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REVIEW OF DISCOURSE MARKERS IN UDMURT FROM A QUANTITATIVE POINT OF VIEW¹

ОБЗОР ДИСКУРСИВНЫХ МАРКЕРОВ В УДМУРТСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ С КОЛИЧЕСТВЕННОЙ ТОЧКИ ЗРЕНИЯ

Аннотация. В статье представлен обзор дискурсивных маркеров удмуртского языка с количественной точки зрения. Анализ проводился на аудиозаписях, сделанных с участием четырех носителей языка. По этой выборке наиболее частотными удмуртскими дискурсивными маркерами являются *но* ‘и, на, тоже’, *ик* ‘же’, *бен* и *о-о* ‘да’, *ни*, *ини* ‘уже’ и *тани* и *тйнь* ‘вот’. Частыми русскими маркерами являются *вот*, *ну*, *да*, *уже* и *то есть*. Доля удмуртских маркеров составляет ок. 53%, а у российских маркеров – 42%. Этот вывод согласуется с результатами Kaysina [2014]. Кроме того, социографические факторы могут играть роль в частоте встречаемости русских дискурс-регулирующих предметов в удмуртском языке.

Ключевые слова: дискурсивный маркер, удмуртский язык, билингвизм.

1. Characterizing discourse markers

Discourse markers connect elements of discourse [Diewald 2006]. They establish discourse coherence (textual function), they can express attitude and they also have interactional function (between the speaker and the listener) [Schiffrin 1987]. The category of discourse markers is a functional one, therefore different parts of speech can constitute as a discourse marker, such as:

1. conjunctions (Udm. *но* ‘and, but’, *нои* ‘and, but’, Rus. *а* ‘but, yet’),
2. particles (Udm. *ик* and *ук* emphatic particles, *меда* ‘whether’ Rus. *ведь* ‘indeed’),

¹ Supported by the ÚNKP-21-4-SZTE-189 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Innovation and Technology from the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

3. adverbs (Rus. *уже* 'already', Udm. *ни* 'already', *гинэ* 'only'),
4. verbs (Udm. *ш uom* 'we say', *öйтöд* 'I don't know', Rus. *значит* 'means'),
5. pronouns (Udm. *сычё* 'like this', *тини* 'this' Rus. *так* 'so', *вот* 'this'),
6. interactional words (Udm. *о-о* and *ы-ы* expressing agreement, Rus. *да* 'yes'),
7. combination of more elements (Udm. *о-о ведь* 'isn't it?', *-а мар-а* 'or what?').

The interpretation of discourse markers is context dependent, and they are typically multifunctional. In addition, an element might be used in its propositional meaning in one context and in discourse organizing function in others. In example 1a *гинэ* 'only' is used as an adverb, while after interrogative pronouns it appears as a discourse marker intensifying the exclamation.

(1.a.) *Самой пичеэзлы куинь арес гинэ ай.* (corpus data)

The smaller one is **only** three years old.

(1.b.) *Кычё гинэ пöртэм удмурт дйсъкутьёсын öз вуэ куноос!* (corpus data)

'How **ГИНЭ** different Udmurt costumes the guests would wear!'

The meaning of discourse markers is non-propositional, they contribute to the expressive content of an utterance, and do not affect their truth-conditionality [Zimmermann 2011]. Therefore, they are syntactically optional, can be omitted without damaging the syntactic structure. They are typical to oral speech, but due to their textual function they occur in written texts, as well. The example below illustrates the frequent use of discourse markers in natural speech in one of the audio recordings used in the research (cf. section 2.).

(2) I:¹ *Но кызы малпаськоды, верась адямиос озы малпазы обиџе-житие матынгес луоз университетлы?*

¹ Abbreviation I marks interviewer who is a non-native speaker of Udmurt. Abbreviation C marks consultant, who is a native speaker. The discussion was about a couple of people who were going to the dormitory from the university but the building was farther than they had anticipated.

C: *да, озыы, озыы...малпазы соос, всё-таки малпalo вал матынгес шуыса со... мыныса валазы да, потому что татын со со сярсыз вера «кызыы ке озыы вуим», да ведь, то есть кема мыноно лүиз* (elicited)

'yes, indeed, indeed...they thought, **after all** they thought it would be closer...as they were going, **yes**, because they say „somehow we arrived” **don't they, in other words** they had to go for a long time'

Discourse markers have variable scope (a word, a syntagma or a whole utterance) and they usually have a constant form. [Furkó 2007; Aijmer – Simon-Vandenbergen 2011] They emerge through the function of pragmatization, in which a marker in a context changes its propositional meaning to encode discourse interactional functions [Frank-Jobs 2006].

Considering Udmurt, discourse markers are typically listed in the discussion of particles [Sokolov 2011] and modal words [Kibardyina 2011]. Furthermore, research have been carried out on the discourse particles of the Besermyan variety of Udmurt by Zubova [2018]. Kaysina [2014] discusses Russian discourse marking elements in Udmurt, focusing on subordinators¹ and question tags.

2. Data

The data comprise of recordings conducted with four native speakers of Udmurt. The full length of the recordings is 3 hours 27 minutes (including the interviewer). In the table below the sociographic data of the consultants can be seen.

Table 1. Data of consultants

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
|--------------------|---------|----------|----------|---------|
| Age | 21 | 19 | 62 | 57 |
| Gender | male | female | female | female |
| Dialect | central | southern | northern | central |
| Place of residence | city | city | rural | city |

Segmentation, annotation, and the analysis of the recordings were made by ELAN 6.2.

¹ Kaysina [2014] applies a broader interpretation of discourse markers. In this paper subordinators and connectives are considered discourse markers only if they connect discourse elements or express the attitude of the speaker (e.g. rephrasing thoughts or specifying information).

3. Results

Table 2 summarizes the most frequent (more than 30 occurrences) discourse markers in the data.

Table 2. Frequent discourse regulating items in the research data

| Marker | No. of occurrence | Proportion | Origin | Rough English translation |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|---------|------------------------------------|
| <i>но</i> | 455 | 21,1% | Udmurt | 'and, but, well, also' intensifier |
| <i>вот</i> | 203 | 9,4% | Russian | 'so, but' |
| <i>да</i> | 187 | 8,6% | Russian | 'yes, right?' |
| <i>ну</i> | 125 | 5,8% | Russian | 'well' |
| <i>ик</i> | 82 | 3,8% | Udmurt | expressing emphasis |
| <i>тани</i> | 64 | 2,9% | Udmurt | 'there, so' |
| <i>уже</i> | 60 | 2,7% | Russian | 'already' |
| <i>бен</i> | 54 | 2,5% | Udmurt | 'yes, right?' |
| <i>о-о</i> | 54 | 2,5% | Udmurt | 'yes, right?' |
| <i>то есть</i> | 51 | 2,3% | Russian | 'in other words' |
| <i>ини</i> | 41 | 1,9% | Udmurt | 'already' |
| <i>ни</i> | 40 | 1,8% | Udmurt | 'already' |
| <i>тыйнь</i> | 35 | 1,6% | Udmurt | 'here' |

The most frequent element is the marker *но*, which is a connective and also a focus particle in Udmurt. It is highly multifunctional, it appears as a preface (similarly to Russian *ну* 'well' [cf. Bolden 2016]), in fixed pronominal constructions with the indefinite and negative pronouns [cf. Kaysina 2014: 24], it is used for rephrasing and specifying information, and also as an intensifier [GSUJ 1962: 340, Sokolov 2011]. All examples below are from the audio recordings.

(3) marker *но* as preface

но туж кылзэме потэ вал кин мар мукетсэ вералоз
'well, I really want to hear if someone says something else'

(4) marker *но* in a fixed pronominal construction¹

кинлэсь ке но *кылысал тыйнь та историез ик, кинлэсь ке но* *кылыса мон кинлы ке но* *верасал*

'I would hear this story from someone HO, and hearing it from someone HO,
I would tell someone HO'

¹ This type of use of *но* is non-translatable to English.

(5) marker *но* in self-correction

мон серекъясъко но уг оскисъки, но может оско, но может уг оскы
 'I laugh, but I don't believe it, well they may believe it, or they may not'

(6) marker *но* as an intensifier

со номырзе со уг но тод, уг но мар-а ни

'they don't even know anything, don't even yet anything'

Less frequent Udmurt markers are: *сычё* 'like this' *меда* 'whether' *озьы* 'this way' -*а мар-а* 'or what' markers formed with the verb *шуыны* 'to say' such as *ш uom* 'we say', *ш uomы* 'we say', *ш uod* 'you say'.

A large number of Russian markers are attested (cf. table 2), and other less frequently occurring markers are: *например* 'for example', *так* 'so', a 'but' *даже* 'even' *и* 'and, also' *вообще* 'at all' *конечно* 'of course' *значит* 'so, therefore'. Considering the proportion of Udmurt and Russian elements, it can be concluded that 52,9 % of the markers have Udmurt, and 42,3 % have Russian origin¹. The findings confirm the results of Kaysina [2014: 23] in which 52% of the elements were Udmurt and 42 % are Russian. Based on the current data Russian elements are predominantly elements of meta-commentaries (33,66 % of all Russian markers), such as *всем* 'so', *то есть* 'in other words', *например* 'for example'. This also confirms the previous results about Russian discourse markers in Udmurt [Kaysina 2014]. Other large group of Russian elements are markers of agreement and markers asking for confirmation, such as *да* 'yes, right?', or the question tag *да ведь* 'isn't it?' (21,7 % of all Russian markers).

Considering the number of Udmurt and Russian discourse markers in the data of individual speakers the following proportion can be seen:

Table 3.
 Proportion of Udmurt and Russian discourse markers for individual consultants

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
|-------------------------------|---------|----------|----------|---------|
| Age | 21 | 19 | 62 | 57 |
| Gender | male | female | female | female |
| Dialect | central | southern | northern | central |
| Place of residence | city | city | rural | city |
| Percentage of Udmurt markers | 31% | 58,7% | 82,7% | 43,8% |
| Percentage of Russian markers | 62,4% | 39% | 15,3% | 48,8% |

¹ In the remaining 4,8 % the origin of the marker is unidentifiable (e. g. markers of understanding (*аха*), and markers of agreement (*ыхм*)).

Data of consultant no. 3 is noteworthy as the consultant predominantly used Udmurt discourse markers. The consultant lives in a village in Northern Udmurtia and uses the Udmurt language in all areas of life. While the other consultants also use Udmurt in their education, work life, and in their social interactions, they live in a city where the dominant language of interaction is Russian. This might suggest that sociographic factors may have an effect on the use of Russian discourse regulating items. However, this hypothesis requires further investigations.

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УДК 811.512.111

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ОНИМЫ ФИННО-УГОРСКОГО ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЯ НА ТЕРРИТОРИИ ЯНТИКОВСКОГО РАЙОНА ЧУВАШСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

Аннотация. Лексем финно-угорского происхождения в чувашском языке немало. Главным образом, к разным финно-угорским языкам восходят слова, связанные с лесом, низменностью, водой, слизью и т. п. Топонимы финно-угорского происхождения встречаются на всей территории Чувашии: восходящие к марийскому языку в основном сосредоточены на севере, связанные с мордовским языком – на юге и юго-западе республики. Следует отметить, что четких границ между марийскими и мордовскими топонимами нет. Существуют районы, где они бытуют даже в пределах одного сельского поселения. Финно-угорский пласт топонимов в Чувашии изучен неплохо, но на микротопонимы, на наш взгляд, уделено недостаточно внимания. Мы сделали шаг к устранению данного пробела. Нами также проведен анализ некоторых фамилий, которые имеют финно-угорское происхождение. Введением служат отсылки к историческим документам, в которых упоминаются «мордовские выти» и «мордовские пустоши», ранее встречавшиеся на территории современного Янтиковского района Чувашской Республики.

Ключевые слова: чувашский язык, финно-угорские языки, Янтиковский район, оним, топоним.

Топонимика Волго-Уральского региона разнообразна, в ней выделяются несколько пластов. На территории современной Чувашской