



The Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848): Vowel Harmony Restriction

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The Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848): vowel harmony restriction¹

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Abstract. The article discusses the synharmonic features of the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) discovered in the course of research, which distinguish the dialect of this source from all known Mansi dialects.

Keywords. the Mansi language, archival data, vowel harmony, the Gospel of Matthew.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the translation of the two Gospels, cases similar to synharmonism were found. Most researchers agree that this phenomenon is not typical for the Mansi language. Thus, in the “Uralic Languages” P. Haidu notes that vowel harmony is not found in the Ob-Ugric languages [Haidu 1985: 19]. Rombandeeva E. I. considers it relict for the Mansi language [Rombandeeva 2017: 285]. According to B. Munkacsi, synharmonism is not characteristic of Eastern dialects [Munkacsi 1984]. According to L. Honti, “vowel harmony inherited from the Fin-

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no-Ugric era was preserved in the recently extinct south Mansi (Tavda dialect” [Languages of the World 1993: 280].

2 VOCAL HARMONY RESTRICTION

Below are the results of the examination of the texts of the Gospels of Matthew from the point of view of the statistics of the ratio of the vowels of the first and second syllables in them. The analysis was carried out on the following most frequent types of word forms:

- 1) in the first syllable *o*; in the second syllable *ɔ*;
- 2) in the first syllable *o*; in the second syllable *e*;
- 3) in the first syllable *o*; in the second syllable *u*;
- 4) in the first syllable *o*; in the second syllable *y*;
- 5) in the first syllable *o*; in the second syllable *o*;

- 1) in the first syllable *y*; in the second syllable *ɔ*;
- 2) in the first syllable *y*; in the second syllable *e*;
- 3) in the first syllable *y*; in the second syllable *u*;
- 4) in the first syllable *y*; in the second syllable *y*;
- 5) in the first syllable *y*; in the second syllable *o*;

- 1) in the first syllable *u*; in the second syllable *ɔ*;
- 2) in the first syllable *u*; in the second syllable *e*;
- 3) in the first syllable *u*; in the second syllable *u*;
- 4) in the first syllable *u*; in the second syllable *y*;
- 5) in the first syllable *u*; in the second syllable *o*;

- 1) in the first syllable *e*; in the second syllable *ɪ*;
- 2) in the first syllable *e*; in the second syllable *e*;
- 3) in the first syllable *e*; in the second syllable *u*;
- 4) in the first syllable *e*; in the second syllable *y*;
- 5) in the first syllable *e*; in the second syllable *o*;

Cases for the Mansi vowel *a* were also examined:

- 1) in the first syllable *a*; in the second syllable *a*;
- 2) in the first syllable *a*; in the second syllable *e*;
- 3) in the first syllable *a*; in the second syllable *u*;
- 4) in the first syllable *a*; in the second syllable *y*;
- 5) in the first syllable *a*; in the second syllable *o*;

The analysis and quantitative calculation of these types showed that after *o*, *i*, *e* in the first syllable in the translations of the Gospels there are restrictions on the use of vowels of the second syllable, while they do not coincide in the translations under consideration. Statistical calculations of the total number of examples of certain word forms were carried out on the entire volume of these translations of the Gospel (17.133 words).

Word forms with *a* in the first syllable in the sources²:

The number of word forms with *a* in the first syllable is 787 examples. In the second syllable in both texts *a*, *e* are most often repre-

² Here and further, to save space, 5 examples from both sources are given, in the case of atypical phenomena – all the detected examples.

sented, in the second text isolated cases with *ы* are recorded (for example, *кашыль* ‘servant’):

- 1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kat-at* ‘hand-LOC’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *кат-атъ*
- 2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *lach-el* ‘news-ABL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *лах-ыль*
- 3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *vatm-es* ‘getting closer-PST3SG’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ватъм-есъ*
- 4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *aul-nel* ‘sky-ABL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *аул-ныль*
- 5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *var-uchv* ‘make-INF’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *вар-ухъ*

Word forms with *y* in the first syllable in the sources:

The number of word forms with *u* in the first syllable in both texts is 198 examples, most often in the second syllable they represent *e* and *u*, but there are other vowels. Here are a few examples of them:

- 1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *pun-uchv* ‘lay-INF’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *пун-ухъ*
- 2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *uš-et* ‘town-PL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *уш-ыт*
- 3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ñult-an* ‘down to repent-IMP3PL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *нюлт-ынъ*
- 4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ulmiacht-es* ‘to dream-PST3SG’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *улмяхт-есъ*
- 5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *pupi-ne* ‘pagan-LOC’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *нупи-не*

Word forms with *o* in the first syllable in the sources:

The number of word forms with *o* in the first syllable is 192 examples. It was revealed that in the Gospel of Matthew (1868), only the words with *e* in the second syllable are represented in the Latin alphabet, they also prevail in the Cyrillic text:

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *moše* ‘few’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *моше*

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ol-es* ‘to be-PST3SG’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ол-есъ*

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ontš-es* ‘have-PST3SG’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *оньч-есъ*

4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ton-me* ‘that-ACC’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *тон-ме*

5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *sov-me* ‘star-ACC’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *сов-ме*

At the same time, the second text – the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) – is also characterized by the presence of word forms with *ы* in the second syllable:

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *l'onch-nel* ‘way-ABL’

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *лонх-ыль*

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *volchv-et-ne* ‘magus-PL-LAT’³

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *волхв-ыт-не*

³ This example demonstrates a single preservation of the harmony of the vowel *e* in the series in the Gospel of Matthew (1868).

- 3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *chortep* ‘shovel’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *хортынь*
- 4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *mos-en* ‘before-LAT’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мос-ынь*
- 5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *oslem* ‘fruit’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ослымь*

Word forms with *i* in the first syllable in the sources:

The number of word forms with *i* in the first syllable is 106 examples. Most often they contain *a* in the second syllable:

- 1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *mira-me* ‘folks-ACC’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мира-ме*
- 2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *tina-ne* ‘they-LAT’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *тина-не*
- 3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kit-ag* ‘two-TRL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *кит-агъ*
- 4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *vis-anel* ‘take-OBJ3PL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *выс-аныль*
- 5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *šim-an* ‘heart-?’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *шим-ан*

Interestingly, the predominance of this type for word forms on *i* in the first syllable and *a* in the second is not characteristic of the Mansi dialects described in [Vakhrusheva 1963], [Kannisto 2013], [МК 1986]. In particular, the eastern group, according to the conducted study, is characterized by the prevalence of type *i-e*, while this group is also not widely represented.

Consider the vowels of the second syllable in word forms with *i* in the first syllable according to [Kuzakova 1963], [Kannisto 2013] and [MK1986].

[Kuzakova 1963]: the cases of the appearance of *i* in the first syllable in this dictionary are scarce, we give all the fixed lexemes.

- 1) *вис'хар* 'kid, baby' [Кузакова 1963: 440];
- 2) *кивтма'ї* 'not sharpened' [Кузакова 1963: 453];
- 3) *кїт* (*китәй*), *кїтәт* '1) two, 2) second' [Кузакова 1963: 453];
- 4) *лїхтәт* 'plunge into' [Кузакова 1963: 457];
- 5) *нїл'сән* 'bone knife' [Кузакова 1963: 469];

[Kannisto 2013] in the konda dialects: mainly after *i* in the first syllable occurs *ə*, less often *u* and *a*.

- 1) verkhnekond. *i*u·sy-, srednekond. *i*ũsy- 'cause pain' [Kannisto 2013: 110];
- 2) verkhnekond. *βi*š'char, srednekond., nizhnekond. *βi*š'kar 'kid, baby' [Kannisto 2013: 174];
- 3) verkhnekond. *i*əχ_c t-, *i*əχ_c t-, srednekond. *i*əχ_c t-, nizhnekond. *i*əχ_c ut- 'to come' [Kannisto 2013: 203];
- 4) verkhnekond. *ki*-täy, srednekond. *ki*-täy 'two' [Kannisto 2013: 397];
- 5) verkhnekond. *n*iləm, srednekond. *n*ə·ləm, nizhnekond. *n*i·ləm 'tongue' [Kannisto 2013: 537].

[MK 1986] in the konda dialects: basically, the author has recorded cases for examples with *i-e*.

- 1) kond. *īḡkēm* ‘secret’ [MK 1986: 136];
- 2) kond. *kīnēl* ‘from’ [MK 1986: 205];
- 3) kond. *kitilāχ* ‘ask’ [MK 1986: 216];
- 4) kond. *ḡiyēli* ‘breaking, hacking’ [MK 1986: 361];
- 5) kond. *ḡilān* ‘four’ [MK 1986: 361].

We believe that the predominance of *a* in the second syllable in word forms with *i* in the first syllable, characteristic of both monosyllabic bases and subsequent affixes, and for two-syllabic ones, is a unique feature of the Gospels of Matthew (1847-1848) and (1868).

Word forms with *e* in the first syllable in the sources:

A quantitative calculation of word forms with the vowel *e* in the first syllable in two texts of the Gospels showed the following: a total of 209 examples were recorded, while word forms with *e* in the second syllable predominate in both sources – 137 examples, and in the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848) – *e-ы* – 56 cases, see examples:

- 1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *tel-es* ‘born-PST3SG’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *тел-есъ*
- 2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *ket-es* ‘send-PST3SG’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *кетесъ*
- 3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *entep-el* ‘belt-INSTR’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *энетеп-ыль*
- 4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *men-es* ‘go-PST3SG’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мен-есъ*
- 5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *jeg-me* ‘father-ACC’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ег-ме*

According to the examples given and the recorded number of cases of word forms in *e-e*, we can talk about the presence of synharmonism in a number in the Gospel of Matthew (1868). At the same time, we conducted additional research on the implementation of this type of correspondences in similar words in the Eastern dialect on the Mansi material by E. A. Kuzakova [Kuzakova 1963], B. Munkachi [MK 1986] and A. Kannisto [Kannisto 2013].

[Kuzakova 1963] *e-ə* the reflexes of the same word forms:

- 1) *ентән (əнтән)* ‘belt’ [Kuzakova 1963: 445];
- 2) *кѣтэх* ‘send’ [Kuzakova 1963: 452];
- 3) *мәнх, мәнәм, мəнимән* ‘go, walk’ [Kuzakova 1963: 462];
- 4) *нѣх (непэх), непəкəнгхəр* ‘1) paper, 2) paper-based’ [Kuzakova 1963: 465];
- 5) *пѣрнə* ‘cross’ [Kuzakova 1963: 479];

In other lexemes:

- 1) *вəйən* ‘shoulder’ [Kuzakova 1963: 440];
- 2) *емəнг* ‘hollow’ [Kuzakova 1963: 445];
- 3) *кени́эх* ‘wake up’ [Kuzakova 1963: 451];
- 4) *кəсəммтəхтəх* ‘catch yourself, start looking’ [Kuzakova 1963: 452];
- 5) *лəлəнгəй хултəх* ‘to survive, to stay alive’ [Kuzakova 1963: 459];

According to the Eastern dialect [Kuzakova 1963], word forms with *e* in the first syllable are characterized by the use of a neutral vowel *ə* in the second syllable, examples of *e* in the first syllable are much less common.

In [Kannisto 2013] in Eastern dialects, we also see that in the vast majority of cases, the word forms with *e* in the first syllable are represented by *ə* in the second syllable:

- 1) nizhnekond. *nè.pχ, nēp³χ* ‘paper’ [Kannisto 2013: 506];
- 2) nizhnekond. *kəšnə* ‘hunting lodge’ [Kannisto 2013: 320];
- 3) srednekond. *kērśət* ‘thunder’ [Kannisto 2013: 359];
- 4) srednekond. *lěplən* ‘covered’ [Kannisto 2013: 426];
- 5) nizhnekond. *me.telaxt*, srednekond. *mètəlayt* ‘to rent out’ [Kannisto 2013: 491];

In [MK 1986], on the contrary, just as in the considered monuments in Eastern dialects, in the vast majority of cases, word forms with *e* in the first syllable are represented by *e* in the second syllable:

- 1) kond. *ēntēχ-kwāli* ‘thin long belt’ [MK 1986: 65];
- 2) kond. *nēpēχ* ‘paper’ [MK 1986: 337];
- 3) kond. *el’ēm* ‘glue’ [MK 1986: 65];
- 4) kond. *ērkelī* ‘between’ [MK 1986: 67];
- 5) kond. *ēsərmä (ēsərma)* ‘shame’ [MK 1986: 68];

The appearance of the vowel of the front row *i* in the second syllable after *e* in the first syllable is quite rare.

As mentioned above, we have also recorded a significant number of cases of the presence of *ɪ* in the second syllable in words with *e* in the first syllable in the Gospel (1847-1848), which, apparently, is a unique feature of this source, since it is not recorded in other dialects in any of the available dictionaries:

In the first syllable *e*, in the second *ы* for the Gospel of Matthew (1847-1848):

- 1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *elemholes* ‘human’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *элымхолесъ*
- 2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *erept-an* ‘love-IMP2SG’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *эрыптанъ*
- 3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *erk-en* ‘will-LAT’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *эрк-ынъ*
- 4) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *eln-en* ‘ancient-LAT’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *эльн-ынъ*
- 5) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *kelp-et* ‘area-PL’
Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *кеплытъ*

Similar cases have been encountered in the data of the northern Mansi in the Mansi-Russian dictionary by A. N. Balandin and M. P. Vakhrusheva [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1958]. We give examples of the types of word forms *e-ы* for the Konda (eastern) and Sosva (northern) dialects:

- 1) kond. *келәй* ‘swamp’ / sosv. *келыг* ‘swamp’ [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1958: 36];
- 2) kond. *месәй* ‘gyrus, bend’ / sosv. *месыг* ‘gyrus, bend’ [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1958: 54];
- 3) kond. *негәл'тӑхтәх*, *негәл'әйтәхтәх* ‘look out, lean out’/ sosv. *негылттахтункве* ‘look out, lean out’ [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1958: 66];

4) kond. *пел'пәи, пел'пән'и* 'quickly' / sosv. *пелтысь* 'quickly' [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1958: 80];

5) kond. *рәгтәйл'әх, рәгтил'әх* 'warm up, sweat' / sosv. *рәгтыгланкве* 'warm up, sweat' [Balandin, Vakhrusheva 1958: 92].

Other types of word forms for the front vowel *e* are rare in the texts of the Gospels, cf.:

In the first syllable *e*, in the second *o*:

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *elol* 'first'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *элолхарь*

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *jeg-ov* 'father-POSS2PL'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *ег-ов*

In the first syllable *e*, in the second *y*:

1) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *tel-uchv* 'give birth-INF'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *тел-ухъ*

2) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *men-uchv* 'go-INF'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *мен-ухъ*

3) Gospel of Matthew 1868 – *keur-t* 'inside-LOC'

Gospel of Matthew 1847-1848 – *кеур-тъ*

It should be noted that an additional statistical analysis of the implementation of the type of correspondences in *e* (*e-e*, *e-o*, *e-u*, *e-i*, *e-ы*) in the eastern dialects of other researchers showed that along with the data

of the two Gospels, according to B. Munkachi, the type of *e-e* also significantly prevails in the Konda dialect, there are fewer cases on *e-i* (in our monuments this is the most rare type of correspondences), then there is a type with a neutral vowel *e-a*: kond. *ēri* (*ēry*) ‘song’ [MK 1986: 65], *ērpti* ‘love’ [MK 1986: 66], *tētal* [= *tētal*] ‘hand to mouth’ [MK 1986: 639], *tēp-kān* ‘arable’ [MK 1986: 191], *kēnsi* ‘bitter’ [MK 1986: 213], *mēsi* ‘gyroscope’ [MK 1986: 306], *pēltaχti* ‘become crazy’ [MK 1986: 430].

In [Kuzakova 1963], different types of correspondences are presented, but the most frequent are cases with a neutral vowel *a*, vowel of the back row *a*, as well as *ä* and *a°*, similarly with the data of the texts of Holy Scripture, cases on *e-o*, *e-u*, *e-y* are less often recorded: kond. *eññāñm* ‘before’ [Kuzakova 1963: 445], *κēλι* ‘swamp’ [Kuzakova 1963: 450], *μәннхаp* ‘walking’ [Kuzakova 1963: 461], *нeи́аи́* ‘wolf’ [Kuzakova 1963: 465], *нәш́уv* ‘how many’ [Kuzakova 1963: 466], *пeритәхтәх* ‘curl’ [Kuzakova 1963: 478], *пeрcәх* ‘bind’ [Kuzakova 1963: 479], *пeттәх* ‘lure out, change’ [Kuzakova 1963: 485], *сeмәлӀӕх* ‘blacken, smoke’ [Kuzakova 1963: 489], *ш́eркан* ‘sprout’ [Kuzakova 1963: 4].

A. Kannisto's materials also present different types of correspondences, but there is no clearly predominant one: nizhnekond. *tēpkān* ‘arable land’ [Kannisto 2013: 864], srednekond. *ēlχk. āl* ‘day after tomorrow’ [Kannisto 2013: 44], nizhnekond. *elol*, srednekond. *e-lol*, verkhnekond. *elo-l* ‘first’ [Kannisto 2013: 44], nizhnekond. *eläl'l'ax*, srednekond. *äläl'l'ak*, verkhnekond. *äläl'l'ak* ‘ahead’ [Kannisto 2013: 45], nizhnekond., verkhnekond. *ēlnəη* ‘earlier’ [Kannisto 2013:

45], nizhnekond. *èrmil-*, srednekond. *è_χermi-l-* ‘necessary’ [Kannisto 2013: 75], nizhnekond. *ēri*, *èrɣətɸi* ‘song’ [Kannisto 2013: 87], nizhnekond. *nēyānt-* ‘tie’ [Kannisto 2013: 496], verkhnekond. *sèrɣtuɸ* ‘caviar (fish)’ [Kannisto 2013: 781].

CONCLUSION

As can be seen from the presented analysis of synharmonism in the monuments of Holy Scripture, the East Mansi dialects of the mid-XIX – early XX centuries were characterized by syngramonism in a series of a pair of correspondences of the front vowel *e-e*. At the same time, the absence of this phenomenon in other types of correspondences confirms the opinion of L. Honti and E. I. Rombandeeva about this phenomenon in the Mansi language as a relic.

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