

Maria P. Bezenova. “Primer book for Votyak children of the Sarapul district”: graphic, spelling, and phonetic features

The article describes the vowel and consonant features of the “Primer book for Votyak children of the Sarapul district” (1913). It is practically impossible to consider the phonetic isoglosses of this written record without taking into account its graphic and spelling system; therefore, the article also pays special attention to the graphics and orthography of the source material.

The phonetic features are described by comparing the vowel and consonant system of the primer with the vowel and consonant system of the modern Udmurt literary language, adding, whenever available, correspondences from the dialect dictionary by Y. Wichmann [Wichmann 1987], the materials for which were collected at the end of the 19th century. Furthermore, corresponding modern forms from the audio dictionaries based on 2013 field data are also indicated. Such a comparison makes it possible to try to determine the archaic or innovative nature of each identified feature.

The analysis shows that most of the phonetic features of the primer, both innovative and archaic, are characteristic of modern dialects of the Southern dialect zone. It follows that this record was most likely written in one of the dialects located on the border of the Middle and Central-Southern dialects of the Udmurt language, i. e. its present-day counterpart would be the dialect of the northern part of the Malopurginsky district of the Udmurt Republic. However, it turns out to be difficult to locate it more precisely at the moment as, unfortunately, this area is described by dialectologists rather poorly today.

Keywords: the Udmurt language, written record, Sarapul dialect, graphic and orthographic features, phonetic features

Maria A. Klyucheva. Noun morphology in the monument of Mari writing “The beginnings of Christian doctrine ...” (1839/1841). The case

This article continues the analysis of the Mari text of the book “The Beginnings of Christian doctrine ...”, published in Kazan in 1841. Previously (see [Klyucheva 2021]), the verb morphology (conjugation) in it was described. This work describes the noun morphology in “The Beginnings...” — the case system of nouns in the singular. In continuation of this work, we plan to consider the categories of number and possession. The case system in “The Beginnings...” includes all the 9 cases of the modern standard Mari (Meadow-Eastern) language and also abessive and ablative. The presence of the causative (case) with the indicator *-lanen* is questionable: it occurs in “The Beginnings...” in a single example with a pronoun. The analysis of noun morphology in “The Beginnings...” is made in comparison with the standard Mari (Meadow-Eastern) language and Meadow dialects. Its specificity lies primarily at the phonetic level: in the vocalism of unstressed syllables and the stress system. The system of vowels includes labial reduced *u* and *ü*. They are expressed in “The Beginnings...” by the letters *o*, *y*, *io*, and are located on the border between the stem and the case affix (after labial vowels in the stem). In the standard language, only the non-labial reduced vowel *ê* occurs in this position. Such vowel harmony in the language of “The Beginnings...” corresponds to the western subdialects of the Meadow dialect, especially the Volga subdialect. As regards the stress system, in “The Beginnings...” in the comitative, dative, ablative, partly in the lative the stress is kept on the same syllable as in the nominative, while in the literary norm and in modern Meadow dialects all these case suffixes are under stress (only in the dative is the stress fluctuation allowed). This indicates changes in the system of stresses in the Meadow dialect since the creation of the monument. The article also shows examples of non-standard use of case forms (mainly inessive, accusative and genitive). They may reflect some poorly studied functions of cases in Meadow dialects. The results of the study of the case correlate with the previously obtained conclusions about the Volga dialect as the dialectal basis of this written monument. It reflects not only the modern, but also the historical features of this dialect.

Keywords: Finno-Ugric languages, Mari language, Volga dialect of the Mari language, written monuments, noun morphology, historical dialectology, accentology

Yuri B. Koryakov. Changes in the ethno-linguistic territory of the Western and Southern Mansi in the 17th—20th centuries. Part I. Cis-Urals and the Tura basin

This article examines the changes in the ethno-linguistic territory of the Mansi (Voguls) in the Cis-Urals and in the Tura basin during the 17th—20th centuries. In most of these lands, the Mansi and Mansi languages disappeared no later than the early / middle 19th century. But the assimilation and displacement of the Mansi took place a little differently and at different speeds in different parts.

The purpose of this article is to bring together and systematize information about the distribution of the Mansi and Mansi languages in the western and southern parts of their range during the 17th—20th centuries. Both primary sources of the 17th—19th centuries and the works of researchers of the 19th—21st centuries were used as material for the study. Particular attention is paid to census data, as well as data on yasak payers of the 17th century.

The result of the work is a detailed reconstruction of the geographical distribution and demographics of the Mansi in this region after the 17th century. All toponyms mentioned in earlier works were georeferenced, and diachronic correlation of objects from different time layers was made. For convenience of presentation, the territory under consideration is divided into several sub-areas. Special attention was paid to the time of the disappearance of the Mansi languages in each sub-area and more accurate geo-referencing of the known Mansi dictionaries of the 18th—19th centuries. The collected and systematized information is illustrated by detailed ethno-linguistic maps, which make it possible to compare the situation with the Mansi and the Mansi language in different centuries.

Such an analysis, based on the areal principle and accompanied by detailed maps, is being done for the first time. The results of the work, including maps, can be used by specialists of various profiles, incl. linguists studied Mansi dialectology and toponymy, ethnographers and historians.

Keywords: Mansi language, Voguls, linguistic geography

Irina P. Novak. Distribution of front fricative consonants in Karelian sub-dialects of Middle Karelia (based on application of the Cognate analysis algorithm of Lingvodoc linguistic platform)

The article reports the results of an analysis of the distribution of front fricative consonants in the Middle Karelian group of Karelian sub-dialects. The study area was chosen due to its position at a transition between Karelian supradialects, where two opposite sibilant presentation systems collide. Intensive migrations of Karelians inside the study area have generated a fairly sophisticated situation with the phenomenon in question: which consonant variant is used depends on quite a few factors (opening or closing position in the word, presence of the vowel *i* in the immediate vicinity, front or back vocalism of the word, quality of the second component in consonant blends), which appear in different combinations across the distribution range. Application of the cognate analysis algorithm of LingvoDoc linguistic platform to the thematic dictionaries, which were made using the “Programs for collecting material for the dialectal atlas of the Karelian language” filled out in the mid-20th century in 146 settlements in Karelia, permitted determining which specific word beginning and middle phonetic positions influence the distribution of possible variants of front fricatives in the Middle Karelian sub-dialect group. Visualization of the results in a map brings about the conclusion about the areal nature of the dialect differentiating phonetic phenomenon, on the one hand, and demonstrates that the main sibilant distribution isoglosses do not coincide with the boundaries of Karelian dialects and supradialects in the traditional division, on the other.

Keywords: Karelian language, dialectology, linguistic geography, dialectometry, dialect division, cognate analysis, cluster analysis, phonetic marker, front fricative consonants

Maria A. Ovsyannikova. Conditional converb in Forest Enets: a corpus-based study of its system of uses

This corpus-based study examines the functions of the conditional converb in Forest Enets and investigates the differences in its use between two generations of Enets speakers. In line with the previous

descriptions, independent clauses with conditional converbs are used as self-addressed questions (yes/no, special, and alternative questions). The conditional converb of the verb *ε* ‘be’ when used with numerals is developing into a marker of approximation. Dependent clauses with conditional converbs include protases of conditional and concessive conditional constructions as well as complement clauses. This study discusses the diachronic relation between independent clauses with conditional converbs and the protasis of conditional constructions and concludes that either of the two directions of development is possible. Complement clauses with conditional converbs include, first, irrealis complements to negative propositional attitude predicates (*dʷaxara* ‘not know’, *dʷurta* ‘forget’), which, showing signs of relatively recent grammaticalization, have hitherto received scant attention by scholars, and, second, sentential subjects in modal constructions with such predicates as *sʷjza* ‘good’, *bʷʷ* ‘bad’ etc. To compare the use of the Enets conditional converb across types of clauses and generations of speakers, this paper analyses the occurrence of the future tense marker on the converb, the order of clauses in multi-clause constructions, the range of verbs in the main and in the dependent clauses. Many of these parameters can be interpreted as the signs of the growing level of clause integration in the process of grammaticalization of polypredicative constructions.

Keywords: conditional converb, conditional constructions, Enets, clause integration, grammaticalization

Daria A. Ryzhova. A fragment of the lexical system of Kazym Khanty: the verbs *pitti* ‘to fall; to get into somewhere’ and *χʷjti* ‘to touch; to hit the target’, and their argument structure

The study describes the semantics of the Kazym Khanty verbs *pitti* ‘to fall; to get into somewhere’ and *χʷjti* ‘to touch; to hit the target’ as analyzed from the perspective of the frame-based approach to lexical typology. According to this approach, semantic fields consist of certain situation types, or frames, which are denoted by the lexemes belonging to the field. The situation types correspond to distributional patterns and serve as a basis for cross-linguistic comparison of word meanings.

The paper identifies and illustrates the sets of physical meanings of the verbs in question, with a special focus on the domain of variation between *pitti* and *χʷjti*. It is shown that these verbs concur in contexts involving the semantics of either getting (occasionally) into somewhere (cf. *A fly got into my soup*) or hitting the target (cf. *The arrow hit him in the arm*). Evidence from Kazym Khanty, as well as from available cross-linguistic data, suggests that these meanings are adjacent to each other, while the meaning ‘to get into somewhere’ is closer to the domain of falling, and the meaning ‘to hit the target’ is closer to the domain of physical contact. Thus, the meanings ‘to fall’, ‘to get into somewhere’, ‘to hit the target’, and ‘to touch’ form a semantic continuum with no clear-cut boundaries between the semantic fields. This hypothesis is further supported by morphosyntactic variation in encoding of the patientive argument of the verb *χʷjti*, which seems to be influenced by the morphological pattern inherent to the verb *pitti*.

Keywords: Khanty language, lexical semantics, lexical typology, argument structure, semantic continuity

Anna Yu. Urmanchieva. Enets caritive markers and their Proto-Samoyedic sources

The article examines three caritive markers in the Enets language: a verbal one *-se* (‘not to have something’), an attributive one *-seɖa/-seɖe* (‘(a person) not having something’) and an adverbial one *-sʷɖiʔ* (‘being without something’). It analyzes their Samoyedic cognates, both quite transparent and less obvious ones. The etymology of the attributive caritive marker is quite transparent even at the synchronic level: the forms of the attributive caritive (*-se-ɖe*) are imperfective participles from verbal caritive forms (*-se*). However, the formation of the imperfective participle in Enets in this case is accompanied by a complicated morphological phenomenon: the form of the participial morpheme (*-ɖe*) with a fricative rather than a stop points to a glide that precedes that participial marker. Based on its Nganasan (adverbial caritive marker *-kaj*) and Mator (attributive caritive marker *-gəsta/-kəsta*) cognates, a protoform with the

glide *j is reconstructed: for the verbal caritive, *-kaj, for the attributive caritive, *-kaj-ntâ-jâ. The etymology of the adverbial caritive marker -šudiʔ is somewhat less obvious. The final -ʔ is a reflex of the Proto-Northern Samoyedic adverbializer, which is used to form adverbs from adjectives (and causes the change of the quality of the preceding vowel). Accordingly, the adverbial form -šudiʔ is formed from the hypothetical attributive form **šude, which also resembles a participial form (-šu-ðe). The allomorph of the participial marker (-ðe) also points to a preceding etymological glide. In Mator, there is another caritive marker -gəda/-kəda, which can only go back to *-kaw-ntâ(-jâ): the protoform without the glide would have resulted in Mator **gənda/-kənda, the protoform with the glide *j results in another Mator caritive marker -gəsta /-kəsta, mentioned above. The glide *w can also explain the appearance of the close back rounded vowel in Enets -šudiʔ.

Keywords: Enets language, Samoyedic languages, caritive, comparative studies, reconstruction

Irina A. Khomchenkova. Discourse functions of the 3rd singular possessive marker in Hill Mari
This paper describes the discourse functions of the 3rd singular possessive marker in Hill Mari. Many previous works indicated that POSS.3SG markers in the Uralic languages express the semantics of definiteness; contrastive uses were also mentioned for Mari and Permic languages. Indeed, in Hill Mari, POSS.3SG primarily marks contrast (selection from a set) rather than definiteness. The acceptability of this marker depends on the status of NPs in the information structure. It can mark a topic, and it also has a contrastive use — both in topic and in focus. This use is typical of specific NPs. However, if this NP is a contrastive topic or, less often, a contrastive focus, the possessive marker is also possible in non-specific NPs. Using Hawkins' terms: in definite contexts (anaphoric use, associative anaphoric use, immediate situation use, larger situation use), it is felicitous only in a (contrastive) topic, but not in focus. The influence of the information structure is only absent in the context of the selection from a set. It is the idea of the selection from a set that unites the functions of the POSS.3SG marker in its discourse uses. At the NP level, this is the choice of a referent from a set of participants. Contrastive topic and focus are also analyzed as a selection from several alternatives. As for the topic shift, a new topic is similarly selected from a variety of possible options in discourse, activated in the minds of the speaker and the hearer, and when marking the protagonist, the choice occurs from the set of all protagonists acting in various fragments of the discourse. Thus, the same marker encodes similar semantics in Hill Mari at the levels of NP, local, and global discourse structure.

Keywords: possessive, definiteness, information structure, topic, contrastiveness, discourse, Finno-Ugric languages, Hill Mari