



Common Innovative Processes in the Mansi Dialects: Noun Declension

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Common innovative processes in the Mansi dialects: noun declension¹

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Abstract. The article is a continuation of the study of general innovation processes in the nominal paradigm of Mansi dialects based on new archival materials and data from researchers of different years. As a result of the analysis of the noun declension, an innovative feature was revealed: the index of the accusative *-n* in the Western Pelym and Northern Vagil dialects. At the same time, the study also showed the proximity of the Mansi dialects and the absence of clear dialect differences in the Mansi data of the XVIII century.

Keywords. Mansi dialects, archival data, modern data, nominal morphology, innovations, noun declension

1 NOUN DECLENSION

Declension of nouns is inherent in all dialects of the Mansi language. Six cases are generally distinguished: nominative, lative, locative, ablative, instrumentalis, translative [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1957:

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62]. At the same time, depending on the dialect, the number of forms may vary more or less [Sainakhova 2012: 22]. For example, in the category of a name in the northern Mansi dialect, the accusative case does not occur, while in other dialects it stands out [Kuzakova 1989: 249].

The opinion of researchers also affects the fixed number of cases. Alquist identifies 6 forms [Ahlqvist 1894], Munkachi – up to 7 cases depending on the dialect [Munkácsi 1984], Liimola – 9 [Liimola 1963], Honti identifies up to 8 forms [Honti 1982; 1988; etc.], Kuzakova speaks of 7 cases for the East Mansi dialect and 6 for northern dialect [Kuzakova 1989], Sainakhova – about 6 cases [Sainakhova 2012], in the works of Rombandeeva, 8 forms characteristic of the Mansi language are mentioned [Rombandeeva 2017]. At the same time, there are often discrepancies among scientists regarding the designation of markers of a particular case expressing "additional" grammatical meanings [Vorobeva, Novitskaya 2020: 50]. Thus, the marker *-l*, *-əl*, *-nəl* of ablative case in the works of researchers can be called differently: elative-ablative [Kálmán 1976: 8]; ablative [Honti 1999: 153]; elative [Ahlqvist 1894: 140; Sainakhova 2012:22; Rombandeeva 2017: 79]. A similar disagreement also concerns the directional case, referred to in a number of works as lative case [Ahlqvist 1894: 140; Sainakhova 2012: 22]; the lative-dative [Honti 1975] and so on.

Due to the multifunctionality of case markers in the Mansi language and the lack of unanimity in their designation among linguists, in this article we use a simplified naming system for the key function of cases. According to the purpose of the study, the tables below provide data for each dialect group of the Mansi language, taking into account

also the nominative case and vocative case for the southern Tavda dialect, proposed by E. I. Rombandeeva [Rombandeeva 1995: 85], indicated by B. Munkachi and L. Honti.

Table 1. Southern Mansi dialects.

Case	[Gospel 1847]	[Munkácsi 1984]	[Honti]
	?	T	T
Nominative	\emptyset <i>ȳc</i> 'town'	\emptyset <i>täüt</i> 'fire'	\emptyset <i>āmp</i> 'dog'
Accusative	<i>-me</i> <i>Элиуд-мэ</i> Eliud-ACC '«gave birth» to Eliud.'	<i>-mi, -mė, -m</i> <i>täüt-mī il-</i> <i>kharutl-em</i> fire-ACC ex- tinguish-PRS1SG 'extinguish the fire'	<i>-m, -mī</i> <i>āmp-mī</i> dog-ACC '«saw» the dog'
Locative	<i>-m</i> <i>щар̄иц̄ ва̄т̄э-м</i> seashore-LOC 'on the sea- shore'	<i>-t̄a, -t̄ä, -t̄ė, -t</i> <i>jar-t̄ǵ</i> place-LOC 'in place'	<i>-t̄ā, -t̄á, -t</i> <i>āmp-t̄ā</i> dog-LOC 'on the dog'
Lative	<i>-нэ</i> <i>ȳc-нэ</i> town-LAT 'toward the town'	<i>-n̄a, -n̄e, -n</i> <i>pāl-ne puń!</i> bench-LAT put on 'put it on the bench!'	<i>-n̄ā, -n̄á, -n</i> <i>āmp-ən</i> dog-LAT <i>āmp-n̄ā</i> dog-LAT 'for the dog'
Ablative	<i>-нэл</i> <i>л̄б̄л-нэл</i>	<i>-n̄al, -n̄el</i> <i>lot̄e-n̄al</i>	<i>-n̄āl, -n̄ál</i> <i>āmp-n̄āl</i>

	spirit-ABL 'from the spirit'	horse-ABL 'get off the horse'	dog-ABL 'from the dog'
Translative	<i>-i</i> <i>ня̄н-и</i> bread-TRL 'bread'	<i>-u, -i'</i> <i>ämkhasiñ- khar-usuw-em</i> soldier-TRL be-FUT 'I will be a soldier'	<i>-w, -əw</i> <i>ämp-əw</i> dog-TRL 'a dog'
Instrumentalis	<i>-əl</i> <i>māym-əl</i> fire-INSTR 'by fire'	<i>-l</i> <i>täl-əl mąrt-em</i> hand-INSTR measure-PRS1SG 'measure with hands'	<i>-l, -t</i> <i>ämp-əl</i> dog-TRL 'with a dog'
Comitative	?	<i>-nət, -nēt</i> <i>äu-puänē-nēt</i> guys -COM 'with guys'	<i>-nāt, -nát</i> <i>ämp-nūt</i> dog-COM 'together with the dog'

Table 2. Eastern Mansi dialects.

Case	[Catechism 1843]	[Gospel 1868]	[Munkácsi 1984]	[Hon-ti]	[Sainakhova 2012]
	K	K	K	K	KAR ²
Nominative	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅

² The Karym dialect is given according to A. N. Balandin, M. P. Vakhrusheva [Sainakhova 2012: 23].

	<i>ma</i> 'country'	<i>uš</i> 'city'	<i>lont</i> 'goose'	<i>k_oäl</i> 'house'	<i>xān</i> 'boat'
Accu- sative	<i>-me</i> <i>cēp-me</i> death- ACC 'death'	<i>-me, -em</i> <i>am püv-em</i> son- ACC 'my son'	<i>-m, -mē</i> <i>vūs-mē</i> town- ACC 'of the city'	<i>-m, -mə</i> <i>k_oäl-mī</i> home- ACC 'at home'	<i>-mə</i> <i>xān-mə</i> boat- ACC 'boat'
Loca- tive	<i>-me</i> <i>aŭ-me</i> faith - LOC 'in faith'	<i>-t</i> <i>near-lach-t</i> king- dom - LOC 'in kingdom'	<i>-t</i> <i>vit-ēt</i> water - LOC 'in water'	<i>-t, -tə</i> <i>k_oäl-t</i> house -LOC 'in house'	<i>-m, -əm</i> <i>xān-m, xān-əm</i> boat - LOC 'in boat'
Lative	<i>-ne</i> <i>ma-ne</i> country -LAT 'to country'	<i>-ne, -en</i> <i>mir-ne</i> people - LAT 'to people'	<i>-nē, -n</i> <i>vuj-aňšux-nē</i> bear- LAT 'to bear'	<i>-nə, -n</i> <i>k_oäl-nə</i> house -LAT 'to house'	<i>-nə</i> <i>xān-nə</i> boat- LAT 'to boat'
Abla- tive	<i>-нълъ</i> <i>мэ-нълъ</i> earth- ABL 'from the earth'	<i>-nel</i> <i>aul-nel</i> sky- ABL 'from the sky'	<i>-nēl</i> <i>jō-nēl</i> river- ABL 'from the river'	<i>-nəl</i> <i>k_oäl-nəl</i> home- ABL 'from home'	<i>-нэл'</i> <i>xān-нэл'</i> boat- LAT 'from boat'
Trans- lative	?	<i>-ag, -I</i>	<i>-ai' (-ai'), -i</i>	<i>-əj, -ji, -γ</i>	<i>-əŭ</i>

		<i>ńan-i</i> bread- TRL 'has become bread'	<i>ǰm</i> <i>poum</i> <i>jany-i</i> <i>jemts</i> big- TRL 'has become big'	<i>k̄.äl-ǰj</i> dog- TRL 'has become a home'	<i>xān-ǰǰ</i> boat- TRL 'has be- come a boat'
Instu- mentalis	<i>-ыл</i> <i>номс- ын-ылъ</i> thought s- 2PLPoss- INSTR 'with thoughts'	<i>-el, -tel</i> <i>lil-el</i> soul- INSTR 'by soul'	<i>-l, -tél</i> <i>elémkh</i> <i>olès-él</i> people- INSTR 'by people'	<i>-l, -təl</i> <i>k̄.äl-ǰl</i> home- INSTR '(call) home'	<i>-ǰl'</i> <i>xān-ǰl'</i> boat- INSTR '(call) boat'

Table 3. Western Mansi dialects.

Case	[Munkácsi 1984]			[Honti]	
	LU	LM	P	LU	P
Nomi- native	\emptyset <i>oš</i> 'sheep'	\emptyset <i>šām</i> 'eye'	\emptyset <i>šām</i> 'eye'	\emptyset <i>kēp</i> 'boat'	\emptyset <i>kum</i> 'husband'
Accu- sative	<i>-ma, - mä</i> <i>oš-ma</i> sheep- ACC	<i>-m, - mē</i> <i>koqt- em</i> hand-	—	<i>-m, - mə</i>	— (<i>-ǰn, -nə</i>) <i>kum-ǰn</i> <i>kum-nə</i> husband-

	‘of the sheep’	ACC ‘by the hand’			ACC ‘of the husband’
Locative	<i>-t, -tē</i> <i>mō-te</i> land- LOC ‘to land’	<i>-tē, -t</i> <i>khōj-te</i> cauldron- LOC ‘in the cauldron’	<i>-t</i> <i>äšermä</i> <i>-t</i> cold- LOC ‘in the cold’	<i>-tə, -t</i>	<i>-tə, -t</i> <i>kum-tə</i> husband- LOC ‘to husband’
Lative	<i>-na, -nä</i> <i>oš-na</i> sheep- LAT ‘to the sheep’	<i>-nē, -n</i> <i>lol-nē</i> leg- LAT ‘to leg’	<i>-ne, -n</i> <i>āmp-ən</i> dog- LAT ‘to the dog’	<i>-nə, -n</i>	<i>-nə, -n</i> <i>kum-ən</i> <i>kum-nə</i> husband- LAT ‘to the husband’
Ablative	—	—	— <i>-nəl</i> <i>vər-nəl</i> ‘?’	— <i>(-nə)</i>	— <i>(-nə)</i> <i>kum-ən</i> <i>kum-nə</i> husband- ABL ‘?’
Translative	<i>-a, -ä</i> <i>sərni-a</i> white- TRL ‘became	<i>-ä</i> <i>käpp-ä</i> hill- ock-	<i>-äi</i> <i>khətelt</i> <i>vūñkw-äi</i> short- TRL	<i>-ā, -á, -i</i> <i>jurt-ā</i> friend- TRL ‘be-	<i>-əγ, -γ</i> <i>kum-əγ</i> husband- TRL ‘became a

	e white'	TRL 'became a hillock'	'days have become short'	came a friend'	husband'
Instu- mentalis	<i>-l</i> <i>-tè</i> <i>šämān- tè</i> eye- INSTR 'blinkin g eyes'	<i>-l</i> <i>-tèl</i> <i>pom- èl</i> hay- INSTR 'by hay'	<i>-l, -èl</i> <i>-tèl</i> <i>tup-èl</i> <i>närèkhti</i> paddle- INSTR 'pad- dle'	<i>-l, -əl</i> <i>-təl</i> <i>kēp-əl</i> boat- INSTR 'with a boat'	<i>-l, -əl</i> <i>-təl</i> <i>kum-əl</i> husband- INSTR 'with a husband'

Table 4. Northern Mansi dialects.

Case	[Munk ácsi 1984]	[Hon- ti]	[Rom- bandeeva 1995]	[Saina- khova 2012]	[Skribnik 2020]
	So	So, Sy	Sy	So	So
Nomi- native	\emptyset <i>kwol</i> 'home',	\emptyset <i>kol</i> 'home',	\emptyset <i>āmp</i> 'dog'	\emptyset <i>xān</i> 'boat'	\emptyset <i>sāli</i> 'deer'
Loca- tive	<i>-t, -tè</i> <i>kwol- tè</i> home- LOC 'at home'	<i>-t, -ta</i> <i>kol-t</i> home- LOC 'at home'	<i>-t, -ət, - ēt</i> <i>wit-t</i> water- LOC 'in the water'	<i>-m</i> <i>xān-m</i> boat- LOC 'in a boat'	<i>-t, -ət</i> <i>sāli-t</i> deer- LOC 'in a deer'

Lative	- <i>nĕ</i> , - <i>n</i> <i>kwol-nĕ</i> home-LAT 'to the house'	- <i>n</i> , - <i>ən</i> , - <i>nə</i> , - <i>na</i> <i>kol-ən</i> home-LAT 'to the house'	- <i>n</i> , - <i>ən</i> <i>wor-n</i> forest-LAT 'to the forest'	- <i>n</i> <i>xān-n</i> boat-LAT 'to the boat'	- <i>n</i> , - <i>ən</i> <i>sāli-n</i> deer-LAT 'to the deer'
Ablative	- <i>nĕl</i> <i>kwol-nĕl</i> home-ABL 'from home'	- <i>nəl</i> <i>kwol-nəl</i> home-ABL 'from home'	- <i>nəl</i> , - <i>nl</i> <i>mūñitĕr ĕ-nl</i> shell-ABL 'from its shell'	- <i>ныл</i> <i>xān-ныл</i> boat-ABL 'from the boat'	- <i>nəl</i> <i>sāli-nəl</i> deer-ABL 'from the deer'
Translative	- <i>i</i> , - <i>ai̯</i> <i>kwol-i̯</i> home-TRL 'became a home'	- <i>γ</i> , - <i>aγ</i> <i>kwol-aγ</i> home-TRL 'became a home'	- <i>iy</i> , - <i>γ</i> , - <i>iy̯</i> , - <i>iy̯</i> <i>jōwt-iy̯</i> bow-TRL 'became a bow'	- <i>ьл</i> <i>xān-ьл</i> boat-TRL 'became a boat'	- <i>iy</i> <i>sāli-jiy̯</i> deer-TRL 'became a deer'
Instrumentalis	- <i>l</i> , - <i>ĕl</i> , - <i>təl</i> <i>kwol-ĕl</i> house-INSTR 'with a house'	- <i>l</i> , - <i>əl</i> , - <i>tə</i> , <i>təl</i> <i>kwol-əl</i> house-INSTR 'with a house'	- <i>l</i> , <i>əl</i> , - <i>təl</i> <i>āmp-əl</i> dog-INSTR 'with a dog'	- <i>ьл</i> <i>xān-ьл</i> boat-INSTR 'with a boat'	- <i>l</i> , - <i>əl</i> <i>sāli-l</i> deer-INSTR 'with a deer'
Voca-			- <i>a</i> , - <i>ā</i> , -		

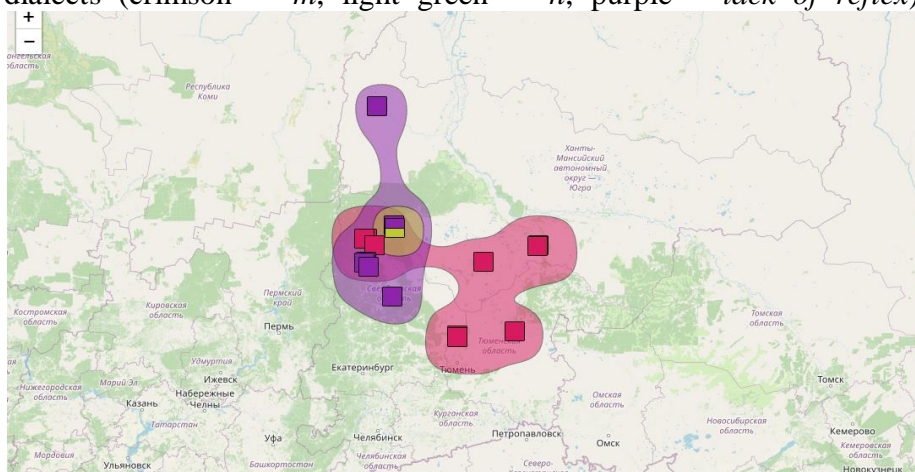
tive			<i>ē</i> <i>-ōw</i> <i>ākw-ā,</i> <i>mōjten</i> grand- mother- VOC ‘grand mother, tell me a fairy tale’		
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According to the presented material, there are no discrepancies in the Mansi dialects of the researchers in the nominative, lative and locative (Tables 1-4).

For accusative case, in almost all the data under consideration, the indicator *-m* is allocated with the addition of a vowel formant, depending on the type of the base of the word [Sinor 1988: 153]. In the data studied, this case is completely absent in the northern dialect group: in August Ahlqvist's «Wogulische Sprachtexte nebst Entwurf einer wogulischen Grammatik», it is noted that in the northern Mansi dialect, the accusative as a separate case is not distinguished and is equated with the nominative in its functions [Ahlqvist 1894: 139]; in B. Munkácsi, it is not fixed only for the Western Pelym dialect; in L. Hon-ti's materials, the alternation of *0/-n*, *-ne* is presented for the same dialect [Ahlqvist 1894: 139]. In the scientific literature of the middle 20th century, there is information that this affix was characteristic not only of the Pelymsk, but also of the Northern Vagilsk dialect [Liimola 1963: 41]. It can be assumed that such reflection is innovative for some west-

ern dialects, given that in all other Mansi dialects the affix of the accusative is *-m*, *-me* (Picture 1).

*Picture. 1. Innovative processes in the indicators of accusative in Mansi dialects (crimson – *-m*, light green – *-n*, purple – lack of reflex).*



For the ablative case in all dialect groups, except for the Western one, an archaic indicator is fixed *-nel*. According to E. I. Rombandeeva, this suffix is formed with the help of two coaffixes: "ascending to the general Ugric locative formant *-n*, and *-l*, ascending to the ancient Ugric ablative **-l'*" [Rombandeeva 2017: 77]. In Western dialects, this indicator is absent in the materials of B. Munkachi and L. Honti, or the form *-nel* (B. Munkachi) *-nə* (L. Honti) is noted as rarely occurring [Kálmán 1976: 235]. In [Ahlqvist 1894: 140; Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 60-63] researchers also pay attention to the absence of ablative in Western Mansi dialects. We assume that for this dialect group at the beginning of the 20 century it is possible to fix the loss of the ablative *-nel* and the use of the lative indicator *-nə* in its functions.

As can be seen from the above tables, the translative in the studied materials is represented quite heterogeneously: *-u/-w, -i, -ai, -əi, -j/-ji, -γ* etc. Such a number of reflexes, first of all, finds its explanation in the development of ProtoMansi **-γ* [Liimola 1963: 123-126], which, depending on the position in the word, can be written very differently. For example, this is what the reflection of the ProtoMansi looks like **-γ*³:

1) In the auslaut position:

obsk. *jáni* ‘big’, yukond. *jańi* ‘big’, sosv. *яныг* ‘big’⁴ < ProtoMansi **jǎnəγ* [Honti 1982]; vigil. *jáni* [*janiγ*], pelym., kond. *jáni*, tavid. *jǎnu* ‘big’ [MK 1986: 146]; tavid. *ǰinu*, *ǰenu*, kond. *ǰáni*, pelym. *ǰeniγ*, *ǰen-*, sosv. *ǰǎ`niγ* ‘big, old’ [Kannisto 2013: 217].

2) In the inlaut position:

obsk. *mául* ‘breast’, yukond. *maul* ‘breast’, sosv. *мāгыл* ‘breast’ < ProtoMansi **māγəl* < ProtoUral **mälke* (**mälye*) [Honti 1982]; vagil. *ma’ıl* [*māγl*], *maıl* ~ (*ma’ıl* ~ *mawil* ~ *māwəl* ~ *mäel* ~ *mâjl*), pelym. *ma’ıl*, kond. *mǎul*, tavid. *məul* ‘breast’ [MK 1986: 293]; tavid. *mεü`l*, *mεü`л*, kond. *mǎoγl*, sosv. *māγl* ‘breast’ [Kannisto 2013: 463].

In instrumentalis case, in all dialect groups in the materials of researchers of the late 19-21 centuries, the forms *-l, -əl, -t, -tel* are fixed. A number of researchers [Ahlqvist 1894; Liimola 1963; Kuzakova 1989] agree on the presence of instrumentalis suffixes *-l, -əl, -t, -tel*, characteristic of all Mansi dialects. The appearance of one or another

³ The ProtoMansi reconstruction is given by [Honti 1988];

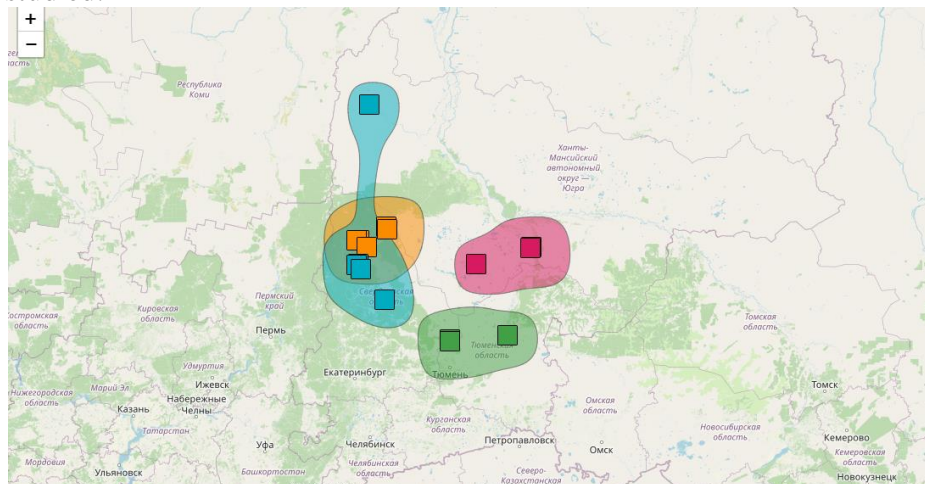
⁴ Examples here and below are from archival dictionaries and field data materials hosted on the LingvoDoc platform.

er of them is due to the following: *-l*, *-əl* – singular indicators, and *-t*, *-tel* is most often found after possessive suffixes and in the dual and plural numbers [Liimola 1963: 99-118].

The inclusion of B. Munkachi for the southern Mansi dialect of the joint case, whose functions in other cases fit with the creative case, as well as the vocative case noted in the materials of E. I. Rombandeva, does not allow to compare their reflexion with other data.

Thus, the study of the declension of the noun in the Mansi dialects on the example of new archival material and sources containing the most complete information of different time periods (from the end of the 18 to the beginning of the 21 centuries) allowed us to identify the following innovative developments: the index of the accusative *-n* in the Western Pelym and Northern Vagil dialects.

Picture 2. Localization of Mansi dialects, according to the materials studied.



green – southern; crimson – eastern; orange – western; blue – northern

CONCLUSION

So, the involvement of earlier archival materials of the XIX century allows us to fully confirm the opinion of scientists that the morphological differences between the Mansi dialects are insignificant and do not allow for dialect classification based on them. This correlates with the results obtained by Yu. V. Normanskaya that in the first Mansi dictionaries of the XVIII century that there are still no clear dialect-differentiating features [Normanskaya 2022: 142]. The comparative analysis of noun declension carried out in this study also confirms the proximity of the Mansi dialects and indicates the recent time of their disintegration (Picture 2). Some innovative processes in morphology, which in most cases is more archaic than phonetics, affected only the Pelym and Northern Vagil Western dialects.

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