JULIA NORMANSKAJA (Moscow)

THE SYSTEM OF VARIABLE STRESS
IN NORTHERN MANSI DIALECTS
AND ITS EXTERNAL CORRESPONDENCES*

Abstract. In the present article, which continues the cycle of articles dedicated to the description of variable stress in Ob-Ugric languages, we direct our attention to the variable stress in Mansi dialects. The article describes the rules of stress placement for verbs of different types in the Ob dialect of the Mansi language on the basis of the field material collected from two villages of Okt-jabŕskoje district of Khanty-Mansi administrative region (village Nižnie Naryn-kary and village Peregrjobnoje) in 2013 by I. A. Stenin, and of Sosva dialect collected in village Khulimsunt by R. I. Idrisov in 2016. A hypothesis about the correlation between stress placement in verbs in Ob (field data) and Tavda (B. Munkácsi's data) dialects of the Mansi language was tested. We give the verbal accent paradigms for two northern (Ob and Sosva) and one eastern (Jukonda) Mansi dialect, revealed as a result of the analysis in the phonetic program Praat (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/) of the field materials of the northern and eastern Mansi dialects. Then these materials will be compared with Tavda (B. Munkácsi's data) dialect of the Mansi language. The comparison shows that in all of the Mansi dialects analysed three accentual paradigms were revealed: in the first, the stress is fixed on the first syllable, in the second it is fixed, but not on the first syllable, while in the third one in part of the forms on the first syllable, and in the others on the second syllable. Summing up the analysis, we can say that the material of the Ob dialect and of the Sosva dialect spoken in the village of Khulimsunt confirms the hypothesis of the previous articles (Норманская 2015a; 2015b) about the reconstruction of four accent paradigms for verbs in the Proto-Mansi language.

Keywords: Mansi, Khanty, stress, verb.

1. In 2011, while working in the National Library of Finland in Helsinki with the archives of M. A. Castrén, we found that he had recorded vari-

able stress in the South Khanty Irtyš dialects. This is very valuable data, since these South Khanty dialects do not exist anymore.

Castrén's word list presents about two hundred words, mostly non-derived nouns and verbs in the Pr1Sg or Pt1Sg and infinitive. For all infinitives the stress falls on the first syllable, while in oblique cases and in the Pr1Sg or Pt1Sg forms of verbs the stress can fall either on the first or on the second syllable. We could not detect any correlation between vowel quality and stress placement. These data lead us to suppose that non-derived words had a paradigmatic phonological stress in South Khanty.

V. A. Dybo gives the following definition of the paradigmatic stress systems: "Paradigmatic stress systems are characterized by two or more types of behavior of stress within a word, which are named "stress types" or "stress paradigms" and amongst which are distributed all the words of a given language, as follows: In the corpus of non-derived stems the choice of a stress type for a word cannot be predicted from any information held within the form or meaning of that word, but is peculiar to the word by tradition. In the corpus of derived stems the choice of stress types is defined by the stress type of productives (usually with a correction for the word-formative type)" (Dybo 2000 : 10).

Since then, supported by RFBR, Presidential, and RFH grants, our group has been conducting research aimed at finding stress systems with variable stress in Ob-Ugric languages. We have organized a number of expeditions into remote regions of Western Siberia. With the help of local administration we determined the places where the Khanty or Mansi still speak their native language. We have conducted two expeditions to the speakers of the Nizjam dialect, who presently live on the Nazym river, and the expedition leader S. V. Onina herself was polled as a speaker of Šuryškar dialect. The following expeditions have taken us to the speakers of Kazym, Middle Ob (northern), and Salym (eastern) dialects of Khanty and Jukonda (eastern) dialect and to the speakers of Ob (northern) dialect of Mansi. Besides that, the group headed by A. I. Kuznetsova has kindly given us access to the digital audio-recordings of their years-long expedition to the Northern Khanty.

In Salym[1] dialect, which is considered eastern Khanty, in Nizjam dialect, halfway between northern and south-western dialects, in Jukonda (eastern) and Ob (northern) dialects of the Mansi language we found variable stress. For example, Salym: *pa·ŋa* 'vein', *santa·* 'to beat', *koθta·* 'to feel', *jo·lda* 'to go'; Nizjam: *a·ŋki* 'mother', *aŋkɛ·m* Lat 'mother', *i·mi* 'woman', *ɲudχi·* 'fir' (more examples in Норманская 2014); Jukonda: *pɔ·jtam* 'I cook', *peljœ·m* 'I am afraid', *po·nim* 'I put', *poni·na* 'you put'.

We recorded the basic word list of non-borrowed Finno-Ugric vocabulary for each dialect using the data from two or more native speakers. Salym dialect is an exception in that the word-list was recorded from just one speaker, and it was not complete. At present, our group is processing the received data, and the beta-versions of etymological audio-dictionaries of these dialects can be accessed at http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/.

At the same time we are studying archival data on the Khanty dialects where variable stress was attested, for example in Irtyš (southern) Khanty

---

[1] According to previous researchers this dialect has become extinct, cf. (Nikolaeva 1999). We have found several dozens of people who have a good command of the language, but only one (female) person among them agreed to cooperate.

dialect documented by M. A. Castrén: *Énδep* 'belt', *Ónget* 'horn', *Júrak* 'side', *Njalxá* 'fir', *Poδ/gjár* 'ash'.

The first interesting results received after the individual stress systems had been described and compared were published in Норманская 2013; 2014. In Норманская 2013 we presented the results of the analysis of stress placement in Vasjugan dialect, based on archival data collected by Ljudmila Iosifovna Kalinina in the 1950s and1960s. It turned out that the rules of stress placement depend on part of speech. For verbs and pronouns stress is paradigmatic, and its placement depends on the type of affix. For nouns the stress is fixed either on the first or second syllable, see Table 1 for examples.

Table 1

Vasjugan stress and genesis of vowels

a < **Proto-Khanty** *aa	*ъ* (*ə*) < **Proto-Khanty** *i
a·mịt[2] [*áмытъ*] 'to put', *aməs-* (DEWOS 103)	*əra·ng* [*ърáнг*] 'in another', [*ърáнь*] 'another', *ərəγ* (DEWOS 167)
ka·ta [*кáта*] 'at home', [*кáтаjоγ*] 'in the house', *kat* (DEWOS 565)	*təl'ə·z* [*тъл'ѣз*] 'winter', [*тъл'ѣγ*] 'winter', *tələγ* (DEWOS 1429)
o < **Proto-Khanty** *a	*ъ* (*ă*) < **Proto-Khanty** *ị
l'o·pị [*л'óпы*] 'coat', *lọpị* (DEWOS 873)	*kəsị·* [*късы́*] 'on the man', [*късы́*] 'man', *kăsị* (DEWOS 562)
po·rojlajịn [*пóроjлаjын*] 'to flew', [*пóръγлънта*] 'to fly', *porγəl-* (DEWOS 1211)	*əla·kal, əla·kəl* [*ълáкал, ълáкъл*] 'lies', [*ълúнтаγъм*] 'went to bed', *ăl-* (DEWOS 66)
ä < **Proto-Khanty** *ää	*ŏ* < **Proto-Khanty** *u
ä·трäm [*а́мпäм*] 'with the dog', [*а́мпäмнä*] 'on the dog', [*а́мпъγ*] 'dog', *ämp* (DEWOS 101)	*tŏlŏ·γıwəl* [*толо́гвъл*] 'he says', [*толо́jвълм*] 'they say', [*толо́γлъм*] 'I do not say', *tŏl'əγ-* (DEWOS 1436)
l'ä·ngləkən [*л'а́нглъкън*] 'squirrels', [*л'а́нгки*] 'squirrel's', *läŋki* (DEWOS 793)	*ŏγa·ma* [*оγáта*] 'to flow', [*оγáвъл*] 'he flows', *ŏγa-* (DEWOS 29)
e < **Proto-Khanty** *ä	*ŏ̈* < **Proto-Khanty** *ü
we·rləm [*вэ́рлъм*] 'I work', [*вэ́ртъ*] 'work', *wer-* (DEWOS 1613)	*jŏγị·n* [*jоγы́н*] 'he', [*jоγá*] 'him', [*jөγы́*] 'his', *jŏ̈γ* (DEWOS 735)
we·rəngə [*вэ́рънгъ*] 'little', [*вэ́рънготът*] 'children', *werəŋ* (DEWOS 1624)	*tŏγo·t* [*то·γó·т, тоjы́, тоγы́*] 'fire', *tŏ̈γət* (DEWOS 1420)

Fixation of the stress on a certain vowel, apparently, happened long ago when first syllable vowels still retained their Proto-Khanty quality in eastern dialects. If the first syllable vowel was high, then the stress became fixed on the second syllable, in other cases — on the first syllable. Thus, the Vasjugan stress system turns out to be unique in that nouns and verbs

---

[2] Here and below · is used as accent mark. In this table [ ] mark the words in the notation of L. I. Kalinina.

represent two different types of stress: verb stress is paradigmatically variable, while noun stress is fixed and depends on the phonemic composition of word forms.

In the article Норманская 2014 it is shown that stress in non-derived words in modern Nizjam dialect and in the South Khanty data of M. A. Castrén coincide completely. In derived stems of the Nizjam dialect a categorization of ictus took place, and in the absence of non-derived forms in the dictionary it is impossible to determine the original place of stress. Thus, the paradigmatic stress systems represented by non-derived nouns and verbs should be considered archaic (at least Proto-West Khanty), since we see such systems both in Nizjam dialect and South Khanty dialects. For example,

Irtyš *E·nδep* 'belt' — Nizjam *ə·ntəp* 'belt'; Irtyš *O·nget* 'horn' — Nizjam *ɔ·ŋət* 'horn'; Irtyš *I·ma* 'woman' — Nizjam *i·mi* 'woman'; Irtyš *Ju·rak* 'side' — Nizjam *ji·ra* 'aside'; vs. Irtyš *Njalxa·* 'fir' — Nizjam *ɲudχi·* 'fir'; Irtyš *Poδlgjár* 'rowan' — Nizjam *pəɛa·r(jɥχ)* 'rowan'; Irtyš *Jeaga·* 'river' — Nizjam *juχa·n* 'river';

Irtyš *Ja·ngam* 'I go' (Pr1Sg) — Nizjam *Jaksy·m* 'I go' (Pr1Sg); Irtyš *Ke·rkem* 'I go' (Pr1Sg) — Nizjam *Kɛrsu·m* 'I am falling' (Pr1Sg); Irtyš *Uu·dem* 'I am' (Pr1Sg) — Nizjam *wytu·m* 'I am' (Pr1Sg); vs. Irtyš *Puse·m* 'I am cleaning a dress' (Pr1Sg) — Nizjam *pusɛ·* 'she is cleaning a dress' (Pr3Sg); Irtyš *Niette·m* 'I swallow' (Pr1Sg) — Nizjam *nɛda·* 'swallows' (Pr3Sg); Irtyš *Jarā·δēm* 'I forgot' (Pt1Sg) — Nizjam *jurɛ·masɛm* 'I forgot' (Pt1Sg).

2. In the present article, which continues a cycle of articles dedicated to the description of variable stress in Ob-Ugric languages, we direct our attention to variable stress in Mansi dialects and show that it has non-trivial parallels in the South Khanty data of M. A. Castrén.

The vowel changes in Mansi verb paradigms have been analysed by W. Steinitz (1955 : 331—336). In general, his book gives an accurate description of the vowel changes in the verb paradigms, however, an analysis of our field materials of Mansi dialects with the phonetic program Praat (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/) reveals that it is not only the duration of vowels that changes, but also their intensity, which makes us, following B. Munkácsi, think that it is more to do with stress changes than with vowel changes.

As mentioned above, the Mansi paradigmatic stress was first noted back in the nineteenth century by B. Munkácsi (1894). The author shows the paradigms of the verb for the northern, eastern, western and southern Mansi dialects.

For the T a v d a (southern) dialect, B. Munkácsi distinguishes two accentual paradigms: For part of the verbs with the same type of conjugation, the stress is fixed on the first syllable, and for the other part, on the second syllable (see Table 2).

Unfortunately, in B. Munkácsi's monograph there are no examples from other dialects featuring different places of stress in the same type of conjugation. For the active voice (Hungarian *cselekvő alak*) he gives only the forms of the verb *min-/mėn-* 'go', which in modern dialects is not stressed on the first syllable. And according to B. Munkácsi, in most forms of this verb, stress is indeed not placed on the first syllable. But other verbs with a stress fixed on the first syllable are given only to illustrate the passive voice (*szenvedő alak*). Therefore, when analyzing B. Munkácsi's monograph

(1894), we can suspect that the place of stress was associated with the type of conjugation and inflected form of the word, but modern materials show that this is not the case, and the hypothesis is probably connected with an unsuccessful selection of illustrative forms. Therefore, we assume that the different place of stress in B. Munkácsi's time did not depend on the type of conjugation, and we guess that in some verbs the stress was fixed on the root, while in others it had a mobile character, like two different accent paradigms.

Table 2

Tavda forms of the verb in the present tense according to Munkácsi 1894 : 289[3]

	I a. p.		II a. p.	
Pr1Sg	*ōsintlem*	'I yawn'	*ōrántem*	'I wait'
Pr2Sg	*ōsintlen*	'you yawn'	*ōránten*	'you wait '
Pr3Sg	*ōsintḁl*	'he yawns'	*ōránt*	'he waits'
Pr1Pl	*ōsintḁleu*	'we yawn'	*ōránteu*	'we wait'
Pr2Pl	*ōsintḁlen*	'you yawn'	*ōránten*	'you wait'
Pr3Pl	*ōsintlėt*	'they *yawn*'	*ōrántet*	'they *wait*'

In the P e l y m (western) dialect, B. Munkácsi singled out the first accent paradigm with stress fixed on the root, and the second with an accent which in part of the forms is on the second syllable (in the present tense in the forms 1, 2, 3 Du, 1, 2 Pl), while in the others diphthongization of the ending (1, 2 Sg, 3 Pl) takes place. In addition, there is sometimes an incomprehensible facultative elongation of part of the endings in some verbs: *älīm/älim* 'I am going to', *älīn/älin* 'you are going to', *älité/älit* 'he is going'. Given the disappearance of the speakers of the Pelym dialect, there is no longer any hope of establishing what prosodic difference might have stood behind this phenomenon.

Table 3

Pelym verbal forms in the present tense (Munkácsi 1894 : 249—251)

	I a. p.		II a. p.	
Pr1Sg	*joχtilėm*	'I receive'	*mineim*	'I walk'
Pr2Sg	*joχtilėn*	'you receive'	*minein*	'you walk'
Pr3Sg	*joχtilė*	'he receives'	*mini*	'he walks'
Pr1Du	*joχtiläm*	'we two receive'	*minímė*	'we two walk'
Pr2Du	*joχtilän*	'you two receive'	*minínė*	'you two walk'
Pr3Du	*joχtiän*	'they two receive'	*miníγ́ė*	'they two walk'
Pr1Pl	*joχtilḁu/joχtinḁu*	'we receive'	*miníwė*	'we walk'
Pr2Pl	*joχtilän/joχtinän*	'you receive'	*minínė*	'you walk'
Pr3Pl	*joχtiän*	'they receive'	*mine̥iχ́t*	'they walk'

In the K o n d a (Jukonda, eastern) dialect, Munkácsi also distinguishes two accent paradigms: one with a word stress fixed on the root, and the second with a differently placed stress (see Table 4).

---

[3] B. Munkácsi did not mark the place of stress when it fell on the first syllable.

Table 4

Konda forms of the verb in the present tense according to Munkácsi 1894 : 217—218

	I a. p.		II a. p.	
Pr1Sg	*a̦iwėm*	'I sleep'	*mėna̦m/mėnγėm*	'I walk'
Pr2Sg	*a̦iwėn*	'you sleep'	*mėnän/mėnγėn*	'you walk'
Pr3Sg	*a̦iwė*	'he sleeps'	*mėni*	'he walks'
Pr1Du	*a̦iwämėn*	'we two sleep'	*mėnímėn*	'we two walk'
Pr2Du	*a̦iwän*	'you two sleep'	*mėnínė*	'you two walk'
Pr3Du	*a̦iwėi*	'they two sleep'	*mėnä*	'they two walk'
Pr1Pl	*a̦iwa̦u*	'we sleep'	*mėna̦u*	'we walk'
Pr2Pl	*a̦iwän*	'you sleep'	*mėnän/mėnínė*	'you walk'
Pr3Pl	*a̦iwet*	'they sleep'	*mėnät/mėnγėt*	'they *walk*'

In northern dialects no variable stress was marked. Unfortunately, this valuable material given in B. Munkácsi's monograph (1894), cannot be called exhaustive. As mentioned above, only a few examples are used to illustrate the verbal paradigms for each of the dialects. More informative in this regard is the dictionary (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986). In it, for almost every South-Mansi verb, the place of stress is marked in the form Pr3Pl, according to which it is possible to judge whether the verb represents the first or second accent paradigm, the place of stress in which is indicated by B. Munkácsi (1894). Unfortunately, the dictionary does not contain data on the different accent in the eastern and western dialects, which was noted in the monograph (Munkácsi 1894). In the recently published dictionary (Kannisto 2013), in two-syllable words or bases, the stress in Tavda dialect always falls on the second syllable, both in verbs and in nouns. This fact is noted in L. Honti's monograph (1975 : 15). As for the western, eastern and northern dialects, the stress was not marked in the dictionary made from the material of the texts of A. Kannisto (Kannisto, Liimola, Eiras 1982). However, when referring to the texts themselves (Kannisto, Liimola 1951), it can be seen that it is diverse in all Konda, Upper-Lozva texts and in some Tavda texts. Let us take as an example some of the forms of the verb *min-* 'go (using means of transportation)', encountered in the first texts of A. Kannisto. As was shown above, it was precisely this verb that was quoted by B. Munkácsi as an illustration of the verbs with stress fixed on the second syllable:

K o n d a   d i a l e c t: *mənàm* 'I go', *mənàn* 'you go', *mənì* 'he goes', *mənà* 'the two go' (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 36);

U p p e r - L o z v a   d i a l e c t: *minèγm* 'I go', *mi·neγàn* 'you go', *mini-mᵉèn* 'we go', *minèγ* 'they go', *mìnặm* 'I went', *mìnặs* 'he went', *mìnàzt* 'they went', *mìni* 'go', *mìnᵉεn* 'you (many) go' (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 72);

T a v d a   d i a l e c t: *miṅä̆s* 'he goes' (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 157); in this text there are words with stress on the first syllable that are not present in Kannisto's dictionary (2013), see *mi·śkerχ* 'a boy' and others.

It is interesting that the stress on the second vowel in the verb *min-* 'go' is also present in the Sosva dialect (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 212): *minèγm* 'I go', *mìnàzt* 'they went/walked'. In other monographs devoted to the Mansi language it has not been noted that in the Sosva dialect the stress may not be on the first syllable. As our field studies in the village of Khulimsunt showed, even at the present time there are Sosva dialects with a variable

stress placement, although in literary Sosva stress is fixed on the root of the word. It is interesting to note that in different texts of the same dialect in Kannisto, Liimola 1955 the stress may differ. For example, in some texts of the Sosva dialect (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 133—146) we could not find examples with the stress not on the first syllable, yet in the other text (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 212—250) there are such examples. In the Tavda texts, from the point of view of the stress point, several different dialects are also represented; for example, in some texts (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 127—130) the stress is, indeed, never on the first syllable, but in some texts (Kannisto, Liimola 1951 : 157—164) we find a different stress placement. It seems that the editors of Kannisto's dictionary (2013) were wrong in omitting stress marks. This dictionary (Kannisto 2013) presents very valuable, for many dialects already extinct, unique information about the place of stress in the paradigm of lexemes in different Mansi dialects. Unfortunately, subsequent researchers, in particular W. Steinitz, did not take it into account in their studies. In his monograph the question of stress is only touched upon very briefly, in connection with the alternation of vowels in Mansi dialects (Steinitz 1955 : 331—336). As Steinitz points out, he was personally acquainted only with the material of Sosva Mansi, and in this dialect the accent usually falls on the first syllable, but in a number of cases of indirect forms it can also be on the second syllable. He was not familiar with the materials of other dialects and trusted the data of A. Kannisto, who, as W. Steinitz points out, did not mark the stress in the eastern and western dialects, and in the southern dialects he noted the accent always on the second syllable. However, as shown above, this does not correspond to the data of Kannisto, Liimola 1951, which apparently correlated quite accurately with the data of the Munkácsi's grammar (1894) as well as with modern field data obtained by us from the native speakers of the Jukonda, Ob and Sosva dialects of Mansi.

3. As far as we know, variable stress was not previously noted for northern Mansi dialects. In the present article we will take a look at the verbal stress system of the Ob dialect of Mansi and its external correlations.

In 2016, according to the results of an expedition to Khulimsunt of the Berezovo district of the Khanty-Mansi administrative region, variable stress was found in the verbal paradigms of the Sosva dialect of the Mansi language. A dictionary of this dialect is available at http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/dictionary/660/7/perspective/660/8/view. Below we give the verbal accent paradigms in two northern (Ob and Sosva) and one eastern (Jukonda) Mansi dialect, revealed as a result of the analysis in the phonetic program Praat (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/) of the field materials on the northern and eastern Mansi dialects. In all Mansi dialects under consideration, three accentual paradigms were revealed: in the first, the stress is fixed on the first syllable, in the second it is not on the first syllable, but in the third one — in part of the forms on the first syllable, and in the others on the second syllable. A set of forms with a stress on the first vs. on the second syllable in dialects is different, so below we give examples of accentual paradigms for each dialect. In the Jukonda dialect, in the past tense, the stress is fixed on the root regardless of the accent paradigm. In the present tense of the indicative mood and in the imperative mood, the accent in these paradigms looks like this (see Table 5).

Table 5

Accent paradigm in the present tense in the Jukonda verb according to modern field data

	I a. p. stress is fixed on the root		II a. p. stress is fixed on the ending except Imp2Pl		III a. p. variable stress	
Pr1Sg	*pɔ·jtam*	'I cook'	*peľæ·m*	'I fear'	*po·nim*	'I put down'
Pr2Sg	*pɔ·jtan*	'you cook'	*peľæ·n*	'you fear'	*po·nin*	'you put down'
Pr3Sg	*pɔ·jti*	'she cooks'	*peli·*	'he fears'	*po·ni*	'he puts down'
Pr1Pl	*pɔ·jtiva*	'we cook'	*peľi·va*	'we fear'	*poni·vu*	'we put down'
Pr2Pl	*pɔ·jtina*	'you cook'	*peľi·na*	'you fear'	*poni·na*	'you put down'
Pr3Pl	*pɔ·jtæt*	'they cook'	*peľæ·t*	'they fear	*pona·t*	'they put down'
Imp2Sg	*pɔ·jtiten*	'cook!'	*pe·ľen*	(archaic) *peľæ·n* 'fear!'	*pona·n*	'put down!'
Imp2Pl	*pɔ·jtinen*	'cook!'	*pe·ľenen*	'fear!'	*po·ninen*	'put down!'

In the O b d i a l e c t in the present tense forms of the indicative and imperative moods, the stress schemes look like this:

Table 6

Stress in the present tense in the Middle Ob verb by modern field data

	I a. p. stress is fixed on the root	II a. p. stress is fixed on the ending except Imp2Sg	III a. p. variable stress
Pr1Sg	*to·vtegu* 'I chew'	*mine·gun* 'I go away'	*jo·ḿegu* 'I go'
Pr2Sg	*to·vtegen* 'you chew'	*mine·gen* 'you go away'	*jo·ḿegen* 'you go'
Pr3Sg	*to·vte* 'he chews'	*mini̯·* 'she goes away'	*jo·mi* 'he goes'
Pr1Du	*to·vti̯ḿen* 'we two chew'	*mini̯ḿə·n* 'we two go away'	*jo·miḿen* 'we two go'
Pr2Du	*to·vtian* 'you two chew'	*minija·n* 'you two go away'	*jomija·n* 'you two go'
Pr3Du	*to·vteh* 'they two chew'	*mine·h* 'they two go away'	*joḿe·h* 'they two go'
Pr1Pl	*to·vteve* 'we chew'	*mine·v* 'we go away'	*joḿe·v* 'we go'
Pr2Pl	*to·vtian* 'you chew'	*minija·n* 'you go away'	*jomija·n* 'you go'
Pr3Pl	*to·vteget* 'they chew'	*mine·gɔt* 'they go away'	*joḿe·gɔt* 'they go'
Imp2Sg[4]		*mi·nen* 'go away!'	
Imp2Pl	*to·vten* 'chew!'	*mine·n* 'go away!'	*jome·n* 'go!'

The other stress scheme in III a. p. in athematic verbs looks somewhat different. But in all cases, the form of 3Sg has a stress on the root, and the form 3Pl has a stress on the ending. This is why the two were chosen as diagnostic forms. In the past tenses of the words of I and III a. p. the stress

[4] Unfortunately, when questioning dialect speakers not all necessary verbal forms were asked, so some cells remain unfilled.

is always fixed on the first syllable, whereas in the words of II a. p. the accent is variable:

Table 7

Stress in the past tense of the verbs of II a. p.
in the Middle-Ob dialect by modern field data

II a. p.

Pr1Sg	*mina·sum*	'I went away'
Pr2Sg	*mina·sem*	'you went away'
Pr3Sg	*mi·nes*	'she went away'
Pr1Du	*mi·nesmən*	'we two went away'
Pr2Du	*mi·nasan*	'you two went away'
Pr3Du	*mi·naseh*	'they two went away'
Pr1Pl	*mi·nasuv*	'we went away'
Pr2Pl	*mi·nasan*	'you went away'
Pr3Pl	*mina·sət*	'they went away'

In the S o s v a d i a l e c t of the Mansi language (in the village of Khulimsunt) three accent paradigms are also represented, which in the present tense look like this:

Table 8

Stress in the present tense of the Sosva verb
according to modern field data

	I a. p. stress on the root		II a. p. stress on the ending		III a. p stress on different places	
Pr1Sg	*te·γəm*	'I eat'	*xuje·γəm*	'I lie'	*xile·γəm*	'I dig'
Pr2Sg	*te·γən*	'you eat'	*xuje·γən*	'you lie'	*xile·jn/xil-n*	'you dig'
Pr3Sg	*tej*	'he eats'	*xuji·*	'he lies'	*xi·li̦*	'he digs'
Pr1Pl	*te·juw*	'we eat'	*xuje·w*	'we lie'		
Pr2Pl	*te·jγən*	'you eat'				
Pr3Pl	*tejt*	'they eat'	*xuje·jt*	'they lie'	*xile·jt*	'they dig'
Imp2Sg	*tájen*	'eat!'	*xuje·n*	'lie!'	*xi·li̦*	'dig!'
Imp2Pl	*tájen*	'eat!'	*xuje·n*	'lie!'	*xi·lian*	'dig!'

Unfortunately no forms of the past tense were collected.

It is not completely clear what is involved in the difference in the number of accent paradigms in the materials of B. Munkácsi and our field data. Of particular interest is the accentuation of the verb *min-* 'to go away', which is given in the monograph by B. Munkácsi (1894) for all dialects. In the western and eastern dialects, according to his data, the word has a variable stress, while in the northern dialects the stress is fixed on the first syllable. According to our field records, in all forms of this verb the stress is fixed, but not on the first syllable. As an illustration, we give the diagnostic forms that are important for establishing an accent paradigm: Jukonda *εl mini·* 'he leaves', *εl minε·st* 'they go' — Ob *εl mεni·* 'he is leaving', *mine·vit* 'they are leaving' — Sosva *mine·γəm* 'I am going', *mine·n* 'go!'. We assume that, probably, the fact that only two accentual paradigms are presented in B. Munkácsi's materials is associated with a small number of illustrative examples, since the data of external comparison, as will be shown in the Conclusion,

confirm the existence of paradigms with several types of stress in Mansi —
1st type: fixed on root, 2nd type: not fixed on root, 3rd type: variable stress,
can be either on the first or on the second syllable. However, it cannot be
ruled out that earlier in II a. p., in part of the dialects (perhaps in the west-
ern and eastern ones), the stress was not fixed on the first syllable, but was
differentiated, but its place changing in the paradigm differed from that
observed in III a. p.

4. Based on the existing materials, we have attempted to reconstruct the Proto-
Mansi stress system. Below is information on the stress paradigms of verbs for
which, in at least one dialect according to our field records, it is possible to
define an accent paradigm and which have a Finno-Ugric etymology by UEW.
Such a restriction is due to the fact that in this paper we set the task of recon-
structing first the primary (Proto-Uralic) system of stress and describing its
development in the daughter Uralic languages. More detailed information on
the stress of verbs in separate dialects with labeled spectrograms and words
that do not have an established etymology but are represented in several Mansi
dialects can be found in a couple of articles (Норманская 2015a; 2015b) and
in online dictionaries at lingvodoc.ispras.ru.

4.1. Stress fixed on the root (I a. p.):[5]

Jukonda *nɔχ ka·lkæn* 'they get up' — Ob *ka·ləvit* 'they get up' — Sosva
kon kwa·leɣət 'they get out' — Tavda *kälä·nt, kelänt*[6] (Munkácsi, Kálmán
1986 : 228) < PU **kälä ~ *kalä* 'to wade' (UEW 133);

Jukonda *ńæ·li̯ntɐt* 'they lick' — Sosva *ńo·lant* — Tavda *ńålånt* 'they lick'
(Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 366) — Irtyš South Khanty *Nađém* 'I lick'
(Castrén, manuscript) < PU **ńola* 'lick' (UEW 321);

Jukonda *χɔ·ntľæt* 'they listen' — Ob *ho·lavet* 'they hear' — Sosva *xu·l-
janəl* — Tavda *khålå·nt* 'they hear', *khålkhåtål* 'to be heart' (Munkácsi,
Kálmán 1986 : 100)[7] — Irtyš South Khanty *Xuδém* 'I listen' (Castrén,
manuscript) < PU **kule* 'to hear' (UEW 197);

Jukonda *pɔ·jtæt* 'they cook — Ob *pɔ·jtæt* 'they cook' — Sosva *pa·jtejm*
'I cook' < PU **peje* 'to cook' (UEW 368);

Jukonda *to·wtji̯an* 'they chew' — Ob *to·vteget* 'they chew' — Tavda *tåut-
'chew'* (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 669) < PU **soske* 'chew' (UEW 448);

Jukonda *wɔ·ndlat* 'they sit' — Ob *u·nli* 'he sits', *unle·ht* 'they sit' — Sosva
u·ntejt 'they sit down' — Tavda *uttant* 'they sit' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 :
697) — Nizjam *o·mă̆sti̯* 'to sit' < PU **amV-* 'to sit' (UEW 8);

Jukonda *χo·nsi* 'he writes', *χo·nsat* 'they write — Ob *ha·nʃi* 'he writes',
ha·nʃeht 'they write' — Tavda *khanšant* 'they write' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986
: 76) < PU **končV (*kančɜ) ~ *kočV (*kačV)* 'to make colorful' (UEW 176);

Jukonda *χa·sat* 'they can' — Ob *ha·sejt* 'they can' < PU **kačV (*kočV)*
'to understand, know, be able' (UEW 114);

Jukonda *pi·ľæt* 'they stick into' < PU **pelV* 'to stick into' (UEW 371);

---

[5] For illustration of I a. p. etc., we present the third person plural of the present
tense, which in II and III a. p. etc. is stressed at the end in all dialects.

[6] In this form, doublets with an emphasis on the root and on the second syllable
are noted (see Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 228). Here and below, we do not give all
the Tavda forms presented in Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986, but only those that are impor-
tant for determining the place of stress.

[7] In this case in the Tavda dialect of Mansi a not-regular retroflex of the stress is
presented: in the form Pr3Pl it is on the second syllable. However, in other deriva-
tions it is presented on the first syllable, therefore a mistake in the record is possible.

Jukonda (*jol*) *pa·tæt* 'they will fall down' — Tavda *pätänt* 'they will fall down' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 422) < PU **pitä* 'to hold' (UEW 386)**;**

Jukonda *pe·nten* 'they will close' — Tavda *pänt-*, *pent-* 'to fall down' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 411) < PU **pent*V 'to close' (UEW 371);

Jukonda *χɔ·jś æn* 'they meet' — Tavda *χōj-*, *χåj-* 'to meet' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 95) < PU **kaj*V 'to meet' (UEW 118);

Jukonda *ńæ·ltijæn* 'they swallow` — Tavda *ńelej-*, *ńêlei-* 'to meet' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 352) < PU **ńele* (**ńēle*) 'to swallow' (UEW 316);

Jukonda *ńi·livu* 'they clean' < PU **ńʀl*V (UEW 329);

Ob *ho·ntin* 'you will find' — Sosva *xo·nteɣɘt* 'they will find' — Tavda *khånt-*, *khant-* 'to find' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 104) < PU **kunta* 'to catch, find' (UEW 207);

Sosva *o·lew* 'we live' — Tavda *ålånt*, *alant*, *älänt* 'they live' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 382) < PU **wole* 'to be, become';

Jukonda *te·uli* 'he flies' — Ob *tị·lamleget* 'they fly' — Sosva *tị·lamlew* 'we fly' — Tavda *täulänt* 'they fly' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 645) < PU **šilk*V (**šülk*V) (UEW 500);

Sosva *a·jtew* 'we believe' < PU **esk*V- 'to believe' (UEW 86);

4.1.1. Exception (stress on the second syllable in Tavda dialect):

Jukonda *tu·ajæn* 'they eat' — Ob *te·gov* 'we eat' — Sosva *tejt* 'they eat', *te·jɘn* 'you-many eat' — Tavda *täjä·nt* 'they eat' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 636) < PU **sewe* (**seɣe*) 'to eat' (UEW 440).

4.2. The stress is fixed, but n o t on the first syllable (II a. p.):[8]

Jukonda *ɛl mini·* 'he goes away', *ɛl minɛ·st* 'they go away' — Ob *ɛl mɛni·* 'he goes away', *mine·vit* 'they go away' — Sosva *mine·ɣɘm* 'I go', *mine·n* 'go!'[9] — Tavda *mińä·nt* 'they go away' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 307) < **mene* 'to go' (UEW 272);

Jukonda *pɘsi·* 'he blows', *pɘsijæ·t* 'they blow' — Tavda *poše·m* 'they blow' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 465) < PU **puš*V 'to blow' (UEW 409);

Jukonda. *χɔji·* 'he lies', *χɔja·t* 'they lie' — Sosva *xuji·* 'he lies', *xuje·jt* 'they lie' — Tavda *khuj-* 'to lie' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 116) < PU **kuj*V 'to lie' (UEW 197);

Sosva *towi·* 'he paddles', *towe·ɣɘt* 'they paddle' — Tavda *tuwå·nt* 'they paddle' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 671) < PU **suɣe* 'to paddle' (UEW 449);

Jukonda *peli·* 'he fears', *peľæ·t* 'they fear' — Ob *pili·* 'he fears', *pile·vɘt* 'they fear' — Sosva *pili·* 'he fears', *pile·jt* 'they fear' — Tavda *pilä·nt*, *piľä·nt* 'they fear' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 440) < PU **pele* 'to fear' (UEW 370);

Ob *kinsi·* 'he searches', *kinse·ht* 'they search' — Sosva *kinsi·* 'he searches', *kinse·ɣɘt* 'they search' — Tavda *kėnšä·nt* 'they search' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 213) < PU **kenč*V (~ **keč*V) 'to search' (UEW 145);

Ob *χuľti·* 'he stays', *χuľte·it* 'they stay' — Tavda *khuľt-* 'to lie' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 121) < PU **kaδ'a* 'to stay' (UEW 115).

4.2.1. Exception (stress on the first syllable in Tavda dialect):

Ob *kosχa·tị* 'he scratches', *kosχa·teit* 'they scratch' — Tavda *kunšänt* 'they scratch' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 239) < PU **kinče* (**künče*) (~ ? **kiče* (**küče*)) 'nail, clow' (UEW 157).

---

[8] For the illustration of II a. p. we present the forms of the third person plural and singular present tense which distinguish II a. p. from I and III a. p. in all dialects.
[9] In this case, due to the absence in the field records of the forms of the third person plural and singular present tense, we present the form of the second person of the plural imperative, which is diagnostic for distinguishing between II and III a. p.

4.3. The stress is variable in South-Konda, (eastern) Ob, and Sosva (northern) dialects (III a. p.), but in Tavda it is fixed on the first syllable:[10]

Jukonda *tu·nɛi* 'he stands', *tunɛa·t* 'they stand' — Tavda *tǫńś-* 'to stand' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 680) < PU **saŋ́ća* 'to stand' (UEW 431);

Jukonda *po·sjen* 'he will wash', *posja·n* 'they will wash' — Tavda *pǫs-* 'to wash' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 464) < PU **puśV* 'to wear out' (UEW 409);

Jukonda *po·rite* 'he bites', *porija·t* 'they bite' — Ob *po·rhat* 'he bites', *porhate·γət* 'they bite' — Tavda *pur-*, *pǫr-* 'to bite' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 483) < PU **pure* 'to bite' (UEW 405);

Ob *jakte·it* 'they cut' — Sosv. *ja·kti* 'he cuts', *jakte·γət* 'they cut' — Tavda *jėktänt* 'they cut' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 143) < PU **äktV-* 'to beat, hack, cut' (UEW 23);

Sosva *sa·ľγi* 'he spits', *saľγe·γət* 'they spit' — Tavda *suľkänt* 'they spit' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 520) < PU **śiľke* (**śüľke*) 'to spit' (UEW 479);

Sosva *li·lteγəm* 'I breathe', *lilte·w* 'we breathe' — Tavda *leltänt* 'to breathe' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 260) < PU **lewlV* 'soul, spirit' (UEW 247).

4.4. The stress is variable in the Ob and Sosva (northern) dialects (III a. p.), in Jukonda it is fixed on the first syllable (I a. p.), in Tavda it is fixed on the second syllable:

Jukonda *pɒ·urəli* 'he jumps', *pɒ·urəlæn* 'they jump'[11] — Ob *pu·rge* 'he jumps', *purge·iht* 'they jump' — Sosva *po·rγi* 'he jumps', *porγe·γət* 'they jump' — Tavda *purχå·nt*, *pǫrχǎnt* 'they jump' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 457) < PU **pɒrV* 'to run, jump' (UEW 414);

Jukonda *a·jɒχt* 'they drink' — Ob *a·ji* 'he drinks'; *aje·γt* 'they drink' — Sosva *a·ji* 'he drinks'; *aje·γt* 'they drink', — Tavda *ājā·nt* 'they drink' < PU **juγe-* (**juke-*) (UEW 103);

Jukonda *ji·aki* 'he dances', *ji·akɒt* 'they dance' — Ob *ji·ki* 'he dances', *jeke·ht* 'they dance' — Sosva *jeke·γəm* 'I dance'[12] < PU **jekkV* 'to dance' (UEW 96);

Jukonda. *pa·uli* 'he bathes', *pa·ulæt* 'they bathe' — Ob *puḷe·ht* 'they bathe' — Tavda *pɵulā·l-* 'they bathe' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 474) < PU **pilkV* (**pülkV*) 'to bathe' (UEW 380);

Jukonda *ńæ·wat* 'they remove feathers' — Tavda *ńuwä·nt* 'they remove feathers' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 359) < PU **niwa* (**niŋa*) 'to remove hair' (UEW 306);

Ob *jo·mi* 'he goes', *joḿe·gət* 'they go' — Tavda *jamå·nt* 'they go' < PU **jomV-* 'to go' (UEW 100);

Sosv. *a·li* 'he kills', *ale·jt* 'they kill' — Tavda *ālā·nt* 'they kill' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986 : 33) < PU **weδV* 'to kill' (UEW 566).

5. Summing up the analysis, we can say that the material of the Ob dialect collected by I. A. Stenin in 2013 in two villages of Oktjabŕskoje district of Khanty-Mansi administrative region — the villages of Nižnie Narynkary and Peregrjobnoje — and of the Sosva dialect of the village Khulimsunt, collected in the field by R. I. Idrisov in 2016, confirms the hypothesis of the

---

[10] For the illustration of III a. p. we present the forms of the third person plural and singular, which when combined, distinguish III a. p. from the others in all dialects.

[11] The placement of the accent on the root in this word is not quite clear; perhaps this is due to the duration of the diphthong of the first syllable.

[12] Unfortunately, in our field records for a number of verbs the form of the third person plural of the present tense is not recorded, therefore we present the form of the first person singular, which is also diagnostic for the detection of I a. p.

articles Норманская 2015a and Норманская 2015b about the reconstruction of four accent paradigms for verbs in the Proto-Mansi language.

Table 9

Reconstruction of Proto-Mansi accent paradigms and their development in dialects

Proto-Mansi	Sosva dialect	Ob dialect	Jukonda dialect	Tavda dialect
I a. p.	I a. p.	I a. p.	I a. p.	I a. p.
II a. p.	II a. p.	II a. p.	II a. p.	II a. p.
III a. p.	III a. p.	III a. p.	III a. p.	I a. p.
IV a. p.	I a. p.	III a. p.	III a. p.	II a. p.

Address

Julia Normaskaja
Institute of Linguistic RAS (Moscow)
Ivannikov Institute for System Programming RAS (Moscow)
Tomsk State University (Tomsk)
E-mail: julianor@mail.ru

Abbreviations

Du — Dual, **Imp** — imperative mood, **Pl** — Plural, **Pr** — Present tense; **Pt** — Past tense, **Sg** — Singular.

L I T E R A T U R E

H o n t i, L. 1975, System der paradigmatischen Suffixmorpheme des wogulischen Dialektes an der Tawda, Budapest—Paris.
—— 1982, Geschichte des obugrischen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe, Budapest.
K a n n i s t o, A. 2013, Wogulisches Wörterbuch. Gesammelt und geordnet von Artturi Kannisto. Bearbeitet von Vuokko Eiras. Herausgegeben von Arto Moisio, Helsinki (LSFU XXXV. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 173).
K a n n i s t o, A., L i i m o l a, M. 1951, Wogulische Volksdichtung. Gesammelt und übersetzt von Artturi Kannisto. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Matti Liimola. I. Band. Texte mythischen Inhalts, Helsinki (MSFOu 101).
—— 1955, Wogulische Volksdichtung. Gesammelt und übersetzt von Artturi Kannisto. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Matti Liimola. II. Band. Kriegs- und Heldensagen, Helsinki (MSFOu 109).
K a n n i s t o, A., L i i m o l a, M., E i r a s, V. 1982, Wogulische Volksdichtung. Gesammelt und übersetzt von Artturi Kannisto. VII. Band. Wörterverzeichnis zu den Bänden I—VI. Bearbeitet von Matti Liimola und Vuokko Eiras. Herausgegeben von Vuokko Eiras, Helsinki (MSFOu 180).
M u n k á c s i B. 1894, A Vogul nyelvjárások szóragozásukban ismertetve, Budapest.
M u n k á c s i, B., K á l m á n, B. 1986, Wogulisches Wörterbuch. Gesammelt von Bernát Munkácsi, geordnet, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Béla Kálmán, Budapest.
N i k o l a e v a, I. 1999, Ostyak Texts in the Obdorsk Dialect, Wiesbaden (Studia Uralica 9).
S t e i n i t z, W. 1955, Geschichte des wogulischen Vokalismus, Berlin
Д ы б о В. А. 2000, Морфологизованные парадигматические акцентные системы. Типология и генезис. Т. 1, Москва.
Н о р м а н с к а я Ю. В. 2013, Разгадка принципов постановки ударения в васюганском диалекте хантыйского языка. — Томский журнал лингвистических и антропологических исследований 2 (2), 56—68.
—— 2014, Система ударения в низямском диалекте хантыйского языка и ее параллели в южнохантыйском. — LU L, 283—302.

—— 2015a, Система разноместного ударения в мансийском глаголе и ее внешние соответствия. Часть 1. Обской диалект мансийского языка. — Урало-алтайские исследования 2 (17), 51—67.

—— 2015b, Система разноместного ударения в мансийском глаголе и ее внешние соответствия. Часть 2. Юкондинский диалект мансийского языка. — Урало-алтайские исследования 3 (18), 88—103.

Р о м б а н д е е в а Е. И. 1973, Мансийский (вогульский) язык. Фонетика, морфология, словообразование, Москва.

С а й н а х о в а А. И. 2012, Диалектология мансийского языка. Учебное пособие, Ханты-Мансийск.

С л о в ц о в К. 1905, Опыт русско-вогульского словаря и перевод на вогульский язык, Тобольск.

ЮЛИЯ НОРМАНСКАЯ (Москва)

СИСТЕМА РАЗНОМЕСТНОГО ПАРАДИГМАТИЧЕСКОГО УДАРЕНИЯ В СЕВЕРНЫХ ДИАЛЕКТАХ МАНСИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

В статье описаны правила постановки разноместного парадигматического ударения в северных диалектах мансийского языка — обском и сосьвинском. Материалы по обскому диалекту собраны И. А. Стениным в 2013 году в с. Нижние Нарынкары и д. Перегрёбное, по сосьвинскому диалекту Р. И. Идрисовым в 2015 году в с. Хулимсунт. Автором статьи проведено сравнение правил постановки ударения в этих материалах с аудиословарем юкондинского диалекта мансийского языка на платформе lingvodoc.ispras.ru с помощью фонетической программы Праат (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/). Затем полученные результаты сравнивались с данными тавдинского южного мансийского диалекта по словарю Б. Мункачи (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986). В результате установлено, что в прамансийском языке было три акцентных парадигмы: у слов первого типа ударение фиксировалось на корне, у слов второго типа — на окончании/суффиксе, у слов третьего типа оно было разноместным: в одних формах падало на первый слог, в других — на второй. Таким образом, материалы по северным мансийским диалектам подтверждают гипотезы о прамансийском разноместном ударении, высказанные в Норманская 2015a и Норманская 2015b.

JULIA NORMANSKAJA (Moskva)

PÕHJAMANSI MURRETE LIIKUV RÕHK

Artikli analüüsitakse põhjamansi Obi ja Sosva murde rõhureegleid. Autor võrdleb I. Stenini 2013. a. kogutud Obi ja R. Idrisovi 2015. a. kogutud Sosva murdekeele rõhusüsteemi mansi Jukonda murde rõhusüsteemiga, toetudes selle murde internetisõnaraamatule (vt. lingvodoc.ispras.ru). Seejärel võrreldakse saadud tulemusi lõunamansi Tavda murde rõhusüsteemiga B. Munkácsi kogutud ainestiku põhjal (vt. Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986). Selgub, et mansi algkeeles oli kolm rõhutüüpi. I tüübi sõnadel oli rõhk fikseeritud tüvel, II tüübi sõnadel muutelõpul või liitel, aga III tüübi sõnadel oli rõhk liikuv: mõnes vormis 1. silbil, mõnes 2. silbil. Niisiis toetab põhjamansi murdeainestik autori hüpteesi (vt. Норманская 2015a; Норманская 2015b), et mansi algkeeles oli rõhk liikuv.