Mansi loanword phonology: Typology of repair strategies – A historical approach

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This paper will discuss the typology of loanword adaptation strategies in the Mansi dialects with special reference to word initial complex onsets. As the topic was discussed in Finno-Ugristic lexicographic descriptions following traditional approaches (e.g. Kálmán 1961), no attempt was made to analyse them either phonologically, or typologically.

The paper will focus exclusively on the synchronic level of the Mansi dialect groups represented in the material of Munkácsi (Munkácsi-Kálmán 1986) and Kannisto (Kannisto-Eiras-Moisio 2013), collected between 1888 and 1906. The corpus with more then 250 word forms covers all the available data to avoid impressionistic generalizations (Uffmann 2007. 11-15). All of them are from Russian, a fact explained by the contacts of the Mansi and the phonotactics of the source language. The paper is organized around basic intragrammatical empirical   questions,
i.e. the default pattern of vowel epenthesis and the location and quality of the vowel. Crosslinguistic surveys show that epenthesis is the predominant repair strategy in general, and this was true for the Mansi dialects. A prothetic vowel is inserted before the initial cluster if the first constituent is a sibilant (1), an anaptyctic vowel within the constituents if they are stop+nasal/liquid (2). In most of the cases, however, vowels within the clusters are not extra segments, but result from metathesis of the copied vowel of the second syllable (3). Consonant-vowel metathesis played a major role in Mansi, a process mentioned rarely, if at all in typological descriptions of epenthesis. Deletion (of the first consonant of the cluster) or deletion-with-epenthesis was very rare (4).

Repair strategies in Mansi (S, T and R stand for sibilants, stops, nasals/liquids, V for a lexical, v for an inserted vowels respectively):

(1) prothesis	STV > vSTV/vSRV	ʃleja	iʃlej	'breast-band'
(2) anaptyxis	TRV > TvRV	kvaʃnʲa	kuːpaːʃnʲə	'trough'
(3) metathesis	TRV > TVR	brodnʲi	portnʲix	'high boots'
(4) deletion	TTV > TV	vzajmɨ	sajm	'on loan'

What the quality of the epenthetic vowels concerns, there is a cross-dialectal variation in Mansi. Two out of the three (default V-insertion, V-spreading, C-spreading) possible strategies, i.e. default V-insertion and V-spreading are found as epenthesis strategies in Mansi. In prothesis a default vowel **i** is inserted before the ST/SR cluster in all dialects. In anaptyxis the quality of the vowel is determined by the frontness/backness of the next syllable nucleus. If it is front (**i, e, ä**) or central **ə,** the epenthetic vowel is always **i**, if in the second syllable a back vowel (**o, a**) follows, the epenthetic vowel is **o/u**.

As a conclusion it will be argued that Mansi follows the typological patterns of vowel epenthesis discussed in Broselow (2015. 307-310) representing the "Mixed position/quality, type1" (308, 309).

One of the recurring questions of loanword phonology concerns the multiple repairing strategies, cases, when the same foreign input is repaired in more than one way. In these cases mostly extragrammatical factors can serve as an explanation. The paper attempts to identify these factors in the fieldwork methodology of the era.

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Case and agreement alignment in Uralic ditransitives

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The Ob-Ugric languages Khanty and Mansi have different types of ditransitive construc- tions (Virtanen 2012, 2014, Nikolaeva 1999, Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011). Both languages exhibit so-called *indirective* as well as *secundative* alignment (Haspelmath 2005, Dryer 1986), in both case-marking and agreement.

In this paper, I sketch a typology of case and agreement alignment in ditransitives inside and outside the Uralic family and present an analysis that predicts exactly and only the attested patterns of case and agreement alignment.

Indirective and secundative alignment Indirective and secundative alignment differ in whether the single object in a transitive construction (p) patterns with the theme-like object (t) or with the recipient-like object (r) of a ditransitive. In indirective alignment, (1a), p and t pattern together, and in secundative alignment, (1b), p and r pattern together.