

UNPUBLISHED MANSI DICTIONARY BY P. S. PALLAS – AN UNKNOWN MANSI DIALECT?

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ABSTRACT

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

– *місь-вить* ‘milk’ and *мись-вить* ‘milk’ (riv. Berezovo) [in other dialects: down the river Chusovaya *Сыртай*; in the Verkhoturksy district *СурумЪ*; near the village Chardym *СяхумЪ*, *ЧэхумЪ*],

– *няврамь* ‘boy’ and *няуремь-хунь* ‘boy’ (riv. Berezovo) [in other dialects: down the river Chusovaya *МикЪко*, *УшонЪ*, *УасунЪ*; in the Verkhoturksy district *УйскумЪ*, *ГуишарЪ*; near the village Chardym *УсысарпЪ*].

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

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

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

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

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

1) *хожá* ‘long’

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

2) *хóвьить* ‘spruce’

obsk. *hovt* ‘spruce’, yukond. *ховт* ‘spruce’, pelym. *Ковтъ* ‘spruce’ [5], So. *хóвт* ‘spruce’ < Proto-Mansi **kāytz* [6] < Proto-Ural **kuse* ~ **kose*;

3) *кóшхай* ‘ant’

yukond. *хос’и* ‘ant’, pelym. *Кóшишый* ‘ant’ [5], So. *хóсвой* ‘ant’, T *kaškāj* ‘ant’ < Proto-Mansi **kāšyāj* [6] < Proto-Ural **kučV*;

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

1) *лу* ‘ten’

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

In position after soft consonant ‘o’ is designated as ю̂

1) *ню̂ль* ‘nose’

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

2) *ню̂зъ* ‘sable’

obsk. *njóhis* ‘sable’, yukond. *n'oxs* ‘sable’, pelym. *Нѣкзъ* ‘sable’ [5], So. *нѣхысъ* ‘sable’, TJ *ňoks* ‘sable’, TCH *ňoks* ‘sable’ < Proto-Mansi **ňǰkəs* [6] < Proto-Ural **ňukse*;

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

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

1) *хáаѳъ* ‘boat’

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

2) *тáхусъ* ‘autumn’

obsk. *teksi* ‘autumn’, yukond. *t'axsi* ‘autumn’, pelym. *Тэксъ* ‘autumn’ [5], So. *таквс* ‘autumn’, T *tüks* ‘autumn’ < Proto-Mansi **tǰkəs* [6] < Proto-Ural **sikse* (**sükse*);

3) *тáры* ‘crane’

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

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

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

1) *сѣнзи* ‘sparrow’

yukond. *sāñs* ‘sparrow’, T *ćäñčĭt* ‘sparrow’, pelym. *sāñkəs* ‘sparrow’, south-vagil. *sāñkəs* ‘sparrow’, LU *šəñkəs* ‘sparrow’, LO *šəñsi* ‘sparrow’, So. *šəñsi* ‘sparrow’ < Proto-Mansi **ćäñčĭt* [6];

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

1) *шáнжипангъ* ‘knee’

yukond. *šāñs* ‘knee’, KM KO *sāñs* ‘knee’, T *šāñš* ‘knee’, pelym. *šāñš* ‘knee’, north-vagil. *šāñš* ‘knee’, LU *šāñš* ‘knee’, LUT *šāñš* ‘knee’, LO *sāñs* ‘knee’, So. *sāñs* ‘knee’ < Proto-Mansi **šāñš* [6];

2) *шуншъ* ‘flea’

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

3) *шшш* ‘back’

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

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

1) *кажәй* ‘knife’

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

< Proto-Mansi **kāškāj* [6];

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

1) *ош* ‘sheep’

yukond. *oš* ‘sheep’, KM *ōs* ‘sheep’, KO *ōs* ‘sheep’, pelym. *oš* ~ *ōšēy* ‘sheep’, north-vagil. *oš* ~ *ōšja* ‘sheep’, south-vagil. *oš* ~ *ōšī* ‘sheep’, LU *oš* ~ *ōšī* ‘sheep’, So. *ōs* ‘sheep’ < Proto-Mansi **oš* [6];

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

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

1) *кәлө* ‘blood’

yukond. *kēlap* ‘blood’, KM *kēlap* ‘blood’, KO *kēlap* ‘blood’, pelym. *šayr* ‘blood’, south-vagil. *kēlap* ‘blood’, LO *kēlap* ‘blood’, So. *kēlap* ‘blood’ < Proto-Mansi **kīlp3-* [6];

2) *кóшкерь* ‘nail, clow’

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

3) *көнь* ‘light’

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

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

1) *хәлбөвош* ‘Berezovo’ (compound word is *вош* ‘city’) < Proto-Mansi **kīl*

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

Proto-Mansi *γ preserves in the position between vowels:1) *Ю́зѣмъ* ‘bow’

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

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

Proto-Mansi *γ > u before consonant:1) *пóульнколь* ‘bath’

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

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

2) *неурь* ‘foal’

yukond. *ńöwr* ‘foal’, KM *ńöwr* ‘foal’, KO *ńöwr* ‘foal’, TJ *ńüwər* ‘foal’, TCH *ńüwər* ‘foal’, pelym. *ńöwər* ‘foal’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *ńüwər* ‘foal’, LO *ńüwər* ‘foal’, LU *ńäyr* ‘foal’, LM *ńüwər* ‘foal’ < Proto-Mansi **ńüwər* [6];

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

3) *ню́ль* ‘meat’

yukond. *ńowł, ńuwł* ‘meat’, TJ TCH *ńüwł* ‘meat’, pelym. *ńowł* ‘meat’, VN *ńowł* ‘meat’, south-vagil. *ńawł* ‘meat’, LO *ńowł* ‘meat’, LU *ńowł* ‘meat’, LM *ńowł* ‘meat’, So. *ńöwł* ‘meat soup’ < Proto-Mansi **ńäyəl* [6];

In all dialects we have *γ > *w*.

The next word is absent in the [6] dictionary, but there is a way to reconstruct the Proto-Mansi *γ from the mansi dialect’s reflexes described in [7]:

4) *áymy* ‘sick’

TJ TČ *ə̣̌m̌i:l't-*, KU *ä̌m̌əl't-*, P *äm̌'l't-*, *ạ̈̌m̌'l't-*, So. *ạ̈̌m̌l-* ‘disease’ [7], middle-ob *ávma-* ‘be sick’;

The reflexivity in the dictionary coincides with the Middle-Ob northern, southern and Konda forms. Sosva and Pelym dialects either persist *γ or do not have this reflex.

Proto-Mansi *γ > 0/(u) at the end the word:1) *mòy* ‘branch’

yukond. *täy, toy* ‘branch’, KM *tow* ‘branch’, KO *tow* ‘branch’, TJ TCH *taw* ‘branch’, pelym. *täy* ‘branch’, VN *tow* ‘branch’, south-vagil. *tay* ‘branch’, LO *tow* ‘branch’, LU *tay* ‘branch’, LM *tay* ‘branch’, So. *tow* ‘branch’ < Proto-Mansi **täy* [6];

Almost in all dialects this word has a preservation of *w*, with the exception of KU and P dialects. The transition *γ to *u* was not detected. In the field data of the Middle-Ob dialect this word was not represented.

2) *éны* ‘great’

TJ *jin̄*, TČ *jen̄*, KU *jäni*, пелым. P *jen̄j*, *jen-*, So *jä`n̄j* ‘great’ [7], Middle-Ob. *jan̄’i* ‘big’;

The reflexivity **ɣ* in this word coincides with the Middle-Ob northern, southern and eastern dialects. But in Sosva dialect we can see the preservation **ɣ*, in Pelym dialect there is a doublet *v/0*.

4) *ny* ‘son’

yukond. *pōw* ‘son’, KM KO *pōw* ‘son’, TJ *pūw* ‘son’, TCH *pāw* ‘son’, pelym. *pūw* ‘son’, north-vagil., south-vagil. *pū* ‘son’, LO *piɣ* ‘сын’, LU *pū* ‘сын’, So. *piɣ* ‘сын’;

In this dictionary the loss of *ɣ* in this word coincides with the process represented in western dialects. In the field data of the Middle-Ob dialect this word in its early form was not represented.

3) *mapy* ‘crane’

TJ TCH *tārəw* ‘crane’, pelym. *tēriɣ* ‘crane’, LM *tēri* ‘crane’, Middle-Ob *tárih* ‘crane’, So. *tāriɣ* ‘crane’ < Proto-Mansi **tīrəɣ* [6];

In southern dialects we can see the evolution **ɣ* to *w*, northern dialects are characterized by preservation *ɣ* and for western dialects by doublets with preservation *ɣ* in P and the loss of *ɣ* in LO. There is a transition **ɣ* into *h* (cf. *tárih* ‘crane’) in the Middle-Ob dialect, which sounds like an aspirate. And it cannot be excluded that that kind of *h* might be deleted from a phonological record.

4) *map̄i* ‘pine’

Middle-Ob *tárih*, *tar̄ih* ‘pine’;

The etymological analogue of this word is founded only in Middle-Ob dialect, which also provided the evolution **ɣ* > *h*.

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

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

I. **w* > *u*

1) *uáy* ‘lots of’

yukond. *s’uow* ‘lots of’, Middle-Ob *sav* ‘lots of’, So. *cāw* ‘lots of’ < Proto-Ural **čukkV* (**čokkV*);

2) *о́уда* ‘lance’

pelym. *о́фта* ‘lance’, KU *о́фта* ‘lance’, So. *о́фта* ‘lance’ [7];

3) *лу* ‘bone’

obsk. *lov* ‘bone’, yukond. *losum* ‘bone’, pelym. *Лушемь* ‘bone’ [5], KU *лѝ-ѝэм* ‘bone’ [7], LO *луѝм* ‘bone’ [8], So. *луѝ* ‘bone’ < Proto-Mansi **lūw* [6] < Proto-Ural **luwe*;

4) *вѝу* ‘tree’

obsk. *jiv* ‘tree’, yukond. *jiv* ‘tree’, So. *йѝѝ* ‘tree’ < Proto-Mansi **jīw* [6] < Proto-Ural **juwV*;

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

1) *лу* ‘ten’

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

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

1) *уѝмь*, So. *уѝѝѝм* ‘I am swimming’;

2) *люѝѝмь*, So. *люѝѝѝм* ‘I am standing’

3) *аѝѝмь*, So. *аѝѝѝм* ‘I am drinking’

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

CONCLUSION

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

Therefore, the ancient glossary combines the archaic characteristics and modern northern and western features, which is why cannot be classified as a traditional

Mansi dialect. Further investigation of Mansi 18th century texts may reveal that the traditional Mansi language dialects classification is to be revised.

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ABBREVIATION

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

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