

UNPUBLISHED MANSI DICTIONARY BY P. S. PALLAS – AN UNKNOWN MANSI DIALECT?

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the research of the recently discovered Mansi dictionary rewritten by A.M. Shegren from the Pallas archive. The uniqueness of this source lays in the fact that its data do not correspond to any known dialects but has lexical similarities with the Mansi dialect spoken along the Berezovo river. In order to clarify the dialectal identity of this dictionary we had a detailed analysis based on the Proto-Mansi reconstruction and the material of the modern Mansi dialects. Also, this archival material was analyzed from the point of the dialectal differentiating isoglosses. The research indicated that the language of that new dictionary has a number of characteristics which are absent in other Mansi dialects.

Keywords: Mansi language, archive data, unknown dialect, Pallas dictionary

INTRODUCTION

For the last few years there have been discovered about ten ancient and unstudied works on the Mansi language. Each of the found sources (dictionaries, translated prayer books) brings unique information on the insufficiently explored Mansi language and its dialects. Even a short 16-17 century dictionary can make a substantial addition to the knowledge. Thus, the graphic and phonetic analysis showed interesting result on verification of Mansi dictionaries by A. Kannisto and B. Munkachi [1]. It's worth mentioning that the author, year, place and dialects are not known for some of the used sources.

The dictionary covered in this article is exactly of the ones mentioned above: it's been rewritten in the 19th century by A.M. Shegren from the archive of P.S. Pallas [2]. The latter was collecting glossaries from all over the Russian Empire for his "Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects" (Pallas 1790-1791). The glossary we studied was not included in the Pallas's dictionaries and, moreover, is lexically different from the dialects mentioned in "Comparative Dictionaries". Here are a few Mansi words Pallas has not included in his work: *нуми тормъ-канъ* 'sky', *велтъ* 'face', *вў* 'star'. The unknown glossary we cover has lexical similarities with the Mansi dialect spoken along the Berezovo river:

– *шопъ* ‘mouse’ and *шоб* ‘mlouse’ (riv. Berezovo) [in other dialects: down the river Chusovaya *Тожъ*; in the Verkhoturksy district *Тосъ*; near the village Chardym *Шусъ*],

– *мисъ-вуть* ‘milk’ and *мисъ-вуть* ‘milk’ (riv. Berezovo) [in other dialects: down the river Chusovaya *Сырмай*; in the Verkhoturksy district *Сурумъ*; near the village Chardym *Сяхуитъ*, *Чэхуитъ*],

– *няврамъ* ‘boy’ and *няуремъ-хунъ* ‘boy’ (riv. Berezovo) [in other dialects: down the river Chusovaya *Микъко*, *Ушонъ*, *Уасунъ*; in the Verkhoturksy district *Уйскумъ*, *Гуишаръ*; near the village Chardym *Усысарнъ*].

To determine its dialectal identity according to graphic-phonetic features, we have created an online version of the dictionary (on the Lingvodoc website) with parallels to the Sosva dialect words and etymological links with other Mansi dialects. This dictionary was analyzed from the point of the dialectal differentiating isoglosses mentioned in [3].

Table. 1 The main dialect differentiating isoglosses by [3]

Southern	Eastern	Western	Northern
<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>ē̄</i>	<i>ā/ē̄</i>	<i>ē̄</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>əw</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>əy</i>	<i>əy</i>
<i>ć</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ś</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>s(š)</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>s(š)</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>χ/k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>χ</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>

Consider these characteristics. When working with vowels, we rely on the Proto-Mansi reconstruction proposed in [4] and made on the material of the modern Mansi dialects.

Proto-Mansi *o > north, east, west o; south a

1) *хожá* ‘long’

obsk. *хоzá* ‘long’, юконд. *хоεá* ‘long’, So. *хоса* ‘long’ < Proto-Ural **końéV* ~ **koćV*;

2) *хóвьить* ‘spruce’

obsk. *hovt* ‘spruce’, yukond. *хоwt* ‘spruce’, pelym. *Коумъ* ‘spruce’ [5], So. *хōвт* ‘spruce’ < Proto-Mansi **kǎŷtz* [6] < Proto-Ural **kuse* ~ **kose*;

3) *кóшхай* ‘ant’

yukond. *χos'i* ‘ant’, pelym. *Кóшшый* ‘ant’ [5], So. *хõсвой* ‘ant’, T *kaškāj* ‘ant’ < Proto-Mansi **kāšyāj* [6] < Proto-Ural **kučV*;

In position before ‘v’ in the archival source *o > u*

1) *лу* ‘ten’

obsk. *лов* ‘ten’, yukond. *low* ‘ten’, pelym. *Лоупэнгъ* ‘ten’ [5], So. *лов* ‘ten’ < Proto-Ural **luke*;

In position after soft consonant ‘o’ is designated as *ю*

1) *нюль* ‘nose’

obsk. *njol* ‘nose’, yukond. *n'oul* ‘nose’, So. *нёл* ‘nose’, T *ňal* ‘nose’ < Proto-Mansi **ňäl* [6];

2) *нюгъсь* ‘sable’

obsk. *njóhis* ‘sable’, yukond. *n'oχs* ‘sable’, pelym. *Нёкгъ* ‘sable’ [5], So. *нёхысь* ‘sable’, TJ *ňoks* ‘sable’, TCH *ňoks* ‘sable’ < Proto-Mansi **ňčkās* [6] < Proto-Ural **ňukše*;

With reference to the above examples, the dialect of the dictionary coincides with the Proto-Mansi reconstruction by Yu.V. Normanskaya’s article [4] and differ from the southern dialects where Proto-Mansi **o > a* (cf. T *kaškāj* ‘ant’, T *kat* ‘six’, T *wāt* ‘wind’).

Proto-Mansi **e > So., yukond. *a / ā*; pelym., middle-obsk. *e*, south *ε**

1) *хáабъ* ‘boat’

yukond. *χāp* ‘boat’, pelym. *Кэнь* ‘boat’ [5], So. *xān* ‘boat’ < Proto-Mansi **kīpз* [6] < Proto-Ural **kappV*;

2) *тáхусъ* ‘autumn’

obsk. *teksī* ‘autumn’, yukond. *t'aχsi* ‘autumn’, pelym. *Тэксъ* ‘autumn’ [5], So. *таквс* ‘autumn’, T *tūks* ‘autumn’ < Proto-Mansi **tūčkās* [6] < Proto-Ural **sikše* (**sūkše*);

3) *тапы* ‘crane’

pelym. *Тэпы* ‘crane’ [5], So. *māpыз* ‘crane’, T *tārəw* ‘crane’ < Proto-Mansi **tīrəγ* [6] < Proto-Ural **tarV-kV* (**tarkV*);

In the implementation of Proto-Mansi **e* by [4] or **ī* by [6] in the archival dictionary under consideration was found the innovative transformation to ‘a’, typical for the northern dialects (So.) and for the eastern dialects (yukond.).

Proto-Mansi **é > ś* at the beginning of a word, which coincides with changes in the western, eastern and northern dialects:

1) *сéнзу* ‘sparrow’

yukond. *śāņś* ‘sparrow’, T *čāņčī* ‘sparrow’, pelym. *śāņkās* ‘sparrow’, south-vagil. *śāņkās* ‘sparrow’, LU *śeņkās* ‘sparrow’, LO *śaņśi* ‘sparrow’, So. *śaņśi* ‘sparrow’ < Proto-Mansi **čāņčī* [6];

Proto-Mansi *š persist at the beginning of a word, which is the case for the southern and western dialects, but also occurs in some eastern and northern sub-dialects:

1) шáнжипангъ ‘knee’

yukond. *šāns* ‘knee’, KM KO *sāns* ‘knee’, T *šānš* ‘knee’, pelym. *šanš* ‘knee’, north-vagil. *šānš* ‘knee’, LU *šanš* ‘knee’, LUT *šānš* ‘knee’, LO *sāns* ‘knee’, So. *sāns* ‘knee’ < Proto-Mansi **šānš* [6];

2) шуншъ ‘flea’

yukond. *šonš* ‘flea’, KM *sons* ‘flea’, KO *suns* ‘flea’, TJ TCH *šoš* ‘flea’, pelym. *šuš* ‘flea’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *šuš* ‘flea’, LU *šuš* ‘flea’, LO *sus* ‘flea’, So. *sus* ‘flea’ < Proto-Mansi **šūnš* [6];

3) шиишъ ‘back’

yukond. *šiš* ‘back’, KM KO *sis* ‘back’, TJ TCH *šiš* ‘back’, pelym. *šiš* ‘back’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *šiš* ‘back’, LU *šiš* ‘back’, LO *sis* ‘back’, So. *sis* ‘back’ < Proto-Mansi **šiš* [6];

Proto-Mansi *š > ž in the position between vowels, such changes were not detected in Mansi dialects we know:

1) кажәй ‘knife’

yukond. *kāsi*, *kāsī* ‘knife’, KM *kāsi*, *kāsī* ‘knife’, LO *kasaj* ‘knife’, So. *kasaj* ‘knife’

< Proto-Mansi **kāškāj* [6];

Proto-Mansi *š preserves at the end of word:

1) ошъ ‘sheep’

yukond. *oš* ‘sheep’, KM *oš* ‘sheep’, KO *oš* ‘sheep’, pelym. *oš* ~ *ošēγ* ‘sheep’, north-vagil. *oš* ~ *ošija* ‘sheep’, south-vagil. *oš* ~ *ošī* ‘sheep’, LU *oš* ~ *ošī* ‘sheep’, So. *oš* ‘sheep’ < Proto-Mansi **oš* [6];

The Proto-Mansi archaic is reflected in the language of the researched dictionary, which was preserved in southern, western and in eastern dialects (KU). Prof. László Honti [3] suggested that such implementation accurate for some northern dialects.

Proto-Mansi *k preserves before the front Proto-Mansi vowels

1) кѣлбе ‘blood’

yukond. *kēlap* ‘blood’, KM *kēlap* ‘blood’, KO *kēlap* ‘blood’, pelym. *šayr-* ‘blood’, south-vagil. *kēlap* ‘blood’, LO *kēlap* ‘blood’, So. *kēlap* ‘blood’ < Proto-Mansi **kēlp3-* [6];

2) кошкеръ ‘nail, clow’

yukond. *k.äš* ‘nail’, KM *k.äns* ‘nail’, KO *k.äs* ‘nail’, TJ TCH *künš* ‘nail’, pelym. *k.äš* ‘nail’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *k.änš* ‘nail’, LO *kos* ‘nail’, LU *k.äš* ‘nail’, So. *kos* ‘nail’ < Proto-Mansi **künš* [6];

3) кенъ ‘light’

KO *kiynə* ‘light’, TJ *küñkās* ‘light’, pelym. *kinna* ‘light’, VN *kinna* ‘light’, LU *kinna* ‘light’ < Proto-Mansi **kñyā* [6];

Proto-Mansi **k* > *x* before the back Proto-Mansi vowels, that characterizes for northern and part of eastern dialects (KU)

1) *хальбвоишъ* ‘Berezovo’ (compound word is *воишъ* ‘city’) < Proto-Mansi **kñ*

Furthermore, the transition **k* > *x* preceding back Proto-Mansi vowels leads us to the following conclusion: the glossary language combines features of northern and eastern Mansi dialects. For a more profound investigation, there has also been completed a comparative analysis of Proto-Mansi **ɣ* based on field notes taken by I. A. Stenin (2015) in Narynkary and Peregrebnoe villages. All materials are represented in the online dictionary Lingvodoc.

Proto-Mansi **ɣ* preserves in the position between vowels:

1) *Ю́гыть* ‘bow’

yukond. *jowt* ‘bow’, KM *jowt* ‘bow’, KO *jowt* ‘bow’, TJ *jäwt* ‘bow’, TCH *jawt* ‘bow’, pelym. *jäyt* ‘bow’, north-vagil. *jäwt* ‘bow’, south-vagil. *jäyt* ‘bow’, LO *jowt* ‘bow’, LU *jeyt* ‘bow’, middle-ob *jovt* ‘bow’, So. *jowt* ‘bow’ < Proto-Mansi **jäɣət* [6];

In all known dialects this word has transformation **ɣ* into *w*, but only in the western dialects we can see the duplicate reflex *w/ɣ*.

Proto-Mansi **ɣ* > *u* before consonant:

1) *пóульнколь* ‘bath’

yukond. *päyl-* ‘bathe’, KM *päyl-* ‘bathe’, KO *päyl-* ‘bathe’, TCH *päwl-* ‘bathe’, pelym. *päyl-* ‘bathe’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *päyl-* ‘bathe’, LO *puwl-* ‘bathe’, LU *päyl-* ‘bathe’, middle-ob *peutənk'e* ‘bathe’, So. *puwl-* ‘bathe’ < Proto-Mansi **päɣl-* [6];

In all dialects **ɣ* in the word ‘bath’ **ɣ* either preserves or morphs into *w*, but in the middle-ob dialect **ɣ* turns to *u* (cf. middle-obsk. *peutənk'e* ‘bathe’).

2) *неурь* ‘foal’

yukond. *ñəwr* ‘foal’, KM *ñəwr* ‘foal’, KO *ñəwr* ‘foal’, TJ *ñəwər* ‘foal’, TCH *ñəwər* ‘foal’, pelym. *ñəwər* ‘foal’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *ñəwər* ‘foal’, LO *ñəwər* ‘foal’, LU *ñəɣr* ‘foal’, LM *ñəwər* ‘foal’ < Proto-Mansi **ñəwər* [6];

As we have seen, almost in all mansi dialects **ɣ* goes into *w*, except for LU, where **ɣ* remains. In the middle-ob dialect the word ‘foal’ is not recorded.

3) *ню́ль* ‘meat’

yukond. *ñowl*, *ñuwl* ‘meat’, TJ TCH *ñəwl* ‘meat’, pelym. *ñowl* ‘meat’, VN *ñowl* ‘meat’, south-vagil. *ñəwl* ‘meat’, LO *ñowl* ‘meat’, LU *ñowl* ‘meat’, LM *ñowl* ‘meat’, So. *ñəwl* ‘meat soup’ < Proto-Mansi **ñəɣl* [6];

In all dialects we have **ɣ* > *w*.

Thus, we have detected a reflexivity of the **y* phoneme based on its position in the lexical unit. The only exception here is **y* transition into *u* in *moy* ‘branch’ provided the standard omission at the end of the unit. Interesting to mention that no dialect described by [6], [7] shows such a consistent Proto-Mansi **y* reflexivity. The phenomenon is similar to modern Middle-Ob dialect, though there are still a few differences. The essential one is the present intervocal **y* in the glossary, which transitions into *w* in all present day Mansi dialects excluding Lozva dialect. The differences might be caused by the development of Mansi dialect in the 19-20th centuries. The glossary dialect cannot be identified as a Middle-Ob dialect since it does not show the Middle-Ob **e* > *e* received from Proto-Mansi, instead, **e* transitions into *a*, the process more common in So. and some western dialects as transcribed by A. Kannisto.

As we might now observe, the dialect documented in the glossary, differs from all other known dialects. There are more peculiar glossary characteristics worth mentioning, which are although not considered by Prof. László Honti as dialect-forming and specific for Mansi dialects in general.

I. **w* > *u*

- 1) *шáy* ‘lots of’
yukond. *s'uow* ‘lots of’, Middle-Ob *sav* ‘lots of’, So. *cāв* ‘lots of’ < Proto-Ural **čukkV* (**čokkV*);
- 2) *óyda* ‘lance’
pelym. *əβta* ‘lance’, KU *əβtə* ‘lance’, So. *ōвта* ‘lance’ [7];
- 3) *лу* ‘bone’
obsk. *lov* ‘bone’, yukond. *losum* ‘bone’, pelym. *Лүшемь* ‘bone’ [5], KU *л̕̕-š̕̕m* ‘bone’ [7], LO *lušm* ‘bone’ [8], So. *лув* ‘bone’ < Proto-Mansi **l̕̕w* [6] < Proto-Ural **luwe*;
- 4) *ьəy* ‘tree’
obsk. *jiv* ‘tree’, yukond. *jiv* ‘tree’, So. *й̕̕в* ‘tree’ < Proto-Mansi **j̕̕w* [6] < Proto-Ural **juwV*;

II. As stated above, in the dictionary there is a transition *o* > *u* in the position before *w* and after soft consonants:

- 1) *лу* ‘ten’
obsk. *lov* ‘ten’, yukond. *low* ‘ten’, pelym. *Лоупэнгь* ‘foreman’ [5], So. *лов* ‘ten’ < Proto-Ural **luke*;

III. Characteristics of verb conjugation in first personal singular present tense

- 1) *уеймь*, So. *уюе̄гум* ‘I am swimming’;
- 2) *люл̕̕ймь*, So. *лю̄л̕̕е̄гум* ‘I am standing’
- 3) *аеймь*, So. *ае̄гум* ‘I am drinking’

According to [9], in the dictionary such a verb conjugation in first personal singular is typical for western dialects, but as was shown above, on the basis of Proto-Mansi $*k > x$ before deep vowels the dictionary by P.S. Pallas differs from western dialects in which such a change did not occur.

CONCLUSION

Having studied graphic, phonetic and dialect-forming characteristics of the glossary and completed the comparative analysis of the field noted we revealed, that the glossary dialect is similar to Middle-Ob (northern) dialect (e.g. Proto-Mansi transition $*k > x$ preceding Proto-Mansi back vowels; $*\gamma$ reflexivity preceding consonants and at the end of the lexical unit). The conclusion is also justified by the lexical isoglosses of the Mansi dialect spoken along the Berezovo river and mentioned in “Comparative Dictionaries” by P. S. Pallas. The Middle-Ob dialect, however, presents Proto-Mansi $*e$ as e , the ancient glossary we covered shows $*e > a$, common in Sosva eastern and some western dialects in the transcription by A. Kannisto. The ancient glossary showcases a special conjugation form, earlier documented in the western dialects only. We can also observe the archaic Proto-Mansi $*š$ in the glossary, which transitions into s in Sosva and Middle-Ob dialects, as well as Proto-Mansi $*\gamma$ in the intervocalic position evolving into w in all other dialects exclude Lozva dialects.

Therefore, the ancient glossary combines the archaic characteristics and modern northern and western features, which is why cannot be classified as a traditional Mansi dialect. Further investigation of Mansi 18th century texts may reveal that the traditional Mansi language dialects classification is to be revised.

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ABBREVIATION

Mansi — Mansi language
 K — dialects spoken along the Konda river
 KM — Middle-Konda dialect
 KO — Upper-Konda dialect
 KU — Lower-Konda dialect
 LM — Middle-Losva dialect
 LO — Upper-Losva dialect
 LU — Lower-Losva dialect
 N — northern Mansi dialects
 P — Pelym dialect
 So. — Sosva dialect
 T — Tavda dialect
 TCh — Tavda dialect of the village Chandry
 TJ — Tavda dialect of the village Yanychkova Янычкова
 north-vagil. — northern Vagilsk dialect
 south-vagil. — southern Vagilsk dialect
 obsk. — Ob dialect
 middle-Ob — Middle-Ob dialect
 pelym. — Pelym dialect
 yukond. — Yukonda dialect
 eastern — Eastern dialects
 western — Western dialects
 northern — Northern dialects
 southern — Southern dialects
 Proto-Mansi — Proto Mansi language
 Proto-Ural — Proto Ural language

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