



## The Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) & (1868): Vocalism of the First Syllable

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November 4, 2022

## **The Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) & (1868): vocalism of the first syllable<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** The article examines the system of vocalism of two texts of Holy Scripture: the Gospel of Matthew (1868), one of the first religious texts in the Mansi language, and the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848), discovered by the staff of the Institute of Linguistics of the RAS in the archives of St. Petersburg. According to the title page of the first source, it refers to the Konda dialect, about the second source only its authorship and the place of recording are known. At the same time, both sources have similar graphics. This study is devoted to the study and analysis of the vowel sounds of the above-mentioned Gospels in order to clarify their dialect affiliation. To solve this problem, a graph-phonetic analysis was carried out with the involvement of additional sources. As a result, the features were identified that allow us to verify the belonging of both Gospels to the Eastern dialects, according to the implementation of the ProtoMansi *\*i*, *\*e*, and to get closer to establishing their exact dialect.

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<sup>1</sup>Supported by Russian Science Foundation, project no. 20-18-00403 'Digital Description of Uralic Languages on the Basis of Big Data'.

**Keywords:** the Mansi language, dialect affiliation, archival data, vocalism, Gospel of Matthew.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The earliest attempts to create the Mansi script, which we know about today, date back to the middle of the XIX century. The active Christianization of Mansi contributed to the development of the missionary movement in the places of settlement of this people and the beginning of the Mansi book printing. As a rule, books translated into the Mansi language had a religious orientation and were conducted by missionaries and local priests. Thus, one of the first such publications is considered to be the Gospel of Matthew, recorded by Grigory Popov and published by Lucien Bonaparte edited by Wiedemann in London in 1868 – «Das Evangelium Matthäiin den Dialekt der Kondischen Wogulen in Gouvernement Tobolsk übersetzt von G. Popov», then – the Gospel of Matthew (1868). In the process of work in the archives of St. Petersburg, the staff of the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences discovered a similar in content, but Cyrillic text: «Евангеліе от Матфія <и Марка> на вогульскомъ языке, списаны съ рукописи, хранящейся въ синоде, въ 1847 и 1848 годахъ» – the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848). It is known that the first source is written in the Kondinsky dialect – this is indicated in the name of the source itself, but no research has been conducted to clarify its dialect.

The dialect attribution of the second source is unknown. We managed to clarify only the place of his recording. According to O. P. Cis, since 1818, in the Tobolsk branch of the Russian Bible Society,

whose purpose was to translate the texts of Holy Scripture into the languages of the peoples of Russia, Pyotr Andreevich Felitsyn, the key keeper (later archpriest), was engaged in recording and translating into the Mansi language Tobolsk Cathedral. In 1818-1821, with the assistance of Grigory and Georgy Popov, who were born and lived among the Mansi in the village of Bronnikovsky, prot. Felitsyn translated six prayers and all four Gospels [Cys 2018: 69]. Thus, we believe that the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) was translated into the Mansi language by the Popov brothers from the village of Bronnikovsky, and the manuscript we have, as indicated in the name of the source, is a rewritten copy from the Gospel of the beginning of the XIX century.

At the first stage of working with these sources, we found a clear similarity in their schedule. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) could become the basis for a later source. However, we could not find information confirming the fact of such processing.

**[Gospel of Matthew 1868]:**

*Nan keurt chon jäni, jeimte nanane chuši.*

**[Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848]:**

*Нанъ кеуртъ ханъ яни имти нанане хучи.*

**Translation:**

*Let the greatest of you be your servant.*

This study is devoted to the study of the above texts in order to clarify their dialect affiliation. In order to obtain reliable results, a complete graph-phonetic analysis of the Gospels was carried out with the involvement of a third source, whose dialect affiliation we can be sure

of. It became the dictionary of the Verkhnekondinsky dialect of 4 thousand lexemes, given in the PhD thesis by E. A. Kuzakova «The South Mansi (Konda) dialect in comparison with the North Mansi dialect» (1963). According to the table below of dialect-differentiating features according to [Honti 1988: 149], we see that the reflexes of this dictionary largely correspond to the proposed features for the eastern group of Mansi dialects (Table 1).

*Table. 1.* Justification of the choice of a third source for the grapho-phonetic analysis of the two Gospels [Honti 1988: 149].

Proto [Honti 1982]	2015 Proto [North-manskaya]	South [Honti 1988]	East [Honti 1988]	West [Honti 1988]	North [Honti 1988]	[Kuzakova 1963]
*ā	*ā̇	ā	ō	ō	ō	o
*ī̇	*a	a	ā/ ē̇	ē̇	ā	ā/ ē̇
*γ	*-γ	əw	ī	əγ/0 <sup>2</sup>	əγ	z/0
*ć	*č̇	ć	ś	ś	ś	c
*k_V back		k	x/k	κ	x	x/κ
*ṧ		ṧ	s(ṧ)	ṧ	s/ṧ	c(u)

It is worth emphasizing that the belonging of monuments to the same dialect is determined primarily by a set of common innovations, and not by preserved archaisms [Bezenova 2014: 23]. Therefore, one of the important tasks of the study was to determine which of the phonetic features of the two Gospels belong to innovative, and which to archaic

<sup>2</sup>According to the dialect examples of [Honti 1982].

features. It should be noted that the past experience of studying the monuments of the Mansi language [Koshelyuk, Normanskaya 2018; Koshelyuk 2018], as a result of which we found a discrepancy in the archival dictionary of P. S. Pallas traditionally distinguished dialect groups [Normanskaya, Koshelyuk 2020], and also identified a number of dialects that disappeared at the end of the XIX — beginning of the XX century [Normanskaya 2020], identified another task of this study: to establish whether the text of the Gospel (1847-1848) can be a reflection of an unfixated and already disappeared dialect or represent the previous stage of one of the attested?

To implement the above tasks, [Gospel 1847-1848]<sup>1</sup> and [Gospel 1868] were posted on the online platform «Lingvodoc» and provided with parallels from [Kuzakova 1963]. The analysis of vocalism of the studied sources was carried out according to the reconstruction of the ProtoMansi vowels by Yu. V. Normanskaya, based on modern field data [Normanskaya 2015], and consonantism - according to the signs proposed by L. Honti [Honti 1982]. Special cases found in the monuments were also considered. For vocal graphemes, all examples with reliable etymology according to [Normanskaya 2015] and [Honti 1982] and all cases of special reflexion, numbering three or more examples for each specific episode in the monuments, are written out; for consonant sounds, five words are given for all standard correspondences, according to dialect-differentiating features and special cases — all detected examples. For a more complete analysis of the revealed features of archival sources, both the forms according to [Honti 1982] and [Normanskaya 2015] and all the discovered examples of correspond-

ences from the dictionaries [Kuzakova 1963], [MK 1986] and [Kannisto 2013] are written out.

In this study, the reflexes of the vowel sounds of the first syllable corresponding to the ProtoMansi reconstruction are considered.

## 2 REFLEXES OF PROTOMANSI VOWEL PHONEMES

### **ProtoMansi \* $a^3$ > a, a**

#### **Standard reflexes:**

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *šanš* ‘knee’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *шани*

tavd. *šānš*<sup>4</sup>, ob. *Sans* ‘knee’, yukond. *Sans* ‘knee’, pelym. *Шáнишь-панга* ‘knee’ [Slovtsov 1905: 15], sosv. *сāнспуңк* ‘knee’ < ProtoMansi \**šānš* [Honti 1982];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *agmeltap* ‘get sick’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *агмельтапъ*

ob. *ávmaħ-* ‘get sick’, yukond. *auməl’-* ‘get sick’, sosv. *āгмыңыз* ‘get sick’;

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *av* ‘door’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ay*

tavd. *ājīw, ajəw* ‘door’, ob. *áv’e* ‘door’, yukond. *āw*<sup>6</sup> ‘door’, sosv. *āви* ‘door’ < ProtoMansi \**īw* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *āwi* [=āwi], kond. *əu*, tavd. *ajuw ~ āju’w (~ aju, ajwét)* ‘door’ [MK 1986: 59];

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<sup>3</sup>According to the ProtoMansi data of [Норманская 2015];

<sup>4</sup>According to the Tavda dialect examples of [Honti 1982].

tavd.  $\varepsilon \cdot i\beta$ ,  $\varepsilon i\beta_{\text{pl}}$ , nizhniy kond.  $\bar{a}\beta$ , pelym.  $\bar{e}\beta$ , sosv.  $\bar{a}\beta i$  ‘door’ [Kannisto 2013: 16];

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kat* ‘palm’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *каmb*

tavd.  $k\bar{a}t$  ‘palm’, ob.  $k\bar{a}tata$  ‘palm’, yukond.  $katp'at'in$  ‘palm’, sosv.  $k\bar{a}mnamma$  ‘palm’ < ProtoMansi  $*k\bar{a}t\bar{z}$  [Honti 1982];

sosv.  $k\bar{a}t-patt\bar{a}$  [ $k\bar{a}t-patta$ ], pelym.  $ko\bar{a}t-p\bar{a}t'$ , kond.  $k\bar{q}\bar{a}t-p\bar{a}t' \sim ko\bar{a}t-p\bar{a}t't\bar{a} \sim -p\bar{a}t't\bar{a} \sim -p\bar{a}t'$ , tavd.  $k\bar{a}t$  ( $k\bar{a}t-pit'$ ) ‘palm’ [MK 1986: 200];

tavd.  $k\bar{a}tpit'$ , nizhniy kond.  $k\bar{q}\bar{a}tp\bar{a}t'$ , sosv.  $k\bar{a}tpatt\bar{a}$  ‘palm’ [Kannisto 2013: 388];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *atšerem* ‘frost’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ачерымъ*

ob.  $\acute{a}cerma$  ‘frost’, pelym.  $\acute{a}cerom\bar{z}$  ‘frost’ [Slovtsov 1905: 17], sosv.  $Acupma$  ‘frost’;

sosv.  $a\acute{s}er\bar{e}m$  ( $\sim a\acute{s}er\bar{m}\bar{a}$ ), [ $a\acute{s}irma \sim a\acute{s}er\bar{m}a$ ], pelym.  $\bar{a}\acute{s}er\bar{e}m$ , kond.  $a\acute{s}er\bar{e}m$  ( $\sim \bar{a}\acute{s}er\bar{e}m \sim a\acute{s}er\bar{m}$ ), tavd.  $i\acute{c}i'r\bar{e}m \sim i\acute{s}i'r\bar{e}m \sim i\acute{s}i'r\bar{e}m$  ‘frost’ [MK 1986: 53];

tavd.  $i\acute{c}t'\acute{s}e'r\bar{m}$ ,  $i\acute{c}t'\acute{s}i'r\bar{e}m$ , nizhniy kond.  $\bar{a}\acute{s}er\bar{e}m$ , pelym.  $\bar{e}\acute{s}er\bar{m}$ , sosv.  $a\acute{s}\bar{q}ar\bar{m}\bar{a}$  ‘cold, frost’ [Kannisto 2013: 123];

According to the examples given, the implementation of the ProtoMansi  $*a$  is preserved in the sources under consideration, while such a reflex is found in all the dialects presented. Thus, this trait is archaic, but not dialect-differentiating.

### Special reflex in the Gospel (1847-1848):

ProtoMansi  $*a > a/o$



1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *šak* ‘very’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *шакъ/шох*

Kuzakova – *cäkə*

yukond. *s'ak* ‘very’, sosv. *saka* ‘very’;

sosv. *saka* [=saka], *šäk* ~ *šäkä*, pelym. *šäk*, kond. *säk* (~ *sak*) ‘very’

[MK 1986: 517];

nizhniy kond. *šäk*, sredniy kond. *säk*, verkhniy kond. *säk*, sosv. *sä`kä* ‘very’ [Kannisto 2013: 725];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *atšel-* ‘to die’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *очелне*

sygv. *оцалнна* ‘to die’<sup>5</sup>;

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *maškatem* ‘dressed’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мошкатымъ*

sygv. *māsxatym* ‘dressed’;

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *pasen* ‘table’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *пасен/посынь*

pelym. *pāsannpartъ* ‘table’ [Slovtsov 1905: 24], yukond. *pās'əl* ‘table’,

sygv. *pāsān* ‘table’, sosv. *pasān* ‘table’;

sosv. *pasān* ~ *pasēn* [*pasan*], pelym., kond. *pāsēn* ‘table’ [MK 1986: 416];

nizhniy kond. *pāsēn*, sosv. *pā`sān* ‘table’ [Kannisto 2013: 651];

nizhniy kond. khant. *pāsēn* ‘table’ [Honti 1982].

From the examples it can be seen that in the second Gospel for the words ‘very’, ‘to die’, ‘dressed’, ‘table’, there is a transition of Pro-

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<sup>5</sup>Examples are given according to the data of the carrier of the Sygva dialect R. P. Khozumova.

toMansi *\*a > o*. It should be noted that in the dictionary of E. A. Kuzakova, for some of the words considered, *å* is also indicated.

Table. 2. The ratio of ProtoMansi *\*a* in the data of the Gospels and [Kuzakova 1963].

[Gospel of Matthew 1868]	[Kuzakova 1963]	[Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848]	Translation
palimtachv	пålэй лåtтэх	палимтахъ	to announce
pali	пål	пали	the side
man	мån	манъ	we
nanane	нån	нанане	you
šagrep	сågрeп	шагрыпъ	axe
at	åти	ат	not
rasve	рåsч	расве	to throw
am	åм	амъ	I
varuchv	вårч	варухъ	do
sariš	шårс	шарысъ	the sea
paste	пås	пости/пасте	the light
agmet	åгм	агмельт	the disease
tatem	тåtэх	татымъ	to carry to carry
palnel	пål	палныль	two sides
rastuchv	рåsч	растухъ	to throw

It can be assumed that the revealed feature in [Gospel 1847-1848] and in E. A. Kuzakova is an innovative feature and reflects the probably not yet regular transition of ProtoMansi *\*a > o*. It is characteristic that in the Gospels created in the middle of the XIX century, it was less common than in the records [Kuzakov 1963].

### **ProtoMansi \* $\bar{a}$ > a, a**

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *šav* ‘many’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *шав*

ob. *sav* ‘many’, nizhniy kond. *s'uow* ‘many’, yukond. *s'uow* ‘many’,  
pelym. *šāw* ‘many’, sosv. *cāw* ‘many’ < ProtoMansi \**šāw* [Honti 1982];  
sosv. *saw*<sub>2</sub> ~ *sau* [*sāw*], pelym., tavd. *šāu* ~ *šāw*, kond. *sāu* ‘many’  
[MK 1986: 537];

tavs. *šab*, nizhniy kond. *šā<sub>o</sub>β*, sredniy kond., verkhniy kond. *soāβ*,  
pelym. *š<sub>2</sub>āβ*, sosv. *sāβ* ‘many’ [Kannisto 2013: 701];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *vagen* ‘power’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *вагынъ*

tavd. *wāw* ‘power’, pelym. *Bo* ‘power’ [Slovtsov 1905: 24], sosv. *Bāz*  
‘power’ < ProtoMansi \**wāy* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *va'i* [*wāy*], pelym. *vā*, kond. *voā*, tavd. *vo<sub>u</sub>* ~ *vo<sub>i</sub>* ‘power’ [MK  
1986: 712];

tavd. *βεβ*, nizhniy kond. *β<sub>2</sub>ā<sub>o</sub>*, pelym. *β<sub>2</sub>ā*, sosv. *βāy* ‘power’ [Kannisto  
2013: 139];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *arentan* ‘debt’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *арынтанъ*

pelym. *óрантъ* ‘debt’ [Slovtsov 1905: 10], sosv. *ārnt* ‘debt’;

sosv. *ārēnt*, pelym., kond. *oārēnt*, tavd. *ā'rēnt* ‘debt’ [MK 1986: 47];

tavd. *ārnt*, nizhniy kond. *ō<sub>2</sub>ārēnt*, pelym. *žārnt*, sosv. *ārntā* ‘debt’  
[Kannisto 2013: 96];

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kval-* ‘to get up’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *квалъ*

Kuzakova – *коалх*

tavd. *k<sub>o</sub>āl-* ~ *k<sub>o</sub>äl-* ‘to get up’, ob. *noh kálug'e* ‘to get up’, yukond. *noχkuol-* ‘to get up’ < ProtoMansi \**k<sub>o</sub>āl-* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *kwāli* [= *kwāli*], pelym. *kwali*~ *kwāli*, kond. *kwāli*~ *kwali*, tavd. *kälä 'nt* ~ *kālā 'nt* ~ *kwālā 'nt* ~ *kelänt* ‘to get up’ [MK 1986: 228];

tavd. *kβāl-*, *kāl-*, nizhniy kond. *k<sub>o</sub>äl-*, pelym. *k<sub>o</sub>äl-*, sosv. *kβāl-* ‘to get up’ [Kannisto 2013: 253];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *laili* – ‘legs’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848– *лайли*

tavd. *lajəl* ‘legs’, pelym. *Лóальть* ‘legs’ [Slovtsov 1905: 19], sosv. *лāгыл* ‘legs’ < ProtoMansi \**l<sub>j</sub>l<sub>3</sub>* / \**l<sub>j</sub>yl<sub>3</sub>*~\**lājil-* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *la'il* [*lāγəl*], pelym. *лөл* (*lājil-* ~ *lajl-*), kond. *лөл* (*lājil-*), tavd. *laél* ~ *lail* ‘leg’ [MK 1986: 244];

tavd. *лаил*, nizhniy kond. *лāl*, *lājilətr<sub>1</sub>*, pelym. *лēл*, *лаилεγ<sub>Du</sub>*, *лаил'tr<sub>1</sub>*, sosv. *lāyl* ‘leg’ [Kannisto 2013: 408];

So, ProtoMansi \**a* and \**ā* in the materials of the two Gospels correspond to one reflex *a*. It should be noted that the reconstruction of two special phonemes of ProtoMansi \**a* and \**ā* is based precisely on East Mansi data and on longitude in the Sosva dialect. However, as it was shown in [Tambovtsev 2008], the status of long vowels in the Sosva dialect is very controversial. Thus, it can be assumed that there was previously one phoneme ProtoMansi \**a*, which was innovatively diphthongized in a number of words in Eastern dialects already in the XX century. This hypothesis is supported by the absence of diphthongs with the second vowel *u*, *o* in the texts of the two Gospels (except for the word *shau* ‘many’ in the source of 1847-1848), dated to the middle of the XIX century, and widespread diphthongicity in all dialect groups

in the materials of the early XX century. (for ex. the words 'many', 'strong', 'get up'). At the same time, as can be seen from the above material, the transformation of ProtoMansi *\*ā*. The process continues in the second half of the XX century, although not so intensively. This transition is noted in modern field data of the Eastern Yukonda dialect in a large number of words, for example, *s'uow* 'many', *noχkuol* 'get up'.

### **ProtoMansi *\*i > i, i***

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *pit* 'lip'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *numъ*

Kuzakova – *nəm*

tavd. *pitəm* 'lip', ob. *p'it'mi* 'lip', yukond. *pet'* 'lip', pelym.

*Тусънiтумъ* 'lips' [Slovtsov 1905: 7], sosv. *numъми* 'lip' < ProtoMansi *\*pitəm* [Honti 1982];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kitil* 'ask'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *китил*

Kuzakova – *кэтлāх*

yukond. *ketilan-* 'ask', sosv. *китыглāңкве* 'ask';

sosv. *kitili* ~ *kitili* [*kitiyli*], pelym. *kitēli*, kond. *kitili*~ *kētili*, tavd. *kitul* 'ask' [MK 1986: 216];

tavd. *kit'*-, nizhniy kond. *kət-*-, pelym. *kit* 'ask' [Kannisto 2013: 397];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *nile* 'four'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ниле*

tavd. *nīlī* 'four', yukond. *n'el'e* 'four', pelym. *Ниля* 'four' [Slovtsov 1905: 33], sosv. *нила* 'four' < ProtoMansi *\*nīl3*, *\*nāl(3)-* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *ńilä* [*ńila*], pelym. *ńila* (~ *ńile*), kond. *ńělä* ~ *ńilä*, тавд. *ńil'i* 'four' [MK 1986: 361];

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kit* 'two'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *kum*

тавд. *kit* 'two', об. *k'itsát* 'two', yukond. *k'ita* 'two', pelym. *Кудэў* 'two' [Slovtsov 1905: 33], sosv. *кумыг* 'two' < ProtoMansi *\*kĩʒ* [Honti 1982];

sosv., pelym., kond. *kit<sub>1</sub>* [= *kit*], тавд. *kit* (*két*) 'two' [MK 1986: 215];

тавд. *kit'*, nizhniy kond. *kit*, pelym. *kit*, sosv. *kit* 'two' [Kannisto 2013: 396];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *nilmel* 'tongue'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *нилмыль*

тавд. *ńiləm* 'tongue', об. *n'élun* 'tongue', yukond. *n'elm'en* 'tongue', sosv. *нѣлум* 'tongue' < ProtoMansi *\*ńilmʒ* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *ńelm* [*ńěləm* ~ *ńělm*], pelym. *ńiləm* ~ *ńilmé*, конд. *ńiləm* ~ *ńéləm*, тавд. *ńil'əm* 'tongue' [MK 1986: 360];

### **ProtoMansi \*i > e, e**

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *jekv-* 'dance'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *екв-*

yukond. *jekən-* 'dance', sosv. *йѣквуҥкве* 'dance' < ProtoMansi *\*jĩk<sub>o</sub>*, *\*jĩk<sub>o</sub>*- [Honti 1982];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *jeiv* 'tree'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *eїв*

Kuzakova – *йуѳ*

тавд. *jīw* 'tree', об. *jiv* 'tree', yukond. *jiv* 'tree', sosv. *йуѳ* 'tree' < ProtoMansi *\*jīw* [Honti 1982];

sosv., kond., tavd. *jiw<sub>1</sub>* [*jiw*], pelym. *jū* (~ *jiw*) ‘tree’ [MK 1986: 159];  
tavd. *ḡiḡβ*, nizhniy kond. *ḡiḡβ*, pelym. *ḡiḡβ*, sosv. *ḡiḡβ* ‘tree, firewood’ [Kan-  
nisto 2013: 191];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ket-* ‘send’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *кет-*

Kuzakova – *кēm*

tavd. *kīt-* ‘send’, kond. *kēt-* ‘send’, pelym. *kēt-* ‘send’, lozv. *kēt-* ‘send’,  
sosv. *kēt-* ‘send’ < ProtoMansi *\*kīt-* [Honti 1982];

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *jeis* ‘come’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *елсынъ*

tavd. *ji-*, *jüw-*, *jäj-* ‘come’, kond. *ji-*, *jiw-*, *jäj-* ‘come’, pelym. *ji-*, *jij-*,  
*jäj-*, *jāj* ‘come’, lozv. *ji-*, *jaj-* ‘come’, sosv. *ji-*, *juw-*, *jaj-* ‘come’ < Pro-  
toMansi *\*j-*, *ḡw-*, *āj-* [Honti 1982];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *tel-* ‘grow, be born, give birth’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *тел-*

Kuzakova – *tèlḡ*

tavd. *tīl-* ‘be born’, kond. *tēl-* ‘be born’, pelym. *tēl-* ~ *tel-* ‘be born’,  
lozv. *tēl-* ‘be born’, sosv. *tēl-* ‘be born’ < ProtoMansi *\*tīl* [Honti 1982];

So, the ProtoMansi phoneme *\*i* in the studied monuments is characterized by the presence of two variants of writing: *i*, *e*. Only the grapheme *e* is represented in the layout, in the layout the rules for using one or another letter are still unclear. At the same time, for a number of words, we see a discrepancy between the data of monuments and the Yukonda eastern dialect according to the records of the XXI century: in modern records, *e* is more common, for ex. yukond. *pet’-* ‘lip’, yukond. *ketilan* ‘to ask’, yukond. *n’el’e* ‘four’, yukond. *n’elm’en* ‘tongue’, in

which *i* is represented in the Gospels < ProtoMansi \**i*. This confirms the hypothesis that the transition is ProtoMansi \**i* > *e*, characteristic of Eastern dialects, began early enough and was already reflected in the Gospels of the XIX century, gradually capturing all new words, but by the XXI century it had not ended.

### **Special reflex in the Gospel (1847-1848):**

#### **ProtoMansi \**i***

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *pil-* ‘be afraid’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848– *пыл-*

Kuzakova – *пэлх*

ob. *p'ilunk'e* ‘be afraid’, yukond. *pel'áen-* ‘be afraid’, sosv. *пилуңкве* ‘be afraid’ < ProtoUralic \**pele*;

sosv., pelym. *pili* [= *pili*], kond. *péli*, tavd. *pilä'nt* ~ *pilä'nt* ‘be afraid’ [MK 1986: 440];

tavd. *pil'-*, nizhniy kond., sredniy kond. *pəl-*, pelym. *pil-*, sosv. *pil-* ‘be afraid’ [Kannisto 2013: 589];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *mil* ‘depth’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мыль*

tavd. *mäl, mil* ‘depth’, ob. *m'il* ‘depth’, yukond. *mel'* ‘depth’, sosv. *мил* ‘глубоко’ < ProtoMansi \**mīl* [Honti1982];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *pit* ‘nest’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *пытъ*

tavd. *pitī* ‘nest’, ob. *p'it'i* ‘nest’, yukond. *pet'* ‘nest’, sosv. *numu* ‘nest’ < ProtoMansi \**pītī* [Honti 1982];

tavd. *pitī*, nizhniy kond., sredniy kond. *pət', pīt'*, verkhniy kond. *pit'*, pelym. *pit'ṣ̣̣*, sosv. *pi-t'i* ‘nest’ [Kannisto 2013: 674];



4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *lil* ‘soul’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *лыль*

Kuzakova – *лэл*

tavd. *lǟl* ‘soul’, kond. *lil* ‘soul’, pelym. *lǟl* ‘soul’, lozv. *lili* ‘soul’, sosv. *lili* ‘soul’ < ProtoMansi *\*lil*, *\*lǟl* [Honti 1982];

nizhniy kond., sredniy kond. *ləl*, verkhniy kond. *l̥l*, pelym. *lɛl*, vagil., nizhniy lozv. *lil*, verkhniy lozv. *l̥li*, sosv. *li·li* ‘soul’ [Kannisto 2013: 417];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *michv* ‘give’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мышвь*

tavd. *mä-*, *mäj-*, *mäw-*, *mäj-* ‘give’, pelym. *Мáиһъ* ‘give’ [Slovtsov 1905: 9], sosv. *май-* ‘give’ < ProtoMansi *\*m̥-*, *\*m̥y-*, *\*mǟj-* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *m̥j̄* [*mīj̄*] (*mi-*, *maj-*), pelym. *mǟji* (*inf. m̥j̄χw*), kond. *m̥ej̄* ~ *m̄j̄* ~ *m̄ej̄* (*inf. m̄ej̄χw*), tavd. *mäjä'nt* (*inf. mǟŋ*) ‘give’ [MK 1986: 306];

tavd. *mɛ-*, *mɛ̄-*, nizhniy kond., sredniy kond., verkhniy kond. *mə-*, pelym. *mi-*, sosv. *m̄j̄-* ‘give’ [Kannisto 2013: 454].

Interestingly, the reflexes of this vowel in the Gospel of 1847-1848 differ significantly from the first text. To clarify the nature of this phenomenon, we compared the reflexion of ProtoMansi *\*i* archival sources with data from [Kannisto 2013], verified as the most accurate (see [Normanskaya, Koshelyuk 2017], [Koshelyuk, Normanskaya 2018], [Koshelyuk 2018]), and data from the Konda dialect [Kuzakova 1963] (Table 3).

Table 3. Implementation of ProtoMansi \*i in the eastern dialects of the Mansi language of the XIX-XX centuries.

Eastern dialects				
Pro-to-Mansi	[Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848]	[Gospel of Matthew 1868]	[Kannisto 2013]	[Kuzakova 1963]
*i	i, e, ə, ɪ	i, e	ə, è, i, ē	ə, ē, è, ə

According to the table, we observe the preservation of ProtoMansi \*i in the middle of the XIX century. ([Gospel of Matthew 1868] and [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848]) and in the materials of the early XX centuries ([Kannisto 2013]), while the ProtoMansi vowel is absent in the data of the mid-XX century, which indicates the beginning of the transition process in Eastern dialects at this time. We also assume that the appearance of y in the second text of Scripture is explained by the way of writing in the Cyrillic monument: cf. *ныл*- 'be afraid' [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848], kond. *нэлх* 'be afraid' [Kuzakova 1963] and nizhniy, sredniy kond. *пэл*- 'be afraid' [Kannisto 2013]; *мыхэб* 'to give' [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and nizhniy, sredniy and verkhniy kond. *мэ*- 'to give' [Kannisto 2013]; *лыль* 'soul' [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and *лэл* 'spirit' [Kuzakova 1963], nizhniy, sredniy kond. *лэл* 'soul' [Kannisto 2013: 417]; *нымь* 'nest' [The Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and nizhniy, sredniy kond. *пэт'* 'nest' [Kannisto 2013: 674]. At the same time, in other Mansi dialects represented by A. Kannisto, the vowels *i*, *ε* are preserved instead of *ə*. This circumstance confirms the Eastern Konda dialect of the early text and allows us to establish that the transition is ProtoMansi \*i > ə (*ɪ*) took place earlier than the middle of the XIX century.

### **ProtoMansi \*e > e, e**

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *techv-* ‘eat’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *mexъ*

tavd. *tī-*, *tā̄j-*, *tāj-* ‘eat’, ob. *tegem* ‘eat’, yukond. *teχ-* ‘eat’, sosv. *тэҥкве* ‘eat’ < ProtoMansi \**tī*-, \**tīγ-*, \**tā̄j-*; \**tīγt-*/\**tīkt-* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *tē̄jʹ* ~ *tē̄j* (*taj-*) [*tē̄γ* (*tā̄j-*)], pelym. *tēi* (*tāj-*), kond. *tē̄jʹ* ~ *tēi* (*toāj*), tavd. *tājä'nt* ~ *tī* ‘eat’ [MK 1986: 636];

tavd. *tī̄-*, *tā̄j̄-*, *tēj-*, nizhniy kond. *tē̄-*, *tō̄ǟj̄-*, *tā̄j̄-*, *tāj̄-*, pelym. *tē̄-*, *toāj̄-*, *taj̄-*, sosv. *tē̄-*, *tē̄-*, *tā̄j̄-* ‘eat’ [Kannisto 2013: 860];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *nepek* ‘paper’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *nenek*

Kuzakova – *nenx*

pelym. *Ненхсуа́сь* ‘paper’ [Slovtsov 1905: 4], sosv. *нэ́нак* ‘paper’;

sosv. *nēpēk* (*nēpak-*) [*nēpak*], pelym., kond. *nēpēχ* ‘paper’ [MK 1986: 337];

nizhniy kond. *nē̄pχ*, *nē̄p̄χ*, pelym. *hé̄pχ*, sosv. *nē̄p̄ak* ‘paper’ [Kannisto 2013: 506];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ne* ‘woman’

Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *nel*

Kuzakova – *nē*

tavd. *jūkā* ‘woman’, pelym. *э́кумь* ‘woman’ [Slovtsov 1905: 10], sosv. *э́квa* ‘woman’ < ProtoMansi \**īk<sup>w</sup>ā* [Zhivlov 2006];

sosv. *ēkwä* ~ *ēkwa* [*ēkwa*], pelym. *jēkwä* ~ *jēkwé* (*-ēkwé*), kond. *jēkwé* ~ *jēkw* (*-ēkwé*), tavd. *jukä* ‘woman’ [MK 1986: 61];

tavd. *ĩŷkã*, Nizhniy kond. *ē<sub>ɛ</sub>kβə*, pelym. *ĩēk*, sosv. *ē<sub>ɛ</sub>kβə* ‘woman’ [Kannisto 2013: 198].

As we can see, the vowel phoneme *e* presented in both sources reflects the ProtoMansi vowel *\*e* according to [Normanskaya 2015].

### **ProtoMansi *\*u > u, u***

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ulem* ‘sleep’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *улымъ*

Kuzakova – *ŷləm*

tavd. *ōləm* ‘sleep’, ob. *ulun* ‘sleep’, yukond. *ul'men* ‘sleep’, pelym. *Вулушь* ‘sleep’ [Slovtsov 1905: 23], sosv. *улум* ‘sleep’ < ProtoMansi *\*ūlm3* [Honti 1982];

sosv., kond. *ūlēm* [*ūləm*], pelym. *вилѐт ~ вилмѐ*, kond. *ōlēm ~ olēm ~ wōlēm* ‘sleep’ [MK 1986: 693];

tavd. *ōlêːm*, nizhniy kond. *ùləm*, pelym. *βилл̃т*, sosv. *ūl'm* ‘sleep’ [Kannisto 2013: 49];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *uš* ‘town’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *уш*

tavd. *ōš* ‘town’, yukond. *ūs* ‘town’, pelym. *wūš* ‘town’, sosv. *ŷc* ‘town’ < ProtoMansi *\*wūš3* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *ūs<sub>ɪ</sub>* [= *ūs*], pelym. *uš ~ vuš*, kond. *ūs ~ vūs*, tavd. *ōš ~ vōš* ‘town’ [MK 1986: 705];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *churum* ‘три’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *хурумъ*

tavd. *kōrəm* ‘three’, yukond. *χurən* ‘three’, pelym. *Курумъ* ‘three’ [Slovtsov 1905: 33], sosv. *хурум* ‘three’ < ProtoMansi *\*kūrəm* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *χūrém* [*χūrəm*], pelym. *khūrəm*, kond. *khūrém* ~ *khurém*, tavd. *kh* *ōrém* ~ *khurém* ~ *khōrém* ~ *khōrém* ‘three’ [MK 1986: 127];

tavd. *ḱōrəm*, nizhniy kond. *χūrəm*, pelym. *kūrəm*, sosv. *χūr<sup>u</sup>m* ‘three’ [Kannisto 2013: 252];

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *chul'tept-* ‘leave’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *хультыпт-*

tavd. *kol't-* ‘leave’, kond. *χol't-*, *ko'ol't-*, *ko'ul't-* ‘leave’, pelym. *ku't-* ‘leave’, pelym. *Яны-купъ* ‘leave’ [Slovtsov 1905: 4], sosv. *хулт-* ‘leave’ < ProtoMansi *\*kūl'-* ~ *\*kūlt-* [Honti 1982];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *numen* ‘high, up’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *нумынь*

Kuzakova – *нумән*

tavd. *noməl* ‘high, up’, kond. *noməl* ‘high, up’, pelym. *noməl* ‘high, up’, sosv. *numəl* ‘high, up’ < ProtoMansi *\*nūŋk*, *\*nūməl* [Honti 1982];

According to the examples given, the implementation of ProtoMansi *\*u* is preserved in the monuments under consideration.

### **ProtoMansi *\*o* > *o*, *o***

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *lov* ‘ten’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ловъ*

ob. *lón* ‘ten’, yukond. *low* ‘ten’, pelym. *Лоупэнгъ* ‘ten’ [Slovtsov 1905: 8], sosv. *лов* ‘ten’ < ProtoUralic *\*luke*;

sosv. *low* ~ *lou* ~ *lâu* [*low*], pelym., kond. *lâu*, tavd. *lâu* ~ *lou* ~ *lu* ‘ten’ [MK 1986: 270];

tavd. *лѧβ*, nizhniy kond. *лѧβ*, pelym. *лѧβ*, sosv. *лѧβ* ‘ten’ [Kannisto 2013: 401];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *joncher* ‘moon’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *жонхыпъ*

ob. *jónhup(a)* ‘moon’, pelym. *Ἰνγπъ* ‘moon’ [Slovtsov 1905: 17];

sosv. *jāñḡēr*, pelym. *jōñkhēr*, kond. *jōñkhēr* ~ *joñkhēr*, tavd. *jamp* ~ *jāmp* ‘moon, month’ [MK 1986: 173];

tavd. *ḡamp*, nizhniy kond. *ḡḡñḡp*, pelym. *ḡḡñḡkp*, sosv. *ḡḡñḡup* ‘moon, month’ [Kannisto 2013: 225];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *choš* ‘pray’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *хоишь*

yukond. *ḡos-* ‘pray’, pelym. *Торумъ-коишь* ‘pray’ [Slovtsov 1905: 18];

pelym. *khwāšši* ~ *kwašši*, kond. *khwāšyi* ~ *khwāšji* ~ *khwāssi*, tavd. *khōškhānt* ~ *khoškhānt* ‘pray’ [MK 1986: 133];

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *hotel* ‘day’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *хотель/хотыль*

tavd. *katəl*, ob. *hótəl* ‘sun, day’, yukond. *ḡotəl* ‘sun, day’, pelym. *Кóтоль* ‘sun’ [Slovtsov 1905: 24], sosv. *xōmal* ‘sun’ < ProtoMansi *\*kātəl* ~ *\*kātəl* [Honti 1982];

сосъв. *ḡātäl* [*ḡōtal*], пелым. *khâtél*, конд. *khotél*, тавд. *khā`tél* ‘солнце, день’ [MK 1986: 112];

tavd. *ḡa`tl*, nizhniy kond. *ḡḡ`təl*, pelym. *kḡ`tl*, sosv. *ḡōtal* ‘sun, day’ [Kannisto 2013: 392];

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *chotpen* ‘sixty’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *хотпынь*

tavd. *kat* ‘six’, ob. *hotpá* ‘sixty’, yukond. *χot* (*χōt*) ‘six’, sosv. *xom* ‘sixty’ < ProtoMansi \**kāt* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *χāt* [*χōt*], pelym. *khāt*, kond. *khōt*, tavd. *khāt̄* ‘six’ [MK 1986: 112];

tavd. *ḱāt*, nizhniy kond. *χōt*, pelym. *kw̄t*, sosv. *χōt* ‘six’ [Kannisto 2013: 386];

According to the examples given, the implementation of ProtoMansi \**o* is preserved in the monuments under consideration.

### **ProtoMansi \**g* > *ä/a, a***

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *chap* ‘boat’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *xan*

Kuzakova – *xān*

tavd. *kāp* ‘boat’, yukond. *χāp* ‘boat’, pelym. *Кәнъ* ‘boat’ [Slovtsov 1905: 16], sosv. *xān* ‘boat’ < ProtoMansi \**kīp̄z* [Honti 1982];

sosv. *χāp* [=χāp], pelym., kond. *khōp*, tavd. *khāp̄* ~ *khäp* ‘boat’ [MK 1986: 79];

tavd. *ḱāp*, nizhniy kond. *χāp̄*, sredniy kond., verkhniy kond. *kēp*, pelym. *kēp*, sosv. *χāp* ‘boat’ [Kannisto 2013: 333];

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *rākuchv*<sup>6</sup> ‘rain’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ракюхъ*

pelym. *Рэхъ* ‘rain’ [Slovtsov 1905: 9], sosv. *ракв* ‘rain’;

sosv. *rakw* [=rakw], pelym., kond. *räχw*, tavd. *руχ* ‘rain’ [MK 1986: 491];

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<sup>6</sup>An example with an unreliably identified etymology.

tavd. *rüχ*, nizhniy kond. *rāχ<sub>u</sub>*, sredniy kond. *rāχ<sub>u</sub>*, verkhniy kond. *rāχ<sub>u</sub>*,  
pelym. *rεχ*, *rὲekt<sub>Pl.</sub>*, sosv. *rā`χ<sub>u</sub>* ‘rain’ [Kannisto 2013: 682];

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868–*aku*<sup>7</sup> ‘one’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *aky*

tavd. *ük* ‘one’, yukond. *āχ* ‘one’, pelym. *Ўвкаръ* ‘one’ [Slovstov 1905:  
20], sosv. *аква* ‘one’;

sosv. *akw* (~ *au* ~ *ak*) [*akw*], pelym. *əkw* ~ *əu*, kond. *äkw* ~ *äkwe*, tavd.  
*uχ* (*uk-*) ‘one’ [MK 1986: 28];

tavd. *üχ*, nizhniy, verkhniy kond. *āk<sub>u</sub>*, sredniy kond. *āk<sub>u</sub>*, pelym. *εk*,  
sosv. *ā`kβā*, *ā`kβ*, *āk<sub>u</sub>* ‘one’ [Kannisto 2013: 23].

The reflexion presented in the monuments is dialect-differentiating, since it allows us to determine the relevance of the Gospels to one of the Eastern Kondo dialects: *rākuchv* ‘rain’ [Gospel of Matthew 1868], *ракюхъ* ‘rain’ [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and nizhniy kond. *rāχ<sub>u</sub>*, sredniy kond. *rāχ<sub>u</sub>*, verkhniy kond. *rāχ<sub>u</sub>* ‘rain’ by [Kannisto 2013: 682]; *aku* ‘one’ [Gospel of Matthew 1868], *aky* ‘one’ [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and nizhniy kond., verkhniy kond. *āk<sub>u</sub>*, sredniy kond. *āk<sub>u</sub>*, ‘one’ [Kannisto 2013: 23]. At the same time, one of the examples clearly correlates with the Nizhniy Konda dialect: cf. *chap* ‘boat’ [Gospel of Matthew 1868], *xan* ‘boat’ [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and nizhniy kond. *χāp* according to A. Kannisto, while in sredniy kondinsky and verkhniy kondinsky dialects form *kēp* ‘boat’ [Kannisto 2013: 333];

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<sup>7</sup>An example with an unreliably identified etymology.



## CONCLUSION

Summing up the study of vowel phonemes, we can say that the dialect that formed the basis of the two Gospels is archaic. This is evidenced by the partial preservation of the ProtoMansi vowels *\*i*, *\*a*. On the basis of ProtoMansi *\*e > a/a* in the word *chap* 'boat' [Gospel of Matthew 1868], *hap* 'boat' [The Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] two texts of the Gospel coincide with the data of the Nizhnekondinsky dialect according to A. Kannisto. By the presence of ProtoMansi in the implementation the *\*i* reflex of [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] also corresponds to the nizhnekondinsky or srednekondinsky dialect according to [Kannisto 2013]. At the same time, the dialect presented in this Mansi source differs from the dialects already known to us. So, in the implementation of ProtoMansi *\*a* we found an interesting phenomenon: in a number of words, the transition of this phoneme to *o* is marked (*очелне* 'to die', *мошкатымь* 'dressed'), as well as several doublet forms (*шакъ/шоох* 'very', *насен/носынь* 'table'), correlating with *â* in the dictionary [Kuzakova 1963]. This is probably an innovative development characteristic of the Konda dialect.

It is also worth noting that the analysis of the vowel graphemes of the texts of the Holy Scriptures of the mid-XIX century in comparison with the materials of the beginning and second half of the XX century allowed us to determine the chronology of linguistic changes that occurred during the development of the ProtoMansi language to modern dialects. Loss of ProtoMansi *\*i* in the Konda dialect in the materials of E. A. Kuzakova and its presence in the texts of the Gospel and in the dictionary of A. Kannisto indicate that this process has already be-

gun, but has not yet been completed in the XIX century. On the contrary, the appearance of diphthongoid reflexes at the site of ProtoMansi \**ā* begins to occur only in the dictionaries of A. Kannisto and B. Munkachi. At the same time, in [Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848] and [Gospel of Matthew 1868] graphic diphthongs as such are absent (with the exception of one word *uay* ‘many’ in the earliest source), it can be assumed that the process of the beginning of changes dates back to the middle of the XIX century.

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