## The system of moving stress in Ob Mansi verb and it's external correspondences<sup>1</sup>.

In 2011 while working in the National Library of Finland in Helsinki with the archives of M.A. Castrén we found that he recorded moving stress in the South-Khanty dialects of Irtysh area. This is very valuable data, since these South Khanty dialects don't exist anymore.

Castrén's word list introduces about two hundred words, mostly non-derived nouns and verbs in the 1Sg Pr or 1 Sg Pt and infinitive. For all infinitives the stress falls on the first syllable, while in oblique cases and in the 1 Sg Pr or 1 Sg Pt 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-derivative words had paradigmatic phonologically important stress in South Khanty.

- V.A. Dybo gives the following definition of the paradigmatic stress systems: "Paradigmatic stress systems (PAS) are characterized by two or more types of behavior of stress within a word, which are named "stress types" or "stress paradigms" (a. p.) and amongst which are distributed all the words of a given language, as follows:
- 1) In the corpus of non-derivative stems the choice of an a. p. for each word can't be predicted using any information held within the form or meaning of that word, but is peculiar to the word by tradition.
- 2) In the corpus of derivative stems the choice of stress types is defined by a. p. 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 moving stress in Ob-Ugric languages. We have organized a number of expeditions into the remote regions of Western Siberia. With the help of local administration we determined the places where live Khanty or Mansi who speak their native language. We have conducted two expeditions to the speakers of the Nizjam dialect, who presently live on the Nazym river, and she herself was polled as a speaker of Shuryshkar dialect. Then have led the expeditions to the speakers of Kazym, Middle Ob (northern), and Salym (eastern) dialects of Khanty and Yukonda (eastern) Mansi dialect and to the speakers of Ob Mansi (northern) dialect. Besides that, the group headed by A.I. Kuznetsova has kindly made available for us digital audio-recordings of their years-long expedition to the Northern Khanty.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper was financially supported by Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation (grant No. 14.Y26.31.0014.).

In Salym² dialect, which is considered eastern Khanty, in Nizjam dialect, halfway between northern and south-western dialects, in Yukonda (eastern) and Ob (northern) dialects of Mansi language we found moving stress. For example, Salym: pa'ŋa 'vein', santa' 'to beat', koθta' 'to feel', jo'lda 'to go'; Nizjam: a'ŋki 'мать', aŋkɛ'm Lat 'мать', i'mi 'женщина', ɲudχi' 'пихта' (more examples in Normanskaja 2014); Yukonda: pɔ'jtam 'I cook', pel'æ'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. Just Salym dialect is an exception, the word-list was recorded from 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 the archival data on Khanty dialects, where moving stress was attested, for example in Irtysh (southern) Khanty dialect by M.A.Castrén:  $\acute{E}n\delta ep$ 'belt',  $\acute{O}nget$  'horn',  $J\acute{u}rak$  'side',  $Njalx\acute{a}$  'fir',  $Po\delta/gj\acute{a}r$  'ash'.

The first interesting results received after the individual stress systems were described and compared are published in (Normanskaja 2013, 2014). In (Normanskaja 2013) we presented the results of the analysis of stress placement in Vasyugan dialect based on archival data collected by L.I. Kalinina in 1950-1960s. It turned out that the rules of stress placement depend on the part of speech of the word. 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, for example

Table 1

a < Proto-Khanty *aa	$b(\partial)$ < Proto-Khanty *i		
<i>амыть</i> 'to put', <i>aməs</i> - (Steinitz 1966-1993: 103) ка́та 'at home', ка́тајоү 'in the house', kat (Steinitz 1966-1993: 565)	ъра́нг 'in another', ъра́нь 'another', эггү (Steinitz 1966-1993: 167) тъл'ъ́з 'winter', тъл'ъ́γ 'winter', tələγ (Steinitz 1966-1993: 1429)		
o < Proto-Khanty *a	b(a) < Proto-Khanty  *i		
ло́пы 'coat', l'opi (Steinitz 1966-1993: 873) по́ројлајын 'to flew', по́ръулънта 'to fly', poryəl- (Steinitz 1966-1993: 1211)	късы́ 'on the man', к,ъсы́ 'man', kăsi (Steinitz 1966-1993:562) ъла́кал, ъла́къл 'lies', ъли́нтауъм 'went to bed', ăl- (Steinitz 1966-1993:66)		
ä < Proto-Khanty *ää	ŏ < Proto-Khanty *u		
äмпäм 'with the dog', äмпäмнä 'on the dog', äмпъγ 'dog', ämp (Steinitz 1966-1993: 101) л'äнглъкън 'squirrels', л'äнгки 'squirrel's',	толо́увъл 'he says', тол'о́јвълм 'they say', толо́улъм 'I don't say', tŏl'əγ-, (Steinitz 1966-1993:1436)		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to the information of the previous researchers this dialect has become extinct, cf. (Nikolaeva 1999). We have found several dozens of people who have good command of the language, but only one woman among them has agreed to cooperate.

läŋki (Steinitz 1966-1993: 793)	ογάma 'to flow', ογάвъл 'he flows', ŏγа-		
	(Steinitz 1966-1993: 29)		
e < Proto-Khanty *ä	ŏ< Proto-Khanty *ü		
·	·		
вэ́рльм 'I work', вэ́рть 'work', wer- (Steinitz	joyы́н 'he', joyá 'him', joyы́ 'his'		
1966-1993: 1613)	jöy (Steinitz 1966-1993:735)		
вэ́рънгъ 'little', вэ́рънготът 'children',	тоуот, тојы, тоуы 'fire', töyət (Steinitz 1966-		
werəŋ (Steinitz 1966-1993: 1624)	1993: 1420)		

Fixation of the stress on a certain vowel, apparently, happened long ago when first syllable vowels still retained 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, Vasyugan stress system turns out to be unique: nouns and verbs represent two different types of stress: verb stress is moving paradigmatic, and noun stress is fixed and depends on phonemic composition of word forms.

In the article (Normanskaja 2014), it is shown that stress in non-derived words in modern Nizjam dialect and in South Khanty data of M.A. Castrén, recorded on Irtysh coincide completely. In derivative stems in Nizjam dialect categorization of ictus took place, and, in the absence of non-derivative forms in the dictionary, it is impossible to determine the original place of stress. Thus, paradigmatic stress systems represented by non-derivative 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,

Irtysh  $\acute{E}n\delta ep$  'пояс' – Nizyam ə 'ntəp 'пояс'; Irtysh  $\acute{O}nget$  'por' – Nizyam ɔ 'ŋət 'por'; Irtysh  $\acute{I}ma$  'женщина' – Nizyam i 'mi 'женщина'; Irtysh  $J\acute{u}rak$  'сторона' – Nizyam ji 'ra ' набок, в сторону'; **vs.** Irtysh  $Njalx\acute{a}$  'пихта' – Nizyam  $pud\chi i$  ' 'пихта'; Irtysh  $Po\delta/gj\acute{a}r$  'рябина' – Nizyam  $pug\acute{a}$  ' $r(ju\chi)$  'рябина'; Irtysh  $Jeag\acute{a}$  'река' – Nizyam  $ju\chi a$  'n 'река';

Irtysh Jángam'xoжy' (1 SgPr.) – Nizyam Jaksy 'm'xoжy' (1 Sg Pr.); Irtysh Kérkem'xoжy' (1 SgPr.) – Nizyam Kɛrsu 'm' падаю' (1 Sg Pr.); Irtysh Uúdem 'я есть' (1 Sg Pr.) – Nizyam wytu 'm 'я есть' (1 Sg Pr.); vs. Irtysh Pusém'чищу платье' (1 Sg Pr.) – Nizyam pusɛ ' 'чистит платье' (3 Sg Pr.); Irtysh Niettém'глотаю' (1 Sg Pr.) – Nizyam nɛda ' 'глотает' (3 Sg Pr.); Irtysh Jarāδēm 'забыл' (1 Sg Pt.) – Nizyam jurɛ 'masɛm 'забыл' (1 Sg Pt.).

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

Moving stress in Mansi was noted as early as XIX century in (Munkácsi 1894). The author lists verb paradigms for eastern, western, and southern Mansi dialects, from which we can see that for some verbs the stress is fixed on the first syllable, while for other verbs the stress moves within the paradigm. Unfortunately, the materials found in the monograph are, by no means,

exhaustive. To illustrate verb paradigms in every dialect Munkácsi gives a few lexemes for which the place of stress is marked only sporadically for western and, especially, eastern dialects.

For the South Mansi dialect the stress on the first or second syllable is marked for all forms, and we can see that there are at least two verb stress paradigms. The first has fixed stress on the first syllable, in the other – the stress is on the second syllable for all forms in the present and past tenses and on the first syllable for future tense forms. Thus, the monograph (Munkácsi 1894) is a valuable testimony that the author has noted moving stress in the verb paradigms of all dialect groups, except the northern, but bears very little data as to which lexemes had fixed stress, and moving. Much more informative in this respect is the which – dictionary (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986). In it the placement of stress is marked for practically all South Mansi verb lexemes in the present 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form. From time to time, we also find there other verb forms, often stressed on the second syllable. Unfortunately though, the dictionary lacks data on moving stress in the eastern and western dialects which was noticed in the monograph. For southern dialects we regularly see only one verb wordform – that of the present 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, it allows us to distinguish verbs from the first or second stress paradigms, the stress placement for these paradigms is indicated in (Munkácsi 1894).

In the materials of A.Kannisto the stress for southern dialects of Mansi is also noted, but in the recently published dictionary (Kannisto 2013) the stress in two-syllable words or wordstems in Tavda Mansi always falls on the second syllable, for verbs as well as for nouns. This fact is also noted in the monograph (Honti 1975: 15).

Thus, we see a conflict between the data of B. Munkácsi and A. Kannisto. According to B. Munkácsi, nouns in Tavda Mansi are always stressed on the first syllable; while, according to A. Kannisto, the stress falls on the second syllable. For the verbs for which A. Kannisto notes fixed stress on the second syllable, B. Munkácsi lists either first- or second-syllable stress in present 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form.

At present, we do not know how to resolve these controversies. It is known that A. Kannisto's materials are phonetically more accurate than that of B. Munkácsi. For this reason, inter-dialectal comparison of Mansi phonetics in (Honti 1982) is conducted on the basis of A. Kannisto's materials. We did not succeed to carry out an analogous comparison on the data from B. Munkácsi. On the other hand, as will be shown below, regular correspondences can be established between our field data, archival records of M.A. Castrén, and Tavda materials of B. Munkácsi. Therefore, it seems wrong to simply consider the data in the dictionary (Munkácsi 1894, Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986) erroneous with respect to stress placement. We cannot exclude that in the publications (Munkácsi 1894, Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986) and

(Kannisto 1982) different sub-dialects of Tavda dialect are represented, and that these sub-dialects differed, among other things in stress placement.

The data on lexeme distribution among stress curves in eastern and western Mansi dialects wasn't previously published in scientific literature. At present, west Mansi dialects are extinct? according to (Rombandeeva 1973) they have disappeared already in the 1970s.

But in 2015, while working in the National Library of Finland in Helsinki, we found a dictionary of Upper-Pelym dialect (western Mansi) (Словцов 1905). In this dictionary 424 west-Mansi lexemes are listed, for some of them selected inflectional wordforms are given. For example:

Кайтомы [kaˈjtomɨ] 'we-run', Кайтомь [kaˈjtom] 'I-run', (Slovtsov 1905: 4);

Ка́ртэхть [kaˈrtext] 'they-smoke', Ка́ртыва [kaˈrtɨva] 'we-smoke', Ка́ртээнь [kaˈrteen] 'you-sg smoke', Ка́ртээмь [kaˈrteem] 'I-smoke' (Slovtsov 1905: 15-16);

Морэ́эмъ [more'em] 'you-sg beleive', Морэ́умъ [more'um] 'I-believe' (Slovtsov 1905: 5);

*Кульпты́ма* [kul<sup>j</sup>pti ma] 'I-leave/keep', *Ку́льптэнъ* [ku'l<sup>j</sup>pten] 'Leave!' (Slovtsov 1905: 20).

From analyzing these and other examples, we see that there were at least two verb paradigms in Upper-Pelym: one with stress fixed on the root, and another – where a number of wordforms had stress on the second syllable.

As far as we know, moving stress wasn't 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.

So, in 2013 we have led an expedition to two villages of the Oktyabrsky region of KhMAO: Nizhnie Narynkary and Peregryobnoe on middle Ob' about 400 km in the North from Khanty-Mansijsk. He polled four native speakers of Ob Mansi from Nizhnie Narynkary and two speakers from Peregryobnoe. Where possible, we recorded word-lists of native vocabulary. Almost all speakers of the Ob dialect are older than 60. In childhood they spoke only Mansi and didn't know Russian before they went to school. At present they speak Russian only with their children and grandchildren, among each other they speak Mansi but often switch to Russian.

Phonetic differences between of the Ob dialect and literary Mansi are summarized in (Rombandeeva 1973; Sajnahova 2012), but the authors underline that Ob dialect as a whole needs further study. This may be the reason why the researchers haven't noticed moving stress in the Ob verbal system before.

After full analysis of collected material, cut into separate word-forms, using Praat software, it was found that there can be postulated three verbal stress paradigms in the Ob

dialect of Mansi language.

Stress contours for present indicative forms look as the following (Placement of stress in other verb forms needs further study, since the material already collected is by far incomplete.):

Table 2

	I stress paradigm (stress on the root)	II stress paradigm (stress on the ending)	III stress paradigm (moving stress)	
PRS.1SG	to 'vtegu 'I chew'	pilegu 'u 'I am afraid'	jo 'm'egu 'I go'	
PRS.2SG	to 'vtegen 'you-sg chew'	pile 'gen 'you-sg are afraid'	jo 'm'egen 'you-sg go'	
PRS.3SG	to 'vte 'he chews'	pili 'she is afraid'	jo mi he goes	
PRS.1DU	to 'vtim'en 'we-two chew'	<i>pilim'ə 'n</i> 'we-two are afraid'	jo 'mim'en 'we-two go'	
PRS.2DU	to 'vtian 'you-two chew'	pilija 'n 'you-two are afraid'	jomija 'n 'you-two go'	
PRS.3DU	to 'vteh 'they-two chew'	pile 'h 'they-two are afraid'	jom'e 'h 'they-two go'	
PRS.1PL	to 'vteve 'we chew'	pile 'v 'we are afraid'	jom'e 'v 'we go'	
PRS.2PL	to 'vtian 'you chew'	pilija 'n 'you are afraid'	jomija 'n 'you go'	
PRS.3PL	to 'vtegət 'they chew'	pile 'vət 'they are afraid'	jom'e 'gət 'they go'	

The distribution of stress in the 3<sup>rd</sup> stress paradigm for athematic verbs can be slightly different. But the 3Sg form will always be stressed on the root, and the 3Pl form will have the stress on the ending. For this reason we selected these two forms as diagnostic.

We bring here some examples from the dictionary of the Ob Mansi dialect <a href="http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/#/dictionary/656/2/perspective/656/3/view">http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/#/dictionary/656/2/perspective/656/3/view</a> for the 3 stress paradigms:

I stress paradigm: tuft- 'to stick', noh kal- 'to stand', pait- 'cook, boil', tie- 'eat', tovt- 'to chew', hand3- 'to write', un- 'to sit', ras- 'shake', avm- 'to hurt', toft- 'close', til- 'to fly', hont- 'find' uflaht- 'relax', tarət- 'let go', vorəj- 'to hunt', tuj-/tulv- 'to swim', arm- 'raise', jekt- 'cut', ļavt- 'to swear', kons- 'to scrape', hontl- 'listen, hear', hol- 'listen', has- 'to be able', sist- 'to clean';

Il stress paradigm:  $p^{j}il$ - 'to fear', faht- 'to enter', tulm- 'to steal', purh- 'to bite', ai- 'to drink', min- 'to go', suf- 'to shine', sag/v- 'to braid, to weave', poh- 'to freeze', hult- 'to stay', pur- 'to jump',  $k^{j}ins$ - 'to seek';

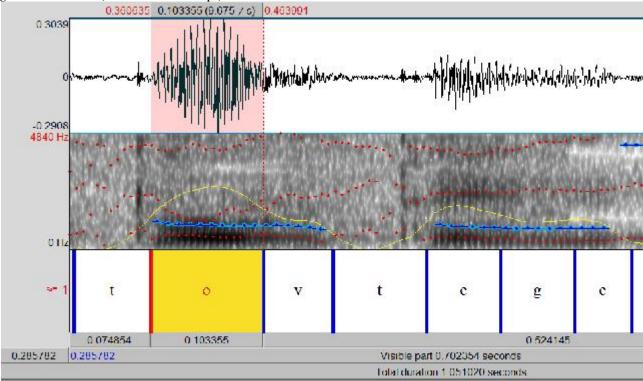
III stress paradigm: hil- 'to dig', pun- 'to put', hart- 'to pull, smoke', tam- 'to push', ur- 'wait', sal- 'to chop, to cut', hort- 'to bark', tot- 'to carry (a burden)', nurt- 'to cover', futl- 'to stand', kivt- 'to sharpen', jom- 'to go', put- 'to swim', jik-'to dance'.

In the next part of this article we will give the full list of instances when a verb from the Ob dialect has a parallel in Tavda dialect, according to (Munkácsi B., Kálmán K. 1986). Also, we give for these lexemes the reflexes of Mansi word in South Khanty Irtysh materials of M.A. Castrén. In the present work we neglect Nizjam Khanty forms, since the material on them is

much poorer than Castrén's, and the stress placement in all known cases coincides with Irtysh forms.

## Paradigmatic stress placement is fixed on the root in Ob (northern) and Tavda (southern) Mansi

Ob Mansi *to 'vtegət* 'they chew' — Tavda *tåut*- 'to chew' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 669) — Khan. Irt. *Togodém* 'I chew' (Castrén manuscript).

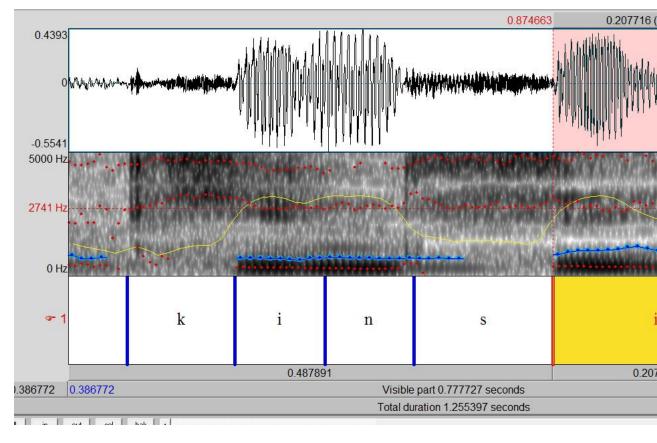


- Ob Mansi *n'u 'vsaih't* 'they move' Tavda *ńuwånt*, *ńuwant* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 372).
- Ob Mansi *jɔˈnheht* 'they turn' Tavda *jāŋant*, *jaŋant*, *jaŋant*, *jaŋant* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 172).
  - Ob Mansi ko 'shateiht 'they scratch' Tavda kunšānt 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 239).
- Ob Mansi *ho 'lagət* 'they hear' Tavda *khålå nt* 'id.', *khålkhåtål* 'to be audible' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 100)<sup>3</sup> Khan. Irt. *Xuδém* 'I hear' (Castrén manuscript).

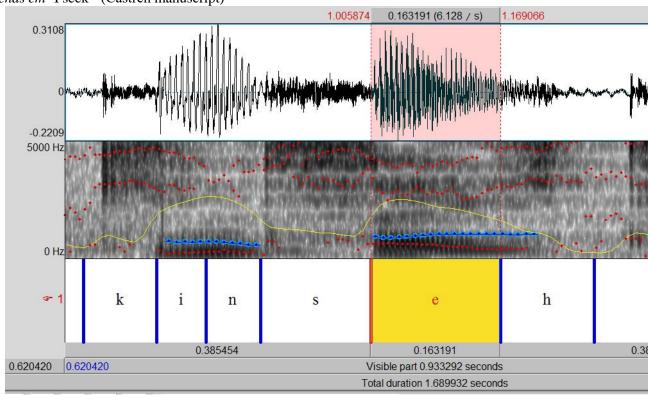
## II. Paradigmatic stress placement is fixed on the inflection in Ob (northern) and Tavda (southern) Mansi

Ob Mansi kinsi 'he seeks'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In this case in Tavda Mansi we see an unque reflex of stress – in 3 Pl. Pr. It should be on the second syllable. However, in other derivative forms it is on the first syllable, and we cannot rule out the possibility of recording mistake.



Ob Mansi *kinse 'ht* 'they seek' — Tavda *kėnšä 'nt* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 213) — Khan. Irt. *Kénds'em* 'I seek' (Castrén manuscript)



Ob Mansi pili ' 'he is afraid'

Ob Mansi *pile 'gət* 'they are afraid' — Tavda *pilä nt*, *pil'ä nt* 'they are afraid' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 440) — Khan. Irt. *Pédem* 'I am afraid' (Castrén manuscript)

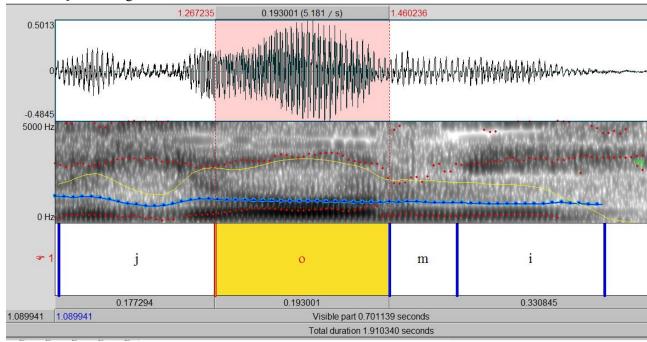
Ob Mansi purge ' 'he jumps'

Ob Mansi *purge* '*iht* 'they jump' — Tavda *purχå* '*nt* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 457)

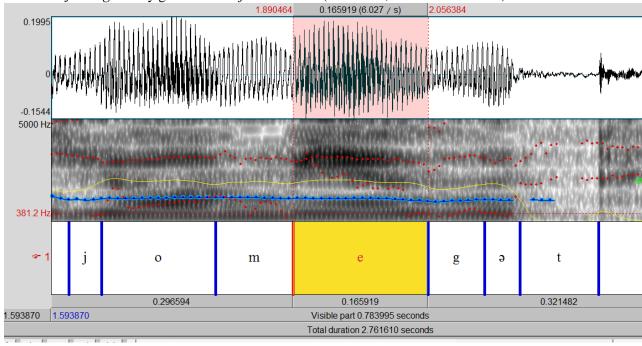
Ob Mansi mini ' 'he goes'

Ob Mansi *mine vit* 'they go' — Tavda *mińä nt* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 307) — Khan. Irt. *Ménnetum* 'I go' (Castrén manuscript)

# III. Moving stress in Ob (northern) Mansi III(a). Stress placement in PRS.3PL is fixed on the second syllable in Tavda (southern) Ob Mansi *jo mi* 'he goes'



Ob Mansi *jom'e 'gət* 'they go' — Tavda *jamå 'nt* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 171)

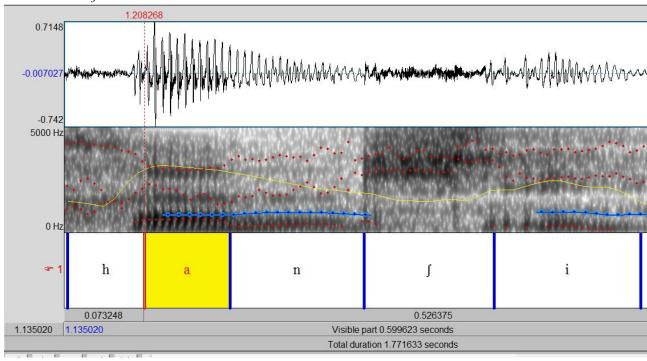


Ob Mansi pu 'li 'he swims'

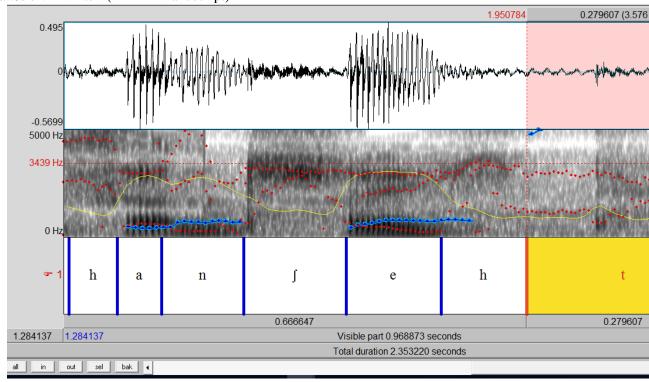
Ob Mansi *pule ht* 'they swim' — Tavda *pθulā l-* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 474) — Khan. Irt. *Pegeδém* 'I swim' (Castrén manuscript)

- Ob Mansi no 'rti 'he covers'
- Ob Mansi norte 'iht 'they cover' Tavda ńårta 'nt, ńarta 'nt 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 343)
- Ob Mansi ji ki 'he dances'
- Ob Mansi jike 'h't 'they dance' Khan. Irt. Jagém 'I dance' (Castrén manuscript)

III(b). В тавдинском (южном) мансийском в PRS.3PL ударение на первом слоге Ob Mansi ha 'n/î 'he writes'



Ob Mansi *hanse 'ht* 'they write' — Tavda *khanšant* 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 76) — Khan. Irt. *Xanδs'ém* 'I write' (Castrén manuscript)



Ob Mansi hile 'ht 'they dig' — Tavda khalänt, khal'änt 'id.' (Munkácsi, Kálmán 1986: 89)

### Conclusion

Thus, based on the comparison of the stress placement in Ob (northern) and Tavda (southern) dialects of Mansi language and South Khanty Irtysh dialect we suppose that there were four stress paradigms on the proto-Mansi and proto-Ob-Ugric level, which developed into 3 stress paradigms in Ob dialect and 2 paradigms in South Khanty. The number of stress paradigms in Tavda Mansi dialect is not quite clear, since the dictionary (Munkácsi B., Kálmán K. 1986) regularly lists only the 3 Pl. Pr. form. While the data of Ob and, looking forward into the next part of our article, Yukonda dialects show that the stress in the 3Pl. Pr. form could be on the ending in different stress paradigms, and one diagnostic form doesn't allow us to determine the stress paradigm.

It is interesting, that the existence of 3 stress paradigms in Ob dialect is reliably supported by the data of Tavda Mansi and south-Khanty Irtysh dialects, which have different correspondences for each paradigmatic type.

Table 3

	I group	II group	III.a. group	III.b. group
Ob Mansi.	Stress on the first syllable	Stress on the second syllable	Moving stress	Moving stress
Tavda (Munkácsi B., Kálmán K.	Stress on the first syllable	Stress on the second syllable	Stress on the second syllable	Stress on the first syllable
Khan. Irt. (Castrén, manuscript)	Stress on the second syllable	Stress on the first syllable	Stress on the second syllable	Stress on the second syllable

In the future we will present our field material on Yukonda (eastern) Mansi dialect and Vakh (eastern) Khanty dialect, which also gives additional non-trivial testimony in favor of four stress paradigms on the proto-Mansi and proto-Ob-Ugrian level.

### Abbreviations.

Ob Mansi — Ob Mansi Dialect

Tavda — Tavda Dialect

Khan. Irt. — Irtysh South Khanty Dialect

Du — Dualis

Pl — Pluralis

Pr — Present tense

Pt — Past tense

Sg — Singularis

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#### **SUMMARY**

In article the rules of an stress place at verbs of different types in the Ob dialect of the Mansi language on the basis of the field material collected by our group in 2013 are described. The hypothesis about the correlation between the stress place in verbs in Ob (field data) and Tawda (B. Munkachi's data) dialects of the Mansi language and in Irtysh dialect (M. A. Castrén's data) of the Khanty language are offered.

Keywords: Mansi, Khanty language, stress, verb