In fact, at the earliest contact period, Cossacks and merchants frequently spoke the local Turkic vernacular, e.g. Tuvan, Xakas, or Yakut, while the Turkic people rarely knew Russian, i.e. the exact reverse-type of unilateral bilingualism was found. However, at present knowledge of a local Turkic language is not unknown among ethnic Russians in Siberia. In fact, as of 1979 (*Chisl* 1984: 80-4), there were people who ethnically identified themselves as Russians but who listed their native language as the local Siberian Turkic language in four different areas in Siberia: Yakutia, Tuva, Xakasia, and Gorno-Altai. In addition, a small percentage of Russians consider themselves bilingual in the local Siberian Turkic language.

(from TATARINTSEV 1974: 53-4)

(9)

- i. *Èto značit* (\*ol deerge/\*inčangaš) amgi üeniñ  
*gradostritel'stozunuñ* (\*xooray tuduuškununuñ) deñnelin köör,  
*čuruktu peredelat'* (\*ede kilir).

'that means (it is necessary to) proceed from the standard of contemporary town-building (and) alter the plans.' {from a meeting}

- ii. *bo aytırıgnı putat'tap* (\*buduldurup) algandır men. *zanimat'sjalap-la*  
(\*öörenip-le/\*kičeelep-le) turgan kiži men.

'I bombed on the question, (but) I did study.'

- iii. *dıñnadıñ be, xudožestvenniy svist aži, tivalaarga, čüü deer čüvel..iye,*  
*uran sıgıt deer čüve dam čitti?*

'did you hear that they reproduced the artistic whistling, or how is it called in Tuvan..yes *uran sıgıt*?'

### 2.3 Xakas: Assimilation to Codeswitching

The history of contact and interaction between Xakas and Russian follows the same basic pattern as for the other Siberian Turkic languages. Xakasia became part of Russia in 1707, and the number of Russians steadily increased over the next two centuries. As bilingualism grew during the Soviet period, the loans gradually took on the shape of their Russian sources in the pronunciations of various Xakas individuals. As Xakas exhibits a wide range of dialectal variation, the sounds within an older loan from Russian could have either been preserved or altered depending on the dialect in question. Long vowels in Russian loans appear less frequently in Xakas than in Tuvan and especially Yakut; also, clusters with /l/ and sometimes /r/ are preserved word-initially in Xakas.

(10)	<b>putulka</b>	< бутылка	[butılka]	'bottle'
	<b>kirles</b>	< крыльцо	[krıl'co]	'porch'
	<b>pilke</b>	< вилка	[vilka]	'fork'
	<b>istan</b>	< штаны	[štani]	'trousers'
	<b>iskemeyke</b>	< скамейка	[skameyka]	'bench'
	<b>klüs</b>	< ключ	[klyuč]	'key'
	<b>pool</b>	< пол	[pol]	'floor'
	<b>krede</b>	< гряды	[gr'ada]	'bed (of garden)'

Xakas differs from both Tuvan and especially Yakut in possessing a weaker vowel harmony system, with systematic morphemic violations of Round Harmony, and vowels neutral to Back Harmony. Some dialects, e.g. Bel'tir, show even less stringent harmony requirements, and the system has begun to disintegrate altogether.

<sup>10</sup> According to Sleptsov (1964: 115), in certain areas where contact with Russians was intense, [p-] was preserved as a conscious effort on the part of Sakha to Russianize their pronunciation, even when the rest of the word was highly altered; there are approximately 200 loan words beginning with [p-] in pre-Revolutionary lexical sources (e.g. Pekarskij and Kulakowskij), a feature especially common in the speech of the Anabar Sakha.

<sup>11</sup> Note that among many Yakut speakers even today, words that are pronounced in the nominative case with these final sounds as in Russian, nevertheless show an alternation with [-h-] in inflected forms, e.g. garaž > garahi, plašč > plahi (Sleptsov 1975: 134). Also, in general, nominative forms of Russian loans may be atypical in terms of stress placement in a given Turkic language, but inflected forms are often treated regularly (cf. Baskakov 1972: 78).

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