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THE FIRST PERIOD OF MORDVIN LEXICOGRAPHY:
17–18th CENTURY GLOSSARIES AND DICTIONARIES

Abstract. The present essay overviews the first period of Mordvin lexicography, from Witsen's 1692 Dutch-Mordvin glossary containing 324 words to bishop Damaskin's 1785 dictionary containing 11,000 entries. The texts of the studied period include writings that had been prepared as background material for Pallas' and Müller's dictionaries. There are (bi- or multilingual) word lists of only a couple of hundred words and also considerable glossaries containing a few thousand entries. Some of the 18th-century Mordvin glossaries are available only in manuscript form. Here, the material found by Feoktistov in various archives of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nižnij Novgorod and other cities is discussed in a coherent chronological order, sometimes complemented with orthographic analysis. Issues of Mordvin neologistic tendencies are treated with special attention, i.e. novel words appearing chiefly in the dictionary of Damaskin (and his colleagues) are described with particular care.

Keywords: Mordvin, Erzya, Moksha, lexicography, glossaries, dictionaries.

The Russian Empire was expanding further and further to the south and the east in the 17–18th centuries, which called forth a great demand for the scientific exploration of the country. Expeditions organized by the educated tsars, Peter I and Catherine II – with effective support from the part of the academy that was founded in 1725 – completed the geographic-topographic description of the empire, worked up a systematic taxonomy of the flora and the fauna, and at the same time, collected a substantial body of ethnographic and linguistic data about the yet unknown peoples of the eastern regions, for example the Mordvins. The first travellers and explorers reported not only about the living conditions, religion or customs of the peoples in the Russian Empire, but also about their languages: the first glossaries and shorter or longer texts in these languages were produced at that time (longer written records in Mordvin are not treated in this paper; for an overview of those, see Maticsák 2011 : 135–140).

Mordvin written records have not been much treated by linguists to the present: the only person describing these texts in a monographic manner is the renowned Moksha linguist, Aleksandr Pavlovich Feoktistov (Феоктистов 1968a; 1971; 1976); it was also him who wrote essays about this topic (Феоктистов 1963; 1968b; Feoktistov 1971–1972; 1975a) and introductions to handbooks (1966 : 177, 199; 1975b : 262–265; 1980 : 5–8). He was the only one being able to study the original contemporary records. Other linguists who were not Mordvin themselves mention this period of linguistic history only briefly (Bartens 1999 : 23–24; Keresztes 1987 : 15–20; 1990 : 9–10; Raun 1988 : 97).

The present essay overviews the first period of Mordvin lexicography, from Witsen's 1692 Dutch-Mordvin glossary containing 324 words to bishop Damaskin's

1785 dictionary containing 11,000 entries. The texts of the studied period include writings that had been prepared as background material for Pallas' and Müller's dictionaries. There are (bi- or multilingual) word lists of only a couple of hundred words and also considerable glossaries containing a few thousand entries. Some of the 18th century Mordvin glossaries are available only in manuscripts.

Here, the material found by Feoktistov in various archives of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod and other cities is discussed in a coherent chronological order, sometimes complemented with orthographic analysis as well. Issues of Mordvin neologistic tendencies are treated with special attention — novel words appearing chiefly in the dictionary of Damaskin (and his colleagues) are described with particular care.

1. A Dutch scholar, Nicolaes Witsen (1641—1717) did pioneering work in the field of Mordvin lexicography. As a research fellow of the Dutch Embassy, he collected ethnographic and linguistic information about the peoples of the Russian Empire of that time with the help of several correspondents between 1664 and 1667. Furthermore, the first authentic West-European map of Siberia was also drawn by him. After his return to the Netherlands, he went into politics (he also became the major of Amsterdam); but the unpublished book remained in his thoughts, and after 25 years (!), he had the opportunity to publish the masterwork that had been expanded with further and newer data by that time. The book came out under the title "Noord en oost Tartarye", in Dutch (Amsterdam 1692). Two more editions were published in 1705 and 1785, and it also came out in French, English and Italian in the meantime (Bartens 1978 : 414—416; Zsirai 1994 : 483—488).

The first part of the two-volume book describes the older sources, while the second volume provides the reader with novel information about the people of the Russian Empire, from the Black and Caspian Sea, across the Volga Area, to Siberia and the Pacific coastline. The latter volume discusses the Mordvins as well. In addition to the description of their customs and way of life, linguistic information is also provided about the people (it is known that one of the informants was the Mordvin Nikon): Witsen established well ahead of his time that the Mordvin and the Cheremis people are linguistically related (and he compared this relatedness to that of the Low and High German people).

For our present purposes, the Dutch-Mordvin glossary containing 324 entries is the most important part of the book (which is to be found at pp. 624—627). There are several compound words and also a few syntactic phrases in this word list, some elements of which appearing more than once. The glossary contains 312 independent lexemes altogether.

In compliance with the conventions of the time, the items of Witsen's glossary are classified into thematic groups instead of being arranged into alphabetical order. The main groups are the following (in Witsen's original order): religious concepts, natural phenomena, plant names, weapons, people, parts of the body, social environment, clothing, animal names, food, drink, parts of the day, seasons, cardinal directions, verbs, adjectives, numerals.

Witsen provides the Mordvin data in Roman letters, using spelling rules consistent with Dutch (German) orthography. His data comes from Moksha territory, and consequently, without being aware of the fact, he chose the more difficult option, the Erzya dialect being more simple and transparent both phonetically and orthographically. There are quite a few spelling mistakes in the glossary accordingly. For example, he fails to spell the word *niŕe* 'four' correctly, writing *sile* 'four', *kemkilia* 'fourteen', and *pilesiade* 'four hundred' instead. Some further misspellings: *cras* 'hour' (instead of *čas*), *kensk* 'door' (*kenkš*), *kiel* 'stone' (*kev*), *makta* 'liver' (*maksa*), *pche* 'bread' (*kši*), *tulda* 'spring' (*tunda*). Due to the unsettled spelling rules, some words occur in several different forms, e.g. *jomla*, *jolam*, *jomlj*, *jomlu* 'small, little'; *kize*, *kise*, *kiase*, *kysa* 'summer; year'; *oczu*, *ocuz*, *ozu* 'big'; *para*, *paro*, *paza* 'good'.

As regards the spelling of consonants, sibilants and affricates cause the most difficulty to Witsen, but he also has problems transliterating [k]. He uses the graphemes *z* (*ozu* 'big' ~ present-day form: *oću*), *cz* (*oczuz*), *tz* (*loftze* 'milk' ~ *lofcä*), *ts* (*kutskan* 'falcon' ~ *kućkan*) for the transcription of [c]; *ts* (*krents* 'crow' ~ *krañč*) and *sz* (*usza* 'sheep' ~ *uča*) for the transcription of [č]. The sound [š] may be transcribed with either *sch* (*schy* 'day' ~ *ši*), *sh* (*shej* 'marsh' ~ *šäj*), *s* (*sobda* 'dark' ~ *šobda*) or *ch* (*pche* 'bread' ~ *kši*). The sound [k] is represented by the letters *c* (*caldas* 'yard' ~ *kaldas*) and *ck* (*otiacks* 'rooster' ~ *atakš*).

The voiced—voiceless correlation, being present in Witsen's mother tongue as well, is usually observed; but the palatal correlation, as a foreign concept to him, is rarely indicated, cf. *id* 'child' (*id'*), *ili* 'bough' (*il'i*), *mar* 'apple' (*mar'*), *menel* 'heaven' (*meñal'*), *seks* 'autumn' (*šokš*), *stir* 'girl' (*št'ir*) — but: *nudje* 'bamboo-cane' (*ñud'i*), *sudja* 'judge' (*sudjä*), *siade* 'a hundred' (*šada*).

As far as vowels are concerned, the transcription of reduced vowels is the most problematic issue — Witsen transcribes these with letters that otherwise represent full vowels, eg. *iondal* 'lightning' (*jondal*), *colmagemen* 'thirty' (*kolmagemän*), *azir* 'lord' (*azər*) etc.

Witsen's glossary, as stated above, contains Moksha material. Several factors prove this fact. The Erzya dialect has no reduced vowels, while the Moksha dialect does, cf. W[itsen] *colma* 'three' ~ M *kolmā*, E *kolmo*; W *kafta* 'two' ~ M *kaftā*, E *kavto*; W *kota* 'six' ~ M *koṭā*, E *koto*; W *panda* 'hill, mountain' ~ M *pandā*, E *pando*; W *azir* 'lord' ~ M *azər*, E *azor*; W *narman* 'sparrow' ~ M *narmāñ*, E *narmuñ* (although the uncertainty of spelling in this period does not make it decisive evidence, the word-final *-a* also supports our case, since Erzya forms would have probably been transcribed with *-o* or *-e*). Another argument for the Moksha dialect is the word-initial M *š-* ~ E *č-* correlation (cf. Keresztes 1988): W *scher* 'hair' ~ M *šär*, E *čer*; W *schuan* 'short' ~ M *šuvanä*, E *čoviñe*; W *schy* 'day' ~ M *ši*, E *či*; W *shufta* 'tree' ~ M *švṭā*, E *čvṭo*.

The most convincing evidence is provided by the words that seem to exist only in Moksha and have no Erzya equivalents, e.g. W *ilet* 'evening' ~ M *il'at*, E *čokšnie*; W *jomla* 'small, little' ~ M *jom(b)la*, E *viška*; W *kaschmarasch* 'lynx' ~ M *kašmərə š*, E *viřkatka*; W *kelas* 'fox' ~ M *kelaš*, E *řiveš*; W *ozu* 'big' ~ M *oću*, E *üñe*; W *schumbas* 'rabbit' ~ M *šumbas*, E *numolo*; W *trax* 'cow' ~ M *traks*, E *skal*; W *vidreu* 'bat' ~ M *vändřav*, E *kedñemilav*.

Three-quarters of Witsen's glossary is made up of ancient words (which is not surprising, since the list comprises the categories of basic vocabulary mostly). Some examples: *kala* 'fish' (*kal* in present-day Moksha), *tol* 'fire' (*tol*), *ved* 'water' (*ved*) — Uralic; *kud* 'room' (*kud*), *menel* 'heaven' (*meñal*), *seks* 'autumn' (*šokš*) — Finno-Ugric; *psy* 'hot' (*pši*), *sisem* 'seven' (*šisəm*), *ure* 'servant; slave' (*urä*) — Finno-Permic; *moda* 'earth' (*moda*), *shufta* 'tree' (*šuftā*), *unx* 'root' (*onks*) — Finno-Volgaic words. The material also contains some internally formed (derived or compounded) expressions, e.g. *janx* 'rice' (present-day Moksha form: *jamks* < *jam* 'porridge, cornmeal mush'), *surkx* 'ring' (*surks* < *sur* 'finger'), and *ineved* 'sea' (*iñved*) < 'big' + 'water'; *iondal* 'lightning' (*jondal*) < 'side' + 'fire'; *odsora* 'young man' (*odčora*) < 'young' + 'lad'.

The word list, as a matter of course, contains loan words as well. The earliest loans are the Baltic and Iranian elements: *pejel* 'knife' (present-day Moksha form: *pejäl*); *stir* 'girl' (*št'ir*), and also *virgas* 'wolf' (*vřřgas*). About a dozen of Tatar/Chuvash words are to be found in the list, e.g. *pakse* 'meadow' (*paksä*), *suman* 'coat' (*sumāñ*), *tarat* 'bough' (*tarat*). The largest group of loan words is that of the Russian ones, of course. According to my calculations, more than 10% of the words come from Russian (this data shows how great the Russian influence was as early as the end of the 17th century). Animal names constitute the largest semantic group, but words connected to military life and tactics are also great in number. Some examples: *buka* 'bull' < *бык*, *sevřug* 'sturgeon' < *севрюга*, *slan* 'elephant' < *слон*, *sokol* 'falcon' <

сокол, *verblud* 'camel' < *верблюд*; *palas* 'broadsword' < *палаш*, *oczū puska* 'big gun = cannon' < *пушка*, *spada* 'sword' < *унага*; *chram* 'church' < *храм*, *grus* 'pear' < *груша*, *piva* 'beer' < *нуво*, *sater* 'tent' < *шатѣр*, *val* 'dam' < *вал*, *vina* '(fruit) brandy' < *вино* etc.

Witsen's list was published in German by Tibor Mikola in 1975 (the Mordvin section is to be found on pp. 15–25). For a more detailed analysis of the glossary, see Феоктистов 1963 : 3–11; 1968b : 107–108; 1971 : 13; 1976 : 10–15; Maticsák 2011 : 118–120; 2012 : 39–56.

2. The renowned German doctor and scientist, Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735) fulfilling Peter the Great's request, organized an expedition to Siberia between 1720 and 1727; he collected invaluable material mostly from the Tobolsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk areas. Apart from mapping the fauna of the area and systematizing the avifauna especially, he also enriched the scientific knowledge of the time with other kinds of findings. Besides the realm of nature, he was interested in people as well, and collected ethnographic data about the traditions, religious beliefs, working conditions, clothing etc. of Siberian peoples. He recorded his experience in a journal that was published in Berlin only 250 years later, between 1962 and 1977, titled "Forschungsreise durch Sibirien".

Messerschmidt collected linguistic data as well, which was summarized in his manuscript titled "Specimen der Zahlen und Sprache Einiger Orientalischen und Siberischen Völker". In addition to Hungarian, Finnish, Zyrian, Votyak, Vogul and Ostyak data, we can also find Mordvin words in this (that he collected either in Nizhny Novgorod or Kazan at the beginning of his expedition, in 1719). He recorded the numerals from one to ten; he used Roman letters, and the transcription was obviously motivated by the German language. As the data is very limited, the dialect of origin cannot be defined. Some of the words show Erzya features, cf. *wāxe* 'one' (present-day E *vejke*, M *fkü*), *kaluška* [a probable misspelling] 'eight' (E *kavkso*, M *kafksa*); some of them rather look Moksha, cf. *kaffta* 'two' (E *kavto*, M *kaftä*), *kolma* 'three' (E *kolmo*, M *kolma*), *kuta* 'six' (E *koto*, M *kota*), while some bear with no dialectal features, cf. *wite* 'five' (E *vetē*, M *vetä*), *ssisim* 'seven' (E *šisem*, M *šisəm*), *kaime* 'ten' (E *kemeñ*, M *kemäñ*) (Феоктистов 1971 : 14–15; 1976 : 15–16).

3. The Battle of Poltava (1709) was a decisive battle of the Great Northern War (1700–1720), which caused the decline of Sweden as a leading nation, but enriched (the later) Finno-Ugric linguistic studies considerably. One of the many Swedish prisoners of war, Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (originally Tabbert, 1676–1747) was taken to Tobolsk, and lived there from 1711 to 1721. During this period, he collected an enormous amount of historical, geographical, ethnographical and linguistic data about the peoples of East-Russia that he published in German in Stockholm after his return home in 1730. The title was "Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia" (and it was also published in English in 1736, in French in 1757 and in Spanish in 1780). In his book, Strahlenberg describes the peoples he calls "boreo-orientalis". He classifies the languages and peoples studied into six groups. The first group contains the Finnish, Hungarian, Vogul, Ostyak, Mordvin, Mari, Zyrian and Votyak languages, while the third comprises the Samoyedic "language classes" (for details, see Munkácsi 1882 : 289–292; Setälä 1892 : 257–259; Zsirai 1994 : 484–490).

Strahlenberg does not follow the Leibnizian principle that lays the main emphasis on translations of the Lord's Prayer, but collects elements of the basic vocabulary instead (numerals, parts of the body etc.), being in the opinion that pagan people are, obviously, incapable of naming Christian concepts. His collection of data is titled "Tabula Polyglotta or Harmonia linguarum gentium boreo-orientalium vulgo tatarorum", and 60 words are described in it in 32 languages. This word-collection contains several misspellings, so it is to be treated with reservations. The Mordvin data is wanting, as only 28 words are included in it (while only 16 Vogul and Ostyak, 17 Chuvash

and 20 Votyak words). The reason for this is probably that he lost one of his notebooks on his way from Tobolsk to Moscow. The dialectal affiliation of the words cannot be concluded surely from this little information, but Feoktistov takes them to come from an Erzya dialect that used the sound *ä*.

Part of the Mordvin words is numerals from one to ten, and the rest is words for parts of the body and other basic notions. The spelling of these lexemes is not punctual and shows the influence of German orthography. The numerals (*wäte, kaffta, kollma, nille, wytzs, kuta, zšifim, kauksim, weixim, kaime*) are only slightly reminiscent of the (present-day) standard forms (*vejke, kavto, kolmo, ñile, vetë, koto, šíšem, kavkso, vejkse, kemeñ*), and the rest of the examples is similarly incorrect: *PELLI* 'foot' (present-day form: *pił'ge*), *PIILLS* 'ear' (*pił'e*), *KATTI* 'hand' (*ked*), *PRETZIER* 'hair' (*práčeř*). Palatalization is not marked in any way: *LOMAN* 'person' (present-day form: *lomañ*), *NILLE* 'four' (*ñile*), *SILMS* 'eye' (present-day form: *šelme*) etc. (ФЕОКТИСТОВ 1963 : 11–12; 1971 : 13–14; 1976 : 16–18).

4. At the beginning of the 18th century, more and more information was published about the peoples of the Russian Empire, covering a vast area of land by that time. An increasing number of researchers managed to travel to distant, exotic corners of the empire. The so-called Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733–43) was of importance for Finno-Ugric studies as well (the expedition, similarly to the first one between 1725 and 1728, was led by the Danish Vitus Bering, who the narrows between Russia and Alaska were named after). The explorers reached as far as America, but what is more important from our perspective is that one of the inland divisions of the expedition collected information from peoples of the Volga Area and Siberia, proceeding from Kazan to Siberia. Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783) was a member of this division between 1733 and 1738. He arrived in Kazan in the autumn of 1733, and owing to the excellent organization of the local regency, he was able to collect a considerable amount of linguistic and ethnographic data from the Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples of the area. This material was put into book form in 1743, but was published in print only in 1791, with the title "Описания живущих в Казанской губернии языческих народов".

The second part of the book is an eight-language dictionary written in Cyrillic letters, taking up two pages in an eight-column format. The dictionary contains Russian, Tatar, Cheremis, Chuvash, Votyak, Komi-Permyak, Komi-Zyrian and Mordvin entries. Because of being ill, Müller returned to St. Petersburg in 1738. He summarized the results of his expedition in a work of large volume, titled "Sammlung Russischer Geschichte", thus bringing his name into repute as a historian.

The Mordvin data of Müller's dictionary contains 313 words — Erzya expressions for the most part, from a dialect that used the sound *ŋ*, cf. *килингъ* 'birch(tree)' (present-day standard Erzya: *килей*, dialectal *киленг*), *тенгзера* 'wheat' (*товзюро, тонгзюро*) (ФЕОКТИСТОВ 1963 : 12–22; 1971 : 16–17; 1976 : 85–88).

After taking a closer look at the word list, the following remarks can be made on its orthography. Mordvin words are recorded in Cyrillic letters, according to the principles of Russian orthography: the hard sign is used in Mordvin as well, e.g. *атякиъ* 'rooster' (present-day form: *атяки*), *ярмакъ* 'money' (*ярмак*), *венчъ* 'boat' (*венч*), even after palatalized consonants: *ломанъ* 'person' (present-day form: *ломань*), *тейтеръ* 'girl' (*тейтерь*). Sometimes, the Russian letter *ѣ* is also used in Mordvin: *пакзѣ* 'meadow' (*пакся*), *понедѣльникъ* 'Monday'. Müller makes efforts to indicate palatalization in a word-initial position, even after the so-called unmatched consonants, adding a soft sign or an letter *i*: *вьедъ* 'water' (present-day form: *ведь*), *вьете* 'five' (*вете*), *къевъ* 'stone' (*кев*), *пъенге* '(fire)log' (*пенге*), *сьедей* 'heart' (*седей*); *киель* 'tongue' (*кель*), *пиль* 'cloud' (*пель*) — although this is missing sometimes: *пиле* 'ear' (*пиле*), *пильге* 'foot' (*пильге*), or is transformed into a hard sign: *сье* 'silver' (*сия*). Word-initial palatalization is marked with consonant duplication: *ссьельме* 'eye' (*сельме*), *ссизимъ* 'seven' (*сисем*), *ссьяда* 'a hundred' (*сядо*).

As far as the range of vocabulary is concerned, the topics are diversified: natural phenomena, natural features of land, parts of the day, days of the week, metals, minerals, names for people, kinship terms, parts of the body, pieces of clothing, household utensils, furniture, animal names, plant names; some verbs (infinitive and first person singular forms, and one or two conjugations in present indicative), some adjectives, and finally, the numerals from one to twenty, and also the round numbers to one million. There are relatively few Russian loans in this material.

5. Müller's enterprise was continued by Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697–1771), who published the results of his collecting activity between 1739 and 1747 in a volume describing the Finno-Ugric peoples, titled "Sibirische Geschichte" (St. Petersburg 1768; in Russian, 1774). In this book, 25 Mordvin words can be found among the lexemes of other Finno-Ugric peoples (on pp. 163 and 165). Schlözer published Fischer's collection of articles in Göttingen in 1770, with the title "Quaestiones Petropolitanae" (for a more detailed account on Fischer's work, see Munkácsi 1882 : 292–296; Zsirai 1994 : 492–494). In the chapter titled "Tabula harmonica linguae Ungricae cum ceteris linguis Scythicis" of the first part titled "De origine Ungrorum", he included the glossaries of eight languages and dialects (pp. 25–27; Ungrica, Vogulica, Kondinica, Fennica, Syrānica, Permica, Votica, Tscheremissica, Mordvanica). This contains 23 Mordvin expressions.

There are 38 Mordvin lexemes in the two books together (the overlapping elements are not counted). The range of topics covers basic vocabulary (numerals, parts of the body, natural phenomena, and some animal and plant names).

The material comprises words from both of the Mordvin dialects, but Erzya features are more dominant on the whole: *katka* 'cat' (present-day E *katka*, M *kata*), *matsen* 'goose' (E *maćej*, M *maći*), *pjel* 'cloud' (E *pel*, M *kovəl*), *juda* 'nose' (E *sudo*, M *šalka*), *weigke* 'one' (E *vejke*, M *fkä*). On the other hand, the *hafta* 'two' (M *kaftə*, E *kavto*), *schufta* 'tree' (M *šuftə*, E *čvoto*), and *toschen* 'a thousand' (M *tóžän*, E *tóža*) expressions seem to be Moksha. The *kolma* 'three' (M *kolma*, E *kolmo*), *kota* 'six' (M *kota*, E *koto*), *ssjāda* 'a hundred' (M *šada*, E *šado*), and *wei.xa* 'nine' (M *vejksa*, E *vejkse*) lexemes most probably point to the retention of the word-final reduced vowel in Moksha.

As far as the transcription of the words is concerned, the letters *e* and *ä* are both used by the author: *pjel* 'cloud' (present-day: *pel*), *wjete* 'five' (*veté*), but: *ssielmä* 'eye' (*šelme*), *kjäu* 'stone' (*kev*). The sound combination *ks* is represented by the letter *x*: *kau.xa* 'eight' (*kavkso*), *wei.xa* 'nine' (*vejkse*). Fischer already makes efforts to mark word-initial palatalization: *kied* 'hand' (*ked*), *kjel* 'tongue' (*kel*), *kjäu*, *pjel*, *šjāda*, *ssielmä*, *wjete*; however, word-internal and word-final palatalization is not represented in any way: *kied* (*ked*), *kjel* (*kel*), *kümen* (*kemeñ*), *peel* 'knife' (*pejel*), *pjel* (*pel*). The use of *sch* (*ischim* 'camel', *schufta* 'tree', *toschen* 'a thousand'), and *w* (*piwo* 'beer', *wai* 'butter', *wei* 'night', *weigke* 'one', *wei.xa* 'nine', *wjete* 'five') is peculiar to the German way of phonetic coding (Феокистов 1963 : 22–23; 1971 : 17–18; 1976 : 19–21).

6. Fischer's manuscript dictionary, the "Vocabularium Sibricum" (1747),¹ contains vocabulary from more than 50 languages and dialects — circa 300 words per language; there are more than twelve thousand words to be found in it altogether. The headwords are in Latin and several of the Uralic languages occur in it: Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, Mordvin, Cheremis, Komi-Zyrian and Komi-Permyak, Votyak, Vogul, Ostyak, Yurak (more than one dialect of the latter three), Selkup and Kamassian (then still extant). Fischer, continuing Müller's work, inherited a detailed guide from his predecessors concerning not only the ethnographic field-work itself, but also the structural principles (and the Latin entries). For Schlözer's request, Fischer

¹ The etymological data of this was published by János Gulya in 1995: *Vocabularium Sibricum (1747)*. Der etymologisch-vergleichende Anteil. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von János Gulya, Frankfurt am Main — Berlin — Bern — New York — Paris — Wien 1995 (Opuscula Fennou-Ugrica Gottingensia VII).

handed over the material of the dictionary to the University of Göttingen. This manuscript then, became one of the sources for Schlözer's linguistic writings (For a detailed account on the dictionary, see Gulya 1983; Zaicz 1997).

The Mordvin data of the dictionary, transcribed in Roman letters, comprises 277 items — mostly Erzya forms. Fischer published this material in compliance with the rules of German orthography. He uses *w* for the transcription of *v*, e.g. *wälä* 'village' (present-day: *vele*), *walma* 'window' (*val'ma*), *wir* 'forest' (*vir*), *piwo* 'beer' (*pivo*); *sch* for *š*, and *tsch* for *č*, e.g. *asch* 'white' (*ašo*), *osch* 'town' (*oš*), *schtatol* 'candle' (*štatalol*), *toschen* 'a thousand' (M *tóžän*); *tschar* 'mouse' (*čejer*), *pitscha* 'pine' (*piče*), *tetscha* 'today' (*téči*). The sound combination *ks* is marked with the letter *x*: *jonx* 'bow' (*jonks*), *kauxa* 'eight' (*kavksa*), *surx* 'ring' (*surks*).

Fischer is not consistent in his transcription of palatalization. He only marks it in a word-initial position, usually with the letters *i* or *j*, or — similarly to Müller — with the duplication of the word-initial *s*, e.g. *siärda* 'deer' (*šardo*), *wied* 'water' (*ved*); *kjäu* 'stone' (*kev*), *kjel* 'tongue' (*kel*), *kjeme* 'boots' (*keme*), *tjeschtsche* 'star' (*tešte*, *tešče*), *wjete* 'five' (*veče*) (the present-day orthography does not mark palatalization after the so-called "unmatched" consonants); *ssielmä* 'eye' (*šil'me*), *ssisim* 'seven' (*šisem*), *ssjäda* 'a hundred' (*šado*), *ssjedei* 'heart' (*šedej*). Word-internal and word-final palatalization remains unmarked, e.g. *menil* 'heaven' (*meinel*), *pilä* 'ear' (*pile*), *wälä* 'village' (*vele*).

Fischer's material predominantly comes from an Erzya dialect — one that uses the sound *ŋ*, just as Müller's — cf. e.g. *kiling* 'birch(tree)' (present-day standard *kil'ej*), *tongsöra* 'wheat' (*tovšuro*). Besides Erzya forms, some Moksha-like lexemes also occur: *loftza* 'milk' (M *lofca*, E *lovso*), *schufta* 'tree' (M *šufta*, E *čuvto*). The word-final *-a* also indicates Moksha a character, as Fischer probably intends to mark the reduced vowel with it: e.g. *káfta* 'two' (M *kafta*, E *kavto*), *kólma* 'three' (M *kolma*, E *kolmo*), *kóta* 'six' (M *kota*, E *koto*), *óufta* 'bear' (M *ofta*, E *ovto*), *pitscha* 'pine' (M *piča*, E *piče*), *wálda* 'light' (M *valda*, E *valdo*), *weixa* 'nine' (M *vejksa*, E *vejkse*) (Феокистов 1968a : 86–88).

7. Scientific expeditions continued Russia-wide under the reign of the enlightened sovereign, Catherine II as well. Becoming fully aware of the real values of the empire through a charting of the Volga Area, the Ural, the far-off North and the Caucasus Region was an important objective of the St. Petersburg Academy between 1768 and 1774. Besides obtaining rich geographical and natural scientific information, these expeditions also gathered invaluable data in the field of ethnography, history and linguistics. One of the prominent personalities conducting the collecting field-work was P e t e r S i m o n P a l l a s (1741–1811) from Berlin, who was primarily a natural scientist and zoologist, but did significant work in the field of Finno-Ugric linguistics as well. He was the leader of the so-called Orenburg expedition and carried out his research in the Volga Area. The book titled "Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs" (1771–1776; "Путешествие по разным провинциям Российской империи" in Russian, 1773–1788) summarizes the field trips taken in the vicinity of Simbirsk, Orenburg, the Southern Urals, Southern Siberia and Lake Baikal. Pallas visited several of the Mordvin settlements, for example the present capital Saransk, and also Erzya and Moksha villages of the Penza and Simbirsk provinces. He collected 22 Mordvin words and expressions during the journey (Феокистов 1963 : 31–33; 1971 : 19–22; 1976 : 43–50).

A remarkable result of Pallas' linguistic work is his "Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa. Сравнительные словари всех языков и наречий" (1786–1787) that he compiled fulfilling Catherine the Great's request. This contains expressions for 285 concepts in 200 languages (51 European and 149 Asian ones). The main topics are: names for people, kinship terms, parts of the body, abstract notions (e.g. love, strength, work, soul), natural phenomena (wind, rain, fire), parts of the day, fundamental concepts of geography (river, mountain, valley), plant names,

animal names, colours, adjectives (good, bad, fast, quiet), basic verbs (to be, to eat, to drink, to sleep, to take, to love), pronouns, adverbs (here, now, without) and numerals.

Among the two hundred languages, there are several of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages as well: Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, Karelian (with dialects), Zyrian, Votyak, Cheremis, Vogul and Ostyak (with dialects), and Mordvin of course. Or to be more exact, the two Mordvins; since Mordvin appears as the 61st of the languages, while the Moksha dialect is the 62nd language of the book, which means that the Erzya dialect is considered to be the Mordvin language here. Only a few of the Mordvin forms of the two hundred concepts are missing, e.g. 'earth', 'sand' (Erzya), 'sea', 'strength' (Moksha); and it is somewhat strange that he was able to find the equivalents of only 'summer' of the four seasons.

Pallas transcribes the Mordvin data in Cyrillic letters and in compliance with the Russian orthographic principles. The use of the hard and soft letters is partly consistent, i.e. he uses the soft sign after palatal word endings (*вирь* 'forest', *минь* 'we'), the hard sign after non-palatal word endings (*сазорь²* 'sister', present-day *сазор*; *сурть* 'fingers', present-day *сурт*). He even indicates word-internal palatalization: *сяльме* 'eye', *гулька* 'pigeon'. However, there are some inconsistencies: *техтерь* 'girl' (present-day: *тейтерь*), *ломань* 'person' (*ломань*), or *толь* 'fire' (*тол*), *карксь* 'belt' (*каркс*), *мастьерь* 'earth' (*мастор*). The soft letters is also used after the infinitive: *симемсь* 'to drink' (ma: *симемс*), *сокамсь* 'to plough' (*сокамс*) etc. Pallas uses the ` according to the Russian orthographical conventions of the time: *лъмь* 'name' (*лем*), *тешть* 'star' (*теште*), *иѣ* 'year' (*ие*).

The data is probable to come from, among others, an Erzya dialect that used the sound *ä*, which is represented by the Russian letter *я* in Pallas' work: *вя* 'night' (present-day standard: *ве*), *кявь* 'stone' (*кев*), *пяй* 'tooth' (*пей*), *мирдя* 'man' (*мирде*), cf. also *Е кедь*, *М кядь* 'hand' (present-day form: *Е кедь*, *М кядь*) — *Е кядь*, *М кедь* 'skin' (present-day form: *Е М кедь*). The word-initial Erzya *ч* is regularly represented by *ш-* in Moksha (e.g. *Е чи*, *М ши* 'day'), but Pallas sometimes reverses this correlation: *Е шома*, *М чама* 'face' (present-day *Е чама*, *М шама*). All these show that the material of the dictionary comes from several different dialects. A number of compound words are also included in the book, which are consistently spelt as one word: *покишварма* 'storm' ('big' + 'wind'), *чувтокаядь* 'bark' ('wood' + 'skin'), *сельметурва* 'eye lid' ('eye' + 'lip').

As far as inflectional morphology is concerned, nouns are sometimes in the plural (*сурть* 'fingers', *лопать* 'leaves'), sometimes appear with a possessive personal suffix (*низа* 'his wife', *М аваць* 'his wife; his mother'), and sometimes in the vocative (*авай* < *ава* 'mother', *тятяй* < *тятя* (present-day: *тетя*) 'father'). There are also some inflected forms among the verbs (Feoktistov 1975a : 117–125; Феоктистов 1976 : 89–93).

Pallas received considerable assistance from his colleagues. The renowned historian, linguist, librarian and editor, L. I. Backmeister, in his function as the inspector of the Nižnij Novgorod Grammar School of the Academy, appealed to Russian scholars in 1773, asking them to send him translations of the provided sample texts in as many "new" languages as possible. This was Backmeister's way of helping Pallas in his dictionary-making enterprise. The Mordvin section of the text titled "Речи для переводу на мордовской языкъ" was written in an Erzya dialect that used *ä*. This glossary contains numerals and "prefabricated" sentences (Феоктистов 1968a : 25–29).

Johann Rehbinder, the governor of Nižnij Novgorod appointed in 1783, also sent a manuscript glossary³ that provided the Tatar, Cheremis and Erzya equiva-

² When the dialectal affiliation is not defined, the data comes from the Erzya dialect.

³ "Перевод нижеобъявленных слов теми языками и диалектами, кои употребляются между народами губернии Нижегородскую и Пензенскую населяющими (слова российские по-татарски, по-черемисски, по-мордовски)".

lents of 287 Russian lexemes. He gave Pallas some Moksha material⁴ as well, that Pallas used in his dictionary (Феоктистов 1968a : 23—25, 92—93). Feoktistov found two other glossaries in the Archives of the Soviet Academy of Sciences that Pallas worked into the dictionary. Their authors are unknown, but both of them are probable to come from Nižnij Novgorod. One of them is a Russian-Cheremis-Erzya glossary of 286 words,⁵ and the other is a Russian-Cheremis-Votyak-Chuvash-Erzya word list with 264 words in it⁶ (Феоктистов 1968a : 79).

8. In addition to the expedition vocabularies Feoktistov found several other glossaries in the archives. The first one of these is a short manuscript, probably from the first half of the 18th century,⁷ which contains Hungarian, Ostyak, Vogul, Zyrian, Tatar and Mordvin expressions with their Latin counterparts. All of the data is in Roman letters. Twenty Erzya-Mordvin words appear in this list (Феоктистов 1968a : 86). The compiler of the glossary is unknown, but the transcription of the Mordvin words follows the same kind of orthography that has been observed in connection with Fischer's dictionary. Word-internal palatalization is never marked (e.g. *wälä* 'village', present-day form *velē*; *menil* 'heaven', present-day: *meñel*), while word-initial palatalization is indicated with the insertion of an *i* or a *j*, or with the duplication of the letter *s*:- *wied* 'water' (*ved*), *kjed* 'hand' (*ked*), *kjel* 'tongue' (*kel*), *kjaw* 'stone' (*käv*, *kev*), *wjargess* 'wolf' (*vär'giž*), *ssidei* 'heart' (*šedej*), *ssjelm* 'eye' (*šelme*). The sound *š* is transcribed with the letter combination *sch*: *scher* 'hair' (*šer*), while the sound [v] with letter *w*: *wei* 'night' (*ve*), *wai* 'butter' (*voi*). The brief list contains names for the parts of the body predominantly (chin, blood vessel, beard — in addition to the above mentioned words).

9. V. N. Т а т и щ е в (В. Н. Татищев (1686—1750)) was not only a famous Russian historian, geographer, author of the epoch-marking work titled "История Российская", conqueror (and name-giver) of the Ural, and founder of Stavropol, Perm and Jekaterinburg, but was also interested in linguistic issues: he wanted to compile a large-scale dictionary that would have encompassed all the languages of Russia. He reported to the Academy on this plan of his in 1739. There was even a "harbinger" of this dictionary: a manuscript of ca. 500 words, containing Chuvash, Cheremis and Mordvin data, and Russian headwords. The Mordvin expressions come from a dialect that used the sound *ä* and *i*, e.g. *мяки* (present-day: *меки*) '(honey)bee', *вяли* (*веле*) 'village' *тяхтирь* (*тейтерь*) 'girl' (Феоктистов 1968a: 83; 1971: 15—16).

10. Two more short manuscript glossaries were written in the second half of the 18th century. One of them is the work of a certain М е н д и е р В е к д о р и н ("Список русских слов с переводом на черемисский, чувашский, мордовский языки"), and it contains 357 Russian headwords paired with Cheremis, Chuvash and Erzya translations. The other one is an Erzya-German word list ("Mordwinische Sprachproben") of 84 words that provides the Erzya data in Cyrillic letters (Феоктистов 1968a : 79, 83).

11. The Russian-Erzya manuscript glossary titled "Слова, взятые из разговоровъ для переводу на мордовской языкъ. Валтъ саизъ кортамста путумкъсь эрзя кель ланкъсь" contains about 2000 words. This word list was written by G r i g o r i j S i m i l e j s k i j (Григорий Симилейский), a student of the Nižnij Novgorod theological seminary. The glossary was made for teaching purposes; this is why it is arranged into 130 lessons and comprises the vocabulary of everyday life. A number of neologisms appear in it, e.g.: *ашо маций* 'white goose = swan', *ине вядь* 'big water

⁴ "Перевод нижеобъявленных слов мордовским разговором, каков употребляется в Пензенском наместничестве".

⁵ "Список русских слов с переводом на черемисский и мордовский языки".

⁶ "Список русских слов с переводом на черемисский, чувашский, мордовский и вотяцкий языки".

⁷ "Сходство венгерского с остяцким и вогульским, с пермским и зырянским; и с татарскими языками".

= sea', *инязоронь кардазь* 'the court of the great lord = the tsar's court', *ковонь вал* 'month word = calendar', *нилице пель иень* 'a quarter of a year = quarter', *олго вядь* 'straw water = beer', *тонавтли ава* 'teaching woman = school-mistress'. A vast number of Russian loans are also included in the list — according to Feoktistov, there are more than 160 of them (Феоктистов 1968a : 47–52). Feoktistov holds it possible that Similejskij sent his work to Damaskin. This can be taken as a fact, because the neologisms of this list all appear in the bishop's dictionary as well (see below).

12. There is an even larger Russian-Erzya glossary from the end of the 18th century, containing 2500 words ("Словарь языка мордовского"). The author is unknown. This one is also collected from a dialect using *ä* (but some Moksha features can also be pointed out, e.g. *ши* 'day', *шочко* 'beam, timber', *содафь* 'acquaintance', *сизефь* 'tired', *кошфь* 'air'). A number of archaic words, now only used in certain dialects, are included in the list; there are very few loans, however. In Feoktistov's opinion, the spelling and the arrangement of this list is very much similar to that of Damaskin's dictionary. It may be that this material was also a harbinger of the bishop's dictionary (Феоктистов 1968a : 52, 56–58).

13. The greatest achievement of Mordvin lexicography of the time was the multi-lingual dictionary titled "Словарь языков разных народов..." (= Дамаскин 1785) written by D a m a s k i n (1737–1795). Damaskin (originally Дмитрий Семёнов-Руднев) showed his talent in linguistics at an early age, in the Slavic Greek Latin Academy of Moscow. After finishing this school, he became a teacher of rhetoric and Greek language at the age of 24. A few years later, in 1765, he was invited to St. Petersburg, then to Göttingen. When he returned home in 1772, he was appointed to professor. Another new chapter of his life begun, when he entered into religion in 1775 and took up the name Damaskin. Shortly afterwards, he became the rector of the Slavic Greek Latin Academy, then he was appointed bishop. From 1783 on, he governed the Nižnij Novgorod Episcopate. He introduced great changes at the local seminary: he laid significant emphasis on the teaching of the languages of the area: Tatar, Mordvin and Chuvash. He was the one who initiated the so-called "disputes" at the seminary, which served for the reading of ecclesiastical texts in Russian, Latin, Greek, German, French and the above mentioned three languages. Damaskin himself also made efforts to learn these languages, and he studied the Mordvin language especially thoroughly. He was dismissed from favour in 1794, moved to Moscow and died there.

Damaskin's activity coincides with Catherine the Great's reign (1762–1796). The charting of the empire and the description of all the peoples and languages in it was a cause close to her heart. She called upon Damaskin to make a dictionary for the languages spoken around the Nižnij Novgorod Episcopate. The bishop fulfilled this request and finished the vast, two-volume dictionary in 1785. The first volume of the book is a 1038-page Russian-Tatar-Chuvash-Erzya dictionary, and its second part is a 746-page Russian-Cheremis glossary. The material remained in manuscript for a very long period; two copies are known to exist — one in Nižnij Novgorod and one in St. Petersburg. The Mordvin section of the dictionary was redacted by A. P. Feoktistov (Феоктистов 1971).⁸

⁸ Feoktistov first provides us with a brief overview of the written records of the individual Finno-Ugric languages, then describes the beginnings of Mordvin literacy. In the dictionary, he keeps Damaskin's system of presenting the words, but he probably have compared the two existing copies — the one from Nižnij Novgorod and the one from St. Petersburg. The Russian headword is followed by the Mordvin equivalent(s), the Roman letter transcription, a literal Russian translation, the correction of incidental spelling mistakes, and explanatory comments when needed. The entries are finished with references to other headwords. The last booklet is Damaskin's 287-word Russian-Moksha-Erzya glossary. Feoktistov finishes this volume with a very much useful Mordvin word index.

Damaskin needed only two months for compiling the dictionary. This fact shows how well-prepared and experienced a lexicographer he was on the one hand; but on the other hand, it makes us assume that he probably had access to already existing Russian dictionary samples and other, yet unpublished documents of the Academy, being a member. Furthermore, it is almost sure he had a number of helpers who provided material he could work into the dictionary (Similejskij was possibly one of them).

The dictionary contains ca. 11,000 entries, 150 of which lacking a Mordvin equivalent. Damaskin's glossary is the largest-volume written record of the Mordvin language from the 18th century. It was prepared in compliance with the Russian orthographical principles of the time. The spelling rules were still unsettled, which is evident from some inconsistencies. The phoneme /g/ is spelt with both the Cyrillic and the Roman letters *g*; the phoneme /e/ is transcribed with both the Cyrillic letters *e* and *э*; the phoneme /ä/ is marked with the letter *я* in word-internal position: e.g. *няй* 'tooth' (present-day: *ней*), *кявь* 'stone' (present-day: *кев*), but it has three different variants in word-initial position: *ачкелма* 'thickness' (present-day: *эчкелма*), *ярамо* 'life' (*эрямо*), *йарявекс* 'necessary' (present-day: *эрявикс*). The hard sign is also used as a matter of course. Palatalization is indicated far more precisely than it was usually done at the time: *сюро* 'corn, grain', *ломанень* 'person-Gen.', *якиця* 'walking' (the present-day forms are the same); furthermore: *ярицы* 'to eat', *алтыма* 'promise' (present-day: *алтамо*), where the hard consonant is marked by the subsequent *ы*.

One of the grammatical characteristics of the Mordvin vocabulary is that the infinitive suffixes are *-мекс*, *-мкс* and (the present-day standard) *-мс*. Feoktistov draws our attention to an interesting derivational particularity: although the *-лма*, *-лмо* suffix is not much productive anymore, it was quite frequent at that time: *мазылма* 'beauty', *псилма* 'hotness', *сюдолма* 'curse', *томбалмо* 'depth', *тустолма* 'density', *шождылма* 'lightness' — the present-day literary forms are the following: *мазычи*, *пси*, *сюдома*, *домкачи* 'depth', *тусточи* 'density' (*тустолма* 'concentrate'), *шождачи* (for more details on Damaskin's life and the dictionary, see Феоктистов 1968a : 58–77; 1971 : 22–25).

Lexical innovation is a frequent phenomenon in the dictionary. This stands to reason, since with the development of a new administrative system, the spreading of Christianity and the new way of life becoming general subsequent to the Russian conquest, the Mordvins had to get acquainted with a number of new concepts, and they also had to name them in some way. Damaskin created several new expressions, but only some of his imaginative linguistic inventions have remained in the Mordvin colloquial vocabulary up to the present.

Let us see some of Damaskin's innovations that come from several different domains of everyday life:

— religious life: *ад* 'hell' (37)⁹ ~ *чопуда тарка* 'dark place', *епископ* 'bishop' (91) ~ 'praying man', 'preacher' (233) ~ *паз валонь ювлиця* 'God word saying', *церемонія* 'ceremony' (307) ~ *вя таркас промкинума* 'sitting together at one place';

— administrative, legal and official terminology: *адвокат* 'lawyer' (37) ~ *тявь мялга якиця* 'following up a case', *государственной съезд* 'national assembly' (76) ~ *инязоронь валгомо тарка* 'the place of the tsar's descend', *государство* 'state' (76) ~ *инязоронь мастор* 'the country of the tsar', *заимодавец* 'creditor' (98) ~ *ломанень максни* 'giving to a person', *магистрат* 'magistracy' (138) ~ *судьямонь кудо* 'the house of jurisdiction', *сенат* 'senate' (257) ~ *покиш судьямонь тарка* 'the place of the great court';

— military and army vocabulary: *латник* 'armoured (warrior)' (132) ~ *пижень орчамозо орчазь* 'dressed in copper', *панцырь* 'armour' (194) ~ *киши орчамо* 'iron

⁹ The numbers in brackets refer to the page numbers of the 1971 printed Damaskin dictionary (Феоктистов 1971).

clothing', *предводитель* 'commander, leader' (219) ~ *икеле ветия* 'going front', *противник* 'enemy, opponent' (234) ~ *карчо молия* 'coming from the opposite direction', *рейтарь* '(mercenary) cavalry trooper' (247) ~ *ластя якиця* 'going on horseback';

— professions, crafts, trades: *водолаз* 'diver' (56) ~ *вля совсия* 'stepping in water', *звѣздочетец* 'astronomer' (103) ~ *тешень ловныця* 'counting stars', *канатной мастер* 'rope-maker' (117) ~ *пиксень поныць* 'laying ropes', *кузнец* 'smith' (129) ~ *кишинь чави* 'striking iron', *курьер* 'messenger' (129) ~ *курок якиця* 'quick moving', *мясник* 'butcher' (148) ~ *сывелень микшиця* 'selling meat', *плотник* 'carpenter' (202) ~ *узерже тяця* 'making with an axe', *сапожник* 'boot maker' (253) ~ *кемень стыця* 'sawing boots', *статуйной мастер* 'wood carver' (276) ~ *чувтонь ломанень паро тяця* 'wood man good maker', *целовальник* 'inn-keeper' (307) ~ *ченьксень микшиця* 'selling liquor';

— relatives, kinship: *муж* 'husband; man' (144) ~ *праве ломань* 'clever man', *невѣста* 'bride' (160) ~ *мирденень кянерцо техтерь* 'girl grown up to a husband';

— illness, deficiency: *глухий* 'deaf' (73) ~ *амари* 'not hearing', *заикливый* 'stammering' (98) ~ *конань кельзе понгуны* '(someone) whose tongue drops out [gets stuck]', *моровая язва* 'plague' (144) ~ *кулома орма* 'death illness', *проказа* 'leprosy' (232) ~ *стака орма* 'hard illness';

— astronomy: *комета* 'comet' (122) ~ *теше пуло марто* 'star with a tail', *равноденствие* 'equinox' (239) ~ *влякецте тямма* 'doing the same way';

— navigation, shipping: *корабль* 'ship' (123) ~ *ине вяч* 'big boat', *кораблицик* 'shipman' (123) ~ *ине вячень азоро* 'master of great boat', *море* 'sea' (144) ~ *ине вядь* 'big water';

— animal names: *вепрь* 'wild-boar' (50) ~ *идемь туво* 'wild pig', *дельфин* 'dolphin' (80) ~ *ин вядень туво* 'sea pig', *лебедь* 'swan' (132) ~ *ашо мацей* 'white goose', *лошак* 'mule' (135) ~ *идемь лишме* 'wild horse', *орел* 'eagle' (182) ~ *тумо атяки* 'oak rooster', *осел* 'donkey' (183) ~ *нузякс лишме* 'lazy horse';

— plant names: *гранатовое яблоко* 'pomegranate' (76) ~ *нилень чиресь умарь* 'four-sided apple', *грецкой орѣх* 'Persian walnut' (77) ~ *ляя масторонь пешя* 'walnut from another country';

— food and drink: *колбаса* 'sausage' (115) ~ *валозь сюло* 'washed intestine', *пиво* 'beer' (199) ~ *олга вядь* 'straw water';

— various objects: *очки* 'glasses' (193) ~ *сялме ва[р]чамот* 'eye watchers', *парик* 'wig' (194) ~ *путозь черть* 'put hair', *статуя* 'statue' (276) ~ 'wooden man', 'torch' (302) ~ 'wax fire (= candle)', *фонарь* 'lamp' (302) ~ *толонь ганглема* 'fire bringer';

— materials, metals: *адамант* 'diamond' (37) ~ *калгодо кяв* 'hard stone', *сталь* 'steel' (275) ~ *пекь киши* 'very much iron';

— natural phenomena, landforms: *радуга* 'rainbow' (240) ~ *пургине юнкс* 'lightning arch', *устье* 'mouth (of a river)' (300) ~ *кавто леть ваяц прасть* 'two rivers fell into one';

— cardinal directions: *восток* 'east' (60) ~ *чинь стяммо* 'rising of the sun', *запад* 'west' (99) ~ *чи валгомо* 'sun going down', *сев`р* 'north' (282) ~ *вянь пелькс* 'the side of the night', *юг* 'south' (316) ~ *пель чи* 'half day';

— adjectives, characteristic features: *неблагодарный* 'ungrateful' (159) ~ *акавани* 'not treating to lunch', *прожорливый* 'greedy' (232) ~ *пекь ярця* 'very much eating', *скучивый* 'boring' (261) ~ *мельень молия* 'sense leaving', *сладкорѣчивый* 'mealy-mouthed' (262) ~ *тантей валов* 'sweet worded', *сумозбродный* 'crazy, insane' (280) ~ *прявте лисиця* 'leaving from sense';

— abstract notions: *добродѣтель* 'virtue' (82) ~ *паронь тямма* 'good deed', *нищета* 'poverty' (170) ~ *пара чи арась* 'having no wealth', *повторение* 'repeating' (203) ~ *омбоцеде тейма* 'doing the second time', *праздность* 'idleness, futility' (218) ~ *тяфтеме якамо* 'without anything to do ~ walking', *притворность* 'hypocrisy' (229) ~ *салава тямме* 'secret deed', *тщеславие* 'vanity' (291) ~ *тявьтеме прянь кишаммо*

'self-praise without work', *хитрость* 'astuteness' (304) ~ *паро прявь* 'good wit' etc. (for details about the lexical innovations of the dictionary, see Maticsák 2012 : 155–193).

This dictionary is one of the biggest achievements of Mordvin lexicography, not only for the great deal of information it contains, but also because of Damaskin's neologistic work that significantly contributed to the reform of the Mordvin literary standard language and to the improvement of its vocabulary. Although posterity preserved only some fragments of Damaskin's innovations, his influence has been great on Mordvin linguistics.

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- Д а м а с к и н 1785, Словарь языков разных народов в Нижегородской епархии обитающих, именно россиян, татар, чувашей, мордвы и черемис. По высочайшему соизволению и повелению ее императорского величества премудрой государыни, Екатерины Алексеевны, императрицы и самодержицы всероссийской. По алфавиту российских слов расположенный и в Нижегородской семинарии от знающих оные языки священников и семинаристов, под присмотром преосвященного Дамаскина епископа Нижегородского и Алаторского сочиненный 1785-го года (= Феокистов 1971).
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ШАНДОР МАТИЧАК (Дебрецен)

ПЕРВЫЙ ПЕРИОД В ИСТОРИИ МОРДОВСКОЙ ЛЕКСИКОГРАФИИ: СПИСКИ СЛОВ И СЛОВАРИ XVII—XVIII СТОЛЕТИЙ

В данной статье рассматривается первый период мордовской лексикографии начиная с составленного Витсенем в 1692 году и содержащего 324 слова голландско-мордовского словника до изданного в 1785 году епископом Дамаскиным большого словаря (11 000 словарных статей). К этому отрезку времени относятся и материалы, позже использованные в словарях Палласа и Мюллера, а также (дву- и многоязычные) списки, содержащие около сотни слов, и более солидные работы с тысячами словарных статей. Мордовские словники XVIII века частично существуют только в рукописях.

Выявленные Феокистовым в московских, петербургских и нижегородских архивах источники автор приводит в строго хронологическом порядке, во многих случаях анализируя материал орфографически. Особое внимание обращается на вопросы обновления мордовского языка, прежде всего представлены новые слова и словосочетания, которые встречаются в словаре Дамаскина.