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Collective tradition meets individual creation: modern Nenets songs¹

This presentation outlines some fundamentals of tradition and creation in modern Nenets songs – mainly from a structural perspective of melody and song text. This subject is a part of the author's ongoing work on the melodic and textual structures of the Nenets traditional songs.

Let it be stated in the beginning, that the mode and the principles of the acquisition of the material for this kind of study are far from unproblematic. The specific material here is limited – partially because of the fact that there are not so many composers and creators of modern songs among the Nenets. The main substance consists of recordings of the songs. I have had no opportunity to discuss *these* songs or the recordings with the performers themselves, except in one case (Susoi 1991).² I have practically no means here to evaluate directly, how the performers themselves assess their recorded performances. Also the possibilities of indirect, comparative evaluation in the case of these songs are virtually nonexistent. The whole approach seems to be loaded with the problems of the old-fashioned "gather and analyze" -type of scientific understanding, that the modern paradigms in the cultural studies have long tried to get rid of.

However, the results and standpoints proposed are not based only on these three songs. During the last few years I have listened to, transcribed and analyzed approximately three hundred Nenets songs containing about two thousand text lines. With this kind of "*indirect bimusical*" experience, together with the specifically Nenets characteristics of verse formation (see below), there emerges an understanding about the structural logic of the melody and text. Furthermore, as a qualitative principle this means, that whatever the understanding is, it must be applicable to the whole material in some consistent way.

¹ I outlined the contents of this article at Laulasmaa, Estonia during the Finno-Ugric Folk Music Conference ("Folk Song and Folk Music as the Carrier of Identity and the Object of Cultural Change"), 18.10.1996.

² I have met, interviewed and recorded all these performers *elsewhere*, but the subjects talked and sung then had more to do with the traditional song culture.

1. The basic concepts

Structural means, that the main analytical interest focuses here on the overall motif and segmentation structures in melody, on the metric system of the text and especially on the interaction between these two elements in a song. The basis for identification and interpretation of the structures themselves is their repetitive nature in an isometric framework (see below).

Modern refers to the urban, industrialized, Russian, European influence increasingly dominating in the cultural change of minorities.

Modern Nenets songs refers to music, composed or adapted more or less in the traditional Nenets song style, and enjoying nationwide popularity through the institutions of the modern urban culture (i.e., radio broadcasts, newspapers, concerts, records, printed music, music education). At the same time, however, this concept of modernity in Nenets songs involves distinctive stylistic features not to be found in traditional singing styles of the tundra dwellers.

Interestingly enough, the fact that this music is clearly conceptualized as *composed* and *authored* music, could be interpreted in both traditional and urban/modern senses. Firstly, the Nenets – like many other Northern peoples as well – have the *traditional* notion of authorship, ownership and copy and distribution rights of one's own songs (cf. Niemi 1992, 51-53). Secondly, the very concept of composer-ownership in this paper refers to the *modern institution* of composership or ownership of music.

2. The artists-creators presented here

Representatives of this modern Nenets music in this paper represent some of the most widely known Nenets artists: the writer and poet Lyubov' Prokop'yevna *Nenyangg*³ from the capital of the Taimyr Nenets autonomous region, Dudinka, singer-writer-composer Yelena Grigor'yevna *Susoi* and the composer Semyon Nikolayevich *Nyarui*, the last two both from the capital of the Yamal Nenets autonomous region, Salekhard.

*Nenyangg*⁴ is best known as a poet, novelist and journalist. Her work draws particularly on the traditional culture of the Taimyr Nenets. At the same time she is also known as singer-interpretator, composer and rearranger of the traditional Nenets songs. While having a song repertoire of various individual songs and

³ In writing Nenets surnames, I have chosen to compromise between the name forms the people themselves are accustomed to use and the correct latinized transcription. If properly latinized, we should write: Nenets => Nyenets; *Nenyangg* => Nyenyangg; Salekhard => Salyehard (Salyanggard!); Kanin => Kanyin; Lapsui => Labtsui; Wèngga => Wènnnga.

⁴ 15.11.1931-14.9.1996.

sung fairy tales, she has composed some songs of her own whose texts are based on her poems.

Susoi's status includes not only composing, but specifically also performance. Apart from music, her contributions are connected mainly to education in the Nenets language. Her spouse, Leonid Vasil'yevich Lapsui was one of the best known Nenets poets, and he wrote the words to many popular songs of Nyarui.

One part of Susoi's song repertoire consists of traditional Nenets songs, which she has reworked and adapted according to her individual singing style. She has also specifically composed some songs to the words of Leonid Lapsui.

Nyarui is often mentioned as "the first Nenets composer" and therefore he has achieved a prominent position among the Nenets artists. Since Nyarui has a background of formal music education (St.Petersburg conservatory), he has gained the status of a more serious composer than Susoi. Nyarui is no longer the only one, since by now there are other artists having a conservatory education, like the singer Gennadi Lagei (Lèhè).

3. Outlines of the verse system in Nenets songs

All the songs discussed here – and a considerable part of the others too – have strong ties to the structures of the traditional songs. The metric organization of the text in particular shows strong uniformity.

Briefly outlined, the main feature in the metric organization of the Nenets song texts is its *isometric* nature, as explained by Khelinski (1989), and implied already by Hajdú (1978). Together with the music this means that in a song every text line is isosyllabic, of equal length (by the amount of the basic text syllables used). The melodic lines are also mostly isometric, but not necessarily. This principle is also reflected in the overall segmentation of a song: their consecutive line structure goes uniformly from the beginning to the end, not broken by inner divisions to line groups, verses or refrains. Rhyme is marginal and the correlation of the semantic of the text with the overall line structure is practically absent.

The key to understanding of the versification of the Nenets language is, of course, to know the prosodic means to transform the *spoken* language to *sung* language. Hajdú (1978, 356) already speaks about the differences between the "basic" and "sung" text of a song. So far, the researchers have had to analyze collected song *texts*, which have been dictated to the collector (biggest collections: Castrén-Lehtisalo 1940; Lehtisalo 1947; Kupriyanova 1965; Tereshchenko 1990) *separately* from an actual singing performance of that same song. This has resulted in a collection of basic texts, which are difficult as materials for metric studies, even if we knew how the basic text is transformed into a sung text.

The realization of the principle of isometricity in Nenets songs became possible only, when there emerged new insights about the phonology of the

Nenets language. Janhunen's (1986) results especially concerning the analysis of the realization of the phonological deep level in Nenets help the metric analysis, even with basic texts (cf. Khelimski 1989, 224). In short, the notions concerning the phonological phenomena at the deep level of the Nenets language form the basis for understanding more exactly, *how* the spoken language ("basic text") is transformed into a sung language ("sung text"). It is out of the scope of this article to deal thoroughly with the different transformation rules, specified by Khelimski. Let it only be stated, that the metric features of the sung language are reflections from the phonological deep level of the language. After Khelimski there has been remarkable rethinking of Nenets phonology, especially by Salminen (e.g. 1993b). His results will be of great help in a closer understanding of the problems connected with transcription of the spoken language and its transformation into sung language.

The Nenets have two kinds of verse types: 1) a hexasyllabic "common" verse, and 2) a octosyllabic "shamanistic" verse. The hexasyllabic verse is used uniformly in all the other song genres, except shamanistic songs, which have the octosyllabic line structure. What could be the background of this kind of polarization of the verse types? Firstly, this kind of six-syllable verse type is restricted to the Northern Samoyeds (i.e., Nenets, Enets, Nganasan), while secondly, various eight syllable verse types can be found all over Southern Siberia (among the Turkic and Tungus peoples). Perhaps the eight-syllable verse – as well as shamanism as an institution – is historically a more recent element in the Nenets culture. This sounds quite logical, because the Samoyedic-speaking groups came to the Arctic zone from the Sayan mountain regions of the Southern Siberia (cf. Niemi 1992, 10-12).

The Nenets verse can be classified quite clearly as belonging to the syllabic verse types, as well as the versification of other Uralic languages. In these languages the word-stress is not so important a factor in versification of the language, as for example in Russian or English. While the main stress in Nenets falls to the first syllable, this particular notion requires thorough analysis of different possible word combinations in a line. The results from the analysis of Nenets songs – from the Kanin Peninsula to Taimyr – show striking uniformity and predominance of few word combinations in a line. Furthermore, these word combination types can be *divided to two main categories, which have distinctive rhythmic manifestations on the level of the melodic line*. Briefly, the first category consists of syllable groups organized on the principle even amount of word-forming syllables (i.e., SS+SSSS⁵; SS+SS+SS; SSSS+SS, etc., but also for example: S+S+SSSS), while the second category is based on the principle of odd amount of syllable groups (SSS+SSS, S+SS+SSS, etc.). This issue is more thoroughly discussed in author's forthcoming doctoral dissertation.


⁵ S = syllable.

The possibilities for this kind of analysis have improved essentially during the 1990's, so that the scarcity or lack of the suitable material – either linguistic or musical – is no longer a fundamental impediment. This situation has yielded remarkable rethinking not only in studies of Nenets phonology (cf. Salminen 1993a, 351-352; 1993b, 178), but also in musical analysis (cf. Niemi 1995).

4. The songs


The following examples are all modern Nenets songs, the verse types of which, however, are closely based on the traditional hexasyllabic verse. While the melodic features in these songs represent musical fusion with non-Nenets musical thinking, it is interesting to point out the traditional basis concealed in these modern songs.

1 (a). Sawane' shyo. Perf. and rec. by L.P.Nenyangg. Transcription: J.Niemi.
♩ = 63-79



ha - jer' ni - nja - nei, ja - be - ryr - nga - sei, num - da nja - ra - kow, ho - ba - sja - nga - sei, sjak - wa - mi sja -
mi, tju' - ui sju - (k) - njam', jan' ha - mo - la - ngow, ha - jer' to - la - how. (AABCX5)

1 (b). Sawane' shyo. Perf. by L.P.Nenyangg (1985, 19; written in the key of "A flat minor"). (Transcription: L.Masleunikov)
♩ = 63



ha - jer' ni - nja - nei, ja - be - ryr - nga - sei, num - da nja - ra - kow, ho - ba - sja - nga - sei, sjak - wa - mi sja -
mi, tabu - ui sju - rnja - (o)m, jan' ha - mo - la - ngow, ha - jer' to - la - how, sjak - wa - mi sja -
mi, tabu - ui sju - rnja - (o)m, jan' ha - mo - la - ngow, ha - jer' to - la - how. (nga - poi sei - ko -)

Example 1. Sawanye' shyo (Sawanye's song). Words and melody by Lyubov' Nenyangg.⁶

It is quite easy to see that the musical thinking involved in this melody (Example 1(a)-(b)) is closer to (urban) Russian than Nenets. Moreover, it belongs to the European world of functional harmony. Note that the published version (1(b), Nenyangg 1985, 19) has been transcribed in anacrustic triple rhythm, while this

⁶ See the translations of the songs in the Appendices 2-4.

was not so obvious after having heard Nenyangg's later performance of the song (1(a), where the time signature is only indicative).⁷ In my opinion however, both interpretations are acceptable.

I have chosen to represent the melody (here and elsewhere) in consistence with the representation of the isometric text lines, so that one bar always corresponds to one text line. Therefore, from the viewpoint of isometric representation of text and melodic lines, the anacrusis is practically absent in Nenets traditional songs. Anyhow, since the melody in Nenyangg's song is not traditional, it gives us an illustration of the applicability of the different musical styles, as well as their fusion.

If we try to trace the metric background of this kind of song (text), let it be only stated that the successful metric and poetic⁸ translation to Russian (Nenyangg 1989, 34-35) seems to have been quite an easy task. This is to say, that this type of textual thinking (as well as the melody) already reflects other than only traditional Nenets principles of constructing text lines.

At surface level, the song text can be interpreted as consisting of a quite consistent 5-syllable line (Table 1a). As such it would be misleading to try to interpret this system as such as traditional Nenets 6-syllable verse.

What is, however, interesting here, is that the verse system utilizes some basic line types or idioms, which could be expected in the Nenets traditional verse system. Therefore we could look more closely at the text, and especially at its hypothetical "traditional" basic form.

The key for the argumentation of this kind of experimentation is based on the results gained this far from the general analysis of word combination types in Nenets traditional songs (cf. App. 1). If we compare the distribution of the word combination groups in this experimentation and the other quantitative results, we notice that the overall figure is quite similar. The dominant word combination group is SS+SSSS, and the SSS+SSS group is also quite well represented. However, I shall not further analyze the text lines of the songs in this article in detail.

⁷ All the transcriptions are written one octave higher from the original pitch.

⁸ In the poetic translation the metrical feeling is considered more important than the exact translation of the original linguistical content.

Aa1	ha —	jer"	ni —	nja —	nei,
Ab2	ja —	be —	ryr —	nga —	sei.
Aa1	num —	da	nja —	ra —	kow,
Ab2	ho —	ba —	sja —	nga —	sei.
Ba1	sjak —	wa —	mi	sja —	mei,
Bb3	tshu —	"ui	sju —	r(à) —	njam',
Ca1	jan'	ha —	mo —	la —	ngow,
Cb2	ha —	jer"	to —	la —	how.
Aa1	nga —	poi	sei —	ko(i) —	mei,
Ab3	tu-sj(à) —	da	mja —	l(à) —	ha.
Aa1	waw —	mi	ha —	nju —	jei,
Ab2	ty —	nei"	jer —	w(à) —	sei".
Ba1	tshe-t(à)	njam —	dèi	jam —	bèim',
Bb3	po —	de-r(y) —	nga —	dam —	tshei.
Ca1	noi	pi —	so —	ta —	nam',
Cb2	ha —	me —	da —	dam —	tshei.
Aa1	hoi'	se —	hè —	rè —	ja',
Ab2	mjum —	nja	hè —	ri —	nga-d(à)m',
Aa1	tshe-t(à)	njam —	dèi	jam —	bèim',
Ab2	tja —	ha"	ra —	re —	nga-d(à)m'.
Ba1	sei —	mi	la —	ho —	ma,
Bb2	ji —	mi	pà —	ro —	ma.
Ca1	han —	mi	me —	re —	nga.
Cb2	mer —	tshja	hy —	no —	nga.
Aa1	ha —	man —	tshei	ty —	nei",
Ab2	njan-d(à)	me —	re" —	my —	jei'?
Aa1	nja —	bi	ngè —	sy —	nèi,
Ab2	ngèw —	tortshj	hè —	wè —	nèi...
Ba1	mer —	tsha	nen —	zja —	mja.
Bb3	num —	da	pa —	ri —	ma.
Ca1	ha —	jer"	jung —	gu —	ma.
Cb2	ji —	mei	tab —	to —	ma.
Aa1	wè —	wa	to-t(y) —	re —	wèi',
Ab2	ho-b(à)"	pur —	kob —	ta —	tshe,
Aa1	ni-d(à)m'	nga —	tshe —	nang —	gu',
Ab2	ni-d(à)m'	ngam —	djo —	ring —	gu'.
Ba1	tsheb —	tèi	ja —	lja —	na,
Bb3	nga —	ni"	to —	ring —	gu-d(à)m',
Ca1	pu —	len-d(à)'	hè —	wa —	nèi,
Cb2	pi —	lei"	ngam —	dang —	guw'.
Aa1	Tèm-d(à)'	ha —	reng —	gu —	dèi',
Ab2	mja-t(à)'	je —	seng —	gu —	dèi',
Aa1	sit(à)'	ju —	dang —	gu —	dèi',
Ab2	nju —	dad	hong —	gu —	dèi'.
Ba1	So —	o-k(à)m'	sè —	dang —	gu-d(à)m',
Bb3	pi —	bid	pad —	tang —	gudm'.
Ca1	Nga —	poi	py —	da —	rir"
Cb2	si" —	lim-t(à)"	mè —	neng —	gudm'.
Ba1	(nga —	ni"	niw' —	nga" —	ngèi,)
Bb2	(nga —	nei	man —	ty-(ni) —	wèi,)
Ca1	(ne —	nèi	hy —	no —	nga,)
Cb2	(njà —	ra	hy —	no —	nga.)
	(52)				

Table 1a. Text realized in performance of L. P. Nenyangg (1995a; 1995b). Transcribed by J. Niemi on the basis of the text transcription of L. P. Nenyangg (1995a). Syllables are presented in columns, which correspond graphically to the presentation of the rhythmic types (see Table 1d). The letters at the beginning of the row refer to the motif and line structure in the melody: an upper-case letter indicates the main motif division and a lower case letter its subdivision into two motifs. The purpose of marking the subdivision is to emphasize the existence of the isometric principle in modern songs too. A number following the letters correspond to the approximation of rhythmic types (see Table 1d).

Aa1	ha —	jer"	ni —	nja —	nei,
Aa1	num —	da	nja —	ra —	kow,
Bb3	tshu —	"ui	sju —	r(à) —	njam',
Cb2	ha —	jer"	to —	la —	how.
Aa1	nga —	poi	sei —	ko(i) —	mei,
Ab3	tu-sj(à) —	da	mja —	l(à) —	ha.
Aa1	waw —	mi	ha —	nju —	jei,
Ab2	ty —	nei"	jer —	w(à) —	sei".
Ab2	mjum —	nja	hè —	ri —	nga-d(à)m',
Ab2	tja —	ha"	ha —	re —	nga-d(à)m'.
Ba1	sei —	mi	la —	ho —	ma,
Bb2	ji —	mi	pà —	ro —	ma.
Ca1	han —	mi	me —	re —	nga.
Cb2	mer —	tshja	hy —	no —	nga.
Aa1	nja —	bi	ngè —	sy —	nèi,
Ab2	ngèw —	tortshj	hè —	wè —	nèi...
Ba1	mer —	tsha	nen —	zja —	mja.
Bb3	num —	da	pa —	ri —	ma.
Ca1	ha —	jer"	jung —	gu —	ma.
Cb2	ji —	mei	tab —	to —	ma.
Aa1	wè —	wa	to-t(y) —	re —	wèi',
Ba1	tsheb —	tèi	ja —	lja —	na,
Bb3	nga —	ni"	to —	ring —	gu-d(à)m',
Ca1	pu —	len-d(à)'	hè —	wa —	nèi,
Cb2	pi —	lei"	ngam —	dang —	guw'.
Ab2	nju —	dad	hong —	gu —	dèi'.
Ba1	So —	o-k(à)m'	sè —	dang —	gu-d(à)m',
Bb3	pi —	bid	pad —	tang —	gudm'.
Ca1	Nga —	poi	py —	da —	rir"
Cb2	si" —	lim-t(à)"	mè —	neng —	gudm'.
Bb2	(nga —	nei	man —	ty-(ni) —	wèi,)
Ca1	(ne —	nèi	hy —	no —	nga,)
Cb2	(njà —	ra	hy —	no —	nga.)
(33)					
Ab2	ja —	be —	ryr —	nga —	sei.
Ab2	ho —	ba —	sja —	nga —	sei.
Bb3	po —	de-r(y) —	nga —	dam —	tshei.
Cb2	ha —	me —	da —	dam —	tshei.
(4)					
Ba1	sjak —	wa —	mi	sja —	mei,
Aa1	ha —	man —	tshei	ty —	nei",
(2)					
Ca1	jan'	ha —	mo —	la —	ngow,
Ca1	noi	pi —	so —	ta —	nam',
Aa1	hoi'	se —	hè —	rè —	ja',
Ab2	njan-d(à)	me —	re" —	my —	jei'?
Ab2	ho-b(à)"	pur —	kob —	ta —	tshe,
Aa1	ni-d(à)m'	nga —	tshe —	nang —	gu',
Ab2	ni-d(à)m'	ngam —	djo —	ring —	gu'.
Aa1	Tèm-d(à)'	ha —	reng —	gu —	dèi',
Ab2	mja-t(à)'	je —	seng —	gu —	dèi',
Aa1	si-t(à)'	ju —	dang —	gu —	dèi',
(10)					
Ba1	tshe-t(à)	njam —	dèi	jam —	bèim',
Aa1	tshe-t(à)	njam —	dèi	jam —	bèim',
(2)					
Ba1	(nga —	ni"	niw'	nga"	ngèi,)
(1)					
(52)					

Table 1b. Division of the lines according to the different word combination groups.

Aa1	num —	da	nja —	ra —	ko —	w[à],
Bb3	tshu —	"ui	sju —	r(à) —	nja —	m[à],
Ca1	ja —	n[à]'	ha —	mo —	la —	ngow,
Aa1	nga —	poi	se —	j[y] —	ko(i) —	mei,
Ca1	no —	[j]i	pi —	so —	ta —	nam',
Aa1	ho —	[j]i'	se —	hè —	rè —	ja',
Ab2	mjum —	nja	hè —	ri —	nga —	d(à)m',
Ab2	tja —	ha"	ha —	re —	nga —	d(à)m'.
Ab2	njan —	d(à)	me —	re" —	my —	jei?
Aa1	wè —	wa	to —	t(y) —	re —	wèi',
Ab2	ho —	b(à)"	pur —	kob —	ta —	tshe,
Aa1	ni —	d(à)m'	nga —	tshe —	nang —	gu',
Ab2	ni —	d(à)m'	ngam —	djo —	ring —	gu',
Bb3	nga —	ni"	to —	ring —	gu —	d(à)m',
Cb2	pi —	lei"	ngam —	dang —	gu —	w[à]'. d(à)m',
Aa1	Tèm —	d(à)'	ha —	reng —	gu —	dèi',
Ab2	mja —	t(à)'	je —	seng —	gu —	dèi',
Aa1	si —	t(à)'	ju —	dang —	gu —	dèi',
Ba1	So-o —	k(à)m'	sè —	dang —	gu —	d(à)m',
Bb3	pi —	bid	pad —	tang —	gu —	d[à]m'.
Ca1	Nga —	poi	py —	da —	ri —	r[à]"
Cb2	si" —	lim-t(à)"	mè —	neng —	gu —	d[à]m'.
Bb2	(nga —	nei	man —	ty —	(ni) —	wèi,)
(23)						
Ba1	tshe —	t(à)	njam —	dèi	jam —	bèim',
Aa1	tshe —	t(à)	njam —	dèi	jam —	bèim',
(2)						
Ba1	(nga —	ni"	ni —	w[à]'	nga"	ngèi,)
(1)						
Bb3	po —	de —	r(y) —	nga —	dam —	tshei.
(1)						
Ba1	sja —	k[à] —	wa —	mi	sja —	mei,
(1)						
Aa1	ha —	je —	r[à]"	ni —	nja —	nei,
Cb2	ha —	je —	r[à]"	to —	la —	how.
Ab3	tu —	sj(à) —	da	mja —	l(à) —	ha.
Aa1	wa —	w[à] —	mi	ha —	nju —	jei,
Ca1	ha —	n[à] —	mi	me —	re —	nga.
Ab2	ngèw —	tor —	tshj[à]	hè —	wè —	nèi...
Ca1	ha —	je —	r[à]"	jung —	gu —	ma.
Ca1	pu —	len —	d(à)'	hè —	wa —	nèi,
Ab2	nju —	da —	d[à]	hong —	gu —	dèi'.
(9)						
Ab2	ja —	be —	ryr —	nga —	sei	[ngèi].
Ab2	ho —	ba —	sja —	nga —	sei	[ngèi].
Cb2	ha —	me —	da —	dam —	tshei	[ngèi].
Aa1	ha —	man —	tshei	ty —	nei"	[ngèi].
(4)						
Ab2	ty —	nei"	jer —	w(à) —	sei"	[ngèi].
Ba1	sei —	mi	la —	ho —	ma	[ngèi].
Bb2	ji —	mi	pà —	ro —	ma	[ngèi].
Cb2	mer —	tshja	hy —	no —	nga	[ngèi].
Aa1	nja —	bi	ngè —	sy —	nèi	[ngèi].
Ba1	mer —	tsha	nen —	zja —	mja	[ngèi].
Bb3	num —	da	pa —	ri —	ma	[ngèi].
Cb2	ji —	mei	tab —	to —	ma	[ngèi].
Ba1	tsheb —	tèi	ja —	lja —	na	[ngèi].
Ca1	(ne —	nèi	hy —	no —	nga	[ngèi].)
Cb2	(njà —	ra	hy —	no —	nga	[ngèi].)
(11)						(52)

Table 1c. Division of the lines according to the different word combination groups as a hypothetical reconstruction of the text lines into six-syllable-lines.

(1)	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
(2)	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
(3)	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪

Table 1d. Approximation of the types of rhythmic manifestations.

The preceding table (Table 1c) is a hypothetical reconstruction of the text lines. It is based on the expected appearance of the deep level syllables. The occurrence of a deep level syllable is indicated by a letter in square brackets [à, è, y, j⁹]. The use of different letters is for approximating the phonetic qualities expected, according to the rules of vowel harmony in Nenets. Square brackets are also used to mark the possible supplementary syllables, e.g. [ngèi], that could be expected at the end of some lines.

It must be noted that some of the reduced vowel phenomena *are* actually heard in the performance. These incidents are written in parentheses () (Table 1b-c).

Susoi's song (example 2) represents more clearly the traditional Nenets musical thinking. Firstly, the two-line melodic structure has a fairly characteristic upward leap at the beginning of the melodic line A.¹⁰ Furthermore, the echoed repeat of the end of the melodic line is a possible, although perhaps more seldom used feature in Nenets songs. For the sake of comparison, I have presented two recorded versions of the song. Although the 1991 version is only a fragment, it shows clearly, that the fundamental melodic features are quite close to each other, *which is not necessarily the case with different performances of traditional songs in general.*

⁹ I have left the Nenets passages in their original form, resulting in some differences as to their English pronunciation.: "y"= middle-i, "j"= y (indicating palatalization of preceding consonant); "tsh"=ch. The accent on a vowel indicates reduction (in the case of "è" it means also, that the preceding consonant is non-palatalized).

¹⁰ Note, that the slurs used here always indicate *strong* continuity in grouping of notes and the corresponding pitch changes. Furthermore, the groups are always marked with *one* slur, which corresponds to the text syllable. I also use occasionally a straight line symbol to specially emphasize the glissando effect.

2(a). Syihirtya nye nyu. (Perf. by Yelena Grigoryevna Susoi, Melodiya S90 27639 003 / B2. Transcription: J.Niemi.

$\text{♩} = 108$

sa - ljow - (ho - ho - w(à)) ja - d(à)-ha - now (hè - hèi) ja - d(à)-ha - now,
 si - hir - tjow - (ho - ho - w(à)) ne nju - ngèi (hè - hèi) ne nju - ngèi,
 sju - ri - dow wym - da - nga - (ngèi) (hè - hèi) wym - da - nga - (ngèi).
 sja - mèi (hè - hèi) ja - r(à)-pa - nèi (hè - hèi) ja - r(à)-pa - nèi,
 si - hir - tjow - (ho - how) ni - sja - mi - (ngèi) (hè - hèi) ni - sja - mi - (ngèi),
 tu - to - w(y) sja - nja - (ngèi) (hè - hèi) sja - nja - (ngèi),

(AAB AAB)

2(b). Syihirtya nye nyu. (Perf. by Yelena Grigoryevna Susoi, rec. by J.Niemi, Tampere 7/1991. Transcription: J.Niemi.

$\text{♩} = 102$

sa - ljow - (ho - how) ja - d(à)-ha - now (ho - how) ja - d(à)-ha - now,
 si - hir - tjow - (ho - ho - w(à)) ne nju - (ngèi-(jà)) (hè - hèi) ne nju - ngèi,
 sju - ri - dow wym - da - nga - (ngèi) (hè - hèi) wym - da - nga - (ngèi).

Example 2. Syihirtya' nye nyu (Syihirtya-girl). Original poem by Ivan Yuganpelik, melody and arrangement by Yelena Grigor'yevna Susoi.

What is peculiar here is the B-line, which the author has deliberately attached to the melodic structure to represent "the howling of the tundra wind".¹¹ This kind of melodic expression with its stepless descending is rather a feature of Susoi's personal artistic and staged expression, than a traditional one.

Despite this, the overall text line structure is strongly traditional, although this short song also contains many discrepancies from the "ideal" text line forms. This is actually a good example to illustrate, that although the Nenets songs can be argued to have some fundamental uniformities on the levels of melody and especially text, I am not by any means arguing that deviations from the "norm" do not exist.

The opposition of the rhythmic manifestations, caused by the main division of the word combination groups (2+2+2 and 3+3) can be seen here quite clearly (Table 2b). While both of the main word combination groups have a specific rhythmic manifestation, the supplementary syllable (ngèi) can function as filling the metrical space especially in the 3+3-group. Therefore the line belonging to the 3+3-group can be interpreted as consisting of five proper syllables + one supplementary syllable, or six proper syllables + one supplementary (cf. 2nd line vs. 5th line in Table 2a).

A1	sa —	ljow' (hohow(à))	ja —	d(à) —	ha —	now	(hèhèi) jad(à)hanow,
A3	si —	hir —	tjow (hohow(à))	ne	nju —	(ngèi)	(hèhèi) ne nju(ngèi),
B5	sjo —	ri —	dow	wym —	d(à) —	nga —	(ngèi) (hèhèi) wymd(à)nga(ngèi),
A1	sja —	mèi (hèhèi)	ja —	r(à) —	pa —	nei	(hèhèi) jar(à)panei,
A4	si —	hir —	tjow (hohow)	ni —	sja —	mi —	(ngèi) (hèhèi) nisjami(ngèi),
B7	tu —	to —	w(y)	sja —	nja —	(ngèi)	(hèhèi) sjanja(ngèi),
A2	ja —	ngèi (hèhèi)	ho —	wa —	now	(hohow) howanow,	
A4	si —	hir —	tjow (hohow)	ni —	sja —	ni —	(ngèi) (hèhèi) nisjani(ngèi),
B6	ly —	rei	je —	da	je-m(àn)-da—	ngow	(hèhèi) (hè)jemdangow,
A1 ¹	Hyng —	gèi (hèhèi)-r(à) —	ti —	(njàn)'	sa —	ljow	(hèhèi) saljow,
A4	ja —	r(à) —	tow (hohow)	to —	la —	ha —	(ngèi) (hèhèi) tolaha(ngèi),
B5	sju —	da —	to-w(yn)'	to —	la —	ha —	(ngèi) (hèhèi) tolaha(ngèi).

Text realized in performance of J.G.Susoi (1991).

A1	sa —	ljow' (hohow(à))	ja —	d(à) —	ha —	now	(hèhèi) jad(à)hanow,
A3	si —	hir —	tjow (hohow(à))	ne	nju —	(ngèi)	(hèhèi) ne nju(ngèi),
B5	sjo —	ri —	dow	wym —	d(à) —	nga —	(ngèi) (hèhèi) wymd(à)nga(ngèi).

Table 2a. Text realized in performance of Ye.G. Susoi (1988). Division of syllables into columns correspond graphically to the representation of the rhythmic types (see Table 2c). The capital letter refers here to the isometric line containing the six-syllable text line with its supplementations and echoings. The following number refers to the type of the rhythmic manifestation of the line (see Table 2b).

¹¹ As stated by the author of the song herself.

Table 2b. Approximation of the types of rhythmic manifestations. Supplementary and echoed text elements are put into parentheses. The types are ordered into groups according to the word combination grouping: types 1-2 correspond to the 2+2+2-group, types 3-4 to the 3+3-group and types 5-7 to the exceptional groups.

A1	sa —	ljow'	ja —	d(à) —	ha —	now,
A1	sja —	nèi	ja —	r(à) —	pa —	nei,
(2)						
A1 ¹	Hyng —	gèi-r(à) —	ti —	(njàn)'	sa —	ljow,
(1)						
B5	sjo —	ri —	dow	wym —	d(à) —	nga — (ngèi),
A4	si —	hir —	tjow	ni —	sja —	mi — (ngèi),
A4	si —	hir —	tjow	ni —	sja —	ni — (ngèi),
A4	ja —	r(à) —	tow	to —	la —	ha — (ngèi),
B5	sju —	da —	to-w(yn)	to —	la —	ha — (ngèi).
A3	si —	hir —	tjow	ne	nju —	(ngèi),
B7	tu —	to —	w(y)	sja —	nja —	(ngèi),
(7)						
A2	ja —	ngèi	ho —		wa —	now,
(1)						
B6	ly —	rei	je —	da	je-m(àn)-da —	ngow,
(1)						(12)

(Susoi 1991).

A1	sa —	ljow'	ja —	d(à) —	ha —	now,
(1)						
A3	si —	hir —	tjow	ne	nju —	(ngèi),
B5	sjo —	ri —	dow	wym —	d(à) —	nga — (ngèi).
(2)						(3)

Table 2c. Division of the text lines according to the different word combination groups (Susoi 1988).

3. Wy jana' sjojo ("The Song of the Tundra".) by Semyon Nikolayevich Nyarui. Perf. (piano & vocal) by S.N. Nyarui. Transcription: J.Niemi.

Recording copied from the original tape JA-60 of the photoarchive of the Yamal Nenets Committee of the District Radio and Television Broadcasting, Yamal Nenets Autonomous District, Salekhard.

♩ = 78

(Outline of the melody of the piano accompaniment:)

A

1.? ,
 2. Sè - wèi - na - now ja - dè - (jei),
 3. Mer - tsja - (jei) wy - sy - l(à) - mè - jei - (jei),
 4. Har" - na - (jei) wyng-gèi ja - wow-(ow),

B

.....? ja - wow",
 ngar - ka wy ja - wow",
 sjo ha - na - ba - now",
 hy - no" - la - nga - wow",

C

sèw - rii - (jei) - dam - now',
 ha - rjoi nga - nam - da,
 ja sar - pei mju - njow,
 har" - na pèr - tja - wow,

D

tum - da - ma ha - da - now,
 ji - la - ri - bèi - nan - dow,
 ngè - da - ljo - bèi - na - now,
 sa - wa - li - sei - ty - wow".

E

tju - ku - (jei) mè - ta - (jei) sjo - wow,
 tir - tjà - (jei) sar - mei - kè - tsè - (jei),
 wyng-gè - (jei) sè - hè - rè - mèi,
 Par - ti - ja - na" ne - da,

F

py - da - (jei) sjo - wa - na - tow,
 mu - ny - (jei) tè - la - bir - ngow",
 mjud - ngow" njo - dal - ba - tow",
 pi - le - (jei) njo - da - nga - dow",

G

ner - te - (jei) sjo - wa - na - tow,
 (o) - ho - re - ko - da - re - wèi,
 ji - rei - na - nèi sjo - jow,
 ja - lèim - da - dèi num - gy - (jei),

H

hy - nob - tam - ba - nga - wow.
 te - lè - wè - ko - ra - ha.
 har" - na wè - ta - bi - wow".
 ngu - don - do - ne - nga - dow".

Hèi hèi hèi, hèi,

I

wy ja - na' ho - jow, ji - leb - tsi - (jei) nga - wow-(ow)',

J

of musical thinking. The traditional Nenets melodic thinking is based on undulation of a few tones in a way where a melodic leap itself is more important than its size and stability. Hungarian ethnomusicologist Katalin Lázár (1996, 156) has ended up with similar notions when studying Eastern Khanty songs. However, Nyarui has transformed and fixed this thinking on the keyboard of the piano, resulting in a larger anhemitonic scale type (see the concluding instrumental passage), to which features of functional harmony can be applied.

I have presented the note transcription in line paradigms, so that some recurring elements can be more clearly discerned. At the same time, however, it must be emphasized that this kind of paradigmatic presentation is best applied in the traditional songs, not so much here, due to the complexity of the compositional structure. Moreover the division of melodic motifs according to their corresponding to the text lines does not illustrate the overall structure here as effectively as in the traditional songs (see, e.g., the overlapping of the melodic motifs with the text lines during the melodic motifs E and F).

All these elements together reveal Nyarui's playful mastery and skill in composing new music based on tradition. As we can clearly see, the text lines already look quite familiar. It is not only that the six-syllable lines are dominant here too but special attention should be paid to the way Nyarui has composed the melodic lines so that the sung syllables (in parentheses, if articulated separately; otherwise here in the form of *-ow* or *-èi*) at the end of words are placed most naturally, according to the meter of the text. This is especially evident with the 2+2+2-word combination group (see Table 3b).¹²

¹² Nyarui uses many sung syllables, possibly more than in traditional songs in general. This is due to his energetic performance style, and particularly in this song, due to the compositional structure. He also tends here to articulate many sung syllables separately. For example, in a song, the word *wynggy* (pertaining to tundra) would "normally" be transformed as *wynggèi*, but Nyarui multiplies it as *wynggè(jei)*.

A?	?					
B?	?.....					
C3 ³	sèw —		ri —	jei —	dam —	now ¹³ ,
D3 ¹	tum —	da —	ma	ha —	da —	now",
E1 ⁵	tju —	ku-(jei)	mè —	ta-(jei)	sjo —	wow",
F1 ⁴	py —	da-(jei)	sjo —	wa —	na —	tow,
G1 ⁴	ner —	te-(jei)	sjo —	wa —	na —	tow,
H3 ¹	hy —	nob —	tam —	ba —	nga —	wow".
I3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	ho —	jow,
J3 ²	ji —	leb —	tsi —	(jei) —	nga —	wo-w(ow)",
K3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	sjon —	zja",
L3 ⁴	sa —	wa	ji —	lje-(jei)	lat —	ro — how,
I3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	sjo —	jo,
J3 ²	tèi —	lab —	tam —	bow —	nga —	wo-w(ow)",
K3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	num —	gy",
M3 ¹	je —	sa —	bar —	ta —	ra —	how".
A2 ²	Sè —	wèi —	na —	now	ja —	dè-(jei),
B3 ³	ngar —	ka	wy'		ja —	wow",
C3 ³	ha —	rjoi		nga —	nam —	da,
D3 ¹	ji —	la —	ri —	bèi —	nan —	dow",
E1 ²	tir —	tjà-(jei)	sar —	mei —	kèt —	sè-(jei),
F1 ⁴	mu —	ny-(jei)	tè —	la —	bir —	ngow",
G2 ⁴	(o)-ho —	re —	ko —	da —	re —	wèi,
H3 ¹	te —	lè —	wè —	ko —	ra —	ha.
A1 ⁶	Mer —	tsja-(jei)	wy —	sy-l(à) —	mè —	jei-(jei),
B3 ³	sjo		ha —	na —	ba —	now",
C3 ³	ja		sar —	pei	mju —	njow,
D3 ¹	ngè —	da —	ljo —	bèi —	na —	now",
E1 ¹	wyng —	gè-(jei)	se —	hè —	rè —	mèi,
F2 ³	mjud —	ngow"	njo —	dal —	ba —	tow",
G2 ³	ji —	rei —	na —	nèi	sjo —	jow,
H3 ¹	har" —	na	wè —	ta —	bi —	wow".
A1 ³	Har" —	na-(jei)	wyng —	gèi	ja —	wo-w(ow),
B3 ³	hy —	no" —	la —	nga —	wow",	
C3 ³	har" —	na	pèr —	tja —	wow,	
D3 ¹	sa —	wa —	li —	sei —	ty —	wow".
E2 ¹	Par —	ti —	ja —	na"	ne —	da,
F1 ⁴	pi —	le-(jei)	njo —	da —	nga —	dow",
G2 ⁵	ja —	lèim —	da —	dèi	num —	gy-(jei),
H3 ¹	ngu —	don —	do —	ne —	nga —	dow".

(38)

Table 3a. Text realized in performance of S. N. Nyarui (198?). Transcribed by J. Niemi on the basis of the text transcription of M. Ya. Barmich. Here the syllable columns do not correspond graphically to the representation of the rhythmic types.

¹³ The initial instrumental passage and two first text lines at the beginning of the song are not heard, due to damaged original tape (!).

F1 ⁴	py —	da-(jei)	sjo —	wa —	na —	tow,
G1 ⁴	ner —	te-(jei)	sjo —	wa —	na —	tow,
E1 ²	tir —	tjà-(jei)	sar —	mei —	kèt —	sè-(jei),
F1 ⁴	mu —	ny-(jei)	tè —	la —	bir —	ngow",
A1 ⁶	Mer —	tsja-(jei)	wy —	sy-l(à) —	mè —	jei-(jei),
E1 ¹	wyng —	gè-(jei)	se —	hè —	rè —	mèi,
F2 ³	mjud —	ngow"	njo —	dal —	ba —	tow",
H3 ¹	har" —	na	wè —	ta —	bi —	wow".
F1 ⁴	pi —	le-(jei)	njo —	da —	nga —	dow",
(9)						
H3 ¹	hy —	nob —	tam —	ba —	nga —	wow".
J3 ²	ji —	leb —	tsi —	(jei) —	nga —	wo-w(ow)",
J3 ²	tèi —	lab —	tam —	bow —	nga —	wo-w(ow)",
M3 ¹	je —	sa —	bar —	ta —	ra —	how".
D3 ¹	ji —	la —	ri —	bèi —	nan —	dow",
G2 ⁴	(o)-ho —	re —	ko —	da —	re —	wèi,
H3 ¹	te —	lè —	wè —	ko —	ra —	ha.
D3 ¹	ngè —	da —	ljo —	bèi —	na —	now",
D3 ¹	sa —	wa —	li —	sei —	ty —	wow".
H3 ¹	ngu —	don —	do —	ne —	nga —	dow".
(10)						
A2 ²	Sè —	wèi —	na —	now	ja —	dè-(jei),
G2 ³	ji —	rei —	na —	nèi	sjo —	jow,
E2 ¹	Par —	ti —	ja —	na"	ne —	da,
G2 ⁵	ja —	lèim —	da —	dèi	num —	gy-(jei),
(4)						
E1 ⁵	tju —	ku-(jei)	mè —	ta-(jei)	sjo —	wow",
A1 ³	Har" —	na-(jei)	wyng —	gèi	ja —	wo-w(ow),
(2)						
D3 ¹	tum —	da —	ma	ha —	da —	now",
(1)						
I3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	ho —	jow,
K3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	sjon —	zja",
I3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	sjo —	jo,
K3 ³	wy'		ja —	na"	num —	gy",
(4)						
B3 ³	sjo		ha —	na —	ba —	now",
(1)						
C3 ³	ja		sar —	pei	mju —	njow,
(1)						
B3 ³	ngar —	ka	wy'		ja —	wow",
(1)						
C3 ³	ha —	rjoi		nga —	nam —	da,
C3 ³	har" —	na	pèr —	tja —	wow,	
(2)						
C3 ³	sèw —		ri —	jei —	dam —	now",
B3 ³	hy —	no" —	la —	nga —	wow",	
(2)						
L3 ⁴	sa —	wa	ji —	lje-(jei)	lat —	ro — how,
(1)						(38)

Table 3b. Division of the text lines according to the different word combination groups (Nyarui 198?).

1 ¹	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
1 ²	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
1 ³	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
1 ⁴	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
1 ⁵	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
1 ⁶	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
2 ¹	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
2 ²	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
2 ³	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
2 ⁴	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
2 ⁵	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
3 ¹	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
3 ²	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
3 ³	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪
3 ⁴	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪

Table 3c. Approximation of the types of rhythmic manifestations.

Finally, the rhythmic types have a certain correlation to the word combination groups of the text lines (see Table 3b). Here, for example, the SS+SSSS- and the SS+SS+SS-groups are manifested mostly through the rhythm type 1, the SSSSSS-group and the five-syllable lines through type 3 and SSSS+SS-group through type 2. In this case, though, it can be argued that this is possibly more due to intentionally planned composition, than "natural" laws of the Nenets verse.

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Appendix 1

Some preliminary results gained from the quantitative analysis of the line types according to their word combination.

1. Songs from the Malaya Zemlya (Western Nenets) in Kupriyanova's collection (Dobrovol'ski 1965, 766-780). These six fairly long songs represent the epic yarabtses (89, 43, 73, 35, 21 and 74 lines, respectively). (The line types are ordered here according to frequency of their occurrence.)

SS SSSS:	136/335:	40.6%	
SS SS SS:	61/335:	18.2%	Two biggest line types: <u>58.8%</u> of all the lines.
SSS SSS:	55/335:	16.4%	
SSSSSS:	32/335:	9.6%	Four biggest line types: <u>84.8%</u> of all the lines.
SSSS SS:	18/335:	5.4%	
SS S SSS:	9/335:	2.7%	
S S SS SS:	2/335:	0.6%	
S S SSSS:	2/335:	0.6%	
SS S SS S:	2/335:	0.6%	
S SS SSS:	1/335:	0.3%	
S SSSSS:	1/335:	0.3%	All six-syllable lines: <u>95.2%</u> of all the lines.

Lines of the 2+2+2-type altogether: 75.2% of all the lines.

Lines of the 3+3-type altogether: 20% of all the lines.

S SSSS:	7/335:	2.1%	The biggest types of the five-syllable lines:
SSS SS:	4/335:	1.2%	<u>78.6%</u> of all of the five-syllable lines.
SSSSS:	2/335:	0.6%	
SSSS S:	1/335:	0.3%	All the five-syllable lines: <u>4.2%</u> of all the lines.
SS SS:	1/335:	0.3%	
SSS SSSS:	1/335:	0.3%	All the other line types: <u>0.6%</u> of all of the lines.

2. Songs of A. H. Wèngga (Eastern Nenets) in the phonoarchive of the Radio of the Taimyr Nenets Autonomous District (Wèngga 198?). Wèngga's eight songs are shorter individual songs (51, 51, 15, 17, 35, 29, 10 and 11 lines respectively).

SSS SSS:	66/219:	30.14%	
<u>SS SSSS:</u>	<u>56/219:</u>	<u>25.57%</u>	Two biggest line types: <u>55.7%</u> of all the lines.
SS SS SS:	32/219:	14.61%	
<u>SSSSSS(2+2+2):</u>	<u>28/219:</u>	<u>12.79%</u>	Four biggest line types: <u>83.1%</u> of all the lines.
SSSS SS:	10/219:	4.56%	
SS S SSS:	5/219:	2.28%	
SSS SS S:	4/219:	1.83%	
<u>SSSSSS(3+3):</u>	<u>2/219:</u>	<u>0.91%</u>	All six-syllable lines: <u>92.7%</u> of all the lines.

The 2+2+2-line type: 57.5% of all the lines.

The 3+3-line type: 35.2% of all the lines.

SSS SS:	8/219:	3.65%	
<u>SS SSS:</u>	<u>4/219:</u>	<u>1.83%</u>	The biggest types of the five-syllable lines: <u>75%</u> of all of the five-syllable lines.
S SSSS:	1/219:	0.46%	
S SS SS:	1/219:	0.46%	
SS SS S:	1/219:	0.46%	
SS S SS:	1/219:	0.46%	Other (five-syllable) line types: <u>7.3%</u> of all the lines.

Appendix 2

Sawanye's Song. Words and melody by Lyubov' Nenyangg (Nenyangg 1985, 19-22; 1989, 89-91; 1995a; 1995b). (Translation from Russian/Nenets to English: J. Niemi.)

Hajer" ninjanei, jaberyngasei. Numda njarakow, hobasjangasei.	Above me the sun is shining. The sky is perfectly unclouded.
Sjakwami sjamei, tshu"ui sjur(à)njam', jan' hamolangow, hajer" tolahow.	And my face is so beautiful, like the sun, descended from the heights.
Ngapoi seiko(i)mei, tusj(à)da mjal(à)ha. Wawmi hanjujei, tynei" jerw(à)sei".	Only my heart is like a hut without a fireplace. My mattress is cold. The reindeers have no master.
Tshet(à) njamdèi jambèim', poder(y)ngadamtshei. Noi pisotanam', hamedadamtshei.	Four reindeers I harnessed. With a cloth blanket I furnished the sledge.

Hoi' sehèrèja',
 mjumnja hèringad(à)m',
 tshet(à) njamdèi jambèim',
 tjaha" harengad(à)m'.
 Seimi lahoma,
 jimi pàroma,
 hanmi merenga.
 Mertshja hynonga.
 Hamantshei tynei",
 njand(à) mere"myjei?
 Njabi ngèsynèi,
 ngèwtortshj hèwènèi...
 Mertsha nenzjamja.
 numda parima,
 hajer" jungguma,
 jimei tabtoma.
 Wèwa tot(y)rewèi',
 hob(à)" purkobtatshe,
 nid(à)m' ngatshenanggu',
 nid(à)m' ngamdjoringgu'.
 Tshebtèi jaljana
 nganei" toringgud(à)m',
 pulend(à)' hèwanèi
 pilei" ngamdangguw'.
 Tèmd(à)' harenggudèi',
 mjat(à)' jesenggudèi',
 sit(à)' judanggudèi',
 njudad honggudèi'.
 Sook(à)m' sèdanggud(à)m',
 pibid padtanggudm'.
 ngapoi pydarir"
 si"limt(à)" mènenggudm'.

(Supplementary, filling lyrics with no definite meaning in connection with the text above:)

(Ngani" niw' nga" ngèi,
 nganei" manty(ni)wèi,
 nenèi hynonga,
 njàra hynonga.)

To the tundra-hill path
 I set myself.
 The four long-antlered ones
 I spurred on.
 My heart boiled with anxiety,
 my soul wanted to hurry,
 my sledge goes fast.
 And the wind is singing.
 Why my reindeers
 hurried to your place?
 You already went to be married!
 to the neighbouring encampment...
 The wind got angry,
 the sky turned black,
 the sun hid,
 I felt my soul pressed.
 Like Yenka (Wèwa),
 leaning on the fur-hide,
 I shall not wait,
 I shall not sit.
 Tomorrow
 I (Sawane) shall come again,
 I shall come
 and sit beside you.
 I shall drive your sledge,
 assemble the hut,
 I shall warm you,
 and give you children.
 I shall sew you a coat,
 and also boots,
 only you
 I shall love.

(Again, definitely, yes,
 again I am saying,
 a real human being is singing,
 your friend is singing.)

Appendix 3

"Syihirtya-girl".¹⁴ By Yelena Grigor'yevna Susoi (1988).

Original transcription in Nenets and translation to Russian by Yelena Grigor'yevna Susoi. Translation from Russian/Nenets to English by J. Niemi.

Saljow' (hohow(à))* jad(à)hanow (hèhèi) jad(à)hanow, On the slope of a hill (where the Syihirtya live),
sihirtjow (hohow(à)) ne nju(ngèi) (hèhèi) ne nju(ngèi), a Syihirtya-girl
sjoridow wymd(à)nga(ngèi) (hèhèi) wymd(à)nga(ngèi), is sitting and weeping.

Sjamèi (hèhèi) jar(à)panei (hèhèi) jar(à)panei, No matter how much I cried,
sihirtjow (hohow) nisjami(ngèi) (hèhèi) nisjami(ngèi), my (Syihirtya)-father
tutow(y) sjanja(ngèi) (hèhèi) sjanja(ngèi), is not coming back (from the war**).

Jangèi (hèhèi) howanow (hohow) howanow, Somewhere on the foreign land,
sihirtjow (hohow) nisjani(ngèi) (hèhèi) nisjani(ngèi), my Syihirtya-father's
lyrei jeda jem(àn)dangow (hèhèi) (hè)jemdangow, bones probably have been bleaching in the wind
already for a long time

Hynggèi (hèhèi)r(à)ti(njàn)' saljow (hèhèi) saljow, (Also) the Hynggarte-hill**,
jar(à)tow (hohow) tolaha(ngèi) (hèhèi) tolaha(ngèi), sounds to be crying,
sjudatow(yn)' tolaha(ngèi) (hèhèi) tolaha(ngèi). sounds to be whistling.

*Susoi explains, that the additional words "hèhèi" and "hohow" symbolize other people (catching rein-deers); sounds from the everyday life, somehow consoling the Syihirtya-girl (Susoi 1991).

**In the original poem of Ivan Yuganpelik (1987, 39-40), the Syihirtya-girl is orphan, whose "mother died of hunger and father was drowned in storming sea", and the girl is going to die soon in the chilling snow storm, but "it is her song, which, even after centuries, will be heard on the Hynggarta hill".

Appendix 4

Wy' yana" syo - "The song of the tundra" by S. N. Nyarui. Original text transcription in Nenets by Mariya Yakovlevna Barmich. Translation in Russian by Yelena Timofeyevna Pushkaryova. Translation from Russian/Nenets to English: J. Niemi.

?.....,	?.....,
?.....jawow",	?.....our land,
sèwrijeidamnow",	we are looking (our land),
tumdama hadanow",	we learn to know our land,
tjukujei mètajei sjowow",	this is our song,
pydajei sjowanatow,	the song of our land,
nertejei sjowanatow	it is her first song
hynobtambangawow".	we are singing.

¹⁴ The Syihirtya are ancient small people in the Nenets mythology, who are believed to have lived in the Northern tundra, before the Nenets came to the North. This belief has probably some connection with the fact that the Northern Eurasia was populated by some unknown ethnic groups before the Samoyed-speaking peoples came to the North (cf. Khomich 1966, 29; 31).

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi
 wy' jana" hojow
 jilebtsijeingawow",
 wy' jana" sjonzja
 sawa jiljejei latrohow,
 wy' jana" sjojo
 tèilabtambowngawow",
 wy' jana" numgy"
 jesabartarahow".

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi
 we are living
 on our tundra,
 it is good to live
 on our tundra,
 we are spreading around
 the songs of our tundra,
 the stars of our tundra
 are twinkling everywhere.

Sèwèinanow jadèjei
 ngarka wy' jawow",
 harjoi nganamda
 jilaribèinandow"
 tirtjàjei sarmeikètsèjei
 munyjei tèlabirngow",
 (o-)horekodarewèi
 telèwèkoraha.

Look
 at our vast land;
 if the aeroplanes
 are climbing to the skies
 the warble of the birds
 overcomes them,
 the reindeer calves
 are echoing them.

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi...

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi...

Mertsjajei wysyl(à)mèjejei
 sjo hanabanow",
 ja sarpei mjunjow
 ngèdaljobèinanow",
 wyngèjei sehèrèmèi
 mjudngow" njodalbatow",
 jireinanèj sjojow
 har"na wètabiwow".

The winds are storming,
 when we sing our songs,
 when we are travelling
 along the tundra paths,
 when our slegde-caravans are on the move
 along the tundra roads,
 we continue to compose ourselves
 the songs of our forefathers.

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi...

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi...

Har"najei wynggèi jawow
 hyno"langawow",
 har"na pèrtjawow
 sawaliseitywow".
 Partijana" neda
 pilejei njodangadow",
 jalèimdadèi numgyjei
 ngudondonengadow".

We are singing
 about our tundra,
 we are praising
 our deeds.
 We are following constantly
 the path of our Party,
 the morning star
 is guiding us.

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi...

Hè-jei-hèi-hèi...