

SUMMARY

Vlada V. Baranova. Adaptation of verbal borrowings in Mongolic

This paper deals with different strategies of loanverb adaptation in different Mongolic languages, trying to bridge the gap between individual descriptions of grammatical loanword adaptation in particular Mongolic languages and general typologies of verbal borrowings (such as [Wohlgemuth 2009]). The Mongolic data allows to trace contacts with languages belonging to different structural types covering a huge territory with possible contact micro-areas. The receiving Mongolic languages are agglutinating and almost exclusively suffixing, while their donors include languages with similar properties (Turkic varieties), with inflectional morphology (Russian), and with strong isolating tendencies (Chinese, English). Accordingly, the patterns of adaptation might differ according to the properties of the donor language.

There are three adaptation strategies in Mongolic languages: indirect insertion (with derivational affixes adapting loanwords), a light verb strategy, and direct insertion. The direct insertion pattern is less common, while indirect insertion and the light verb strategy are equally frequent. Most Mongolic varieties use only two strategies, but some Inner Mongolian dialects allow for all three patterns. One adaptation strategy may employ different markers: for example, in Khalkha, a variety of affixes facilitate indirect assertion, and in some Buryat dialects, the light verb *bol-* ‘become’ is used alongside the more widely attested *ke-* ‘do’ for adapting borrowed verbs. Variation in a particular language is thus due to the combination of different adaptation strategies and the presence of more than one marker inside one pattern. The paper discusses the distribution of adaptation strategies within a variety according to donor language or other factors. It suggests that adaptation strategies may be viewed as areal features for Mongolic and other languages, though their precise areal distribution requires further study.

The paper discusses the borrowability of nouns and verbs. The well-known typological approach presupposes that nouns are borrowed more frequently and easily than verbs. Nevertheless, data from different Mongolic varieties shows that loanwords are sometimes treated as nouns in that a verbalizer is even added to verbal roots. Thus, it becomes less clear how relevant word class in the donor language is for the borrowability of a given word, especially if there are no morphological clues to word class, as in Chinese.

Keywords: verbal borrowings, derivational adaptation, verbalizer, light verb

Maria P. Bezenova. The peculiarities of the translation of “God’s law” (1912) into Udmurt: verbal morphology

This article examines the verbal morphologic characteristics of the translation of “God’s Law” into the Udmurt language. The relevance of the study lies in the fact that written monuments are one of the main sources for studying the history of the language, but most of Udmurt written monuments have not yet been examined.

The description of morphological characteristics in the article is based on a previous analysis of the graphic and phonetic systems of the translation of “God’s Law” into Udmurt. The main research method is comparing the linguistic material of the monument with the data of the modern literary Udmurt language and its dialects.

The paper discusses in detail the categories of mood, tense and voice, which are characteristic of the modern Udmurt language, as well as non-conjugated forms of the verb, which include the infinitive, participle, and gerund. As a result of the analysis, in the monument it was discovered that a number of features characterized by the use of markers with the *ɨ* vowel in accordance with the *u* in the literary language and the South Udmurt dialects in the forms of the reflexive voice, the present tense of the 1st and 2nd persons, the past non-evidential tense of the 3rd person plural, present participles, formed from the verbs of the 1st conjugation. All the *ɨ* vowel variants turned out to be archaic in origin, and the *u* vowel variations are explained by the change of the original *ɨ* into *u* before the palatal consonant. In the translation of “God’s Law” only one marker was identified as innovative, this is an indicator of the gerund *-чѣзь (-тчозя-)*.

Thus, the analysis showed that the verbal morphological system of the monument is archaic.

Keywords: the Udmurt language, dialectology, written sources, verbal morphology

V. V. Vorobeva, I. V. Novitskaya. Inflectional morphology of nouns in Eastern Khanty (Vakh, Vasyugan, Surgut, Salym)

This study presents findings resulting from a comparative analysis of the system of nominal morphological markers in four dialects of Eastern Khanty (Vakh, Vasyugan, Surgut, and Salym). The analysis focused on the morphological markers that form paradigms of three nominal categories: case, number and possession, and aimed at revealing shared and unique features of Eastern Khanty dialects. The analysis was grounded in the descriptions and interpretations of language facts elicited from the Eastern Khanty speakers in the twentieth century and presented in several influential grammar studies of Khanty. These data were then compared with language data elicited from Vakh Khanty speakers in the course of fieldwork (2017–2019). Comparison with current data displayed an overall stability of the Eastern Khanty nominal system which had remained almost unchanged despite the ongoing influence of the Russian language.

Although the nominal categories in question are shared by the four Eastern dialects of Khanty, the comparative analysis of their paradigms has revealed some controversial issues regarding the status of some markers, their forms and use. The contradictions within these three categories are associated with the morphemic representation, terminology and status of some markers. The system of case markers is the most controversial. All in all, there are nine productive case markers in the Eastern Khanty varieties: nominative, ablative, allative, lative, locative, abessive, comitative, oblique, and translative accompanied by the distributive marker that is restricted in use.

Keywords: Eastern Khanty, nominal morphology, number, possession, case, dialectal distinctions

Julia V. Normanskaja. Dictionaries of Perm Mansi “Native speakers of Siberia”, collected by P. S. Pallas in the 18th century

As shown by J. Gulya, 18th-century Mansi dialects lacked the dialect traits which developed in the 19th–20th centuries and which have been described in detail by L. Honti. To the best of our knowledge, P. S. Pallas’s dictionaries of the Perm Mansi dialects have not been previously examined thoroughly from this point of view. This article identifies the place of the Perm Mansi dialects in the existing dialect classification. The analysis of the Perm Mansi dictionaries collected by P. S. Pallas allowed:

1) to refine the reconstruction of two PMans. phonemes: namely, the shape of the areas which preserve the reflexes $a < \text{PMans. } *ā, \bar{e} < \text{PMans. } *j̄$ indicates their innovative development. Thus, their PMans. forms should be reconstructed as $*o$ and $*ā$ instead;

2) to ascertain that two innovative developments in the Perm dialects are similar to the southern (Tavda) dialect: $\text{PMans. } *o (*ā \text{ according to [Honti 1982]}) > a, \text{PMans. } *u > o$. However, the development of $\text{PMans. } \gamma > 0$, which takes place in the Perm Mansi dialects, is preserved only in the eastern and some of the western Mansi dialects, but not in the southern or northern dialects.

In other cases, the Perm Mansi dialects preserve the archaic Proto-Mansi state. For instance, the Perm Mansi data make it possible to pinpoint the time of the PMans. change $*u > o$, which took place in the southern dialects.

All in all, the analysis shows that the existing classification of the Mansi dialects describing their division, which took place about 1000 years ago, should be changed as it does not account sufficiently for the Perm dialects. According to this classification, some of the features place the Perm dialects into the southern Mansi group whereas other features identify these dialects as eastern or western.

Furthermore, the article proposes that the development of $\text{PMans. } *-\gamma$ should no longer be used as a criterion for classification since there is no PMans. reflex $*-\gamma$ in all the northern Mansi texts of the 18th–19th centuries. Moreover, according to the field data, such a development is also present in the modern northern Middle Ob dialect. Thus, this feature does not divide genetically different dialect groups, but has an areal specificity.

As for the other innovative features, the extinct Perm Mansi dialects are closest to the Tavdin dialect and should probably be assigned to this group. It becomes patent then that the currently extinct southern dialects extended almost 300 km westward to the Sverdlovsk region even as late as in the 18th century.

Keywords: Mansi, Perm dialects, P. S. Pallas, archive materials

Peter Sauli Piispanen. Some new Late Proto-Yukaghir reconstructions with added thoughts and considerations on various etymologies

In this paper, historical documentation of the Yukaghir languages spoken in the far northeastern Siberia are employed for the reconstruction of a small number of additional or revised Late Proto-Yukaghir (PY) roots. Late Proto-Yukaghir is the latest common ancestor of all varieties of Yukaghir, including the still spoken Tundra Yukaghir and Kolyma Yukaghir languages. Previously, numerous Late Proto-Yukaghir roots have convincingly and exhaustively been reconstructed in Nikolaeva's *A Historical Dictionary of Yukaghir*, published in 2006, and this meager report adds to those materials. The materials are presented and discussed in phonological and semantic terms, employing phonological methods similar to those of Nikolaeva's research, and adding semantic considerations missing from the dictionary.

The newly reconstructed or revised Late Proto-Yukaghir roots include: 1) Late Proto-Yukaghir **kejwə*- 'to be thin', 2) Late Proto-Yukaghir **ač̄i-* ~ **ači-* 'to carry', 3) Late Proto-Yukaghir **puγö* 'warmth > some sort of warming clothing: fur, feathers, hair, beard', 4) Late Proto-Yukaghir **inč-* 'today; now', and 5) Late Proto-Yukaghir **nuliñčə* 'crowd'.

Furthermore, numerous etymological comments, notes, discussions and clarifying details are presented for Yukaghir lexicon, ranging from the obscure historical records to the modern languages, clarifying a few matters, correcting some and adding further information of interest to others. Yukaghir roots (or words of later Russian or Ewenki origin) are discussed, and given concrete meanings, include: PY **niyej-* 'heavy, difficult', PY **l'omčə* ~ **l'omjə* 'moisture; to shed feathers > to lose color', PY **omnuγə* 'bitch', PY **oñ-* 'crack, slit, opening', PY **per-* 'threshold, dug in poles of a yurt door', PY **ñetl'ə* 'fox', Rus. *gavrik* 'collar muffler, scarf', PY **šogi* 'bag', PY **iwe:r* 'place around the hearth', PY **eče:* 'father', PY **mi:-bə* 'cutter', PY **ejmə* 'price, payment', Rus. *piska* 'penis', Rus. *čaška* 'cup', Rus. *Varvara* 'Barbara', Ewenki *noγo:n* 'green', and PY **nunkə* 'sheefish'.

Keywords: Yukaghir, reconstruction, etymology, semantic change

Natalia M. Stoyanova. Different loanword integration strategies in similar morphological systems: Russian nouns in Nanai and Ulch

In this paper I show how the inflectional system of the recipient language can influence the strategy of morphological integration of loanwords, and how loanwords themselves can affect the inflectional system. I discuss the morphological integration of Russian nouns in two Southern Tungusic languages: Nanai and Ulch. These languages are very close to each other and have very similar inflectional systems. At the same time, they treat Russian nouns in rather different ways. In Ulch, Russian nouns appear to form a separate inflectional sub-class.

Both in Nanai and in Ulch, there are two inflectional classes. Stems ending in vowels take one set of inflectional affixes, while stems ending in consonants take another set of inflectional affixes. The range of stem-final consonants is very restricted. The main problem in loanword accommodation is that many Russian nouns have final consonants non-typical of the Nanai and Ulch inflectional systems. This problem is solved in Nanai and Ulch in different ways. Neither in Nanai, nor in Ulch such Russian consonant-final stems are included in the class of native consonant-final stems. In Nanai, they take an epenthetic vowel and behave as standard vowel-final stems (*klass-a-wa* 'class-STEM-ACC.V'). In Ulch, they also take inflectional affixes typical of vowel-final stems, but still end in consonants (*klass-wa* 'class-ACC.V'). Therefore, such nouns can be analyzed as forming a separate minor exceptional stem class.

A closer look at morphological variation and some surface-level phonetic features attested in the Ulch inflectional system allows us to explain the unexpected strategy of loanword accommodation in Ulch and its differences with that of Nanai. Actually the behavior of Russian loanwords goes in line with the native inflectional system. The crucial factor is that in Ulch the distribution of native nouns by inflection classes is less strict and more complicated than in Nanai. Russian loanwords, which are inflected in Ulch in a non-standard way, in their turn, might influence the native Ulch system of nominal inflection, increasing its instability.

Keywords: language contact, loanwords, code-switching, morphological integration of loanwords, nominal inflection, Tungusic languages, Nanai, Ulch, Russian

Firdaus G. Khisamitdinova, Zarema N. Ekba. Names of local spirits in Bashkir mythology

The article is devoted to the analysis of the names of characters in Bashkir mythology *eyälär/eyelär* 'host spirits'. According to the ideas of the ancient Bashkirs, *eyälär* 'spirits' are the owners, patrons of various objects, localities, natural elements, rooms, time periods, as well as assistants to shamans-Baksa

and other “knowledgeable people”. From the point of view of origin, host spirits, patron spirits, judging by their functions and terminology, go back to the earliest shamanistic ideas of the Turks.

The study revealed the attraction of some types of naming to certain dialect zones. The most common name *eyä/eye* ‘spirit, master’ is common Bashkir (and common Turkic); the second components of the names of spirits *huzha* ‘master’ and *baba* ‘grandfather, old man’ can be quite reliably connected with the North-Western and Southern dialect zones; *ana/inä* ‘mother’ is also General Bashkir; *batsha* ‘king’ tends to the Eastern dialect; *äbi/äbey* ‘grandmother, old woman’ — to the North-Western. All other names do not have such a wide distribution that would allow drawing reliable conclusions about their dialect affiliation.

There is a significant influence of the Islamic religion on the mythology of Bashkirs: some Muslim saints gradually take over the functions of patron spirits in the national consciousness, which is reflected in the language and spiritual culture. In the folk art of the Bashkirs, we find numerous examples of contamination of spirits’ names — the ones of the pagan period with the ones containing the names of Muslim saints.

Some names of host spirits have correlation in other Turkic languages, primarily closely related ones, in particular, names with the use of the second component of the names of kinship *ana/inä* ‘mother’, *ata/baba* ‘father’. According to the semantics and functions performed, patron spirits associated with the ancestral cult are mostly close to this category of supernatural beings — similar names are found in many other Turkic languages and go back to the shamanistic ideas of the ancient Turkic ethnic group.

Keywords: the Bashkir language, Bashkir dialects, Turkic mythology, master spirits, guardian spirits, spirit-helpers, pagan beliefs of the ancient Turkic ethnic group

Natalia V. Saynakova, Sergei V. Kovylin. Materials on toponymy of the Ket Ob region as a basis for identification of the settlement border of the *šöšqum/šöšqup* dialect local group and confirmation of the intermediate position of the Middle Ob (*sheshkum/sheshkup*) dialect of the Selkup language

This paper is devoted to the study and analysis of the toponymic materials recorded in the indigenous territory of the ethnographic (dialect local) group of Sheshkums/Sheshkups (*Šöšqum/Šöšqup*) of the Ob River and its peripheral territory. The study’s aim is to find evidence for the confirmation of the intermediate position of the group based on a linguistic analysis of toponyms. Today there are practically no studies where toponyms act as an important marker for determining the settlement territory of the Selkup dialect local groups from the point of view of their ethnic history and linguistics.

In the course of our study, the toponymic material collected by researchers in the Ket Ob region was generalised, and the linguistic analysis of the identified toponyms was carried out in accordance with the peculiarities of the Central and Southern dialects; the distribution areas of these peculiarities were outlined. All the toponyms in Selkup were correlated with their Russian names. In the course of the analysis of all toponymic materials, two tables and one map were compiled. The first table demonstrates the Central and Southern peculiarities reflected in the toponyms of the Sheshkums/Sheshkups of the river Ob and the toponyms recorded in neighbouring settlements included in the area peripheral to the settlement territory of the Sheshkums/Sheshkups. In general, in practically all of the considered “dialects” of the settlements, both Central and Southern features can be distinguished. They gradually grow towards the corresponding Central and Southern boundaries of the analysed area. The second table shows the interrelation of toponyms recorded by linguists and ethnographers in Selkup and Russian (1952—2019). All the Selkup toponyms that were found were marked on the map using the principle of the presence of Central and Southern dialectological features in them. Having compared the official toponymic data and the materials collected from the old-timer Selkups and Russian fishermen, it was revealed that there are significant differences in the official names and the names used by locals. That is why a large number of toponyms did not enter the map.

It can be argued that the method of determining the indigenous territory of Sheshkums/Sheshkups using the dialectal peculiarities of the Selkup language reflected in the names of toponyms is not effective enough for the identification of the boundaries of this dialect local group in this case, but it clearly proves the intermediate position of the Middle Ob dialect.

Keywords: Selkups, Ob Sheshkums/Sheshkups, toponymy, dialectal peculiarities, dialect-local area, ethnographic group

Julia V. Normanskaja. Discussion note on the article by N. V. Saynakova and S. V. Kovylin “Materials on toponymy of the Ket Ob region as a basis for identification of the settlement border of the *šöšqum/šöšqup* dialect local group and confirmation of the intermediate position of the Middle Ob (*sheshkum/sheshkup*) dialect of the Selkup language”

The discussion note shows that the classification of toponyms proposed by N. V. Saynakova and S. V. Kovylin does not seem entirely reliable from the point of view of southern and central dialectal features. This is due to the fact that, as the analysis of monuments in the 18th and 19th centuries shows, most of the features at that period did not allow to reliably distinguish between southern and central dialects, in particular, 1) southern *t* ~ central *č*, 2) southern *-j* ~ central *-l / -l'*. The discussion note provides an alternative classification of toponyms based on reliable well-known dialectal features. As a result, we can conclude that the number of examples is not sufficient for convincing toponyms' assignment to southern or central dialects or for proof of the dialects' intermediate status. Only for the dialect of Ivankino village the intermediate status looks reliable, but it was known earlier.

Keywords: Selkup dialects, phonetic, graphic, toponymy