

# Making a Phonological Corpus of Nanai Language

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## Introduction

Nanai is a severely endangered language from the Upper Amur River region with fewer than 200 speakers. This paper intends to start a publically-available phonological corpus of Nanai language that can be used for further enquiries into its phonological system, especially into the nature of its vowel harmony.

## Nanai People

Nanai people are a Tungusic people who have traditionally inhabited the banks of the Amur/Heilongjiang, Sunggari/Songhuajiang and Ussuri/Wusuli rivers, currently residing around the Chinese-Russian border. Among the Tungusic peoples Nanai are the 5<sup>th</sup> biggest with approximately 18,000 people; they are preceded by Manchu (10 million), Xibe (191,000), Ewenki (69,000) and Ewens (22,000).

Nanai ethnogenesis is a subject of ongoing research although it is believed that Tungus peoples mixed with a Paleosiberian substrate which for Nanai specifically was possibly Nivkh (Larin et al., 2003). The Tungusic motherland is likely located in Southern Manchuria and North Korea, and Nanai spread to the Amur basin between 2,000 to 1,000 years ago (Janhunen, 2005). The population of this region has relied on fishing as their main food source since at least 6<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE. Nanai have historically been fishers as well, although in the 1950s the economic programmes of the Soviet government forced Nanai people to seek employment in agriculture, industry and elsewhere (Larin et al., 2003).

The biggest issue for Nanai people is rampant unemployment (Larin et al., 2003).

## Nanai Language

Nanai (Nani, Hezhe; ISO 639-3 gld, Glottolog nana1257) is a severely endangered Tungusic language spoken in the Upper Amur River region, in Russian Far East (Khabarovsk and Primorsky krai) and in the Heilongjiang province of China.

Orok and especially Ulch languages are very close to Nanai. Its position relative to the other Tungusic languages remains a controversial subject, with some linguists proposing a dialect continuum view of the whole family, others dividing it into the Northern and Southern branches and including Nanai into the latter, some offering a 3-branch classification and others offering a 4-way split into Ewenic, Udegheic, Nanaic and Jurchenic branches (Whaley et al., 1999; Whaley, 2012).

The prestige dialect of the Najkhin village has the most speakers (Sem, 1997), but many others exist: Daerga, Dada, Kukan, Achan etc. It is proposed that the Kilen dialect spoken in China is a language in its own right (Zhang, 2013). The same might be true for Kili dialect spoken in Russia (Janhunen, 2005). Both Kilen and Kili are extremely close to Nanai in terms of morphology and syntax but Kili sound system and vocabulary is closer to Ewenki while Kilen is believed to be close to Udeghe and Orok (Janhunen, 2005; Zhang, 2013).

Russian Nanai speakers use modified Cyrillic alphabet proposed in 1936 while Chinese Nanai remains an unwritten language (Zhang, 2013). It is worth mentioning that the first Nanai orthography was proposed in 1928 and then changed 3 times (Janhunen, 2005). At the same time, Soviet linguists created an artificial literary standard for Nanai that was not accepted by many dialect speakers, and began printing textbooks that did not gain popularity amongst the speakers (Janhunen, 2005).

No publically available corpora of Nanai exist as of 2020. Most published audio and video materials are recordings of fairy-tales collected in the 1980s by Soviet folklorists (Kile et al., 2018) and more recent data collected by linguist and language revitalisation activist Vasily Kharitonov from 2017 onwards (Kharitonov, Xisangorou).

## Sociolinguistic Situation

Nanai is severely endangered with around 180 L1 speakers (Campbell et al., 2017), not more than twenty speakers remain in China (Moseley, 2010). In 1970s many Soviet children from indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East were sent away to boarding schools that were often located far from their hometown; the same was true for Nanai children. This practice disrupted the traditional system of language transmission and contributed to the decline of Nanai (Larin et al., 2003).

In Russia, it is taught to children in Nanai primary schools as a second language for 2-6 hours per week, yet no students acquire the ability to speak it (Kharitonov, 2013). Adults can study Nanai in Nikolajevsky-na-Amure teaching college, Far Eastern State University of Humanities and Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia in Saint-Petersburg (Sulyandziga, 2003). As of 2010s, there are no L1 speakers younger than 50 (Ko & Yurn, 2011; Kharitonov, 2013).

Nanai speakers have a positive attitude about revitalization efforts but it is not actively happening due to problems in communication between language activists, teachers, organisations and potential speakers (Kharitonov, 2013).

## Grammar

Nanai sound system is relatively well-researched. Most researchers report 17 or 18 phonemic consonants and 6 phonemic vowels arranged in a double triangular system.

-back	+back	
	-rounded	+rounded
-RTR	i i:	ə ə:
+RTR	ɪ ɪ:	a a:
		o o:

All vowels can be short or long:

- пиктә /piktə/ ‘child’
- пиктә /pi:kta/ ‘nettle’

Word-final /n/ is not realised, nasalising the preceding vowel instead:

- би /bi/ [bi] ‘to live’
- бин /bin/ [bɪ̃] ‘life’

Possible syllable structure is (CC)V(C):

- эситул /ə.si.tul/ ‘immediately’
- эрчэн /ər.cən/ ‘lower part of the roof’

Nanai has vowel harmony, distinguishing two classes of vowels: /i ə u/ and /ɪ a o/. The nature of the alteration between them is unclear. Soviet researchers believed it to be a high-low type harmony but several Korean researchers propose a [+RTR]/[-RTR] contrast (Yun et al., 2016). Moreover, since /i/ and /ɪ/ are not distinguished orthographically, and reports that /ɪ/ is weakened in non-initial syllables (Ko & Yurn, 2011), there is no universally accepted description of this alteration.

	Labial	Lamino-alveolar	Dorso-palatal	Dorso-velar
Plosive	p b	t d	c ʃ	k g
Fricative		s		x
Nasal	m	n	(ŋ)	ŋ
Trill		r		
Approximant	w	l	j	

17 or 18 consonantal phonemes are usually reported; Ko & Yurn argue that /ŋ/ should not be considered a phoneme since there are no minimal pairs with /ni/ and /ŋi/ contrasting, hence it is not possible to prove that they are in fact independent (2011).

## Corpus Linguistics and Corpus Phonology

Corpus linguistics is one of the most widely used research methods that can be traced back to 18<sup>th</sup> century although it had only taken its current form in 1960s. With the advent of the Internet, corpora started to be used even wider, for an array of studies including morphosyntax, language change and variation, et cetera (Durand et al., 2014).

Corpus phonology is an emerging subfield of corpus linguistic that uses corpora to perform analysis on phonological phenomena, distributional patterns and variation (Cole, 2012).

A phonological corpus allows performing many types of analysis over the same data: for example, using a thoroughly marked corpus researchers can quickly collect possible realisations of phonemes and their environments or calculate how long a long vowel is compared to a short vowel, and whether this difference changes between stressed and unstressed syllables. If a corpus has additional data, such as an additional layer segmented by syllables, it can provide information about suprasegmental properties of the language: intonation, tone, speech tempo et cetera.

Despite the fact that Nanai is relatively well-researched, it remains endangered and is expected to become extinct in less than 50 years. Given the circumstances, it is important to preserve as much linguistic materials in Nanai as possible. Annotation and segmentation ease the usage of linguistic materials primarily because it is impossible to seek out specific items (sounds, parts of speech, intonation patterns) in raw data.

It is crucial for corpora to be publically available as open access to scientific research increases both readership and citations. It also enables scientists from low-income countries and researchers who are not affiliated with any specific organisation to conduct high-quality analysis, adding to the overall sum of

human knowledge (Wynne, 2005). Consequentially, a phonological corpus of Nanai would be useful for linguists interested in Tungusic languages and Nanai language teachers alike.

## Methodology

The first step in corpus creation is acquiring some audio or video data. Often the recordings are made by the corpus linguists themselves since using the data collected by other researchers requires permissions.

The second step is transcription and segmentation, which is done either manually or via scripts. The most popular applications for speech analysis are Praat and ELAN. The researcher must be familiar with the sound system of the language; otherwise they will have no point of reference for assigning individual sounds to phonemes.

The third step is analysis of individual phenomena. I chose the nature of the alteration between /i/ and /ɪ/ to be my research question, intending to see if my data proves either theory about Nanai vowel harmony.

Ladefoged and Maddieson offer two ways of deducing [ATR]/[RTR] contrast:

- in some African languages [+ATR] is associated with lowered F3;
- in many African languages lowered F1 can be found in [+ATR] vowels.

On the other hand, Yun et al. (2016) use the relationship between F1 and F2 to show the differences in /i/ and /ɪ/ quality.

Collecting formants for each instance of /i/ and /ɪ/ can be done with the Praat script language. The instrument to conduct further analysis of two categorical independent variables (type of vowel) on one continuous dependent variable (formant frequency) is ANOVA or two-way analysis of variance. Its results assess the main effect of each independent variable or lack thereof. If the resulting p-value is smaller than 0.05 then the null hypothesis can be rejected, in other words, there is a statistically significant difference between the formant frequencies of /i/ and /ɪ/.

If one of the methodologies returns a p-value that is larger than 0.05, it means that the contrast between the two formants is negligible and can occur due to chance alone.

## Data Collection

Linguist 310 is not intended to include fieldwork, thus I had to find Nanai recordings made by other researchers. Vasily Kharitonov offered his recording of a Nanai fairy tale “Mergen ningman” read by Raisa Alekseevna Beldy who spent her childhood in Dada village but acquired the prestige Najkhin dialect later. Kharitonov suggested this data as it was used in a cartoon made for a Russian government-sponsored project Gora Samotsvetov, which is publically available on YouTube (Beldy et al., 2017). It is worth noting that at the time of the recording, Raisa Alekseevna spent 4 years speaking mostly Russian.

The audio quality in the cartoon is not ideal: speech is sometimes distorted by background music.

I extracted the audio from the cartoon with ffmpeg (Ffmpeg) and converted it into .wave format to be used in Praat.

## Transcription

Transcription was made in Praat (Boersma & Weenink), a free and open-source cross-platform application developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink of the University of Amsterdam.

Well-made corpora have to pertain to a certain set of standards, for example, the raw data must be accessible for further manipulation; the corpus must include documentation mentioning the instruments used in its making, annotation scheme, remarks about the quality of the annotation et cetera (Wynne, 2005). This information will be added to the corpus and provided in Appendix 4.

At first, I separated the audio stream into words using the text of the fairy-tale, which revealed several inconsistencies stemming from slips of the tongue. Kharitonov helped correcting these fragments.

After that, I created another tier “Phonemes” where words were split into phonemes, then copied the resulting intervals to the third tier “Sounds”. On this tier I marked some allophonic variations, such as:

- /k/ and /g/ are realised as [q] [g] before low back vowels /a/ and /o/
- /s/ is realised as [ç] before /i/ and /ɪ/
- /χ/ is realised as [χ] before back vowels /ə, u, a, o/
- /n/ in the word-final position is realised as nasalisation on the preceding vowel.

The phonemic/word tiers do include vowel length but it was added after completion of the research project.

The boundaries of individual sounds were chosen according to the illustrations in Ladefoged & Ferrari Disner (2012). Segments that are distorted by background music are left blank.

One of the challenging aspects of sound segmentation was defining boundaries for word-initial plosives since their articulation starts with a period of silence. Another one was segmenting sequences of vowels since they can either belong to a diphthong or exist independently.

The resulting textgrid file will be uploaded to the open access repository Figshare (Figshare).

## Analysis

Since /i/ and /ɪ/ are both represented by the letter ‘и’ in writing, it is not immediately evident if ‘и’ participates in vowel harmony, or if it is a ‘neutral’ vowel, akin to e/i vowels in Finnish that can occur in word with either series of harmonising vowels. Furthermore, Ko & Yurn claim that /ɪ/ weakens to /i/ after the last [+RTR] vowel (2011).

Ladefoged and Maddieson provide two ways of measuring the advanced tongue root variation: by comparing the relations between F3 and F4 and by comparing the relations between F2–F1 and F1 (1996). Also, Yun et al. (2016) measured the relationship between F1 and F2, so these measurements were also used.

I extracted the F1–F4 formant data for all vowels using the script from Appendix 1 that I wrote. Praat output was converted to JSON format using TextGrid package (Cesine).

After that, I processed the resulting values with C# code that I wrote for this task (Appendix 2). I picked a selection of measurements of /i/ or /ɪ/ that belong to the first syllable of the word since this is the only position where Ko & Yurn could find reliable contrast.

From this data, I created several charts in Excel and assessed them visually. Neither one of the resulting charts shows significant correlation within groups; the spread appears to be roughly equal.

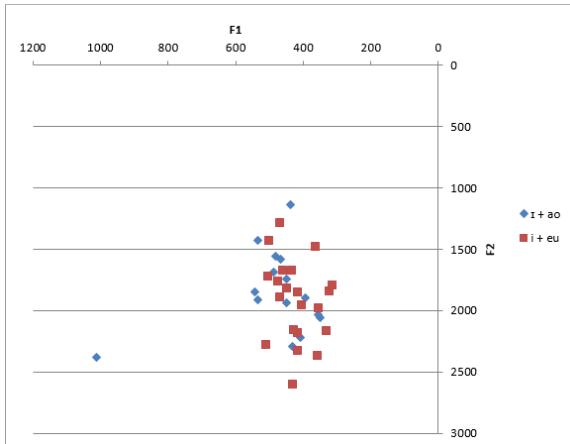


Figure 1. F1/F2 relationships for first /i/ and /ɪ/

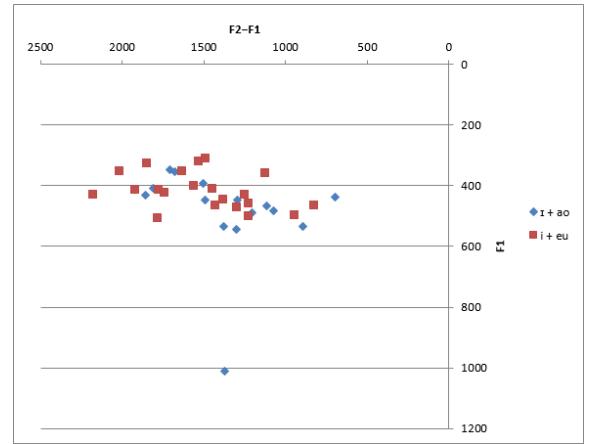


Figure 2. F2-F1/F2 relationships for first /i/ and /ɪ/

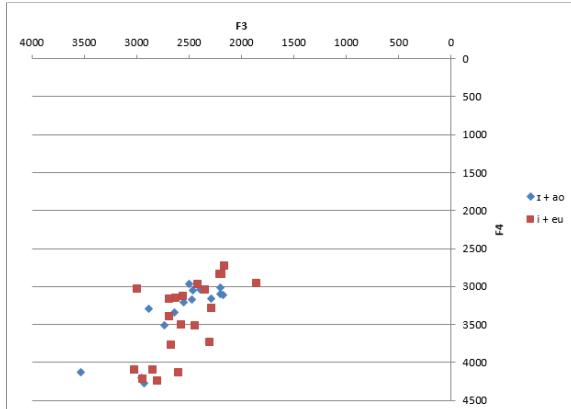


Figure 3. F3/F4 relationships for first /i/ and /ɪ/

The mean values of all formants are:

	F1	F2	F3	F4
I	451	1808.573	2527.755	3316.799
i	418	1921.487	2529.841	3427.362

The set of measurements in Yun et al. (2016), provided for reference:

	F1	F2	F3	F4
I	429	2251	3017	-
i	335	2352	3106	-

Statistically, the observed difference is not sufficient to prove that the formants for /i/ and /ɪ/ are truly different, i. e. the difference is not due to chance alone. A two-factor ANOVA (analysis of variance) with replication is able to prove or disprove the null hypothesis that there are no significant differences in mean formant values for /i/ and /ɪ/. I removed one outlier during the data preparation per ANOVA testing requirement.

The analysis does not allow us to reject the null hypothesis as all of the p-values are larger than 0.05:

- $p\text{-value}(F1/F2) = 0.325569983$
- $p\text{-value}(F2-F1/F2) = 0.284086285$
- $p\text{-value}(F3/F4) = 0.99658067.$

Thus, it is not possible to conclude that the observed formants for /i/ and /ɪ/ are truly different.

These findings directly contradict Yun et al. (2016) and most other researchers, but the underlying reason for this is not immediately clear. Most likely, this is the result of language attrition; other contributing factors are dialectal variation (no studies of Dada dialect exist; if the Dada vowel harmony is different, ‘ɪ’ might be a neutral vowel there) or distortion from background music. Moreover, the data used by Yun et al. is not a relatively free speech flow but individual word utterances; the contrast might be weakened in different circumstances.

## Conclusion

Language corpora have a multitude of practical and research applications including phonological analysis of phonological features and their variation. Making phonological corpora for endangered languages is even more important since there is a possibility that there would not be any native speakers left in the future. The corpus is supplied with documentation and an audio file with raw data.

Creating a phonological corpus involves data collection, manipulation and transcription. Prepared corpus can be used to perform all kinds of analysis. One example of such analysis is measuring the variation in formant frequencies F1-F4 of /i/ and /ɪ/ phonemes that I performed.

The results show that there is no statistically significant difference in median formant frequencies of these phonemes. It might be attributed to a number of factors, such as language attrition, suboptimal quality of data, the nature of the recording, and dialectal variation.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1

The Praat script used to extract vowel formants:

```
sound$ = selected$("Sound")
textGrid$ = selected$("TextGrid")

select TextGrid 'textGrid$'
numberOfPhonemes = Get number of intervals: 3
appendInfoLine: "Number of segments: ", numberOfPhonemes

select Sound 'sound$'
To Formant (burg)... 0 5 5000 0.025 50

output$ = "formants.csv"
writeFileLine: "'output$'", "time,phoneme,F1,F2,F3,F4"

for thisInterval from 1 to numberOfPhonemes
    #appendInfoLine: thisInterval

        select TextGrid 'textGrid$'
        phoneme$ = Get label of interval: 3, thisInterval
        #appendInfoLine: phoneme$

        phonemeStartTime = Get start point: 3, thisInterval
        phonemeEndTime = Get end point: 3, thisInterval
        duration = phonemeEndTime - phonemeStartTime
        midpoint = phonemeStartTime + duration/2

        select Formant 'sound$'
        f1 = Get value at time... 1 midpoint Hertz Linear
        f2 = Get value at time... 2 midpoint Hertz Linear
        f3 = Get value at time... 3 midpoint Hertz Linear
        f4 = Get value at time... 4 midpoint Hertz Linear

        appendFileLine: "'output$'",
                        ...midpoint, ",",
                        ...phoneme$, ",",
                        ...f1, ",",
                        ...f2, ",",
                        ...f3, ",",
                        ...f4
endfor
appendInfoLine: newline$, newline$, "End"
```

## Appendix 2

C# code used to extract i/I formants:

```
using System;
using System.Collections.Generic;
using System.IO;
using System.Linq;
using System.Threading.Tasks;
using Newtonsoft.Json.Linq;

namespace PraatFormants
{
    class Program
    {
        static async Task Main(string[] args)
        {
            var allPhonemes = await
ReadFormantsAsync(@"formants.csv");

            var json = JObject.Parse(File.ReadAllText(@"data.json"));
            var words = json["items"][0]["intervals"];

            await WriteFormantsAsync(allPhonemes, words, "i", "data-
i.csv");
            await WriteFormantsAsync(allPhonemes, words, "I", "data-
I.csv");
        }

        private static async Task WriteFormantsAsync(FormantsRow[]
allPhonemes, JToken words, string targetPhoneme, string path)
        {
            using var sw = File.CreateText(path);

            foreach (var word in words)
            {
                if (word.Value<string>("text") == "") continue;

                var min = double.Parse(word.Value<string>("xmin"));
                var max = double.Parse(word.Value<string>("xmax"));

                var phonemes = allPhonemes
                    //.Where(p => p.Phoneme != "")
                    .Where(p => p.Timestamp >= min && p.Timestamp <
max)
                    .ToArray();

                var lastVowelIndex = phonemes.Select((ph, i) => new
{ ph.Phoneme, Index = i }).LastOrDefault(x =>
IsVowel(x.Phoneme))?.Index;
                if (lastVowelIndex == null)
```

```

        continue;

        for (var i = 0; i < lastVowelIndex; i++)
        {
            if (phonemes[i].Phoneme != targetPhoneme)
continue;

                if (i > 0 && IsVowel(phonemes[i - 1].Phoneme))
continue;
                if (IsVowel(phonemes[i + 1].Phoneme)) continue;

                await
sw.WriteLineAsync(WritePhoneme(phonemes[i]));
            }
        }

static string WritePhoneme(FormantsRow row)
{
    return string.Join(", ", row.Formants.Select(f =>
double.IsNaN(f) ? "" : f.ToString()));
}

static readonly string[] Vowels = { "i", "ĩ", "ə", "ə̄", "u",
"ū", "ɪ", "a", "ã", "o", "õ" };
static bool IsVowel(string phoneme) => Vowels.Any(v =>
phoneme.StartsWith(v));

static async Task<FormantsRow[]> ReadFormantsAsync(string
path)
{
    using var sw = File.OpenText(path);
    await sw.ReadLineAsync();
    var list = new List<FormantsRow>();

    for (; ; )
    {
        var line = await sw.ReadLineAsync();
        if (line == null) break;

        var parts = line.Split(',');
        list.Add(new FormantsRow
        {
            Timestamp = double.Parse(parts[0]),
            Phoneme = parts[1],
            Formants = parts.Skip(2).Select(x =>
double.TryParse(x, out var res) ? res : double.NaN).ToArray(),
        });
    }
}

```

```
        return list.ToArray();
    }
}

class FormantsRow
{
    public double Timestamp { get; set; }
    public string Phoneme { get; set; }
    public double[] Formants { get; set; }

    public override string ToString() => Phoneme;
}
}
```

## Appendix 3

### Words tier

Бүэ балдипу Россияду, эй бүэ түмпу, эй бүэ килдэмпу. Россиядумэ боа ялдоани чү эгди мангбосал. Эй чу даи эрдэнгэ России мангбони - Амур. Нанид... хэсэдиэни Мангбо. Нёани Хабаровской краеду хэйни, Мангбо кирадоани нанисал балдичи. Мангбала найсал хадёнгои, сиагои баричи. Балана нанисал лахама, корима, серома дёгду балдихачи. Тактова уйлэ гогда мо оялани ангой бичичи Туй тами бэюндэ, сингэрэдэ таоси мокчамари мутёси бичин А нани найдоани токпон би ни Дё хадёни хэм хачин илгаку бичин. Тэй илгасал амбасалди этёри бичин. Пиктэвэри кандёми ангой бичичи. Аминасални пиктэи эмуэкэндуэни этёри сэвэкэсэлбэ лобричи. Тул-тул сонгой, энуси пиктэвэ савори, хадода сэвэкэсэлбэ лочивачи. Пиктэвэри улэсимэри, сонгаси осигоани нингмамба гусэрэйчи. Хай нингман осини, тэй нингман бобой дёло Туй осихани кэтэ горо бийэси.

Дуэнтэ кирадоани эм нани халани балдихачи. Амини, энини, гучи нучи хусэ пиктэчи. Гэ туй очини хони пурэн бэюнсэлду Мэргэн балдилохани. Нёандоачи дёбон эгди осихани. Пиктэвэ сиавамбори, омиамбори хупиуривэ гэлини. Манга маси сампар Мэргэн үрэхэнни. Эси мэнэ бэюнсэлбэ бэлэчими тэпчиухэни Мэргэн эрдэнгэ бахани, мурчийни. Хаоси хэм энэхэчи? Хай дяка осихани? Гэ тэй бэюнсэл гусэрэхэчи мэргэнчи хони нгэлэпси гогда амбан нёанчианчи хукчухэмбэни. Кама валиаха, туй би дяка. Аминаи гэлэндэгуми энэми ая. Мэргэн хай гойдами баргичигоани хадён-да нёани анă. Туй биди энэхэни Гойдами энэмиэ, энэмиэ тэйнгүй мурчихэни ядахани. Тэни сиами тэпчуухэни хай дяка? Нгэлэпси амбайн дяка, боко няронду би дяка. Паталан сиасисини, морайни, гудем гэлини. «Хориосу» морайни, «бэлэчиусу!» Хай макикаси бала хориро! Ичэрү, элэ-элэ будемби! Кэсиэ баха паталан, ундини: ми синчи баянламби наондёнай. Ми синди эдили-дэ аясии симби улэсилухэмбি. Хай асигой гэлэдемби, ми корпиасимби! Тотара Мэргэн гусэрэхэни аминаи, гогда амбайн хони-да эрдэлэхэмбэни. Тэй гогда амбамба ми сарии, нёани мэпи гэрбиэсини дуэнтэ эдени. Нёандиани соридой минчи ичэхэри Ми симбивэ бэлэчидемби.

Таванкидия Мэргэн энэлупсинкини сапси кирачиани исихани. Ичейни, огда чаду би. Улэн огда, боя-да анă. Эй хай дяка? Ата-та гучэ ихэни адоличи! Тэнг дай! Пиктэкудэ! Хэсэкудэ! Хаоси сий най энэйси? Мэргэн гучэнчи гусэрэхэни: «Гогда амбамба гэлэмэчии» Нёани мэпи дуэнтэ эдениэм хэсини. Мий сарамби тэй «эдембэ», Амимбаси мангбо дёлани, пэгилэ дюлденди маси уихэни Хэм согдатава нёандоани таонгоани. Энимбэси нा� дёлани тэвухэни. Эгди айнаня нёанчи, адолова ангогоани. нгэгден боава эчиз ичейчи Сий мимбивэ бэлэчихэндуэси мий поктова ичуэндэмби. Гэ туй нёанчи энэми тэпчиухэчи, гучэн дюлэсий мүэвэ энэй. Тэй хамиалани Мэргэн огдади гиолими энэй. Каодярару исихапу. Эси ичэндугуивэ, хони бийни чаду амиси. Гэ чаду би. Муэ dochani ими ая. Эчиз такоани пиктэи. Хаду айнганяду сихэни. Гэ улэн, эси тэни туй би дяка. Гэ «дуэнтэ эдени» бийни боачи исихачи. Аорини Гогда амбайн, эчиз сэнэни. Тэй чаду онголоду энимбэси Гогда амбайн дяпачини. Гэ, эй мий синчи! сидямби! Садячи, хонида найди хополамборива Эй гаса! Дэгдэйни Дяпу, морайни, эди хаморира! Гэ эси чаду хэмтуни агдахачи Хоня улэн Гогда амбамба хэтэхэчи. Гогда амбамба тагохачи, писачихачи, нянгай нюлэхэчи, диливвани-рагда хамаси эчиз нэкуэчи. Туй дуэнтэду хайду-да биэ тэни. Гэ хоня улэн вездеход осихани, чади дёкчи дидюхэчи. Эси дэм балдичи улэн, ая кэсику.

## Phonemes tier

bu rəsijədu əi uə tu:mpu əi buə kildəmpu rəsijədum boa jalodoanı cu: əgdi maŋbosal əi cu da:i ərdəŋgə rəsi maŋboŋi amur nanıd xəsəjəni maŋbo ʃoanı xabar sk kraıdu xəjəni maŋbo kıradoanı na:nısal baljıcı maŋbola najsal xajongoř sıagoř ba:rgıcı balana na:nısal laxama korıma sıroma ʃogdu baljıxaci taktowa ujlə gogda mo ojalanı aŋgoř bi:cici tujtamı bəjundə singərədə taosı mokcamarı mutəsi: bi:cin a na:nı naidoantanı to:kpon bi:ni ʃoxaʃonı xəm xacın ılgaku bi:cin təj ılgasal ambasaljı ətu:ri bicin piktəwəri kanjomı aŋgoř bi:cici amınasalnı piktəi əmuəkənduəni ətu:ri səwəsəlbə lo:rıcı tultul songoj ənusi piktəwə sa:worı xaloda səwəkəsəlbə locıwaci piktəwəri ulə:siməri songası osıgoanı nıñmamba gusərici xaj nıñman osını təj nıñman bo:boj ʃolo tuj osıxanı kə:tə gorı bi:a:si

duəntə kıradoanı əm na:nı xalanı baljıxaci amını ənini guci ʃuci xusə piktəci gə tuj ocıni xonı purən bəjunsəldu mərgən baljıloxanı ʃoandoaci ʃobon əgji ʃoanı piktəwə sıawamborı omımborı xupiuwə gəlini maŋga ması sampa mərgən urəxəni əsi mənə bəjunsəlbə bələcimi təpciuəni mərgən ərdəŋgə ba:xanı murcini ʃaosı xəm ənəxəci xaj ʃaka ʃoixanı gə təj bəjunsəl gusərəxəci mərgənci xonı ʃələpsi go:gda amban ʃoajciancı xukcuxəmbəni kama walıtaxa tuj bi ʃaka amınarı gəlndəgumi ənəmi aja mərgən xaj gojdəmə bargciortı xajon da ʃoanı ana: tuj bi:yi ənəxəni gojdəmə ənəmiə ənəmiə təinguj murcixəni jadaxanı təni sıamı təpcuxəni xaj ʃaka ʃələpsi amba:n ʃaka boko narondı bi: ʃaka patalan sıasını morajnı gujəm gəlini xoriosu morainı bələciusu xaj makıkası bala xorıro icəru ələələ budəmbi kəsiə ba:xa patalan unjini mi sıncı banalambı naonjoan naj mi sıńji əjiləi də ajasız simbi uləsiluxəmbi xaj asıgoř gələjəmbi mi korpiəsimbi totara mərgən gusərəxəni amınarı go:gda amba:n xonı da ərdələxəmbəni təj go:gda ambamba mi sa:riji ʃoanı məpi gərbəsini duəntə əfəni ʃoanʃapı sorıdoj minci icəxəri mi simbiwə bəlcəjəmbi

tawankıja mərgən ənəlupsinkini sapsı kıracianı ʃisixanı icəjni ogda cadu bi: ulən ogda boja da ana: əj xaj ʃaka ata ta gucə ixəni adolıctı təj da:i piktəkudə xəsəkudə ʃaosı si: naj ənəjsi mərgən gu:cə:ŋci gusərəxəni go:gda amba:mba gələməciji ʃoanı məpi duəntə əfəniəm xəsini mi: sa:rambı təj əfəmbə amımbası maŋbo do:lanı pəgilə ʃuljənji ması uixəni xəm sogdatawa ʃoandoanı taongoanı ənimbəsi na: do:lanı təwuxəni əgji ajňajna ʃoancı adolıwa aŋgogwanı ʃəgjiən boawa əciə icəci si: mimbiwə bələcixənduəsi mi: poktowa icuənʃəmbi gə tuj ʃoancı ənəmiə təpciuəci gu:cə:n ʃuləsi muəwə ənəj təj xamıyalanı mərgən ogdajı girolımı ənəj kaoʃararu ʃisixapı əsi icənduguiwə xonı bi:ni cadu amısı gə cadu bi: muə docanı imi aja əcə takoanı piktəi xadu ajňajnadu sixəni gə ulə:n əsi təni tuj bi: ʃaka gə duəntə əfəni binı boacı ʃisixaci aorını go:gda amba:n əciə sənəni təj cadu ongolodu ənimbəsi go:gda amba:n ʃapacını gə əj mi: sıncı sıʃamı sajacı xonıda najji xopolamborıwa əj gasa dəgdəjnı ʃapu morajnı əj xamorıra gə əsi cadu xəmtuni agdaxaci xona ulən go:gda amba:mba xətəxəci go:gda amba:mba tagoxaci pısaçixaci naŋga: ʃuləxəci ʃılıwanı ragda xaması əciə nəkuci tuj duəntədu xajdu da biə təni gə xona ulə:n ʃoixapı cadı ʃokci ʃılıxəci əsi dəm baljıcı ulə:n aja kəsiku

## Sounds tier

rəcijədu əi uə tumpu əi buə kildəmpu rəcijədum bwa jalodwajı cu əgdi mäbosal əi cu daı ərdäňgə rəçi  
maňborı amur naňıd... xəsəjıneňi maňbo noanı χabarsq qraídı χəjəni mäbo kıradwajı naňısal baljıcı  
mäbola najsal xajongor çıagoı bargıcı balana naňısal laxama qorıma çıroma ʃogdu baljıxaci taqtoua ujle  
gogda mo ojalanı aňgoı bicici tuj tamı bəjundə ćingərədə taoçı moqcamarı mutəci bicő a naňı  
naidwantajı toqpö biňi jo xajonı xəm xacő ılgaku bicő təj ılgasal ambasalı əturi bicin piktevəri qapjomı  
aňgoj bicici amınasalnı piktaı əmuəkenduəni əturi səvəsəlbə lorıcı tultul sõnəgoj ənuçι piktevə saworı  
xaloda səvəkəsəlbə lociwaci piktevəri uləciməri sõnəgwacı oçigwajı jıñmamba gusərici jıñmä oçırı təj a  
o ʃolo tuj oçixanı kətə gorı bięci

duəntə kıradwajı əm nañı xalañı baljıxacı amıñı əniñi guci ńuci xusə piktəci gə tuj ocıñı xojı purən bəjüsəldü mərgən baljxaloxajı noandwacı ʃobon əgji oçxajı piktəvə ćıavamborı omımborı xupiuvə gə mangı maçı sampa mərgən urəxəni əçi mənə bəjunsəlbə bəlacımı təpciuçəni mərgən ərdəngə bañajı murcijni xaoçı xəm ənəxəci xaj jaqa oçxajı gə təj bəjüsəl gusərəxəci mərgənci xojı ńeləpçι gogda ambā noaŋcaŋci xuqcxəmbəni qama ualıaxa tuj bi jaqa amınai ǵəlndəgumi ənəmi aja mərgən xaj gojdəmə bargciorı xajon da noaŋı ana tuj biji ənəxəni gojdəmə ənəmiə ənəmiə tə̄iguj murciçəni jadaxajı təni ćıamı təpcuxəni xaj jaqa ńeləpçι amban jaqa boqo narondu bi jaqa patalan ćıacıñı morajnı gujəm ǵəlini ǵoriosu moraŋrı bələciusu xaj maqqacı bala ǵorıro icəru ələ ələ budəmbi kəciə bañxa patalan uŋjıni mi ćıncı bañalambı naŋyoan naj mi ćıñji əjiləi də ajaçlı ćimbi uləciluxəmbi xaj aćıgoj ǵələjəmbi mi qorpiacımbı totara mərgən gusərəxəni amınai gogda ambam xojı da ərdələxəmbəni təj gogda ambamba mi sarıı noaŋı məpi gərbiaçını duəntə əfəni noaŋjañı soridoj miñci icəxəri mi ćimbivə balctəmbi

tawankıjıa mərgən ənəlupçıkıji sapçı kıraciajnı tıçxanı icəjnı ogda cadu bi ulə:n ogda boja da ana əj xaj jaqa ata ta guçən ixəni adolıcı tən dajı pi t udə xəsəku xaoçı ci naj ənəjcı mərgən guçənci gusərəxəni gogda ambamba gələməciji noanjı məpi duəntə əfəjnəm xəcini mi sarambı tə əfəmbə amımbaçı mängbo dolanı pəgilə ʃuljənji macı uixəni xəm sogdataua noandwajı taongwajı ənimbüçü nadolajı təwuxəni əgji jaŋaja noanjı adolıua aŋgogwajı ɳəgjiən boawa əciə icəci ci mimbiuə bələcxənduəci mi pqktoua icuənəmbi gə tuj noanjı ənəmiə təpcuxəci guçə ʃuləci muəwə ənəj təj xamıralanı mərgən ogdaʃi gılomı ənəj qaoʃararu tıçxapı əci icəndguiwə xojı biŋi cadu amıci gə cadu bi muə docanı imi aja əcə takoanı piktei xadu ajəŋajadu cıxəni gə ulən əci təni tuj bi jaqa gə duəntə əfəni biŋi bwacı tıçxaci aorıŋi gogda amban əciə ənəni təj cadu oŋgolodu ənimbüçü gogda amban ʃapçıŋi gə əj mi cinci ćijamı sajacı xojıda najjı ɬopolamboriua əj gasa dəgdəjnı ʃapu morajnı əfi xamorıra gə əci cadu xəmtuŋi agdaxaci hoja ulən gogda ambamba xətəxəci gogda a amba ta xaci pısaçacı aŋga pulaχəci ʃılıvajı ragda xamaçi əciə nəkuci tuj duəntədu xajdu da biə təni gə xojıa ulən u x çxa cadı ʃoqcı ʃiʃuxəci əci dəm baljıcı ulən aja kaciku

## **Appendix 4**

### Corpus documentation

#### **People involved**

This corpus was created by Aidan Winberry in 2020 from a recording of Raisa Alekseevna Beldy reading the text of a Nanai fairy-tale "Mergen ningman". The recording was made by Vasily Kharitonov.

#### **Annotation scheme**

The information about Nanai phonemes is taken from (Ko & Yurn, 2011).

#### **Coding scheme**

The sounds and phonemes are represented by their IPA symbols in Unicode.

The text of the fairy-tale is provided in Cyrilic Nanai orthography. Nanai writing system is nearly-phonemic so a Latin transcription layer would simply copy the phonemic tier in IPA.

In several segments the sound is corrupted by background music; in this case the annotation on phonemic and phonetic level is omitted.

#### **Annotation quality**

Annotations were made without consulting with the dictionaries. All phonemes and allophonic variants are marked aurally.

Diphthongs are not thoroughly marked.

The "Words" tier follows the text of the fairy-tale while the "Phonemes" and "Sounds" tiers represent what is actually being said instead. Several utterances end with an ellipsis which marks correcting slips of tongue.

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