

The Influence of the Komi-Permyak Language and Culture on Russian Texts of Bilingual Komi-Permyaks

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Abstract: The peculiarities of Russian speech and texts in the Russian language of bilingual Komi-Permyaks are considered in the article. The analysis is carried out on the material of spontaneous narratives (stories about oneself) in Russian. Although the contacts between Komi-Permyaks and Russians account for more than 500 years, the influence of the languages and cultures on each other is still quite large. In phonetics and grammar of Russian speech of Komi-Permyaks there are active features caused by Komi-Permyak language: in phonetics it is reflected in the composition of phonemes, their distribution and realization of allophones of the phonemes; the grammatical system of the Russian language of Komi-Permyaks is mainly influenced in the area of prepositional-case forms. In general the linguistic analysis of texts leads to the conclusion that the modern Russian language of bilingual Komi-Permyaks is a special contact form of the Russian language. Analysis of culturally meaningful reference situations in the texts proves the biculturalism of Komi-Permyaks and the fact that at the modern stage their national identity is primarily bound with the native Komi-Permyak language, as well as with self-association with the place of residence of the majority of the Komi-Permyaks – Komi-Permyak Autonomous area, mother nature and habitual rural way of life.

Key words: Bilingualism • Biculturalism • Komi-Permyak language • Russian language • Spontaneous speech • Phonetics • Grammar • Reference situation

INTRODUCTION

The problem of bilingualism, both individual and group, has long been within the interests of linguistics. In sociolinguistics, this problem is approached from the standpoint of language contacts [1-4], language situation [5-8], diglossia [9-12], language minorities and language shift [13-16], the speech repertoire [17, 18], codes switching [3, 17, 19] and etc. All phenomena and processes considered by socio-linguists and related to bilingualism above all affect the questions of language functioning. However, since bilingualism is a part of the cultural space, in the analysis of bilinguals' speech it is also necessary to consider the interaction of different cultures [20-24].

The result of the interaction of cultures and languages in bilingual and bicultural societies depends on the overall configuration of the language situation: the

number of interacting languages, the number of carriers, the communicative power of language, the prestige of contacting languages, closeness of contacts, etc. [8, 14, 15]. Naturally, the degree of language knowledge, the order of learning and the type of bilingualism also play an important role in this interaction [1-3].

From this point of view it is interesting to trace in the concrete material how one language (and hence culture) of the bilingual affects another language and culture. This article analyzes the impact of the Komi-Permyak language and culture on the specificity of Russian speech and texts of bilingual Komi-Permyaks.

Komi-Permyaks are Finno-Ugric people living mainly in Russia in the Komi-Permyak Autonomous area, being part of the Perm Region (about 80% of Komi-Permyaks reside within the Komi-Permyak Autonomous area). These lands were annexed to Russia in 1472 and christening of Komi-Permyaks occurred even earlier - in 1462.

According to the census of 2010 [25] at present in the Perm Region, there are more than 2635 thousand people, including 116 thousand people in the Komi-Permyak area. Komi-Permyaks (over 81 thousand people) account for about 3% of the regional population and about 70% of the population of Komi-Permyak Autonomous area.

The Komi-Permyak-Russian contacts were carefully studied both by ethnographers and linguists (R.M. Batalov, A.S. Krivoshchekova-Gantman, V.I. Lytkin, I.I. Maishev, V.A. Oborin, N.A. Rogov, G.V. Fedyuneva, G.N. Chagin, *et al.*), but linguistically the mainly investigated was the influence of the Russian language on the Komi-Permyak and the Komi-Permyak on Russian (primarily on dialects). There has been no systematic study of the Russian language of Komi-Permyaks, while the Russian speech of Komi-Permyaks may be qualified as a special national version of the Russian language.

Contacts between the Komi-Permyak inhabitants and Russians have begun already in X-XI centuries and have led to the birth and development of mixed (the term of U. Weinreich) Komi-Permyak-Russian bilingualism and biculturalism in this area. In the XXth century under the influence of the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication, bilingualism in the Komi-Permyak Autonomous District widely developed. In this case, it has been one-sided: the Komi-Permyaks know Russian language and speak it and the overwhelming majority of Russians do not know the Komi-Permyak language. The sociological surveys show that the national identity of Komi-Permyaks is often dual: more than 45% of them feel themselves equally the Komi-Permyaks and Russians and other 23% reckon themselves as the citizens of Russia [26]. A special Russian language of Komi-Permyaks and their present hybrid culture requires a special study.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Study of the features of Russian speech of bilingual Komi-Permyaks was carried out on the material of the audio reading book "Russian spontaneous speech of Komi-Permyaks" [27], published by the authors of this article. The anthology includes 22 spontaneous texts of bilingual Komi-Permyaks in Russian with total duration of 1 hour 25 minutes. The subject of the texts is a story about oneself (in the form, in which the author of the text understood this topic). Informants were representatives of different age groups: the oldest of informants was 89 years old and the youngest - 20 years old. Informants

had different levels of education (from incomplete secondary to higher education) and worked in different fields or studied in different educational institutions.

This material is interesting both in terms of the influence of the Komi-Permyak language on linguistic features of speech - phonetics, grammar (language level of analysis) and from the point of view of the impact of culture on the reflection of culturally significant conceptual blocks (culturological level of analysis) in the text.

As spontaneous spoken language was analyzed, the phonetic and grammatical features were distinguished in the resulting text material on the background of all-Russian colloquial rather than literary norm, i.e. only those language features, which are specific to the Russian language of Komi-Permyaks rather than to Russian spontaneous speech in general, were considered.

Spontaneous monologues received from informants are a form of narrative - a verbal presentation, story, or narration created by people to describe their experiences and including personal assessments of certain facts of life. The narrative is a form of discourse through which we reconstruct and represent past experience to ourselves and others [28: 321]. In the narratives, the pronounced are ethnic and cultural characteristics of the text such as linear and non-linear structure [20], logical and thematic scheme of the text [29], the degree of expansion of semantic units [30], etc. It is obvious that the specificity of the bilingual's narrative can be manifested in the inclusion in the text in Russian of the semantic units, which inform on the reference situations culturally significant for the Komi-Permyaks.

Culturally meaningful reference situations are optionally included in the narrative by speakers and therefore appear to be good markers that allow considering the importance of certain semantic components for bilinguals: a reflection in the text in Russian of the reference situations culturally significant for Komi-Permyaks shows to what extent bilinguals are immersed in their culture.

As culturally meaningful reference situations all fragments including reference to nationality, mother tongue, national traditions, nature and typical occupations (the realities of rural life) of Komi-Permyaks were distinguished in the texts. The last two motives were taken into account because ethnographers emphasize the importance of the national culture of the Komi-Permyak rural life, economy and connection with nature (mainly forest) and natural resources [31].

Key Part:

The Linguistic Analysis of Texts:

Phonetic Features:

- Texts are often characterized by the absence of vowels reduction in unstressed syllables, which, of course, is the influence of the Komi-Permyak language lacking reduction [32]. This feature is typical for pronouncing all the vowels. It is also bound with the following three features realized in the absence of reduction.
- Rather frequent is [okan'ie], retention of unstressed 'o', i.e. pronouncing the vowel [o] in unstressed position: [osób'en:ɔ] - *especially*, [koróvu] - *cow*, [rod'ilás'] - *was born*.
- Also common is [ekan'ie], retention of unstressed 'e', i.e. pronouncing the vowel [e] in unstressed position: [d'er'ev'én'] - *villages*, [in't'er'ésno] - *interesting*.
- For some cases the specific is pronouncing [a] after soft consonants in unstressed position: [tis'at] a] - *thousand*, [v'azála] - *knitted*.
- Quite often is substituting [x], which is absent in the Komi-Permyak language [32, 33], for [k] in different positions in the word: [kl'ép] - *bread*, [na ráznyk rabótak] - *in different jobs*.
- One can often meet assimilation of [j] with the preceding soft consonant, which is typical for the Komi-Permyak language [33], at that the consonant may be pronounced both as long and short: [s'em':á] - *family*, [dóp'ana] - *dead drunk*.
- Sometimes, instead of Russian coronal fricative soft consonants the long-fricative [s"] and [z"] are realized that are typical for the Komi-Permyak language [33]: [s"udá] - *here*, [z"imój] - *in the winter*, [t]az"óva] - *Chazyovo*.
- Rather frequent are also soft consonants [j'] and [3'] instead of standard Russian hard hushing sounds: [v±'é]j'ivat'] - *to hang out*, [3'it'] - *to live*, [múz'em] - *husband*.
- There is a lack of devocalization at the end of a word that is not typical for the Komi-Permyak language [32, 33]: [pasád] - *Posad*, [hl'éb] - *bread*.
- In some cases, instead of labiodental fricative consonant [v] they pronounce bilabial rounded fricative [w]: [w±rosl'i] - *rose*, [w±jt'i] - *exit*. Usually this consonant is used before a stressed vowel [±].
- The most striking feature of intonation is the desire to divide phrases into very short, often one-word syntagma.

Thus, in the phonetics of Russian speech of Komi-Permyaks there are clear signs of the influence of the Komi-Permyak language. However, as the Russian dialects of the Perm region were themselves formed under the influence of the Komi-Permyak language, many phonetic features of Russian speech of Komi-Permyaks are met in the dialect speech of Russians. The difference between the speech of Russians and Komi-Permyaks is the degree of phonetic accent and the frequency of occurrence of specific pronunciation. We can say that in this sense, the Russian speech of the Perm region is a sort of the contact continuum.

Grammatical Features:

- Among the grammatical peculiarities of the Russian speech of bilingual Komi-Permyaks the attention should be drawn to the formation of word forms by analogy, especially in the conjugation of verbs: pryazhuyu (instead of pryadu) - *spin*.
- Frequent in the texts of Komi-Permyaks is incorrect usage of cases due to the differences in forming the case meanings in Russian and Komi-Permyak languages. In the Komi-Permyak language the case meanings are expressed by suffixes, as well as by some postpositions; the case forms designate subject, object (direct and indirect), the mode of action, cause, purpose, etc.; and spatial and temporal relationships can be expressed by the case affixes and postpositions [32, 33].

There are different deviations in forming of prepositional-case relations in the texts of Komi-Permyaks. So, the sporadic usage of nominative forms instead of locatives in the structures with adverbial meaning: *pervyi kurs uchilas'* (instead of *na pervom kurse*) - first year of studies; ablative case at disagreement in the participle phrase: *na sanyakh, zapryazhonnykh v loshad'* (instead of ablative *zapryazhonnykh loshad'iu*) - in a horsed sledge.

The objective form of inanimate noun is used instead of the animate form: *poprobovali u nego kleshch vytashchit'* (instead of animate *kleshcha*) - tried to take out a tick. This is probably due to the influence of the mother tongue, which does not clearly distinguish between the animate and inanimate objects.

Mixing of case forms is frequent as well: *izuchaetsya literaturu* - literature study, where the informant uses the object case instead of the nominative; *poznanie svoikh znaniyakh umeniyakh i navykakh* - learning their

knowledge skills and abilities, where the informant uses the locative instead of the genitive case; *uchastvovala vo vsrossiyskoy olimpiade po russskomu yazyku i literaturakh* - participated in the All-Russian Olympiad on Russian language and literature, where the informant uses prepositional case instead of dative. As you can see, all of the examples relate to violations in the models of grammatical agreement. In the last example, there is also the use of deviant plural forms.

Quite often the incorrect use of case forms is bound not only with agreement, but also with the incorrect use of prepositions: *razgovarivayu s nego* -talk at him (genitive instead of prepositional case, substitution of the preposition *na* for the preposition *s*).

When using grammemes in accusative case the frequent errors are specific for the use of prepositions *v* (in) and *na* (on), marking the type of human orientation in time and space (with the meaning of condition, place, purpose of movement, direction, time period): *v instead of na khlebozavode* - in the bakery instead of at the bakery, *poshol rabotat' v* (instead of *na*) *gruzovoye avtopredpriyatie* - began working in/at the car cargo firm; *postupila na rabotu v instead of na medzavod* - started working in/at medical plant.

Often a preposition in the structure is omitted: *dvadcat' let vyshla zamuzh; postupil passazhirskoe avtopredpriyatie; ja uchilas' Verh-In've do semi klassov; shkolu okonchila sem'desjat vtorom godu; rabotala vesovshhikom elevatore; potom rabotala vodokachke; zakonchila uchilishhe krasnym diplomom* (married at twenty years old, started work at the passenger car enterprise, I studied at the Upper Inva to the seventh form, graduated school in the year seventy two, she worked as a weigher at the elevator, then worked at the pump house, graduated from the College with honors). In our opinion, this is due to the type of language: the spatiotemporal structures in the Komi-Permyak language are formed either using affixes or postpositions. And semantics of spatiotemporal relations clearly differentiated in the Komi-Permyak language [33] is not sufficiently assimilated into Russian, where the meaning of case formants and prepositions is more intense.

- Plural forms are occasionally used instead of singular forms of nouns in a generalized meaning: *U nas ochen' mnogo na kurse literatur* (compare: *kursov po literature*) - We have a lot courses in literature. There are irregularities in the set phrases related to the form of number: *postupila uchit'sja na povarov* (instead of *na povara*) - started studying cookery.

- There are rare inaccuracies in the use of perfective/imperfective aspects of verbs: *sobiralis'* (instead of *sobiraemsja*) *rodit' syna* - were going to give birth to a son.
- There are violations at the syntactic level, relating to the agreement between the subject and predicate: *Bylo* (instead of *byla*) *uzhe osen'* - It was autumn already.

So, the most frequent grammatical errors in the Russian language of Komi-Permyak informants are bound with erroneous use of prepositional-case forms. The greatest difficulty for Russian-speaking Komi-Permyaks is coding of space-time meanings in detail differentiated in Russian case system; and the ways of their coding in Russian language do not coincide with the coding in the Komi-Permyak language. In some cases, where the case system of the Russian language stipulates prepositional case, Komi-Permyaks omit preposition. This is due to the fact that the meaning of the preposition in the Komi-Permyak language can be expressed by affixation [33]. In addition, the confusion of the meanings of Russian prepositions occurs. Thus, in the Russian language of Komi-Permyaks the common mistakes are in the use of prepositions *v/na* (in/on) and *s/iz* (from) encoding not only the direction of motion, but the type of the reference point.

Analysis of Culturally Meaningful Reference Situations:

Reflection of culturally meaningful reference situations in the texts of bilinguals is performed through references to national identity of the Komi-Permyak and Russian languages, national traditions, the typical way of life and occupations.

National Identity: According to the analysis of texts, in the stories about oneself this semantic component is significant for the informants. It can be expressed through a direct reference to nationality and through references to the place of birth and residence - administrative units, namely, the Komi-Permyak Autonomous area, Kudimkar town (center of Komi-Permyak Autonomous area October 30, 2013), Komi ASSR, districts, etc.

In the texts, there are references to a hereditary belonging to the Komi-Permyak nationality: *Mat' i otec / komi-permjackoj nacional'nosti //* (Mother and father / Komi-Permyak nationality //) (female, 21 years old, incomplete higher ed.); *Moi roditeli / istinnye komi-permjaki // I ja / istinnaja / komi- / permjachka... // Dedushka / i babushka / tozhe istinnye komi-permjaki //*

(My parents / true Komi-Permyaks // And I am / a true / Komi- / Permyak... // Grandfather / and grandmother are / also true Komi-Permyaks //) (female, 53 years old, higher ed.). Describing the family one of the informants stressed that all members of the family are Komi-Permyaks: *Sem'ja u menja / muzh tozhe komi-permjak // Dve docheri // Tozhe / komi-permjachki* (My family / as well as my husband are Komi-Permyaks // Two daughters // are also / Komi-Permyaks //) (female, 67 years old, secondary ed.). The portrait of the representative of the Komi-Permyak nationality is also designated: *Ja tipichnaja invinskaja komi // U menja chjornye volosy / chjornye glaza / smuglaja kozha // Volosy u menja dlinnye / nizhe kolena // Ja zapletaju ih / v kosu / a kosu ukladyvaju na golove // (I'm a typical Invin Komi // I have black hair / black eyes / brown skin // My hair is long / below the knee // I braid them / and style it on my head //)* (female, 57 years old, higher ed.). Of 22 informants 6 mention their nationality and/or the nationality of their parents.

Almost all of the informants (20 of 22) believe that it is important to give their place of birth and place of birth and residence of the family as a whole: *Ja rodilas' / v Komi-Permjackom / nacional'nom okruge // (I was born / in the Komi-Permyak / National area //)* (female, 53 years old, higher ed.); *Rodilas' v derevne Harinova / Moskvinskogo sel'soveta Kudymkarskogo rajona // (Born in Harinova village / Moskvinskiy village council of Kudymkarsky district //)* (female, 86 years old, secondary ed.); *Rodilsja v Kudymkarskom rajone // V derevne Levina // (Born in Kudymkarsky area // in Levinà village //)* (male, 62 years old, secondary professional ed.).

Thus, among the text components associated with nationality the more important is not the direct naming of nationality but mentioning the place of birth and residence typical for Komi-Permyaks.

Komi-permyak and Russian Languages: Language is one of the most important features of national identity. Mother tongue is the essence of nationality, people who speak the same language, feel their unity and at the same time their difference from other people [34]. For bilinguals the particularly important is the question of which of the languages they feel as native and which of the languages they prefer.

The feeling of love and commitment to their language permeates more than half of the bilinguals' texts (13 of 22), people of different age and education: *Ja / uchilasja / na komi jazyke // (I / studied / in the Komi language //)* (female, 89 years old, secondary education); *Po-komi-permjacki govorili // (Spoke in the Komi-Permyak*

language //) (female, 86 years old, secondary ed.); *I / v osnovnom / vse / obshhalis' / na komi-permjackom jazyke // V derevnjah po-komi razgovarivaem // (And / mostly / all / chatted / in the Komi-Permyak language // In the villages speak in Komi //)* (female, 50 years old, secondary professional ed.); *Sozdavali zdes' programmy / dlja nacional'nyh shkol // Po / komi-permjackomu jazyku // (Developed programs here / for national schools // On / Komi-Permyak language //)* (female, 39 years old, higher ed.); *Nravitsja / ochen' izuchat' / rodnoj jazyk // (Very much / like studying / mother tongue //)* (female, 22 years old, incomplete higher ed.); *Moj rodnoj jazyk / komi-jazyk // Komi-permjackij jazyk // No razgovarivaju s nego / s detstva // S samogo tam rozhdenija // Mne legche obshhat'sja na komi-jazyke // (My native language / Komi-Permyak language // But I speak it / from the very childhood // From the birth // I find it easier to communicate in the Komi language //)* (male, 21 years old, incomplete higher ed.).

Informants also consider important to emphasize the fact that their parents and other relatives also know the Komi-Permyak language: *Moi roditeli / otec i mat' / vladejut // Ja tozhe v sovershenstve znaju / komi-permjackij jazyk // (My parents / father and mother / know // I perfectly know / Komi-Permyak language as well //)* (female, 22 years old, incomplete higher ed.). Describing the family, one of the informants stressed that the family members are trying to keep the Komi-Permyak language at home: *Hotja oni (the daughters) / uchilis' v russkih klassah / no oni prekrasno vladejut / komi-jazykom / no pisat' i chitat' pravda ne umejut // A vot vnuki / ponimat' ponimajut nash razgovor / a / razgovarivat' / ne mogut // (Although they / studied in Russian classes / they perfectly know / Komi language / but cannot write and read // But the grandchildren / understand our conversation / but / can not / speak //)* (female, 67 years old, secondary ed.).

In the linguistic situation of the Perm Region, the Russian language as the state language of Russia and the Komi-Permyak language as the language of the titular ethnic group of the Komi-Permyak area, co-exist in a relationship of diglossia. Bilingual Komi-Permyaks, realizing this, fix the need of knowing the Russian language in the narratives: *Russkih u nas v derevne nikogda ne bylo // A kogda uzh vyrosli dak / stali / obshhat'sja / po-russki tozhe // Kogda v Uhtu uehala / pochti sovsem ne mogla / razgovarivat' po-russki // I / eshhe stesnjalas' // God-to prozhila / sredi russkih ljudej / vsjo ponimala // Tol'ko / ne mogla govorit' // Byl / sil'nyj akcent // Razgovarivala vsjo-taki pobol'she vidat' po-russki / inachala uzhe svobodno govorit' //*

(There have been no Russians in our village // And when we really grew up / I started / communicating / in Russian as well // When I left for Ukhta / I almost could not / speak Russian // And / still hesitated // Spent a year / among Russians / and understood everything // Just / could not speak // Due to / strong accent // Still talked more in Russian / and already began to speak freely //) (female, 50 years old, way, secondary special ed.).

Professional need to know both languages is also highlighted in the narratives: *Obuchalas' parallel'no / na russkom / i komi-permjackom jazykah // Ja schitaju chto jeto bol'shoj plus.* (I studied in parallel / in Russian / and Komi-Permyak // I think that's a big plus //) (female, 22 years old, incomplete higher ed.). In addition, in some cases, informants emphasize the use of Russian words in the Komi-Permyak speech: *Lunki my nazyvali // Nazvanie russkoe / uzhe //* (We called it "Lunki" (holes) // It is already the Russian name //) (female, 39 years old, higher ed.).

Finally, in the bilinguals' texts there is not only love to Komi-Permyak but also to the Russian language: *Mne nravilsja / russkij jazyk //* (I liked / Russian //) (female, 21 years old, incomplete secondary ed.). However, in most cases, the informants do emphasize that the Komi-Permyak language is closer to them.

In general, the number of references in the texts of both the Komi-Permyak and Russian languages is equal (13 references in each). This shows that both languages play an important role in their life. Often these references are associated with learning: the informants say that they studied in school in both languages or studied both languages at school and that the Russian language is necessary for them to study and work. At the same time in the texts, there is an opposition of the Komi-Permyak language as a mother tongue to "foreign" Russian but necessary language.

National Traditions: In the Russian texts, bilinguals sometimes speak about national traditions, both Komi-Permyak and Russian ones and, as a rule, proper Komi-Permyak traditions are combined with Russian ones and the realities of the two cultures are mixed in the life of Komi-Permyaks. For example, a detailed description of the celebration in the village: *Obychno / k prazdnikam ochen' gotovilis' / religioznye prazdniki ran'she ved' ochen' / prazdnovali // Narod / so vseh dereven' u nas ulica byla / sobiralis' // I // Tam // Na ulice / peli / pljasali // Derevne / prazdnikom / delali / pivo sur* (national Komi-Permyak beer) // *Kvas jeto / bragu delali / yrosh po komi nazyvaetsja // I / vot pili // A // Vino / ran'she /*

upotrebljali / no / malo // Chtob do p'jana / niko nikogda ne napivalsja // Chtob / veselilis' / peli i pljasali / vot na ulice / vsja molodezh' sobiraetsja / my malen'kie byli / a potom / vyrosli dak tozhe stali vmeste s nimi / sobirat'sja // I star i mal / vsjo sobiralis' / vsjo peli pljasali tam // (Usually / people prepared very much for the holidays / Religious holidays earlier were properly / celebrated // People / from all the villages / gathered in our street // And // There // Outdoors / were singing / dancing // In the village / they made "sur" / for the holiday // Made "kvass" / "braga" / "yrosh" in Komi language // And / drank beer // And // They drank / wine / but / rare // No one ever got dead drunk // For / fun / sang and danced / here in the street / all the young people gathered / we were young / and then / grew up and joint them // Elderly and young people / all got together / all singing and dancing there //) (female, 50 years old, secondary professional ed.). This example demonstrates that in the minds of Komi-Permyaks the foreign traditions brought by Russians (Christian religious holidays) include proper Komi-Permyak cultural realities (sur, yrosh).

The modern traditions are also mentioned in the texts: *Na Novyj god / ja ezhu domoj // U nas / provoditsja v klube meroprijatie / v klube provoditsja do dvenadcati // Potom / vse idut po domam // I posle dvenadcati opjat' / meroprijatie tam // Konkursy / diskoteka // I do utra / do shesti //* (For New Year / I go home // We / have an event held at the club / at the club by twelve p.m. // Then / all go home // And after twelve again / the event there // Competitions / disco // And till the morning / to six o'clock //) (female, 20 years old, incomplete higher ed.). The tradition of celebrating New Year enrooted in Russia during the Soviet era and is still common for the entire population.

In the texts there are also the descriptions of children's games: *Igrali / v raznye igry / kak vse deti // V laptu / v salochki / v lunochki igrali //* (Played / different games / like all children // "Lapta" / "salochki" / "lunochki" //) (female, 43 years old, secondary special ed.); *Igrali v lunki // Chertish' / na / pervoj luzhajke / esli uzhe gde-to podsushit / mjachik // Lopatka derevjannaja // I / dopustim / vedushhij // Vedushhij / vodjashhij / kidaet mjach / a my dolzhny otivat'sja // A potom eshhjo // Nu tam kukly // Potom vsjakie my klady zaryvali // Nacional'nye igry //* (We played lunochki // Drawing / in / the first lawn / if it becomes dry somewhere / ball // Wooden spade // And / let us assume / master // Master / the main player / throws the ball / and we have to throw it back // And then // Well there were dolls // And we buried all sorts of treasures // National Games //)

(female, 39 years old, higher ed.). “Lapta”, “salochki” and “lunochki” are Russian national games that were borrowed by Komi-Permyaks. One of the informants said, as we see, about national games, but did not give their concrete names.

Appeal to national traditions evokes in speakers’ memories specific lexical units of both Russian and Komi-Permyak language. This marked vocabulary occurs primarily in the description of the culinary specialties: *Osobenno vot / pirozhki // Ne pirozhki a / kartofel'nye shan'gi* (Russian national dish “shanga” - cake with potatoes or cottage-cheese which name was borrowed by Russians from the Finno-Ugric languages) // *Potom / rybnyj pirog / cherinjan' // Pivo / komi-permjackoe pivo / sur // Esli vesna / eto / pistiki* (Russian dialectal name of the young shoots of horsetail) // (Especially here / pies // Not pies but / potato “shan’gi” // Then / fish cake / “cherinyan” // Beer / Komi-Permyak beer / “sur” // In spring / it’s / “pistiki” //) (female, 39 years old, higher ed.).

So, in most cases, the text reflects the existing ethnic and cultural situation: the culture of Komi-Permyaks is closely intertwined with the Russian one and sometimes even Komi-Permyaks cannot separate the elements of one culture from another (the text includes references to 12 traditions - 6 Komi-Permyaks and 6 Russian). Only folk forms, particularly folk songs remain purely national identity: *Ljublju slushat' narodnye pesni // Osobenno nashi / komi-permjackie* // (I like listening to folk songs // Especially our / Komi-Permyak ones //) (female, 57 years old, higher ed.); *Ja dazhe pesni ochen' ljublju derevenskie eshhe* // (Moreover I love rustic songs // (singing in the Komi-Permyak)) (female, 50 years old, secondary professional ed.).

Rural Life and Economy: Significant phenomenon of the national culture of Komi-Permyaks is an idealization of the lifestyle associated with rural life and farming. These motifs in the text are specific for bilinguals of not only older age, but also for the young ones: *Vsju zhizn' rabotali s zemlej... // Derzhali / mnogo skota* // (All my life we have worked with the ground... // Had / a lot of cattle //) (female, 53 years old, higher ed.); *Zanimalas' domashnim hozjajstvom // <...> V derevne / vsjo bylo svoe // Derzhali kur / ovec / korovu / svinej derzhali // Porssez* (Komi-Permyak word “pigs”) // *Chtob bylo mjaso svoe / moloko / chtob jajco bylo svoe / a jajco eshhe v magazin sdavali // <...> Uedu // I / budu hozjajstvo derzhat' naverno // Hotja by kakuju-to skotinku // <...> Tol'ko pravda u nas v derevne shhas malo uzhe domov stalo // No nadejus' chto eshhe / my budem eshhe /*

*zhit' v derevne // Mne ochen' nnavitsja v derevne // (I was a housewife // <...> In the village / all was in the farm // Breeding chickens / sheep / cows / pigs // “Porssez” // To have own meat / milk / eggs // and even supplied eggs to the shop // <...> I'll leave // And / I will probably manage my farm // At least some cattle // <...> But now just a few homes have left in the village // But I hope that / we will go on / living in the village // I really like it in the village //) (female, 50 years old, secondary professional ed.); *U nas svoj dom // Ogorod / hozjajstvo // Korova / telenok / svin'ja / ovcy / kury // U muzha postojanno raboty net / no zhivem neploho // Korova kormit // (We have our own house // Vegetable garden / farm // Cow / calf / pig / sheep / chickens // My husband has no permanent job / but we live well // Fed by the cow //) (female, 24 years old, secondary ed.).* Such statements are plentiful in the monologues (rural labor is mentioned in the texts 19 times). Rural life style is preferable for informants and if they leave their homes (for example, to get education, work, etc.), they seek to return back to the village, considering the lifestyle familiar and comfortable.*

Connection with Nature: The nature and the stories about it are quite common in the autobiographical narratives of Komi-Permyaks: in 15 out of 22 texts, there are fragments relating to the description of nature.

The nature is perceived by informants mainly from two sides - the aesthetic and practical. 8 texts tell about the beauty of nature, how nice to be in nature and to watch it: *Letom chasto byvaju na prirode // Kogda / mne grustno / ja starajus' idti v les // I priroda / kak by uslushivaet menja / vse moi perezhivanija / moi strahi // Pomogaet mne // (In summer I often go outside // When / I'm sad / I try to go to the forest // And nature / like if hears me / my experience / my fears // Helps me //) (female, 22 years old, incomplete higher ed.); *Ja ochen' ljublju osen' // Osobenno / guljat' / v tom lesu / gde ja rodilas' // V toj derevne // Rjodom s moim domom nahoditsja les // On ne ochen' bol'shoj / no i ne ochen' malen'kij // Osobenno / osen'ju / on preobladaet / krasivym cvetom // Berjozy krasivye / osiny krasnye / dazhe jolochki stanovjatsja kakimi-to osobennymi i / v jetot les ochen' tjanet // <...> Takzhe / ochen' ljublju rechku // Rechka menja / privlekaet / svoim spokojstviem // Kogda / voda osobenno tiho techjot / i / ochen' prijatno na nejo smotret' // (I love the fall // Especially / walking / in the woods / where I was born // In the village // near my house there is a forest // It is not very big / but not very small either // Especially / in autumn / it prevails**

Table 1: The frequency of the components of culturally meaningful reference situations mentioned in the texts, abs.

Component of reference situation	Frequency
Nationality	6
Place of birth and residence	20
Komi-Permyak language	13
Russian language	13
Komi-Permyak tradition	6
Russian and/or international traditions	6
Rural farm	19
Nature	15

/ with beautiful colors // Beautiful birch / red aspen / even Christmas trees become somewhat special and / we are aspiring to this forest // <...> Also / I love the river // River / attracts me / with its calmness // When / water flows particularly quietly / and / it is very nice to look at it // (female, 20 years old, incomplete higher ed.).

In 8 texts nature is referred to as a source of food, medicinal herbs, furs, etc.: *Hozhu za gribami / za jagodami // Vot tak prohodjat moi goda //* (I go for mushrooms / berries // This is how my years pass //) (male, 62 years old, secondary professional ed.); *Ja ochen' ljublju / hodit' / po lesam / letom // Ljublju sobirat' griby / jagody // Nu i / poputno sobiraju eshho / raznye lechebnye travy / kotorye zimoj / kak pravilo / ochen' / пригоzhdajutsja //* (I love / walking / in the woods / in summer // I like collecting mushrooms / berries // Well / at the same time I collect / different herbs / which in winter are / usually / very / useful //) (female, 57 years old, higher ed.); *Takzhe dedushka u menja ohotnik // On / mnogo raz nam / prinosil shkurki / norok // Oni takie interesnye / eti shkurki norok i / mjagkie ochen' // I kak-to tozhe my s papoj hodili na rybalku // I est' vot takie shtuki / ogromnye seti / kak by meshok kruglyj // Nory* (burrows) *nazyvaetsja // I tam est' dyrka // Ona nahoditsja pod vodoj // Tuda ryba zahodit na primanku / i vyjti uzhe ne mozhet / ostaetsja //* (Besides my grandfather is a hunter // Many times / he brought / us / skins / of mink // They are so interesting / these mink skins and / very soft // And once my dad and I went fishing // And there were the things / huge networks / like round bags // Called "nory" // And there's a hole // It is under water // There the fish comes for a bait / and cannot escape anymore / remaining //) (female, 20 years old, incomplete higher ed.).

Aesthetic and practical attitude to nature is often united: Komi-Permyaks feel themselves a part of nature, its children, perceiving the fruits of the forest and rivers as naturally belonging to them. Thus in the texts, the organic link between nature and countryside as their

habitat in general is apparent: *Moja derevnja nahoditsja / na vysokom sklone // Rjodom s derevnej / protekaet reka / Velva // Derevnju okružhajut lesa //* (My village is / on a high slope // Near the village / river flows / Velva // The village is surrounded by woods //) (female, 22 years old, incomplete higher ed.).

Thus, in the narratives of Komi-Permyaks various are often mentioned culturally meaningful reference situations. The overall picture of the frequency of various components of culturally meaningful reference situations is presented in Table 1.

As we can see, among the components of reference situations culturally significant for Komi-Permyaks the most important appear to be the place of origin, place of birth and residence, habitual way of life - rural farm and the nature that surrounds the home village and gives Komi-Permyak inhabitants joy and wealth. As for national traditions and languages, the texts demonstrate the intertwining of Russian traditions with proper Komi-Permyak ones and the interaction of the two languages of bilinguals.

CONCLUSION

The study of languages and cultures of different peoples that have long been in contact with other peoples, allows finding common patterns in the development of interacting cultures and languages and in addition, identifying specific characteristics of each individual contact. The accumulation of such data will facilitate the development of measures of support for languages being currently at risk, one of which is the Komi-Permyak language.

Important, however, is the study of contact from both sides: in this case, not only the state of the Komi-Permyak language and culture, but also the status of the Russian language in bilingual Komi-Permyaks. The analysis of narratives about oneself in this case proved to be fruitful, since it revealed not only the linguistic features of bilinguals' texts, but also the important reference situations.

In general, the level of linguistic analysis of Russian spontaneous texts of bilingual Komi-Permyaks has shown that, despite the fact that the active contact between languages has continued for more than 500 years, in phonetics and grammar of Russian speech of Komi-Permyaks, there are still active features caused by the influence of the Komi-Permyak language. In phonetics it is reflected both in the set of phonemes and their

distribution and in the implementation of the allophones of phonemes. The grammatical system of the Russian language of Komi-Permyaks is mainly influenced in the prepositional-case forms. Since these features are stable and specific for many bilinguals although with varying intensity, we can say that the Russian language of Komi-Permyaks is a special contact version of the Russian language, which functioning is a contact continuum.

The content of texts allows also concluding about the cultural components important for Komi-Permyaks. It turned out that the data of sociological surveys about the dual national identity of Komi-Permyaks are confirmed by textual materials only partially. On the one hand, the Komi-Permyaks equally often talk about the Komi-Permyak and Russian languages and traditions and not too often refer to their nationality, which generally proves the biculturalism of Komi-Permyaks. On the other hand, referring to the Russian language we much more often talk about the need for it and the Komi-Permyak language acts as a mother tongue. In addition, the national identity of Komi-Permyaks is manifested in self-association with the primary residence of the Komi-Permyaks - Komi-Permyak Autonomous area, with the nature of their homes and their habitual way of rural life. It is clear that implementing programs aimed at supporting and strengthening the languages and cultures of small nations, in the case of the Komi-Permyak inhabitants we should base on their current understanding of their own identity.

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