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THE SPEECH REPRESENTATION OF THE SAMOYEDS IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN POPULAR SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE ABOUT THE SAMOYEDS (1732) ¹

The article is devoted to the stylistic peculiarities of presenting information about one of the Northern peoples in the first printed article about them, published in 1732 in the popular scientific academic magazine “Notes to the Saint-Petersburg Vedomosti” (republication [Malyshev, 2014]) and intended to acquaint the audience (mostly in St. Petersburg and Moscow) with the way of Samoyed's life. The article was prepared by its author on the basis of Nicolaes Witsen's book “Noord en Oost Tartarye” (Amsterdam, 1692), but the defining role is precisely given to the stylistic manner of the recounted book presentation. The materials take four releases (16 pages, parts XXVIII–XXXI). In the article, the speech representation of Samoyeds is done doubly: “from the outside” and “from within”. First, the article is built according to the general scheme realizing typical steps of the ethnographic informing communicative scenario: 1) Contribution of the key nomination and etymological information about it; 2) Contribution of the nationality origin and structure; 3) Story about relationship with colonists of the Russian North; 4) Description of religion and its status in Samoyed's life. Secondly, in the end of the article the reader can see a part of language which Samoyeds speak: some examples of keywords in Archangelsk Samoyed dialect (71 words and 16 short everyday phrases) are given, the translations of “Lord's Prayer” prayer into three dialects of the Samoyed language (in Archangelsk, Turukhansk and Tafsik) and the counting from one to ten on the same dialects are shown. The article “About the Samoyeds” not only told the Russian readers about the “strange foreign” people, but also acquainted these people and the territory they lived on with other people and lands as a part of the Russian state. In this article, the tonality as a key factor plays a special role in forming the reader's general perception of the Russian North nation's original culture and formed the positive perception of Samoyeds as common people which are living subsistence economy, kept streaks of primitive culture, but at the same time goodhearted, partly naive and friendly.

Keywords: *historical stylistics, speech representation, ethnic identity, speech assimilation, Samoyeds, popular scientific journalism, journalism of the 18th century.*

The range of possible for analysis materials about the Russian North also includes the journalistic publications of the popular scientific content: significantly smaller in volume than a book, they stylistically cover a larger and more various readers' audience in any historical period. The diachronic approach to such texts allows setting “the start point” of the Russian readers' acquaintance with the realities of other cultures as well as finding the genetic links between various genre-stylistic sources. The texts of the Russian press establishment demonstrate the fulfillment of the same compositional and generally stylistic devices which are used in contemporary media texts, whether we speak about the communicative scenario of a speech genre [4], or the compositional stylistic model [9; 10], of the innovative model [13] etc. For example, speaking about the contemporary travel journalism which is a reduced text of the scientific travel [12, pp. 71–72, 123], we may find its sources in the thematically similar publications of the 18th century.

One of the popular scientific journalism tasks was to inform the readers about the surrounding world. The readers undoubtedly knew that people (including Russians) live in the north of the European part of Russian and east of the Urals. Some information about the Northern people was gathered and set out in the manuscript “About the unknown people in the Eastern country” of the 15th–16th centuries (the text and historical commentaries see in [1], especially pp. 6–12) and some other texts. In addition, the trade relations through the legendary Mangazeya also contributed to the spread of knowledge about the Samodic people, however for many readers of the first third of the

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18th century it was still a terra incognita, I mean, the knowledge and presentation about their way of life, manners and traditions were blurred – basically it was a “strange” world within “their own” country, which demanded a right decision in the epoch of the national consciousness establishment: “learning about the “strange” the readers... learnt “theirs own”, the comparison gave birth to the national self-consciousness — a sovereign part of a big world” [16, p. 191]. In this aspect the popular scientific journalism of the first half of the 18th century anteceded the scientific travels, which happened later at the end of the century [5, pp. 130–132]: the popular scientific article about the country and/or the people became a mini-travel for a reader, led by a journalist; that was even three hundred years ago improved by the psycholinguistic aspects of communication (see [2]). It is important to notice that in such cases the category of testimony [14] was not often explicit: the author of the article may tell about the people using his own observations or building the text in the form of a fascinating retelling of other researches. By the way, the reader can probably not be interested in the way of the text creation: the main task for the journalist was just to write the text as itself and to do it in the interesting and easy to be read style.

The article “About the Samoyeds” was published in the first Russian popular scientific magazine “Notes to Saint Petersburg Vedomosti” in Russian and German in 1732. This article was undoubtedly written on the basis of Nicholas Witsen’s book “Noord en Oost Tartarye” (Amsterdam, 1692), because it is immediately followed by a review of this book. Nicholas Witsen and his work is well known by the contemporary specialists, however, in my study only the stylistic manner of Witsen’s book retelling is presented, because even the retelled information can be submitted in very different stylistic ways. In addition, the readers of both the German and even more the Russian article of the “Notes” was almost certainly not familiar with the original text of Witsen’s book, so they had to rely on the academic author’s opinion, and the role of the article stylistics increased significantly.

The article follows the general scheme demonstrating the typical steps of the communicative scenario for informing:

1. The message in the beginning of the article contains the key nomination and the etymological information about it, in our case it means all the nation (the Russian quotations are cited with the simplified orthography but preserving the original spelling here and further on): *Самоеды есть такои народ, которои живет, как известно, по обеим сторонам реки Оби к северу, там где она в Лдяное Море впадает. Имя сие имеет он от САМОЯДЕНИЯ, для тово что о нем ска- зывают, будто он собственных своих мертвецов, и побежденных неприятелеи по обычаю Готтентоттенев и Каннибалов съедает ... Я сие за больше вероятное почитаю, что им такое имя от несправеднаго разумения придано, а имянно когда видели что они сырое и еще кровавое звериное или рыбье мясо ели, которое может быть от человеческого тогда не очюнь разпознали. Они сами производят сие имя от слова САМОЕ, которое на их языке значит ЖИТЕЛЯ, что так же не невероятно есть / The Samoyeds is the people who live, as we know, on the both sides of the river Ob to the north where it meets the Ice Sea. This name comes from SELF-EATING, for they are told to eat their dead people and conquered enemies as the Gotentottens and Cannibals... I truly believe this that the name comes from the incorrect understanding that when they were seen eating raw and bloody animal or fish meat which seemed to be human. They derive the name from the word SAMOYE, which means a DWELLER in their language which is also possible* (Notes, p. 137).

Here the semantically transparent Cannibal potential of the notion “Samoyeds” as self-eaters is under doubt, but instead it is derived from the self-definition of the typical for the world practice word “human” (this purpose is followed two hundred years later when the ethnicon “Samodic people” was introduced in the scientific discourse).

2. Informing about the origin and the content of the nation, also it states the so-called Northern theory of the Samoyed peoples’ ethnogenesis: *Начало свое имеют они, так как и все прочия*

северныя Россиискія и Сибирскія народы, без сомнения от древних Финнов, с которыми они одну веру, нравы и обычаи содержат <...> И так некоторыя называются ТАФСКИЯ, другія ТУРУХАНСКИЯ, иныя КАНЕНСКИЯ, иныя ОБСКИЯ, иныя ОБДОРСКИЯ САМОЕДЫ и прочая / As well as all the other northern Russian and Siberian people, they originated with no doubt from ancient Finns with whom they have the same beliefs, manners and customs <...> So, some are called TAFSK, some are TURUKHANSK, other are KANENSK, some are OBSK, other are OBDORSK SAMOYEDS and so on (Notes, pp. 137–139).

The presentation about the inhomogeneity of the Samoyed ethnos, supported with toponyms, besides the language heterogeneity (as in the case with the dialect differences of the common language), demonstrates the territorial spread: the Samoyeds live on the vast territory and, as it follows, they are numerous.

The further characteristic of the Samoyeds' dwellings also states that: *Летом живут они в берестяных палатках, а зимою в землянках, которыя так велики и пространны, что там целыя фамилии уместиться могут. В верху оных палаток оставлено только одно окошко, для входу и выходу, так же и для дыму, ежели когда внизу огонь горит. Такія жилища с верху не вдруг увидать можно, а особливо, когда в зимнее время все снегом занесет. От сего может их земля очюнь пуста казаться, а однакож довольно жилья имеем* / In summer they live in birch tents, in winter they dwell in underground houses which are so large and spacious that the whole families can live there. There is only one window on the top of such tents; it is the exit, entrance and the smoke hole if the fire is burning. Such dwellings are hard to be noticed from above, especially in winter when everything is covered with snow. That is why their land may seem quite empty but it really has a lot of inhabitants (Notes, p. 146).

The possible view on the Samoyeds as people with a primitive culture of house construction is denied by the demonstration of their skill in creating oh these dwellings. In the case of birch-bark tents, the reader should understand that in the external inability to build houses from logs, the Samoyeds simply do not need capital buildings, which are extremely difficult or just impossible to transport them in the case of nomadic movements — it is much more convenient and practical to create a light portable or easily re-created house (cf. with wigwams or travel yurts). When it comes to houses that do not rise above the ground (like people), but go into the ground (like animals), we can say both about the ability to dig up large reliable dugouts, which give protection from the penetrating cold winter wind, and about the ability to make them difficult to be detected, that is, about the Samoyeds' art of masking their homes.

3. The story about the relations with the Russian North colonists: *Самоеды наложенную на них Россиискую дань очюнь охотно приняли, и сами тому ради были, что они таких над собою Владетелеи получили, которыя им, смотря на построенныя города и крепости, так славны, и, ради добраго согласія посланных туда Россиискых людей, так милостивы показались* / The Samoyeds quite willingly accepted the Russian tribute imposed on them, and they were happy to have such Governors over them who are so glorious with their cities and fortresses and seemed so merciful for the good peace of the Russian people sent there (Notes, p. 139).

We must pay attention to a significant number of positively colored words (*willingly, happy, glorious, good peace, merciful*) which shows both the general good kindness of the nation and the skilful relation building of the Russian colonists who are “landsmen” of the reader of the Russian article, being proud for his country people. Moreover, the process of the Samoyeds submission (*Russian tribute imposed on them, such Governors over them*) is presented with the author's modality as if it is something good (due to the Russian Imperial ambitions) and as a voluntary decision (compare with the tribute imposed by Prince Oleg in “The Tale of Bygone Years” of the 10th century, or in a closer historical perspective — with the entrance of union republics in the USSR).

4. Description of religion and its key role in the Samoyeds' life:

— *Служба Божия, или паче идолопоклонство Самоедское от части состоит в почитании небесных светил, яко Солнца и Луны, что они преклонением тела делают; от части*

же в почитании некоторых из дерева не искусно вырезанных фигур человеческих, звериных, рыбьих, птичьих, и прочая, так же и отрубленных голов и ног от диких зверей, которые они в лесах вешают и им молятся <...> Некогда сказывали будто у них был золотой идол, на подобие старой бабы, которой того ради ЗОЛОТАЯ БАБА назван. Сеи идол, как сказывают, на все вопросы, которые всегда от попов ему чинены были, отвечал, так же и будущее счастье или несчастие наперед объявлял / *Divine service or the Samoyed idolatry consists of worshipping the heavenly bodies such as the Sun and the Moon which they bow to; also they worship some simple wooden bodies of humans, animals, fish, birds and so on, the slashed heads and legs of wild animals which they hang in their woods and pray to them <...> They told that once they had a golden idol looking like an old woman which was called a GOLDEN WOMAN. This idol, as they say, answered all the questions asked by their priests and forecast the coming happiness or unhappiness* (Notes, pp. 139, 140).

We must notice that the tonality of the religious foundation does not contain any negative tones, the story is extremely neutral, and even some words (*idolatry*, *simple*) do not contain the negative connotations, meaning to directly show the very features of their beliefs and the quality of idols. The most curious difference from the Golden Woman's description in Witsen's book is the lack of its demonisation: Witsen wrote that this idol represents a formidable embodiment of the devil's power and its worship was based on the fear of losing fishing and hunting or being attacked by enemies, but the author of the "Notes" article did not mean the idol-related evil spirits at all, reducing the Golden Woman's functions only to fortune telling (like the Ancient Greek oracles);

— *Старейшими между ими почитаются их попы, которые по их вопросам должны волю богов объявлять, будущее наперед сказывать; <шаман> начинает так кричать, как на пример в Англии и Голландии Матрозы во время радости, или как ловцы на гоньчих собак ... пока оныи Поп, будто бешеной, замертво навзничь не упадет* / *The elders among them are their priests who must claim the will of gods to their questions and forecast the future; <a shaman> starts screaming as for example happy seamen in England and Holland or hunters on the hounds... while the Priest as if crazy falls down dead.*

Besides it tells about a *miraculous drum* of the Samoyed priest and three loud *OKGAO* and *IKGA* during the divine service (Notes, pp. 139, 142). These extracts illustrate the Samoyed rituals neutrally on the whole (a certain religious ecstasy is typical for many beliefs, including Christianity), except for the slight irony about the wild ecstasy and *many other bizarre body movements* of the shaman during the ritual. Moreover, the likening of shaman wails to the cries of joyful sailors or of hunters having a nervous excitement associated with the hope of success partly implicitly move the shaman's actions into the positive plane of perception;

— *Превеликое невежество оных людей того не терпит, чтоб все собственному их искусству, и естественным средствам приписывать можно было* / *A great ignorance of these people does not tolerate that all of the above mentioned is prescribed to their own art and the natural means; <the shaman had to> как говорят, всякая чародейная хитрости наподобие кощунов показывать* / *as they say, show witchcraft tricks as blasphemers; <during the ritual the shaman> кинжал, по обыкновению наших Фигляров, до половины в тело воткнул, не учиня себе чрез то ни какой на теле раны* / *pierced his body with a knife, as our buffoons do, and there was no wound on the body; and кто Самоедов за искусных в Фиглярстве почитать хочет; ножовоу черен у них, по обыкновению Фигляров, внутри пуст делается* / *who want to count the Samoyeds as skillful buffoons for the knife hilt is hollow inside as our buffoons* (Notes, pp. 139, 142–143).

These extracts containing the words *blasphemer* 'jester, buffoon', *buffoon* and the combinations *great ignorance* and *witchcraft tricks* show the open negative attitude of the author to the adulated trusty mind of the Samoyeds, because many articles of "Notes" were meant to overcome various aspects of ignorance (firstly, religious superstitions) [7, pp. 106–107; 8]. The indirect parallel (contently subtext information, after I. R. Galperin [3, pp. 27–29]) is the implicit comparison of the

Samoyed voodoo doctors and the European buffoons with the Orthodox priests who manipulated with the consciousness of their spiritual children in the same way.

5. The detailed description of the way of life and the appearance of the Samoyeds, some parts of which (first of all, the untidiness of various sort) may cause surprise, almost rejection, but the tonality of the message does not contain any negation, judgment or disrespect:

— Мясо едят как вареное так и сырое, а чего в друг съестъ не могут, то в яму броса-
ют, из которой со временем оное опять очюнь охотно вынимают <...> Соли, уксусу, и всех
кореней они почти ничего не знают / They eat boiled and raw meat, what they cannot eat is
thrown into a hole and later they very willingly take it out for eating <...> They know almost noth-
ing of salt, vinegar or herbs and roots (Notes, pp. 145, 147).

The nutrition may surprise the reader with the absence of spices and general deficiency, but at the same time it demonstrates the Samoyeds' freedom from the sin of gluttony. Our attention is paid to the combination *very willingly*: the absence of disgust to the spoilt meat (adverb *willingly*) is accompanied by the intensifier *very*, that shows some unpretentiousness to the state of food and a tendency to a very specific method of cooking;

— Кожи убиваемых от них на ловле диких зверей употребляют они зимою на платье.
А летом обдирают различныя рыбы, и из того себе так же очюнь способное одеяние дела-
ют. Вместо ниток берут они звериные кишки <...> И ежелиб они в лице от зверей разно-
сти не имели, то на силу бы их и познать можно было <...> Ростом они не велики, лицом
широки и смуглы, глаза имеют малыя и круглыя, волосы от большои части черныя и долгиа,
бороды очюнь редкия, и тело суровое и жестокое. Мужеский пол от женскаго у них
трудно разпознать. Платье у обоих одинакое, и лицом один пол не лучше другаго / They use
skinning of killed animals for dresses. In summer they peel various fish and also they make quite good
dresses from this. They take animal guts instead of threads <...> And if they had no facial differ-
ence from those animals, you would not distinguish them <...> They are not tall, their faces are
wide and tanned, the eyes are small and round, the hair is mostly black and long, the beards are
rare, and the bodies are strong and tough. Males are hardly different from females. The dresses are
the same and the faces are not different (Notes, pp. 145–146).

The natural and waste-free household undoubtedly describes the Samoyeds positively as those people who can live rationally. The description of clothes making also played an important role in forming the national identity of the Samoyeds for the readers, like modern fashion codes determine attitudes towards people on social media [11]. The similarity of men and women is not commented by the author, who gives us only information like in the police report description, except the categorical verdict for the clearly critical estimation of their appearance in general by the comparing with animals (compare with the description of male and female dwarves — for example, by J. R. R. Tolkien);

— Их супружества заключаются только единым согласием обеих во оное вступающих
персон. Они имеют по две и по три жены, по тому как кто богат, и сколько чья натура
снести может. Главнейшии между ими, имеет в своем Серале шесть персон, да сверх того
свободу у всякаго из его подчиненных с женою спать когда хочет, не спрашиваясь о том ни
кого <...> Хотя они в своих шалашах и жилищах все вместе спят и лежат, а летом часто и
все наги ходят, однакож порок нечистоты у них очюнь редко случается / Their marriages
happen after the mutual agreement of both parties. They may have two or three wives, if they are
rich or physically fit. The chief has six wives in his harem and also he is free to sleep with any mar-
ried woman whenever he wants without any permission <...> Though they sleep and lie together in
their huts and tents, and in summer they walk naked but the taint of impurity seldom happens
(Notes, pp. 147–148).

It is interesting that a separate comment specially clarifies that the intimate life of the Samoyeds, though it seemingly resembles the well-known polygamy of the oriental people (the word *harem* mentioned and the message about the sexual freedom of their chief), is more virtuous and

less amenable to diseases than the perverted lust of *political people*. It is interesting to point the original gender equality: only men have right to polygamy, but only the mutual agreement of both persons is decisive when they enter into marriage; here we also note the external simplicity of marriage without difficult ceremonies.

At the end of the article [6, pp. 711–714] the author shows the samples of the key word in the Archangel city Samoyed dialect (this list consists of 71 words and 16 brief colloquial utterances and it anticipates the lists by M. Svodesh) as well as demonstrates the translation of the prayer “Lord’s Prayer” into three dialects of the Samoyed dialects (Archangelsk, Turukhansk and Tafska) and the counting of one to ten in the same dialects (see, for example, [17, pp. 43–48] about the lexical “travel” exploration of the world). It is difficult to suppose that many readers of the article would really begin to learn these phrases, counting and prayers, but in the cultural sense of such linguistic knowledge about the different culture had an undeniable interest in linguocultural terms (like in Natalia B. Ruzhentseva’s research about the language and cultural diffusion as a cognitive way to know the “other” world [15]).

The article “About the Samoyeds” performed different functions for the German and Russian readers of “Notes”. For Germans it only included the narration about the wild people, living in “ignorant Russia”, i. e. about specific primitive exotics, but the Russian version told the readers about “our strange” people and, thus, attached these people and their territory to other people and lands in the Russian Empire (naming and knowledge as exploration and possession; nowadays there is the similar situation with the migrants [18]). The tonality of the message, usually neutral and sometimes sympathetic (except for the traditional irony over the “priests”), formed the positive perception of the Samoyeds as simple people, living naturally and preserving the features of the primitive traditional culture, but being kind-hearted, naive and friendly at the same time.

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РЕЧЕВАЯ РЕПРЕЗЕНТАЦИЯ САМОЕДОВ В ПЕРВОЙ РУССКОЯЗЫЧНОЙ НАУЧНО-ПОПУЛЯРНОЙ СТАТЬЕ О САМОЕДАХ (1732 Г.)²

Исследование посвящено рассмотрению стилистических особенностей подачи информации об одном из северных народов в первой печатной статье об этом народе, опубликованной в 1732 г. в научно-популярном академическом журнале «Примечания к Санкт-Петербургским ведомостям» (републикация [Малышев, 2014]) и рассчитанной на ознакомление читательской аудитории (преимущественно петербургской и московской) с образом жизни самоедов. Статья

² Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке РФФИ № 18-312-00164 «Историческая стилистика русской научно-популярной периодики первой половины XVIII века».

была подготовлена её автором на основании книги Николааса Витсена «Северная и Восточная Тартария» (Амстердам, 1692), однако определяющая роль отводится именно манере изложения пересказываемой книги. Материалы занимают четыре выпуска (16 страниц, части XXVIII–XXXI). Речевая репрезентация самоедов в статье происходит двояко: «извне» и «изнутри». Во-первых, статья выстроена по общей схеме, реализующей типичные шаги коммуникативного сценария этнографического информирования: 1) Сообщение ключевой номинации и этимологических сведений о ней; 2) Сообщение сведений о происхождении и составе народности; 3) Рассказ о взаимоотношениях с колонистами Русского Севера; 4) Описание религии и выявление её ключевых положений в жизни самоедов. Во-вторых, в конце статьи читатель видит часть языка, на котором говорят самоеды: приводятся примеры ключевых слов на архангелогородском самодийском языке (71 слово и 16 коротких бытовых фраз), демонстрируются переводы молитвы «Отче наш» на три диалекта самодийского языка и счет от одного до десяти на этих же диалектах. Статья «О самоедах» не только рассказывала читателям о «чужом своём» народе, но и приобщала этот народ и занимаемую им территорию к другим народам и землям в составе российского государства. Тональность изложения формировала положительное восприятие самоедов как простого народа, живущего натуральным хозяйством, сохранившего черты первобытной культуры, но при этом добросердечного, отчасти наивного и дружелюбного.

Ключевые слова: *речевая репрезентация, речевая ассимиляция, самоеды, национальная идентичность, историческая стилистика, научно-популярная журналистика, журналистика XVIII века.*

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