*ESUKA – JEFUL 2026, 17–1: 11–71*

# ONE PARTICLE ACROSS TWO LANGUAGES? ON THE USE OF NU BY THE LAST SPEAKERS OF KAMAS

**Gerson Klumpp**
*University of Tartu, EE*
klumpp@ut.ee

**Abstract:** Besides various narratives in Kamas, recordings with the two last speakers of Kamas (Samoyed < Uralic) feature as a by-product narrative passages and free dialogues in Russian. In addition, both Kamas and Russian narratives contain numerous constructed dialogues. The discourse particle NU, in its variants *no* and *nu* in Kamas and *nu* in Russian, occurs across all parts of the recordings, offering thus the possibility to study the use of this particle across the two languages of bilingual heritage speakers. While NU is attested already in baseline (or pre-shift) Kamas, its use expands dramatically in terms of frequency and contexts in heritage (or post-shift) Kamas. The study gives a detailed account of the distribution of the Kamas and Russian particle variants across different structural positions and discusses the possible displacement of *no* by *nu* in Kamas. It contributes to the understanding of post-shift Kamas and its integration of Russian functional lexemes as well as to the understanding of NU across different types of discourse.

**Keywords:** heritage languages, integration of discourse particles, interjections, Kamas-Russian language contact, Sayan Samoyed

**DOI**: https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2026.17.1.01

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. The arrival of NU in Kamas

Kamas is a Samoyed language that became extinct in the 20th century. Together with Selkup, it forms a subbranch of Samoyed, but Kamas was spoken further south, in the Eastern Sayan, with contact between the two languages disrupted for a millenium or even two (cf. Helimski 1997: 17). The documentation of Kamas spans three centuries, starting

with vocabularies collected from anonymous speakers in mid-18th century and ending with recordings of two reactivated speakers in the 1960s and early 1970s. It has become established to refer to this later data as *post-shift* Kamas (Arkhipov et al. without year: 1–2; Arkhipov & Wagner-Nagy 2023; Klumpp 2022a–d) or *heritage* Kamas (Gusev 2020: 76, 78–79; Klumpp 2022b, c), whereas all earlier data, including the data collected by Kai Donner in the Kamas village of Abalakovo in 1912 and 1914, when the language was still spoken in a couple of families, is described as *pre-shift* or *baseline* Kamas accordingly.

The discourse particle NU starts to appear in Kamas as *no* in the data from 1914 (see 1.2). Its late appearance correlates with the collection of texts, which had not been a component of earlier language documentation. Vocabularies of the 18th and early 19th centuries do not include small function words like interjections or discourse particles. Castrén in the 1840s is the first who showed such interest. In his Kamas manuscript (Castrén 1847: 225) we find among others, for instance, the adhortative interjection *ťeʔ* 'now!' ("uppmaning interjection *ťeʔ* 'nä!'" in the Swedish original, translated in the Samoyed Vocabularies [Castrén 1855: 187] and the Grammar of Samoyed languages [Castrén 1854: 608] into German as 'nun, wohlan!'). For Selkup, Castrén records already *nu* 'now!' (Castren 1854: 608; cf. Teptiuk 2026), but not for Kamas. Judging by their identical translations, Castrén encountered both Kamas *ťeʔ* and Selkup *nu* as adhortative interjections or prompts, a function, in which NU appears in the Kamas data ca. 70 years later (see 1.2). The genuine particle *ťeʔ*, on the other hand, is not attested any longer then, which most likely means that it had been replaced by NU.[1] The late appearance of NU in Kamas suggests that it originates from Kamas-Russian bilingualism, which had spread continously since the time of Castrén's visit in the mid-19th century. The origin of *no* in Kamas, however, is not that straightforward because there is no clear

1 Looking for *ťeʔ* – or *ťəʔ*, as the spelling <tje'> may also reflect – in the Kamas data from the 20th century, one notices an interjection *ťūk* at the beginning of a hunter's prayer addressed to *bü-ťün ejet* 'the lord of water and land' (KW: 79, 100, 190). According to Joki (1952: 362) it is a borrowed 2nd sing. imperative of South Siberian Turkic *tök* ~ *tük* 'pour', with irregular palatalization of the onset consonant and lengthening of the vowel in context of libation ceremonies. In fact, we know nothing about the phonetics of Kamas ceremonial speech, but lengthening and labialization of the vowel and alternation of coda glottal stop and velar plosive make an etymological connection between *ťūk* and *ťeʔ* implausible.

Siberian Russian discourse particle *no*, which would cover the functions attested with this particle in Kamas (see 4.1 for more details).

### 1.2. Pre-shift Kamas *no*

Donner's records from 1914 show NU as an adhortative interjection or prompt *no!* 'nun, na! [now, come on!]' in his vocabulary (KW 45b), grammar (KW 190), and the texts (1a–d). In three instances, the particle precedes an imperative clause in a reactive turn of constructed dialogue (in terms of Tannen 1986): in (1a) a repeated affirmative request, and in (1b) and (1c) a repeated negative request. In the fourth instance (1d), the particle precedes a permissive response. All instances derive from the same speaker, Avdakeja Andžigatova (AA).

(1) a. AA_1914_Corpse_flk.048–051[2]
– *Öʔlit* *ularlə!*
let:PF:IMP2SG.OC sheep:2SG
'– Let your sheep go [with our sheep]!'
– *Šĭʔ* *ularzaŋnaʔ* *măn* *ularbə* *amnuʔlədən.*
2PL sheep:PL:2PL I sheep:1SG eat:MOM:FUT:3PL.OC
'– Your sheep will devour my sheep.'
– *Ĭmbijleʔ* *amnədən?* ***No***[,] *öʔlit!*
what:V:CV eat:FUT:3PL.OC NU let:PF:IMP2SG.OC
'– Why would they devour it? **Come on**, let it go!'

b. AA_1914_Corpse_flk.067–072
– *Iʔ* *ťoraʔ!* *Măn* *ularəm* *mĭlem.*
NEG:IMP.2SG cry:CNG 1SG sheep:ACC give:FUT:1SG
'– Don't cry! I'll give [you] a sheep.'

2 Examples generally refer to the INEL Kamas Corpus 2.0 (Gusev et al. 2023), with minor adaptations in transcription, glossing and translation. Punctuation and use of initial capital letters are interpretative; at points sensitive for this article, e.g. commas after NU, added punctuation comes in brackets. Dialogic utterances are marked by either en dash (–…) or quotation marks ("…"). Examples from the unedited phonograph recordings (see Klumpp 2013 and recently https://finlit.finna.fi/Collection/sks.173852166322000) are quoted with reference to file SU0233, retrievable from the Archive of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages at the University of Tartu: https://murdearhiiv.ut.ee/en/records/SU0233-01/.

– *Măna ej kereʔ tăn ularlaʔ. Măn*
1SG:OBL not is_necessary 2SG sheep:2PL 1SG
*ĭmbińim măna mĭbi.*
mother_in_law:1SG 1SG:OBL give:PST
'– I don't need your sheep. My mother-in-law has given me [one].'
– ***No***[,] *iʔ ťoraʔ! Bar mĭľim sumnam.*
NU NEG:IMP.2SG cry:CNG all give:FUT:1SG five:ACC
'– **Come on**, don't cry! I will give [you] all five.'

c. SU0233: 1:04–1:14 (Klumpp 2013: 54–55)
– *Iʔ ťoraʔ, mĭliem koʔbdom* […].
NEG:IMP.2SG cry:CNG give:PRS:1SG girl:ACC/1SG
'– Don't cry, I give you a daughter of mine […].'
– […] *nükkem bostudə jakši* […], *koʔbdol ej kereʔ.*
wife:1SG own:3SG good girl:2SG not is_necessary
'– […] my own wife is better, I don't need your daughter.'
– ***No*** *iʔ ťoraʔ! Šide šöbə*
NU NEG:IMP.2SG cry:CNG two DEM.DST:ACC.3SG
*mĭliem.*
give:PRS:1SG
'– **Come on**, don't cry, I give you those two.'

d. AA_1914_Girl_flk.003–004
*Urgo koʔbdot: – Măn kallam.*
big girl:3SG 1SG go.FUT:1SG
'His big daughter: –I will go.'
– ***No***[,] *kalla,*[3] *büźe măndə.*
NU go.CV man say:PRS.3SG.OC
'– **Well**, go, says the man.'

3 The form *kalla* is the converb of *kan-* 'go', *kalla(ʔ)* (< *kan-laʔ*), without the facultative glottal stop. It is frequently attested with imperatives and hortatives as e.g. in *kallaʔ surardə!* 'go and ask' (AA_1914_Khan_flk.026) or *kallaʔ kăstəlbaʔ* 'let's go and invite her' (AA_1914_Corpse_flk.087). Later data shows pre-shift *no, kanaʔ* 'well, go! with 2nd sing. imperative as e.g. in (22a). In the pre-shift texts, however, (1d) is the only instance of a permissive utterance and it cannot be excluded that the converb, which otherwise is not attested as an independent predicate, functions here in an elliptic construction. Donner translates it with a Finnish past tense form 'lähti [went]', whose equivalent in Kamas would be *kambi*, but lists it in two different spellings (*kåĭ̈nå* and *χaìa*) in the conjugation paradigm of *kan-* under the regular 3rd sing. future tense (labeled incorrectly "Präsens") *kallәj* (KW: 152). The utterance in (1d) would translate then as 'Well, she will go'. While the morphology of the form may be problematic, the permissive reading of the clause is robust.

In his manuscripts, Donner translates Kamas *no* with Finnish *no:* (1a) 'no päästä', (1b) 'no älä itke', and (1d) 'no lähti' (the phonograph example [1c] has no translation). In the German translations in KW, we find *na* for (1a) 'Na, lass es frei' (KW 95) and (1b) 'Na, weine nicht!' (KW 96), but *nun* for (1d) 'Nun, gehe!'.[4] The Russian translations in the INEL Kamas Corpus apply *nu* in all instances: (1a) 'Ну, тогда пусти её!', (1b), 'Ну же, не плачь!' (in combination with the discourse particle *že* typical for impatient imperatives, cf. Panov 2020), and (1d) 'Ну иди!'. The English translations, finally, apply 'well', 'well then' and 'come on': (1a) 'Well then, let it go!', (1b) 'Come on, don't cry!', and (1c) 'Well, go!'. In my own rendering of the examples above, I apply 'come on' for the imperative contexts in (1a–c) and 'well' for the permissive context in (1d). Translating discourse particles is difficult or even impossible (on NU see e.g. Sawicki 2016: 85, Footnote 5), but there is a body of studies on NU in different languages, some of them with particular respect to translation equivalents (e.g. Saari & Lehti-Eklund 2016), and while I'm aware of the intuitive component of translation, I still favour a transparent and systematic translation over repeating the particle in the translation line. *Transparent* means, wherever a new translation appears I announce it explicitly, and *systematic* means, I apply the same translation in the same contexts. I resist, however, from providing a translation in the glossings, but gloss "NU" throughout this paper. The applied translations are summarized and discussed in Section 4.2.

According to the documentation of the INEL Kamas corpus (Arkhipov et al. without year: 7), the word count of the pre-shift part of the corpus is 2,500, to which I add 150 words of the quoted phonograph excerpt, i.e. 2,650. The four instances of *no* thus yield a frequency rate of **1.5 wpt** in the pre-shift corpus. The last word about *no* in pre-shift Kamas, however, has not been spoken yet. Once the transcription of the phonograph recordings has been completed more instances of *no*, possibly in contexts different from the ones above, may follow.

4 In the vocabulary part of KW, the three instances are quoted under the entry *no* (KW 45b): German *na* is applied here only for (1a) ('na lass los, lass gehen!'), but for (1b) appears the marker of astonishment *nanu* 'hey!, eh?' ('nanu, weine nicht!'), and for (1c) the conjunction *und* 'and' ('und er geht'; with *er* instead of *sie*, and present tense *geht* instead of past tense *ging*). Both *nanu* and *und* are out-of-place translations.

### 1.3. Purpose and structure of the article

The attestation of NU in pre-shift (or baseline) Kamas and the policy of its translation were introduced as a background for the investigation to follow. In Section 2, I turn to the expansion of the particle in post-shift (or heritage) Kamas (2.1) and to its documentation in the Russian speech of the heritage speakers (2.2). I also point out how I distinguish a Kamas NU from a Russian NU (2.3). Section 3 then gives a detailed account of the distribution of NU in the documented Kamas and Russian speech of the last speakers of Kamas. The distribution parameters are speakers and recordings (3.1), type of discourse (3.2), position in turn (3.3), clause type (3.4), and position in clause (3.5). The results are summarized and discussed in Section 4.1, answering the questions, if (i) the two heritage speakers use NU differently in Kamas and Russian, and (ii) if the Kamas variants, *no* and *nu*, show any differences in their distributions. The translations applied in the examples are summarized in Section 4.2., locating the material within the cosmos of functions of NU known from the literature. Conclusions and outlook are presented in Section 5, assessing how the results of this study contribute to an assessment of the role of Russian in post-shift Kamas.

## 2. The documentation of NU with the last speakers of Kamas

### 2.1. Post-shift Kamas *nO*

The post-shift Kamas corpus consists of texts recorded by Ago Künnap (AK), Aleksandr Matveev (AM) and Tiit-Rein Viitso (TRV) from two reactivated speakers, Klavdija Plotnikova (KP) and Aleksandra Semënova (AS).[5] These speakers qualify as heritage speakers, i.e. bilinguals "whose weaker language corresponds to the minority language of her society and her stronger language to the dominant language" (Polinsky 2018: 9). In the case of Kamas we deal with an *indigenous* heritage language (Fishman 2006: 12), i.e. speakers were separated from their community not by migration, but by being left over

5 Note that the INEL example references may show abbreviations in reverse order with an additional letter for patronyms, i.e. KP = PKZ and AS = SAE.

in the traditional home.[6] A previous assessment in terms of language decay (or language attrition) argued that speech tempo, pauses, false starts, and errors in the recordings, show that the post-shift texts were produced by speakers whose command of the language was affected by language decay (Klumpp 2022b, c). Integration of Russian material and structure as well as reinterpretation of Kamas material demonstrates that gaps were filled first of all by using Russian as a resource, consciously and unconsciously. Gaps are due to attrition of the forgetter type, i.e. forgotten material and structure, as well as to the semi-speaker type, i.e. never acquired material and structure. Since we do not know the variant of Kamas spoken by the younger generation in 1914, which Donner did not record because he was looking for the best speakers only, it is difficult to decide to what degrees the differences from base-line Kamas were caused by incomplete language acquisition or by forgetting. The process can be compared to creolization, i.e. a new version of Kamas had started to develop, which, however, was never received and confirmed or rejected by any speaker community, but developed in isolation – the two last speakers never got to the point that they would have engaged in a conversation in Kamas.

The recordings with the two heritage speakers fall roughly into four classes, which are shortly characterized as follows.

i) Early recordings made at the beginning of the 1960s in the village of Abalakovo (Sayan district of Krasnoyarsk Krai) with KP by AK and AM, which consist of single clauses or phrases, interrupted by frequent breaks. Apart from few exceptions, stimulating questions were not recorded. The proportion of Kamas vs. Russian text in these recordings is roughly 1:1.

ii) Later recordings made with KP in the 1960s in Abalakovo produced mainly folklore narratives, not interrupted by any interviewer. In this part of the recordings there is hardly any Russian text, the proportion of Kamas vs. Russian is 357 : 1. The narratives may be divided in two main groups:

ii-a) renarrations of Kamas tales collected earlier by Donner. There is some variation and in the case of one tale even a previously unknown elaboration, which shows that KP was acquainted with this narrative

6 This holds to the full extent for KP, who had lived in the area for her entire life, but only partly for AS, who at some point had moved to the city of Krasnoyarsk.

tradition not only on the base of Donner's collection, but may have heard those tales (or some of them) in her childhood.

ii-b) Kamas versions of Russian folklore, which KP was acquainted with or even specially exposed to in order to produce Kamas text.[7] These tales include classical motives from Russian narrative folklore, e.g. the firebird, the fisherman and his wife, and many others.

iii) Interviews recorded in 1970 in Tallinn and in Tartu, in which AK or TRV ask questions and KP elaborates on them in Kamas and in Russian. The ultimate goal of those interviews is as in all recordings the production of Kamas text, but the interviews differ in this respect: while the Tartu interviews consist to the greatest part of a question in Russian and an answer in Kamas, followed by the next question rather than elaborating the topic on the base of the answer, the Tallinn interviews show more conversational elements, in which also KP asks in Russian, e.g. if AK remembers persons or places in the Kamas village of Abalakovo, negotiates about what she has already told and what not, and often a topic is elaborated over more than two turns. The topics are Kamas traditional life, KP's personal life in her home village and her journey to Estonia in 1970. Often passages are told in Russian first and then in Kamas, or the other way round. The different character of the interviews shows in different proportions of Kamas and Russian text recorded from KP: in the Tartu interviews, the proportion is ca. 15 : 1 whereas in the Tallinn interviews it is 1 : 1.8, i.e. there is actually more Russian than Kamas text.

iv) Finally, the recordings with AS remind in character of the early recordings with KP: short utterances, constructed dialogues, no recorded stimuli. The two tapes produced with AS include ca. 1200 words of Kamas and ca. 50 Russian words, thus the proportion of Kamas vs. Russian is 22 : 1. In addition there are also ca. 20 words of Qacha Turkic.

There are altogether **176** instances of the particle NU in the Kamas post-shift corpus (155 by KP and 21 by AS). According to the documentation of the corpus (Arkhipov et al. without year: 7) the word count for this part of the corpus, with Russian fragments and false starts excluded, is approximately 46,500 words, a number slightly higher than my own

7 KP was illiterate, but she had also been reported as being able to read (Arder 1992: 20).

counting of ca. 46,100, which I take as a basis here. The frequency rate of the particle is much higher now, namely **3.8 wpt** (vs. 1.5 wpt in the pre-shift corpus). Compared with the pre-shift instances of the particle, however, we observe an expansion not only in terms of frequency, but also in vowel quality and quantity, position, clause type, and combinability.

### *2.1.1. Vowel quality and quantity*

The vowel of the particle is no longer only *o*, but its quality varies between *å*, *o*, *o̰*, and *u*.[8] This variation is further expanded by variations in quantity (e.g. *u* ~ *u*ː). The spelling *nO* applied here is intended to capture this variation. In the transcription of the INEL Kamas corpus, neither differences in vowel quality beyond *o* and *u*, nor vowel length, nor prosody (falling/rising) are distinguished. Also the present article operates with the two main variants only. With 87 instances of *no* and 89 instances of *nu,* the ratio of *no* vs. *nu* is roughly 1 : 1 (see 4.1 for an assessment of their distribution). It must be noted, however, that, as in other Uralic languages in which both *no* and *nu* occur, it is more than once challenging to identify the exact vowel (see the contributions in the present volume on Selkup, Surgut Khanty, and Iźva Komi, and Markus 2024 for the same variation in Ingrian). For the present article, all instances have been checked for vowel quality, and where my perception differs from the transcription in the INEL Kamas Corpus I changed it accordingly.

### *2.1.2. Turn and position therein*

The particle is no longer observed solely in the turn-initial position of responsive utterances in constructed dialogues, but also within

8 With the appearance of the variant *nu* in post-shift Kamas, NU becomes similar to an autochthonous discourse marker, namely the 2nd person sing. imperative form of *nu-* ‘stand’, *nuʔ* ‘warte, bald, sofort; погоди [wait, soon, just a second]’ (KW 46a) as in (i):

(i) ***nuʔ*** *măn* *tüjö* *šolam*
stand:IMP.2SG 1SG now come:FUT:1SG
‘**Warte**, ich komme sofort/Wait, I’ll be right there.’ (KW 46a)

Apart from the difference in meaning, *nu* and the transparent discourse marker *nuʔ* are distinguished by the non-facultative glottal stop of the imperative.

narrative turns, e.g. at transitions from the main narrative line to meta-narrative comments or settings (2), and also turn-finally. Equally rare is the stand-alone use, with one attestation in an initiative turn in a constructed dialogue (see 2.2 for details and examples).

(2) PKZ_196X_SU0222.089–090
*Dĭgəttə kambi, kambi.* ***Nu****, dĭn ońi? kuza amnobi nezi?.*
then go.PST go.PST NU there one man live:PST woman:INS
'He went on and on. **Well**, there lived a man with his wife.'

### *2.1.3. Clause type*

While imperative clauses as in (1a–c) are still a frequent context, the particle now occurs also with the other two major clause types, declarative (2) and interrogative (3) clauses (cf. König & Siemund 2007). In addition, we find it also with units smaller than a clause like single phrases, lexemes or interjections (see 2.3 for the details).

(3) PKZ_196X_QuarrelWithDevil_flk.011–012
*Dĭgəttə kuza, dĭ šobi. – **No**[,] ĭmbi tănan kere??*
then man 3SG come:PST NU what 2SG:OBL is_necessary
'Then the man, he came [to the devil]. [The devil asks:] – **So**,[9] what do you need?'

### *2.1.4. Combinations*

The particle appears in combinations, in which NU precedes conjunctions (*a* 'and', *i* 'also'), interjections (*da* 'yes'), discourse particles (*vot* 'here!, behold!'), and other small words such as demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. In the Kamas recordings we find either direct transfer from Russian (*nO i* 'NU and', *nO dăk* 'NU so', *nO i što* 'NU so what'), or calques: *nO ĭmbi* 'NU what' from Russ. *nu čto* id., *nO kădə* 'NU how' from Russ. *nu kak* id. These collocations are a challenge for the analysis because it is often unclear if the collocation counts as discourse particle of its own (cf. e.g. Bolden 2016: 53). For the present paper the solution is to analyse combinations as cases of NU preceding

9 'So' in (3) is one more translation of NU (cf. above 1.2), applied in interrogative contexts.

units smaller than a clause (see 3.4), except for one single instance of *nO i* (4), which I treat along with other instances of NU + declarative clause.

(4) PKZ_196X_SU0228.146–149
*A dĭ măndə: – Gijen ibiel?*
and DEM say:PRS.3SG.OC where be:PST:2SG
'And he says: – Where have you been?'
*Măn măndəm: – Šaʔlāmbiam. A_to tăn münörbiel măna.*
1SG say:PRS:1SG hide:RES:PST:1SG otherwise 2SG beat:PST:2SG 1SG:OBL
'I say: –I went hiding. Otherwise you would have beaten me.'
*– **Nu** i jakše, što šaʔlāmbial.*
NU also good CONJ hide:RES:PST:2SG
'– **Well** it's good that you went hiding.'

### 2.2. Russian *nu* in the Kamas corpus

The Russian speech of Kamas speakers has never been the target of data collection or research (see however Gusev 2020 and Arkhipov 2023). Gusev (2020: 83–84) identifies in KP's speech features like the contraction of sequences with *j* (e.g., *taka* < *takaja* 'such (f)') and the merger of dative and instrumental plural, characteristic of North Russian dialects (Kasatkin 2005: 71, 129), which played an important role in the emergence of the Siberian old-dwellers' (Ru. starožil'českie) dialects (see, e.g., Palagina 1990).

Russian is the language used between the Kamas consultants and their interviewers, and consultants switch to it whenever they step aside from the main communicative goal, the production of Kamas text. Russian conversation thus slips in here and there before the recorder was turned off, and only the Tallinn interviews feature longer stretches of Russian talk as a by-product of Kamas text recording.[10] As a result we have some documentation of how KP interacts with her interviewer in Russian, provides bits of narratives first in Russian then in Kamas or

10 These recordings were initiated by visiting Finnish scholars, whose material resources in 1970 allowed for a more generous use of tapes than those of their Soviet Estonian colleagues.

vice versa, or comments on the recording situation. As an example of a switch between Kamas and Russian may serve the excerpt in (5) from an early recording. The first four lines consist of a constructed dialogue between a host and a visitor, followed by a line, in which KP turns to the interviewer with the closing comment ‘it’s enough’. The last clause of the Kamas constructed dialogue in line 4 is preceded by *no*, and the Russian closing comment in the last line by *nu.*

(5) PKZ_1964_SU0204.PKZ.149–156

KP: – *Amnaʔ döbər, ďăbaktəraʔ, gijen ibiel. Ĭmbi…*
sit:IMP2SG here talk:IMP2SG where be:PST:2SG what
*Ĭmbi kubial? Gibər kandəgal?*
what see:PST:2SG where go:PRS:2SG
‘– Sit here, say, where have you been. What… What have you seen? Where are you going?’

– *Ďijenə kandəgam, keʔbdejleʔ. Dĭn urgāba.*
taiga:LAT go:PRS:1SG pick_berry:CV there bear
*Ugāndə pimniem.*
very fear:PRS:1SG
‘– I go into the Taiga, picking berries. A bear is there. I’m very scared.’

– ***No***[,] *iʔ kanaʔ, pimniel dăk.*
NU NEG:IMP.2SG go:CNG fear:PRS:2SG CONN
‘– **Well,** don’t go if you’re scared.’
***Nu***[,] *xvatit*.[11]
NU suffice:PRS3SG
‘**Well,** it’s enough.’

AM: *heheheh* [[laughs]]

Ending a Kamas narrative by a comment in Russian preceded by *nu* as in (5) is already attested in the pre-shift corpus: in one of their phonograph sessions, Donner obviously stopped the recording only after the speaker AA had closed the narrative with the comment *nu vsë* ‘well, all’ (6). To my knowledge, this is the only instance of Russian speech recorded from a pre-shift speaker of Kamas.

11 Russian examples are presented in transliteration, and in order to distinguish Russian from Kamas text, they are underlined by a dotted line.

(6) SU0233: 3.45–3.49
*Mĭllāndəga, mĭllāndəga, maʔəndə* […] *šobi.* ***Nu*** *vsë.*
go.DUR:PRS go.DUR:PRS tent:LAT:3SG come:PST NU all
'He went and went […] and came home. **Well**, [that's] all.'

With **226** instances of *nu*, the Russian meta-conversation and narratives, including constructed dialogues, are considerably rich in this discourse management device. The number exceeds the 176 instances of Kamas *nO*.[12] There is no basic variation of vowel quality as in Kamas, but variation in vowel length and centralizing in overshort forms do occur. My word count for the Russian parts spoken by KP and AS in the INEL corpus is ca. 9990 words, in which the 226 instances of *nu* yield a rate of **22.6 wpt**. The higher rate can be explained by two factors. First, KP talked more freely in Russian than in Kamas, and second, the free conversations, practically absent from the Kamas recordings, favour the occurrence of discourse particles in general.

Apart from confirming stand-alone use and particle repetition (see below), the instances of Russian *nu* do not offer anything new in terms of distribution across positions and clause types. In quantitative hinsight, however, their profile differs from that of Kamas *nO* (see 4.1). The number and variety of combinations, for instance, is higher in the Russian recordings. As with the Kamas instances, most of them are analysed here as NU preceding an utterance smaller than a clause (*nu davaj* 'well come on', *nu da* 'well yes', *nu ladno* 'well okay', *nu kak* 'well how', *nu čto* 'well what', *nu čego* 'well what [GEN]', *nu vot tak* 'well here you go'). With conjunctions (*nu i* 'well and', *nu a* 'well and'), the conjunction is analysed as belonging to the clause *nu* precedes, e.g. (7). A split solution is taken for *nu vot.* In three cases it occurs as a turn-final presentative utterance, which I analyse as instances of NU + utterance smaller than a clause (see 3.4). In four cases, however, the collocation *nu vot* precedes a declarative clause, and these cases I exclude from the investigation because the combination of two discourse particles in this position seems to me a pragmatication of its own, and how this complex discourse particle relates to *nu* is beyond the scope of this article; cf. e.g.

12 The numbers refer only to the Russian text of the Kamas speakers, the numerous instances of NU by the interviewers are not taken into account.

the parallel text passage in (8a, b), where *nu* in the Kamas variant corresponds to *nu vot* in the Russian variant.

(7) PKZ_19700819_09343-1bz.PKZ.087–090
KP: *Teper' u nas Z. pomer. Možno pro*
now at 1PL.GEN Z. die.PF.PST.M it's_possible about
*ėto skazat', ty ne znal pro ėto?*
DEM:ACC speak.PF:INF 2SG not know.IPF:PST.M about DEM:ACC
'Now Z. has died at ours. I could speak about that, you didn't know about it?'
AK: *Kak, kak, ja znaju ego, znaju,*
how how 1SG know.IPF:PRS.1SG 3SG.M.GEN know.IPF:PRS.1SG
*čto on byl. Net, net, net, rasskaži kak raz.*
CONJ 3SG.M be:PST.M NEG.INTJ tell.PF.IMP.2SG just
'How, how, I know him, I know who he was. No, no, no, do tell!'
KP: ***Nu** i ty ne znal, čto pomer?*
NU also 2SG not know.PF:PST.M CONJ die.PF.PST.M
'**So** you didn't know that he died?'

(8) a. PKZ_19700821_09340-1a.PKZ.366
***Nu**, dĭzeŋ dĭ kola tust'arbiʔi* (…)
NU DEM:PL DEM fish salt:PST:3PL
'**Well**, they salted this fish (…)'

b. PKZ_19700821_09340-1a.PKZ.380
***Nu vot** oni eë tam solili* (…)
NU PRES 3PL 3SG.F.ACC there salt.IPF:PST:PL
'**Well here**, they salted it there (…)'.

Different from the Kamas recordings we find ten instances of particle repetition in the Russian recordings, seven times *nu-nu,* and three times *nu-nu-nu.*[13] These seem to be variations of the stand-alone use of the particle as an interjection of confirmation and are treated along with these in Section 3.3, counting each repetitive instance as one instance of NU.

13 One case of quadruple *nu-nu-nu-nu* in the corpus (PKZ_19700821_09339-2bz.PKZ.025) was identified as being actually a triple case.

### 2.3. Distinguishing Kamas NU from Russian NU

So far I have introduced three variants of the particle, Kamas *no*, Kamas *nu*, and *nu* in the Russian speech of Kamas speakers. NU refers to the particle across Kamas and Russian, whereas the archiform *nO* is used for Kamas *no* ~ *nu*; Russian *nu,* in order to dissimilate it from Kamas *nu*, sometimes appears in its Cyrillic spelling ну. Their identification as Kamas or Russian particles is based on the linguistic affiliation of the utterance they occur with. So in the two instances of NU in (5) above, *no* was identified as Kamas because it occurs with a Kamas utterance, but *nu* as Russian because it occurs with a Russian utterance. The cotext is crucial because *nu* may be Kamas or Russian. Such constellations occur also in (9a–c) from the Tartu interviews. In all examples, *nu* precedes a responsive turn, which delivers an answer to a question in Russian by the interviewer TRV. The answer in (9a) is in Kamas, complying to the agreed procedure of question in Russian, answer in Kamas. In (9b), however, KP starts to answer in Russian until she is reminded about speaking Kamas. The criteria of cotext language affiliation tells us that *nu* in (9a) is Kamas, but Russian in (9b). In the third question-answer constellation in (9c), KP again starts her response with NU when she gets interrupted by TRV, adding a detail to his question. Now, when the particle occurs without following text, it is impossible to decide from which inventory it is drawn, is it Kamas *nO* or Russian *nu*?

(9) a. PKZ_1970_F0205-01.134–136

TRV: *A kak, gde ran'še rodili detej, kak*
and how where earlier bear.IPF:PST:PL child:GEN.PL how
*ob za n… o nix zabotili?*
about for th… about 3PL.PREP take_care.IPF:PST:PL
'And how, where did they in former times bear children, how did they take care of them?'

KP: ***Nu,*** *šojd'o dĭrgit šödörleʔbəʔjə. Dĭbər*
NU birch_bark_vessel such sew:PRS.DUR:3PL there
*enləʔi ešši i dĭ iʔbolaʔbə.*
put:FUT:3PL child and 3SG lie:PRS.DUR
'**Well**, they sew such a birch bark vessel. There they would put the child and it lies [there].'

b. PKZ_1970_F0205-01.226–230
TRV: *Čto tam vysoko v gorax, tam sneg ili*
what there high in mountain:PREP.PL there snow or
*lëd ili?*
ice or
'What is there high in the mountains, is there snow or ice or [something else]?'
KP: ***Nu**, taka vysoka gora. Nazyvaetsja*
NU such.F high.F mountain called:PRS3SG:PASS
*po-russki Plešivaja Gora. No ja taka vys…*
in_Russian Bald Mountain but 1SG such.F (high)
'**Well**, there is such a high mountain. It's called Bald Mountain in Russian. But I such high…'
TRV: *A po-kam… po-vašemu!*
and in_Kam(as) in_your_language
'And in Kam(as), in your language!'

c. PKZ_1970_F0205-01.056–059
TRV: *Kakie zveri u vas eščë byli tam,*
what_kind:PL game:PL at 2PL.GEN still be:PST:PL there
*losi, maraly i dikie kozy?*
elk:PL deer:PL and wild:PL goat:PL
'What kind of game did you have in addition there, elks, deer and wild goats?'
KP: ***Nu**…*
NU
'**Well**…'
TRV: *Kak… Kak lovili?*
how how catch.IPF:PST:PL
'How… How did they catch (them)?'

Relying on the vowel *u*, one may think of ascribing all three instances of NU in (9a–c) to the Russian inventory of the speaker, arguing that not the following but rather the preceding text decides: after a question in Russian, the cooperative signal NU that precedes the answer is still drawn from the Russian inventory, and only then KP continues in Russian or Kamas. Counter evidence is found in text passages, in which the variant with *u* occurs within entirely Kamas text (10). Approximately 40 instances of *nu* in the Kamas text parts are of this type, where the preceding and the following clause are both in Kamas.

(10) PKZ_196X_SU0222.037–039
*Sibiŕgən ugandə iʔgö nuzaŋ amnobiʔi. Dĭgəttə sĭre*
Siberia:LOC very many Tatar:PL live:PST:3PL then white
*pa özerluʔpi. Dĭzeŋ măllia ʔi: – **Nu**, kazak il*
tree grow:PRF:PST DEM:PL say.PRS:3PL NU Russian people
*šolə ʔjə, miʔńibeʔ ej jakše moləj.*
come:FUT:3PL 1PL:OBL not good become:FUT:3SG
'There lived a lot of Tatars[14] in Siberia. Then a white tree had grown. They say: – **Well**, Russians will come, it won't be good for us.'

For the present investigation I base the decision if we deal with Kamas or Russian NU on the language the particle occurs with and exclude (9c) from classification. This criterion holds also in cases like (11), where a switch from one language to the other takes places shortly after the particle. Actual code switching is very rare in the recordings, a fact which must be ascribed to the policy imposed to the Kamas speakers, who were ought to produce "pure" Kamas text. Russian, of course, slips in in form of lexemes for which the Kamas equivalent was either systematically or temporarily not available to the speaker at the time of the recording. But in (11) from the Tallinn Interviews we observe a case of code switching: a narrative in Russian is ended by the metacomment (preceded by NU) about providing a Kamas version of the story now. After short feedback from the interviewer also in Russian, the Kamas version starts with NU and the Russian linking adverb *potom* 'then' instead of the Kamas equivalent *dĭgəttə*, which usually occurs in such positions. Thus the actual Kamas text starts only after the adverb with the subject pronoun *miʔ* 'we', and the particle NU is classified as drawn from the Russian system because the utterance it occurs with starts out in Russian. (12) on the other hand, is an instance of Kamas *nO* in combination with other elements borrowed from Russian. The context is a constructed dialogue with consistent intonation and there is no indication that the Russian collocation would interrupt the Kamas narrative, it is rather an integrated discourse marker for which the speaker has no Kamas alternative (see Section 5).

14 The ethnonym *nu* 'Tatar' refers to the pre-Russian population of South Siberia, including among others also the Kamas.

(11) PKZ_19700821_09339-2bz.PKZ.249–252
KP: (…) *A ja i na eë zarugalas'*
and 1SG also on 3SG.F.ACC scold.PF:PST:F:MED
*po-svoemu. Nu, už teper' ja budu*
in_one's_own NU already now 1SG FUT.AUX:1SG
*govorit' po-svoemu.*
talk.IMP:INF in_one's_own
'And I scolded her in our language. Well, now I will talk in my own language.'
AK: *Aga, aga, xorošo.*
INTJ INTJ good
'Aha, aha, good.'
KP: ***Nu**, potom mi? kambiba?. Dĭbər, gijən škola.* (…)
NU then 1PL go.PST:1PL there.LAT where.LOC school
'**Well**, then we went. There, where the school is. (…)'

(12) SAE_196X_SU0231.SAE.070, 077–079
– *Amno?* *sarɨ* *su* *amzittə.* (…)
sit:IMP.SG yellow[Tu.] water[Tu.] eat:INF:LAT
'Sit down to have tea.' (…)
– *Nu, măn toľkă amorbiam.*
NU 1SG just eat:PST:1SG
'– Well, I've just eaten.'
– ***Nu** dak što? Amorbiam, amorbə?*[15] *măndzi?.*
NU CONN what eat:PST:1SG eat:1PL 1SG:INS
'– **So** what? I have eaten [intended: you have eaten], let's eat with me [together].'

It needs to be admitted that there is a certain paradox in this investigation in that its title says "one particle across two languages", but the analysis operates with the notions of "Kamas NU" and "Russian NU", depending on the language of the utterance NU occurs in. It was

15 In *amor-bə?*, the person suffix is directly attached to the stem, a conjugation pattern which in Kamas exists only in the present tense formation of a couple of verbs, to which *amor-* 'eat' does not belong (see Klumpp 2022a: 828). The expected 1st person dual imperative would be *amor-žə-bəj* (or plural *amor-žə-ba?*). The pattern, however, is known from Xakas imperative formation, e.g. че-ең 'eat-IMP.1PL.INCL' 'let's eat!', and since AS was trilingual, I assume it is the Xakas pattern which shows here. I cannot judge, however, if this a spontaneous creation or if it reflects a regular change in the Kamas variety represented by AS.

mentioned above that such approach is not unproblematic because the majority of NUs occurs in turn-initial clause-initial position, detached from the rest of the utterance by a pause (indicated by comma) and thus may affiliate with the language of a preceding utterance. Or may the detached position generally allow to draw NU from the Russian system, independent from the language of the following and/or the preceding utterances. An alternative approach would treat all Kamas *nu*s together with the Russian *nu*s and compare them to the Kamas *no*s. Such an approach was dismissed here but could be pursued in future research.

## 3. Distributions

In order to give a detailed account of how the discourse particle NU is used by the last speakers of Kamas I check the occurrences of Kamas *no* and *nu* in the Kamas parts and Russian *nu* in the Russian parts of the recordings for their frequencies and distributions. The following distributional parameters are investigated: Speakers and recordings (3.1), Type of discourse (3.2), Position in turn (3.3), Clause type (3.4), and Position in clause (3.5). Frequencies are presented in form of tables and graphs, pointing out the noteworthy differences between Kamas *nO* and Russian *nu* on the one hand, and between Kamas *no* and *nu* on the other. Where necessary, parameters are introduced in more detail, and their illustration provides parallel examples from Kamas and Russian. The results are summarized and discussed in 4.1. The choice of parameters is motivated by preceding research on NU (first of all Auer & Maschler 2016). More parameters like e.g. systematic distinction of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd turn, intiative vs. responsive vs. third sequential position (Auer & Maschler 2016: 3, 11, 18), or occurrence in different structural parts of narratives (e.g. Labov 1972; van Dijk 1981, cf. Teptiuk 2026, Schön 2026), or prosody were at some point considered, but later abandoned because their consequent application turned out too difficult. The account remains prosaic in not interpreting examples for *why* the speakers use the discourse particle and what exactly it signals. However, a summary of the meanings as reflected in the translations of NU will follow in Section 4.2.

### 3.1. Speakers and recordings

The recordings with the two speakers KP and AS were divided into different classes according to how much the Kamas speakers are responsive to actual stimuli and questions, produce narratives with no interaction of an interviewer, or are engaged in conversation with an interviewer, meandering between Kamas and Russian text parts (see 2.1). The established classes differ in the proportions of Kamas vs. Russian text: on the one end the overwhelming dominance of Kamas text in the folklore narratives (i.e. the retellings of Donner tales and Russian folklore) with a ratio of 357 : 1, and on the other end a clear but less dramatic dominance of Russian text in the Tallinn interviews with a ratio of 1 : 1.8. In-between are the recordings with AS with a ratio of 22 : 1, the Tartu interviews with a ratio of 15 : 1, and finally the early recordings with a ratio of approximately 1 : 1. Table 1 presents the distributions of *no*, *nu*, and ну across the classes of recordings and their speakers. The order of the columns follows the order in which the recording classes were introduced in 2.1. For Kamas *nO,* numbers for the two variants *no* and *nu* are presented separately. Russian *nu* is spelled ну for reasons of discrimination.

**Table 1**. NU across speakers and classes of recordings.

| | **KP** ***total*** | **KP: Early recordings** | **KP: Folklore Narratives** | **KP: Tartu Interviews** | **KP: Tallinn Interviews** | **AS** | **total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nO | 155 | 5 | 105 | 10 | 35 | 21 | 176 |
| *no* | *86* | *2* | *69* | *4* | *11* | *1* | *87* |
| *nu* | *69* | *3* | *36* | *6* | *24* | *20* | *89* |
| ну | 223 | 13 | 0 | 7 | 203 | 3 | 226 |
| total | 378 | 18 | 105 | 17 | 238 | 24 | 402 |

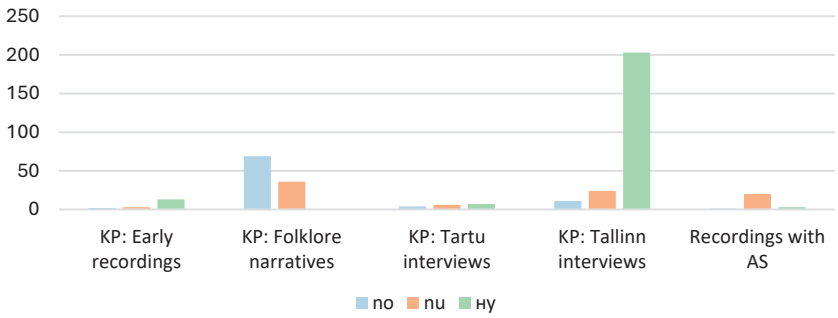


**Figure 1**. NU across speakers and classes of recordings.

As can be seen from Table 1, the two speakers differ considerably in the use of Kamas *no* vs. *nu.* KP shows in total a slight dominance of *no* over *nu* (86 *no* vs. 69 *nu*), with a more pointed dominance in the folklore narratives (69 *no* vs. 36 *nu*), but a dominance of *nu* in the interviews (4 *no* vs. 6 *nu* in the Tartu, and 11 *no* vs. 24 *nu* in the Tallinn interviews). In contrast, AS uses almost exclusively *nu* (20 *nu* vs. 1 *no*). In the discussion in 4.1, the numbers will show once more together with percentages.

### 3.2. Type of discourse

The main distinction of discourse types NU occcurs in is between dialogue and narrative line. In addition, there is a type of quoted thought, which I call reflection. Both dialogue and reflection fall into two subtypes, of which the basic type is when the speaker herself is in a dialogue with an interlocutor or reflects on something, and the other when the voice speaking or reflecting is that of a protagonist in a narrative. The latter are called constructed dialogue (Tannen 1986) and constructed reflection, and the first free dialogue and reflection. Table 2 presents the respective numbers.

**Table 2**. Occurrence of NU across different types of discourse.

| | **Dialogue** | **Constr. dial.** | **Reflection** | **Constr. refl.** | **Narrative line** | **total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nO | 7 = 4.0% | **122 = 69.3%** | 2 = 1.1% | 3 = 1.7% | **42 = 23.9%** | 176 |
| *no* | *1* | *74* | *1* | *2* | *9* | *87* |
| *nu* | *6* | *48* | *1* | *1* | *33* | *89* |
| ну | **125 = 55.3%** | 8 = 3.5% | 1 = 0.4% | 1 = 0.4% | **91 = 40.3%** | 226 |
| total | 132 = 32.8% | 130 = 32.3% | 3 = 0.8% | 4 = 1% | 133 = 33.1% | 402 |

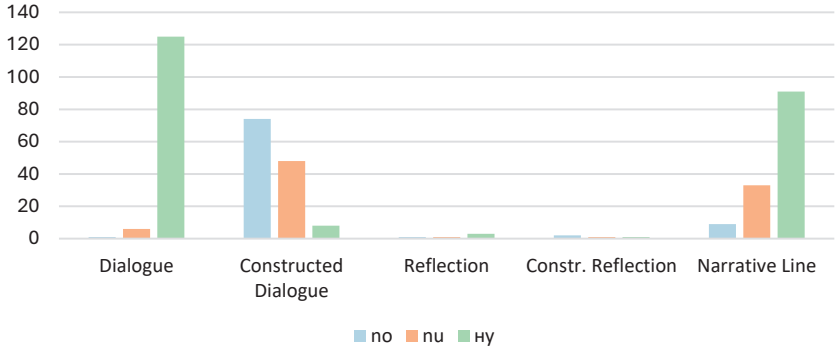


**Figure 2**. Occurrence of NU across different types of discourse.

There is a strong difference in numbers between free dialogue (interaction between interviewee and interviewer) and constructed dialogue (interaction between protagonists in narratives) due to the specificity of the Kamas and the Russian parts of the recordings, with free dialogues occuring almost exclusively in the Russian parts. The percentages are almost exactly the opposite: of 129 dialogic instances of Kamas *nO*, only seven (5.4%) occur in free dialogue and 122 (94.6%) in constructed dialogue, whereas of 133 dialogic instances of Russian *nu*, 99 (94%) occur in free dialogue and 7 (6%) in constructed dialogue. What is striking, is the different frequency of NU in the narrative line: in the Russian recordings, these make more than 40% whereas in the Kamas recordings, they make only ca. 24%. How to explain this difference? Russian narrative stretches are more personal and less scripted than the Kamas tales. And where the Kamas narrative stretches become personal they are less spontaneous, and therefore there is a lower rate of *nO*. The types reflection (self-quoted thought) and constructed reflection (quoted thought) are very rare, if they would be united with the dialogue types it would not change the picture.

As for the patterning of Kamas *no* vs. *nu*, a trend is observed: Kamas *nu* patterns more like Russian *nu* than Kamas *no* does: its figures in comparison to *no* are in the minority where Russian *nu* is in the minority in comparison to Kamas *nO* (see category Constructed dialogue) and vice versa, i.e. they are in the majority where Russian *nu* is in the majority in comparison to Kamas *nO* (categories Dialogue and Narrative line) (Reflection and Constructed reflection are ignored here due to their very small figures).

### 3.3. Position in turn

Within the discourse types, NU may occur at different positions in turns, either turn-initial, or turn-internal, or turn-final. If NU constitutes a turn of its own, or more exactly, if it has the potential to constitute a turn of its own (see below), we speak of a stand-alone occurrence. The notion *turn* is used here in a very general sense, it designates any stretch of discourse maintained by the same voice. A turn-initial NU is a NU in an utterance by which a different voice sets in. This is trivial where interlocutors engage in free conversation, but it also holds in narrative discourse, where the narrator's voice and the voices of protagonists alternate. In (13), for instance, the first turn-initial NU belongs to a protagonist in a constructed dialogue, but the second one to the narrator when continuing with the narrative line. Note that at the transition from narrative line to constructed or quoted speech, NU may occur either with the introduction of the speech or already within it. Such variation is illustrated parallelly for Kamas and Russian in (14a, b), where each first instance of NU is a protagonist's turn-initial NU (as in 13), and each second instance a narrator's turn-initial NU.

(13) NU beginning a protagonist's or a narrator's turn (I)
PKZ_196X_SU0217.PKZ.113–118
*Dĭ măndə: – Măn iʔgö bar aləm. Ipek*
DEM say:3SG.OC 1SG a_lot DP:AFF make:FUT:1SG bread
*pürlem, uja, bar amzittə nadə.*
bake:FUT:1SG meat all eat:INF:LAT is_necessary
'She says: – I will make a lot. I will bake bread, meat, all needs to be eaten.'
*Dĭ măndə: – **No**, bar măn amnam.*
DEM say:3SG.OC NU all 1SG eat:FUT:1SG
'He says: – **Well**, I will eat it all.'
*– I piva iʔgö. B'eʔteʔtə vedro alam.*
also beer[Ru.] a_lot fourteen bucket make:FUT:1SG
'– And a lot of beer. I will make fourteen buckets.'
***No**, dĭgəttə stoldə oʔbdəbi, dĭgəttə šobi dĭ kuza.*
NU then table:LAT set:PST then come:PST DEM person
'**Well**, then she set the table, then this man came.'

(14) NU beginning a protagonist's or a narrator's turn (II)

a. PKZ_196X_SU0224.138–142

*Tibi ibi kăreškiʔi, a urgāba verškiʔi. Dĭgəttə*
guy take:PST root.DIM.PL:PL and bear top.PL:PL then
*urgāba: "**No**, kuza măna ḿegluʔpi." Dĭgəttə*
bear NU man 1SG:OBL trick:MOM:PST then
*bazo ejü molāmbi. Kuza măndə*
again warm become:RES:PST man say:PRS3SG.OC
*urgābanə: "Davaj bazo kuʔšittə." **No**, urgāba:*
bear:LAT HORT again sow:INF NU bear
*"Măna deʔ kăreškiʔi, a tănan verškiʔi."*
1SG:OBL bring:IMP2SG root.PL:PL and 2SG:OBL top.PL:PL

'The guy took the roots [of the turnips], and the bear the tops. Then the bear: "**Well**, the person tricked me." Then it became warm again. The man says to the bear: "Let's sow again!" **Well**, the bear: "The roots for me, and for you the tops."

b. PKZ_197008_09342-2bz.115–120

*Emu gljanulosja priexat'. "**Nu**, ja*
3SG.DAT look.PF:PST:N:PASS come.PF:INF NU 1SG
*xotel s synom priexat'." (Ego syn*
want.IPF:PST.M with son:INS come.PF:INF 3SG.GEN son
*Konstantinom zvat'.) "I teper' naprok*
Konstantin:INS call:IPF:INF 1SG now next_year
*priedu." **Nu**, ja govorju:*
come.PF:PRS.1SG NU 1SG say.IPF:PRS.1SG
*"Priedet, naprok možet ja pomru."*
come.PF:PRS.3SG next_year perhaps 1SG die.PF:PRS.1SG

'He fancied coming. "**Well**, I wanted to come with my son." (His son's name is Konstantin.) "And now I'll come next year." **Well**, I say, "He will come, maybe I'll die next year."

A turn-internal NU occurs, e.g., where the same voice engages in a side-comment preceded by NU. This is illustrated for Kamas *nO* in (15a) and for Russian *nu* in (15b).

(15) Turn internal side comment

a. PKZ_19700821_09340-1bz.PKZ.437–440

*Tože jakše dĭzeŋ esseŋdə. Tože măn dĭzem*
also good DEM:PL child.PL:3SG also 1SG 3PL.ACC
*tüšüʔliem.* ***Nu,*** *tüj măn ej togonorliam.*
teach:PRS:1SG NU now 1SG not work:PRS:1SG
*Ej mĭlliem gibərdə.*
not go.PRS:1SG anywhere
'Their children are good, too. I teach them, too. **Well**, now I don't work. I'm not going anywhere.'

b. PKZ_19700821_09339-2bz.PKZ.306–307

*My potom pošli v tajgu orexi dobyvat',*
1PL after go.PF:PST:PL in taiga.ACC nut:PL get.IPF:INF
***nu*** *ja tady ešče̍ mološe byla. Pošli*
NU 1SG then still young:COMP be:PST:F go.PF:PST:PL
*dobyvat'* […]
get.IPF:INF
'Then we went to the taiga to get nuts, **well**, I was still younger then. We went to get them […].'

Turn-final NU typically occurs where the speaker is closing her turn by telling the interviewer that enough has been said about a particular topic. The NU-introduced utterance, by which the speaker switches from narration to dialogue may be either in Kamas (16a) or in Russian (16b) (repeated from (5) in 2.2).

(16) Turn-final NU

a. PKZ_19700821_09339-2bz.010–012

*Avtobussiʔ amnobibaʔ i kalla ďürbibaʔ.*
bus[Ru.]:INS sit:PST:1PL also go.CV disappear:PST:1PL
*Dĭbər, gijen iʔgö il, kuvas il.* ***Nu***
thither where many people beautiful people NU
*kabarləj* […]
suffice:FUT:3SG
'We sat on the bus and left for there, where a lot of people [were], beautiful people. **Well**, it'll be enough […].'

b. PKZ_1964_SU0204.PKZ.149–156
*–Dĭn urgāba. Ugāndə pimniem. – No*[,] *iʔ*
there bear very fear:PRS:1SG NU NEG:IMP.2SG
*kanaʔ, pimniel dăk.* ***Nu***[,] *xvatit.*
go:CNG fear:PRS:2SG CONN NU suffice:PRS.3SG
'– A bear is there. I'm very scared. –Well, don't go if you're scared. **Well,** it'll be enough.'

Stand-alone use means the utterance has the potential of occurring as a turn of its own. After a pause, however, the speaker may continue with a new utterance. Among the ten instances of stand-alone *nu* in the Russian recordings, five constitute actual turns between utterances by the interlocutor, but in the case of the other five, KP continues after a pause, either returning to the narrative line, which had been interrupted by a side-comment, or adding another confirming element (a demonstrative). Stand-alone NUs can be understood as interjections (e.g. Bolden 2016: 56, 49 with references). The only Kamas instance has an interrogative intonation (17a), with a parallel in Russian (17b). Both are urging the interlocutor to speak: in (17a) from a constructed dialogue, a protagonist wants to hear from his brothers what has happened in town, in (17b) from free conversation, the speaker wants the interviewer to come up with the next stimulus. The majority of the Russian stand-alone instances, however, occur with a confirming function comparable to the interjection 'yes', but accompanied by a distinctive quality of urging the interviewer to go on with presenting the next question (as also described for Russian *nu* by Bolden 2016: 56, or for Beserman Udmurt by Zubova & Arkhangelsky 2026), see (18a). Confirming stand-alone NU also occurs in reduplicated (18b) or retriplicated form.

(17) Stand-alone NU: Interrogative-urging
a. PKZ_196X_SU0191.PKZ.110–112
*Dĭgəttə kagazaŋdə šobiʔi.*
then brother:PL:3SG come:PST:3PL
'Then his brothers came [back from town].'
*– **Nu**?*
NU
'– **So**?'

– *Girgit dĭ ńi kuvas, inet kuvas! Panarbi*
how DEM boy beautiful horse:3SG beautiful kiss:PST
*tsarskij koʔbdo!*
tsar:ADJ[Ru.] daughter
'– How beautiful the boy is, how beautiful his horse! He did kiss the tsar's daughter!'

b. PKZ_1964_SU0204.196–198
KP: ***Nu****?*
NU
'**So**?'
AM: *Kuda bežiš'?*
whereto run.IPF:PRS.2SG
'Where are you running?' (= Russian stimulus)
KP: *Gibər kandəgal*?
whereto go:PRS:2SG
'Where do you go.' (= Kamas answer)

(18) Stand-alone *nu*: Confirming
a. PKZ_19700819_09342-2a.248–250
KP: *I ona sama ne znaet.*
also 3SG.F self.F not know:PRS.3SG
'She herself doesn't know it either [the Kamas word for sugar].
AK: *Sĭreʔpne, ǝa?*
sugar yes
'*Sĭreʔpne*, isn't it?'
KP: ***Nu****.*
NU
'**Yes**.'
AK: *Aha.*
INTJ
'Aha.'

b. PKZ_19700821_09340-1bz.356–357
AK: *Ėto kak raz istorija kogda oni prišli*
DEM how once story when 3PL come.PF:PST:PL
*a ty tam razulas'*
and 2SG there take_off_one's_shoes.PF:PST:F:PASS

*pimy snjala.*
boot.PL take_off.PF:PST:F
'This is exactly the story when they came and you took off your shoes, took of the boots.'

KP: ***Nu-nu.***
NU-NU
'**Yes yes**.'

Table 3 presents the number of occurrences of Kamas *no,* Kamas *nu*, and Russian *nu* in the aforementioned turn positions.

**Table 3**. Occurrence of NU in regard to position in turn.

| | **Turn-initial** | **Turn-internal** | **Turn-final** | **Stand-alone** | **total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *nO* | **141 = 80.6%** | 29 = 16.6% | 4 = 2.3% | 1 = 0.6% | 175 |
| *no* | *77* | *9* | *0* | *0* | *86* |
| *nu* | *64* | *20* | *4* | *1* | *89* |
| НУ | 89 = 39.6% | **94 = 41.8%** | 22 = 9.8% | 20 = 8.9% | 225 |
| total | 230 = 57.5% | 123 = 30.8% | 26 = 6.5% | 21 = 5.3% | 400[16] |

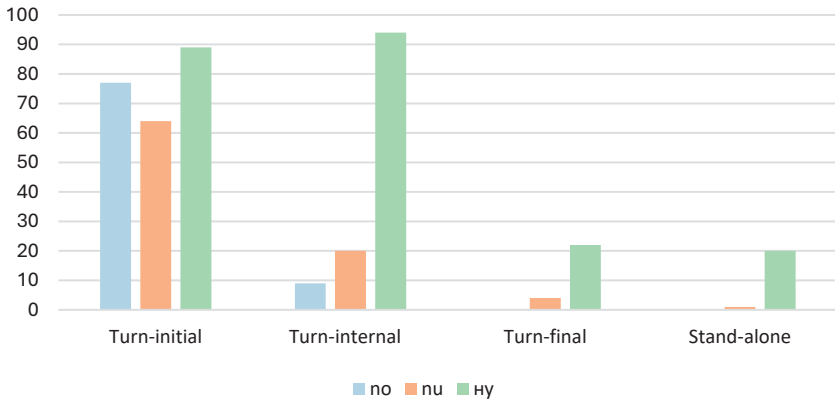


**Figure 3**. Occurrence of NU in regard to position in turn.

16 The total number of instances is 400, not 402, because two unclear instances (one *nO*, one НУ) had to be excluded.

There is a clear difference between the Kamas and the Russian particle frequencies as concerns the position in a turn: Kamas *nO* occurs with 80 per cent of all instances predominantly in turn-initial position, whereas for Russian *nu* the turn-internal position is slightly more frequent than the initial position (ca. 42% vs. ca. 40% turn-initial). Both in Kamas and Russian the majority of turn-internal instances occur in the narrative line: 18 out of the 29 turn-internal instances of Kamas *nO*, compared to one in a dialogue, eight in constructed dialogues, and two in reflections, and 71 out of the 94 instances of turn-internal Russian *nu*, compared to 22 in free dialogues and one in a constructed dialogue. Keeping in mind that the percentage of narrative stretches is higher in the Kamas than in the Russian texts (no free conversations), these numbers reflect a characteristic difference: the Russian narrative parts are less scripted, and shift more often between main track and side comments addressed to the interviewer, with the result that the frequency of turn-internal NU is higher in the Russian recordings. This may be corroborated by an impression that the narrative style of the Kamas tales relies strongly on constructed dialogues, which is responsible for a higher percentage of turn-initial NUs in these texts.

The distribution of Russian *nu* over the four different turn positions is more even than that of Kamas *nO.* With a ratio of roughly 39 : 42 : 10 : 9 for Russian *nu*, the more rare positions turn-final and stand-alone still make approximately on fifth (19 %) of all instances, whereas the ratio of Kamas *nO* (roughly 81 : 17 : 2.5 : 0.5) sees them in only 3 per cent of all instances. The scarcity of stand-alone uses in the Kamas texts (only one example compared to 20 in the Russian ones) is most likely due to the absence of (free) conversations, in which the particle could serve as a confirming interjection.

As concerns the opposition *no* vs. *nu* in the Kamas recordings, there is again the trend observable that in all positions, *nu* is closer to the Russian figures than *no* is; i.e. the segments which are more rare in Kamas are either represented by *nu* only (stand-alone, turn-final), or by a majority of *nu* over *no* (turn-internally 20 : 9) whereas the segment which is the most frequent in Kamas (turn-initial) is represented by a majority of *no* (77 : 64).

### 3.4. Clause type

In the Introduction it was shown how the first attestations of NU in Kamas are mainly with imperative clauses (2.1), whereas in the post-shift Kamas and the Russian data, the variety of clause types becomes more diverse (2.2, 2.3). With more than 65 per cent of all occurrences, the biggest group are now declarative clauses (3.4.1), whereas imperative clauses with ca. 19 per cent move to the second place (3.4.2). Smaller groups are with 7 per cent interrogative clauses (3.4.3) and with ca. 9 per cent the units smaller than a clause (3.4.4). Other types, e.g. exclamative clauses, are not attested with NU in the corpus. The detailed numbers are presented in Table 6 at the end of this section, but first I introduce the peculiarities of the different clause types in more detail.

#### *3.4.1. NU with declarative clauses*

More than half of the instances of Kamas *nO* and more than three quarters of Russian *nu* occur with declarative clauses. For declarative clauses the notion of turn has more importance than for imperative and interrogative clauses, their function depends a lot on the preceding utterance. For this reason, I present a separate table for declarative clauses according to their position in relation to turn, see Table 4.

**Table 4**. Occurrences of NU with declarative clauses according to position in turn.

| | **Turn-initial** | **Turn-internal** | **Turn-final** | **total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *nO* | **64 = 70.3%** | 23 = 25.3% | 4 = 4.4% | 91 |
| *no* | *25* | *5* | *0* | *30* |
| *nu* | *39* | *18* | *4* | *61* |
| ну | 55 = 36.4% | **78 = 51.7%** | 18 = 11.9% | 151 |
| total | 119 = 49.2% | 101 = 41.7% | 22 = 9.1% | 242 |

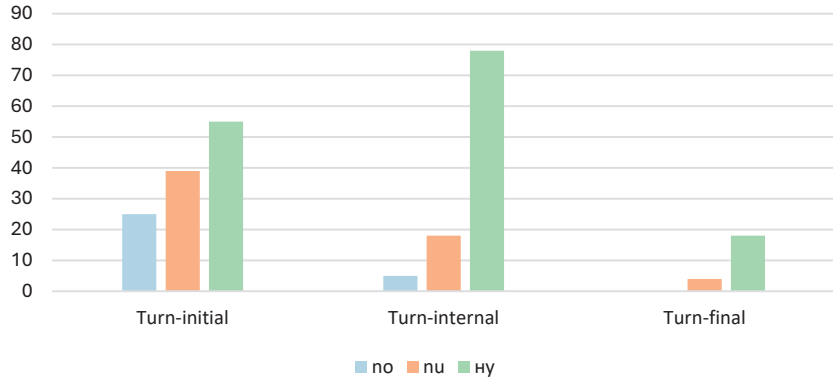


**Figure 4**. Occurrences of NU with declarative clauses according to position in turn.

Turn-initial declarative clauses are often answers to explicit questions, or they start a narrative produced on request. This situation occurs naturally more often in the Kamas recordings, which explains that they amount up to more than 70 per cent here whereas they make only a good third in the Russian recordings. In the Russian recordings, on the other hand, turn-internal declarative clauses with NU amount up to more than one half, whereas in the Kamas recordings they make up approximately one quarter. This may be explained with the freer character of Russian narratives, with a higher number of side comments and other adjustments preceded by NU. And finally there is an overweight of turn final declarative clauses preceded by NU in Russian (almost 12 per cent) over less than 5 per cent in the Kamas instances. These turn-final instances are to the greatest deal of the type 'It's enough', by which a recording segment is ended, and this utterance occurs more often in Russian than in Kamas. In the following I discuss the different types of declarative clauses in relation to position in turn in more detail.

Turn-initial declarative clauses with NU are often responsive, either as answers to explicit questions (see (9a, b) in 1.5) or to invitations (19a) or requests (19b). Answers to questions amount up to a bit less than one quarter of turn-initial declarative clauses (15 out of 64, or 23.4%, for *nO*, and 13 out of 55, or 23.6%, for ну).

(19) NU with responsive turn-initial declarative clauses

a. SAE_196X_SU0231.SAE.070–071

– *Amnoʔ* *sarɨ* *su* *amzittə.*
sit:IMP.SG yellow[Tu.] water[Tu.] eat:INF:LAT
'– Sit down to have tea.'

– ***Nu,*** *măn* *toľko-toľko* *amorbiam.*
NU 1SG only_only[Ru.] eat:PST:1SG
'– **Well**, I've just eaten.'

b. KZ_1970_F0205-02.303–304

TRV: *A možete li vy govorit' teper' o*
and can:PRS.2PL QP 2PL speak.IPF:INF now about
*dožde i o grade, čto ėti del-...*
rain:PREP and about hail:PREP what DEM:PL do.IPF
'And can you speak now about the rain and about the hail, what these d[id]…'

KP: ***Nu,*** *možno, ja tebe včera govorila.*
NU it's_possible 1SG 2SG.DAT yesterday speak.IPF:PST:F
'**Well**, it's possible, I spoke to you [about them] yesterday.'

Another important group among turn-initial declarative clauses are beginnings of narratives as well as continuations of the narrative line after a constructed dialogue, i.e. where a narrator's turn starts after a protagonist's turn, as already illustrated in (13) and (14a, b) above.

Turn-internal declarative clauses with NU are typical for side comments, see already (15a, b) above, and reflections (20a, b).

(20) NU with turn-internal declarative clause

a. PKZ_196X_SU0224.195–196

*Kirgariam,* *kirgariam,* *măndərbiam,* *măndərbiam,*
call.PRS:1SG call.PRS:1SG look:PST:1SG look:PST:1SG
*gijendə* *naga.* ***No*** *girāmbi* *buzo,*
where:INDF NEG.EXST NU go_where.PST calf
*ej* *tĭmniem.*
not know:PRS:1SG
'I call, call, I looked, looked, it's nowhere. **Well**, I don't know where the calf has gone.'

b. PKZ_19700821_09340-1bz.PKZ.072–074
*Kak vot u avtobus noč'ju idët ali legkovaja*
how PRES at bus at_night go.IPF:PRS.3SG or light.F
*mašina, tak dva glaza. […] kak iskry svetjat.*
car so two eye:GEN like spark:PL shine.IPF:PRS.3PL
***Nu**, govorju, volki begut,*
NU say.IPF:PRS.1SG wolf:PL run.IPF:PRS.3PL
*pobežali tudy.*
run.PF:PST:PL thither.
'Like a bus driving at night, or a car, so [there were] two eyes […] shining like sparks. **Well**, I say [to myself], wolfs are running, have run there.'

Turn-final instances of NU-preceded declarative clauses are typically found where the speaker is closing her narrative or a segment of recording; in the Kamas recordings this holds for all four instances, in Russian for 10 out of 18, see (16a, b) above. A variant attested only in the Russian recordings is ending a narrative turn with the announcement that a version in the other language will follow (21).

(21) NU with turn final declarative clause
PKZ_19700821_09339-2a.057–061 (KP tells about a visit at an Estonian cemetary with its remarkable squirrels, which would be killed by hunters in her home village.)
KP: *A tut ne ubivajut belok.*
and here not kill.IPF:PRS.3PL squirrel.GEN.PL
*Ja im davala kušat' tam.*
1SG 3PL.DAT give.IPF:PST:F eat.IPF:INF there
***Nu**, teper' nado po-svoemu skazat'.*
NU now is_necessary in_one's_own say.PF:INF
'But here they don't kill squirrels. I fed them. **Well**, now it's necessary to tell it in my own language.
AK: *Aga.*
aha
'Aha.'
KP: *Mănˇ ertən uʔbdəbiam …*
1SG in_the_morning get_up:PST:1SG
'I got up in the morning (…)'

### *3.4.2. NU with imperative clauses*

The meaning of an imperative clause depends much on the context. They may express orders, requests, pleas, advice, recommendations, instruction, invitation, permission, and more (see, e.g., Aikhenvald 2010: 198–199; Condoravdi & Lauer 2012). In the Kamas data, NU-preceded imperative clauses are requests (as illustrated for pre-shift Kamas in (1a–c)), advices (e.g. 'don't go' in (5)), and permissions (22a). The less frequent Russian instances consist of initiative requests (22b) and permissions. Imperative occurrences include all instances in which NU occurs with a clause whose predicate is either a canonical second person imperative as in (22a, b), or in first person, as in (23) from Kamas.

(22) NU with 2nd person imperative

a. PKZ_196X_SU0225.232–233
*Dĭgəttə üďüge koʔbdo: – Măn kallam!*
then small girl 1SG go.FUT:1SG
'Then the youngest daughter: – I will go!'
– ***No,*** *kanaʔ!*
NU go:IMP.2SG
'– **Well**, go!'[17]

b. PKZ_1964_SU0207.PKZ.077–078, KA.008
KP: ***Nu*** *tam skaži čego.*
NU there say.PF.IMP.2SG something.GEN
'**Come on** there, say something!'
AK: *Čem-to paxnet.*
what.INS-INDF stink.IPF:PRS.3SG
'Something stinks.' (Russian stimulus)
KP: *Ĭmbiz'idə bar püťəmnia.* (…)
what:INDF all stink:PRS
'Something totally stinks.' (Kamas translation)

17 This imperative example is an equivalent of the pre-shift Kamas permissive construction in (1d). It originates from KP's renarration of the original tale from 1914.

(23) NU with 1st person imperative
PKZ_1970_F0205-02.PKZ.311–312
*– Iʔ măna boskənziʔ!*
take:IMP.2SG 1SG:OBL self:INS
'Take me with you!'
**– *No*** *kanžəbəj!*
NU go:IMP:1DU
'– **Come on/Well**, let's go.'[18]

### *3.4.3. NU with interrogative clauses*

There are nine Kamas NU-preceded questions in the corpus, all of them occur in constructed dialogues, whereas the 17 Russian instances occur all in free dialogues. The majority of interrogative clauses NU occurs with are canonical questions, either content questions as in (24a, b) (with (24a) repeating (4) from 1.3), or polar questions as in (25a, b). However, there are also a few occurrences with non-canonical questions, namely rhetorical questions as in (26a, b) (altogether 2 out of 11 for *nO* and 3 out of 17 for НУ).

(24) NU with content questions
a. PKZ_196X_QuarrelWithDevil_flk.011–012
*Dĭgəttə kuza, dĭ šobi. – **No**[,] ĭmbi tănan kereʔ?*
then man 3SG come:PST NU what 2SG:OBL necessary
'Then the man, he arrived [at the devil's]. – **So**, what do you need?'

b. PKZ_19700821_09339-2bz.PKZ.200–201
*Nu, o čĕm zapisali? Pro sobaku*
NU about what.PREP record.PF:PST:PL about dog.ACC
*ne zapisyvali ili zapisyvali?*
not record.IPF:PST:PL or record.PF:PST:PL
'**So**, about what did we record? Did we not record about the dog, or did we?'

18 The choice of translations for NU in (23a, b) depends on the interpretation of the clauses: 'come on' is adequate with an initiative interpretation, and 'well' with a permissive one.

(25) NU with polar questions

a. PKZ_196X_ScarlettFlower_flk.055

*Dĭ* *bazoʔ* *šobi,* *surarlaʔbə:* *– **No**,*
DEM again come:PST ask:DUR.PRS NU
*tenöluʔpil?*
think:MOM:PST:2SG
'He came again, asks: – **So**, did you think it over?'

b. PKZ_19700819_09343-1bz.PKZ.007–008

KP: ***Nu**, idët?*
NU go.IPF:PRS.3SG
'**So**, does it run [the tape]?

AK: *Idët, idët.*
go.IPF:PRS.3SG go.IPF:PRS.3SG
'It runs, it runs.'

(26) NU with rhetorical questions

a. SAE_196X_SU0232.166–168

*– Vot* *dĭzem* *i* *ibiʔi.*
PRES DEM.3:PL.ACC also take:PST:3PL
'– And so they were taken somewhere.'

*– A* *gibər?*
and where.LAT
'– And where?'

*– **Nu** **măn** **tĭmnem** **gibər?** **Măn** **že** **ej***
NU 1SG know.PRS:1SG where.LAT 1SG DP:ID not
*tĭmnem.*
know.PRS:1SG
'– **Well,** do I know where? I don't know either.'[19]

b. PKZ_19700819_09343-1bz.KA.081–083

AK: *Nu, čto-nibud' drugoe rasskaži o*
NU what-INDF different:N tell.PF.IMP.2SG about
*derevenskoj žizni čto ž vse ravno.*
village.ADJ:PREP.F live:PREP what DP:EN all equal
*Čto u vas tam eščo novogo?*
what at 2PL.GEN there still new:GEN.N
'Well, tell something else about village life, anything, it doesn't matter. 'What's new there at your's?'

19 The translation of the particle in rhetorical questions is rather 'well' than 'so'.

KP: ***Nu***, *čego novogo …?*
NU what.GEN new:GEN.N
'**Well**, what's new…?'

### *3.4.4. NU with units smaller than a clause*

In addition to full clauses, NU may also precede units smaller than a clause, i.e. single words or phrases, either intended as such utterances or due to ending the utterance before a clause has been finished, e.g. by being interrupted or not knowing how to continue. Unfinished clauses, however, were excluded from the counting. Table 5 presents an overview of the different types among this considerably small group of instances of NU. The table does not include the 21 instances of standalone NU (1 *nO*, 20 ну, see Table 3) because it assembles only units NU occurs *with* but not utterances which consist of NU only.

**Table 5**. NU with units smaller than a clause.

| | Phrase | Lexeme | Demonstr. | Interrog. | Interj. | Present. | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nO | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| *no* | *1* | *0* | *0* | *2* | *1* | *0* | *4* |
| *nu* | *0* | *2* | *0* | *3* | *0* | *0* | *5* |
| ну | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 23 |
| total | 2 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 4 | 32 |

The units, which are preceded by NU in this category are either phrases (27a, b) or lexemes in identificational contexts (28a, b), possibly when searching for the right expression (27a, b), (28b), but not necessarily. (28a) is rather a summarizing conclusion, which shows also in the adequateness of the translation 'well' here, whereas in the other examples a search expression is needed, for which I apply English 'what's it'.

(27) NU with phrases
a. PKZ_1970_F0205-02.PKZ.013
*I surardə gijen,* ***no*** *bü- bügən*
also ask:IMP.2SG.OC where NU wa- water:LOC
*tōndə amnolaʔbə.*
edge.LOC:3SG live:DUR.PRS
'Also ask [there], where [the one], **what's it**, lives at the river side!'

b. *Prišel, govorit: – Oj, ja starušku*
come.PF.PST.M say.IPF:PRS.3SG INTJ 1SG old_lady.ACC
*našel, **nu**, na vaš jazyk.*
find.PF.PST.M NU on 2PL.POSS language
'He came, says: –Oh, I found an old lady, **what's it**, in your language.'

(28) NU with lexemes
a. PKZ_1964_SU0205.PKZ.102–107
KP: *Măn kallam Kazān turanə i*
1SG go.FUT:1SG Russian.GEN house:LAT and
*nadə ipek iźittə. Nadə sĭrəʔpne*
is_necessary bread buy:INF:LAT is_necessary sugar
*iźittə. Nadə multukdə ipek*
buy:INF:LAT is_necessary gun:LAT bread
*iźittə. Nadə…*
buy:INF:LAT is_necessary
'I'll go to Aginskoe and I need to buy bread. I need to buy sugar. I need to buy "bread" for the gun. Need to…'
AK: *Vot eščë saxar, kažetsja, budeš'…*
PRES still sugar seem. PF:PRS.3SG.PASS be.FUT:2SG
'Also sugar, it seems, you will…'
KP: ***No**, ipek. Nu, vsë.*
NU bread NU all
'**Well**, bread. Well all.'

b. PKZ_19700821_09340-1bz.PKZ.170
*A sebe sšila pimy takie,*
and self:DAT sew.PF:PST:F felt_boot.PL. such:PL
***nu**, zverinye.*
NU game:ADJ.PL
'And I sewed myself such felt boots from, **what's it**, wild game.'

Other units smaller than a clause taken into account here are demonstratives, interrogative words, interjections and presentational (ostensive) *vot.* The Russian demonstrative *ėto* 'this' occurs three times in contexts of identification, or confirming an identification similar to (28a). The interrogative words are 'how' (29a, b), 'what' (Kamas *ĭmbi*, Russian *čto* or *čego* (GEN), also Kamas *i što* 'and what' and *dak što* 'so what'), and the interjections Kamas *ej* 'no' (30a), Russian *da* 'yes', *davaj* 'come on', and *ladno* 'okay' (30b). Presentational *vot* 'this is it, here you go' is attested only in Russian utterances (31).

(29) NU with interrogative ‘how’

a. PKZ_196X_SU0191.PKZ.023–025

*– Öʔləʔ măna! Măn tănan bar ĭmbi mĭləm.*
let:IMP.2SG 1SG:OBL 1SG 2SG:OBL all what give:FUT:1SG
‘– Set me free! I will give you whatever.’
*– **No** kădə, nörbəʔ, daška ej amnial budəjʔ*
NU how say:IMP.2SG more not eat:PRS:2SG wheat
‘– **So** how, say, will you not devour (my) wheat any longer?’

b. PKZ_19700821_09339-2a.PKZ.020 (KP is requested to share her impressions from a congress where she was presented to the audience.)

KP: ***Nu*** *kak, po-russkij rasskazyvat’*?
NU how in_Russian tell.IPF:INF?
‘**So** how, shall I tell it in Russian?’

(30) NU with interjections

a. PKZ_196X_Gate_nar.003–004

*Măn kubiom, măndəm: – Nadə baltuźiʔ*
1SG see:PST:1SG say.PRS:1SG is_necessary axe:INS
*stolpdə jaʔśittə.*
pole:3SG chop:INF.LAT
‘I saw it, I say: – One needs to whack its pole with an axe.’
*– **No**, ej!*
NU no
‘– **Well**, no!’

b. PKZ_1970_F0205-02.001-002

TRV: *Teper’, požalujsta, dal’še po-vašemu.*
now please further in_your’s
‘Now, please go on in your language.’
KP: ***Nu*** *ladno. Dĭgəttə kambi* (…)
NU okay then go.PST
‘**Well** okay. Then he went …’

(31) NU with presentational (ostensive) *vot*

*Dö ipek. Dö uja. Amorzittə možnə.*
DEM.PROX bread DEM.PROX meat eat:INF:LAT is_possible
***Nu*** *vot.*
NU PRES
‘Here is bread. Here is meat. One can eat. **Well**, here!’

### *3.4.5. Frequencies of clause types*

Table 6 summarizes the frequencies for the different clause types NU is attested with in the corpus.

**Table 6**. Occurrences of NU with different clause types.

| | Declarative | Imperative | Interrogative | Smaller than clause | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *nO* | **91 = 52.6%** | **64 = 37%** | 9 = 5.2% | 9 = 5.2% | 173 |
| *no* | *30* | ***45*** | *7* | *4* | *86* |
| *nu* | ***61*** | *19* | *2* | *5* | *87* |
| ну | **151 = 76.3%** | 7 = **3.5%** | 17 = 8.6% | 23 = 11.6% | 198 |
| total | 242 = 65.3% | 71 = 19.1% | 26 = 7% | 32 = 8.6% | 371[20] |

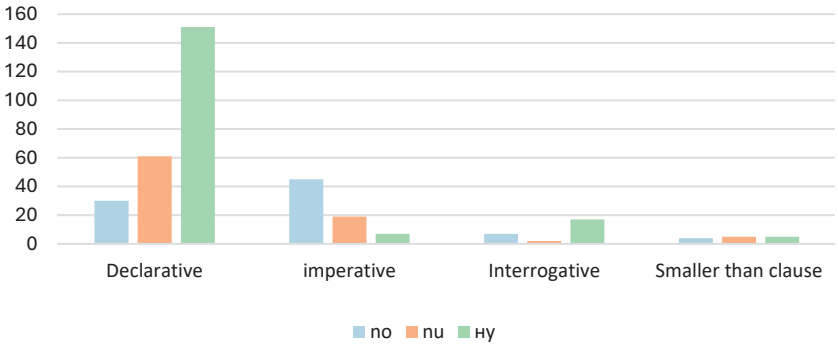


**Figure 5**. Occurrences of NU with different clause types.

The data shows a difference in the use of Kamas *nO* vs. Russian *nu* with different clause types: while the majority of occurrences in both languages is with declarative clauses, this majority makes only ca. 53 per cent in the Kamas data, while it amounts up to more than 76 per cent in the Russian data. The weaker proportion of Kamas declarative instances correlates with a high proportion of imperative clauses, which make 37 per cent here, but only 3.5 per cent in the Russian recordings. Interrogative clauses and units smaller than a clause

20 The total number of instances is smaller as in the previous two tables because of exclusion of one unclear predicate, nine unfinished clauses, and the 21 stand-alone instances of NU.

pattern more equally, with ca. 10 per cent each in the Russian parts and only ca. 5 per cent in the Kamas parts.

The 64 instances of Kamas NU preceding an imperative clause occur all in constructed dialogues; NU with imperative in the Russian recordings occurs mainly in free dialogues (five vs. one instance in constructed dialogue). The rareness of NU with imperative clauses in the Russian narratives is not clear to me, but it is no surprise that there is no free conversation example of Kamas NU with imperative because there are hardly any free conversation utterances in Kamas recorded. Most instances of NU with imperative clauses occur turn-initially (63 out of 64 *nO* and 6 out of 7 ну), but there are also a few turn-internal occurrences (3 out of 63 *nO* and 1 out of 6 ну).

As concerns *no* vs. *nu* in the Kamas data, the previously observed trend is also confirmed for the clause-type parameter: Kamas *nu* patterns closer to Russian *nu* than Kamas *no* does, except for interrogative and less-than-clausal contexts, whose numbers, however, are relatively small. In the case of imperative clauses, *no* dominates with 45 instances, whereas the 19 instances of *nu* form the minority, like Russian *nu* forms a minority compared to Kamas *nO* in the imperative domain.

### 3.5. Position in clause

As concerns the position of NU in the clause, the general picture is that it occurs in clause-initial[21] position. This holds for 100 per cent of the imperative and the interrogative clauses. With declarative clauses and with units smaller than a clause, however, there occur altogether five instances of clause-internal NU (twice Kamas *no*, and three times Russian *nu*). All of them occur in contexts of self-repair, but they differ in the size of the repaired unit. In (32), NU appears after the subject expression and then the remaining constituents of a declarative clause follow. In (27a) above, NU appeared at the beginning of a relative clause where the speaker is struggling with the phrase '[who] lives at the river

21 Taking into account the generally detached character of NU, with a pause following it before the clause actually begins, Auer & Maschler's (2016: 10–11, 27–28) term *preclausal* may be more adequate. However, since the present study does not elaborate on the length of these pauses, I still use the term *clause-initial*.

side', and in (28b) an even smaller unit was self-prompted, namely an adjective preceded by the place-holder demonstrative *takie* 'such'.

(32) Clause-internal NU with self repair
PKZ_196X_TopsAndRoots_flk.010
*Ŕepabə nĭŋgəbi i dĭnə mĭlüʔbi. Dĭ*
beet:ACC.3SG pluck:PST also DEM:LAT give:MOM:PST DEM
*e- **no**, a bostukəndə ŕepa ibi, kambi sadarzittə.*
HEST NU and self:LAT:3SG beet take:PST go.PST sell:INF:LAT
'He plucked the beets and gave [the tops] to that one. He, **what's it**, took for himself the beet and went to sell them.'

Finally, the Kamas recordings of the corpus contain one single instance of a clause-final NU (33). The speaker repeats the predicate of the previous clause, adds *nu* and stops. The interpretation of this example is not straightforward. It may be affirmative, or, similar to turn-final NU, signal that everything has been said. The slightly clueless repetition of the predicate rather points to the latter.

(33) Clause-final NU
PKZ_1964_SU0209.PKZ.073–075
*Ăľeńən uja ugāndə nömər, kak ipek. Iʔgö*
reindeer[Ru.]:GEN meat very soft like[Ru.] bread a_lot
*ambial, dĭgəttə bü bĭtliel … bü*
eat:PST:2SG then water drink:PRS:2SG water
*bĭtliel, **nu**.*
drink:PRS:2SG NU
'Reindeer meat is very soft, like bread. You eat a lot, then you drink water … you drink water, **well**.'

For the sake of completion, the numbers are summarized in Table 7. The clause-initial position is where NU is generally found, the clause-internal position comes with disrupted clauses in self repair, and the clause-final position is a hapax. Interestingly, however, is that the two cases of self-prompt in Kamas are with *no*, i.e. the variant which has a stronger presence with imperative clauses (see Table 6). Syntactically integrated NU, as reported for e.g. German *nun* and Finnish *nyt* (see Auer & Maschler 2016: 31–35 with references), does not occur in our data.

**Table 7**. Occurrences of NU with different clause positions.

| | clause-initial | clause-internal | clause-final | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *nO* | **172 = 98.3%** | 2 = 1.1% | 1 = 0.6% | 175 |
| *no* | *85* | *2* | *0* | *87* |
| *nu* | *87* | *0* | *1* | *88* |
| НУ | **202 = 98.5%** | 3 = 1.5% | 0 | 205 |
| total | 374 = 98.4% | 5 = 1.3% | 1 = 0.3% | 380 |

## 4. Summaries and discussions

### 4.1. Summary and discussion of distributions

The attestations in the INEL Kamas corpus amount to 176 instances of Kamas *nO* (87 *no* and 89 *nu*), with a frequency rate of 3.8 wpt, and 226 instances of Russian *nu,* with a much higher frequency rate of 22.6 wpt. In contrast, the pre-shift Kamas texts from 1914 show only four attestations of *no,* with a frequency rate of 1.5 wpt. These are the first attestations of the discourse particle NU in Kamas. In 1.1 it was assumed that it originates from Kamas-Russian language contact and replaced, after a possible period of coexistence, the earlier hortative interjection *ťeʔ*, or *ťəʔ* ‘now!’. The origin of *no* in Kamas, however, is not that straightforward because there seems to be no established Russian source for it. The respective volume of the Dictionary of Russian Dialects of Siberia (Fëdorov & Buxareva 2001: 390), for instance, shows only *nu.* Dal’s Dictionary of the Russian National Dialects (Filin 1986: 252) does show the particle *no*, but lists only the stand-alone uses with confirmative or interrogative meaning. The hortative or permissive use with imperatives, in which *no* is attested in pre-shift Kamas, comes closest to a horse command *no!*, which is missing in these two as well as in many other Russian dictionaries, but cf. e.g. *no!* [Germ.] ‘hü! (zu Zugtieren)’ [‘giddyup, gee (to draught animals)’].[22] And this command seems to occur with hortative verb forms, e.g. *Obyčno lošadi komandujut: –No, pošla!* ‘Usually horses are commanded: –Giddyup, let’s go!’.[23] Further speculations are beyond the scope of this paper, however, until

22 https://russisch.urz.uni-leipzig.de/online-woerterbuch (accessed 25.07.2026).

23 https://rus.stackexchange.com/questions/29060 (accessed 25.07.2026).

further notice I consider the source of Kamas *no* Russian. It should not be forgotten that, as seen in (6), Russian *nu* is attested already from a pre-shift Kamas speaker, and that the exclusiveness of pre-shift Kamas *no* may be challenged should additional instances be identified in the phonograph recordings (see 1.2).

In post-shift Kamas, *no* persists and occurs besides *nu,* which is a clear transfer from Russian. In the documented Russian speech of KP and AS, only *nu* occurs. The situation in Kamas thus is comparable to other contact languages of Russian, which show an older layer of *no* and a younger layer of *nu*, which possibly takes over (cf. Markus 2025, Tuuling 2026).[24]

The distributional analysis of the particles Kamas *nO* and Russian *nu* across speakers (KP vs. AS), classes of recordings (early recordings, narrative folklore, interviews, recordings with AS, see 3.1), types of discourse (free and constructed dialogues, free and constructed reflections, narrative line, see 3.2), position in turn (initial, internal, final, and stand-alone, see 3.3), clause types (imperative, interrogative, declarative, and units smaller than a clause, see 3.4), as well as position in the clause (initial, internal, final, see 3.5) has achieved the following results.

There are very few qualitative differences between Kamas *nO* and Russian *nu* observed. Both occur in free and constructed dialogues and in the narrative line, both occur in the initial, the internal, or final position of a turn as well as in stand-alone position, both precede declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses as well as units smaller than a clause. Both occur predominantly in clause-initial position, but also clause internally with self-repair (expression prompting). One of the very few actual zero attestations in the corpus is the clause-final position (see Table 7): despite the fact that Russian *nu*s are more numerous and more versatile in the corpus, it's a Kamas *nu* which we find in the single instance of this position. Other zero attestations are Kamas *nO* with a demonstrative (vs. three times Ru. *nu ėto* 'well this'), with presentational *vot* (vs. four instances in Russian) (see Table 5), and in stand-alone confirming function, including the absence of reduplicated and retriplicated instances of *nO* (this absence does not show

24 Note, however, that in the case of Finnic, *no* is not considered a Russian borrowing but an original Finnic word. Its earliest attestations in Finnish date back to the 16th century (Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016: 243–244).

in Table 3, which lists one instance of stand-alone Kamas *nO*, but in interrogative function). Qualitative differences were thus found only in domains, which are marginal in terms of frequency, and I'm reluctant to interpret these zero attestations as indicative of a difference in the constructional possibilities of Kamas *nO* or Russian *nu* respectively. The absence of confirming stand-alone examples in Kamas was explained with the fact that, apart from a few instances of the type *nu, kabarləj* 'well, it's enough' addressed to the interviewer, free dialogues, in which confirming NU or emphatic confirmation by multiple NU could occur, are not attested in the Kamas recordings.

Kamas *nO* occurs more rarely than Russian *nu* in the narrative line and in turn-internal positions (see Tables 2 and 3). The reasons behind this are probably two: both positions are typical for side comments, and side comments occur more often in the Russian narratives about life in Abalakovo, where KP has more reason to leave the main narrative track and make reference to details her interviewer may know of, whereas in the Kamas versions of such narratives and in the folklore narratives there is simply no audience for such side comments in Kamas. The other reason is that the Kamas narratives move from one constructed dialogue to another, and many *nO* within a narrative is actually a turn-initial *nO* of a protagonist, or of the narrator after constructed dialogue, rather than a turn-internal *nO* within the narrative line (see 3.2).

Another difference is that the Kamas constructed dialogues feature many *nO* with imperative clauses,[25] more than the Russian narratives do, whereas the percentage of NU with declarative clauses was higher in the Russian narratives (see Table 6). In consequence, the differences between Kamas *nO* and Russian *nu*, which show in the corpus, are mainly of quantitative nature and should be explained with the different characters of the texts.

As concerns differences between Kamas *no* and *nu*, zero attestations, again, appear only in domains too marginal in frequency for taking them as evidence for the absence of a constructional possibility of one of them. *No* is neither attested in turn-final position (vs. four attestations of *nu*), nor in stand-alone position (vs. one attestation of *nu*). It is, of

25 Constructed dialogues, often without speech introduction, are characteristic already of the pre-shift tales, and imperatives as a motor for the development of the story are frequently found there. This, however, has not been systematically studied so far.

course, tempting to declare these positions as "newcomers" because they were not attested in pre-shift Kamas and therefore operate with the more recent *nu*, but the base for such a claim is a bit weak. Also the absence of *no* or *nu* in combination with one or the other unit smaller than a clause (see Table 5) should, due to the small numbers, not be used to assert a qualitative difference between the two variants.

The quantitative differences between Kamas *no* and *nu,* however, deserve attention. First, the two speakers use them with very different frequencies: AS shows almost exclusively *nu* (20 : 1), KP both more or less equally (86 : 69), but with quite different proportions across the recordings. The differences are shown in Table 8 (repeating Table 1 in a different format with added percentages).

**Table 8**. Kamas *no* v.s *nu* by speakers and classes of recordings.

| **speaker** | ***no*** | ***nu*** | **total = 100%** |
|---|---|---|---|
| KP total | 86 = 55.5% | 69 = 44.5% | 155 |
| Tallinn interviews | 11 = 31.4% | **24 = 68.6%** | 35 |
| Early recordings | 2 = 40% | 3 = 60% | 5 |
| Tartu interviews | 4 = 40% | 6 = 60% | 10 |
| Folklore narratives | **69 = 65.7%** | 36 = 34.7% | 105 |
| AS | 1 = 4.8% | 20 = 95.2% | 21 |
| total | 87 = 49.4% | 89 = 50.6% | 176 |

The most pointed difference in Table 8 is between the Tallinn interviews with a dominance of *nu* by almost 69 per cent and the folklore narratives with a dominance of *no* by almost 66 per cent. The early recordings and the Tartu interviews also show a majority of *nu* over *no*, however, with smaller proportions. An important finding is that the preference for Kamas *no* or *nu* correlates with a stronger or weaker presence of Russian speech in a recording. This shows most strongly in the Tallinn interviews with a ratio of 1 : 1.8 between Kamas and Russian words, followed by the early recordings with a ratio of approximately 1 : 1. The Tartu interviews with a ratio of 15 : 1 show a much weaker presence of Russian text, however, Russian questions are the persistent structuring element of these recordings, and the speaker is most of the time responding in Kamas to a Russian stimulus. The narrative folklore recordings with their stronger presence of *no*, on the other

hand, are characterized by an almost complete absence of Russian text (ratio 357 : 1). Based on these findings, one may say that KP uses more *nu* where there is more interaction in Russian, but more *no* where she engages in longer narratives not interrupted by any Russian utterance. This result somehow conforms with AS' general preference of *nu*: her reactivation period was much shorter, her command of Kamas weaker, and therefore one may say that the presence of Russian in her recordings is always strong.

Notable differences in frequency between *no* and *nu* are not only observed across speakers and recordings but also across other distributional parameters. More than once they mirror the differences in frequency between Kamas *nO* and Russian *nu.* This correlation has been observed throughout Section 3 and is summarized for selected categories in Table 9 below.

**Table 9**. Distributional proportions of Kamas *no* vs. *nu* and Kamas *nO* vs. Russian *nu* in relation to occurrences in classes of recordings (FN = folklore narratives, ITL = Tallinn interviews, IT = Tartu interviews, ER = Early recordings, AS = Recordings with Aleksandra Semënova).

| | ***nO* vs. ну** | ***no* vs. *nu*** | ***nO* in FN vs. ITL/IT/ER/AS** |
|---|---|---|---|
| constructed dialogue | 122 > 8 | 74 > 48 | 122: 87 > 35 |
| turn-initial | 144 > 89 | 77 > 64 | 144: 88 > 53 |
| imperative clause | 64 > 7 | 45 > 19 | 64: 52 > 10 |
| free dialogue | 7 < 125 | 1 < 6 | 7: 2 < 5 |
| narrative line | 42 < 91 | 9 < 33 | 42: 31 > 11 |
| turn-internal | 29 < 94 | 9 < 20 | 29: 6 < 13 |
| turn-final | 4 < 22 | 0 < 4 | 4: 2 = 2 |
| declarative clause | 91 < 115 | 30 < 61 | 91: 52 > 39 |
| smaller than clause | 9 < 23 | 4 < 5 | 9: 5 > 4 |
| clause-initial | 172 < 202 | 85 < 87 | 172: 68 < 104 |

The upper part of Table 9 shows the distributional categories in which Kamas *nO* dominates over Russian *nu,* and within Kamas, *no* over *nu.* These are occurrences in constructed dialogues, in turn-initial position and with imperative clauses (cf. above). As for Kamas, all three show a higher frequency in the folklore narratives compared to other recording classes so one may associate the dominance of *no* in these

parameters with the absence of Russian text. However, as was shown in 1.2 in the Introduction, *no* is the only form documented in pre-shift Kamas, and imperatives the main clause type it was attested with. Thus *no* may be the traditionally preferred variant with imperative clauses.

The second block of Table 9 shows those categories for which a stronger presence of Russian *nu* over Kamas *nO* was found, and this is in correlation with a stronger presence of *nu* over *no.* This relation shows most pointedly for the parameters free dialogue and narrative line, turn-internal and turn-final position as well as with declarative clauses. The parameters smaller than clause and clause-initial position conform to this trend, however with less pointed numbers. In this block, there is no consistent correlation with occurrence in certain recording classes, the arrow in the respective column may point into either direction, and for the small number of turn-final occurrences there is equality. Thus, occurrence in a recording with a higher or lower presence of Russian text is less or even not at all a criterion here in order to explain the distribution of *no* vs. *nu.*

### 4.2. Summary and discussion of translations

The preceding Kamas and Russian examples operate with altogether five different translations of NU: '1. well; 2. come on; 3. so; 4. yes; 5. what's it'. A detailed argumentation for the choice of these translations would need to rely systematically on results of research for these English lexemes and relate them to the Kamas and Russian equivalents, e.g., Heritage's (2018: 179) observation on English *well* in second position, according to which "(…) respondents (…) are frequently privileging their own concerns, agendas and projects over those of their questioners". Such a detailed argumentation is beyond the scope of this study. In the present section, however, I want to summarize the applied translations and their contexts. The summary is organized by sorting the contexts in which the five translations occur into three different types. First, urging contexts, in which the speaker wants the addressee to act, second, cooperative contexts in which the speaker is expected to act by the addressee, and third, contexts, in which no such expectations hold, but the more general notion of *transition* seems relevant.

Four of the five translations belong to uses of NU with utterances by which the speaker wants the addressee to act. This shows most clearly

with ‘come on’ preceding imperatives of request as in ‘come on, let it go!’ in (1a), ‘come on, don’t cry’ in (1b–c), ‘come on there, say something!’ in (22b), but also with interrogative ‘so?’, either in stand-alone position as in (17a–b), or with a question following as in ‘so, what do you need?’ in (3 = 24a), ‘so, did you think it over?’ in (25a), and in ‘so you didn’t know that he died?’ in (7) (see also (24b) and (25b), as well as the collocations ‘so how?’ in (29a–b) and ‘so what?’ in (12)). Also the translation ‘what’s it’ in the self-prompts ‘where [the one], what’s it, lives at the river side!’ in (27a), ‘an old lady, what’s it, in your language’ (27b), and in ‘boots from, what’s it, wild game’ (28b) (see also (32)) belongs here, whereby the reflexive nature of self-prompts entails that the definition of the second type – the speaker is expected to act – does equally apply here. Finally belongs here also stand-alone confirming NU ‘yes’ where it has an undertone of urging to move on to the next question or stimulus as in (18a). The confirming function ‘yes’, however, may also occur without such an urging connotation, at least is this the case with reduplicated NU in (18b). Both confirming functions are not attested in the Kamas recordings, otherwise Kamas and Russian NU don’t show notable differences in the domain of these four translations.

The remaining translation ‘well’ is the most frequent one. Opposite from the preceding uses of NU, ‘well’ may appear where the speaker is expected to act by the interlocutor, which shows most prominently in NU preceding replies to questions and requests, but also with other reactions. By far the most frequent clause type are declarative clauses (see below), however, ‘well’ appears also with imperative clauses which communicate advice rather than request as in (5) ‘well, don’t go if you’re scared’, or permission as in (22a) ‘well, go!’ (see also, depending on the permissive or hortative reading, (23a, b) as well as the permissive clause with *kalla* in (1d)). Further appears ‘well’ with rhetorical interrogative clauses as in ‘well, do I know where?’ in (26a) and ‘well, what’s new…?’ in (26b), and with units smaller than a clause, e.g. the summarizing ‘well, bread’ in (28a), the interjections in ‘well, no!’ (30a) and ‘well okay’ in (30b), or presentational ‘well, here!’ (31). Responsive NU ‘well’ preceding replies to questions or requests appeared in ‘well, they sew such a birch bark vessel’ (9a), ‘well, there is such a high mountain’ (9b), in ‘well, I will eat it all’ in (13) and in ‘well, I’ve just eaten’ in (19a) and ‘well, it’s possible …’ in (19b). NU ‘well’ preceding a third-turn reply upon an answer to a question in the first turn appeared in

'well it's good that you went hiding' in (4). Cooperative 'well' appears also in the only instance of a clause-final NU in (33), '…you drink water … you drink water, well' because the situation, in which NU is uttered, may be interpreted as one, in which the speaker feels she still needs to say something, but there is nothing more to say (cf. below the "filler function").

The remaining instances of 'well' with declarative clauses may be subsumed under a use type, for which I apply the key notion *transition* from an account of Russian *nu* by Kuosmanen and Multisilta (1999) in the tradition of Schiffrin (1987: 25). The authors observe that *nu* signals various transitions, which they sort into four main types: (i) *turn* transitions like beginning a question, a request, an answer or response; (ii) *topic* transitions like beginning a new topic or subtopic, an example, an addition, reported speech, returning to an earlier topic, shifting between events in narration, or ending an episode or topic; (iii) *situational* transitions like beginning an explanation or an evaluation; and finally (iv) *informative* transitions like beginning a metatextual statement, a comment on the present situation, turning to the respondent, or information searching and finding (e.g. in self-repair, G.K) (Kuosmanen and Multisilta 1999: 51–52). In fact, a part of the *turn transitions* already occurred above, namely the answers to questions or requests, in which the speaker is expected by the interlocutor to act, or with interrogative NU, where the speaker expects the addressee to act. Other turn transitions are instances of turn-initial NU in constructed dialogues as in 'They say: "Well, Russians will come…"' in (10), or both instances in (14a) – 'Then the bear: –Well, the person tricked me. (…) The man says to the bear: –Let's sow again! Well, the bear: –The roots for me (…)' – and in (14b) – 'He fancied coming. –Well, I wanted to come with my son. (…) And now I'll come next year. Well, I say, –He will come (…)'. NU with turn-internal declarative clauses falls into the category of *topic transitions*, so e.g. when in the narrative line a protagonist arrives at a new site where a new episode unfolds as in 'He went on and on. Well, there lived a man with his wife' in (2), or in the side-comments 'well, now I don't work' (15a) and 'well, I was still younger then' (15b), and in the reflections 'well, I don't know where the calf has gone' in (20a) and 'well, I say [to myself], wolfs are running…' in (20b). Also returning to the narrative line after constructed dialogue as in 'well, then she set the table…' in (13) qualifies as such a transition. *Situational transitions* are

the turn-final addresses of the interviewer of the type ‘well, it’s enough’ in (5), (6), and (16a, b), or ending a Russian narrative with the commitment that now the Kamas version will follow in (21).

In their fine-grained list of 18 relevant functions of Russian *nu*, Kuosmanen and Multisilta (1999) also offer interpretations of NU not associated with transitions, namely a filler function and a function called “emotive”. Apart from the possibility of interpreting the only instance of a clause-final NU in (33) as a filler, these do not occur in my materials, neither in the Russian nor in the Kamas recordings, and no separate translation was needed.

The reader may at some points disagree with a translation choice or the assortment of three basic functions, with no cross-classifications pursued. My point, however, is to show how NU functions largely parallelly across the Kamas and Russian recordings. For this purpose, the five different translations were boiled down to the threefold distinction between an urging NU, when the speaker wants the addressee to act, a cooperative NU in the opposite situation, when the speaker is expected to act, and a transitional NU. This threefold distinction situates NU as found with the last speakers of Kamas between the poles found in the literature on NU in Russian, with on the one end the eighteen functions (or signals) proposed by Kuosmanen & Multisilta (1999), and on the other Šmelev’s (2005, 1998) basic meaning of NU as being appropriate when the development of a communicative situation forces the speaker to say something, expressing thereby an attitude toward mutual understanding and cooperation (Šmelev 2005: 519, 1998: 152). He relates it to what Baranov & Kobozeva (1988: 51–53) have described as the “search” use of *nu* and its function in responses to questions with communicative difficulties of various kinds like hesitation, difficulties in the linear construction of speech, choosing an adequate description, the need to correct an accidental slip of the tongue, a type of usage, which is based on the idea of the need to fulfill a communicative obligation (answer a question, continue a story), despite the difficulty that has arisen (hence “forced speaking”) (Šmelev 2005: 521) (cf. also Zubova & Arkhangelsky 2026, analysis of *nu* in Beserman Udmurt, which indicates “that the discourse topic can’t be closed just yet”, in opposition to the discourse particle *ja* “as a means of closing the discourse topic”). The domain, which seems less compatible with this idea is

urging the addressee to act as with the translations ‘come on’ and interrogative ‘so?’.

A more detailed analysis of functions of Kamas *nO* on the base of Russian *nu* as elaborated e.g. by Bolden (2016, 2018), is not pursued here. It would need to take more systematically into account prosody as well as a more fine-grained distinction of turns and contexts, in which the different clause types host NU.

## 5. Conclusions and outlook

The present article compared the use of the discourse particle NU in Kamas and Russian as spoken by the two last speakers of Kamas. 87 instances of *no* and 89 instances of *nu* with Kamas utterances were classified as Kamas *nO*, opposed to 176 instances of *nu* with Russian utterances. It was asked if a difference in use can be found for Kamas *nO* vs. Russian *nu* on the one hand, and for Kamas *no* vs. Kamas *nu* on the other. An investigation into the distribution of the particles across speakers, recording classes, conversational turns, clause types and position in clause, revealed differencies in frequencies, which can be explained by the different character of the Kamas and the Russian parts of the recordings rather than by robust constructional differences between Kamas and Russian – absence of actual free conversation in Kamas, for instance. All in all, Russian *nu* shows more versatility in rare positions, e.g. has a confirming and an interrogative use in stand-alone function, whereas the confirming function is missing in Kamas, reduplicates or retriplicates, shows a higher combining rate with other small elements, and, last but not least, has a higher frequency rate: 22.6 wpt over only 3.8 wpt in Kamas. These results contribute to earlier assessments that post-shift Kamas has a strong impact of Russian, i.e. the stronger language of the two heritage speakers, in which they converse more freely, as shows also in the numbers for Russian *nu* over Kamas *nO*. The parallel use of the particles across Kamas and Russian, however, could be demonstrated with numerous examples from imperative, interrogative and declarative clauses. One must mention here the parallel narrative strategy of uttering NU in contexts of constructed and reported dialogue, either preceding its introduction (narrator’s NU), or already within the reported or constructed utterance (protagonist’s NU) (see 3.3).

Factors which turned out to have an influence on the choice of *no* over *nu* in the Kamas text parts, are the absence of interaction in Russian in a recording, and imperative clauses, i.e. the clause type NU was first attested with in 1914, and where the variant *no* had assumedly replaced an earlier adhortative interjection (see 1.1–2). With imperative clauses, more than 70 per cent of the instances of NU are *no* (see Table 6). Also in interrogative clauses *no* prevails, however, with much smaller numbers (7 out of 9, i.e. 77.8 %), whereas with declarative clauses we find the opposite proportions, one third of the instances are *nu* (61 out of 91, i.e. 67 %). A more detailed investigation would start here and look for additional parameters within the clause types in order to increase the predictability. It must also be mentioned that only *nu* is attested with the rare positions turn-final (four instances) and stand-alone (one instance).

Comparing pre-shift with post-shift Kamas one may say that with the arrival of *nu* in the latter, the distribution of NU over clause-types and position expands, *nu* can occur everywhere, whereas *no* seems to be more restricted, and this leaves the impression that *nu* was in the process of taking over. However, for a conclusion that, like in Ingrian, in Kamas *no* and *nu* would have been "on the way to complete merger" (Markus 2024: 181) one criterion is missing: there are no instances of a discourse particle *no* in the Russian text parts. Where *no* occurs it is always the adversative conjunction 'but'. Possibly interesting is the observation that the pre-shift speaker AA applies only *no* in her tales, but *nu* in the only Russian utterance attested from her.

In conclusion, in heritage Kamas, Russian *nu* expands on the expense of older Kamas *no.* The question in the title of the present paper, "one particle across two languages?", however, is programmatic rather than descriptive, it refers to the endpoint of a development rather than to the actually documented stage, in which *no* still exists and shows niches, where it even dominates. As for a final comparison between pre- and post-shift Kamas, this must wait until the phonograph recordings have been fully understood.

The study contributes first of all to understanding the language contact perspective in heritage Kamas and the role of Russian in the creolization process, which began when the last speakers faced the task to narrate and talk in a puristic way in the language, which they had known in their childhood but didn't use for the greatest part of their lives (see Arkhipov 2023; Gusev 2020; Klumpp 2002, 2022b,

c; Künnap 1965). In order to give an impression of how Russian had expanded from baseline to heritage Kamas, I provide Table 10, which shows the results of a comparison between the tales as collected by Donner in 1912–1914 (KW: 88–99, 197–198) and the retellings by KP in the 1960s as distributed over several recordings in the INEL corpus.[26] The table shows the number of Russian words (tokens and lemmata) against the total number of words in the two small sub-corpora (which are roughly the same size).

**Table 10**. Russian lexemes in the Kamas tales from 1912/14 (without the phonograph recordings) and their retellings from the 1960s.

| | **pre-shift tales (1912/14)** | **post-shift versions (1960s)** |
|---|---|---|
| Words in total | 1829 = 100% | 1932 = 100% |
| Russian lexemes (lemmata / tokens) | 11 / 16 = 0.9 % | 51 / 187 = 9.7% |
| *content words (lemmata / tokens)* | *2 / 2 = 0.1%* | *23 / 52 = 2.7%* |
| *function words (lemmata / tokens)* | *8 / 14 = 0.8 %* | *28 / 135 = 7%* |
| conjunction *i* ‘and, also’ | 2 | 41 |
| conjunction *a* ‘and, but’ | 2 | 27 |
| disc. particle *no/nu* | 3 [*no*] | 14 [12 *no*, 2 *nu*] |
| focus particle *tolʹka* ‘only’ | 2 | 3 |
| conjunction *da* ‘and’ | 2 | 1 |
| adverb *iššo* ‘(even) more’ | 1 | 1 |
| conjunction *alʹi* ‘or’ | 1 | 1 |
| epistemic adverb *možət* ‘maybe’ | 1 | – |
| | | (…) |

As the upper part of Table 10 shows, the majority of borrowed Russian lexemes are in both columns functional words (conjunctions, interjections, discourse particles, and others), which dominate over content words in terms of lemmata and tokens. The rate is more pointed in the pre-shift texts (8 function words out of 11 Russian lexemes, with

26 PKZ_196X_0205, PKZ_196X_0222–0223, and PKZ_196X_0225–0229. The Donner tales have received titles in the INEL corpus: no. 1 is AA_1914_Mouse_flk, no 2 AA_1914_Khan_flk, no 3. AA_1914_Maneater_flk, no. 4 NN_1914_Birds_flk, no. 5 AA_1914_Hare_flk, no. 6 AA_1914_Brothers_flk, no. 7 AA_1914_Raven_flk, no. 8 AA_1914_Corpse_flk, no. 9 AA_1914_Head_flk, no. 10 AA_1914_Girl_flk, no. 11 AIN_1914_Trickster_flk, and the tale from 1912 is AIN_1912_Frogwoman_flk. This and no. 7, however, do not figure among the retellings by KP.

14 tokens out of 16), whereas in the post-shift texts the percentage of content words increases (28 function words out 51 Russian lexemes), however in terms of tokens they still form the clear majority (135 tokens out 187). The increase in transfer of Russian matter in the comparative subcorpus amounts to less than one per cent in 1914 (16 out of 1829 tokens = 0.9 %) vs. almost ten per cent in the 1960s (187 out of 1932 tokens = 9.7%).

The second part of Table 10 spells out the lemmata and tokens for the eight functional words used in the tales already in 1912/14 and their numbers in the versions from the 1960s. The three upper words separated by the broken line, are those which expand: first of all the conjunction *i* 'and, also' (Russ. ← *i* id.), attested twice in 1912/14, but 41 times in the 1960s, and *a* 'but, and' (← Russ. *a* id.), also twice in 1912/14, but 27 times in the 1960s. The numbers for NU are less dramatic, however, with three attestations of *no* in 1912/14 vs. 14 attestations (12 times *no* and two times *nu*) in the 1960s, also NU belongs to the expanding operators.[27] The remaining five, adaptations of Russian *tol'ko* 'just, only', *da* 'and', *eščë* '(even) more', *ali* 'or', and *možet* 'maybe', show a more or less stable rate in the two sub-corpora.[28] Of course, the retellings from the 1960s feature more borrowed functional words, which are not spelled out in Table 10. What is more important, these texts also continue to feature genuine functional words as e.g. the conjunction *kamən* 'when, as', or the repetitive adverb *bāzoʔ* 'again, in addition, in turn, back again' (Klumpp 2022d), and even genuine operators, which had not been attested earlier, most prominently the so far unsufficiently analyzed discourse particle *bar,* a possibly local pragmatization of the quantifier 'all' of Turkic origin (Klumpp 2022e: 25–28), but also the interjection *ťok* 'no' (also Turkic). Russian and Kamas functional operators thus coexist in heritage Kamas and make

27 One may notice that the rate for *nu* is even lower here than in the narratives in general (see 3.1 and 4.1). This fact may be explained by the high percentage of imperative clauses here (11 out of 14, all with *no* as e.g. in (22a), the remaining *no* with a unit smaller than clause (27a), and the two instances of *nu* once with a hortative similar to the example in (23a), and once with a turn-internal transition (2)), rather than by a "nostalgic" use of *nO* by KP in those tales.

28 *Možet* 'maybe' is absent from the retellings of Kamas tales in the 1960s, but it does, of course, occur in other texts.

an interesting case for an evaluation of the possible nonseparation of systems in matter transfer as proposed by Matras (2000).

Matras (2000: 512) distinguishes four functions of contact phenomena: *integration* "enables to draw on B-system components within the A-system" (B in our case means the system of Russian operators, and A that of Kamas), *differentiation* "exploits the contrast between the systems", *convergence* "allows processing operations to merge while retaining the independence of each system", and *fusion*, in which "there is no alternative class of indigenous elements available in the language, hence no option of separating the two systems". The present study relies very much on the separation of systems by keeping Kamas *nO* and Russian *nu* distinct from each other (see 3.4). NU as used by the last speakers of Kamas appears as a case of integration, i.e. an "attempt to enhance the A-system to include something which otherwise would not be available" (Matras 2000: 512). For the discussion of whether this treatment is sufficient, or if we rather deal with fusion, i.e. the "nonseparation of the systems which occurs potentially at the expense of the A-system" (Matras 2000: 512), two points would need clarification. The first point is "the licensing continuum for Fusion" (Matras 2000: 524): the progression of the diachronic process of fusion depends on the speakers' will and ability to resist or accept it, and the speech community's interest in licensing it (Matras 2000: 526). In the case of heritage Kamas there was no speech community, i.e. both speakers never had an interlocutor who would have rejected the use of *nu* in a certain context. The purism inflicted on them by their interviewers extended to the avoidance of Russian appellative vocabulary and a ban of actual code switching, but to not to the use of Russian functional words. The second point is "the system". Above I tried to point out that functional lexemes in heritage Kamas make a heterogeneous class in terms of origin. Conjunctions are certainly a class with a clear dominance of Russian borrowings, but NU is not a conjunction, and so at present I'm not sure if we deal with "a wholesale, class-specific nonseparation of the systems" as in the case of the presence of the German discourse markers *ach*, *denn*, *doch*, *naja* in the German Sinti dialect of Romani (Matras 2000: 512). In his study, Matras classifies an instance of German *aber* 'but' in an English text produced by a native speaker of German as "a local instance of Fusion: the mental nonseparation of linguistic systems while executing a linguistic operation" (Matras 2000:

520). NU in Kamas is definitely deeply integrated, but the question remains if *nu*, in contrast to *no*, is a nonvoluntary product of a mental nonseparation of linguistic systems.

## Glossing abbreviations

ACC – accusative case, ADJ – adjective derivation, AFF – affirmative, CNG – connegative stem, COMP – comparative derivation, CONJ – conjunction, CONN – connector, CV – converb, DAT – dative case, DEM – demonstrative pronoun, DIM – diminutive derivation, DP – discourse particle, DST – distal, DUR – durative aktionsart, EN – enimitive (uncontroversial information), EXST – existential predicate, F – feminine gender, FUT – future tense, HEST – hesitation marker, HORT – (ad)hortative, ID – identity, IMP – imperative mood, INCL – inclusive, INDF – indefinite, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental case, INTJ – interjection, IPF – imperfective aspect, LAT – lative case – LOC – locative case, M – masculine gender, MED – middle voice, MOM – momentaneous aktionsart, N – neuter gender, NEG – negative (verb), NU – discourse particle NU, OBL – oblique case, OC – objective conjugation, PASS – passive, PF – perfective aspect, PL – plural number, POSS – possessive pronoun, PREP – prepositive case, PRES – presentational particle, PROX – proximal, PRS – present tense, PST – past tense, QP – question particle, RES – resultative aktionsart, SG – singular number, V – denominal verb

## Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the Estonian Research Council grant PUT 1290. Many sincere thanks go to Elena Markus and Denys Teptiuk as well as to an anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments.

## References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and Commands.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Arder, Árpád. 1992. *Kus on Arpadi kuningas. Elu eesmärgi otsingud.* [Where is Arpad's Kingdom. Searches for the Purpose of Life.] Tallinn: Logos.

Arkhipov, Alexandre. 2023. Two morphologies, two stress systems, shaken, not stirred: Number marking on Russian borrowings in Kamas. In Deborah Arbes (ed.), *Number Categories: Dynamics, Contact, Typology,* 63–106. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110986600-003.

Arkhipov, Alexandre, Chris Lasse Däbritz & Valentin Gusev (without year). INEL Kamas corpus 2.0. User documentation. https://s3-uhh.lzs.uni-hamburg.de/gwiss-inel-corpora/remote/kamas-2.0/documentation/kamas-2.0-documentation.pdf

Arkhipov, Alexandre & Beáta Wagner-Nagy. 2023. Kamas. In Anja Behnke & Beáta Wagner-Nagy (eds.), *Clause Linkage in the Languages of the Ob-Yenisei Area. Asyndetic Constructions* (Empirical Approaches to Linguistic Theory 23), 415–452. Leiden & Boston: Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004684775_011.

Auer, Peter & Yael Maschler 2016. The family of NU and NÅ across the languages of Europe and beyond: Structure, function, and history. In Peter Auer & Yael Maschler (eds.), NU/NÅ: *A Family of Discourse Markers across the Languages of Europe and Beyond,* 1–47. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Baranov, A. N. & I. M. Kobozeva. 1988. Modal'nye časticy v otvetax na vopros. [Modal particles in answers to questions.] In N. D. Arut'unova (ed.), *Pragmatika i problemy intensional'nosti*, 45–69. Moskva: Akademija nauk SSSR.

Bolden, Galina B. 2016. The Discourse Marker *nu* in Russian Conversation. In: Peter Auer & Yael Maschler (eds.), NU/NÅ: *A Family of Discourse Markers across the Languages of Europe and Beyond,* 48–80. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110348989-002.

Bolden, Galina B. 2018. *Nu*-prefaced responses in Russian conversation. In John Heritage & Marja-Leena Sorjonen (eds.), *Between turn and sequence: Turn-initial particles across languages* (Studies in Language and Social Interaction 31), 23–58. John Benjamins.

Castrén, Matthias A. 1847. Manuscripta Castréniana XIX. Samoiedica 13: Kamass-Samoiedica. Manuscript. University Library Helsinki.

Castrén, Matthias A. 1854. *Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen.* Edited by Anton Schiefner (Nordische Reisen und Forschungen 7). St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. (Nachdruck 1969, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR)

Castrén, Matthias A. 1855. *Wörterverzeichnisse aus den Samojedischen Sprachen*. Edited by Anton Schiefner (Nordische Reisen und Forschungen 8). St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. (Nachdruck 1969, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR)

Condoravdi, Cleo & Sven Lauer. 2012. Imperatives: meaning and illocutionary force. In Christopher Piñón (ed.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 9, 37–58. Berlin: Language Science Press. http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss10/

Fedorov, Aleksandr I. & Buxareva, Natal'ja. T. 2001. *Slovar' russkix dialektov Sibiri.* Tom 2: K–N. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Filin, Fedot P. 1986 (Red.). *Slovar' russkix narodnyx govorov.* Vyp. 21: Negorazdyj–Obviva. Leningrad: Nauka.

Fishman, Joshua A. 2006. Acquisition, maintenance and recovery of heritage languages. In Guadalupe Valdés, Joshua A. Fishman, Rebecca Chávez, and William Pérez (eds.), *Developing minority language resources: The Case of Spanish in California* (Bilingual Education & Bilingualism 5), 12–22. Clevedon (UK): Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.27939673.5.

Gusev, Valentin. 2020. О камасинском постпозитивном условно-временном союзе *dak*. [On the postpositive conditional-temporal conjunction *dak* in Kamas]. *Proceedings of the V. V. Vinogradov Russian Language Institute* 26:4, 76–88.

Gusev, Valentin, Tiina Klooster & Beáta Wagner-Nagy 2023. INEL Kamas Corpus. Version 2.0. Publication date 2023-12-31. Archived at Universität Hamburg. https://hdl.handle.net/11022/0000-0007-FC25-4. In: *The INEL corpora of indigenous Northern Eurasian languages.*

Helimski, Eugen. 1997. *Die Matorische Sprache. Wörterverzeichnis – Grundzüge der Grammatik – Sprachgeschichte*. Unter Mitarbeit von Beáta Nagy (Studia Uralo-Altaica 41). Szeged: JATE Finnougor tanszék.

Heritage, John. 2018. Turn-initial particles in English. The cases of *oh* and *well.* In: John Heritage & Marja-Leena Sorjonen (eds.), *Between turn and sequence: Turn-initial particles across languages* (Studies in Language and Social Interaction 31), 155–189. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/slsi.31.06her.

Kasatkin, Leonid L. (ed.) 2005. *Russkaja dialektologija.* Moskva; Akademija.

Klumpp, Gerson. 2002. Die Entwicklung des Gebrauchs von Infinitiv und Konverben im Kamassischen unter russischem Einfluß. In Rogier Blokland & Cornelius Hasselblatt (eds.), *Finno-Ugrians and Indo-Europeans: Linguistic and Literary Contacts. Proceedings of the Symposium at the University of Groningen, November 22–24, 2001* (Studia Fenno-Ugrica Groningana 2), 197–208. Maastricht: Shaker.

Klumpp, Gerson. 2013. On Kai Donner's phonograph records of Kamas. *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* 37. 45–59.

Klumpp, Gerson 2022a. Kamas. In Marianne Bakró-Nagy, Johanna Laakso & Elena Skribnik (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic languages,* 817–843. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767664.003.0039.

Klumpp, Gerson. 2022b. The case of Kamas. REMODUS e-learning course on Language attrition, Spring/Summer 2022. https://remodus.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_remodus/5.2_Klumpp_LangAttr_Kamas.pdf

Klumpp, Gerson. 2022c. Assessing Heritage Kamas. CIFU XIII Vienna August 21–27 2022, Symposium B.8 Contact phenomena in the grammar of Uralic languages. [Slides]

Klumpp, Gerson 2022d. The Kamas repetitive adverb *bāzo?* 'again, in addition, in turn, back again'. In Valentin Gusev, Anna Urmanchieva, & Aleksandr Anikin (eds.), *Siberica et Uralica: In memoriam Eugen Helimski* (Studia Uralo-Altaica 56), 241−258. University of Szeged.

Klumpp, Gerson. 2022e. Väikeste uurali keelte diskursusepartiklite kirjeldamise vajadus ja keerukus. [Necessicity and complexity of describing discourse particles of minor Uralic languages.] *Keel ja Kirjandus* 65:1–2. 19−34. https://doi.org/10.54013/kk770a2.

König, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, 276–324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511619427.

Kuosmanen, Anne & Teija Multisilta. 1999. *Nu* and *vot* in Spoken Russian – On discourse functions and prosodic features. *Scando-Slavica* 45:1. 49–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/00806769908601135.

Künnap, Ago. 1965. Tänapäeva kamassi keelest. [On contemporary Kamas.] *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat* 11. 251–262.

KW = Joki, Aulis J. 1944. *Kai Donners Kamassisches Wörterbuch nebst Sprachproben und Hauptzügen der Grammatik* (Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae VIII). Helsinki: SUS.

Labov, William. 1972. *Language in the Inner City*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Markus, Elena. 2024. Syntax and functions of the Ingrian discourse particles *no* and *nu*. *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri. Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 15:1. 155–186. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2024.15.1.05

Matras, Yaron. 2000. Fusion and the cognitive basis for bilingual discourse markers. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4:4. 505–528. https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069000040040701.

Palagina, Vera V. (ed.) 1990. *Russkie starožil'českie govory Sibiri.* Tomsk: Izd. Tomskogo universiteta.

Panov, Vladimir. 2020. The marking of uncontroversial information in Europe: presenting the enimitive. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 52:1. 1–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/03740463.2020.1745618.

Polinsky, Maria. 2018. *Heritage Languages and Their Speakers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781107252349.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse Markers* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 5). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511611841.

Schön, Zsófia. 2026. The discourse particles *nu/no* and *no:* in Surgut Khanty narratives. *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri. Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 17(1). 105–136. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2026.17.1.03.

Šmelev, A. D. 2005. Pokazateli xezitacii v russkoj ustnoj reči. [Markers of hesitation in spoken Russian.] In V. N. Toporov (ed.), *Jazyk, Ličnost', Tekst*, 518–530. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskix kul'tur.

Šmelev, A. D. 1998. Slova-parazity i ix rol' v postroenii diskursa. [Parasite words and their role in the construction of discourse.] In I. T. Vepreva (ed.) *Russkij jazyk v kontekste sovremennoj kul'tury*, 151–153. Ekaterinburg: UrGU.

Sorjonen, Marja-Leena & Heidi Vepsäläinen. 2016. The Finnish particle *no*. Peter Auer & Yael Maschler (eds.), *NU/NÅ:A Family of Discourse Markers Across the Languages of Europe and Beyond*, 243–280. Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110348989-008.

Tannen, Deborah. 1986. Introducing constructed dialogue in Greek and American conversational and literary narrative. In: Coulmas, Florian (ed.), *Direct and indirect speech*, 311–333. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Teptiuk, Denys. 2026. Non-interactional uses of the discourse particle *nu* (~ *no*) in Southern Selkup traditional narratives. *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri. Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 17(1). 73–103. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2026.17.1.02.

Tuuling, Eda-Riin. 2026. Discourse pragmatic functions of the particles *no* and *nu* in Iźva Komi. *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri. Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 17(1). 137–172. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2026.17.1.04.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1981. Episodes as units of Discourse Analysis. In Tannen, Deborah (ed.), *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk*, 177–195. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.

Zubova, Iuliia & Timofey Arkhangelskiy. 2026. Udmurt particles *ja* and *nu:* what's the difference? *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri. Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 17(1). 173–216. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2026.17.1.05.

**Kokkuvõte. Gerson Klumpp: Üks partikkel kahes keeles? NU kasutusest viimaste kamassi keele kõnelejate keeles**. Lisaks mitmesugustele kamassi keele narratiividele esineb kahe kamassi (samojeedi < uurali) keele viimase kõneleja salvestiste kõrvalproduktina ka narratiivseid lõike ja vabu dialooge vene keeles. Lisaks vene vabadele dialoogidele sisaldavad nii kamassi kui ka vene jutustused arvukalt konstrueeritud dialooge. Diskursusepartikkel NU, oma variantides *no* ja *nu* kamassi keeles ning *nu* vene keeles, esineb salvestiste kõikides osades, pakkudes seega võimalust uurida selle partikli kasutamist kahes kakskeelse pärandkõneleja keeles. Kuigi NU on juba olemas *baseline* (ehk keelevahetuseelses) kamassi keeles, laieneb selle kasutamine dramaatiliselt nii sageduse kui ka kontekstide poolest pärandi kamassi keeles. Uurimus annab üksikasjaliku ülevaate kamassi ja vene partikli variantide esinemisest erinevates struktuuripositsioonides ning käsitleb kamassi keele partikli *no* võimalikku asendumist partikliga *nu*. Artikkel aitab eelkõige mõista keelevahetusjärgse kamassi keele ja selle vene funktsionaalsete lekseemide integreerimist, aga ka laialt levinud partikli NU kasutust erinevates diskursusetüüpides.

**Märksõnad**: diskursusepartiklite integreerimine, hüüdsõnad, pärandkeeled, kamassi-vene keelekontakt, Sajaani samojeedi keeled