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SYNTAX AND FUNCTIONS OF THE INGRIAN DISCOURSE PARTICLES *NO* AND *NU*

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Abstract. This paper examines the syntax and functions of the discourse particles *no* and *nu* in narratives and conversations recorded from speakers of Soikkola Ingrian in 2006–2013. The Ingrian particle *no* is probably Finnic in origin, while the particle *nu* was most likely borrowed from the Russian language. The goal of this research is to find out how different or similar *no* and *nu* are in contemporary Ingrian from the point of view of their syntactic positions and functions. Four structural positions are distinguished, in relation to the position of the particle in a turn and in a clause, and no striking differences are observed in the distribution of *no* and *nu* across positions. The typical functions of *no* and *nu* are analysed separately in each of the four structural positions, and the functional range is found to be similar for both particles. It is also notable that in the Russian speech of Ingrian speakers, *no* is sometimes used as a discourse particle, although this would not be possible in standard Russian. The research concludes that at the period under investigation the two particles were on the way to complete merger, and can be treated as phonetic variants in a synchronic description of Ingrian, despite the quantitative prevalence of *no* over *nu*.

Keywords: Ingrian, discourse particles, syntax, functions, language contact

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1. Introduction

This research focuses on the syntax and functions of two particles, *no* and *nu*, in the Ingrian language.

As summarized by Auer & Maschler (2016a: 2, 6–9), the particles NU and NÅ[1] are found in a large number of languages of Central,

1 These are the cover labels used by the authors for the different phonetic and phonological variants found in particular languages discussed in the volume, cf. English *now*, German *nu*(*n*), *na*, Danish and Swedish *nå*, *nu*, Slavic *nu*/*no*, etc.

Northern, and Eastern Europe, including all Germanic languages, almost all Slavic languages, and a number of languages in contact with them, including Finnic. The Germanic particle NU is believed to originate from the proto-Indo-European adverb **nŭ̆* 'now, so'. The origin of the Germanic NÅ is less transparent; the same can be said of the Slavic variants of *nu* and *no*. In addition to their different historical origins, the distribution of *nu* and *no* in present-day languages has been hugely influenced by language contacts at different time periods.

One can assume that the Ingrian particle *no* has a common Finnic origin, and its syntactic and functional properties are similar to those of its cognates in Finnish and Estonian (however, these two languages show certain differences in their use of *no*, see Keevallik 2016; Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016). This particle is believed to be an original Finnic word; its earliest attestations in Finnish date back to the 16th century (Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016: 243–244). In turn, the Ingrian particle *nu* is most likely a more recent innovation borrowed from the Russian language. Ingrian has been in contact with Russian since at least the 13th century, and contacts became especially intense in the 20th century (Musaev 2004). By the 21st century, all Ingrian speakers were bilingual in Russian, and for the majority of them Russian was the main language of everyday communication (Kuznetsova, Markus & Muslimov 2015: 139–141), so borrowings became especially common.

Since the functional ranges of the Finnic *no* and Russian *nu* partially overlap (see e.g. Baranov & Kobozeva 1988; Kuosmanen & Multisilta 1999; Šmelev 2004; Bolden 2016 on Russian *nu*), in contemporary Soikkola Ingrian we seem to have two particles with similar if not identical functions. This can be illustrated by examples (1) and (2), where both *no* and *nu* are used when the speaker is searching for a word:

(1) Haugi_EN[2]

ühe-n	*kerra-n*	*miňnu-a*	*direktor*	*šao-i*
one-GEN	time-GEN	1SG-PART	director	say-PST.3SG

štob	*miä*	*mäňn-iiži-n*	*šinne*
that	1SG	go-COND-1SG	there

'Once I was told by my director that I should go there,'

2 For each unpublished example the title of the text and code of the speaker are indicated, see more in section 2.

katso-iššii-n *kuin* *meije-n* *vägi* *tökköö*
look-COND-1SG how 1PL-GEN people do.PRS.3SG
tǫ̈ǫ̈-dä *šę̈ę̈l*
work-PART there
'see how our people work there,'

kaivaa-d *maamuňňa-a* *ja* (.) ***no*** (.) *vöglä-ä*
dig.PRS-3PL potato-PART and PTCL beetroot-PART
i *kabušta-a*
and cabbage-PART
'dig potatoes and, **well**, beetroot and cabbage.'

(2) Lastotškad_LK
a *miä* *tuumaa-n* *davai-ka* *miä* *tę̈ę̈-n*
and 1SG think.PRS-1SG [Rus] let 1SG do.PRS-1SG
hei-lle *einä-n* *tiĭla-a*
3PL-ALL hay-GEN bedding-PART
'And I think, "Let me make a bed of hay for them,"'

štobį *hǫ̈ǫ̈* *noišš-ii-d* *tegö-mää* (.) ***nu*** (.)
so.that 3PL begin-PST-3PL do-SPN PTCL
kodi-loj-a
house-PL-PART
'"so that they could begin to build, **well**, houses."'

The history of the parallel existence of *no* and *nu* in Ingrian is hard to trace, because there is no information on discourse particles in the existing descriptions of Ingrian (Porkka 1885; Junus 1936; Laanest 1966a, 1978, 1986). A written variety and school teaching of Ingrian was introduced in the beginning of the 1930s (Musaev 2004: 248) but was already banned by 1938, so Ingrian has nearly always existed as a spoken language only. The number of published Ingrian texts where one might find discourse particles is very limited. For Soikkola Ingrian, there are a few tales published by Porkka (1885) and Sovijärvi (1944), texts recorded mainly from one speaker by Ariste (1960), and texts recorded from one speaker by Laanest (1966b). The overall size of these texts is ca. 17,000 words. Besides, discourse markers are naturally present in spoken language but tend to be omitted when texts are committed to writing (or at least this seems to have been the usual attitude until recently). For example, in the rather long tale "Der goldene Vogel" published by Porkka (1885: 130–134), there is just a single occurrence

of the particle *no* (3) introducing a solution to a problem, and no occurrences of the particle *nu*.[3]

(3) Porkka (1885: 132)

i	*suzi*	*siit*	*sao-i*	*poja-lle*	
and	wolf	then	say-PST.3SG	boy-ALL	
siu-lle	*on*		*saali*	*anta-a*	*tüttöj-ä*
2SG-ALL	be.PRS.3SG		pity	give-INF	girl-PART

'And the wolf then said to the boy, "You will regret giving the girl away."'

no	*miä*	*noize-n*	*tüdöi-ks*	*a*
PTCL	1SG	become.PRS-1SG	girl-TRSL	and
siä	*heidä*	*tüttöi*	*tähä*	
2SG	throw.IMP.2SG	girl	here	

'"**Well**, I will turn into the girl, and you leave the girl here."'

In this paper, I analyse contemporary Soikkola Ingrian materials recorded in the 21st century from the last native speakers (see details in section 2). The goal of the research is to find out how different or similar *no* and *nu* are in contemporary Ingrian from the point of view of their syntactic positions and functions. My research parameters include both structural and functional aspects. I will look at the positions of the two particles in relation to the clause and in relation to turns in a dialogue, and check whether a similar range of syntactic positions is observed for both *no* and *nu*. As will be shown below, the structural position of a particle correlates with its main functions. I will therefore investigate how similar the typical functions of *no* and *nu* are in relation to structural positions. Finally, I will briefly address the way the same particles are used by the Ingrian speakers when they are talking in Russian.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 surveys the data used for the analysis, compares the frequency of occurrences for both particles, and investigates the differences observed in particular speakers. Section 3 addresses the structural and section 4 the functional aspects of the uses of *no* and *nu*. In section 5, the functioning of *no* and *nu* in the Russian speech of the same speakers is discussed. Section 6 summarizes the research findings.

3 This might also indicate that *nu* was not yet used by Ingrian speakers in the 19th century, but the amount of published data is not sufficient to prove that. This particular tale contains 1367 words over 166 sentences, see Rožanskij & Markus (2012).

2. Data, frequencies, and differences in speakers

The following analysis is based exclusively on the corpus of field audio recordings that were collected mainly in 2011–2013 in the course of the project "Documentation of Ingrian: collecting and analyzing fieldwork data and digitizing legacy materials"[4] (Rozhanskiy & Markus 2019). A few texts were recorded during earlier fieldwork starting from 2006. The overall size of the transcribed Soikkola Ingrian texts used for the analysis is about 4 hours, ca. 20 000 words, recorded by 23 speakers. The title of the text and a two-letter code of the Ingrian speaker are indicated before each example. The recordings were processed and transcribed in ELAN (2021), an audiovisual annotation tool.

The speech samples in my corpus are mostly narratives but there are also 4 dialogues with an overall duration of 40 minutes. Inside the narratives, there are instances of reported dialogues when the speakers are recalling previous conversations. As will be shown below, the functions of *no* and *nu* in dialogues are mostly different from those in monologues. The reported dialogues are pooled together with the "real" ones, since the particles function similarly in both. Nonetheless, the prevalence of monologues in the data accounts for the fact that certain functions of the particles are represented by considerably more examples than others.

Altogether there are 348 occurrences of *no* and *nu* in the data, but not all of them are relevant for the current research. First, there are multiple instances of the homonymic adversative conjunction *no* 'but' borrowed from Russian. Second, in some of the examples *no* and *nu* are followed by the borrowed Russian particle *vot* and form complex discourse particles *no vot* / *nu vot*. These complex particles are typically found at the end of an utterance, see the example in Markus (2022: 85). In the current article, *no vot* / *nu vot* are not analysed. Finally, since the particles *no* and *nu* are phonologically rather similar, it is sometimes hard to distinguish between them in fast pronunciation. Such instances were not included in the analysis.

Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of the occurrences of *no* and *nu* in the data. The columns that are relevant for further discussion (*no* and

4 The materials that I used were recorded from speakers of the same dialect (Soikkola Ingrian) within a short time period and in the same genres (life stories and dialogues). The legacy materials digitized in this project are considerably more heterogeneous, so they were not used as a source of data in the current research.

nu as discourse particles) are shaded grey. As seen from Figure 1, the particle *no* is about 5 times as frequent as the particle *nu*, with 151 vs 32 occurrences respectively.

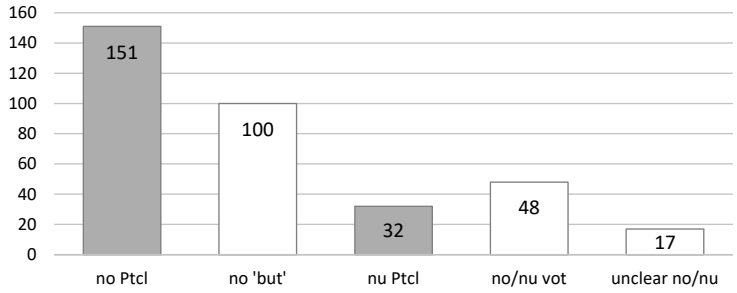


Figure 1. The distribution of *no* and *nu* across the dataset.

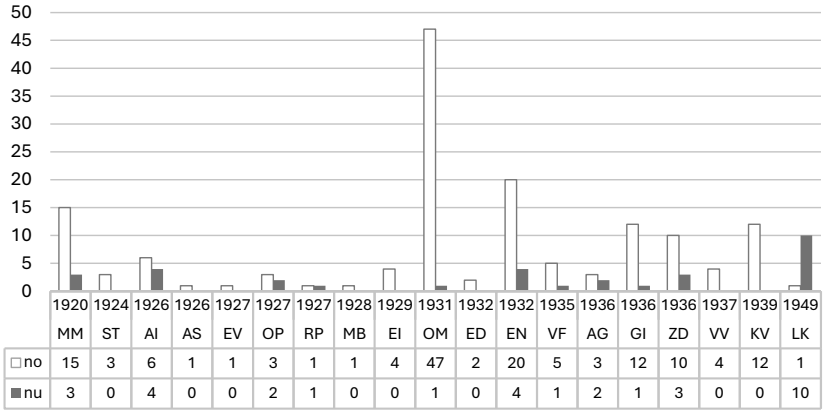
Figure 2 plots the distribution of the two particles (1st and 3rd columns in Figure 1) across individual speakers. Nineteen speakers are represented (each coded with a two-letter index), because either *no* or *nu* occurred at least once in their texts. The speakers are ordered from left to right according to year of birth (indicated above the code for each speaker; e.g. the youngest, LK, born in 1949 is in rightmost position). The number of occurrences of *no* and *nu* are indicated for each speaker below the columns.[5]

As can be seen from Figure 2, the ability to use *nu* as well as *no* is not limited to speakers in a particular age range. Even the oldest speakers in the dataset use the particle *nu*, indicating that it is not a very recent borrowing. While none of the speakers use the particle *nu* exclusively, only the particle *no* occurs in the texts of 8 (out of 19) speakers. However, for most of them the number of examples is too small to suggest that they do not use *nu* in their speech at all.

With a single exception (LK), if a speaker uses both particles, the particle *no* prevails. LK is the youngest of the speakers involved, and her speech demonstrates more Russian elements and more code-switching into Russian than that of others. In LK's speech, the particle

5 In addition to the absolute number of occurrences of both particles, Table 1 in the Appendix also shows the normalized number of occurrences per 1000 words. The same table provides the total number of words recorded from each speaker. Figure 5 in the Appendix plots the normalized occurrences of the particles as distributed across individual speakers.

nu is clearly more frequent. Based on these data, it may be hypothesized that *nu* was borrowed into Ingrian no later than in the first quarter of the 20th century, but it started to replace the original *no* only after WW2, when the Russian influence on local Finnic languages rapidly increased.



	1920 MM	1924 ST	1926 AI	1926 AS	1927 EV	1927 OP	1927 RP	1928 MB	1929 EI	1931 OM	1932 ED	1932 EN	1935 VF	1936 AG	1936 GI	1936 ZD	1937 VV	1939 KV	1949 LK
no	15	3	6	1	1	3	1	1	4	47	2	20	5	3	12	10	4	12	1
nu	3	0	4	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	4	1	2	1	3	0	0	10

Figure 2. The distribution of the discourse particles *no* and *nu* across individual speakers.

3. Structural positions of *no* and *nu*

In describing the structural positions of the particles *no* and *nu* in the Ingrian data, I mainly follow the approach taken in the volume edited by Auer & Maschler (2016b). The articles in this volume are written in the conversation analytic (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007) and interactional linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018) frameworks, so the structural positions of the particles are assessed first of all with respect to their location in a sequence of conversational turns.

The idea that conversations are organized sequentially is central to the conversation analytic approach. One speaker talks after another, and what (s)he says is often responsive to what the other has said (Schegloff 2007: 1–7; Stivers 2013: 191). In dialogues, sequences are considered to be organized mainly as adjacency pairs (Schegloff 2007: 13–27) where each utterance is related to what has been said before and what is coming next. A minimal adjacency pair is composed of two turns uttered by different speakers (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 295–296): for instance, a greeting is typically followed by a greeting from the other

party, and an offer is followed by an acceptance or declination. The first part of such a pair initiates the second part, so the positions of the corresponding turns are often referred to as initiative and responsive respectively.[6]

Turns that are uttered in the initiative sequential position have substantially different goals from the turns that are uttered in response. It is therefore not surprising that the functions of the same particle are quite different depending on whether it occurs in the initiative or the responsive sequential position. This has been demonstrated repeatedly in the individual articles making up the volume on the NU and NÅ particles (Auer & Maschler 2016b), and I find this distinction of sequential positions highly relevant for analysing the Ingrian *no* and *nu* particles as well. The division between the initiative and responsive sequential positions in dialogues is the first parameter that I apply when sorting the Ingrian examples with *no* and *nu*.

Obviously, the contrast between sequential positions is only present in dialogues; but dialogues constitute only a minor part of the Ingrian material, while the majority of recordings are narratives.[7] In narratives there is no real turn-taking, so the sequential position is of no relevance. A structural parameter that does apply to narratives, as well as to dialogues, is the position of the particle within a clause. I take this position as the second parameter for classifying the Ingrian particles. There are three theoretically possible locations of the particles in relation to clauses, namely the pre-clausal, clause-internal and post-clausal posi-

6 Quite frequently, such minimal sequences are further expanded: for instance, a response is followed by a reaction, which may in turn invite further elaboration (see Stivers 2013: 197–200 on *post-expansion*).

7 The conversation analytic framework does not deal extensively with narratives, but it recognizes certain forms of sequential organization that are similar to narratives, namely extended telling (Schegloff 2007), most commonly storytelling. Inside a conversation there are certain clues, typically a story preface of the kind "Guess what happened", that secure recipiency from the listener. During an extended telling, responses are not required and are often reduced to acknowledgement tokens (*mm hm*) and affiliative tokens (*wow!*, head nods and the like) (Stivers 2013: 200–201). It is precisely this kind of setting that was designed when recording the Ingrian narratives. The speaker was telling a story to the researcher who was by default interested in listening (so no preface phrases were required) and tried to provide minimal oral responses (so as not to spoil the recording). The listener's contribution to the story was mainly in the form of nodding and smiling, with occasional acknowledgement tokens like *uh huh* and suggestive questions helping the story to continue.

tions. In the Ingrian narratives, *no* and *nu* occur either clause-internally or as pre-clausal particles. In the Ingrian dialogues from my corpus, *no* and *nu* only appear pre-clausally. Intuitively I see no reasons why the particle could not be used clause-internally inside a turn in a dialogue, but no such examples occur in my corpus. There are also no instances of post-clausal particles in my data. In this respect, Ingrian is similar to Finnish (Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016) but different from Estonian, see Keevallik (2016: 222–224) on unit-final *noh*.

The structural positions distinguished for the Ingrian particles *no* and *nu* in this paper are summarized in Figure 3. Examples of the particles in each position will be given and analysed in section 4.

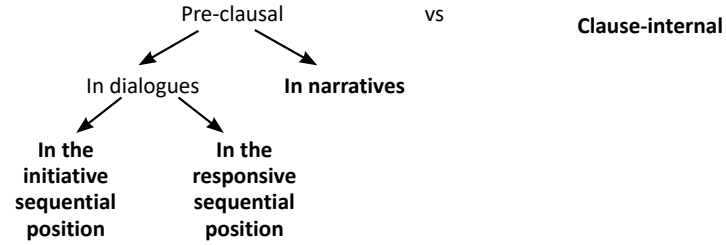


Figure 3. The structural positions of the particles *no* and *nu* in the Ingrian dataset.

In almost all the languages examined in Auer & Maschler (2016b), the NU and NÅ particles can form a turn on their own, unaccompanied by any additional talk by the same speaker. This position is labelled by the authors as stand-alone. In my Ingrian corpus, there are no occurrences of stand-alone particles, probably due to the shortage of conversational data. Inside narratives, the particles *no* and *nu* are sometimes preceded and/or followed by a rather long pause, but even so they function similarly to the same particles in pre-clausal position. The presence of a pause usually indicates a transition to a new sub-topic inside a story or some hesitation on the speaker's part about how to proceed.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the particles *no* and *nu* across the four distinguished structural positions in my Ingrian corpus of texts. In addition to the absolute number of occurrences of *no* and *nu* in each position (shown as a number inside a white or grey box correspondingly), it illustrates the ratio of *no* to *nu* in each position (the x-axis represents the percentages).

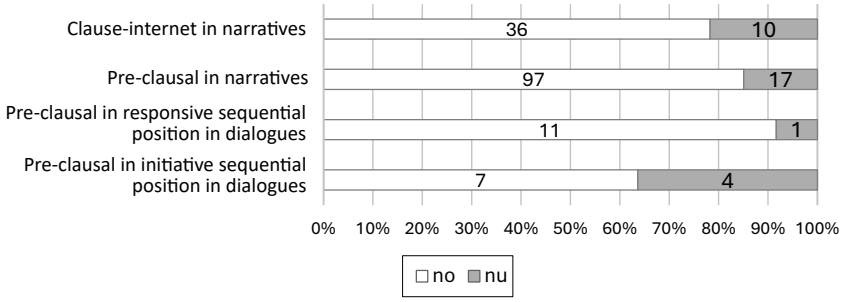


Figure 4. The number and ratio of occurrences of *no* and *nu* across four structural positions.

As seen from the numbers in Figure 4, the most frequent position for both *no* and *nu* is pre-clausal in narratives, and the second most frequent position is clause-internal in narratives. The predominance of these two positions over those inside dialogues is clearly explained by the disproportionate size of conversations and narratives in my data. In all positions, *nu* is less frequent than *no*, but there are no structural positions where *nu* cannot be present. Fisher's exact test was performed to check if there is a statistically significant difference in the ratio of the particles *no* vs *nu* depending on the particular structural position involved. No such correlation was found ($p = 0.217$), which means that the data at hand does not provide evidence of a relationship between structural position and the preference for one particle over the other.

I conclude, therefore, that in contemporary Soikkola Ingrian there are no striking differences in the distribution of *no* and *nu* across structural positions.

4. Functional aspects of *no* and *nu*

In this section, I will look at the main functions of *no* and *nu* in each of the four structural positions distinguished in the previous section. I start with the functions of the particles inside dialogues, first in turns that are in the initiative sequential position (4.1), then in turns that are in the responsive sequential position (4.2). I proceed by analysing monologic contexts, first the occurrences of the particles in the pre-clausal position (4.3) and then the clause-internal usages (4.4).

4.1. The functions of *no* and *nu* inside a dialogue: the initiative sequential position

As pre-clausal particles in the initiative sequential position in a dialogue, both *no* and *nu* may fulfil the urging function of encouraging the other speaker to elaborate on something said previously or to perform some action. This function is typical of the NU and NÅ particles in the initiative sequential position, both turn-initial and stand-alone, in many other languages, cf. Auer & Maschler (2016a: 12–15). In (4), the speaker recalls a situation from her youth when she managed to solve a mathematics problem while nobody else could. The teacher then asked her to explain how she did it.

(4) Zadatšu_VF

obettaja	*šaňnoo*	*miu-lle*	*šaňnoo*	*šiä*	*te-i-d*
teacher	tell.PRS.3SG	1SG-ALL	tell.PRS.3SG	2SG	do-PST-2SG

'The teacher says to me, "Have you done (it)?"'

miä	*šao-n*	*te-i-n*
1SG	say.PRS-1SG	do-PST-1SG

'I say, "I have done (it)."'

no	*t'öö*	*šaňnoo*	*šiž*	*miu-lle*
PTCL	come.IMP.2SG	tell.PRS.3SG	then	1SG-ALL

nevvo	*šaňnoo*	*kuin*	*teh-ä*
consult.IMP.2SG	tell.PRS.3SG	how	do-INF

'Well, come," she says, "then let me know how to do (it).'

In (5), the speaker recalls a neighbour boy asking her mother to let her daughters go out with him even though the mother was reluctant.

(5) Munad(B)_AI

mää	*poiž*
go.IMP.2SG	away

'Go away!'

šiä	*e-d*	*anna*	*hei-lle=gää*	*miťtää*
2SG	NEG-2SG	give.CNG	3PL-ALL=PTCL	what.NEG.PART

i	*teh-ä*
and	do-INF

'You do not let them do anything!'

a *šee* *taaž* *šaňnoo*
and this again tell.PRS.3SG
'And he keeps saying,'

täädi
aunt
'Auntie!'

nu *laže* *laže* *hei-dä*
PTCL let.IMP.2SG let.IMP.2SG 3PL-PART
'(Please) let them (out)!'

It seems important to note that in both examples (4) and (5) *no* or *nu* precede the imperative clauses. This is often the case in other languages that possess corresponding particles, see examples in Auer & Maschler (2016a: 13–14). The urging or prompting function is of course embedded in the imperative constructions as such, so here it would not be correct to attribute the urging function to the particle alone (unlike in cases when the particle is not followed by any further words and forms a turn on its own). An additional aspect of meaning that the particles seem to express in the imperative clauses is stance. In both (4) and (5), the particles add an affective dimension to the reading of the sentence: a somewhat doubtful attitude on the teacher's part in (4) and a plea in (5). If *no* and *nu* are omitted, the urging component does not disappear, but the sentences sound more neutral in tone.

Another function typically found for the particles under discussion in the initiative sequential position is to mark the turn they precede as being in line with expectations, because it relates to something discussed earlier in the same dialogue or in another conversation that took place some time ago. As noted by Keevallik (2016: 226) for Estonian examples, such instances imply "continuity of topic and action across longer stretches of time, even across several events". Example (6) is the very beginning of a long conversation. One speaker suggests they discuss "how people used to live", the other agrees, and the first one proceeds with the agreed topic.

(6) Kuin_enne_elettii_OM_OP
OM *mi-dä* *noiže-mma* *läk̆kää-mää*
what-PART begin.PRS-1PL talk-SPN
'What shall we talk about?'

OM *kuin* *enne* *ele-ttii*
how before live-IPS.PST
'How people used to live before?'

OP *nii*
so
'Yes.'

OM ***no*** *kuin* *enne* *ele-ttii*
PTCL how before live-IPS.PST
'Well, how people used to live before...'

Later in the same dialogue, the speakers are talking about how too many people do not have a job and simply rely on unemployment benefits instead. After they discuss the details of how big the benefits are, OP concludes that some people remain unemployed even for half a year at a time. Apparently, she considers this unsurprising in view of the amounts people are paid while out of work. The particle *nu* preceding her turn in (7) marks here the expected outcome of the circumstances discussed in the preceding conversation.

(7) Kuin_enne_elettii_OM_OP
OM *a* *mi-dä* *hei-l* *ei-oo* *ištu-a* *šę̆ę̆l*
and what-PART 3PL-ADE NEG-be.3SG sit-INF there
'And why would they not sit there?'

raȟha-a *makše-daa*
money-PART pay-IPS.PRS
'They get paid.'

OP *neli* *tuhatta-a* *šeitsen* *šatta-a* *vę̆ę̆l*
four thousand-PART seven hundred-PART yet
makše-daa *kuu-ž*
pay-IPS.PRS month-INE
'They get paid 4700 per month.'

OM *nii* *šeitsen* *šatta-a* *kuu-ž*
so seven hundred-PART month-INE
'Yes, 700 per month.'

OP *neli* *tuhatta-a*
four thousand-PART
'4000.'

OM *da* *vot*
yes PTCL
'Yes. That's it.'

OP ***nu*** *i* *ištuu-d* *mone-d* *pǫǫl-ii-n* *vǫǫž-ii-n* *šǫǫl*
PTCL and sit.PRS-3PL some-PL half-PL-ESS year-PL-ESS there
'**Well** and (so) some are sitting there for half a year.'

A couple of examples in my data are questions prefaced with the particles *no* or *nu*. Keevallik (2016: 229–230) argues on the basis of the Estonian material that the "*no*(*h*)-preface points at a shared basis for the upcoming questions". Such questions do not come out of the blue but are built topically on prior talk. The same is illustrated by the Ingrian examples. Example (8) comes from a story where the speaker recalls how, as children, she and her friends mischievously attempted to steal cherries from the neighbour's garden. They failed and were afraid somebody might report to their parents, so one of the girls suggested jokingly that they now go and hang themselves. The speaker describes a certain plant that the girls chose to use instead of a rope, and then comes the *no*-prefaced question of who will go first. No goal of motion is specified, but the question is undoubtedly connected to the previously suggested idea to go hang themselves.

(8) Varaštamaaž_OM
a *miä* *šao-n* *a* *mihe-ž* *šiä* *kurištaa-d*
and 1SG say.PRS-1SG and what-INE 2SG hang.PRS-2SG
kun *ei-oo* *nǫǫra-a*
if NEG-be.3SG rope-PART
'And I say, "where would you hang yourself if there is no rope?"'

a *metsää-ž* *kažvo-i* *näin-ikǩee* *korǩkia* *heinä*
and forest-INE grow-PST.3SG such high hay
plotno *moǩkooma* *heinä*
thick such hay
'And in the forest there grew such a high reed, such a thick reed.'

hää *kä-i* *korja-iž* *nä-i-dä* *hein-i-ä*
3SG go-PST.3SG gather-PST.3SG this-PL-PART hay-PL-PART
'She (one of the girls) went and gathered those reeds.'

jogahiže-lle *ando-i* *v'era-lle* *miu-lle* *i*
every-ALL give-PST.3SG Vera-ALL 1SG-ALL and
itse-lle *ott-i*
oneself-ALL take-PST.3SG
'Gave (them) to each (of us), to Vera, to me, and took (one) for herself.'

no *ken* *že* *enžimäižee-kš* *mäňnöö*
PTCL who PTCL first-TRSL go.PRS.3SG
'**Well**, who will go first?'

In (9), a *nu*-prefaced question "Did you manage to plough up to the fence or not?" is built on the preceding argument between the speaker and her husband about the possibility of ploughing the field right up to the fence. The speaker had insisted on doing it, even though her husband protested and wanted to leave some space unploughed. When spring came, the ploughed ground became wet, and the whole fence fell down. The question asked by the husband expresses his ironic stance, implying that ploughing the ground right up to the fence was obviously a mistake.

(9) Aida_ZD
a *šiiž* *mę̆e̯he-lle* *läk̆kää-n* *što* *aida*
and then husband-ALL talk.PRS-1SG that fence
ono *kubehee-l*
be.PRS.3SG side-ADE
'And then I tell my husband that the fence is (lying) on its side.'

hää *šaňnoo* ***nu*** *ša-i-d* *šiä*
3SG tell.PRS.3SG PTCL be_able-PST-2SG 2SG
künt̆tä-ä *ait̆taa* *šš̆aa*
plough-INF fence.ILL up.to
'He says, "**Well**, did you manage to plough up to the fence,'

vai *ei* *šaa-nd*
or NEG.3SG be_able-PTCP.ACT
'or did you not?"'

4.2. The functions of *no* and *nu* inside a dialogue: the responsive sequential position

As Auer & Maschler (2016a: 27) conclude on the basis of the languages represented in the volume, the most frequent function of discourse markers that introduce turns in the responsive sequential

position is to "mark a variety of stances of how the speaker relates to the previous speaker's turn, from affective stances such as surprise, emphatic agreement, or reluctance to agree, to epistemic stances such as marking the known status of the information given". Examples expressing affective stances are also the most frequent in the Ingrian material.

(10) can be viewed as an example of emphatic agreement. The talk is focused on different types of sea fishing. OM points out that at a certain time they used to switch from the seines (typically used during wintertime) to the trap nets. OP contradicts her, saying that they could not do it that early in the year, because at that point there was still a great deal of ice in the sea. OM then agrees that they could only set the trap nets when there was no ice. The emphasis in her reply is additionally expressed by the clitic particle *-ki*, which can be roughly translated here as 'indeed'.

(10) Kuin_enne_elettii_OM_OP

OM	*tähä*	*aiǩkaa*	*jo*	*stavnikko-j-a*	*pan-ťtii*	<...>
	this.ILL	time.ILL	already	trap_net-PL-PART	put-IPS.PST	
	'At this time trap nets were already placed.'					
OP	*näi*	*varŕraa*	*ei*	*pan-du*	*vȩȩl*	
	so	early	NEG.3SG	put-PTCP.PASS	yet	
	'So early (they) were not placed yet.'					
	vȩȩl	*on*	*šȩȩl*	*jää-dä*	*mere-ž*	
	yet	be.PRS.3SG	there	ice-PART	sea-INE	
	'There is still ice in the sea.'					
OM	***no***	*jää-dä*	*kuin*	*ei*	*ol-d*	
	PTCL	ice-PART	when	NEG.3SG	be-PTCP.ACT	
	da	*i*	*pan-ťtii=gi*			
	and	and	put-IPS.PST=PTCL			
	'**Well**, once there was no ice (then) they were placed (indeed).'					

In the same dialogue, OM mentions a questionable statement by a third person about the time of their youth, namely that there was nothing to eat but life was fun. OP comments laughingly that they were all young at the time being discussed. Her comment preceded by *nu* (11) offers an explanation of why this statement was made, and also expresses an affective stance, namely that she is sympathetic with what

was said. A similar function is labeled as "appreciative affiliation" in Auer & Maschler (2016a: 21).

(11) Kuin_enne_elettii_OM_OP

OM *näin-iǩkee* *šao-i* *pavluška*
such say-PST.3SG Paul
'Paul said it like this,'

"*žrat' netševa no žit' vesela*"
[Rus] 'There is nothing to eat, but it is fun to live.'

OP ***nu*** *nǫǫre-d* *oǏl-ii-d* *kaig*
PTCL young-PL be-PST-3PL all
'**Well**, everybody was young (at the time).'

OM *nǫǫre-d* *da*
young-PL yes
'Young, yes.'

In (12), a *no*-prefaced response expresses an ironic stance. The speaker recalls an occasion when she brought a friend to her family house to visit from Estonia. The house is located high on a hill and the sea can be seen in all directions. The friend is fascinated by the view but also concerned about how they are going to get away. In response the speaker jokes that they probably cannot.

(12) Marjad(B)_ST

a *kušt* *mǫǫ* *lähe-mmä* *poiž* (…)
and from_where 1PL go.PRS-1PL away
'And how will we get away?'

hää *šaǎnoo* *meri* *on* *ümpǐpäär*
3SG say.PRS.3SG sea be.PRS.3SG around
'She says, "The sea is (all) around".'

miä *šao-n* ***no*** *raz* *meri* *ol-i* *ümpǐpäär*
1SG say.PRS-1SG PTCL [Rus] if sea be-PST.3SG around
'I say, "**Well** if the sea is around,'

mǫǫ *e-mmä* *pääže* *täšt* *poiž*
1PL NEG-1PL get.CNG from_here away
'We will not get away."'

One more function often found for the particles *no* and *nu* in the responsive sequential position is to mark a non-straightforward answer. As Bolden (2016: 63) argues with respect to the Russian data, "*nu*-prefacing indicates that the upcoming response is in some way problematic given what has come before: that it is not the sequentially appropriate or expected next". In (13) the speakers are discussing breathing difficulties one of them had been experiencing. When ED asks what can be done about it, AS apparently has no solution and instead suggests waiting for the doctor's opinion. Her response is preceded by *no*, signalling that this is not a direct answer to the question asked.

(13) Tervüttä_ei_oo_AS_ED
ED *a* *mi-dä* *tee-d*
and what-PART do.PRS-2SG
'And what should one do?'

AS ***no*** *pitt̆ää* *tohtori-a* *oodel-la*
Ptcl have_to.3SG doctor-PART wait-INF
'**Well**, one has to wait for the doctor.'

4.3. The functions of *no* and *nu* in pre-clausal position inside narratives

As shown in section 3, pre-clausal position inside narratives is the one most frequently found for both *no* and *nu* in the corpus of Ingrian texts investigated here. In narratives and other kinds of extended telling, the main function of these particles is to mark transitions between their different parts and subparts. In their study of the particle *nu* in spoken Russian, Kuosmanen and Multisilta (1999: 50–52) distinguish as many as 16 types of transitions, classifying them into 4 groups: turn transitions, topical transitions, situational transitions, and informative transitions. With regard to Finnic languages, it has been claimed by Hennoste (2000: 1803) that the Estonian *no* most frequently marks transitions from the main storyline to background details and from more general to more specific information, while *no*-marked transitions in Finnish are mostly in the opposite direction. In my Ingrian data, examples of transitions in both directions are in fact present, cf. (14) where the transitions both into and back from a clarification are marked with *no*, (15) where a clarifying piece of narrative is preceded with *nu*, and (16) where the

transition to a clarification is marked with *no* and the return to the main story is marked with *nu*.

In excerpt (14), the speaker is recalling a time in her childhood when her family came back to their native village after spending several years in exile. In line 03, *no* marks a digression from the main storyline to explain the reason why she could not yet speak Russian properly. In line 04, the speaker returns to the main plot, and this transition is again marked with *no*.

(14) Keeled(B)_KV

01	*vot*	*i*	*tänne*	*mǫ̈ǫ̈*	*tul-i-mma*	*miä*	*hüväšt*
	PTCL	and	here	1PL	come-PST-1PL	1SG	well
	muišša-n						
	remember.PRS-1SG						
	‘And (when) we came here, I remember well.’						

02	*miä*	*veňnäähee-kš*	*ei*	*mahtaa-nd*	*lää-dä*	
	1SG	Russian-TRSL	NEG.3SG	be_able-PTCP.ACT	speak-INF	
	hüväšt	*vẹ̈ẹ̈l*				
	well	yet				
	‘I could not yet speak Russian well.’					

03	***no***	*pikkarain*	*ol-i-n*	*vẹ̈ẹ̈l*	*obi-ž*	*e-n*
	PTCL	small	be-PST-1SG	yet	school-INE	NEG-1SG
	käü-nd					
	go-PTCP.ACT					
	‘**Well** I was small, I did not go to school yet.’					

04	***no***	*häülü-mmä*	*täž*	*i*	*poiǩkaiš-t*	*ol-ǐtii*
	PTCL	walk.PRS-1PL	here	and	boy-PL	be-IPS.PST
	i	*muišša-n*				
	and	remember.PRS-1SG				
	‘**Well** we are walking there, and there were (some) boys, and I remember,’					

05	*miä*	*od-i-n*	*maa-št...*
	1SG	take-PST-1SG	ground-ELA
	‘I got (something) out from the ground...’		

In (15), the speaker has started to ask about the neighbouring Votic language spoken in the villages along the Luga river. Without waiting for a reply, she adds some comments about this language. She states first that people speak differently in those villages but then corrects herself,

specifying that even though they speak differently, it is still possible to understand them. The transition to the clarifying piece of information is marked here with *nu*.

(15) Elo(B)_AI

a *migä* *kẹ̑ȇ̮li* *šiž* *ono*
and what language then be.PRS.3SG
'And what language is there then...'

oppii-tta *tö̮̑ö̮̑* *šiž* *ši-dä=gi* *kẹ̑ȇ̮l-d*
study.PRS-2PL 2PL then that-PART=PTCL language-PART
'Are you studying also that language then,'

migä *ono* *laukkaha-n* *perild* *šiin*
what be.PRS.3SG Luga-GEN from there
'which is there at the Luga river?'

miž *še* *eĺlää* *meije-n* *še* *šugulaiže-d*
what.INE that live.PRS.3SG 1PL-GEN that relative-PL
ivan *grigoritš*
Ivan Grigor'evič
'Where those relatives of ours are living, Ivan Grigor'evič?'

šẹ̑ȇ̮l *ved* *toižee-l* *viiššii* *lää-dää*
there PTCL other-ADE way speak-IPS.PRS
'People speak differently there.'

nu *lää-dää* *no* *toin-toiženda* *kẹ̑ȇ̮lee-ld*
PTCL speak-IPS.PRS but each-other[8] language-ABL
mö̮̑ö̮̑ *ain* *ša-i-mma* *arvo-a*
1PL always get-PST-1PL understanding-PART
'**Well** they do speak (differently), but we have always understood each other's language.'

In example (16), the speaker recalls the year when her husband could not get home from his work at sea in time to plant the potatoes. In line 04 she diverges from the main storyline to explain why her husband could not get home, and the divergence is preceded with *no*. In line 06 she continues talking about what happened next (she had to plant the potatoes herself), and the return to the main narrative is marked with *nu*.

8 The grammatical interpretation of this form is not clear.

(16) Maa-muna(B)_ZD

01 *ühe-l* *vo̯o̯t-ta* *me̯e̯ž* *ol-i* *mere-l*
one-ADE year-PART husband be-PST.3SG sea-ADE
'One year my husband was at sea.'

02 *i* *pid-i* *muňna-a* *iššutta-a* *jo*
and have_to-PST.3SG potato-PART plant-INF already
'And it was already time to plant potatoes.'

03 *a* *hän-d* *ain...* *hää* *mere-ld* *ei* *pääš-t*
and 3SG-PART always 3SG sea-ABL NEG.3SG get-PTCP.ACT
'And (they would not let) him... He (could) not get away from the sea.'

04 ***no*** *ei* *pääš-t* *brigadaa-št*
PTCL NEG.3SG get-PTCP.ACT brigade-ELA
'**Well** he (could) not get away from the working brigade.'

05 *ei* *pääš-t* *koťtii* *što* *muňna-a* *iššutta-a*
NEG.3SG get-PTCP.ACT home.ILL that potato-PART plant-INF
'He (could) not get home in order to plant the potatoes.'

06 ***nu*** *a* *šiiž* *miä* *iššud-i-n* *tarha-d*
PTCL and then 1SG plant-PST-1SG garden-PL
'**Well** and then I planted the garden (myself).'

Both *no* and *nu* can also mark a return to the narrative after it has been interrupted for some external reason. In (17), the speaker interrupts the story abruptly to talk to her granddaughter, who has entered the room. After a short dialogue with the granddaughter, the speaker proceeds with her previous story. The function of the particle in this case seems to correspond to the role of the Russian *nu* as described by Matras (1998: 317): "back-reference with *nu* is not to the content of what has been said, but to the role of the speaker as narrator in the interaction".

(17) Varaštamaaž_OM

OM *no* *šiiž* *iššu-i-mma* *iššu-i-mma* *nagro-i-mma*
PTCL then sit-PST-1PL sit-PST-1PL laugh-PST-1PL
nagro-i-mma
laugh-PST-1PL
'Well then we were sitting and laughing,'

niin *poiž* *tul-i-mma*
so away come-PST-1PL
'And so we went away.'

[The speaker's granddaughter enters the room]

OM *idi idi kagda ti prijehala*
[Rus] 'Go, go, when did you arrive?'

GD *prijehala babul'a vot ti spala a ja prijehala*
[Rus] 'I came, grandmother, you were asleep and I came.'

OM *a*
'I see.'

GD *dvatsat' minut nazat ja prijehala*
[Rus] 'I came twenty minutes ago.'

OM ***no*** *šiiž* *tämä* *iššu-i-mma* *iššu-i-mma* *ši-dä*
PTCL then this sit-PST-1PL sit-PST-1PL that-PART
meži-marja-a *šö-i-mmä*
cherry-PART eat-PST-1PL
'**Well** then, well, we were sitting eating those cherries.'

In my field corpus of contemporary Ingrian speech samples, one more way to mark transitions between different subparts of a narrative is by using the demonstrative pronouns *tämä* 'this' and *še* 'that' (Markus & Rozhanskiy 2023). The two discourse devices can also combine, like *no* and *tämä* in the last line of (17) or *nu* and *še* in (18), where the speaker has finished talking about language use and starts a new topic.

(18) Pahhain_elo_MM
a *hə̮ə̮* *ši-dä* *e-väd* *šuv̆vaa* *ku*
and 3PL that-PART NEG-3PL like.CNG if
venäheešt *hei-le* *šao-d*
in_Russian 3PL-ALL say.PRS-2SG
'And they do not like it when you talk to them in Russian.'

še *hei-le* *ei* *näüttii*
this 3PL-ALL NEG.3SG like.CNG
'They do not like it.'

nu ***še*** *šiid* *miä* *män-i-n* *me̮e̮hele*
PTCL that then 1SG go-PST-1SG married
šakšalaišš-ii-n *aik̆ka-a*
German-PL-GEN time-PART
'**Well**, then I got married during the time of the Germans.'

4.4. The functions of *no* and *nu* in clause-internal position inside narratives

Both *no* and *nu* also occur frequently in clause-internal position, where they typically function as placeholders (Amiridze, Davis & Maclagan 2010) and mark certain complications in text production. Treating the Russian particle *nu*, Matras (1998: 316–317) calls it "a marker of emphatic progression and self-motivation to continue an interrupted utterance". Matras emphasizes that the central function of *nu* is to support the authority of the speaker as the narrator in the interaction, including those cases when production has been interrupted due to a temporary complication. Along the same lines, Auer & Maschler (2016a: 14–15) note that the NU/NÅ particles may be used to encourage oneself in a situation where one is searching for the appropriate word, similarly to how they are used to urge other communication partners to develop an ongoing/upcoming action in conversations.

When a speaker is searching for a word, the Ingrian particles *no* and *nu* are often preceded (and sometimes followed) by pauses. In (19), the speaker makes a long pause in the middle of a sentence while trying to find a way to refer to different animals living in the forest. She then proceeds with the expression 'forest creatures', preceded by *no*.

(19) Kala_ja_metsä_EN

še	*maa*	*kaig*	*ono*	*traktor-ii-l*
this	ground	all	be.PRS.3SG	tractor-PL-ADE
pila-ttu		*niin*	*što*	
spoil-PTCP.PASS		so	that	

'This soil is all ruined by tractors, so that'

mikk̆ää	*ei*	*kažva*	*šẹẹl*
nothing	NEG.3SG	grow.CNG	there

'nothing grows there.'

no	*i*	*nüd*	*kaig*	*metsä-n*	(.)	***no***	*metsä-n*
PTCL	and	now	all	forest-GEN		PTCL	forest-GEN
elokkaha-d		*need*	*i*				
creature-PL		that.PL	and				

'Well and now all forest... **well**, those forest creatures,'

hǫ̈ǫ̈ *mäńnöö-d* *poiž* *što* *hei-l* *ei-oo*
3PL go.PRS-3PL away that 3PL-ADE NEG-be.3SG
ei-oo *kuž* *olla*
NEG-be.3SG where be.INF
'they go away because there is nowhere for them to be.'

In (20), the speaker is talking about the village and house where they used to live temporarily and later visited with her mother. After mentioning the house, she is searching not for a particular word but for a way to explain which house she is talking about. This very short break in utterance production is marked with *nu*.

(20) Šoda_AG
peräšt *jo* *mǫ̈ǫ̈* *emä-n* *kera* *šinne* *kä-i-mmä*
after already 1PL mother-GEN with there go-PST-1PL
'Afterwards we went there with my mother'

šihe *koťtii* ***nu*** *kuž* *mǫ̈ǫ̈* *el-i-mmä*
that.ILL house.ILL PTCL where 1PL live-PST-1PL
vaderaa-ž *ol-i-mma*
apartment-INE be-PST-1PL
'to that house, **well**, where we used to live, used to have an apartment.'

5. Particles *no* and *nu* in the Russian speech of Ingrian speakers

As mentioned in the Introduction, the last Ingrian speakers were all bilingual in Russian, and during the last decades Russian became their main language of everyday communication. Communication in Ingrian was gradually reduced to talking with elderly relatives, siblings and sometimes neighbours. It is no wonder under such circumstances that Ingrian speakers are regularly found to switch into Russian in our recordings of field sessions with them. Switching is also common when an Ingrian speaker addresses a researcher whose native language is Russian.

In the Russian language both *no* and *nu* are present, but of them only *nu* is a discourse particle, while *no* functions exclusively as the adversative conjunction 'but'. It has come to my attention, however, that even when speaking in Russian, Ingrians sometimes use *no* as a

discourse particle. In (21), the speaker OM finishes a long story about village festivities and addresses the listener with a question in Russian, *Ну еще что*? 'Well what else?'. Remarkably, she pronounces the particle as *no* and not as *nu*. The same happens in (22), where the speaker MM interrupts her story and asks the researcher in Russian if he has been following what she was saying: *Ну, понимаешь*? 'Well, do you understand?'. Here again, the particle is pronounced as *no*. It is important to note that for both OM and MM I have also recorded examples of the particle pronounced as *nu*, so it is not the case that they only have one variant of the particle in their speech.

(21) Pedro_OM
vot *nämäd* *praažniga-d* *kaig* *oľl-ii-d*
PTCL this.PL festivity-PL all be-PST-3PL
'All these festivities were (celebrated).'

no *iš'o što*
[Rus] '**Well** what else (would you like to know)?'

(22) Pahhain_elo_MM
pid-i *ruiš-t* *teh-ä* *kagra-a* *pid-i*
have_to-PST.3SG rye-PART do-INF oat-PART have_to-PST.3SG
teh-ä
do-INF
'One had to grow rye, oats.'

kual[9] *nä-i-dä* *pid-i* *šę̑emen-voi-da* *miž*
? this-PL-PART have_to-PST.3SG seed-oil-PART where
teh-tii
do-IPS.PST
'One had to do... Where oil was made.'

no *panimaješ*
[Rus] '**Well**, you understand, don't you?'

Such uses of *no* instead of *nu* are not infrequent but still only sporadic in my data. There are also examples where *nu* is used in Russian phrases as expected, cf. the Russian *Ну что?* 'Well, what?' in (23), where the particle is pronounced as *nu*.

9 This word is pronounced indistinctly and I am not sure how to interpret it.

(23) Lastotškad_LK

a	*hää*	*enštää*	*pan-i*	*mokkooma-n*	*karra-n*
and	3SG	at_first	put-PST.3SG	such-GEN	tray-GEN

'And at first he put down such a tray.'

n'i	*karra-n*	*a*	*prosta*	*papʹpeeri-n*
[Rus] not	tray-GEN	but	[Rus] just	paper-GEN

'Not a tray, but just paper.'

ja gr'u ***nu*** *što*
[Rus] I say, "**Well** what?"

nu	*mihe*	*tämä*	*paberii-št*
PTCL	why	this	paper-ELA

'Well what for, (what use will there be) from this paper?'

I therefore suggest that the particles *no* and *nu* were on the way to merging completely in both the Ingrian and Russian speech of the last Ingrian speakers, and as a result we observe a great deal of free variation in the recordings. Like many other changes in the Ingrian language, this process remained unfinished, because the language was not passed on to the next generation and is now almost extinct.

6. Conclusions

In this paper I have examined the usage of the discourse particles *no* and *nu* in the narratives and conversations recorded from speakers of Soikkola Ingrian in 2006–2013.

It is not clear when the particle *nu* was borrowed into Ingrian from the Russian contact language. There are no occurrences of *nu* in the earliest Ingrian texts recorded by Porkka (1885), but the corpus is too small to make any generalizations. Judging by the distribution of the two particles across nineteen individual speakers in my data, the parallel use of *no* and *nu* is not a very recent phenomenon. Those speakers born in the 1920s already use *nu* along with *no*; however, *nu* is only about one fifth as frequent as *no* in the data. Only the youngest speaker predominantly uses the borrowed particle in her speech; for all other speakers, the original particle prevails. Most probably, *nu* was borrowed into Ingrian no later than in the first quarter of the 20th century, and its spread correlated with the growing role of the Russian language in everyday communication.

No considerable differences were observed either in the set of structural positions where *no* and *nu* occur, or in their functional range. Both occur in my materials as pre-clausal particles in conversations, and can precede turns in both the initiative and responsive sequential positions. Most frequently, both *no* and *nu* are found in narratives as pre-clausal or clause-internal particles. The particles have multiple functions, but these correlate strongly with the different structural positions. In the initiative sequential position in a dialogue, *no* and *nu* are used as urging particles or mark the turn they precede as related to something already discussed. In the responsive sequential position, the particles either express a certain affective stance as a reaction to the previous speaker's turn, or mark the response as less than fully straightforward. Pre-clausal *no* and *nu* in narratives typically mark transitions between different parts of the story. Here, the particles sometimes combine with the demonstrative pronouns *tämä* 'this' and *še* 'that' that constitute another discourse device for marking transitions in Ingrian. Clause-internally, the particles *no* and *nu* function as placeholders and mark different complications in text production.

Most likely, the particles *no* and *nu* were on the way to complete merger in Ingrian. An additional argument in favour of this development is the use of *no* as a discourse particle in the Russian speech of the Ingrian speakers. This would not be possible in standard Russian, where the relevant discourse functions are performed by *nu* only, but it became rather common for bilingual Ingrian speakers. I suggest that despite the clear difference in the frequency of occurrences, in synchronic description these two particles can be treated as phonetic variants.

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Abbreviations

ABL – ablative, ACT – active, ADE – adessive, ALL – allative, CNG – connegative, COND – conditional, ELA – elative, ESS – essive, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, IPS – impersonal, INE – inessive,

INF – infinitive, NEG – negative, PART – partitive, PL – plural, PASS - passive, PRS – present tense, PST – past tense, PTCL – particle, PTCP – participle, [Rus] – Russian word(s), SG – singular, SPN – supine, TRSL – translative, 1 – 1st person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3rd person, (.) – a pause.

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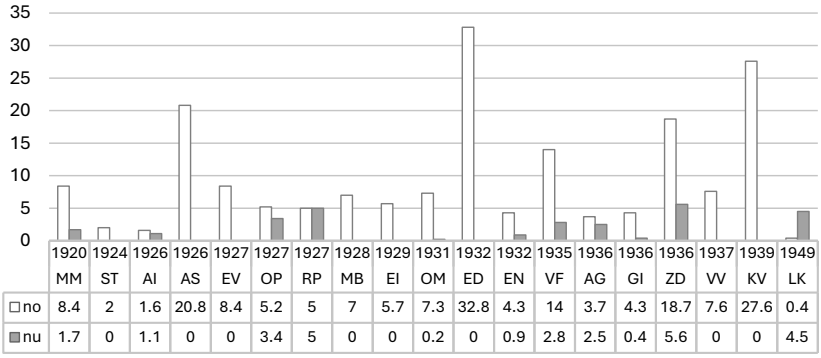
Kokkuvõte. Elena Markus: Isuri diskursusepartiklite *no* ja *nu* süntaks ja funktsioonid. Artikkel uurib diskursusepartiklite *no* ja *nu* süntaksit ja funktsioone narratiivides ja isuri keele Soikkola murde kõnelejate vestluste salvestistes aastatel 2006–2013. Isuri partikkel *no* on ilmselt läänemeresoome päritolu, partikkel *nu* on aga tõenäoliselt laenatud vene keelest. Uurimuse eesmärk on välja selgitada, kui erinevad või sarnased on *no* ja *nu* tänapäeva isuri keeles süntaktiliste positsioonide ja funktsioonide poolest. Eristada võib nelja struktuurpositsiooni sõltuvalt partikli asukohast kõnevoorus ja lausungis, positsioonist lähtuvalt aga *no* ja *nu* vahel suuri erinevusi märgata ei olnud. Partiklitele tüüpilisi funktsioone analüüsiti eraldi igas struktuurpositsioonis ning selgus, et ka funktsioonide ulatus on mõlema partikli puhul sarnane. On ka märkimisväärne, et isuri keele kõnelejad kasutavad partiklit *no* diskursusepartiklina vahel ka vene keeles, kuigi vene keele standardis selline kasutus võimalik ei ole. Uurimusest järeldub, et vaadeldaval ajaperioodil on kaks partiklit üheks liitumas ning neid võib isuri keele sünkroonilises kirjelduses käsitleda kui foneetilisi variante, kuigi kvantitatiivselt on partikkel *no* eelistatum kui partikkel *nu*.

Märksõnad: isuri keel, diskursusepartiklid, süntaks, funktsioonid, keelekontakt

Appendix

Table 1. Absolute and normalized occurrences of *no* and *nu* across individual speakers (the speakers are ordered according to year of birth, starting from the oldest speaker MM).

Speaker code	*no*, absolute number of occurrences	*nu*, absolute number of occurrences	*no* per 1000 words	*nu* per 1000 words	Total number of recorded words
MM	15	3	8.4	1.7	1779
ST	3	0	2.0	0.0	1468
AI	6	4	1.6	1.1	3707
AS	1	0	20.8	0.0	48
EV	1	0	8.4	0.0	119
OP	3	2	5.2	3.4	581
RP	1	1	5.0	5.0	202
MB	1	0	7.0	0.0	142
EI	4	0	5.7	0.0	699
OM	47	1	7.3	0.2	6466
ED	2	0	32.8	0.0	61
EN	20	4	4.3	0.9	4683
VF	5	1	14.0	2.8	357
AG	3	2	3.7	2.5	809
GI	12	1	4.3	0.4	2768
ZD	10	3	18.7	5.6	534
VV	4	0	7.6	0.0	526
KV	12	0	27.6	0.0	434
LK	1	10	0.4	4.5	2230



	1920 MM	1924 ST	1926 AI	1926 AS	1927 EV	1927 OP	1927 RP	1928 MB	1929 EI	1931 OM	1932 ED	1932 EN	1935 VF	1936 AG	1936 GI	1936 ZD	1937 VV	1939 KV	1949 LK
no	8.4	2	1.6	20.8	8.4	5.2	5	7	5.7	7.3	32.8	4.3	14	3.7	4.3	18.7	7.6	27.6	0.4
nu	1.7	0	1.1	0	0	3.4	5	0	0	0.2	0	0.9	2.8	2.5	0.4	5.6	0	0	4.5

Figure 5. The distribution of the normalized occurrences of discourse particles *no* and *nu* across individual speakers.