SUMMARY

Maria P. Bezenova, Ilya B. Itkin, Svetlana I. Pereverzeva. Reflection of iotated vowels in the Udmurt monument "Christian admonition of Saint Tikhon in the Votyak language" revisited

The article is dedicated to the problem of the reflection of iotated vowels in the Udmurt monument "Christian admonition of Saint Tikhon in the Votyak language" (1891). We consider in detail the distribution of the three ways of recording combinations with the iotated vowels presented in the text of the monument — as *V1iV2*, *V1ŭV2*, and *V1V2*. It is shown that all the usages of the grapheme *ŭ* in the place of expected *i* fall into two small "non-standard zones", the first one covers p. 6—10, the second one — p. 49—53. We assume that the deviating spellings of some words in these zones were influenced by an earlier monument "Christian admonition of Saint Tikhon" (1878), the translation of the same Russian text into another Udmurt dialect. To check this hypothesis, we study rules of reflection of iotated vowels in the monument of 1878 and compare the spellings in the "non-standard zones" in "Christian admonition…" of 1891 with parallel places of the earlier monument. The analysis allows to conclude that the graphical system of the "Christian admonition ..." (1891) is generally more orderly than previously thought.

Keywords: monuments of the Udmurt language, graphic system, non-standard spellings, iotated vowels

Polina Berezovskaya. Comparison Constructions in Nenets: About a Language that Has Degrees and also Uses them

This paper explores comparison constructions in Tundra Nenets. The data presented in the paper has been drawn from original fieldwork and uses what is called the 'standard degree approach' (cf. e.g., [von Stechow 1984; Heim 1985, 2001; Beck 2011]) in formal semantic theory. Although language-specific grammars such as [Décsy 1966; Терещенко 1947; Nikolaeva 2014], among others, provide grammatical information on different aspects of comparison constructions, a detailed and complete account is missing in the literature. The present paper sets out to fill this gap. I argue that contemporary Tundra Nenets uses a degree ontology in the semantics and also has abstraction over degrees. I also outline a possible phrasal analysis of comparison constructions based on the fact that Nenets robustly resists clausal standards. Although Nenets does not have overt morphological comparative marking on the adjective, the ablative marking on the standard licenses a covert phrasal operator. Finally, I discuss a diachronic question about a possible development and co-existence of two different strategies of expressing comparisons in Nenets.

Keywords: semantics, fieldwork, Tundra Nenets, comparison constructions, comparatives, degrees

Evgeniya V. Budennaya. Subject reference in Votic and Ingrian: on the history of one contact-induced change

The article deals with diachronic study of subject reference in Votic and Ingrian (Finnic branch, Uralic family). At present, in these languages, as in Russian, the subject pronoun is predominantly expressed explicitly (Ingrian: *Miä muiššan šenen hüväšt* 'I remember it well'). However, this pronominal pattern is not typical for other Uralic languages, where the pronoun tends to be omitted (at least in the first and second person). In this regard, the genesis of pronominal referential pattern in Votic and Ingrian languages is of great interest. Based on diachronic analysis of Votic and Ingrian texts (mid 19th — early 21st century), the article shows how the pronominal pattern has developed through the Central and the Lower Luga dialects of Votic and through the Soikkola dialect of Ingrian. All idioms demonstrate a significant expansion of third person subject pronouns in the middle of the 20th century. This process coincides with the period of increased contacts with native speakers of Russian and can thus be explained by contact influence.

Keywords: personal pronoun, subject reference, Ingrian, Votic, language contact, diachronic study

Aigul N. Zakirova, Nikita A. Muravyev. Preverbs *nŏχ* and *jŏχi* in the Northern Khanty dialects: aspectual and discourse analysis

This study concerns the semantics of the preverbs *nŏχ* and *jŏχi* in some varieties of Northern Khanty based on the field and corpus data. These preverbs function as orientation markers with verbs of motion and, in addition, have a grammaticalized use as aspectual markers largely fitting into well-known

typological patterns. *Nŏχ* and *jŏχi* are also attested in a number of contexts that question their analysis in purely aspectual terms. The aim of this paper is thus to clarify the aspectual function of these units and to explore their interplay with the argument structure as well as the information structure of the clause. The proposed analysis shows that *nŏχ* and *jŏχi* are used as optional markers of telicity and their use correlates with the topicality and the degree of activation of the direct object.

Iuliia N. Zubova. Variations in the use of modal particles in standard Udmurt and Beserman Udmurt

In the article, I analyze the quantitative difference in the use of Udmurt modal particles in three corpora — the corpus of Udmurt press, the corpus of Udmurt blogs and the spoken corpus of the Beserman dialect of the Udmurt language. The aim is to test if the corpus analysis confirms the claims about more frequent use of modal particles in spoken language and about the peculiarity of the syntactic position of particles in the analytical negative verbal construction. The analysis shows that the particle *ik* 'the same, after all' demonstrates a pattern different from the other three most frequent particles (*n'i* 'already', *na* 'yet', *uk* 'you know') in its distribution across monologic texts characterized by different modes of communication (written, computermediated, spoken). It also shows a specific pattern of usage within the analytical negative verbal construction.

Egor V. Kashkin. Khanty manuscript "Sacred History" (Tobolsk, 1900): some peculiarities of verbal morphology

The article deals with verbal morphology in a Khanty manuscript "Holy history" (Tobolsk, 1900). I analyze the inventory of personal-number markers in indicative and imperative. Passive and evidential forms are discussed as well. A brief overview of non-finite forms is provided. The material is compared with previously published data on Western Khanty dialects.

Timofey V. Timkin. Reflection of the consonant system of the Salym dialect of Khanty in the graphics of the dictionary by A. Sjögren

The Salym dialect is of special interest for Khanty dialectology, because it is heterogeneous and combines both East Khanty and West Khanty features. The paper considers one of the earliest lexicographic descriptions of the dialect from the A. Sjögren's archives (first half of 19th century). The paper discusses characteristics of the earliest documentation of consonants in the dictionary that are necessary for its comparison with other literature on the matter. Some observations about Khanty consonants development are made based on the material.

László Honti. Remarks on the stock of dental fricatives in Proto-Uralian/Proto-Finno-Ugric/Proto-Ugric

Statements on etymology and phonological development in the book by András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta [RTA 2011a, b] encouraged the author to write about certain consonants in the ProtoUralian/Proto-Finno-Ugric language again in his recent book [Honti 2017], but the main topic of the volume did not make it possible for him to discuss all the important details, and some new answers have been elaborated since then. This paper focuses on the following consonants: *δ, *δ', *ϑ, *ϑ', *Λ, *Λ', *s, *$\check{s}$. The author refutes the presence of the *δ and *δ' sounds in the proto-language, but suggests accepting the early existence of the *Λ, *Λ' and *δ' sounds. The author also presents in what circumstances the rare sequels of the non-palatal sibilants in present-day Ugrian languages were formed: U/FU *s × *$\check{s}$ > early Ug *s > late Ug *ϑ > Ostyak *s, Vogul *s and Hungarian *sz, instead of the general and regular Ostyak *l, *Λ, *t, *j, 0-, Vogul *t and Hungarian 0 correspondences. The author argues that the Proto-Ugrian *$ï$ became 0 in Hungarian via *h.

Yulia V. Normanskaya. A polemic note to the article "Bemerkungen zum Bestand der dentalen Spiranten der U/FU/Ug Grundsprache"

The paper shows that PU/FU *s > PUg *s vs. *š may not be an Ugric innovation associated with the influence of neighboring consonants, as L. Honti suggests. This has parallels in the southern Kudymkar dialect of the Komi-Permian language: PUg *s corresponds to South.-Kudym. ɕ, and *š to South.-Kudym. s′.

Keywords: Ugric languages, Komi-Permian language, phonetic correspondences