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A MEZEN' NENETS GLOSSARY AND OTHER LINGUISTIC DATA FROM SJÖGREN'S PAPERS

Abstract. The paper deals with the content and history of two linguistic manuscripts from the collection left after Anders Johan (Johann Andreas, Andrej Mihajlovič) Sjögren (1794—1855) at the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. It turns out that — unlike most other manuscripts in this collection — they stem from A. J. Sjögren's own field work among the speakers of Olonets Karelian, Veps, Lapp (5 dialects, including the now extinct Sompio and Kuolajärvi dialects), Nenets and Komi.

While the Lapp glossaries by A. J. Sjögren are well known to the Lappologists (though mistakenly believed to have been compiled by Rev. Jacob Fellman), the never published Mezen' Nenets glossary from 1826 is an attestation of A. J. Sjögren's direct contribution to Samojedology, as well as an important early source of Western Tundra Nenets data. The paper contains an alphabetically arranged list of Nenets words found in this glossary (with correspondences from later Nenets dictionaries).

Keywords: A. J. Sjögren, field work, Lapp, Nenets, Western Tundra Nenets, lexicology

The manuscripts under scrutiny here are kept at the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (фонд 94 — A. IIIёгрен [A. Sjögren], опись 1, дело 148 on 11 pages & дело 149 on 1 page), bearing no own title and no name of their compiler. They have once attracted my attention due to the presence of a Nenets glossary in one of the columns of the first manuscript (Ms. 148), attributed to *Samojed Mesen*, that is, to the Mezen' subdialect of the Western dialect of Tundra Nenets.

Ms. 148 is a multilingual glossary with 360 entry glosses in Russian typographically printed in a notebook (and supplemented with several dozens of additional handwritten entry glosses in Russian, Latin, Swedish, and Finnish). Its other columns contain also the translations of these glosses into Olonets Karelian (*Livviks*) and Vepsian (*Luudiks*), as well as into five Lapp dialects (*Sombio, Enari, Nuorti Songelsk, Utsjoki, Kuolaj[ärvi]*), with several words on p. 1v[erso] translated also into Komi (*Sirjensk*). Ms. 149 consists of only one densely filled up page with the printed Russian text of the Lord's Prayer translated into Olonets Karelian (*Livviks*), Vepsian (*Tschud* — apparently the same idiom as *Luudiks* in Ms. 148), and three

Lapp dialects (*Sombio*, *Enari*, *Rysk-Lappska i Passrieka* [= Paatsjoki] & *Muot-ka*), followed then by several dozens of Enari and Kuolajärvi Lapp zoonyms (*Lappska djurnamn*, with Finnish and Swedish equivalents).

Most of the manuscripts belonging to A. J. Sjögren's collection (фонд 94) at these archives antedate his own times and stem mainly from the activities connected with the famous "Vocabularia Comparativa" of the Catherine epoch and with other multilingual lexicographic enterprises of the 18th century. However, it was clear from the outlook of the two manuscripts under scrutiny and from the list of entry glosses, that they do not result from any of these enterprises (cf. Helimski 1993 : 261, comments to No. 46).

My stay at the Finno-Ugric Institute at Uppsala with its remarkably rich collection of literature and sources on the history of the Uralic (and especially of the Lapp) studies together with the expert advice from Lars-Gunnar Larsson — to whom the author feels very much indebted! — made it possible to uncover the origin of these materials, and to define their place in the history of scholarship. The results can be summarized as follows.

- 1. The compiler of the anonymous manuscripts was nobody else but Anders (Andreas) Johan Sjögren (1794—1855) himself. His enormous contribution to the development of linguistic, historic, and ethnologic studies in Russia and Finland is widely though, as it turns out, not completely! known, see especially the monograph by Michael Branch (1973). This attribution of authorship can be confirmed in many ways, in particular:
- (a) There is an evident (even without a special graphologic analysis) similarity between the handwriting in the Mss. and that in A. J. Sjögren's letters, cf. the specimens in Branch 1973: 43, 47.
- (b) The set of locations, where the glossaries and translations were taken down, corresponds exactly to A. J. Sjögren's itineraries in the European North of Russia (including Finland). In the course of his travels A. J. Sjögren visited Olonets Karelian, Ludian, and Vepsian villages in summer 1823 and again in 1824—1825, 1826—1827 and 1827, and was the first linguist to identify these Baltic Finnic idioms and to delineate the boundaries between them. A. J. Sjögren also visited Lapland between August 1825 and February 1826, going through Sodankylä, Inari (= *Enari*), Utsjoki, Petsamo, and Kola, and then spent three more weeks in Mezen' (Gouvernement Archangelsk) in March and April 1826.
- (c) The same collection at the St. Petersburg Archives includes two other notebooks of the same outlook as Ms. 148 (and also anonymous), where the typographically printed entry glosses are translated, this time, into Komi (several dialects), Tatar, Mari, and Bashkir (фонд 94, опись 1, дело 146) and into Ossete, Armenian, and several other languages of the Caucasus (фонд 94, опись 1, дело 147). It means that these glossaries cover very exactly the scope of languages with which A. J. Sjögren was able to make acquaintance during his later travels to the North-Eastern Europe and the Caucasu the travels that brought him wide renown and full membership at the Imperial Academy of Sciences.
- 2. The translations of the Lord's Prayer into Sombio, Inari and Paatsjoki Lapp have been published by A. J. Sjögren in his "Anteckningar om församlingarne i Kemi-Lappmark" together with the translations into Utsjoki, Semi-

ostrov, and Notozero Lapp, also recorded during his travels (Sjögren 1828 : 253—255, [philological remarks] 391—405; 1861 : 225—232). There are only smaller discrepancies between the texts in Ms. 149 and the published versions.

- 3. It turns out that the Lapp lexical materials from Mss. 148 and 149, or at least its most interesting part data from Sompio (= *Sombio*) and Kuolajärvi, where Lapp ceased to be spoken soon after A. J. Sjögren's times, and also from Inari came into scholarly circulation early in the 20th century. However, their compilation was and remains wrongly attributed to Jacob Fellman (1795—1875), a priest in Lappmark, who published in 1825 his translation of the first two chapters from the St. Matthew's Gospel, a church handbook and hymn-book in the Utsjoki dialect, thus initiating the Lapp literacy in Finland (Korhonen 1986 : 21). The complicated and partly still enigmatic history of this erroneous attribution runs as follows.
- (a) First, short excerpts from a multilingual Lapp glossary 34 glosses in all appeared in Jacob Fellman's "Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken" (Fellman 1906 : III, 19—21), edited by his son Isak Fellman. In addition to the data from five Lapp dialects in Ms. 148, this publication contains also several words from Imandra and Enontekiö Lapp. It deserves attention, that the editor supplied these excerpts with a very cautiously and vaguely worded footnote, probably being very unsure about his father's authorship: "I hvilket sammenhang denna table, som legat lös i manuskriptsamlingen, varit afsedd att intagas, är för avgifv. obekant" (Fellman 1906 : III, 19).
- (b) The information on the manuscript, from which these excerpts have been extracted ("Fellman's Ms."), was provided by Frans Äimä and Toivo Itkonen (1918) and can only strengthen these doubts. Having received it from Isak Fellman, Frans Äimä and Toivo Itkonen chose for analytic publication the most interesting part of the Lapp linguistic data the word lists from the extinct dialect(s) of Sompio-Kuolanjärvi and from the dialect of Inari (because there existed no earlier Inari Lapp glossaries). The publication is supplemented with a thorough treatment of the Sompio-Kuolajärvi phonetics (Äimä 1918).

According to F. Äimä and T. Itkonen, "Fellman's Ms." was a multilingual glossary of six Lapp dialects (Sompio, Kuolajärvi, Inari, Nuortijärvi, Utsjoki, and partly Enontekiö), as well as of Olonets Karelian and Vepsian. An entry contained semiologically related (homosemantic) words, which were not necessarily etymologically related in different dialects of Lapp, and adjacent entries were usually semantically linked (in the publication the lexical data from this manuscript were rearranged in alphabetical order). But the entry glosses were missing, so that the meanings of words had to be deductively constructed by the publishers themselves (sometimes with doubts, see below).

The lexical data from Sompio, Kuolajärvi, and Inari in "Fellman's Ms." are completely identical in scope and content — leaving aside minor spelling distinctions and possible copying errors — with the corresponding data in Mss. 148 and (for zoonyms) 149. The most intimate link between the two handwritten sources is therefore apparent. Nevertheless, there are differences that exclude the possibility of treating the whole "Fellman's Ms." as a copy of A. J. Sjögren's records, or vice versa. A. J. Sjögren's records

differ at least in three points: presence of entry glosses (in Russian, printed); presence of Nenets glossary and Komi words; absence of glossary, though only fragmentary, of Enontekiö Lapp. F. Aimä and T. Itkonen did not hesitate much in attributing the compilation of "Fellman's Ms." to Jacob Fellman himself, referring in this connection to his rich experience of communicating with his Inari and Utsjoki Lapp parishioners, as well as to his numerous travels in Lapland, including also its Russian (Kola) part. They also suggested, without going into any details, that the Olonets Karelian and Vepsian data may also result from J. Fellman's own field work (Äimä, Itkonen 1918 : 3). This last suggestion seems to be completely groundless. There is no mention of these Finnic idioms or of corresponding place-names in any of the four volumes of Jacob Fellman's life-work (see the register — Fellman 1906: IV, 508—551). In case if their author were really interested in these idioms and, even more, did some field work with their speakers, he could be expected to refer to the corresponding observations on quite many occasions, when dealing with Lapp issues.

- (c) On the other hand, F. Aimä and T. Itkonen did not leave unnoticed the apparent links between "Fellman's Ms." and the translations of the Lord's Prayer published by A. J. Sjögren (1828). They conclude that A. J. Sjögren and J. Fellman were the first and the only scholars to obtain linguistic data from Sompio and Kuolajärvi Lapp, that their records were taken essentially simultaneously, and that both used the same notation, employing Swedish spelling and marking the length of vowels with double letters (Aimä, Itkonen 1918: 1, 4—5). These remarkable similarities are mentioned as mere coincidences, however also elsewhere (Branch 1973: 103—104; Korhonen 1986: 45).
- (d) When summing up all above facts and considerations, there remains no doubt that all or almost all linguistic data in "Fellman's Ms." and in the Mss. by A. J. Sjögren, including also the Lapp dialectal materials, were taken down by A. J. Sjögren according to his individual long-term program of compiling standard minimal (basic) glossaries for each of the languages and dialects, which he had opportunities to study over the years of his travels. It seems extremely unlikely that, while compiling the Olonets Karelian, Vepsian, and later also the Nenets glossaries (not to say about the glossaries from his later travels) himself, A. J. Sjögren could have entrusted the compilation of the Lapp glossaries to J. Fellman, or to borrow the necessary data from J. Fellman's records. The coinciding transcription in different sections of the multilingual glossary also invalidates such an idea (even if A. J. Sjögren and J. Fellman could agree about the general principles of notation, quite a lot of discrepancies in individual implementation of these generalities were to be expected!). However, it is possible that some Lapp dialectal data could really be recorded by J. Fellman alone (and independently of A. J. Sjögren's program) — this refers, first of all, to the very incomplete lists of counterparts from Enontekiö and Imandra Lapp. Besides, the short glossary in Fellman 1906 (see above) in several cases contains two basically identical, but differently transcribed forms from the same Lapp dialect, and only one of these forms finds a direct match in Ms. 148, cf.:

Kuolajärvi *tjetseme*, *k i t j e m e* (Fellman 1906 : III, 19, sub 'sju') Kuolajärvi *k i t s c h e m e* (Ms. 148: No. 347, sub 'семь').

- (e) The rest of this history can only be guessed about. Probably A. J. Sjögren could transmit a copy of his Lapp field records — together with earlier Finnic records — to Pastor Jakob Fellman, whom he met in December 1825 and January 1926 (Branch 1973: 95-98; cf. also Fellman 1906: II, 503-504), or let him copy it, or send it to J. Fellman later (but perhaps before April 1826, as it is suggested by the absence of the Nenets glossary in Fellman's Ms.). It could have been part of an exchange between colleagues, because A. J. Sjögren in his description of Lappmark quotes, in his turn, the meteorological and related records which he obtained from J. Fellman (Sjögren 1861: 194ff.). It must be said, however, that soon afterwards the relations between these two eminent contempraries rapidly got spoiled, since Sjögren made public (still in 1826) his opinion on J. Fellman's Gospel translations into Lapp (Sjögren 1861 : 63-69), being "provocatively severe in his criticism of Fellman's orthography, the quality of the translation and the typographical layout of the texts. The criticism is quite legitimate, but it had a negative effect in that Fellman was offended and abandoned his planned publication and translation of Lappish literature that he had vigorously begun" (Korhonen 1986: 45).
- J. Fellman warded off with very sharp objections, personal rather than scholarly, which, however, he never managed to see published (Fellman 1906: II, 489—504), and later (in 1846) wrote no less critical comments to A. J. Sjögren's "Anteckningar" (Fellman 1906: III, 635—715). Probably this later conflict accounts for Fellman's telling his son nothing about the copy of A. J. Sjögren's linguistic records, which remained in his papers.
- 4. On the whole, the relationships between the content of the above mentioned handwritten and published sources looks as follows:

	Ms.	Ms.	Sjögren,	Fellman	"Fellman's	Äimä, Itkonen
	149	148	1828	1906	Ms."	1918
Olonets Karelian, The Lord's Prayer	+					
Vepsian, The Lord's Prayer	+					
Lapp So In Pj, The Lord's Prayer	+		+			
Lapp Uj Se No, The Lord's Prayer			+			
Lapp In Kj, zoonyms	+				+	+
Lapp So Kj In, glossary		+		parts	+	+
Lapp Nj Uj, glossary		+		parts	+	
Lapp En, glossary				parts	+	
Olonets Karelian, glossary		+			+	
Vepsian, glossary		+			+	
Mezen' Nenets, glossary		+				
Komi, glossary (only several words)		+				

Dialects of Lapp: En[ontekiö], In[ari], K[uola]j[ärvi], N[uorti]j[ärvi], No[tozero], P[aats]j[oki], Se[miostrov], So[mbio], U[ts]j[oki].

5. The manuscripts from the Archives in St. Petersburg give us the possibility to get better assessment of the field linguistic background of Sjögren's famous ethnolinguistic and ethnohistorical studies.

The Lapp linguistic data in these manuscripts are partly already known from Sjögren 1828 and Aimä, Itkonen 1918. As mentioned above, because of the absence of entry glosses (translations) in J. Fellman's Ms., F. Äimä

and T. Itkonen had to reconstruct the meanings leaning upon their knowledge of the lexical stock of Lapp (the presence of homosemantic Finnic words must have been a very strong support). As Ms. 418 shows, in the vast majority of cases these semantic reconstructions (even when supplied with question marks) were exact, and only two improvements are necessary: according to Ms. 418, Sompio oårje is 'West' ('Запад') rather than 'North', and Kuolajärvi väije is 'spring, source, brook' ('источник, ручей') rather than 'ditch' (cf. Aimä, Itkonen 1918 : Nos. 255, 489). The word-lists from the Lapp dialects of Nuorti[järvi] and Songelsk, as well as from Olonets Karelian and Vepsian, have not been reproduced in the above mentioned works, and I will not exclude that they may still be of importance not only from the viewpoint of research history.

6. Still, among the glossaries it is only the Nenets one from Ms. 148 (together with very few Komi glosses) that remained until now completely unknown. The origin of these data was specified by A. J. Sjögren himself in his "Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Reise zur Untersuchung der finnischen Völkerschaften in Russland": "In Mezen, wo ich am Ende des Monats [März 1826] eintraf, fühlte ich mich weit stärker [---], so dass ich wieder mit Lust und Eifer meine gewöhnlichen Arbeiten betreiben konnte, welche dort wegen der Nähe der Samojeden und der Gelegenheit, die ich erhielt, durch einen Eingebornen mit wenigstens einige, wenn aber oberflächliche Notizen selbst über ihre merkwürdige Sprache zu verschaffen, ein eigenes Interesse darboten." (Sjögren 1861: 77).

Being, at that time at least, very sceptical about the idea (then only a hypothesis) of genetic links between Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic, A. J. Sjögren, as it seems, never cared about having his "superficial notes" (oberflächliche Notizen) from Nenets published or utilized in some other way, so that his biographer writes: "Little is known about Sjögren's actual contacts with Samoyeds [---]. It seems clear that the limited reference to them in his diary and letters represents by and large the sum of his experience; likewise there is very little about them in his published works." (Branch 1973: 131).

Now it can be asserted that A. J. Sjögren's contribution to the domain of Samoyedic linguistic studies was not restricted to the well-known eminent role which he played in the organization and promotion of M. A. Castrén's travels and studies. The vocabulary compiled in Mezen' may be qualified as one of important early sources on Western Tundra Nenets; in combination with the sources of later origin (mainly Lehtisalo 1956) it can be used for the historical and dialectological treatment of the Mezen' subdialect (tracing and dating phonetic developments, etc.).

The vocabulary contains close to four hundred Nenets glosses, many of them being in fact word combinations. It reflects all main phonetic peculiarities of Western Tundra Nenets (absence of word-initial y, contraction of VxV- and some VwV-sequences, denasalization in homorganic nasalstop sequences; see Salminen 1990). Lexically all Tundra Nenets dialects are rather similar, especially in the basic layers of their vocabulary; only very few glosses ($noos\ddot{a}e\partial \mathring{a}$ 'путь млечный / Milky Way', $pi\ddot{a}voj$ 'дрова / wood', sidim-anda 'окружность (кругом) / circumference (around)') could not be directly identified with the data from other Nenets sources — though even in these cases the base of derivation is more or less trans-

parent. In several other cases A. J. Sjögren's Mezen' data exhibit unique features of derivational morphology (tujesék 'огниво / steel for kindling fire', cf. Standard Nenets *Ty ecs*) or of semantics (*haveijagnä* '12', lit. 'Ostyak spare [number]'; javreni 'cepeбpo / silver' and jelenéjavreni 'ртуть / quicksilver', cf. Standard Nenets яберена 'glittering', иленя 'живой / alive').

Below the data of this glossary are listed in the alphabetical order of their original spellings (with certain evident inconsistencies of spelling disregarded when ordering words, e.g. ch = h, v = w, $\mathring{a} = o$). Russian (or Swedish) translations are supplemented with English equivalents. For the sake of identification and comparison, the publisher indicates — in square brackets — closest parallels (mostly etymologically identical forms) from Standard Tundra Nenets or, if possible, from Western Nenets. The main source of these parallels is Терещенко 1965 (quoted without references, in Cyrillic orthography). When necessary, parallels are quoted also from Lehtisalo 1956 (= L, followed by indications of Tundra and Forest Nenets dialects; Lehtisalo's transcriptions are simplified) and Пыперка, Терещенко 1948 (= ΠΤ). Finite verbal forms in A. J. Sjögren's glossary — occasionally their translation may wrongly suggest that they are adjectives or adverbs - are usually compared only with corresponding infinitives in Standard Nenets. Cross-references are given selectively, mostly when related forms are not adjacent in the word-list.

A. J. Sjögren's Mezen' Nenets glossary

aanaa 'далеко / far' [на"на (= на*xa*"*нa*)] aarbaj 'старый / old' [нармбэй ('пожилой / elderly')] аänaa 'на ногах, стоя / on feet' [нэна (cf. нэхэна 'пешком / by foot')] *ae* 'нога / foot' [нэ] aetarka 'палец у ноги / toe' [нэ' Tapkaajvaa 'голова / head' [нэва] $amd\acute{e}$ 'трава / grass' [$\mu am\partial \vartheta$ ''(∂)] amsa 'мясо / meat' [намза] anåå 'судно, båt / boat' [нано] arkaa 'большой / big' [нарка] atsekii 'молодой / young' [нацекы] avkulpiu 'жму / I press, squeeze' [ңабкалпă(сь)] eäptä 'волосы / hair' [ңэбт] ermudaftso 'муха / fly' [ңэрмодабцо] *inn* 'лук / archer's bow' [нын] $\mathring{a}h$ 'остров / island' [μo] олово 'олово / tin' [нолава] olыrna 'плавать / to swim' [cf. ңо- jaargam 'плачу / I weep' [ярць] холюрць] *jad*: see *njoijad*

opoj 'один / one' [ңопой] ∣ cf. also jurkadopoj orgham [amended from uorgham] 'ем / I eat' [нориь (= навориь)] ouvgkad 'часто / often' [нобкад] ovjagnä '11' [ңоб" йңгня] $ud\ddot{a}$ 'рука / hand' [$\mu y \partial a$] udendarka 'палец / finger' [$\mu y \partial a \mu$ - $\partial ap \kappa a (= ну \partial a' таp \kappa a)]$ yässы 'деревня / village' [ңэсы] yöpté 'лошадь / horse' [нэбте] ыörio 'oceнь / autumn' [ңэ́рё] jaadats 'дубина / club, staff' [ядӑць'(н)] *jaago* 'нет / no' [*я́ңго*] jaalimbeele 'полдень / midday, noon' [ялямбеля (= яля' пеля)]jaampie 'долгий / long' [ямб"я] jaanomi 'поздно / it's late' [яноць 'быть поздним, медленным / to be late, slow', яномы 'стало поздно / it became late'] | cf. also janoa

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jagnä: see ovjagnä, haveijagnä, ha- jienam 'надеюся / I hope' [ēнăсь]
    veijagnä
                                          jienar 'честный (trógen) / honest'
jahaa 'река / river' [яха]
                                               [енар"]
jale 'день / day' [яля] | | cf. also jient 'быстрый / quick' [eн\partial^{"}(\partial)]
                                               'быстрина / rapids']
    jaalimbeele
jaljkåå 'светлый / light, bright' [яле-
                                          jik 'шея / neck' [u\kappa]
                                          jillaftj 'жизнь / life' [илебц]
    κοl
jam 'more / sea' [ям']
                                          jint 'душа, дух / soul, spirit'
jangau 'берег / coast' [яңгэв=я' хэв]
                                               [u H \partial "(\partial)]
jaannaah 'близко / near' [ян"на]
                                          jirii (jiriijalemå...) 'луна / moon'
janoa 'медленный / slow' [яноць,
                                               [upuŭ; the word subscribed in
    яно"на 'медлителен / is slow']
                                               brackets, with its end written
    | cf. also jaanomi
                                               indistinctly, probably includes
janseu 'зерно / grain' [янзэв (= я' сэв)]
                                               also a grammatical for of ялэмзь
jabtå 'гусь / goose' [я́бто]
                                               (= ялумзь) 'осветиться / to grow
javeij 'вино / wine' [ябе u"(\partial)]
                                               light'] || cf. also jerii
javreni 'cepeбpo / silver' [cf. ябе-
                                          jirtaa 'прямой / straight' [upт" ңa]
    рена 'блестящий / glittering']
                                          jivoaa 'тепло / it's warm' [иба"я]
                                           joltsj 'время / time' [ёльць'(н)]
    | cf. also jelenéjavreni
                                          ju 'десять / ten' [\wp"(\partial)]
javtik 'тонкий / thin' [ябта, cf. (L)
    Kis. j\bar{\imath}pt'\bar{\imath}k]
                                          jujur '1000' [ю" юр"]
j\ddot{a} 'земля / earth' [я]
                                          junä 'лошадь / horse' [юна]
j\ddot{a} 'mjöl / flour' [s] | | cf. also janseu
                                          juoré 'глубокий / deep' [ёря]
jedesii 'здоровый / healthy' [едя-
                                          jur 'масло / butter' [юр"]
                                          jur '100' [юр"]
    с ў (сь)]
j\acute{e}di\acute{e} 'болезнь / disease' [e\partial \mathfrak{A}]
                                          jurkadopoj '101' [юркад ңопой]
                                          jurkadsidié '[102]' [юркад сидя]
jelenéjavreni 'ртуть / quicksilver'
    [иленя 'живой / alive' + ябере-
                                          jusivtaju 'ложуся / I lie down'
    на 'блестящий / glittering']
                                               [юсибта(сь)]
jerii 'месяц / month' [upuй] | cf.
                                           chaa 'yxo / ear' [xa]
                                           chaadambiu 'убиваю / I kill' [ха-
    also jirii
jertie 'cepeдина / middle' [ep", 3Sg
                                               \partial a \delta \ddot{a}(cb)]
    ертя]
                                           chaad\ddot{a}\ddot{a} 'смола / resin' [xa\partial \vartheta"(c)]
jerv 'начальник; судья / chief; judge'
                                           chaadovы 'убитый / killed' [xa\partial a(cb)]
                                           haafsé 'смерть / death' [хабця'(н)]
    [epв] \mid \mid cf. also jidы\ jerv,\ pыa-
                                           haamadamviu 'понимаю / I under-
    darjerv
jesie 'железо / iron' [еся]
                                               stand' [xama\partial am \delta \breve{a}(cb)]
jewii 'жар / heat' [cf. enăсь, enu
                                           chaalää 'кит / whale' [халэ'(н)]
    'жарко / it's hot'; иба 'теплый
                                           chaalé 'рыба / fish' [халя]
                                           chaanaa 'течь 3 sing. / flows' [cf.
    / warm']
ji 'ум, разум / mind' [u]
                                               xан\ddot{a}\muь 'отправляться / to leave']
ji 'вода / water' [u"(\partial)] \mid | cf. also
                                           chaapt\acute{e} 'бык / bull' [xa\sigma \tau, (L) N x\bar{a}bt\acute{e}]
   javeij, jidы jerv
                                           chārad 'gård / farmstead, house'
jidargham 'пью / I drink' [и∂ăрць]
                                               [xap \breve{a} \partial]
jidorpim 'печалюся / I grieve' [ибе-
                                           chad\ddot{a}\ddot{a} 'ноготь / (finger)nail' [x\ddot{a}\partial a]
    дорпа(сь) 'думать, раздумывать
                                           chahnduu 'молния / lightning' [хэ-
    / to think']
                                               xэnдy (= xэxэ^{\circ} Ty]
jidы jerv 'дьявол (in aqui) / water
                                           chajer 'coлнце / sun' [xaep"]
    demon' [cf. u\partial' eps]
                                           chajhet<sup>h</sup>angåda 'священник / priest'
jiedagham 'пляшу / I dance' [едăнзь]
                                               [xэхэдаңгода]
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chajvits 'короткий / short' [хэбиць]
chaltså 'червь / worm' [хăлцо]
chambaa 'волна / wave' [хамба]
char 'нож / knife' [хăр]
chartsii 'жопа / arse' [хăрци]
charvám 'хочу / I want' [хăрва(сь)]
hau: see jangau
ha-ũdasj 'бить / to strike, beat, fight'
   [xaвodă(cь)]
hha-ũdorma 'драка, битва / fight,
   battle' [хаводорма]
haveijagnä '12' [хăбей 'остяцкий /
   Ostyak' + ўнгня 'лишний / spare
   (element in the numerals between
   11 and 19)'; this numeral for '12'
   is not attested in Modern Nenets
   materials]
hav\acute{e}j\acute{u} 'девять / nine' [хабею"(д)]
chäividie 'медведь / bear' [хэбидя]
chem 'кровь / blood' [хэ́м']
chinaum 'пою / I sing' [хыноць]
chångoo 'нахожу / I find' [хось]
choj 'холм / hill' [хой]
hoghoj 'буря / storm' [(?) погой (=
   поңгэй) 'вихрь, ураган / whirl-
   wind, eddy'] || cf. also poghoj
chondé 'coire / to fuck' [(L) O x\bar{o}nD\hat{e}
   'penis']
chonbim 'сплю / I sleep' [xon\ddot{e}(cb)]
chuchorej 'лебедь / swan' [хохорэй]
chunjäna 'завтра / tomorrow' [xy-
   няна]
chupt 'свинец / lead' [xy\sigma r"(\partial)]
chussuvaina 'всегда / always' [хусу-
   вэй 'каждый, всякий / every,
   any', Loc. хусувэна (= хусувэ-
   xэнa)]
chuterňgham 'ударяю, стучу / I
   beat, knock' [хутарць]
chuuriem 'чувствую / I feel' [(ям.)
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могание / to feel unwell']

'Schaf'l

[хибяри]

chuvierij 'народ / people' [хибяри"] *chuvыi* 'утро / morning' [$x\bar{y}вы$] kiin 'гроб, могила / tomb, grave' [TUH]korova 'корова / cow' [корова (= *хорова*)] koschka 'кошка / cat' [кошка (= хос- κa)] kossaa 'κοca / scythe' [(L) UM $x\bar{o}sa$] kosiol 'козел / he-goat' [(ПТ) козёл] kuritsa 'петух, курица / rooster, hen' [(ΠT) $\kappa u p u u a$] laatajé 'широкий / broad' [лата"я] ladgo 'ударяю, стучу / I beat, knock' [лад \breve{a} (сь), *лад \breve{a} нго(сь)] lapta 'долина / valley' [лăбта] laek 'медленный (lat) / slow, quiet' $[n \ni \kappa]$ lietnij 'юг / south' [Russ. летний 'summer (attr.)'] limbie 'opeл / eagle' [лимбя] *låhåå* 'угол / corner' [лохо] långhåå 'прыщ, узел, пуговица / pimple, knot, button' [cf. лоңгоко 'круглая металлическая пуговица / round metal button'] lugasj 'грызть / to gnaw' [луңгась] *lы* 'кость / bone' [лы] lyotojé 'толстый / thick' [лэто"я] maaaljedå 'победа, 3 pl impf. / they gained' [мале(сь) 'кончить, завершить / to finish, to accomplish'] madambiu 'peжу / I cut' [$Ma\partial a \delta \breve{a}(cb)$] mahaa 'спина, тыл / back, rear' [мака] mai-mbim 'радуюсь / I am glad' [маймба(сь)] mal [amended from maldar] 'Bce / all, that's all' [мал 'конец / end', малдар 'конец для тебя / it's xupe(cb) 'недолюбливать / to over for you'] have little liking', cf. (б.-з.) xymanéh, Dual: mani 'мы / we' [мăня", римба(сь) 'чувствовать недо-Du. *мăни*'] maniijev 'вижу / I see' [мание(сь)] chuutse 'баран, och: одеяло / ram; *manj* 'я / І' [мăнь] blanket' [хуця 'одеяло из шкур manjéh: see niu manjéh / fur blanket', cf. (L) O U-Ts. $x\bar{u}$ manы 'vagina' [(L) U-Ts. Sj. ma"nį] manзaram 'делаю (árbetar) / I make, chuvierii 'человек / man, person' work' [*м*ӑ*н*зӑ*р*а(*сь*)] mar 'город / town' [м $\Breve{a}p$ "(\Breve{d})]

markänaa 'во, в (i staden) / in (in neänj 'хлеб / bread' [нянь] town)' [маркана] nearja 'красный / red' [няръя(сь)] nenju 'дочь / daughter' [неню] martsj 'плечо, рамо / shoulder' [мӑрць] ni 'пояс, кушак / girdle' [ни] mat 'шесть / six' [мăт"(∂)] *nie* [amended from *nje*] 'женщина, $m\ddot{a}$ 'дом (чум) / house (tent)' Samojedinka / woman, Nenets $[M\mathfrak{A}"(\partial)]$ woman' [*He*] $nied\acute{e}$ 'жена / wife' [(L) N $\acute{n}\bar{e}d'a$] *mädunser* 'жертва / sacrifice' [cf. niema 'coн / sleep' [нема] мядонзэй 'подарок / present'] meärju 'книга (dokument) / book, *nienaj* 'деньги / money' [ненэй] document' [мярё 'бумага, письnienie 'cecтра / sister' [неня] мо / paper, letter'] nierme 'колодезь (пролубь) / well, mertsé 'ветер / wind' [мерия] source (ice-hole)' [нермя] mier 'paно / early' [мер"] niernjäna 'впереди / in front' [нерmierjodaa 'paна / wound' [мерё] miertjàu, miertjau 'скоро / soon' nievie 'мать / mother' [небя] [мертявна, (L) MB $m'\bar{e}rt'\bar{a}w$] *nim* 'имя / name' [ним' (= нюм')] miirileu 'раню / I wound' [мерёninikaa 'брат / brother' [нинека] ne(cb), (L) Sjo. $m\bar{\imath}ril'\bar{e}w$] nirtschäh 'бровь / eyebrow' [нирць'(н)] nisie 'отец / father' [нися] mingam, mingham 'иду / I go' [минзь] nitii 'нитка / thread' [Russ. нити 'threads', cf. (L) T $n\bar{\imath}tka$] minieu 'несу / I carry' [мине(сь)] niu manjéh 'ненавижу, не люблю / *minjui* 'иго, воз, бремя / burden, I hate' [нись мэне"] load' [минюй] mirňgham 'делаю / I make' [мирць] *nivie* 'игла / needle' [н \bar{u} бя] mohanie 'направо / to the right' nja [crossed out] 'брат / brother' [мӑханя'] $[H\mathcal{H}]$ moloko 'молоко / milk' [малака] njaarova 'медь / соррег' [нярава] månbiu 'бросаю, кидаю / I throw' njamt 'por / horn' [ням∂] njan-sii 'без / without' [(?) нянзя(сь) [момбă(cь)]ти 'сук, ветвь, веточка / branch' 'быть немым (без языка) / to be dumb (tongueless)', (?) няся(сь) [MO]muaanieu 'люблю / I love' [мэ-'быть одиноким (без товарищей) / to be alone (without He(Cb)] munch 'стрела / arrow' [муңг] companions)'] munuotsch 'борода / beard' [муnjar 'три / three' [няр" (= нях \breve{a} р")] *njarju* '30' [няр" ю" (= няхăр" ю")] ноць'(н)] njauko 'заяц / hare' [нява, (L) N *muunotáa* 'гром / thunder' [мунота] *ты* 'желудок / stomach' [*мы* '(*н*)] ńāwăkò] тыvon 'взять, брать / to take' $nj\ddot{a}$ 'рот / mouth' [Hя'(H)] [мэсь] njäbui 'утка / duck' [нябы] naarej 'весна / spring(time)' [нарэй] njägartambiu 'открываю / I open' namdorgam 'слышу / I hear' [нам-[няңгартамба(сь)] пjämiü 'язык / tongue' [нямю] дорць] nanзыi 'гнусный / vile, disgusting' njenets 'мужчина, Samojed / man, [cf. нанзхамзь 'стать отврати-Nenets man' [ненэць'(н)] тельным / to become disgustnjenii: see saasnjenii njera: see nunjera narirnga 'крик / cry' [нарырць 'криnjeuhana 'прежде / before' [cf. невчать / to shout'] хына]

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njoijad 'порог / doorstep' [нё' я∂]
                                       pimbeele 'полночь / midnight' [пим-
nju 'сын, дитя / son, child' [H\omega]
                                           беля (= nu' nеля)]
njudé 'малый / small' [нюдя]
                                       piriiwtä 'девица / girl' [пирибтя]
njuo 'дверь / door' [нё]
                                       pisingom 'смеюся / I laugh' [пи-
noidanghoo 'заколочу / I'll knock
                                           сянзь]
    up' [нуйдаӊго(сь)]
                                       piurnghau 'ищу / I look for' [пюрць]
noosäedå 'путь млечный / Milky
                                       på 'год / year' [no]
    Way' [cf. нув' пуд; possibly smth.
                                       pååga 'ceть / net' [понга]
   like нуво' сехэры 'the heavens'
                                       poghoj 'пыль, прах / dust' [погой
   road', etc. ]
                                           (= поңгэй) 'вихрь, ураган /
noosj 'стоять / to stand' [нусь]
                                           whirlwind, stormy wind'] | | cf.
num 'Бог / God' [нум']
                                           also hoghoj
питдны 'звезда / star' [нумгы]
                                       porog 'водопад / waterfall' [Russ.
nunjera 'небо / sky' [нув' н\bar{\jmath}pa]
                                           порог 'rapids']
ngilyi: see seädngilyi
                                       puäjeh 'лоб / forehead' [nэя]
padnafsj 'перо / pen' [паднабць'(н)]
                                       puduftaasj 'сеять / to sow' [пудаб-
padnasj 'писать / to write' [na\partial-
                                           Ta(cb)
                                       puedaraa 'les / forest' [nɨ∂apa] | |
   H\breve{a}(Cb)
рае 'камень / stone' [nэ] | cf. also
                                           cf. also pыadarjerv
                                       pujeh 'нос / nose' [пыя, cf. (L) Oks.
   siilartsempaj, tumboa
paeugdie 'темный / dark' [пэвдя]
                                           puje]
paidы 'щека / cheek' [пайды]
                                       pul 'мост / bridge' [nyл]
palkkaa 'говно / shit' [пăлка]
                                       punjäna 'позади / behind' [nӯняна]
                                       punrím 'верю / I believe' [пунрё(сь)]
paltana 'воин / warrior' [палытăна]
pamäje 'острый / sharp' [năмя"я]
                                       puulы 'колено / knee' [пулы]
pares 'свинья / swine' [парась'(н)]
                                       puuna 'после / after' [n\bar{y}\mu a]
paridie 'черный / black' [пари-
                                       рыadarjerv 'леший / forest demon'
   \partial e(cb)]
                                           [пэдара' ерв]
parvuoda 'король, царь / king, tsar'
                                       pыd\ddot{a} 'он / he' [nы\partial a]
   [napэ \mu o \partial a, (L) N p \bar{a} r w \bar{o} \delta a]
                                       рыder 'ты / thou' [пыдăр]
passы 'vagina' [(L) M pasį]
                                       pыdera, Dual: pыdari 'вы / you'
                                           [пыдăра" РІ, пыдăри' Du]
pausimä 'вечер / evening' [пэв-
   сюмзь, пэвсюмя завечерело /
                                       рыdå, Dual: рыdi 'они / they' [пы-
                                           до' Pl, пыди' Du]
   it grew dark']
                                       raak 'paκ / lobster' [Russ. paκ]
peele see jaalimbeele, pimbeele
pensiabt 'кора / bark' [пянзябт (=
                                       ssariu 'дождь / rain' [capë]
                                       saasnjenii 'гнев, 3 sg. praes. / is an-
   пя' сябт)]
perinschum [amended from perens-
                                           gry' [саць нена(сь) 'очень сер-
   jum] 'варю / I cook' [пирензё(сь)]
                                           диться / to be very angry']
                                       saedäw 'глина / clay' [cf. cэ∂ я, (L)
pertsiijé 'высота (adj.) / high' [пир-
                                           O s \dot{\ni} \delta t a B 'blauer Ton']
pi\ddot{a}\ddot{a} 'дерево / tree' [ns] | cf. also
                                       saev 'глаз / eye' [c 	extit{9} 	extit{6}] | cf. also
   pensiabt
                                           janseu
piävoj 'дрова / wood' [< nя]
                                       ssaidoram 'шью / I sew' [сэдорă(сь)]
piemä [amended from piebmä] 'трут
                                       sainorngha 'война, 3 pl. de kriga /
    / tinder' [ne"мя]
                                           they are at war' [сайнорць]
piensé 'источник, ручей / source,
                                       salbá 'лед / ice' [салаба]
   brook' [пензя]
                                       saliik 'пень / (tree-)stump' [салик]
                                       samliegh 'пять / five' [самляг (=
pii 'ночь / night' [nu]
                                           сăмляӊг)]
piissie 'мышь / mouse' [nūся]
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samlieghju '50' [сăмляг ю" (= сăмsoloma 'солома / straw' [Russ. сололянг ю")] мal sыré 'cнег / snow' [сыра, (L) Т sirè] sangavoaa 'тяжелый / heavy' [сăнговоць] $t\acute{a}a$ 'лето / summer' [Ta'(H)] sanraj 'град / hail' [санрэй] taales 'воровать / to steal' [Tane(cb)] taaljé 'пещера / cave' [тальбя] sarmigh 'волк / wolf' [сармик, (L) taambiu 'даю / I give' [тамбă(сь)] Oks. $s\bar{a}rmin_G$] sarmigako: see tiirta sarmigako taanovasj 'гнать / to drive' [танаsarniu 'яйцо / egg' [cap"ню] *б*ă(*сь*)] saumboj 'добрый, хороший / good' taarorsj 'kämpa, brottas / to wrestle' [савамбой] [тароць; тарорць in (L) Sjo. $t\bar{a}$ seädngilyi 'подгорье / foot of a hill' $r\bar{o}rka\acute{n}$ " 'lass uns ringen'] [сяд' ңылы] taasihej 'желтый / yellow' [тасехэй, ssej 'cepдце / heart' [ceй] (L) Sjo. tāśixăei] северъ 'север / North' [(ПТ) север] taaw 'песок / sand' [тăб] tabak 'ταδακ / tobacco' [ταδᾶκ] siabt 'цвет, färg / colour' [сябт 'лубок, древесная кора / bast, tree-bark'] || cf. also pensiabt talej 'вор / thief' [талей] *siatnjä* 'налево / to the left' [сятаня'] tanjä 'ecть / there is' [тăня(сь)] $ssj\ddot{a}$ 'лицо / face' $[c\mathfrak{q}"(\partial)] \mid \cdot \mid$ cf. also tanjäd 'оттуда / from there' [тăня∂] seädngilyi tansinee 'голубой (blå) / blue' [танssiäje 'гора / mountain' [ся"я (Augm. зине(сь)] to $c_{\mathcal{I}}(\partial)$ tarka: see aetarka, udendarka ssiäw 'чешуя / (fish-)scale' [сяв] tasijé 'низ / bottom' [тăсий] sidie 'два / two' [сидя] | cf. also $tasine\ddot{a}$ 'по, под, внизу / below, under' [тасина, cf. тасиня" 'вниз jurkasidié sidejagnä '12' [сидя йнгня] / down'] tenjäna 'вчера / yesterday' [теняна] sideijuu '20' [$cu \partial \pi \ \wp$ ''(∂)] sidim-anda 'окружность (кругом) / $ti\ddot{a}md\omega$ 'лягушка / frog' [τ ям $\partial\dot{\vartheta}$ "(∂)] circumference (around)' [$cu\partial g$ tjäunaa 'на, над, вверху / above, '2' + ...] over' [тя"вуна (= тю"ўна)] ssier 'coль / salt' [сэ́р"] tienievau 'знаю / I know' [тенеssiera 'cepa / sulphur' [cepa 'спич*в*ă(сь)] tiet 'четыре / four' [тет] ка' / matches'] ssierkåå 'белый / white' [сэрако, tietschii 'холодно / it's cold' [те-(L) M $s\bar{e}rko$] sjienuo 'туман / fog' [синё] tiev 'гвоздь / nail' [теб] siilartsempaj 'opyc / whetstone' [cutiir 'облако / cloud' [тир] лариямбэ (= силария' пэ)] tiirte sarmigako 'птица, flygande siisjuo 'пена / foam' [cucë] fogel / bird' [тиртя сармик] siivits 'легкий / light, not heavy' tijadowsj 'распря / quarrel' [тэ́добц] tionä 'отсюда / from here' [тёня] [сибиць] *simdiet* 'восемь / eight' [сидндет] tjukii 'этот, эти / this, these' [тюку, $sindm\ddot{a}$ 'кровля / roof' [$cun\partial$ "мa] (L) O *t'ukj*] ssio 'горло / throat' [cë] tiukuod 'лисица / fox' [тюкод (= sirej 'зима / winter' [сырей] Tюкоход)siu 'ceмь / seven' [cus (= cu"йs)] tjukújālé 'сегодня / today' [тюку sjurbim 'δεγγ / I run' [cωρδα(cω)] яля"] soiljå 'пруд (read *npyт*!) / switch, tjumiu 'очаг / hearth' [тюмю] twig' [coënë] tivie 'зуб / tooth' [тибя]

tå 'озеро / lake' [то]

tålgåsj 'читать / to read' [толаң-го(сь)]

to 'огонь / fire' $[\tau y]$ $| \cdot |$ cf. also chahnduu, $tujes\acute{e}k$

tobiova 'кожа / skin' [тобъёва]

tontombiu 'покрываю / I cover' [$Ton-\partial a \delta \breve{a}(cb)$]

tujesék 'огниво / steel (for kindling fire)' [cf. ту еся]

tumboa 'кремень / flint' [*тумбэ* (= *ту*' *n*э)]

tupk'a 'топор / axe' [$Tyб\kappa a$]

tыä 'олень / reindeer' [ты, (L) U U-Ts. Sjo. tie]

tыjeek 'узкий / narrow' [тыяк]

tыössak 'капля / drop' [cf. *тэс*] vaagh 'гроб, могила / tomb, grave'

[ваңг]

waanå 'корень / root' [вано]

vaato 'граница / border' [вато 'срок, расстояние / term, distance']

vaesъ̀i 'муж / husband' [вэсу"(с), (L) Sjo. wèsį̇́w 'mein Mann']

vaivukoje 'худой [плохой] / bad' [вэвако"я]

vuebaa 'лист / leaf' [вэ́ба] vuineko 'собака / dog' [вэ́неко] wuj 'болото / marsh' [вы'(н) 'тундpa / tundra']

зараd 'запад / West' [запа∂]

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ЕВГЕНИЙ ХЕЛИМСКИЙ (Гамбург)

О НЕНЕЦКОМ ГЛОССАРИИ (МЕЗЕНСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ) И ДРУГИХ ЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКИХ МАТЕРИАЛАХ ИЗ АРХИВА А. Й. ШЁГРЕНА

В статье исследованы содержание и происхождение двух рукописей из фонда Андерса Йохана (Андрея Михайловича) Шёгрена в Архиве Академии наук (Санкт-Петербург). Выясняется, что — в отличие от большинства других рукописей этого собрания — они отражают полевую работу самого А. Й. Шёгрена с носителями ливвиковского карельского, вепсского («людиковского»), саамского (пяти диалектов, включая ныне исчезнувшие диалекты Сомпио и Куолаярви), ненецкого и коми языков.

Если материал саамских глоссариев А. Й. Шёгрена хорошо известен в лаппологии (хотя заслуга их составления ошибочно приписывается пастору Якобу Фельману), ранее не публиковавшийся ненецкий глоссарий 1826 г. (мезенский диалект) служит свидетельством того, что А. Й. Шёгрен внес и непосредственный (а не только через своего великого протеже М. А. Кастрена) вклад в самоедологию, и одновременно важным ранним источником данных о западном диалекте тундрового ненецкого языка. Статья включает упорядоченный по алфавиту список ненецких слов из этого глоссария (с соответствиями из более поздних ненецких словарей).