



Common Innovative Processes in the Mansi Dialects: Number Indicators of Nominal Paradigm

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Common innovative processes in the Mansi dialects: number indicators of nominal paradigm¹

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Abstract. The article covers common innovative processes in the nominal paradigm of the Mansi dialects. Though the Mansi language morphological description and inflectional model have already been highly researched, the introduction of the new archival material verifies the proximity of the Mansi dialects and identifies innovations in individual dialects. As a result of the research, the analysis of number indicators of the noun of the Mansi dialects was carried out for the first time on the basis of new archival material dated to the second half of the XIX century. The use of earlier archival materials of this period allowed us to verify the opinion of researchers about the impossibility of carrying out a dialect classification of the Mansi language by morphological features. The analysis of number indicators showed the proximity of the Mansi dialects and the absence of clear dialect differences in the Mansi data of the XVIII century.

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Keywords. Mansi dialects, archival data, modern data, nominal morphology, innovations, number indicators

1 INTRODUCTION

The study of Mansi morphology dates back to the XIX century and by now represents a sufficiently developed system. The results of many years of research have shown that the Mansi language and its dialects are characterized by the presence of common morphological features. According to E. I. Rombandeeva, "the existing morphological differences are not as significant and indicative as, for example, phonetic ones and relate primarily to the heterogeneity of cases in the category of noun and pronoun and the variability inherent in Mansi dialects in the series of conjugations of the verb and its inflections" [Rombandeeva 2017: 127-128]. This idea of the morphology of the Mansi dialects is generally accepted and is presented in many scientific studies (see [Munkácsi 1894], [Chernetsov 1936], [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1957], [Sinor 1988], [Rombandeeva 2017] etc.). However, working with the first Cyrillic books created at the beginning of the XIX century, we drew attention to the presence of new, previously unfixed forms of the noun paradigm.

The article proposes to conduct a study of the paradigms of the number and declension of the noun in the Mansi dialects on the material presented in the key works of linguists of the XIX–XXI centuries, with the involvement of new archival data. In the works of the predecessors, as far as we know, the morphology of the Mansi dialects was not considered in a similar way. Chronologically, the first source,

which contains the most complete and early Mansi information, is the work of B. Munkachi «A vogul nyelvjárások szóragozásukban ismertetve», dated 1894 [Munkácsi 1894]. This work is based on the linguist's own materials collected during the expedition to the Ob-Ugric in 1888-1889. The material representing the morphological picture of the Mansi dialects of the beginning of the XX century was a number of studies by L. Honti, based on the data of the expedition of A. Kannisto in 1901-1906 and the linguist's own developments. [Honti 1982; 1988; Munkácsi 1984; Kálmán 1976; Kannisto, Eiras, Moisiejó 2013; Kannisto, Liimola 1951; 1955; 1956; 1958]). Three previously undescribed archival sources were analyzed, placed in a partially glossed form on the Lingvodoc platform: "The Gospel of Matthew" of 1868 [Gospel 1868], the monument of 1845. The "Vis Catechism" [Catechism 1843] and the corpus of the first chapters of the "Gospel of Matthew" from the archive of A.M. Sjogren in 1847 [Gospel 1847]. According to Yu. V. Normanskaya, the last source presumably refers to one of the southern dialects, the first two sources belong to the eastern dialect group, as indicated in their name (see [Gospel 1847; Catechism 1843]).

In order to conduct a more meaningful analysis, we also attracted materials on individual dialects: morphological information on the Northern Mansi dialect³ E. K. Skribnik within the framework of the projects "Eurobabel – Ob-Ugric languages" (2009-2012) and "Ob-Ugric database" (2014-2017) [Lingvisticheskii razdel 2020]. Information on the nominal morphology of the Eastern Karym and northern Sosvinsky dialects was taken from the "Dialectology of the Mansi language" by A. I. Saynakhova [Sainakhova 2012]. Another source on the

morphology of the Northern dialect was the study of E. I. Rombandeeva "Sygvin dialect of the Mansi (Vogul) language" [Rombandeeva 1995]. The paradigm proposed by the linguist was based on his own archival materials, according to the source – approximately in the 1960s and 1970s [Rombandeeva 1995: 11-12].

The comparative historical method was used in the work.

2 NUMBER INDICATORS

In the process of working with new sources and various scientific literature on the Mansi language, we found that the data of some researchers contains information that does not coincide with the usual paradigm. The study conducted to clarify the nature of these phenomena is structured as follows: the tables below provide data for each dialect group of the Mansi language with the addition of examples of glossing where it turned out to be possible, according to the chronological order - from the earliest material to the latest, and if it is known that a specific dialect is indicated. Due to the insufficient knowledge of the archival materials involved in the analysis to date, some of their case indicators, which we are not completely sure of, are omitted and indicated by a question mark. Below the tables are comments that seem necessary to understand the logic of selecting indicators for further analysis.

It should be noted that the main attention in the work is paid to the analysis of differences in the consonant system, since all vocal discrepancies are primarily characterized by a difference in the types of

noun bases [Chernetsov, Chernetsova 1936; Liimola 1963; Kálmán 1976; Rombandeeva 2017; Vorobeva, Novitskaya 2020, etc.].

Table 1. Southern Mansi dialects.

Number	[Gospel 1847]	[Munkácsi 1984]	[Honti]
	?	T	T
Sg.	∅ <i>cāgpən</i> 'axe'	∅ <i>pōul</i> 'village'	∅ <i>āmp</i> 'dog'
Du.	-aɟ <i>nyβ-əhɟ-aɟ-mə</i> son-father- DU-ACC 'two brothers'	— -i -ińś <i>kit-i</i> two-DU 'two'	—
Pl.	-əɱ <i>льо̄нк-əɱ</i> road-PL 'roads'	-t̄, -t̄ -ińśit, -ińśt <i>šom-ət̄</i> eye-PL 'eyes' <i>jū-pū-ńśit</i> 'brothers'	-t, -ət <i>āmp-ət</i> dog-PL 'dogs'

According to Table 1, the dual number by B. Munkácsi in the Tavda dialect is mostly not found, "but scant traces of the former existence of the indicator *-i* are found" [Munkácsi 1894: 261]; L. Honti does not fix the dual number form for this dialect [Honti 1975: 73]. In the Southern Gospel of 1847 it is detected and has an indicator *-ag*.

Table 2. Eastern Mansi dialects.

Number	[Catechism 1843]	[Gospel 1868]	[Munkácsi 1984]	[Hon-ti]	[Sainakhova 2012]
	K	K	K	K	K
Sg.	∅ <i>кутыл ахъ</i> 'question'	∅ <i>tšuk</i> 'mother'	∅ <i>lɔnt</i> 'goose'	∅ <i>k_oāl</i> 'home'	∅ <i>ло</i> 'horse'
Du.	?	<i>-ag</i> <i>kit jegepüv- ints-ag-me</i> two brothers- DU-ACC '(saw) two brothers'	<i>-äi^o, -i, - äγ, -γ -iňś</i> <i>posmex- äi^o</i> shoes- DU 'a pair of shoes'	<i>-ī, -əj</i> <i>k_oāl-ī k_oāl- əj</i> eye- DU 'two eyes'	<i>-əŷ</i> <i>ло-əŷ</i> horse-DU 'two horses'
Pl.	?	<i>-et</i> <i>sinagog- et</i> syna- gogue-PL 'in syna- gogues'	<i>-ét, -t -iňś</i> <i>kwäl-ét</i> home- PL 'at home'	<i>-ət, -t</i> <i>k_oāl- ət</i> home -PL 'at home'	<i>-ət</i> <i>ло-əm</i> horse-PL 'horses'

In Munkácsi's materials, dual number forms are characterized by double reflexion *-(ä)i*, *-(ä)γ*, *-iňś* [Munkácsi 1894: 191]. In the

glossed text of the Gospel, the dual number form is also represented by the suffix *-ag*, while in Honti and Sainakhova *-γ*, as an indicator of dualis, is already absent (Table 2). In the text of [Catechism 1843] published on LingvoDoc, the duality marker was not identified.

Table 3. Western Mansi dialects.

Number	[Munkácsi 1984]			[Honti]	
	LU	LM	P	LU	P
Sg.	∅ <i>āmp</i> 'dog'	∅ <i>kwäl</i> 'home'	∅ <i>šäm</i> 'eye'	∅ <i>lu</i> 'horse'	∅ <i>khum</i> 'husband'
Du.	<i>-i</i> <i>āmp-i</i> dog-DU 'two dogs'	<i>-i, -iñš, -iñš</i> <i>kwäl-i</i> home-DU 'two homes' <i>oqr-iñš</i> maternal relative-DU 'two relatives'	<i>-ei°</i> <i>šäm-ei°</i> eye-DU 'two eyes'	<i>-i</i> <i>lu-i</i> horse-DU 'two horses'	<i>-γ, -əγ</i> <i>khum-əγ</i> husband-DU 'two husbands'
Pl.	<i>-ét, -t</i> <i>āmp-ét</i> dog-PL 'dogs'	<i>-t, -iñšt</i> <i>oqr-iñšt</i> maternal rela-	<i>-ét, -t</i> <i>lū-t</i> horse-PL 'horse'	<i>-t, -ət</i> <i>lu-t</i> horse-PL 'horses'	<i>-t, -ət</i> <i>khum-ət</i> husbands-PL 'husbands'

		tive -PL 'many relatives'	s'		ds'
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Table 4. Northern Mansi dialects.

Number	[Munkácsi 1984]	[Honti]	[Rombandeeva 1995]	[Sainakhova 2012]	[Skrinik 2020]
	So	So, Sy	Sy	So	So
Sg.	∅ <i>kwāli</i> ^o 'rope'	∅ <i>Kol</i> 'home'	∅ <i>jīw</i> 'wood'	∅ <i>лув</i> 'horse'	∅ <i>χūriy</i> 'bag'
Du.	<i>-i'</i> <i>-iñś</i> , - <i>iñś</i> <i>kwāly-i'</i> rope- DU 'two ropes'	<i>-γ</i> , - <i>əγ</i> , - <i>aγ</i> <i>kol-</i> <i>aγ</i> home -DU 'two houses'	<i>-γ</i> , - <i>jīγ</i> , - <i>jīγ</i> , - <i>γīγ</i> <i>āpa-γ</i> , <i>apa-γīγ</i> cradle- DU 'two cradles'	<i>-ыг</i> <i>лув-ыг</i> horse- DU 'two horses'	<i>-γ</i> , - <i>iγ</i> , - <i>jīγ</i> <i>χūry-iγ</i> bag-DU 'two bags'
Pl.	<i>-ét</i> , - <i>t</i> <i>-iñś</i> , - <i>iñś</i> <i>kwol-ét</i> home- PL 'many houses'	<i>-ət</i> , - <i>t</i> <i>kwol-</i> <i>ət</i> home -PL 'man y hous- es'	<i>-ət</i> , - <i>t</i> <i>ani-t</i> cup-PL 'cups'	<i>-ым</i> <i>лув-</i> <i>ым</i> horse- PL 'horse s'	<i>-ət</i> , - <i>t</i> <i>χūry-ət</i> bag-PL 'bags'

As can be seen from the data in Table 4, at the end of the XIX century the Sosvinsky dialect was characterized by the presence of three indicators: *-i^o* and *-äγ*, *-ińś*. At the same time, already at the beginning of the XX century, *-ińś* is not found in the materials of researchers.

Thus, according to the tables, the singular noun has the same reflexion for all dialects of the studied period. In the plural, both in the considered dialects and in the works of other researchers, it is expressed by only one indicator *-t* (cf. [Sainakhova 2012: 14]), which is reliably reconstructed for the ProtoMansi language.

Two different affixes are also fixed in the dual number paradigm: 1) *-i* или *-Vj²* are mainly represented in the materials of B. Munkachi and L. Honti, i.e. in the dialects of the late XIX–early XX centuries; 2) *-γ* is recorded in the North Mansi data by all researchers, B. Munkachi – in the eastern dialect, and L. Honti – in the Western Pelymsky, in [In the Gospel of 1847], this indicator was also revealed for the southern dialect, in [Gospel of 1868] – for the eastern dialect, in the absence of forms on *-i* or *-Vj* in these earliest sources (Table 5).

At the same time, it cannot be excluded that the forms on *-i* or *-Vj* are a variant of the reflexation of ProtoMansi **-Vy* in auslaut, since in the first dictionaries of the Mansi language of the XVIII century, the transition **-γ > 0* is recorded for all dialects, fluctuations in reflexation *0/-j/-γ* are detected in a number of dialects:

² According to E. A. Kuzakova, the suffix *-i* is an abbreviated form *-Vj*, while the latter is the most commonly used variant [Kuzakova 1989: 248].

Table 5. Reflection ProtoMansi *-Vy in the first Mansi dictionaries of the XVIII century by [Normanskaya 2022].

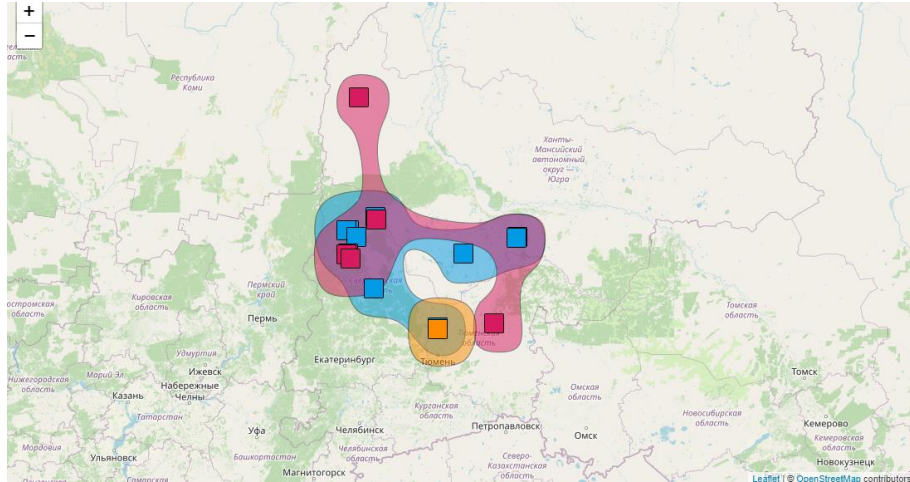
Proto-Mansi	Berezovo [Pallas]	Unknown [Pallas]	Soik. [Cherkalov]	Cherdyn. [Pallas]	Kungur. [Pallas]	Verkhotu r.	Karjin. [Castren]
*-γ	0/- γ/-j	0/- γ/-u/-j	0/-γ	0	0	0	0/-z- /-x/-ǔ

Similar fluctuations in the reflexion of the ProtoMansi *-γ are presented at the end of the word base and in the texts of the beginning of the XIX century: cf. [Gospel 1847] *ōāni* ‘big’, [Gospel 1868] *jāni* ‘big’ < ProtoMansi **jānəγ* (~ -ä) ‘big, great’; [Gospel 1847, Gospel 1868] *jeg* ‘father’ < ProtoMansi **jäγ* ‘father’.

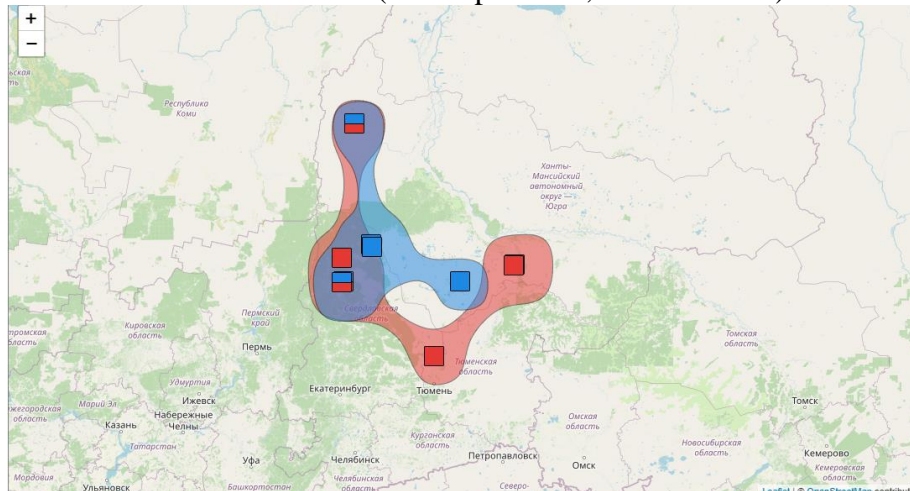
CONCLUSION

Based on the conducted research, we assume that the absence of the indicator *-iñś*, *-iñś* in the paradigm of number indicators in the researcher’s materials of the second half of the XX century is an innovative feature (Picture 1). Archaic reflection is recorded in all other forms.

Picture 1. The dual number in the Mansi dialects (blue - the presence of *-i/-Vj*, crimson – the presence of *-γ*, yellow – the absence of duality indicators).



Picture 2. The implementation of the indicator *-iñs̄, -iñs̄* in Mansi dialects in the XIX-XXI centuries (blue – presence, red – absence).



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