

Summary

Anton Buzanov, Ilya Egorov, Vasily Molchanov. Diphthongs and Kildin Saami vowel system

The aim of this paper is to present a revision of the phonological system of Kildin Saami. This revision is based on the results of a computational analysis of the Kildin vowel inventory. Specifically, a number of segments that have been variously described by different scholars as either diphthongs or monophthongs have been examined using two automatic methods: trajectory length and changepoint detection. These methods were tested on the material of Estonian and Lithuanian before the examination of the Kildin data. The data analyzed in this research was collected during fieldwork in the city of Murmansk, the rural locality of Lujaavv'r (Lovozero), and the urban locality of Verkhnetulomsky in the Murmansk Oblast of Russia in 2021 and 2022. Computational analysis revealed that the segments analyzed by some scholars as diphthongs /ie/ and /ea/ are monophthongs /e:/ and /a:/ occurring after palatal and palatalized consonants. The low back vowels analyzed sometimes as diphthongs /oa/ and /oa:/ are monophthongs /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/ . The first component of /ua/ is acoustically closer to /o(ɔ)/ than to /u(ɔ)/. The phonetic quality of /ue/ remains to be defined. It is proposed to analyze this phoneme as having three allophones in free variation, diphthong [ʊə] (or even [ɔə]) and monophthongs [e:] and [ə:]. /i/ and /i:/ were shown to be in contrastive distribution only word-initially if Russian loanwords are taken into consideration, so /i/ should be considered a marginal phoneme. /i/-final diphthongs and triphthongs are proposed not to be postulated and analyzed instead as combinations of vowels with /j/ or /j:/ . The vowel inventory thus comprises two diphthongs and thirteen monophthongs.

Keywords: phonology, instrumental phonetics, vowels, diphthongs, Kildin Saami

Sergei V. Kovylin. “Materials for studying the language of the Vasyugan aborigines (Ostyaks) of the Narym Krai” (1889) by St. Macarius (Nevsky): peculiarities of the monument, verbal morphology, preverbs

The paper presents a discussion of peculiarities of the Eastern Khanty written monument in the Vasyugan dialect “Materials for studying the language of the Vasyugan aborigines (Ostyaks) of the Narym Krai” and related materials found in the essays of the monument. The data were recorded by St. Macarius (Nevsky) during his winter trips along the Vasyugan River in 1889. The objectives of the study are to discover the features of the materials of the monument by comparing them with the known data on the Vasyugan dialect in diachrony and comparing them with the materials from the Vakh dialect, description and analysis of verbal morphology and preverbs of the idiom. All examples are presented both in the original graphics without changes and in a normalized version with morphemic parsing of lexemes and reliance on parallels presented in grammars and dictionaries published on the Eastern dialects of the Khanty language. The study provides information about the details of the record and the content of the discussed materials, some general linguistic, graphical and lexical features and also the comments provided by St. Macarius (Nevsky) which are significant for understanding the data. Further, the system of verbal categories is discussed which includes realization of action, voice, mood, tense, number and person. Additionally, verbalizers and non-finite forms of the verb are presented which include infinitive, participle and gerund. At the end of the work, there is a discussion of the preverbs found in the monument with the verbs that they modify.

Keywords: Vasyugan dialect, Khanty language, verbal morphology, preverbs, St. Macarius (Nevsky)

Marina V. Kutsaeva. From the old diaspora to the new one: on Bashkir Maris' language and culture maintenance (results of a sociolinguistic survey in the Moscow region Mari diaspora)

The present work makes part in a series of articles devoted to linguistic biographies of Moscow region Mari diaspora representatives, in this case natives of Bashkortostan in the sample. The Mari internal diaspora in the Moscow region has been formed relatively recently and can be considered a *new* diaspora, whereas the areas of Mari settlement in the Urals and Kama region, formed during the XVI—XVIII centuries, are *old* diasporas, and Mari people live compactly there. Language is one of the key markers of ethnic identity in the sample, and its maintenance correlates with the degree of preservation of the borders of the ethnic group. In this regard, it is of interest to analyze the dynamics of the functioning of the ethnic language following the migration of speakers of the idiom from the old diaspora to the new one. The first part of the work presents the linguistic biographies of 18 respondents, natives of the Republic of Bashkortostan: languages of intra-family communication, preschool education, school education (language of instruction or subject of education), further education; channels for the study of the Russian and Mari languages by respondents; a comparative analysis of the present results with the linguistic biographies of the natives of the Republic of Mari El in the sample. In the second part of the work, the problem of the actual use of the Mari idiom by respondents in the Moscow region is studied: domains of use, the respondents' speech practices and lan-

guage ideologies, preservation of the idiom and the mechanism of intergenerational language transmission in the sample. Particular attention is given to the language in culture, preservation of the Bashkir Mari ethnic culture and maintenance of traditional Mari beliefs, the guardians of which they consider themselves to be, in the conditions of the group's residence in the Moscow region.

Keywords: Mari language, ethnic language, internal diaspora, Moscow region, Bashkir Maris, language policy in education, family language policy, language practices, language ideologies, intrafamily language transmission, ethnic culture

Ivan A. Stenin. Antipassive markers in Tundra Nenets

The article deals with the Tundra Nenets word-formation markers, which can be called antipassive. Their attachment to the verb stem affects the syntactic status of the P-argument of the two-place transitive verb and may also impose certain semantic or pragmatic constraints on the interpretation of the P-argument. Antipassivization in Tundra Nenets is closely related to imperfectivization, which is typologically expected. On the one hand, imperfectivizing derivations, primarily associated with the zone of predicate plurality, can lead to antipassivization. On the other hand, the marker *-ŋko*, which can be called a specialized antipassive, attaches only to transitive verbs and necessarily leads to imperfectivization and detelicization. At the same time, it is not excluded from episodic contexts, although in most typical uses it implies a low degree of identifiability of the P-argument, its non-specific, indefinite, or generic status. The Imperfective marker *-ta/-na* brings similar effects in combination with transitive verbs, but it is also attached to intransitive perfective verbs. Morphophonological restrictions on the distribution of the marker *-ŋko* are specially discussed, as well as the competition between Antipassive and Imperfective. Data from other Northern Samoyedic languages are also commented on. The system in Forest Nenets is similar to the Tundra Nenets one. In contrast to the Nenets languages, antipassive constructions are few and peripheral in Forest Nenets, while in Nganasan they are not found at all.

Keywords: Tundra Nenets, Samoyedic languages, antipassive, verbal categories, valency-changing derivations, imperfectivization

Denis M. Tokmashev, Valeria M. Lemskaya, Alfiya A. Khakimova, Natalya V. Subbotina. Articulatory parameters of dorsal stop /k/ in the Turkic languages of Southern Siberia according to ultrasound data (based on Teleut and Siberian Tatar dialectal material)

The objective of the article is to identify and characterize the main types of articulatory patterns of the phoneme /k/ in the related y-group Turkic idioms of Southern Siberia — the Teleut language of the village of Bekovo, Kemerovo region and the Eushta sub-dialect of Tomsk dialect cluster belonging to Siberian Tatar language from the villages of Eushta and Chernaya Rechka, Tomsk region — using the Articulate Assistance Micro ultrasound machine. In Teleut, the phoneme /k/ is represented by velar [k] and uvular [q] allophones, contrasted by the position of both the tongue body (TB) and tongue root (TR). Since these allophones are positionally distributed according to a number of preceding and following vowels, we can consider them allophones of the same phoneme /k/, nevertheless having significantly different articulation. The uvular allophone is characterized by the retracted TR, while the velar is featured with the advanced TB. The material recorded in the village of Eushta is close to Teleut and attests the contrast between [k] and [q]. The contrast of velar and uvular consonants in the idiolect of the village of Chernaya Rechka is much less overt and affects only the TB, but not the TR this probably being due to the convergence of the Eushta dialect in Chernaya Rechka with the western dialect of the Tatar language lacking the contrast of velar and uvular /k/-allophones. The lack of [k] / [q] articulatory contrast in the idiolect of the village of Nizhegorodka in Kemerovo region may indirectly propose the Mishar substrate in the local idiom. The position of TR during articulation of the velar or uvular allophone does not change, and TB position changes slightly — the velar allophone is characterized by a greater degree of TB advancement, however, the general tongue contour is identical for both allophones.

Keywords: Teleut language, Tatar dialects of Siberia, consonantism, articulatory phonetics, ultrasound

Anna Yu. Urmanchieva. Classes of verbal stems (derived and non-derived) in Samoyed languages

The purpose of this work is to determine the morphophonological classes of verbal stems in Samoyed languages depending on their final phoneme. From a diachronic point of view, it is important to distinguish between derived and non-derived stems: some final phonemes are possible only in derived stems. This question is especially important for vowel stem verbs, since it is directly related to the dilemma of reconstructing the vocalism of the late syllables in Proto-Samoyed: some vowels can appear only as a result of merging of the final vowel of a non-derived stem with a derivational marker. The article examines consonant stem verbs and vowel stem verbs. As a result of the study, a list of non-derived Proto Samoyed consonant stem verbs was singled out. The history of these stems differs in individual Samoyed languages. In Selkup, the number of such stems is reduced only due to historical phonetic shifts (disappearance of final **j* and **ŋ*). In Northern Samoyed this class of stems is significantly reduced: most of them are preserved only in combination with derivational suffixes. Predominantly only those final consonant of non-derived stems are preserved, that coincide with the final

consonants of derived stems. The verb stems of the structure (C)VCV- are also considered. It is shown that among non-derived stems, only stems with *ə, *ä, *ā can be reliably reconstructed. As for verb stem ending on other vowels, they can be divided into two groups: a) derived verbs (e.g. stative-decausative derivatives) and b) verbs that coincide with nominal stems (such as ‘knot’ ~ ‘tie’, ‘smoke’ ~ ‘to smoke’).

Keywords: Samoyed languages, historical phonetics, historical grammar, morphophonology, vocalism of late syllables, derived and non-derived verb stems

Valei K. Kelmakov. Discussion note to the article by Maria P. Bezenova “‘Primer book for Votyak children of the Sarapul district’: morphological features” (Ural-Altaic Studies. 2023, 1 (48). P. 7—21)

During analyzing the language of an early monument of writing we should have a certain idea about the linguistic features of other written documents which were published (compiled) as well both simultaneously with the monument being studied, before or after it; only such an approach, in my opinion, will allow us to make a more objective “verdict” about the characteristic features of the studied material’s language.

Keywords: dialect substratum of the written monuments’ language, writing traditions, archaisms, innovations