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SOSVA VOGUL GRAMMAR

BY

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Doctor of Philosophy degree  
in the Department of Linguistics  
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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of Linguistics,  
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for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

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To all above, and to the many unmentioned, I say simply in Vogul jomas ōlen 'may you fare well'.

L. W. M.

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## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is intended to be a linguistic analysis of the Sosva dialect of Vogul as it was used approximately sixty years ago.

### 0.1 Linguistic Orientation

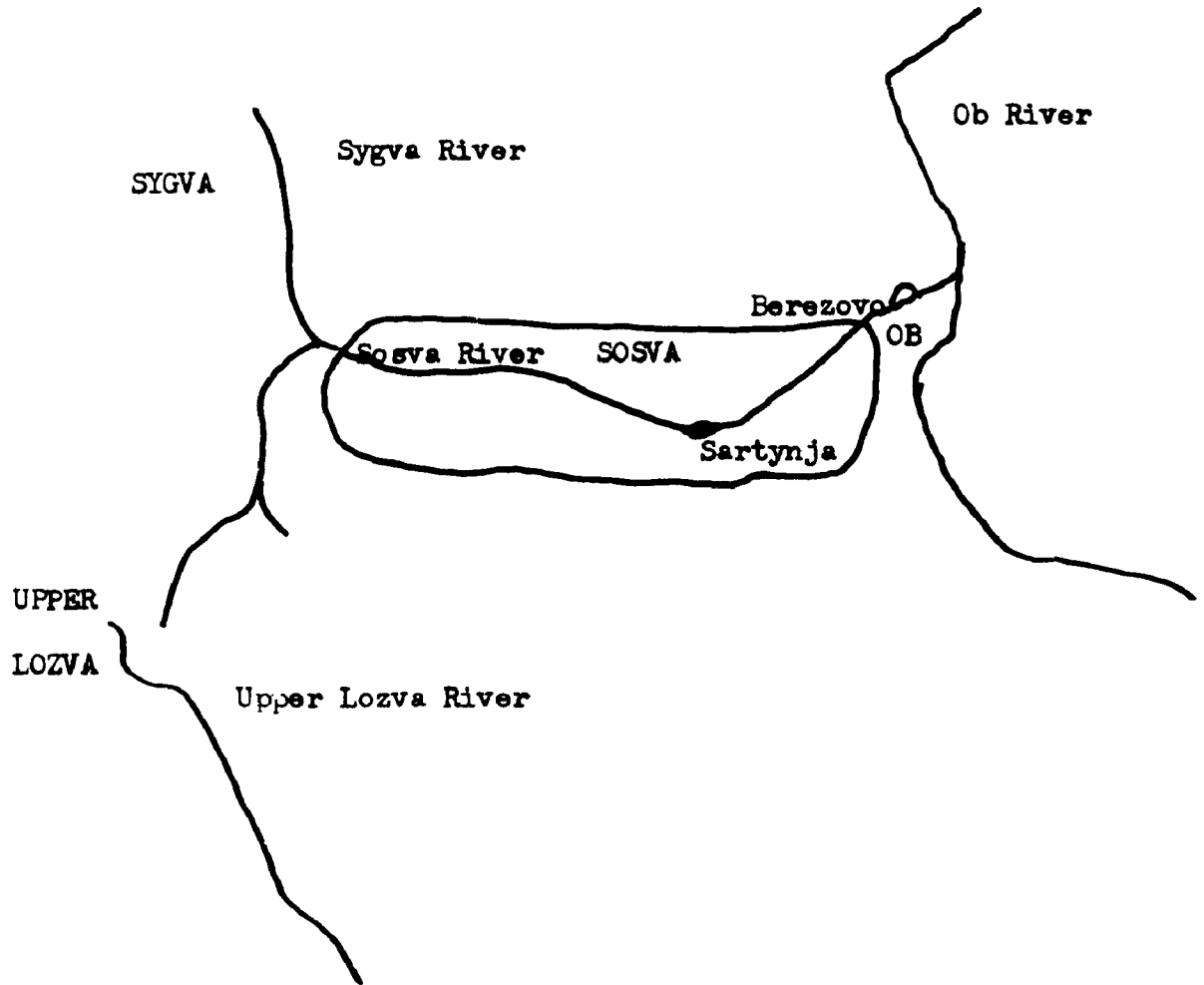
North and east of the Indo-European family of languages exists another large language family called the Uralic family. This is split into two major branches, to the east the Samoyed languages, to the west the Finno-Ugric languages. These again are split into a number of smaller groups.

One of these is the Ugric group which includes Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak. The latter two form the Ob-Ugric division, of which Vogul is the western member.

Vogul, also called Mańsi, has been divided into four major dialects. The Southern dialect is or was spoken in the region of the Tavda River basin. The Eastern is found on the Konda River and along the spot where it empties into the Ob River. The Western is on the tributaries of the Tavda; this dialect is probably dead at this time.

The Northern dialect has been sub-divided into four lesser dialects, all named for the major river in their area. They are the Upper Lozva, Sosva, Ob and Sygva (the latter river is also called the Ljapin). The Upper Lozva dialect is spoken on the northern reaches of the Lozva River, the Ob dialect along the western bank of the Ob River south of Berezo, the Sygva dialect all along the Sygva River, and the Sosva dialect along the North Sosva River (there is another Sosva River in the southern part of the Vogul area). The main geographic location in the

North Vogul Dialect Area





area is the town of Berezovo, about 65 degrees East longitude and 64 degrees North latitude.

## 0.2 Ethnic Orientation

The Voguls or Mańsi live between the Ural Mountains on the west and the Ob River on the east. They range from the Tavda River basin in the south to the Berezovo region on the Sosva River in the north, between approximately 62--67 degrees East longitude and 58-64 degrees North latitude.

They are bounded on the north by the Nenets (a Samoyed people), on the west by Zyrians (another Finno-Ugric people), on the south by the Turkic Tatars and on the east by the other Ob-Ugric nation, the Ostyaks. Russians are found throughout the region at the present time.

Politically the Voguls are found in the western portion of the Khanty-Mańsijaki National Okrug, chiefly in the Tjumen Oblast, in the Berezovo, Mikoyan and Konda rayons.

Census reports from Russian sources are not very clear because criteria vary from census to census. In 1905, 2282 Vogul speakers were reported from the Sosva-Ob area. In 1926 there were 3346 counted, and in 1936 a total of about 6000. The 1959 census listed approximately 6400 Voguls, of whom 59.2 per cent spoke Vogul natively, about 3800. Because of improved living conditions after World War I, the Voguls are increasing. However this coincidental increase is quite sure to be overcome by increased Russification and the people as an ethnic and linguistic group will probably not survive for long.

### 0.3 Review of Previous Studies

Within the last century there have been several hundred studies published on the Voguls and their language. Only seven of them are of particular concern here. All seven are analyses of Vogul as used in one or more of the northern Vogul dialects.

In A Vogul Nyelvjárások Szóragozásukban Ismertetve (The Vogul Dialects Presented in their Inflections), Bernát Munkácsi devotes 95 pages (6-100) to the general North Vogul dialect. Basically it is a morphological analysis with listings of function words and examples of usages of forms. It suffers, as do those of Kálmán and Lakó listed below, from a lack of syntactic detail. One reason for this might be the fact that a native speaker of Hungarian would have no problem with Vogul syntax once he had mastered the morphology and phrase structure. This was first published in NyK XXI, 1890, and later published separately with analyses of other dialects (1894).

The next outline of a northern dialect was written by V. Chernetsov in 1937. This was "Mansijskij (Vogul'skij) Jazyk (Manysi (Vogul) Language)" included in a volume of language studies in the North of Russia and Siberia, Jazyki i písmennost' narodov severa I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937). In thirty pages Chernetsov covers the morphology and basic structure of the emerging literary standard dialect. His analysis agrees quite closely with what I have found in Sosva, and he is evidently describing it with just a few differences from what Kannisto had recorded thirty years before.

In 1955 Béla Kálmán published the first of three elementary works on Vogul; this was Manysi Nyelvkönyv (Vogul Manual), actually an introduction to Vogul based on Munkácsi's texts and grammatical explanations. It is a very useful pedagogical text, but again stresses morphology and ignores syntax to a large extent.

The following year György Lakó's Északi-manysi Nyelvtanulmányok (North Vogul Language Studies) appeared. Here another analysis was made of the morphology of a northern Vogul dialect, the Sygva dialect of Rombandejeva, along with a comparative study of elementary literary Vogul. This study is almost completely phonetic and morphological.

In 1957 two native Voguls, A. N. Balandin and M. P. Wahrushewa, cooperated in the production of Mansijskij Jazyk (Vogul Language). This is a careful, pedagogical, step-by-step introduction to standard literary Vogul; it is the first work of any importance in the teaching of Vogul as a language to be learned actively. While it includes elements, especially morphological, from the northern dialects, it is based largely upon a translation of two short stories of Gorki (Staruha Izergí (Old Woman Izergí) and Roždeniye Čeloveka (Birth of a Man)), translated by P. Chejmatow and I. Jarkin under the direction of A. Balandin, and published in Leningrad in 1939. Thus it is not a study of a particular dialect but of properties chosen from northern dialects and merged with the Sosva dialect to create a literary language. I believe this is the most complete work on Vogul to date. A practical textbook, consisting of 62 lessons, by A. N. Balandin alone was published in 1960 under the title Samouchitel' mansijskogo jazyka (Self-teacher of the Vogul

Language); unfortunately I have not been able to get a copy of this.

In 1963 Kálmán's Chrestomathia Vogulica (Vogul Chrestomathy) was published as an improvement of Manysi Nyelvkönyv with data procured by Kálmán himself from several Voguls with whom he had contact in Lenin-grad. This is a more modern and dependable text, but still treats all of the northern dialects as one substantial entity differing mainly in a few phonetic details. This was republished in English as Vogul Chrestomathy in 1964, with a few errors caused by poor editing. The lack of syntactic data mentioned above is clearly shown here by the fact that less than one page is devoted to Word Order after almost twenty-five pages of morphology. However it is basically a very good text and the only one available in English at the moment for learning contemporary Vogul.

In 1966 J. I. Rombandejeva published an article, "Mansijskij Jazyk (Vogul Language)", in volume III of a series of five volumes devoted to Soviet languages, Jazyki narodov SSSR (Languages of the peoples of the USSR). This is a short analysis, less than twenty pages long, but quite compressed and informative. This is the same person who helped Lakó. She presents a very analytic structure of literary Vogul colored with elements from her Sygva dialect. About ten percent of her work is syntactic, but is based more on contrast with Russian than on Vogul structure itself.

#### 0.4 Purpose of the Present Work

Despite the large number of articles and monographs which have been written about the Vogul language, there has been no study made of one dialect from a syntactic point of view. Without such a study it is

impossible to make a thorough comparison of Vogul dialects with each other, and impossible to compare the Vogul language as an entity with other Finno-Ugric languages. Both of the comparisons mentioned are desirable and valid from the viewpoint of Finno-Ugric linguistics as a whole.

For the intended study a large and diversified corpus was necessary, but it was not to be so diversified that dialectal integrity was lost. This is the justification for using the Sosva texts gathered by Artturi Kannisto in 1905-6. His extensive fieldwork is a guarantee of the unity of the corpus and of the correspondence of phonetic details. Matti Liimola has published approximately 750 half-pages (the bottom of each page being a German translation) of Sosva Vogul gathered from five different informants, in both prose and verse, and referring to mythology, bear festivals, prayers, legends, etc. The varied sources and types of material should be a warranty of sufficient diversity to encompass all common syntactic devices, especially those found in the folklore style employed by older informants.

The Sosva dialect is particularly important as it is also the basis of the modern literary Vogul language.

#### 0.5 Methodology

After becoming familiar with the Vogul language from available works in Hungarian, Russian and German, the writer began working directly with the texts of Kannisto published by Liimola in the Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 101, 109, 111, 114 and 116; a sixth volume, 134, was published later, after considerable work had been done, and was used mainly for corroboration of details.

Although many points were noted somewhat haphazardly, due to the very nature of language, first efforts were devoted largely to a useful phonemicization of the Sosva dialect. This was done before the writer had a chance to see Kálmán's Manysi Nyelvkönyv and Chrestomathia Vogulica (or Vogul Chrestomathy); this afforded him an opportunity to check some of his work; results were encouraging because differences between Kálmán's first and later volumes tended to support the writer.

The entire five volumes on which this study is based have been gone through three times with the prose items getting much more attention. Considering the length of the corpus, about 7000 sentences including long and involved verse, it would be very surprising if some details had not been overlooked, but they should be few.

An attempt has been made to develop an overview of the language as a system by moving from the smallest linguistic items, phonemes and morphemes, through simple clauses and their parts, to compound and complex expressions. Chapter 9 is intended to give a unified view of a few points mentioned piecemeal in earlier chapters. Chapter 10 is an attempt to rationalize and structure the language, to show how the language actually functions as a system with predominant properties easily overlooked when details are being stressed.

## 0.6 Abbreviations

- abl.        ablative
- acc.        accusative
- ALH        Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest,  
1951--.
- C            consonant
- Ć            palatalized consonant
- cf.         compare
- CV         Kálmán, Béla, Chrestomathia Vogulica, Budapest, 1963.
- EETH        Raun, Alo, "The Equivalents of English 'Than' in Finno-Ugric",  
UAS, vol. I, 149-247, 1960.
- EMN        Lakó, György, "Északi-manyisi nyelvtanulmányok", NyK LVII 14-72,  
1956; "Nordmansische Sprachstudien", ALH VI 347-423, 1957;  
separate, Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 8, 1956.
- ff.         following pages
- FUF        Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki, 1901--.
- GVES        Kannisto, Artturi, "Zur Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten  
Silbe im Wogulischen vom qualitativen Standpunkt", MSFOu 46,  
1919.
- HF         Liimola, Matti, "Zur Historischen Formenlehre des Wogulischen  
I. Flexion der Nomina", MSFOu 127, 1963.
- instr.      instrumental
- IUL        Collinder, Björn, An Introduction to the Uralic Languages,  
Berkeley, 1965.

- JN MJ Rombandejeva, J. I., "Mansijskij Jazyk", Jazyki narodov SSSR III, Moscow, 1966, 343-360.
- lat. lative
- Lit. literary standard
- lit. literally
- MJ Balandin, A. N. and M. P. Wahrushewa, Mansijskij Jazyk, Leningrad, 1957.
- MNy Kálmán, Béla, Manysi nyelvkönyv, Budapest, 1955.
- MRS Balandin, A. N. and M. P. Wahrushewa, Mansijsko-Russkij Slovar', Leningrad, 1958.
- MSFOu Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki, 1870--.
- M(V)J Chernetsov, V., "Mansijskij (Vogul'skij) Jazyk", Jazyki i písmennost' narodov severa I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1937.
- N North
- nom. nominative
- NyE Nyelvtudományi Értekezések.
- NyK Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest, 1862--.
- obj. objective
- pers. person
- plur. plural
- postp. postposition
- RC Lakó, György, "Recent Changes in the North Vogul Language", Department of Fenno-Ugric No. 1 of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 1963, 107-20.
- sing. singular
- So Sosva



- subj. subjective
- SUL Collinder, Björn, Survey of the Uralic Languages--Grammatical Sketches and Commented Texts with English Translations, Stockholm-Uppsala, 1957.
- Sy Sygva
- trans. translative
- UAS Uralic and Altaic Series, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1960--.
- UL Upper Lozva
- V vowel
- VC Kálmán, Béla, Vogul Chrestomathy, UAS, vol. 46, 1965.
- VIM Sz. Kispál Magdolna, A Vogul Igenév Mondattana, Budapest, 1966.
- VKE Somogyi, Ferenc, A Vogul Kettősszámképző Eredete, Szeged, 1933.
- VNGy Munkácsi, Bernát, Vogul Népköltési Gyűjtemény I--IV, Budapest, 1892-1921.
- VNyj Munkácsi, Bernát, A Vogul nyelvjárások névragozásukban ismertetve, Budapest, 1894.
- VSW Steinitz, Wolfgang, "Der Vokalismus des Sosva-Wogulischen", Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat I, Tartu, 1937, 244-77.
- WS Ahlqvist, August, "Wogulische Sprachtexte nebst Entwurf einer wogulischen Grammatik", published by Yrjö Wichmann, MSFOu 7, 1894.
- WW Kannisto Artturi, "Wogulische Volksdichtung", edited and published by Matti Liimola; I (MSFOu 101, 1951), II (MSFOu 109, 1955), III (MSFOu 111, 1956), IV (MSFOu 114, 1958), V (MSFOu 116, 1959), VI (MSFOu 134, 1963).

I--VI volumes of WV  
I,1 VNGy volume I, part 1, Budapest,1892.  
-2 dual

## CHAPTER I

## PHONEMIC INTRODUCTION

This phonemic introduction is intended to explain the basis of my transliteration of various transcriptions of Vogul by various researchers. While intended to be complete in itself, it is not intended to be an exhaustive treatise on the phonemic or phonetic structure of Sosva Vogul. For this reason astute scholars of Vogul may find slight points to disagree with, but hopefully none which will in any way vitiate the morphological, morphophonemic or syntactic statements which are expressed in phonemicized examples.

## 1.1 Vogul Phonemes

The present phonemic system of Sosva Vogul (including current literary Vogul) contains 39 phonemes. Of these, 28 are native Vogul phonemes, 10 vowels and 18 consonants; 11 of them are consonants borrowed from Russian.

## 1.2 Vowel Phonemes

The Vogul vocalic system can be plotted as follows:

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>High</u>	i		u, ū
<u>Mid</u>	e, ē	e	o, ō
<u>Low</u>		a	ā

From the first syllable are excluded /e/ and /e/, while /u/, /o/ and all long vowels seldom occur elsewhere.

### 1.3 Native Consonant Phonemes

The consonantal system, as found in Kannisto's Sosva Vogul texts, can be mapped as follows:

	<u>Bi-</u> <u>Labial</u>	<u>Dento-</u> <u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Alveo-</u> <u>Palatal</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>
<u>Stops, Voiceless</u>	p		t	tʃ		k, k <sup>w</sup>
<u>Fricatives,</u> <u>Voiceless</u>			s	ʃ		x
<u>Voiced</u>	w				j	ɣ
<u>Nasals, Voiced</u>	m		n	ɲ		ŋ
<u>Liquids, Voiced</u>			l, r	l		

k<sup>w</sup> is considered as a unit phoneme for two reasons: 1) it better fits the syllabic structure of the language; 2) it establishes at least one minimum pair: pak 'rowlock', pak<sup>w</sup> 'pine cone'.

#### 1.31 Consonant Phonemes Borrowed from Russian

The large number of Russian loan words pouring into Vogul today has brought new consonantal phonemes with it. A revised version of the chart above with the addition of these new consonants, with the Russian loans underlined, is on the next page.

## CURRENT VOGUL PHONEMES

	<u>Bi-</u> <u>Labial</u>	<u>Dento-</u> <u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u>	<u>Alveo-</u> <u>Palatal</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>
<u>Stops, Voiceless</u>	p		t	t̥		k, kʷ
<u>Voiced</u>	<u>b</u>		<u>d</u>	<u>d̥</u>		<u>g</u>
<u>Fricatives,</u> <u>Voiceless</u>		<u>f</u>	s	ś, <u>š</u>		x
<u>Voiced</u>	w	<u>v</u>	<u>z</u>	<u>ž</u>	j	ɣ
<u>Affricates,</u> <u>Voiceless</u>			<u>c</u>	<u>č</u>		
<u>Nasals, Voiced</u>	m		n	ń		ŋ
<u>Liquids, Voiced</u>			l, r	l̥		

#### 1.4 Allophones

The following scheme shows the chief allophones of the native Vogul phonemes listed, as illustrated by Kannisto's Sosva Vogul texts. To a very great extent this same analysis applies to Kannisto's Upper Lozva texts, Kálmán's Sygva and Ob texts, and to the entire dialect area, simply designated North by Munkácsi and his followers.

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/i/	[ɨ]	high, central, unrounded vowel	before -γ	[janɨγ] 'big'.
	[ī]	high, front, unrounded vowel, long	before -w, -t	[kīwert] 'inside'; [š̄yite] 'her daughter'.
	[i]	high, front, unrounded vowel	elsewhere	[iŋ] 'really'; [nir] 'twig'; [oli] 'is'.
/e/	[e]	mid to low mid, front, unrounded vowel	everywhere but initial	[totwes] 'it was brought'; [ākwe] 'his aunt'.
/ē/	[ē]	mid to low mid, front, unrounded vowel, long	everywhere	[ēkwa] 'woman'; [tēy] 'he eats'; [nē] 'wife'.
/ə/	[ <sup>u</sup> ]	mid, central, reduced vowel, labialized	before -m, -p, never initial	[tōr <sup>u</sup> m] 'sky'; [āntwolt <sup>u</sup> p] 'hornscraper'.

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/e/ continued	[ɛ̣]	high, central, unrounded vowel	before -ɣ, after Ć-	[pɪɣɛ̣ɣ] 'two boys'; [kaśɪm] 'my younger brother'.
	[e]	mid, central, reduced vowel	elsewhere between consonants	[joxtes] 'he arrived'.
/a/	[a]	low, central, unrounded vowel	everywhere	[aśarma] 'cold'.
/ā/	[ā]	low, back, unrounded vowel	everywhere	[ākʷe] 'his aunt'; [lāwi] 'he says'.
/o/	[o]	mid, back, rounded vowel	everywhere but final	[oxsar] 'fox'; [soma] 'upright'.
/ō/	[ō]	mid, back, rounded vowel, long	everywhere	[ōli] 'is'; [mōt] 'another'; [xō] 'who'.
/u/	[u]	high, back, rounded vowel	everywhere but final	[ul] 'not'; [xum] 'man'.
/ū/	[ū̄]	high, front, rounded vowel, long	before Ć-	[kū̄nar] 'poverty'; [kū̄sain] 'your mistress'.
	[ū]	high, back, rounded vowel, long	elsewhere	[ūnttālen] 'set it up'; [tūp] 'only'; [jū] 'homeward'.

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/p/	[B]	bilabial, voiced stop	non-initial, after nasal, before -s, ~ [p] inter-vocallically and finally	[samBāle] 'his eye'; [k <sup>w</sup> ālaBs] 'he went out'; [śalDaBi] 'he enters'; [mupel] 'toward'; [tāB, tēp] 'food'.
	[p]	bilabial, voiceless stop	elsewhere	[pasan] 'table'
/t/	[D]	alveolar, voiced stop	~ [t] before -s, inter-vocallically, finally, after nasals	[suÍDs] 'he remained'; [masapaxts] 'he dressed'; [xūnDlīte, xūntlīDe, xūnDlīDe] 'he listened to it'; [pāLD, pālt] 'toward'.
	[t]	alveolar, voiceless stop	everywhere	[tēp] 'food'.
/t̪/	[t̪]	alveopalatal, voiceless stop	intervocalically	[wā́ti] 'short'.
/k/	[G]	velar, voiced stop	non-initial; inter-vocalic; ~ [k] after nasals, before -ś, finally.	[saGa] 'very'; [nāŋGjīw, nāŋkjīw] 'larch'; [tāGś, tākś] 'firm'; [wēG, wēk] 'perhaps'.
	[k]	Velar, voiceless stop	elsewhere	[kon] 'out'.



<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/k <sup>w</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ]	labio-velar, voiceless stop (rounded)	everywhere	[k <sup>w</sup> ali] 'rises'; [ək <sup>w</sup> a] 'woman'; [rak <sup>w</sup> ] 'rain'.
/w/	[∅]	silent	~ [w] finally	[juw, jū] 'home';
	[w]	bilabial, voiced glide	everywhere	[wāti] 'short'; [lāwi] 'says'.
/s/	[z]	alveolar, voiced fricative	before -s, -t; ~ [s] finally	[laGwaZs] 'he moved'; [ÍayaZt] 'they said'; [ōs, ōZ] 'also'.
	[s]	alveolar, voiceless fricative	elsewhere	[sāt] 'seven'; [pasan] 'table'.
/ṣ/	[ṣ]	alveopalatal, voiceless fricative	everywhere	[ṣalti] 'enters'; [ōnṣi] 'has'; [tāḳé] 'firm'.
/j/	[i]	palatal, voiced glide	between vowel and consonant	[kūsain] 'your mistress'.
	[j]	palatal, voiced fricative	elsewhere	[jīw] 'tree'; [āyij̣ɣ] 'two daughters'; [kāsaɟ] 'knife'.
/x/	[x]	velar, voiceless fricative	everywhere	[xum] 'man'; [joxtes] 'he arrived'; [Íō x] 'path'.
/ɣ/	[ɣ]	velar, voiced fricative	everywhere but initial	[āyɪ] 'girl'; [janɪɣ] 'big'.

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Allophone</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Examples</u>
/m/	[m]	bilabial, voiced nasal	everywhere	[mā] 'earth'; [am] 'I'; [soma] 'upright'.
/n/	[n]	alveolar, voiced nasal	everywhere	[nupel] 'toward'; [maner] 'what'; [pasan] 'table'.
/ń/	[ń]	alveopalatal, voiced nasal	everywhere	[ńāl] 'arrow'; [māń] 'small'; [āńt] 'horn'.
/ŋ/	[ŋ <sup>W</sup> ]	labio-velar, voiced nasal (rounded)	before -k <sup>W</sup>	[kinseŋ <sup>W</sup> k <sup>W</sup> e] 'to seek'.
	[ŋ]	velar, voiced nasal	everywhere but initial	[nāŋk] 'larch'; [ōŋen] 'chin'.
/l/	[l]	alveolar, voiced lateral	everywhere	[lāwi] 'says'; [ōli] 'is'; [mupel] 'toward'.
/í/	[í]	alveopalatal, voiced lateral	everywhere	[íāyes] 'he said'; [xuíDs] 'he stayed'; [ńāl] 'trap'.
/r/	[r]	alveolar, voiced tap	everywhere	[rak <sup>W</sup> ] 'rain'; [mirēn] 'to his people'; [mir] 'people'.

## Dialectal Alternants

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>UL</u>	<u>So</u>	<u>Sy</u>	<u>Ob</u>
e	[ɛ]~[i]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]
k- (+ front vowel)	[k]	[k]	[tʃ]	[k]
k <sup>w</sup>	[k <sup>w</sup> ]	[k <sup>w</sup> ]	[k <sup>w</sup> ]	[k]
-w-	[-w-]	[-w-]	[-w-]	[-w~ɣ-]

## 1.5 Syllabic Patterns

A substantially correct phonemicization requires some concepts of syllabic structure in addition to basic phonemes. Vogul has the following native syllabic patterns (V signifies any vowel and C any consonant):

V	/ē/ 'indeed'
VC	/at/ 'not'
	/ak <sup>w</sup> / 'one'
VCC	/ānt/ 'horn'
CV	/ti/ 'this'
CVC	/kol/ 'house'
	/rak <sup>w</sup> / 'rain'
CVCC	/puŋk/ 'head'
	/mēt <sup>w</sup> k/ 'forest devil'

In addition to these, Russian loanwords have introduced new syllabic patterns into the language:

CVCCC	/agitpunkt/ 'propaganda center'
CCVC	/klub/ 'club'
CCVCC	/gruzd/ 'milk agaric'
CCCVC	/spravka/ 'information'

## 1.6 Non-initial Clusters

Because of the common tendency of Uralic languages to avoid clusters--as well as to justify the syllabic patterns of 1.5--it seems advisable to show that clusters in Vogul are not the result of misinterpreting the notes of some particular researcher. The following versions of common words are found in the work of Ahlqvist (Wogulisches Wörterverzeichnis), Munkácsi (Szilasi's Vogul Szójegyzék), Balandin-Wahrushewa (Mansijskij-Russkij Slovar') and Kannisto (MSFOu 101, 109, 112, 114, 116 and 134).

<u>Ahlqvist</u>	<u>Munkácsi</u>	<u>Balandin-Wahrushewa</u>	<u>Kannisto</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
pũk	punk	ПУНГК	puŋk	head
xõnt	xant	ХОНТ	xont	army
jort	jurt	ЮРТ	jurt	friend
pañt	pānt	ПАНТ	pānt	brother-in-law
íofix	íanx	ЛЕНГХ	íõŋx	path

It should be noted that these are all final clusters. Initial clusters occur only in loanwords.

## 1.61 Native Two Consonant Clusters

The following table summarizes the types of consonant clusters which occur natively:

	plus <u>Fricative</u>	<u>Stop</u>	<u>Nasal</u>	<u>Liquid</u>
<u>Liquid</u>	<u>pors</u> 'litter'	<u>ērt</u> 'time'	<u>jörn</u> 'Samoyed'	
	<u>k<sup>w</sup>āls</u> 'arose'	<u>kēlp</u> 'blood'	<u>xaln</u> 'between'	
<u>Fricative</u>		<u>sajk</u> 'sober'	<u>sajn</u> 'behind'	<u>tuwl</u> 'then'
		<u>sist</u> 'behind'	<u>wōwēym</u> 'I ask for'	<u>nōwí</u> 'meat'
<u>Nasal</u>	<u>íōŋx</u> 'path'	<u>ānt</u> 'horn'		
	<u>sēns</u> 'footstool'	<u>xump</u> 'wave'		
<u>Stop</u>	<u>pēts</u> 'he put'			
	<u>śaltaps</u> 'he entered'			

## 1.62 Native Three Consonant Clusters

There seem to be sporadic instances of three consonant clusters in phonetic transcription by Kannisto. These include words like: xanśuwls 'got used to' (III 20); pājalts 'began to cook' (III 21) and mōrts 'suitable' (III 22). These all consist of one of the double combinations listed above plus -s or, in reverse order, of the final double consonants preceded by -w- or -l-, thus it may represent a merger of two possible clusters phonetically.

## 1.7 Vogul Alphabets

While there was no official alphabet for Vogul until 1917, works (chiefly religious) were translated and written in Vogul in both Latin and Cyrillic script. From 1917 to 1937 an official Latin alphabet was used, and since then a Cyrillic alphabet.

### 1.71 Vogul in a Latin Alphabet

Chernetsov (M(V)J 196) lists the official alphabet in Latin characters as:

Aa, Bb, Cc, Dd, Ee, Fi, Gg, Hh, h̄h̄, Ii, Jj, Kk, Ll, L̄l̄, Mm, Nn, N̄n̄, Ūū, Oo, Pp, Rr, Ss, S̄s̄, Tt, T̄t̄, Uu, Vv, Zz, B̄b̄.

### 1.72 Vogul in a Cyrillic Alphabet

Balandin-Wabrushewa (MRS 8) give the current official Cyrillic alphabet as:

Аа	Бб	Вв	Гг	Дд	Ее	Ёё	Жж
Зз	Ии	Йй	Кк	Лл	Мм	Нн	ң
Оо	Пп	Рр	Сс	Тт	Уу	Фф	Хх
Цц	Чч	Шш	Щщ	ъ	ы	ь	Ээ
Юю	Яя						

### 1.73 Comparison of Phonetic Symbols

The accompanying chart illustrates the main correspondences which exist between individual phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

## Comparison of Phonetic and Phonemic Correspondences

Phoneme Used Here	Ahlqvist	Munkácsi	Kannisto	Steinitz	Kálmán
a	a, ä	a, ä	a (7 variants)	a	a
ä	ä	ä	ä (5 var.)	ä	ä
e	e	e	e (3 var.)	ē	e
ē	ē	ē	ē (6 var.)	ē	ē
o	e	o	o (3 var.)	e	e
i	i (4 var.)	i (3 var.)	i (9 var.)	i	i, i(γ)
o	o	o, a	o (6 var.)	o	o
ō	ō	ō, ā	ō (4 var.)	ō	ō
u	u	u	u (4 var.)	u	u
ū	u	ū	ū (2 var.)	ū	ū
p	p	p	p (3 var.)	p	p
t	t, d	t	t, D	t	t
t	t(i)	t	t (2 var.)	t	t
k	k, q	k	k, G	k	k
k <sup>w</sup>	ku(a)	kw	k <sub>u</sub>		kw
w	v, u	w, v	∅	w	w
s	s	s	s, Z	s	s
s	s	s	s, Z	s	s
x	x, q	x	x		x
γ	g	γ	γ (4 var.)	γ	γ
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
n	n	n	n	n	n
ŋ	n, ng	ŋ	ŋ (2 var.)	ŋ	ŋ
l	l	l	l, l̄	l	l
l̄	l̄	l̄	l̄, l̄̄	l̄	l̄
r	r	r	r, R	r	r
j	j	j	i	i	j

My transliteration of Kannisto's phonetic script is based partly on the following:

Kannisto used capital letters to represent voiced versions of voiceless sounds and vice versa (GVES xiii); these I have phonemized as the voiced or voiceless sound to which they refer, e.g. [G] = /k/, etc.

Various degrees of voicing are shown by Roman and Greek italicized capitals connected by a subscript bow (GVES xiii, half-voiced), by small letter + open parenthesis + capital letter (GVES xiii, gemination or independence), by a small pre-superscript of a sound (GVES xiii, voiced or unvoiced onset), and <sup>◌̣</sup> (GVES xiii-xiv, voiceless ending of voiced sound). These are all phonemized simply, e.g. [q̣] = /k/, [l(L)] = /l/, [<sup>x</sup>x] = /x/ and [w<sup>◌̣</sup>] = /w/.

In his syllabification, Kannisto often uses syllabic consonants with the pertinent syllables distinguished by low, small open parentheses. I have eliminated the consonantal syllabification by inserting -e- between such consonants, equivalent in many cases to -b!- in the literary language. E.g. [(ll)] = /lel/, [(tn)] = /ten/.

### 1.8 Stress

Word stress in Sosva is uniformly on the first syllable in all cases. A secondary stress is found on odd-numbered, i.e. third, fifth, etc. syllables in the same word, exclusive of the last syllable. Russian stress does not seem to have influenced Sosva Vogul stress at all.



## CHAPTER II

## MORPHOLOGY

Vogul morphology is extensive but relatively simple. Case endings are generally the same for all numbers in nouns, pronouns, adjectives and participles. They differ only for the accusative of personal pronouns (which is an emphatic form rather than a morphological case) and for adverbs. Personal suffixes which express possession on nouns and subject on verbs are similar and often identical. The first and second person verb forms have the same objective suffixes. Only two verb classes exist, the second composed of irregular verbs containing only six monosyllabic verbs. Comparative endings for adjectives, adverbs and even postpositions are identical. The only changes which take place in noun and verb stems, with the exceptions of xum 'man' and the irregular verbs, are morphophonemic. A number of derivational affixes are identical for all parts of speech: -tāl 'less', -kwe 'small', -riś 'dear'.

## 2.1 Morphophonemics

Sosva Vogul morphophonemics depends on two general tendencies: avoidance of clusters and avoidance of diphthongs. These will be treated in some detail, but it should be remembered that these are tendencies which permit isolated exceptions.

Though I have already shown the existence of consonant clusters in Vogul, cluster prevention still functions in several ways:

1) Many consonant stems which end in -CC insert -ə- between the consonants in the nominative singular (tōrm- ~ tōrem 'sky') and occasionally in other cases: tōremm 'by god' (I 63). Other examples are

ērey 'song', ēryem 'my song' (II 89); xūrey 'bag', xūrye 'his bag' (I 69); pupey 'totem', pupyet 'totems' (I 66).

2) Similarly, most suffixes which have allomorphs (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 65, 66) have one allomorph beginning with -e- whose function is again to prevent consonant clustering. Otherwise almost all Sosva Vogul suffixes begin with a consonant. Examples from Kannisto-Liimola's corpus are: kolen 'to the house' (I 211); wōren 'into the forest' (I 251).

3) A stem ending with a nasal plus a homorganic fricative loses the nasal before an affix beginning with a consonant: sunsi 'he sees' (I 145), sussen 'you saw' (I 253), sustāl 'without seeing' (II 84); ōńsi 'has', ōsne 'having' (I 226).

4) A stem ending with a nasal plus a stop loses the stop before a suffixed nasal: nomt 'thought' 'nomn' your thought' (I 14); kolāwisūnt 'hut threshold', kolāwisūnen 'to the hut threshold' (III 34); joxti 'goes', joxne 'going' (II 138); nātk 'larch', nātnel 'from a larch' (II 149).

5) The complex second person ending in all numbers, -nen or -(nn), often coalesces into -n: luwān (luw + an + en) 'your-2-horses' (III 22); pisālān ~ pisālānēn 'your-2-rifles' (I 201).

6) While not strictly avoiding a consonant cluster, -k<sup>w</sup>e (in diminutives and infinitives) is frequently reduced to -ke- before suffixes; e.g. kolkēnt (kol + k<sup>w</sup>e + n + t) 'in your little house' (I 214); kasajsupkēt (kasaj + sup + k<sup>w</sup>e + t) 'his small bit of a knife' (III 24).

7) Similarly the suffix -k<sup>(w)</sup>e and the enclitic -ke 'if' are often preceded by -a- when they are appended to a consonant stem: nālwa nālwake 'if down' (I 34); íapānelnuwake 'if somewhat closer' [-nuw = -er]

(I 20); nāwramak<sup>w</sup>ey 'two little children, i.e. cubs' (nāwram + k<sup>w</sup>e + γ)  
 (I 255). This may also happen in other situations, but less commonly,  
 e.g. after two consonants, āmp 'dog' + -riś becomes āmpariś 'little dog'  
 (IV 257p).

8) Open monosyllables are suffixed with -γey instead of -γ in  
 the dual and translative: māyey 'two lands' (I 231); nēyey 'as wife'  
 (I 228).

9) Sentence sandhi leads to frequent dropping of a final vowel  
 before an initial vowel on a following word: xō wina saka aji 'whoever  
 drinks a lot of brandy' (I 272) ~ sak ētyelawe 'it is very hungry' (I  
 244); xos ōlssey (III 35) ~ xosa ōlssey (III 39) 'they-2-dwelled for  
 a long time'.

There are also a number of methods of avoiding vowel clusters.

1) Two successive vowels, one of which is /e/, /ē/ or /ə/ coalesce  
 into ē, as in āse 'his father', āsēn 'to a father' (I 252), āsēn 'to his  
 father' (II 153).

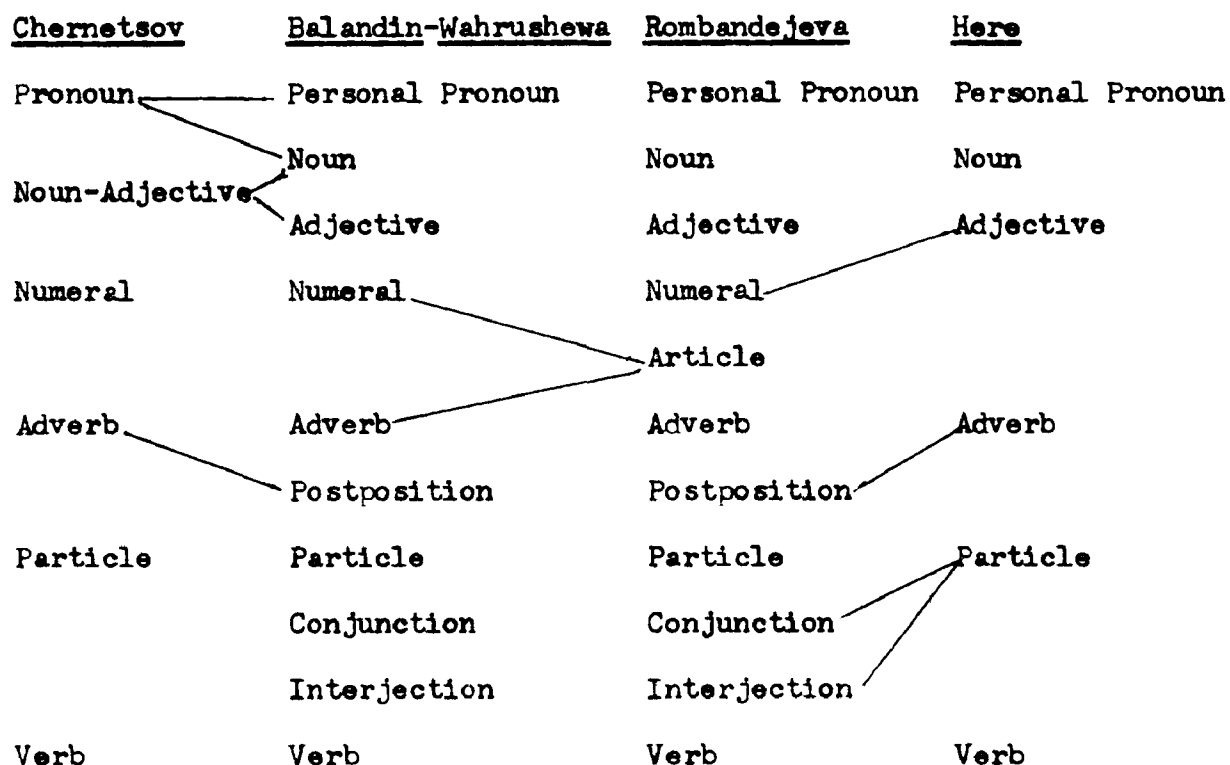
2) -i plus a vowel usually becomes -ijV-: aki, akijayem 'uncle, my  
 two uncles'.

3) The third person singular and dual possessive markers -e and  
 -ēn prefix a -t- after a noun ending in a vowel: āyi, āyite 'daughter,  
 his daughter' (II 58).

4) Stems in -/ai/ are transmuted to -/aj/ to close a syllable, i.  
 e. when final or before a suffix beginning with a vowel: nāj 'fire,  
 princess' (I 149); nāin 'into the fire' (II 104); nājuw 'our princess'  
 (I 213).

## 2.2 Parts of Speech

The only treatises which deal with parts of speech as formal entities are Russian: Chernetsov (M(V)J 173) lists six parts, Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 49) ten parts and Rombandejeva (JN MJ 346-56) eleven. Unfortunately they have not set down their criteria for parts of speech. The following diagram shows their relationship to each other and to my scheme.



According to inflectional criteria Vogul parts of speech can be assigned to six basic classes, which can be further subdivided into secondary categories by syntactic and morphological criteria.

The first class consists of nouns, which can be recognized by their capacity for showing number, case and personal possessors through suffixation; non-personal pronouns are also considered nouns according to this definition.

To the second group belong personal pronouns which have lexically different forms to show number, have an accusative case (which nouns in Sosva lack) and do not show possession by suffixation.

Adjectives form the third group of language forms. They can show number and case (but not both at once) and do not take possessive suffixes. Some can be compared by suffixation. Cardinal and ordinal numbers can be considered as belonging to this group, although semantically they are distinct and cannot have contrastive inflection for number.

The fourth group is made up of adverbs, some of which have local cases and some of which can be provided with the comparative -nuw '-er'. Certain adverbs (postpositions) show some of the case features of singular nouns and take possessive suffixes; some actually are homophones of ordinary nouns.

Verbs, which can be suffixed by personal, tense, modal, voice and object markers, form the fifth group.

Particles constitute the sixth group, members of which cannot ordinarily be inflected. Syntactically they can be subdivided into adverbs, conjunctions and interjections.

<u>Part of Speech</u>	<u>Markers</u> Personal Suffix	Number	Number and Case	Case	Comparison	Tense, etc.
Noun	x	x	x	x		
Personal Pronoun				x		
Adjective		x		x	x	
Adverb	x			x	x	
Verb	x	x				x
Particle						

### 2.3 Substantives

Nouns, pronouns and adjectives are grouped together for theoretical purposes under the broad designation of substantives. Though there are minor differences among them, they all partake of the functions of number and case with a common stock of affixational elements.

These groups can be subjected to a distinctive feature analysis:

	<u>Regular Cases</u>	<u>Number Affixes</u>	<u>Possessive Endings</u>	<u>Unique Forms</u>	<u>Comparison</u>
Noun	x	x	x		
Personal Pronoun	x	x		x	
Qualitative Adjectives	x	x			x
Pronominal Adjectives	x	x			
Numerals	x	x	x	x	

There is a distinction of natural gender made in pronouns which is called genus humanum and genus non humanum by Collinder (IUL 57). The

first group includes xōn 'who' as opposed to matar 'what' in the second group.

When necessary, sexual gender is shown by specific nouns:

<u>xum</u> 'man'	<u>nē</u> 'woman'
<u>piy</u> 'boy'	<u>āyi</u> 'girl'
<u>xār</u> 'buck'	<u>mis</u> 'cow'

or by free derivation:

āmpōjkāt 'his male dog (lit. dog-old-man-his)' (III 36, 38, 40);  
saliōkwa 'reindeer cow (lit. reindeer woman)' (II 59)

### 2.31 Number

Vogul has three obligatory categories of number: singular, dual and plural for count nouns. In addition there is a generalized use of the singular for mass nouns, e.g. wit 'water', wōt 'wind', etc., though these may also have plurals in specialized cases: samwitat 'tears (lit. eye-waters)', wōtet 'winds'. Every noun has two number stems, one for nouns with a possessive suffix and one for those not so marked.

The only irregular stem is xum 'man', which has one stem for the singular absolute declension

xum- xumen 'to a man', lative case (I 142),

and another for nouns which are dual, plural or possessed:

xumi- xumiy 'two men' (III 21); xumit 'men' (V 45);

xumim 'my husband' (II 87).

Researchers are unanimous in positing a generalized  $-\gamma$  (Ahlqvist WS 139  $-g$ ) for the dual and  $-t$  for the plural, both equally viable in Sosva Vogul today. While there are phonetic differences, the phonemic unity is unquestionable.

## 2.311 Dual

Ahlqvist (WS 139, 146-7) gives only one dual form in -əy after consonants in So; Munkácsi also gives examples, without explanation of roots ending in -i and other vowels:

N sāli, sālijf' ([sālijty]) 'reindeer, two reindeer' (VNyj 7);

N pērna, pērnaf' ([pērnaty]) 'cross, two crosses' (VNyj 11).

The latter wrongly suggests that -əy is the generally used stem (VNyj 7). Actually it is the normal stem in all cases for UL, is rarely the absolute stem in So, but seems to be the normal stem for possessed nouns in all N dialects.

Liimola (HF 14) makes a number of phonetic distinctions in the application of -γ. He says that in the N dialects -a, -e are followed by -γ directly, that consonants and -i are followed by -əy, and that in UL palatalized consonants are followed by -iy. Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 54) make the latter observation, too, but all these cases are covered by my phonemicization of /ə/.

Usual So examples are: piyəy 'two boys', xumiy 'two men' (III 21); luwəy 'two horses' (III 23).

## 2.312 Plural

The phonetic details referred to above are also operative to some extent in the plural. This is why Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 54) give a plural in -it after a palatalized consonant: šarəs, šarsit 'sea, seas'.

Liimola states that in N the -t can be added directly to a final consonant (HF 11-2). Our Sosva corpus bears this out and we find such pairs as nōwlet and nōwlt '(pieces of) meat' (IV 436p), as well as individual citations like məŋkwt 'forest spirits' (II 57). Therefore



Kálmán seems to be oversimplifying when he differentiates the locative singular from the nominative plural on the basis of the latter's connecting vowel (MN 16, CV 28, VC 34-5; also Munkácsi VNyj 7-8 and Chernetsov M(V)J 163). It is likely that Chernetsov and Kálmán are just following Munkácsi's path, since his work usually shows connecting vowels with the plural (NyK XXI 327, XXII 4, 56, XXIII 362, XXIV 9, 157). It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Kálmán himself notes some inconsistency in the Ob dialect; in the text which he transcribed from Leonid Tarasovich Kostin in 1957, we find: ńawremet and ńawremt 'children' (NyK LXII 29).

Common examples of the plural are: xumit 'men' (V 45) and āwit 'doors' (I 238) from xum and āwi.

### 2.32 Cases

The Sosva substantival case system is made up of seven cases, six morphological and one semantic. In general the first six are used with all substantives, though there are a few restrictions, as shown below. Case can be used, otherwise, with any number, with possessive suffixes, and with any combination of these two features.

The six morphological cases in Sosva Vogul are:

Nominative, unmarked;

Lative, -n;

Locative, -t;

Ablative, -nəl;

Instrumental, -l, -t, and -təl;

Translative, -ey, used only with singular, non-possessed stems.

The one semantic case is the accusative, used only for personal pronouns, and composed of the pronoun itself plus its corresponding possessive suffix, e.g. taw 'he' + -e 'his' = tawe 'him'.

All of the cases above are used only as verbal adjuncts or as predicates in equational sentences. This has enabled me to determine that the caritive form of nouns, for example, is a denominal adjective or, at best, an ambivalent case form, rather than a true case.

### 2.321 Nominative Case

The simplest and most important case in Vogul can be called nominative (Ahlqvist WS 139; Collinder SUL 322; Lakó EMN 25; Liimola HF 24; Munkácsi V Nyj 7), absolute (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 62), or basic (Liimola HF 24; Rombandejeva JN MJ 346). Although it fulfils many functions not usually considered nominative, and though it does not always represent the basic form of a noun, I shall refer to this case as nominative.

The nominative singular is usually the stem as well. However, for morphophonemic reasons (see 2.1), it is sometimes an expansion of the stem proper.

### 2.3.2 Lative Case

The lative case suffix is -n, occasionally -na in UL, in all numbers. While all researchers agree on the -n, there is a little phonetic discord. Ahlqvist (WS 140, 146-7) prefixes all variants of it with -i-. Collinder (SUL 323) posits it as -n (but he was seeking a general formula for all Vogul dialects with particular emphasis on Konda).

Munkácsi designated the lative ending as -ne in the Sosva and Sygva dialects.

The UL dialect seems to have -n or -na indiscriminately after a consonant: witna~witen 'into the water' (III 13), matarn~matarna 'by what' (I 79), but only -n after a vowel: mān 'to land' (III 11).

Sosva also has -na, but very rarely; Liimola (HF 89) knows only eight instances; this may be contingent upon the editing of Kannisto's notes. According to Liimola (HF 89), Vingalev from Sartynja on at least one occasion had said: pāwlna 'to village' which Pakin from Rjezimova--farther east and closer to the Ob dialect, farther from the UL area--corrected to pāwln.

Later sources cite only -n~ -en (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 64-5; Lakó NyK LVII 36-7, ALH 376-7), except Kálmán (MN 16) before he had met any Voguls himself and was still following Munkácsi closely. His own later work agrees with later scholars (CV 34).

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 65) designate -n as immediately joining a final vowel (kolala-n 'onto the roof') or a single final consonant (wōr-n 'into the forest'); they claim -en is added only to consonant clusters: tumpen 'onto an island', klassen 'into class'. This is a direct difference from Kannisto in a few cases: So miren 'to the people' (III 33), Lit mirn (MJ 65).

Other Sosva examples are: āmpen 'by a dog' (III 23); wōrn 'into the forest' (III 27).

### 2.323 Locative Case

According to Ahlqvist and all his successors, -t is the marker of the locative case in Sosva (WS 140). Munkácsi (VNyj 7) gives both -te

and -t for N in general, and found -te in UL, So and Sy (Liimola HF 53). Kannisto found -te only in UL (Liimola HF 52-3), while Lakó (ALH VI 376) and Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 65-6) claim that it no longer exists in So and Sy.

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 66) list two allomorphs with the same distribution as in the lative: vowel or single consonant + t, cluster + et. Munkácsi (V Nyj 7) and Kálmán after him (MN 16, CV 27, VC 34-5) claim there is no linking vowel, thus making an automatic distinction between the nominative plural and the locative singular. Examples from almost any source show them to be too restrictive in this statement: tumpet 'on an island', klasset 'in class' (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 66). (Cf. also 2.31).

Lakó has pointed out (EMN 26) that in the Sygva dialect the locative form replaces the instrumental in the dual possessive. This is also true of Sosva, as in ák<sup>w</sup>ent 'with his (lit. their-2) aunt', ápsitēnt 'with his younger brother', āyitēnt 'with his daughter' (I 141, V 64, V 200). Despite the similarity to the locative in form, most authorities consider this to be a genuine form of the instrumental (see 2.325).

Examples from Sosva are: porat 'at the time' (I 13); pāwlet 'at the village' (I 61); wātāt 'on the shore' (III 34).

#### 2.324 Ablative Case

Ahlqvist designates -nel as the suffix expressing the ablative (which he calls elative) case (WS 140). This case has also been called relative-ablative by Liimola (HF 24) and Lakó (EMN 25). Collinder (LUL 33) calls it the separative. Munkácsi also lists only the same ending for nouns (NyK XXI 328, XXIII 364-5) and Liimola gives this as the basic form of the ablative (HF 60).

Analysis of Instrumental Endings

<u>Source</u>	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Dual</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Possessed</u>	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Possessed</u>	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Possessed</u>
N Munkácsi VNyj 9-10	-l	-tel	-l	-tel	-l	-tel
UL Liimola HF 104-5		-tel	-tel	-tel	-tel	-tel
So Liimola HF 108		-t, -tel	-tel		-tel	
Ahlqvist WS 140, 145-7	-l		-l		-l	
Sy Lakó EMN 25	-l	-tel	-tel	-tel	-l	-tel
Lit Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 71		-tel		-tel		-tel

There is an alternant in -l which occurs commonly in the absolute declension (Liimola HF 70) in So and occasionally in UL. Unfortunately its frequency may be spurious in So, as all but one example are from Pakin (see 2.322) who changed the data of other informants (Liimola HF 176). Possessive nouns in So always seem to use -nel.

Examples are: jiwnel 'out of wood' (I 254), mānel 'from the ground' (II 104), sunennel 'from your sled' (II 59), sisēnel 'from his back' (I 13), sipluwēnel 'by its neck' (V 229).

### 2.325 Instrumental Case

The instrumental case has three common endings which overlap somewhat in usage. According to Ahlqvist (WS 140, 146-7), the only suffix is -l, -el in So, but he limits himself to absolute forms: xumel, xumiyel, xumitel 'with a man, two men, men'. Munkácsi also cites the -l form (V Nyj 9) but adds -tel for possessed nouns. In his collected materials he also includes examples of -t after possessed nouns, but I find no citation to show that he realized this was an instrumental form.

With few exceptions, the following summarizes the situation in N. After possessed nouns -tel can always occur, though -t is also used for possessives, especially in the dual. In all absolute forms -l can be used, but is often replaced by -tel in the dual. Sosva itself never seems to use -tel in the absolute declension and I have found no examples of -l with possessed nouns.

Examples of the instrumental: absolute declension with -l, witel 'with water', pūtel 'with a kettle' (III 36); āk<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>al 'with (his) aunt' (III 35); absolute declension with -t: samt 'with the eye' (III 28); possessives with -t: kasajemt 'with my knife' (V 111), kasajēt 'with his

knife' (III 24), śunēnt, xūlēnt 'in their plenty, in their wealth' (III 41); possessives with -tel, luumtel 'with my horse' (II 108p), jeypiykētēntel 'with her (lit. their-2) brother' (I 66, 250), āyitōtel piyētel 'with his daughter and son' (I 66).

Because of the confusion in dealing with this case, I am appending a brief outline of what various authors have stated, page 39.

### 2.326 Translative Case

Ahlqvist (WS 147) did not recognize the translative as a case, but rather as a specialized function of the nominative dual with translative and essive meaning, even though Munkácsi early (NyK XXI, XXII, XXIII and XXIV) asserted its independence as a distinct case (VNyj 8). It is also known as translative-essive (Liimola HF 24). This case is shown by -C + əy and -V + -γ; as usual, -i is realized as -iji-. Kálmán (MN 16, CV 28) gives the suffix merely as -iy; jaŋkiy 'to ice', witiy 'to water' māiy 'to earth'.

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 69) denote three allomorphs of this case: -iy after -i and palatalized consonants: ākań, ākańiy 'doll, into a doll', sāli, sāliiy ([sālijijiy]) 'reindeer, into a reindeer', -γ after other vowels: ək<sup>w</sup>a, ək<sup>w</sup>ay 'old woman, to an old woman' and -əy after other consonants: kol, koley 'house, into a house'. Again this exemplifies the allophones of /ə/.

Normally this case is found only with singular unpossessed nouns, but suffixation is so productive a device in Vogul that Rombandejeva gave Lakó (NyK LVII 37, ALH VI 377) a dual form māńsijiy, māńsijiyiy 'into or as two Voguls'; Liimola (HF 129) considers this unique form and elicitation form.

After -p we occasionally find -ay in So: xurip, xuripay 'form, in the guise of' (III 29). As -ay is a common UL form of both trans-lative and dual, this may be due to the influence of that dialect in some areas, as regular forms in -ey also occur.

Examples are: tumpey 'into an island' (I 69); xāpey 'into a boat' (I 227); ūmpi, ūmpijiy 'spoon, into a spoon' (V 110).

### 2.327 Ambivalent Cases

There are two Sosva forms which can be considered from either a flectional or derivational point of view. These I am calling sociatives and caritives.

The sociative (thus named to prevent confusion with the comitative which occurs in southern dialects (Liimola HF 24)) has a meaning identical to that of the instrumental of accompaniment and also influences the number concord of the predicate (see 4.512 e). On the other hand it is limited to nouns expressing human relationships, and so could be treated as a rare adverbial construction. In some dialects it is found in both dual and plural forms, but no plural forms have been found in my Sosva corpus, where -ńś is consistently a dual affix.

Munkácsi (VNyj 7) treats this form as an alternative dual in the nominative with the examples mēn rownutińś 'we (are) two kinsmen' and tēn nū(sm)inś 'they are two parents-in-law'. I have not found any examples of this particular grammatical pattern. In the Ob dialect of the present time, this form can be combined with the instrumental: rumańśel 'as friends' (Kálmán NyK LXII 29).

Typical examples of its use are: ak<sup>w</sup> ojka āyińś juw śaltsey 'an old man with his daughter they-2 came in' (V 200); kaśińś kit jōren



ōlēy 'with his younger brother two Samoyeds they-2-live' (II 89). Further examples are given in 4.512 e).

In general we can say that the sociative is used very infrequently in the Sosva texts; the postposition jot 'with' and the instrumental case, both with identical meanings, are used much more often.

The second ambivalent case is the caritive. Forms with -tāl can be variously construed as negative gerunds (2.86 ) or as deverbal or denominal adjectives. In the latter situation there is no question of case. However, one form in particular recurs frequently in the exact pattern of nouns, xoltāl ōlne 'being without end' (see also VNGy III,2 page 369).

Here we are presented with a choice in regard to the morpho-syntax of this form; is it an ambivalent case form which can be used as both an adjective and a complement of the verb ōleŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to be', or is it really an adjective which is sometimes used with ōleŋk<sup>w</sup>e where an equational clause might be expected? The following comparisons may clarify this question.

Used as Case	Used as Adjective
<u>kūs'jay</u> <u>ōlne</u> <u>xumitān</u> 'their man being leader' (V 70), where <u>ōlne</u> is necessary because an oblique case cannot directly modify a noun.	<u>janiy</u> <u>ōk<sup>w</sup>a</u> 'the big woman' (I 151), where the adjective immediately qualifies the noun.
<u>xoltāl</u> <u>ōlne</u> <u>pasan</u> 'table (being) without an end' (II 78).	<u>xoltāl</u> <u>pasan</u> 'an endless table' (I 135).

The only conclusion is that -tāl derivatives can perform both functions, although they seem to be more commonly used in the normal adjectival pattern: xoltāl olne occurs commonly, and just by way of example in IV 28, 190, 115, 137, 239. Without olne we find xoltāl āvikāsel and xoltāl piykāsel, respectively 'with endless girl joy' and 'with endless boy joy' (IV 131, 137); kēnttāl puŋkel 'with hatless head' (IV 143p).

### 2.33 Possession

Possession in Vogul is shown by suffixing a series of endings which refer to the person and number of the possessor and the number of objects possessed.

Several morphophonemic rules prevail here:

- 1) after consonants a single consonant is preceded by -ə-; in other words the general morphophonemic rule for allophones of a suffix holds good: jōwt + m, jōwtəm 'my bow';
- 2) as mentioned in 2.1, -e and -ē are preceded by -t- after a vowel stem in the singular: āpa + e, āpate 'his cradle';
- 3) -n + -(V)n often yield merely -n, sometimes phonetically -ñ: āpan + n, āpan 'into your cradle' or 'your cradles'; potan- + anel, potanel 'their taxes' (I 64).
- 4) a + a merge as simple a: āpa + anel, āpanel 'their cradle'.

Dual -ey and plural -et are used only absolutely; in the possessive declension they become respectively -ay- and -an-.

Generally speaking, the second person possessive forms are identical in all numbers, although Munkácsi (VNyj 11) makes distinctions in vowel quality and quantity for N. Rombandejeva (JN MJ 347) gives -n

for singular, -n~ -en for dual and plural. Lakó (ALH VI 378-80, EMN 27-9) states that the singular form has preempted the other forms in Sygva, though a longer form -nen exists, especially for dual and plural nouns; thus he is in perfect accord with Rombandejeva. Balandin-Wahrushewa (MRS 174, 176) give identical forms for all numbers with a possible variation in coalescence of the plural -n with the possessive -n, as above in morphophonemic rule 3.

Referring to N, Kálmán gives (MN 17):

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st pers.	-m	-mēn	-ūw
2nd pers.	-n	-ēn, -n, -jin	-än
3rd pers.	-ä, -tä	-(t)ēn	-än(e)l

Here we see the distinctions of Munkácsi clearly repeated.

Liimola goes into extensive detail, as he normally does, but in essence agrees with the above analysis. He finds (HF 229) that length can vary in UL for the -anel suffix, but otherwise mainly adds depth to the knowledge already secured.

The basic possessive suffixes in So are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st pers.	-m	-mēn	-ūw
2nd pers.	-n	-n, -ēn	-n
3rd pers.	-(t)e	-(t)ēn	-anel

As previously noted, xum 'man' has an irregular stem in -i- before possessive suffixes:

xumim 'my man' (II 87), xumin 'your man' (II 88).

Sosva Possessed Nouns

Possessor	Singular	Dual	Flural
Object Singular	āyim 'my daughter' (I 65)	pūtmēn 'our kettle' (III 22)	āśuw 'our father' (I 63)
	āyin 'your daughter' (III 28)		
	āyite 'his daughter' (II 49)	xumitēn 'their man' (III 22)	nomtanēl 'their thought' (II 152)
Dual	akijayem 'my uncles' (II 52)	ēk <sup>w</sup> aymēn 'our wives' (III 25)	
	samayen 'your eyes' (II 98)		
	āyijaye 'his sisters' (I 223)		
Flural	sayrapanem 'my axes' (II 50)	notanamēn 'our lives' (I 247)	jōranuw 'our forces' (III 26)
	samwitan 'your tears' (II 98)	sālijanēn 'your reindeer' (II 58)	
	lātyane 'his words' (I 64)	saxijanēn 'their coats' (III 25)	jōrmanēl 'their tents' (II 50)

Sosva Noun Declension

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Possessive Suffixes</u>	<u>Case Suffixes</u>		
...	<u>Absolute</u>		}	-γ	Translative
	singular	-∅			
	dual	-γ			
	plural	-t		-t	Locative
	<u>Possessed</u>			-(ne)l	Ablative
	singular	-∅	}	-l, -t, -təl	Instrumental
	dual	-ay			
	plural	-an			
		dual		-m	
				-n	
				-e	
				-m̄n	
				-n	
				-ēn	
		plural		-ūw	
				-n	
				-anəl	

+ Morphophonemic Changes

## 2.34 Personal Pronouns

Ahlqvist (WS 151-3) listed only nominative, accusative and lative pronominal forms in Sosva. The instrumental is listed only by Chernetsov (M(V)J 178 ff.), Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 200 ff.), Lakó (ALH VI 388, EMN 35-6) and Kálmán (CV 35 ff.). The lative has sometimes been called dative in connection with personal pronouns, but there is no need to: both lative and dative are formed with the same -n suffix, and both express indirect object and agent, thus they are really the same case. In general the case suffixes are exactly the same as those of nouns. However, the accusative is only a semantic case form composed of the nominative of each pronoun plus its corresponding possessive suffix: tān 'they' + -ānel 'their' yields tānānel 'them'.

The personal pronominal declension is as follows in Sosva (based on Liimola, FUF XXVIII 20-3 and supported by WV):

Sing.	1st	2nd	3rd
Nom.	am	naŋ	taw
Acc.	ānem	naŋen	tawe, taw
Lat.	ānem, ānemen	naŋen	tawēn
Abl.	ānemel	naŋ(e)nel	tawēnel
Dual			
Nom.	mēn, mēji	nēn	tēn
Acc.	mēn(a)mēn	nēnān, nēnanən	tēn(a)tēn
Lat.	mēn(a)mēn	nēnūn, nēnanən	tēn(a)tēn
Abl.	mēn(a)mēnel	nēnānel	tēn(a)tēnel

Flur.	1st	2nd	3rd
Nom.	mān, māji	nān	tān
Acc.	mānaw	nānān	tānānel
Lat.	mānawen	nānān	tānānel
Abl.	mānawel	nānānel	tānānel

Other N dialects also have an instrumental which is usually very similar to the ablative, basically with a replacement of -nel with -tel.

An emphatic form of these pronouns results from the addition of -ki to the nominative stem, e.g. amki, naŋki, etc. The third person singular has two variants: tawki and tak<sup>wi</sup>.

Examples: am xun<sup>u</sup> wāylem 'how do I know it?' (I 249); xōt fūli wāssey ānemen 'where is he still waiting for me?' (I 250); ānem sak ul ajtālen 'don't make me drink a lot!' (II 81); amki jalnuum 'I myself would go' (II 91).

### 2.35 Pronominal Adjectives

"The boundaries between adjectives and numerals and between adjectives and pronouns are rather vague" (Collinder IUL 52). This statement is nowhere more true than of Sosva Vogul. Morphologically the words treated here are nouns, syntactically they share some of the distribution of both nouns and adjectives. They share all noun morphology, but not adjectival comparison (except one verse form, ta kemnuw nān 'to a woman more so' IV 236p).

#### Pronominal adjectives

	share	but lack
with nouns:	morphology, case usage	qualification by adjectives
with adjectives:	qualification of nouns	comparative suffix and qualification by adverbs.

Pronominal adjectives serve as complete noun phrases, but not as 'head' nouns, because they cannot be preceded by adjectives and particles; they act as adjectives in qualifying nouns, but cannot themselves be the 'heads' of adjectival phrases.

The Sosva texts collected by Kannisto include the following types of pronominal adjectives:

Demonstrative: ti, tiji, titi 'this'; ta, taji, tati(k) 'that'; ak<sup>w</sup> ti, ak<sup>w</sup> ta 'the same'; tamle 'such a'.

Indefinite: xōtpa, xōtiut 'someone'; mater 'something'; mōt(an) '(an)other'; man(a) 'some, any'.

Interrogative: xō, xōn, xōlxa 'who'; maner 'what (kind of)'; xoti 'which'; mater 'what'.

Negative: nēm<sup>w</sup>xōtpa, nēm<sup>w</sup>xoti 'no one'; nēm<sup>w</sup>mater 'nothing'; nēmat 'no'.

Correlative: tō ... tō 'the one ... the other' (II 137).

Interrogative pronominal adjectives are often used as indefinite ones. A number of compound pronominal adjectives are composed of the above plus the noun kem 'amount', thus mana kem 'as much', ta kem 'that much, so', mat kem 'however much'.

A few of these have not actually been found used as both nouns and adjectives, but the possibility can be presumed on the basis of a phrase like xōlxa xum 'what kind of man (lit. who man)' (II 132).



## 2.4 Adjectives

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 77) divide Vogul adjectives into two classes which they call qualitative (denoting inherent or sensible properties), as wiyer 'red', nomtəŋ 'clever' and relative (denoting an alien characteristic), such as jārmākeŋ 'silky' and pawləŋ 'village-'. The latter are actually denominal adjectives.

They list four distinctions between these two types of adjectives. Qualitative adjectives can take the comparative -nuw, accept diminutive and pejorative suffixes, be adverbialized and form natural pairs easily. Their examples of these criteria are:

- 1) jomas, jomasnuw, śar jomas 'good, better, best'
- 2) jomas, jomaskwe 'good, nice and good'
- 3) pelp, pelpis 'rapid, rapidly'
- 4) jomas, íuí 'good, bad'

Kannisto's Sosva materials do not contain anything contrary to these statements.

Ahlqvist does not mention a comparative form in Sosva (WS 147) nor does Kálmán in MN; later (CV 32) the latter states that there is no true comparative in Vogul, but that the comparative relationship is expressed by the ablative plus the positive adjective. While the latter is correct, the former is wholly untrue, and there are many examples of the flexional comparative in Vogul texts.

As Balandin-Wahrushewa state (MJ 79), the comparative is formed by adding -nuw(e) to the positive; actually in our texts it is always -nuw. A periphrastic superlative is formed chiefly by placing śar 'most' or saka 'very' before the positive. Predicate usage of the

superlative is rare; the comparative I have found in the predicate only in a note by Kannisto or Liimola: puŋkpattäte taŋxəŋnuwa 'it's crown is somewhat pointed' (I 393, note 1).

The actual comparative is very rare in this Sosva corpus and appears in only the following four examples of adjectives: jiipinuwa xāp 'newer boat' (II 55); jōrnūw xum 'stronger man' (IV 185p); waytālnuw xum 'weaker man' (IV 185p); ta kemnuw nēn 'to a woman more so' (IV 236p).

While they are theoretically capable of assuming any case or number, adjectives are in fact restricted to just a few forms in addition to the comparative. These are the following:

Dual: pēlpay < pēlp 'rapid' (V 108p).

Plural: nārt < nār 'raw, alive' (II 50).

Translative: karssey < kars 'high'; talkway < talkwa 'low' (I 261).

## 2.5 Numerals

Actual numbers in the Sosva texts are limited to one through ten, twenty, twenty-nine, thirty, hundred and thousand. Ordinals occur from first to seventh.

	<u>Cardinal</u>	<u>Ordinal</u>
1	ak <sup>w</sup>	ōwl
2	kit	kitit 'second', mōt 'other'
3	xūrem	xūrmit
4	ńila	ńilit
5	at	atit
6	xōt	xōtit
7	sāt	sātit
8	ńololuw	
9	ontoluw	
10	low	
20	xus	
29	wāt nūpel ontoluw, wāten ontoluw (II 136)	
30	wāt	
100	sāt	
1000	sōter	

In counting, ak<sup>w</sup> and kitey are used for one and two (Liimola HF 14; II 709, note 3).

The normal form for compound numbers is the first version of 29 above (Kálmán MN 19, CV 33; Ahlqvist WS 148; Chernetsov M(V)J 177; Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 88-9). The second form, with the lative case used instead of the postposition nūpel 'toward', has come to my attention only in Chernetsov's expression of 220 xurmit saten xus 'third hundred-to twenty' (M(V)J 177).

The use of sāt for both seven and hundred is sometimes confusing even to the Voguls. Balandin-Wahrushewa and Kálmán (MN 19, CV 33)

mention janiy sāt 'a big sāt or hundred' as the regular solution for this difficulty. Pakin, one of his informants, provided Kannisto with another determination, xōt ōs sāt 'six also seven' to specify the latter number (II 96, 703, note 31).

These numerals may be used in any appropriate case, such as the translative sātey 'as seven' (I 34), instrumental kityel 'with two' cited by Liimola (HF 23), and the lative and translative of ak<sup>W</sup>: ak<sup>W</sup>an and ak<sup>W</sup>ay 'together', the former showing approach and the latter association.

Rare forms in -ax also appear, limited in this corpus to kitax and xūrmax 'two', 'three' (I 327) and manax 'many' (I 263). They do not seem to differ in meaning from the regular cardinals.

Cardinal numbers are also inflected with a suffix -ntey '-th time': kitentey 'for the second time', mōtentey 'another time, again', xūrmentey, nilentey, xōtentey and sātentey occur.

## 2.6 Postpositions

Relationships between a verb and substantive, which are not expressed by substantival inflection, are often shown by quasi-nominal adverbs called postpositions. This is a generally recognized part of speech, although Chernetsov (M(V)J 180) considers them only as adverbs, in conformity with this paper.

Many of these postpositions are declined as singular nouns, i.e. stem (+ possessive suffix)(+ case suffix). Rombandejeva (JN MJ 355) states that some are not declined, but does not mention which ones. Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 159) list those which are non-inflectional; however, they include jot 'with', pālt 'toward', māyes 'for' and

mupel 'toward' which we have found with possessive suffixes; therefore they must mean merely that they are not inflected for case. This we show by listing them as absolute forms below. A few of these occur in the Sosva corpus without any inflection at all, e.g. tāra 'through', but when we consider the freedom of Vogul suffixation, there is no reason to doubt their capacity for inflection in any appropriate context.

Postpositions can be divided for convenience into three types: 1) singular nouns used in this special function; 2) words which are used only as postpositions; 3) a special group of the latter which have variable stems (Kálmán CV 39-40, MN 17).

#### 2.61 Postpositional Inflection

Balandin-Wahrushewa limit the case inflection of postpositions to lative, locative and ablative (MJ 158). A couple of exceptions to this restriction are shown below.

The following lists are those of postpositions which are found in the Sosva texts of Kannisto.

Group I	<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Lative</u>	<u>Locative</u>	<u>Ablative</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
		alipalen				above
	ālpāl	ālpālen				across
	ēlipāl	ēlipālen	ēlipālt			before
			ērt			at time of, when
		jolipālen	jolipālt	jolipālel		under
	jujipāl	jujipālen	jujipālt			after
					jurtaγ	instead of (translative)

<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Lative</u>	<u>Locative</u>	<u>Ablative</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	kōmt				near
	kiwern	kiwert	kiwernel		inside
konipal	konipālen				outside
	koťlen	koťít			in the middle
numpāl			numpālnel		on top, above
palit			palitel		during, while
pāl	pālen		pālnel		beside
		pāst	pāsel		beside, near
		porat			when, at time of
	pōxen	pōxet	pōxnel		beside
				rēyel, rēyētēl with help of (instrumental)	
sis		siset			behind; during
sispāl					behind
				śirel (instrumental)	like
xal	xalēn	xalt	xalnel		between
		xosit			along
Group II					
jot					with
íalt					opposite, toward
mōrtēs					like, as
mus					until
nupel					toward
tapal					beyond
tāra					through, over

<u>Absolute</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
tarn(əl)	on, upon
torey	opposite, toward
ūlt(ta)	across
xōjtəl	as, like
Group III	
māyes	for, because
pālt	toward
wojpi	as, like

Examples: Group I, wit kiwern 'into the water' (III 33); āwi kiwert 'inside the door' (I 62); pājpem kiwernel 'out of my knapsack' (IV 378p); xūst xalen 'among the marsh callas' (I 34); sōpaxt xalt 'among the ashes' (I 141); tārt xalnel 'from between the roots' (I 21); mānki ... xaluwt 'between us' (II 151); ēk<sup>w</sup>ay ojkay xalēnt 'between the woman and man' (I 227).

Group II, xumin jot 'with your man' (II 104); taw jote 'with him' (I 65); mēn jotmēn 'with us two' (V 103); īūmoj mōrts 'like gnats' (II 86); am nūpelem 'toward me' (II 102); naŋ nūpeln 'toward you' (II 102).

Group III, nālnal māyes 'for an arrowshaft' (V 50); nān māyeselen 'for you' (III 30); naŋ pāltēn 'to you' (I 271); nān pāltēn 'to you (plural)' (II 151); tān pāltanel 'to them' (II 151), but: taw pāltele 'to him' (I 271, II 57, twice). Actually only Pakin, who lived farther east than the other Sosva informants, used pāltel-. This corresponds with the fact that Kálmán, who cites this form (CV 39-40), had personal contact with people of the Ob dialect in that general area. Even Pakin is not persistent in his usage, i.e. taw pālt (II 54); wojpi: mata wojpi 'like something' (V 225p); taw wojpele 'like him' (II 138).

Poetically divergent forms appear occasionally. Reminiscent of the UL dialect is kol kiwerna 'into the house' (V 52p). In the two phrases below we find the regular diminutive and possessive suffixes added to the postposition rather than to the noun to which they logically refer: kol kiwarkēmen 'into my little house (lit. into my little inside of a house)' (V 83p), jiw xalkemnel 'from among my little trees (from my little space of a tree)' (IV 276p). Comparatives, too, may occur: sāne numpalennuw 'more above his mother (i.e. closer over her)' (I 231).

## 2.7 Other Adverbs

It is probably possible in general for any adverb to assume the comparative suffix -nuw; we have one specific example in saka 'very', sakanuw 'very-er' (III 24).

Other than this we find inflection limited to locational adverbs which may partake of the standard Vogul trichotomy--toward, at and from, lative, locative and ablative.

Words which fall into this group are listed below. Note that most of them have several forms depending on sentence sandhi, intonation and, possibly, free variation.

<u>Lative</u>	<u>Locative</u>	<u>Ablative</u>	<u>Basic Meaning</u>
alyaí			upstream
ēl, ēla, ēln, ēlaí	ēlit	ēlel	forward, ahead
jol, jola, jolaí		jolel	downward
juw, juwle	jun, jujit	jujil	back, home
kon, kona, konāí		konel	outside
lōṅxaí			downstream



<u>Lative</u>	<u>Locative</u>	<u>Ablative</u>	<u>Basic Meaning</u>
íāpa, íapān			near
nāl̄w, nalwāl̄			toward fire, water
nō̄ηx, nō̄ηxa, nō̄ηxaí	numen	numel	up, above
numpāl̄			
pāy, pāyle			toward shore, mountain, fireplace
tiy, tiyíe	tit	tiyl, tiylnēl (II 153)	here
tuw, tuwíe	tot	tuwl	there
xosan	xosat	xosanel	far
xottāl̄ 'somewhere'	xot	xotel	where
xotal̄ 'whither'			

## 2.8 Verbs

Verbs are the most distinctive part of speech in Vogul; they may take special suffixes to mark mood, tense, voice, object, and person and number of the subject. They also have forms which function as nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

### 2.81 Personal Verb Forms

Person is shown for the subject on Vogul verbs; this includes three persons in singular, dual and plural numbers. There is some difference in the suffixes, especially in the third person, depending on whether the verb form is subjective or objective.

Analysis of Sosva Conjugation

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Mood Sign</u>	<u>Transitivity</u>	<u>Tense Sign</u>	<u>Personal Suffixes</u>	
...	Indicative -γ-, -ϕ-	Intransitive ϕ-	Present -ϕ-	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Objective</u>
	Subjunctive -nuw	Passive -we-	Past -s	sing. -m	
	Imperative -ϕ	Object, sing. -l-, -t-		-n	
		dual -ay-		-i, -ϕ	-e
		plur. -an-		dual -mēn	
				-n	
				-γ	-ēn
				plur. -ūw	
				-n	
				-t	-anēl

+ Morphophonemic Changes

The basic suffixes are the following:

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>	<u>Subj.</u>	<u>Obj.</u>
1st		-m		-mēn		-w
2nd		-n		-n, -jin		-n, -jin
3rd	-i, $\emptyset$	-e	-ey	-ēn	-t	-anēl

Theoretically it is possible to distinguish all forms of the second person, but it is neither necessary nor compulsory. Ahlqvist showed Sosva forms as being identical for all three numbers, or alike in the dual and plural, as contrasted with the singular (WS 202, 207, 223-6). Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 123-48) give complete paradigms, most of which are identical for all numbers. The only exception is the insertion of a morphophonemic -a- before conditional -ke in the dual and plural 'conditional'. They further assert (MJ 128) that the second person -n suffix also coalesces with the plural marker on objective verb forms.

In Kannisto's Sosva texts, several examples of verbs in -jin occur, expressing dual and plural second person, but usually no distinction is made for number. Some of these distinctive forms are given here for the sake of illustration:

Dual: kinsjin 'you ask for' (I 230); nēn ... jomyijin 'you play' (I 231).

Plural: nān ... patijin 'you will fall' (I 226); kinsijin 'you ask for' (I 228).

## 2.82 Moods

Three moods are recognized by all Vogul scholars: indicative, subjunctive and imperative. Additionally most scholars seem to add one more, though not always the same one, precative or conditional.

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 130) and Rombandejeva (JN MJ 353) mention a conditional mood. Actually this is just the addition of the conditional conjunctive enclitic -ke to the end of the verb; since both indicatives and subjunctives can be conditional, and since -ke can be suffixed to practically any word, its particular suffixation to a verb cannot be considered as constructing an additional mood. Examples of conditional usage will be found in 8.5.

#### 2.821 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is used for the statement of facts, etc. Morphologically it can be separated from the subjunctive by its lack of the subjunctive -nuw- mood marker, and from the imperative by the fact that its second person forms are longer than imperative forms. It has no particular mood suffix, which is why its recognition is predicated upon identification of the subjunctive and imperative.

#### 2.822 Subjunctive Mood

All scholars are in agreement on the subjunctive mood. This is the mood used in reference to unreality: contrary-to-fact conditions, wishes, deliberations, etc. It is marked by -nuw- added to the base of the verb. Personal suffixes are added to -nuw-; the third singular subjective subjunctive has a zero suffix: ōlnuw 'he would be'.

#### 2.823 Imperative Mood

The imperative is the third mood recognized by Vogul scholars. In general it is characterized by the direct addition of a second person suffix to a verb base; there is extensive coalescence of personal number and complete identity of subjective and plural objective forms.

Practically, distinction is made on the basis of linguistic and extra-linguistic context.

Chernetsov (M(V)J 185) gives the fullest theoretical treatment of imperative forms. While considering the above the norm, he also includes the hypocoristic imperative mentioned below (2.824). In addition, he is the only compiler of a Vogul grammar who has included the fact that the verb stem alone can be used to give a command. He lists for example: min 'go', suns 'look' and xart 'pull' as alternatives for minen, sunsen, xarten. Since the use of the verb stem alone is obviously an apocoptation and does not contrast in meaning with any other form, this should probably not be considered an example of a zero morpheme.

Without comment Liimola (I 431, note 4), referring to a similar unmarked stem tāi 'eat' (I 228), adds other stems used imperatively: aj 'drink', rāt 'beat', maj 'give' and woj 'take'.

#### 2.824 Precative Mood

The Precative or hypocoristic mood is first mentioned by Munkácsi (VNyj 40), and later by Kálmán (CV 41, 46; MN 23) and Collinder (SUL 327). The latter justifies himself by stating that the precative implies a mental attitude, and therefore is a mood. Lakó did not come across any instances of it during his studies of the Sygva dialect with Rombandejeva (EMN 39). Significantly the latter does not mention precatives in her work, either (JN MJ).

Chernetsov mentions this form, but not as a separate mood; he considers it an alternative imperative used mainly for children, though he also gives examples of its use to express courtesy (M(V)J 185).

Kálmán separates the precative into two sections: -riś-, he says, denotes humility or self-abasement, while -k<sup>w</sup>e- signifies a sympathetic attitude. This may be true in some dialects, but does not seem to hold in Sosva Vogul. He lists (MN 23) forms for only the singular active present indicative, but Kannisto's Sosva texts include forms in the imperative, in the plural and in the passive.

The precative stem seems to be the third person singular present indicative for the present tense (with -e dropped from the passive -we), and the stem + a for the imperative stem. A few examples from Sosva illustrate this:

1st sing. ōliriśem 'here I am, poor me' (I 138, 139); cf. ōli 'is'.

1st sing. passive pattawriśem 'something will happen to me' (I 144); cf.

pattawe 'it is befallen'.

3rd plur. os juwrist 'let the poor people come' (I 70); cf. juw 'comes'.

sing. imperative sar minariśen 'just go, my son' (I 67); min + a-.

### 2.83 Tenses

The indicative mood is the only one which has tenses in Sosva Vogul. There is a past tense which is definite in regard to time; it is marked by -s suffixed to the base of the verb for the third person singular subjective, i.e. with a zero morpheme; other personal suffixes are added to this.

The other indicative tense can be called present (which I am doing for convenience), present-future (because it is generally used for both of these time situations) or aorist (as does Chernetsov (M(V)J 184).

## 2.84 Voice

Unless otherwise marked all finite Vogul verb forms are active; the passive is marked by *-we* attached to the verb base. Personal suffixes, including a zero morpheme for the third person singular present, are added to this suffix.

Non-finite verb forms, infinitives, participles, converbs, are neutral in regard to voice; most can be used either actively or passively. If necessary, they can be determined by an auxiliary which does designate voice.

Ahlqvist listed seven verbs which he denoted as 'verba passiva' (WS 176). Two of the verbs which he indicates as 'medial verbs' I have found in Kannisto's texts: *ajeŋk<sup>we</sup>* (*oj-* in *Sosva*) and *oilmateŋk<sup>we</sup>* 'to fall asleep'. Examples of these are: *ojawe* 'she falls asleep' (I 234, 236); *ojwesey* 'they-2 fell asleep' (I 234, 236, 237); *oilmatwes* 'he fell asleep' (I 210, II 60); *xotoilmatwes* 'sank into sleep' (II 97).

Another verb which appears only in passive form is *kutseŋk<sup>we</sup>* 'to get drunk': *kutsaum* /*kutsawem*/ 'I'll get drunk', *kutsawen* '(if) you get drunk' (II 81); *kutśawes* 'he became intoxicated' (III 32), evidently same verb despite double palatalization (see Balandin-Wahrushewa MRS 41; Szilasi *Vogul Szójegyzék* 52); likewise *kutśuwes* 'ibid.' (VNGy I,1 69).

Still another possibly deponent verb is *nāteŋk<sup>we</sup>* 'to float', translated by Balandin-Wahrushewa (MRS 61) into Russian as 'to be carried by the current, to go downstream'. We find this as *nātawe* 'floats' (I 247, II 63).

## 2.85 Conjugation

In Vogul conjugation refers to the marked transitivity of a verb, i.e. a special objective form is used to agree with a definite direct object.

Rather fruitlessly, Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 113) discuss the possibility of differentiating between transitive and intransitive verbs. They come to a pragmatic conclusion: "with the introduction of a direct object into the speech context, so-called intransitive verbs acquire lexical transitivity and appear in objective ... forms'. Chernetsov (M(V)J 181) simply admitted that it is almost impossible to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs. An example from my corpus, mentioned specifically by Liimola (IV 480, note 21), illustrates this situation. The verb ūnteŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to sit' is normally intransitive, but it occurs as ūntsaym 'I sat on both of them' (IV 176p), an objective, i.e. transitive form.

Subjective conjugation is the form found in intransitive verbs and those not specifically marked for transitivity. This is partially marked by -γ- in the first singular, third plural and second -n (not -jin) forms of the present tense.

Objective suffixes show the number of the object as well as the fact of objectivity. In the first and second persons these are uniformly represented by -l- 'one object', -ay- 'two objects' and -an- 'plural objects'.

In the third person the dual and plural objects are similarly marked. For singular and dual subjects, however, the singular object is denoted by -t-.



Sosva Present Tense Verb Forms

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>	<u>Passive</u>
I	minēym 'go' (I 213)	alilem 'kill' (I 210)		pāxtijānēm 'throw' (I 224)	alaum /alawem/ 'kill' (II 64)
you-sing.	ōnsēyen 'have' (I 139)	xōntēlen 'find' (I 220)	kāsalijayn 'see' (IV 390p)	miyan 'give' (III 41)	ālmajawen 'raise' (I 213)
he	jali 'go' (I 149)	sunsite 'look' (I 251)		k <sup>w</sup> āltapijane 'awaken' (I 204)	xōjawe 'hit' (II 62)
we-2	k <sup>w</sup> ālimēn 'go' (I 218)	waylēmēn 'know' (I 223)	sōpitijaymēn 'clean' (I 227)		tēwamēn 'eat, burn' (II 139)
you-2	mowintijin 'laugh' (V 155p)				
they-2	iseltēy 'warm' (I 150)	tāratitēn 'load' (I 255)		taktijanēn 'extend' (I 231)	totawēy 'carry' (II 86)
we	pilēw (I 150)	ālmajiluw 'lift' (I 213)		xotwiyamuw 'take away' (V 215)	xorem <sup>w</sup> awēw 'begin to bark' (I 256p)
you-plur.	kinsijin 'seek' (V 132)	alilen 'kill' (II 117)		aytijān 'believe' (V 52)	xōjawēn 'hit' (I 328p)
they	minēyt 'come' (I 201)	lāyantijanēl 'talk' (V 132)		ōns <sup>j</sup> janēl 'have' (II 46p)	alawet 'kill' (I 204)

Sosva Past Tense Verb Forms

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>	<u>Passive</u>
I	totsem 'bring' (I 233)	janmaltasle:m 'raise' (I 262)	totsaym 'bring' (I 230)	totsanem 'bring' (I 228)	sāyrapawēsēm 'chop' (I 145)
you-sing.	xujəypasən 'sleep' (i 217)	rāteslən 'beat' (I 217)	totsayn 'bring' (IV 180p)	totsān 'bring' (I 144)	wōwwēsən 'call' (I 213)
he	jōŋxəs 'turn' (I 142)	nāwleste 'follow' (I 145)	kotertasaye 'hit' (I 238)		pēnyawes 'prophecy' (I 151)
we-2	tinalaxtsmēn 'pay' (I 233)	jowtslamēn 'buy' (II 90)			wārwesamēn 'make' (I 247)
you-2	patsən 'begin' (V 235p)	totslən 'bring' (III 34)			
they-2	jēk <sup>w</sup> səy 'dance' (I 219)	totastēn 'bring' (I 221)		pinssanēn 'put' (I 201)	totwesəy 'bring' (II 61)
we	kēlajasuw 'appear' (I 263)				xojəylawesuw 'meet' (I 269p)
you-plur.					
they	lāyast 'say' (I 142)	tūstsanəl 'erect' (II 94)	wisayanel 'take' (I 149)		rātwest 'beat' (I 213)

Sosva Subjunctive Verb Forms

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>	<u>Passive</u>
I	totnuwem 'bring' (II 89)	wārnūwlēm 'make' (I 245)			
you-sing.	wārmaltanuwn 'prepare' (I 266)	xūptanuwlēn 'spread out' (I 268p)		xūptalanuwan 'throw' (V 37p)	
he	patnuw 'begin' (II 91)			jowtnuwane 'buy' (I 233)	
we-2					
you-2					
they-2		nūjnuwtēn 'skin' (II 91)			
we	jalnuwuw 'go' (V 70p)	pūsnuwluw 'open' (I 369p)			
you-plur.					
they	ōśnuwt 'have' (I 233)				jowtnuwet 'buy' (I 233)

Sosva Imperative Forms

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>	<u>Passive</u>
you-sing.	k <sup>w</sup> älēn 'go' (I 139)	majēlēn 'give' (I 225)		jowtēn 'buy' (V 201p)	
you-2	tajēn 'eat' (I 217)	tāratēlēn 'load' (I 223)		nō <sup>l</sup> xpinēn 'load' (I 201)	
you-plur.	minēn 'come' (I 213)	tāltēlēn 'load' (I 202)			

## 2.86 Verbal Nouns

Besides the infinitive which will be treated separately (2.861), there are a number of verbal 'nouns' in Vogul. These include a present participle, a past participle, a past passive participle, a converb and negative converb, and--for want of a better term--a temporal participle.

The converbs and temporal participle are very restricted in inflection; the others are capable of varied inflection, as shown in the accompanying chart.

All of these forms are produced by adding one or more suffixes to the base of the verb. The present participle adds -n(e), the past -(e, a)m, the past passive -im(a), the converb -im and the negative converb -tāl.

The temporal participle is normally composed of the verb base, the suffix -ke-, a possessive suffix and the locative case marker -t̄ (Lakó ALH VI 403, EMN 46). One exception has been found without the locative ending, jikōte 'his coming' (I 67). This form is always intransitive, not only in Sosva but in every other dialect form I have found, and seems restricted to a small number of verbs. This indicates that it may no longer be productive, though still used.

Besides the common inflection noted below, the present participle is sometimes found in the translative: ōlney 'as two' (II 140, 708, note 32), ojiypaney 'to ending' (II 153, 709, note 9).

The past passive participle has two alternative forms in the third singular locative -imāt(e) and -imēt(e).

Occasionally the past participle is suffixed with the objective marker of finite verbs. Liimola lists, for example, wāmlen 'you saw it (lit. your-having-seen-it)', wānte 'he saw it', wāmtēn 'they-2-saw it',

Sosva Participial Forms

<u>Participle</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Present	-n(e)	ūnlen 'sitting' (I 63) tēne 'eating' (I 243)		taytalanet 'hanging' (I 20)
Past	-(e, a)m	minam 'come' (I 61) śaltəm 'entered' (I 65)	minaməy 'come' (V 103) matməy 'aged' (II 62)	təlmət 'grown' (I 72) atxatamt 'gathered' (I 237)
Past Passive	-im(a)	wārim 'made' (I 20) pōlima 'frozen' (III 23)	aliməy 'killed' (II 103)	sak <sup>w</sup> atimat 'crushed' (I 145) xottāratimat 'freed' (II 92)
Converb	-im	woltim 'whittling' (I 67) nomim 'thinking' (III 29)		
Negative Converb	-tāl	ālmtāl 'not raising' (I 71) sustāl 'not seeing' (II 84)		

Sosva Possessive and Possessive-Locative Participial Forms

<u>Participle</u>	<u>Possessive</u>	<u>Possessive-Locative</u>
Present	wōwnem 'my demand' (III 25)	jomyesanēt 'while he plays' (II 97)
	tēnetēn 'their-2 eating' (II 81)	
Past	joxtemen 'your having-come' (II 80)	joxtememt 'when I arrived' (III 35)
	joxteme 'his having-come' (II 86)	k <sup>w</sup> ālmēnelt 'when they went out' (III 31)
Past Passive	ōlimanēl 'their living' (II 49)	minimēt 'while he went' (II 91)
	mīme 'his having-given' (I 247)	sunsimēt 'when he looked' (II 97)
Temporal	jikēte 'his coming' (I 67)	jomimāte 'when she wandered' (I 220)
		jalkemēt 'while we-2 wander' (III 21)
		ōlkemēt 'while we-2 live' (III 25)

wāmanel 'they saw it' (V 146p, 312, note 21); similarly, ūnteme or ūntemte 'he put him' (I 225).

## 2.861 Infinitive

There is general agreement on the fact that the North Vogul infinitive, including Sosva, ends with the suffix -ŋk<sup>w</sup>e, but there is some discrepancy in the treatment of the preceding linking vowel. Lakó gives it as -ə-, based on comparison between Sygva and Kannisto's Sosva texts (ALH VI 361, EMN 14). Phonetically in Sosva it can be treated as -ə- (as in Sygva) with variants ranging from the latter to -u- and -a-, and thus in agreement with Ahlqvist (WS 179, 201-7 -u-) and Kálmán (MN 25 -a- or -u-). Literary standard Vogul regularly has /u/.

It is possible that careful phonetic research might lead to the conclusion that the connecting phoneme is really /a/, which occurs in most verbs with an even number of syllables, hence in verbs where this syllable is normally stressed; conversely /e/ is found in unstressed syllables, thus possibly a reduced /a/ rather than a phonemic /e/. In either case it would be often realized as [u] before the nasal /ŋ/.

Irregular verbs do not have linking vowels: wāŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to see, know', mīŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to give', etc. (see 2.87).

The absolute form of the infinitive can also take personal suffixes: ōńseŋken 'may you have (lit. your-to-have)' (II 53); śalteŋk<sup>w</sup>ete 'let him enter' (II 58). Chernetsov remarks that this form seems archaic but is still used (M(V)J 188).



## 2.87 Irregular Verbs

Sosva Vogul has seven verbs which are irregular to some extent. Six of them are characterized by Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 124) as having very short stems with a final, possibly variable, vowel and without a linking vowel in the infinitive form. This agrees perfectly with Kannisto's texts in the Sosva dialect. The seventh verb is oleŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to be' which has two irregular forms.

These verbs are listed in alphabetic order with their peculiarities.

jiŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to come': Present stem juw-; Third sing. present juw, jiw 'he comes'; Imperative jajen 'come'.

liŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to shoot, throw': Present stem liy-; Third sing. present liy 'he shoots'.

miŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to give': Present stem miy-; Third sing. present miy 'he gives'; Alternative stem, Past passive and Imperative maj-, majwēst 'they were given', majēn 'give them', majēlen 'give it'.

oleŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to be, dwell': as 'dwell' the verb is perfectly regular; as 'be': First sing. ōsem 'I am', Second sing. ōsen 'you are'.

təŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to eat, burn': Present stem tēy-; Third sing. present tēy 'he eats'; Alternative stem, Imperative and -im participle tājimat, tājimate, tājimēt, tājimēte 'while he ate', tāj, tājen 'eat!', tājēlen 'eat it!'

wāŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to know, see': Present active stem wāy-, e.g. wāylem 'I know it'; Present passive stem wā-, e.g. wāwem 'I am seen'; Past stem wās-, e.g. wāslen 'you saw it'; Alternative stem, Past passive waj-, wajwēst 'they were seen'.

wiŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to take': Present active stem wi-, e.g. wiyluw 'we take it'; Present passive stem wi-, e.g. wiwen 'you are taken'; Past passive, imperative, precative and converb stem woj-, e.g. woiwes 'it was taken', wojelen 'take it!', wojaken 'please take', wojima 'his having-taken'.

Analysis of Sosva Irregular Verbs

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Present Active Stem</u>	<u>Third Singular Present Subjective</u>	<u>Past Passive Stem</u>	<u>Imperative Stem</u>	<u>Precative Stem</u>	<u>-im Participle</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
jiŋk <sup>w</sup> e	juw-	juw, jiw		jaj-		jim	come
liŋk <sup>w</sup> e	liy-	liy				lim	shoot
miŋk <sup>w</sup> e	miy-	miy	maj-	maj-		mim	give
təŋk <sup>w</sup> e	tēy-	tēy		tāj		tājim	eat, burn
wāŋk <sup>w</sup> e	wāy-		waj-				know, see
wiŋk <sup>w</sup> e	wiy-	wiy	woj-	woj-	woj-	wojim	take

CHAPTER III  
SIMPLE CLAUSES

A Vogul clause consists basically of a noun phrase and a verb phrase.

The subject is normally a noun, a pronoun or a verbal noun; a pronoun is often omitted if the context is clear without it. By verbal nouns are meant infinitives, and present and past participles. At times the subject may be a complete clause. (See Chapter IV).

The predicate is usually a finite verb. "It has grammatical forms characteristic of it, expressing the following grammatical concepts: person, number, tense, transitivity and intransitivity, mood, voice, aspect" (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 111). (See Chapter V).

In addition Vogul uses an equational or nominal clause to show some sort of identity in the present tense; in such a situation the verb ōleŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to be' is omitted and the complement normally following it is considered the predicate. This can be a noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb or numeral. Infinitives with possessive markers and participles, with or without possessive markers, may also constitute the predicate of a clause. (See 5.26 and Chapter VI).

Since we have said above that a pronoun may be omitted in a linguistic context which is clear and non-emphatic, it turns out that a minimum grammatical clause in Vogul consists of one word, a finite verb. Examples of this are plentiful: juwsáltēs 'he entered' (I 253); xartwēs 'it was pulled' (I 258); wāylttuwēst 'they were killed' (I 258); tēs, ais, āsts, xujas, nōŋxk<sup>w</sup>als. 'He ate, drank, finished, lay down, got up' (I 134), five verbs in a row, and consequently five clauses.

Any larger group of connected words with one predicate, whether verbal or nominal, is also one clause.

Clauses may also be combined into larger sentences of both complex and compound types. In this chapter I shall consider only simple sentences consisting of one clause.

### 3.1 Types of Sentences

Up to now Balandin-Wahrushewa have been the only ones to analyze sentence structure in Vogul, though Chernetsov (MJ 187-190), Rombandejeva (JN MJ 357-8) and others have briefly discussed word order in clauses.

Balandin-Wahrushewa distinguish three main types of sentences (MJ 170-1) according to purpose and intonation and a special intonational variety for all three; this is the exclamatory sentence (MJ 172).

The intonational classification for declarative, interrogative and motivational sentences (commands, prohibitions, exhortations, etc.) is especially important in Vogul because there are few differences in lexical and morphological structure, and none in word order, to point out particular types of sentences. Declarative sentences are characterized by a descending intonation, interrogative by a sharp rise on the word which expresses the interrogation (usually near the end of the sentence) and motivational by stress on the predicate. A study of the few exclamatory examples of intonation furnished at the end of the volumes of the WV show that a pattern of generally raised pitch extends over the complete clause.

### 3.11 Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentences, called narrative by Balandin-Wahrushewa, state some sort of fact or condition which is, will be, or has been true, or in some sense is presumed to be true. Since most of the examples of sentences in this dissertation are declarative, a couple of examples will be sufficient here: xataneý lapōxtim pārsal minēy 'two Tatars travel on an entirely tarred barge' (I 20); ōwlēt mater porat jalpeḥsāk<sup>w</sup> ta wāriyles 'at some time in the beginning, the holy fire flood took place' (I 13).

### 3.12 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences are basically characterized by the presence of an interrogative word plus a rise in tone. As mentioned above (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 170), this may evidently be on the word which actually presents the question. However the examples reproduced here from Kannisto seem to show a rise at or very close to the end of an interrogative sentence. With a noun, in fact, it tends to be absolutely final, e.g. am man ti ūseḥ xum 'am I a man of this town?' (II 62-3).

Interrogative words are pronominal adjectives and adverbs; lists of these are to be found in their respective places in Chapter II. A simple verb may be used if the question expects only a "yes" or "no" answer. In this case intonation bears the entire interrogative burden.

Among the adverbial particles listed by Balandin-Wahrushewa are aman 'whether', which may introduce a question, and -a which may be suffixed to the stressed word in a question. These are both true Vogul particles. In addition, however, they mention li 'whether' which is a modern literary standard loan from contemporary Russian, even to its

location directly after the verb and enclitic to it. They do not give an example of its use in the sentences used as examples.

Interrogative words are quite restricted in their freedom of occurrence. Aman is normally the first word in a sentence. Interrogative adjectives must precede their heads. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs occur almost immediately before the verb.

The sentences below exemplify the most common interrogative patterns: aman alilamēn kole lūtēt sak<sup>w</sup>atilmēn 'shall we kill him, destroy his house and everything?' (III 23); maner sir ūjrisēn minas 'what kind of bird of yours flew away?' (II 57); na|| xō||xa xum 'what kind of man are you?' (II 132); nēnān maner ēri 'what is necessary for you?' (V 95p); nōwīān xotāī totsān 'where did you take your meat?' (I 144); mat najtāl ōtertāl pāwlen patsēna 'have you come into a town without a princess and prince?' (V 235p); jevāyi, na||-a 'Sister, is it you?' (II 50); nān man at wāyen-a 'then you do not know?' (V 290); mater wāyen 'do you know something?' (I 135); tai man tai māys simēn ta roxtēs 'for some reason or other was your heart frightened?' (I 70); āntwoltep, olēyen 'Horn-scraper, are you there?' (I 134).

### 3.13 Imperative Sentences

These include the motivational sentences of Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 170); they are chiefly commands, but also include strong requests, warnings, deliberations, etc. The commands naturally include the imperative mood, while a common stock of particles may be used to show the 'motivational' aspect: (w)os 'may, would that', śar 'just, indeed', -a 'just, get!'. These include precative imperatives, deliberative subjunctives, and infinitives with possessive suffixes.

Sosva examples of these are: āxtaspūt kiwern nōwí pēten 'put meat into the stone kettle!' (III 21); naŋ jalaken 'so go!' (III 32); uławit-tāl ūnlane jayāyijin ōlne kolt tot os ōli 'let her live in the hut where your sister lives without fire and water!' (III 29); kona k<sup>w</sup>āllimēnā sar 'let's step outside!' (III 25); ti kāten, ti lāylen tot ōńsēŋk<sup>w</sup>en 'if you would use (lit. had) this arm of yours, this leg of yours, there!' (II 53).

### 3.14 Exclamatory Sentences

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 172) correctly state that any sentence can be exclamatory in nature. Therefore there is no need here for an exposition of exclamatory sentences as such, except to say that they are often nominal clauses with an indefinite adjective. As stated in 3.1, the stress generally shows a rising pattern throughout the clause. This is exemplified in most of the following examples: mana pēta 'what bad luck!' (III 21); mana nājk<sup>w</sup>e 'what a doll (lit. princess)!' (V 162p); am nān māyselen joxtesem 'have I come for you?!' (III 30); maner ōter nūparāli 'what a super-dandy!' (V 347); taw man wāssey juw salti 'so should he still go in?!' (III 30).



## CHAPTER IV

## SUBJECT

As stated in Chapter III, the subject of a simple clause may be a noun phrase, pronoun, participle, infinitive or clause.

## 4.1 Noun Phrase Subject

Any noun in the nominative case, with or without modifiers, can be the subject of a clause.

Sing. tuwl ek<sup>W</sup>apiy ōs konk<sup>W</sup>alaps 'then the nephew rushed out again' (II 35); dual, an xumiy pūt lālt ti sunsey 'now the two men look into the pot' (III 21); plur., laylanel jolaxanast 'their legs hung down' (II 153).

## 4.2 Pronoun Subject

Likewise any pronouns, personal and other, can be subjects of clauses: taw at wāyte 'she does not know it' (I 210); jun xōtpa sujti 'someone is heard inside' (II 57); kityaye ta ojwesey 'the two of them have fallen asleep' (I 234, 236, 237); mōtant lāwwēsēt 'the others were told' (II 153); ak<sup>W</sup> mat ērt matart sujteyt 'suddenly some things are heard' (II 115); mater ātim 'nothing is there' (II 78).

## 4.3 Verbal Noun Subjects

Present and past participles and infinitives (rarely) can be used as subjects of sentences. In this function participles usually have a possessive suffix, infinitives do not. Examples are: present participle, jinēt ta nāŋki 'his arrival is seen now' (II 85); past participle, am tēmēm ātim 'I did not eat it (lit. my having-eaten is not)' (I 144); infinitive, xottāl jaleŋk<sup>W</sup> ēri 'it is necessary to go somewhere' (II 78).

#### 4.4 Clause Subject

A clause can also be the subject of certain verbs: xotel ūlt tēls, at wāwe 'where it came from is not known' (I 210); mater māys worati, xumitēn at wāwe 'why she wishes it is not known by her husband' (II 60); masmasēk<sup>W</sup>a piy kona ta minam, miren at wājwes 'that the Masmawoman's son had gone out was not known by the people' (III 33); ja kon tēnut k<sup>W</sup>alttes, jayāyijayēn at wāwe 'that she carried food out is not known by her sisters' (I 224); apiykem mat tolen ta patme sujti 'it is heard that my nephew has fallen into some good circumstances (lit. fluency)' (III 36); ak<sup>W</sup> xumit kole janitel jalēŋk ta patme sujti 'one man is heard beginning to wander throughout the house (lit. one man the-house size-from to-wander then his-having-begun it-is-heard)' (II 85).

#### 4.5 Subject Concord

The strictest concord in Vogul is that which exists between subject and verb in person and number. The only exceptions are found with the negative verb āti(m) and with the frequent coalescence of all second person verb forms into a common -n.

#### 4.51 Number Concord

Sosva Vogul verbs agree in number with the logical or grammatical subject, with the logical subject taking predominance.

#### 4.511 Singular Concord

a) Semantically and formally singular nouns are used with singular verb forms: xum ōli 'a man lives' (I 61); piye konāŋk<sup>W</sup>ates 'his son looked out' (I 68); āwi pūswes 'the door was opened' (I 63, V 39).

b) Compound subjects, each of which denotes one individual, are

found with the singular form of the verb. Some examples are: nurtāl āyi, nurtāl piy ak<sup>w</sup> tox os xulti 'however, let the innocent girl (and) innocent boy remain!' (I 14); jiwjopali pāl kāte pāl lāyle sāyrapawes 'the carving's one arm and one leg were chopped off' (I 252).

c) As is shown in the last sentence, in order to express a single member of a natural pair, a circumlocution is used with pāl 'half', which can precede or follow the word it refers to. Thus we find similar sentences: ak<sup>w</sup> kātpāle tayapi 'one are (lit. arm-half) is hanging' (V 139); lāylpāle 'one leg' (V 140); sampāle 'one eye' (I 250). pāl is used literally to mean 'half' in forms like kārapīpāl 'half-ship' (I 232, 233), but here it is in contrast to a loaded ship which is simply kārapī.

d) Although nouns preceded by numerals are usually followed by a dual (in the case of two) or plural verb, they are not consistently so; here formal agreement is found with the singular noun which usually follows a number. In contradistinction to sentences to be presented below, we find: sāt nololuw kem āmp ta kērwes 'now seven or eight dogs were harnessed' (III 33); sāt jatri tit olnuwke 'if seven black grouse were here' (I 233); kit kārapī ta neyles 'two ships appeared then' (I 232); kit norsup tūp ēri 'only two stakes are needed' (III 21); manax sāt poseŋ sow oli 'how many hundred bright stars there are' (I 263).

e) Verbal nouns are always singular when used as subjects: totnuw ta minnēt naŋki 'then his approach (lit. coming thither) is seen' (V 39); jolrotmume sujti 'it was heard to stop (lit. its-stopped-down)' (I 139); rōŋkuwlamanel sujti 'their call is heard (lit. their-called)' (II 56).

## 4.512 Dual Concord

a) Subjects are considered dual if they contain the numeral kit 'two' (with the exception mentioned above, 4.511 d) and/or if they have the normal dual ending  $-\gamma$ . Examples of this are: kaŋkaye ta minasey 'his two brothers went then' (V 103); xumijaye mowintēy 'the two men laugh' (V 153); kit xum juwsaltēy 'two men enter' (V 169); kit xumijayen ... xōntsey 'your two men found' (I 135). Instances of this redundancy are rare.

b) Besides subjects which require dual concord because they are formally two, other constructions in Vogul also use the dual. One of the frequent examples of this type concerns a natural couple or pair of things, in which case both objects have the dual suffix, not logically numerical, but as a conjunctive device (Somogyi VKE 5-8). The following are typical: āyjiy piyey olēy 'there are a daughter and a son' (I 245); nēyey xumiy juwsaltēy 'a woman and a man enter' (V 182); sūkraye moxsaŋaye xulēylasey 'the whitefish and the muksun rose' (III 38).

c) If the subjects of a sentence add up to two, even without dual suffixes on the nouns, the dual is also used: ak<sup>W</sup> nē ak<sup>W</sup> xum juwsaltēy 'one woman and one man enter' (V 206); mat xurip ūj olsen sar, ti xōtal sar ak<sup>W</sup> jot wātimēn 'whatever animal shape you used to be, let us pick (berries) today' (IV 236p). This last sentence does not use any personal pronouns, but the second person singular verb followed by the first person dual makes the addition process obvious.

d) A similar 'addition' construction is formed with the second noun in the instrumental case, as in the following examples: ək<sup>W</sup>āpiy ak<sup>W</sup>ēnt olēy 'a nephew and his aunt live together' (I 141); ak<sup>W</sup> ojka

āyitānt śaltsey juw 'an ole man and his daughter entered' (V 184); mōśnē jeypiykētāntel ōlēy 'a Mosh-woman and her brother live' (I 250). In all these cases the second noun has the form: base + third dual possessive + instrumental suffix. The dual possessive, though customary, is not obligatory, as is shown by: ēk<sup>w</sup>āpiy āk<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>al ōlēy 'a nephew and his aunt live together' (III 35), contrasting with the first example above. This construction can naturally be used without an expressed subject, as in ak<sup>w</sup> pōxən īūlāmtasey Kēstlor xumitānt '(she) stood up with the man from Keshtlor' (V 153).

e) Another construction which permits dual concord, although the grammatical subject is singular, is found when a subject is accompanied by a sociative. Thus: ak<sup>w</sup> ōjka āyiś juw śaltsey 'an old man came in with his daughter' (V 200). If we compare this with the sentence above with an identical meaning, we must conclude that these two constructions may, at least sometimes, be used interchangeably. Other examples are: kaśiś kit jōrən ōlēy 'two Samoyed brothers live together (lit. with younger-brother two Samoyed live-2-they)' (II 89); jevāyiś ōlne nē, jeypiyiś ōlne xum k<sup>w</sup>āssey tox ul wos ōlēy nēyey xumiy 'let not a brother and sister live at all as man and wife' (I 254).

f) The postposition jot 'with' may also be used in a similar manner: mōśnē jot ta ōlēy 'then he lives with the Mosh-woman' (I 219). This is not obligatory, either, and we also find janiy ōjka āyite jot juwśalti 'the old man comes in with his daughter' (V 186).

#### 4.513 Plural Concord

a) Nouns with the plural suffix -t and the possessive plural marker -n- are normally found with plural verbs: xumit jolūntēyet 'the

men sit down' (V 45); āwit kērel laplaskeweset 'the doors were locked' (I 238); ta lātyane ojeypaset 'his words came to an end' (I 64); māji jōranuw at jōxtēyet 'our strength (lit. our strengths) is not equal to it' (III 26).

b) After expressions denoting quantity without an exact number, usage is mixed. Jānderov uses the following in the same tale: plural, mat sāwit kārāpít joxtālēyet 'as many ships as come' (I 233); singular, mat sāwit kārāpí nāteltālawe 'as many ships as are sailed' (I 235); mat sāwit kārāpí neylāli 'as many ships as appear' (I 232, 236). It will be noted that in each of the above the verb does agree in number with the noun subject, singular kārāpí or plural kārāpít. This may indicate merely that usage after the phrase mat sāwit was not standardized.

c) At least occasionally we find the noun subject in the singular, while the verb is in the plural: sāuñ pāl sāli ... tōlmatset 'an innumerable amount of reindeer ran away' (II 59). This applies to collective nouns, especially māxum and mir 'people': māxum lāwēyet 'the people say' (V 52). Even here there are occasional exceptions where the general rule of concord takes over, and we have singular plus singular: mir neyles 'the people appeared' (I 70); mir tāwritawes 'the people were crushed' (I 70).

d) Singular nouns preceded by a numeral over two customarily take the plural marker on the verb. Examples of these are: xūram oter k<sup>w</sup>ālsset kon 'the three princes went out' (II 152); ńila xum juwsaltēyet 'four men come in' (V 131); sāt jatri ... wārēyet 'seven black grouse are making...' (I 234, twice).

e) Similar to the dual situation, if a totality of subjects adds up to three or more, the plural is used with the verb. Thus: ak<sup>W</sup> nē, kit xum juw saltēyet 'one woman (and) two men come in' (V 148); sānem. āpsī-jayem ... pōssēt 'my mother and two brothers appeared' (I 263). This same construction seems to underlie a sentence like the following where several utensils are indicated by the singular: án pētīm pūt, án ūntīm āni tox ta xultset 'then the kettles and dishes which had been set out remained' (I 229). We could also have expected the singular here because of coordinate subjects, or the dual because the subjects, both singular in form, logically add up to two.

f) Again in a manner analogous to the dual, the postposition jot 'with' may inspire the use of the plural after a singular absolute noun. My only example is: at piye jot, xoltāl ōln āyikās wārēyet, xoltāl ōln piykās wārēyet 'with her five sons, she prepares endless girl and boy pleasures (for him)' (IV 239p). There is no reason why the instrumental could not also be used in this construction, but the only example I have of a plural instrumental of accompaniment does not influence concord: āyitētəl piyētəl ūsnēt mus tēs, ais 'with his son and daughter he ate (and) drank until his death' (I 66) has a singular verb.

g) The suffix -tāyl 'full', added to nouns, also gives origin to plural concord: pāwltāyl ek<sup>W</sup> sawŋkanen ta joxtēsēt 'all of the women in the village went to the cemetery then (lit. village-full woman)' (I 230). In this type of situation, Munkácsi considers tāyl to be a special postposition, thus putting it on a constructional par with jot (VNyj 10, 30).

## 4.52 Personal Concord

In addition to agreement in number, Sosva verbs also agree with their subjects in person. All of the above examples, with the exception of one sentence in 4.412 c), were in the third person.

First person: am at minēym 'I won't go' (III 34); mēji ek<sup>W</sup>atāl patsemēn 'we have become wifeless' (III 28); māji ak<sup>W</sup> mus rumay olēw 'we have always lived as friends' (III 25).

Second person: naŋki samwiltāl patšen 'you were born blind' (III 32); nēn man nomt ońsjin, man sar at ońsjin 'do you have any sense, or do you not?' (III 26); nān manrēy ak<sup>W</sup> kolēn atxatsen 'why have you all assembled in one house?' (III 33).

This concord is also made in the absence of an expressed subject (Chapter III).

## 4.53 Vocative Concord

As a term of address, a vocative is often unrelated grammatically to a clause. However, if a verb is in the second person referring to the person who is addressed by a vocative, it will agree in number with that vocative as follows: singular, āsa, tajax konak<sup>W</sup>āleyn 'father, (when) you go out' (II 128); āntwoltep, olēyn 'Hornscraper, are you (there)?' (I 133); liliŋ kēr soxri, kūśain jalteptēlan 'living iron knife, cure your mistress' (III 27); dual, xumijaym, maner mowwintijin 'my two men, what are you laughing at?' (V 155p); sūkraym moxsaŋaym, xuliylēn 'my pike, my whitefish, rise' (III 38); plural, nān, nāwramt, tij maner wārijin 'you, children, just what are you doing?' (II 117).



## CHAPTER V

## VERBAL PREDICATE

The most common type of clause in Vogul has a predicate consisting of a finite verb form. If there is one indispensable item in an ordinary clause, this is it.

In a larger context, the verbal predicate makes up a logical half of a clause, the other half of which is the subject. In actual fact, judged by the number of possible modifiers or words involved, the verbal predicate is much larger than either its subject or an equational predicate. In point of fact, almost any word which can modify a noun can modify a verb, in addition to many modifiers which are limited to verbs. This includes adjectives, nouns, pronouns, adverbs, postpositions, prefixes and verbals.

## 5.1 Verb

The finite verb in Sosva is an intricate device which is related to time by tense, to reality by moods, to the subject by person and number, to the object by number and determinateness, and to activity by voice.

## 5.11 Tenses

The indicative is the only North Vogul mood which has tense. There are two tenses which can best be designated past and non-past. Despite its larger contextual range, I shall refer to the latter as present for the sake of convenience.

### 5.111 Past Tense

The main use of the past tense is to describe or refer to what has already happened: xujaset, xolit nōl̄xk<sup>w</sup>ālaset 'they slept, the next day they got up' (II 91); tān xūltset xūrem xum 'they remained, the three men' (II 157).

Repetition of the verb is used to express progressive or durative action in the past: xosa jōms, wāti jōms 'he wandered for a long time, he wandered for a short time' (I 67); an xumite jis jis 'now the man went and went' (II 90).

The protasis of contrary-to-fact conditions is usually expressed by the past tense if it is negative: atke jowtilasmēn, sormen tij 'if we had not bought you, this is (would be) your death' (II 94).

Like a hortative clause, the past tense can also express a wish in reference to the past: ul āstes '(I hope) it isn't all gone' (III 22).

### 5.112 Present Tense

The present tense is much more widely used than the past and may refer to any time situation, even past narration (as a historical present), though it most properly refers to the present and future.

Its main functions are to express action which is in progress and generally true conditions: naḷ maner lūlēyen 'what are you standing for?' (II 90); kāseḷ sāmsam janiy pupyet tūjay pusēn tōremen xāl̄xēyt 'the great spirits of every locality all climb up to god in the spring' (I 66).

Future time is also expressed by the present tense. Often it is in connection with an adverb like xolit 'tomorrow': kaḷken poter ōwl ti ōwlti 'your older brother will begin to talk' (II 95).

Rombandəjeva (JN MJ 352) actually considers a separate future composed of the present tense plus tax ( tajax 'in the future'): mini tax 'he will go'. Examples of this are uncommon, but do occur in the corpus: mat íŭlen ti pattawen tax 'you will get into some trouble' (I 144); māijuw wōńsaley wārite tax 'he will annihilate us' (III 26); jayāyijaym kona k<sup>w</sup>ālpōy tax 'my sisters will rush out' (I 224); tax ti kēreŋ pāk<sup>w</sup>san janit kolkōnt ak<sup>w</sup> tox ūlen, sar ālmajawen tax 'keep sitting in this house of yours as large as an unshelled nut, you will still be taken' (I 214). In the last sentence tax is also used in the first clause before the verb; this often happens, and suggests that tax should only be considered as another future-type adverb used with the present tense: nān tax mōtentey soremn patijin 'you will die again' (I 226); mān tax tot sumlōw 'we shall talk there' (I 261, 262); mānki tajax joxtōw 'we ourselves shall come' (I 256p); am tax ōs ti kanmawem 'I shall get angry again' (I 242); nēmater ātinke, tax jiwel rātijane 'if no one is there, he will beat them with wood' (I 226).

Lakó says that there is a compound future formed with pateŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to fall, begin, become' plus the infinitive, e.g. taw mowintaŋk<sup>w</sup>e at pati 'he will not laugh!' (EMN 39). This construction is also mentioned as a more precise future by Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 122) and Chernetsov (M(V)J 186-7), but I have not found any definite examples of it in Kannisto's Sosva corpus.

According to Munkácsi (VNYj 44) the third person present subjective singular often serves as a present participle; Kálmán repeats this (MN 25) and uses one of Munkácsi's examples: kāte pēri, layele pēri jōmes joney 'a good hand-turning, foot-turning game'. I have found no exact

instances of this, but a similar one modifying a verb does occur: taw manurel uía at ónsi pējtaxti 'how does it cook without a fire (lit. it how fire not it-has it-cooks)?' (III 22). This phrase is equivalent to a caritive uátāl olne phrase meaning 'without fire (being)'.

Finally the present is often used in a narrative to depict past time, particularly for imperfective and progressive action: kit nē kit pal mus ūnlēy 'two women were (lit. are) sitting, one on each side' (II 90). This use of the present for the past is so common, that the two tenses are often combined in single sentences, and in successive sentences in longer utterances: juw sáltes, sorel tēp mayel tēp pasanēn ūntes, tēy, aji 'he went inside, sat down at his table with beer and honey food, eats, drinks' (I 138). I shall consider this phenomenon in more detail under 5.113 Aspect.

### 5.113 Aspect

It is possible, as Dr. Raun has suggested to me, that there is an aspectual difference, as well as a temporal one, in Vogul verb usage. A close study of some sentences shows that the present tense in the context of a past tense indicates a prolonged activity. This may well be the unmentioned reason for Chernetsov's designation of the present tense as aorist (M(V)J 184).

For example, in the last sentence cited above, the entering and sitting can be considered as perfective actions, while the eating and drinking are imperfective or durative.

Such a possible aspectual relationship between the present and the past can be seen in the following pairs of sentences. The present is the first member of each pair.

An jānklōnte tarmel sālijane jot ta toteylawe ta toteylawe 'then he is carried round and round on the ice-sheet with his reindeer' (II 89); xosa toteylawes, man wāfi toteylawes 'he was carried around for quite a while' (II 89). Here we have a contrast between the emphasis on the duration of the activity in the first sentence and the emphasis on its completion in the second. This notion is supported by the usage of the past tense with xosa ... wāfi, which always shows the end of an action which took some time.

Tiyl ĩapa joxti 'he draws near to it' (II 89); pāy joxtes 'he reached shore' (II 89). This suggests a contrast of duration and momentary activity. The same can be said for sentences like nāwram lāylayēn laps, xājtiyti 'the child got on his feet, he runs around' (I 248).

Mōlxōtal xōptōjkāte ta puwwi 'then he catches the bull reindeer which he had yesterday' (II 91); puwweste, ta kōreste 'he caught and harnessed it' (II 91). The chasing of the reindeer seems to be emphasized by puwwi, while puwweste merely seems to indicate that the animal was eventually caught.

Juwsāltēs, tittālutel tittawe ... 'he entered, and is fed food (II 92, twice); juwsāltēs, tittālutel tittawes ... 'he entered and was fed food' (II 92). The first of these suggests a continuity, the serving perhaps of several dishes, while the second merely states that he was given food with no indication as to the manner of serving.

Other sentences liable to a similar analysis are: ēti nas kos nomses, taw nētēn wāwe 'although he simply thought (it) at night, his wife knows it' (II 91); āwisūnen joxtes, nomsī 'he came to the threshold, he thinks' (II 92); taw tēs, āstēs; kon kos k<sup>w</sup>āli, an sālīt xottāratimat

'he finished eating; as he goes out, the reindeer have been let loose now' (II 92); ēti xujas̄t, noms̄i 'at night they slept, he thinks' (II 92); tuwl xolitān k<sup>w</sup>ales, ta mini 'then in the morning he got up, then he goes' (II 95).

More study would be needed to determine if this is really a difference in aspect. Meanwhile the basic fact remains that, whether as a historical present or as an imperfective aspect, the present is often used in the sense of the past, and in this regard is an unmarked form.

#### 5.12 Moods

Sosva Vogul includes three moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative. A precative is frequently mentioned, but I believe I have shown in 2.824 that it is not really a mood.

##### 5.121 Indicative

The main use of the indicative is the statement of facts as shown in 5.111, 5.112 and 5.113.

The present indicative is also used to express exhortation, thus forming a syntactic suppletion for the missing first and third person imperatives, while at the same time expressing a mild exhortation in the second person. These hortatory indicatives usually include a particle, (w)os or sar 'let, may, might' with ul as a negative when needed. A few examples are: osē] jiw titen sujevem, tot os ūsēyem 'I'll lie at the foot of a thick tree, even if I die there' (II 57); kona k<sup>w</sup>ällimēnā sar 'let's go out' (III 25); os juw taw 'let him come' (I 68); wōrjıwey os jēmtēyt 'may they turn into forest trees!' (I 71); tiyl ēlaí mōt nē nāwram mōt

nēn ul os tūlmantawe 'from now on let no woman's child be stolen by another woman' (I 212). In poetry os may be omitted in the negative: ul k<sup>w</sup>ālapī 'let him not step out' (V 62p).

Kálmán implies that this form is not used with the second person, 'for the other persons' (CV 46), but there are some examples of its use with the second person, e.g. ... xāpkay os jēmtēyn 'may you become an aspen!' (I 220); ... xāpey os wārawen 'may a boat be made of you!' (eo. loc.); naŋke, naŋ liliŋ os olēyen, amke, am liliŋ os olēyem! jā naŋke, naŋ ūsem os olēyen, amke, am ūsem os olēyem! 'if you, may you remain alive, if I, let me remain alive! and if you, may you be dead, if I, let me be dead!' (I 140). On the other hand, Lakó considers the hortative indicative an alternative form, 'a compound form', of the imperative (EMN 38-9).

#### 5.122 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is used in situations which call for an expression in terms of doubt or uncertainty, and is manifested chiefly in three ways: contrary-to-fact conditions, future potentialities, and deliberations.

In contrary-to-fact conditions the subjunctive is used in the hypothesis, unless it is an equational clause (see 5.111 for an example) or command; if the protasis is negative, both clauses may be in the past indicative. Otherwise the subjunctive is found in both protasis and apodosis.

Examples of contrary-to-fact conditions are: o jam xōraxsi tit olnuwke, kēlpsame juwajalanuwluw 'if the robber who escaped were here, we would drink the drops of his blood' (II 51); tati ti mātke olnuw

sēs ōsnuw, kās ōsnuw 'if it were in this country, one would have honor and pleasure' (I 235, 236); ta xurip xum xōntsem, not palit atke tinalaxtesmēn, tiy lōnte at joxtenuw 'I found such a man as would not have come here at all, if we had not been traders all our lives' (I 235); atke puwōsem, sejnāmpēr wārnwlem, xisnāmpēr wārnwlem 'if I had not been caught, I would have made sand and gravel dust out of her' (I 245).

Future potentialities express hopes and possibilities which may occur, but which are felt to be somewhat uncertain. This also includes the protasis of future conditions. Examples are: naŋ ti āyin mēmēmēn wēk minuwlen, rowmut wārēw 'perhaps you'd give us your daughter, we'd become relatives' (III 28); naŋ an ti kasajaken wēk tinalanuwlen mēmēmēn 'would you perhaps sell us this little knife of yours?' (III 25); am wōwnem sōmit tinke minuwem, miylem 'if you give me the high price I ask, I'll give it to you' (III 25); nomtenke patnuw 'if it should please you' (II 91); naŋ jaine mat urnke ōlnuw, xot at jalnuwen 'if you felt like wandering, where should you not wander?' (II 91).

Deliberations usually employ the same particle (w)os as the indicative exhortations. Examples of this are: mān sar lākil os sāŋk<sup>w</sup>asāl- muwluw 'what if we just kick him with the ball!' (II 52); xumiy, māji os jalnuwuw 'men, what if we should go!' (V 70, 71p); am an nē minam nēŋeŋ sām wos kisnuum 'what if I went to look for a place where women have been!' (II 100); am an tuw joxtēym, us ti tēlem niren os neynuwe 'when I arrive there now, I might be tied to a newly-grown reed' (I 228); am an ken os k<sup>w</sup>allernuum akijayem akwayem ātimtāl 'I think I'll go out now while my uncle and aunt are not (here)' (II 52); juw os sāltseuum, matarel ōreŋ tittaum 'if I were to go in, I might be fed something' (II 92); konel os minnuum mūnt 'I'd better go on the outside' (I 67).



### 5.123 Imperative

The imperative is used only in giving commands and prohibitions to second persons; it has its own negative, ul 'not'. In addition, it is frequently characterized by the particle sar 'just, only' and by an inflectional -a added to the verb form, derived from a vocative usage (Liimola HF 130).

Examples are: miren lāwen 'tell the people' (I 71); kona k<sup>w</sup>allōna sar 'go out now!' (I 71); jul ul minen, titi iūlen 'don't go back, stay here!' (II 94); tuw sunsen 'look there' (V 154); tuw sunsēn 'look there, you two!' (V 215).

In the case of an indirect command, the imperative is used for the direct object of the command, and the hortatory indicative may be used for the more distant object: miren lāwen, pusen juw os saltēyt 'tell the people, all are to go home' (I 71). Instead of the hortatory indicative, an infinitive may be used (see 5.26).

### 5.13 Voice

Sosva verbs express two voices, active and passive, but not in their complete conjugation. Voice is limited to tense forms, other forms being generally indifferent. This is the reason for all verbals being used in both active and passive senses; when more determination is felt necessary, pateŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to fall, begin, become' is used as an auxiliary with subjective, objective or passive suffixes.

According to Lavotha (NyK LX 96) the only difference between active and passive sentences is that the active predicate refers by personal ending to the actor, the passive predicate to the 'patients'.

## 5.131 Active Voice

Active voice is normally used where the subject actually performs the action of the verb. It is used far more commonly than the passive voice. All of the examples in 5.14 are in the active voice.

## 5.132 Passive Voice

Passive voice has attracted a great deal of attention in Vogul. Naturally every Vogul scholar has recognized it, though this recognition has often been limited to an acknowledgment of its existence. Others (Lavotha NyK LX 93; Chernetsov M(V)J 186; Kálmán MN 24) emphasize its great frequency in comparison with Indo-European languages in general. This is possibly a result of not having other third person reflexive, reciprocal or general verbalizations available. A Vogul is limited, e.g. to saying 'someone says' or 'it is said'; such locutions as 'we say', 'one says', 'you say', 'they say', 'il se dit', 'man sagt', etc. do not exist in Vogul.

While it may not be done on purpose, very often the passive eliminates the use of objective endings, underlined below:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
māijuw wōńsaley wāri <u>te</u> tax 'he will annihilate us' (III 26)	māji wōńsaley wārawēw tax 'thus we shall be annihilated' (III 26)
am totas <u>lem</u> 'I took it' (I 64)	ti xum āmp xōn totwes 'by whom was this man's dog taken?' (I 64)
nāin ūntt <u>elen</u> 'put it on the fire' (III 21)	án pūt nāin ūnttawes 'now the kettle was put on the fire' (III 21)

There are three distinct case usages with the passive voice. The lative 'governed by the passive' (Kálmán CV 46), expresses the agent by whom or which an action is performed. The instrumental is used to show the actual means used to perform an action. The ablative showing the material of which something is made is often used with the passive. Examples of these are given under the respective cases: 5.213 lative, 5.215 ablative and 5.216 instrumental.

Among others, Lavotha has found examples of intransitive verbs used passively in Munkácsi, Chernetsov and Kannisto (NyK LX 94). Many normally intransitive verbs are used in this way, and suggest that in Vogul one can say both 'we were approached' and 'we were arrived'. Typical instances of this use are: kitentey ti joxtawen 'you are 'reached' a second time now' (I 137); mat íúlen ti pattawen tax 'you will be befallen by something bad now' (I 144); xōnen ti juwēw 'an army is coming against us' (III 33); xūrem xumen ōs ti saltapawes 'three men suddenly came in to her again' (I 213); ās xosit minawe 'the Ob is gone along' (II 63).

This is generally only a stylistic difference, but it does permit a Vogul, if he should so desire, to mention an action without mentioning the actor.

As shown in 5.26, the infinitive is rendered passive by using pateŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to fall, begin, become' in the proper form. Examples of clauses as the subjects of passive verbs are given in 4.4.

#### 5.14 Conjugation

Vogul verbs are divided according to their reaction to objects into indefinite (subjective) and definite (objective) conjugations. The indefinite conjugation is used for all intransitive verbs and for many

transitive verbs when the object is not considered as specific.

Knowledge concerning the exact use of these conjugations has been gradually developing for almost a century. In 1884 Ahlqvist (WS 179) stated that a verb without an object is conjugated indefinitely, and a verb with an object has numerical agreement, singular, dual and plural. Chernetsov (M(V)J 184), Collinder (SUL 327) and Rombandejeva (JN MJ 352, 357) state that the agreement takes place only if the object is direct and determined, but say nothing about the criteria used to measure this determination. Lakó (EMN 38), sticking closely to a merely morphological approach, merely mentions agreement in number with the definiteness of the object.

Kálmán has come to closer grips with the problem. In MN 24 he compares Vogul determinateness with Hungarian, but adds that Vogul always uses the definite conjugation if the object is a personal pronoun (ānām sūnsite 'he sees me'), and that the agreement differs from Hungarian, which is according to person rather than number.

He is much more specific later (CV 45-6) and breaks the criteria for determination down into five categories:

- 1) if a demonstrative pronoun (including what we would call demonstrative adjectives in English) is used;
- 2) if the object has a possessive suffix;
- 3) if the object is a personal pronoun;
- 4) if the object has been previously mentioned or is already known;
- 5) if the verb has a dependent clause as object.

Balandin-Wahrushewa mention the first four criteria, but say nothing of the fifth (MJ 126).

In general these categories are correct, though I shall try to make some further distinctions and try to show that there are intangibles involved here which do not always fit these patterns. A practical judgment is that the indefinite (subjective) conjugation emphasizes the subject, while the definite (objective) calls attention to the object. Both conjugations are found in all finite moods and tenses.

The vast majority of verb forms in Vogul texts are indefinite. This high proportion is the result of the influence of several factors. Many common verbs are intransitive, and therefore normally subjective. These include verbs referring to existence, motion, personal reflexive action, such as joxt- 'arrive', maxxat- 'get dressed', min- 'go', ōl- 'be', śalt- 'enter', etc. Another factor is frequent doubling, such as xosa ōls, wāfi ōls 'he was there for a fairly long time (lit. long he-was, short he-was)' (I 61, 66). This type of coordination is most frequent with intransitive verbs and will be treated more fully in a later section on clause conjunction (8.3). A third factor which will be dealt with more fully under definite conjugation is the fact that many verbs we would expect to be definite for the reasons listed by Kálmán are nonetheless indefinite. Naturally an indefinite verb can have other types of complements.

An enumeration of the types of verbs found in five tales in WV gives us an idea of the predominance of subjective verbs.

	<u>I 133-141</u>	<u>II 89-96</u>	<u>II 52-59</u>	<u>I 61-66</u>	<u>I 238-245</u>	<u>Total</u>
Subjective	321	210	167	120	140	958
Percentage	87	79	74	67	72	75
Objective	25	22	31	40	34	152
Percentage	7	11	13	25	20	12
Passive	21	27	27	14	16	105
Percentage	6	10	13	8	8	8
Total	367	259	225	174	190	1215

### 5.141 Subjective Conjugation

Most verbs can be subjective or objective, depending upon the type and occurrence of objects.

If there is no object, expressed or understood from the context, the subjective conjugation is used. This includes such sentences as: āmpē nūpel sunsi 'he looks toward his dog' (I 61), in which the object is indicated by a postposition, and taltxatas sunēn 'he loaded (onto) his sled' (I 66), where an oblique case form is used. Other types are tās, ajis 'he ate (and) drank' (I 136) and alslēs 'he hunted' (I 61), in which objects like 'food, water, game, etc.' are presumed in a general sense.

The subjective conjugation is also used normally if objects are in some sense indeterminate. In the clause sēmēl ūj, wiyr ūj alsli 'he hunts black and red game' (I 61), no particular animals are mentioned, hence the verb is subjective. This is paralleled by the verbs in kolala āwi ōnsi 'the roof of the house has a door' (I 63), pōt ... puwwi 'he collects taxes' (I 64); jomas ūlēm wārset 'they said good-bye' (I 64, 65), etc.

Nouns which are used in a general sense, or indefinitely as concrete objects, are also found in the subjective conjugation: wōralá wārēym sar 'I'll make myself a forest trap' (V 118); ta kem puuŋ ōńsēy 'they have such a reindeer herd' (II 89); xōmsi jurtay ārssin ōńsi 'instead of a whip he has an ell' (V 39).

The indefinite use of subjective verbs naturally includes many questions containing interrogative objects, introduced by such words as maner, mater 'what', and indefinite objects preceded by words like mōt 'other', mater 'something', etc. Examples of these are: am maner ūrēym 'what am I waiting for?' (II 86, III 37, 38); mater xańsēyen 'do you know something?' (I 135, 138); man urel paśa wārēw 'how do we greet?' (II 151); am xolit sar ōs mōtan puwēym 'well, tomorrow I'll get others again' (II 92); mater ta sayri 'then he chops something' (III 21).

Negative pronouns likewise occur with subjective verbs, since by their very nature they cannot be determined: nēmater at alas 'he did not catch anything' (I 61).

Verbs with or without determined objects seem to be subjective if the object is acting on himself. Thus we have the reflexive type of verb (mentioned earlier), masxatas, ēntxatas 'he got dressed, he girded himself' (I 61) without objects. Later on we find mir puŋk pinset 'the people nodded their heads' (I 64). Here there is no doubt that the people individually nodded their own heads, but the verb is subjective nevertheless. If this interpretation is basically correct, it is not consistently reflected in the Sosva dialect. For example we find ńila pūt mus ńila kāte lāyle tuw tūstəsane 'he (a horse) put his four legs into the four kettles' (I 63), with agreement possibly

because of the individual counted items. The argument could also be made that the objective verb here is elicited by the possessive suffix on kāte lāyle, but on the same page we find another example of a possessive suffix with the subjective conjugation: sōrní xōn āsuw pōte puwli 'the Golden Khan, our father, is collecting his taxes' (I 63). We also find a reinforcement of our reflexive-subjective coordination in the sentence án towlaye tiyle xosuwli, tuwle xosuwli 'then he beat his wings to and fro' (I 242), which is subjective.

The possessive suffix is normally in concord with the objective conjugation, so the use of the above subjective here may signify that getting the taxes might not be at all certain, but rather potential. If so, a claim could be made for a definite object with a subjective verb forming an aspectual situation of future likelihood with some uncertainty, a type of potential aspect perhaps.

Usually a verb introducing another clause is subjective. This includes most verbs with which we associate indirect discourse in some Indo-European languages. A few examples are: āmpē nūpel sunsi: ātim, xottaí minam 'he looks at his dog; he is not there, he had gone somewhere' (I 61, 62); taw lāwi: "am at wāylem" 'he says: "I don't know you"' (I 65); taw án nomesi: "am án kon os k<sup>w</sup>allenuum akijaym ak<sup>w</sup>aym ātimtāl" 'now he thinks: "let me go out now while my uncle and aunt are not (home)"' (II 52); xūnteli: suíyim jinēt sujti 'he hears: it is heard coming, rattling along' (I 138, 139).

#### 5.142 Objective Conjugation

The objective conjugation is usually used when the object is a definite one, whether or not any overt marker is present. It may be



marked by a demonstrative adjective or by a possessive suffix, but often it is not even in the clause, but understood in the contextual situation, usually having been mentioned previously. Because these conditions are so varied, and because so many examples of these objective constructions are available, they will be broken down into more detailed groups.

If the direct object is marked with the possessive suffix, it usually co-occurs with an objective verb. Examples of this are:

nāwramakem wojantēlen 'protect my child' (V 229); mān uraitēlen 'look at your land' (I 72); sālijanēn ak<sup>w</sup> jot sama ta rātsanēn 'then together they beat their reindeer to death' (II 58); kēlpsame juwajalanuwluw 'we would drink the drops of his blood' (II 51); kole lūtēt sak<sup>w</sup>atilmēn 'we'll destroy his house with his things' (V 23, twice); kolanēl tuw i tūstesanēl 'then they pitched their tent there' (II 94); ān ēlmxōlasanem xotūstesānem 'now I have lost my men' (IV 371p).

However this situation is not an absolute one, either. We find such anomalies as luwaye sōpits (II 81, 88) and luwaye sōpitasaye (II 83, 85) 'he cleaned the two horses' in reference to the same man and the same horses.

Whenever an object is characterized as definite by the occurrence of various types of modifiers, adjectives, demonstratives, possessive nouns, the objective conjugation is used: mān kaŋke soí mān kaŋkēn ti miste 'now he gave his younger brother's spit to his younger brother' (V 112); ūjīōŋx naŋ ta sakataslen 'you spoiled the elk's trail' (V 111). In this case the objective is used because the path is that of a definite animal which was being pursued. Other examples are: ti wārmāŋ potertēlen 'relate this thing' (I 65); ta lāteŋ ul joruwlēlen 'don't forget that word' (III 29).

Whenever the object is a definite pronoun, usually expressed by a noun or personal pronoun but sometimes omitted, or when the object is a personal pronoun referring to a non-personal being, the verb is objective, as in the following cases: akitōjk witen wāylttālite 'he pulls his uncle into the water' (II 55); ānem tuw totālen 'take me there' (I 231); tawe sar sōpitālmēn 'well, we'll fix him' (III 23); ak<sup>W</sup>a xāltēmtaste 'he killed one of them' (III 23).

In these cases agreement with the object in the plural is somewhat inconsistent. In the following examples, it seems as if the difference in number concord depends upon whether the action upon each of "us" is done separately or whether the action is considered in its totality: māijuw wońsaley wārite 'so he will annihilate us' (III 26), singular agreement; naŋ xotēl ūlt totam nēn mānaw kasail siltalaste 'the woman you brought from somewhere cut us with a knife' (I 244), singular; xotēl ūlt totim nē mānaw ak<sup>W</sup> mus siltalasane 'the woman brought from somewhere kept cutting us' (I 244), plural.

In all of the above a noun or pronoun has been mentioned as the object; in the following the pronoun is not mentioned: tine tapal ak<sup>W</sup> sos ta jowteslamēn 'once we bought you then for too high a price' (II 90); ēnenpattānel sołtiypaste 'he hung him from his jaw' (I 134, 135); nālel, jōwtal sōpitilem 'I'll provide you with a bow and arrow' (II 55).

The consistent use of the objective for personal objects, with or without personal pronouns being expressed, can be seen in the following parallel sentences:

Pronoun Mentioned	Pronoun Omitted
<u>ānem</u> ūlilēlen 'fondle me!' (I 238, ff.)	Ūlilēlen 'fondle (me)!' (I 240, ff.)
<u>ānem</u> wāylen 'do you know me?' (I 65)	am at wāylen 'I do not know (you)' (I 65)

The objective conjugation is almost always used if the object is definite and has been mentioned in a previous clause. Examples of this are: am ta sírel i nujilem 'I'll skin it in just that way' (II 91); jowtel ūnttilem 'I'll set up a bow (to catch it)' (III 20); pūtem ta xani, wojelen 'my kettle is hanging there, take it!' (V 132); naŋki i alaslen 'you killed him yourself' (III 35).

Sometimes the objective conjugation is used when an unmarked noun is the object, probably because the object is felt to be definite without a marker, having been mentioned before or having an unmistakable reference in the context. Examples of this are: luwtur jaktēste 'he cut the horse's throat' (III 23); sōrnāŋ sērmāt xotwiste 'he took away the golden bridle' (II 128); sāŋk<sup>w</sup>ltāne xum sāŋk<sup>w</sup>ltap wiyte 'the harpist took up his harp' (V 89).

When nouns are the objects of verbal nouns, the objectivity is shown by the verb which the verbal noun complements: kol sāt sos jēk<sup>w</sup>im jōŋxite 'he goes dancing around the house seven times (lit. house seven times dancing he-goes-it)' (V 106); sāt meŋk<sup>w</sup> aleŋk<sup>w</sup> at wērmjane 'he is not able to kill the seven forest-spirits' (II 56).

Occasionally a verb introducing a clause takes objective endings. The verb wāyleŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to know' always does so; it is interesting to note that this is the verb used by Kálmán as an example for his fifth category of objective situations: xot tūjtxatas, xotal' sáltapas, at wāyte 'he does not know where she hid, what she entered' (CV 46).

Examples from my corpus are: am xotel wāylem, mām xotal' ōli 'from where would I know where my country is?' (II 94); aman mān sáltas aman tōremm xāŋxas, at wāylem 'I don't know whether he descended into the earth or climbed into the sky' (II 96); kaŋkaye mater nomt ōnsēy, taw at wāyte 'he does not know what kind of plan his two brothers have' (V 103); xotal' mināsem, at wāylem 'I don't know where I went' (IV 371p).

Other verbs sometimes take objective endings to agree with following clauses, which could be indirect statements in Indo-European languages. The most common of these variable ones is xūntleŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'to listen, hear'. Because of the punctuation in the corpus, and because Sosva Vogul does not actually have an indirect discourse construction, these look like discrete units, but they are related by position and thought. Examples are: xūntlite: sūlyim ta jinēt sujti 'he hears it: then it is heard coming, rattling along' (I 138, 139); ak<sup>W</sup> mat ert sunsite: xotal' ti ūnti 'suddenly he looks: the sun is setting!' (II 53); nas āti tiyl xōntilem: ēlmxōlas kol konipālen kona rayatamem 'now I just notice: I had fallen asleep outside the man's house' (IV 371-2p).

Agreement in this case is usually singular, as in all of the above sentences. However there is one example of plural agreement: xum mus jales wōrən, ak<sup>W</sup> mus potertasane 'he continually told of his

experiences in the forest' (I 66). The plural objective suffix here undoubtedly refers to the idea of different hunting trips, rather than to one incursion, or to several recountings as opposed to one.

Just as with subjects, an instrumental phrase related to an object has an effect upon objective concord. There may be agreement with just the direct object: kole lūtēt sak<sup>W</sup>atilmēn 'we'll destroy his house with his things' (III 23); there may be agreement with the object and the instrumental phrase, leading to dual agreement in mēji ti āntsup xārel āyikemēn ak<sup>W</sup> kolen sōpitiJaymēn 'we shall set up our daughter and this antlerless reindeer in one house' (I 227); there may also be agreement with the instrumental alone: ūrinēk<sup>W</sup> ētiporat k<sup>W</sup>alyel tāyt ūlta xartite 'at night the Crow-woman draws across the Sosva (with) a rope' (I 204).

## 5.2 Verbal Modifiers

In Sosva Vogul only verbs can have complements. Postpositional constructions are a special use of the possessive construction. Nouns cannot have complements, even objective genitive types, because the latter are always governed by participles, e.g. kūsjiy ōlne xumitēn 'their leader (their man being as leader)' (V 70).

On the other hand, verbs in any form can govern substantives in any case, non-finite verb forms (infinitives, participles, gerunds) and adverbs.

## 5.21 Substantives

All verbs can be complemented by nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numbers in any case.

## 5.211 Nominative Complements

The nominative is used as the direct object of a transitive verb for all words except personal pronouns. Noun, nēpak xanseyt 'they write a letter' (II 135); pronoun, nān maner wōwēyn 'what do you demand?' (III 25); adjective, ta janit jomas wāren 'do that great good (i.e. favor)' (III 34); number, ak<sup>W</sup>a xaitemtaste 'he stabbed one to death' (II 91).

The nominative is also the complement of verbal nouns which require direct objects: infinitive, an kasajsup ti pāxteŋk<sup>W</sup> pateste 'now he began to toss his knife stub' (III 24); participle, pāŋk<sup>W</sup> tēn ojk 'mushroom-eating man' (III 31); gerund, an ojka nāl woltim ūnli 'now a man is sitting whittling an arrow' (I 67).

Besides expressing the direct object, the nominative case is used as a verbal complement to denote many other ideas. Among these are: measurement, kit pāsateŋ tal mośśak<sup>W</sup> 'two legal fathoms less' (I 204); point of time, wina ak<sup>W</sup> tāyl ajaləs 'he swallowed one 'shot' of brandy' (II 85); point of time, mōl xōtal majim luwey ak<sup>W</sup>ate alaste 'he killed one of the two horses given the day before' (III 23); duration of time, ōt xujas 'he slept the night' (I 66); an xōtalanel ołsset 'now they spent their day' (II 92); extent of space, xosa ma xosay minijanel 'they go a far country far' (II 109).

## 5.212 Accusative Case

As pointed out in 2.322, only the personal pronouns have an accusative form in Sosva, indeed in all North Vogul. A few general examples of this are: ānem tāltelen 'take me along!' (I 202); nōŋx am wislem tawe 'I brought her up' (I 223); am naŋen alilem 'I'll kill you' (II 102); nāijuw wońsaley wārite 'he will annihilate us' (III 26).

## 5.213 Lative Case

Ahqvist (WS 147) compares the uses of the lative to the Finnish dative, allative and illative cases, and adds that it may also have consecutive meaning. Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 64-5) say fundamentally the same thing: place of approach and indirect object; they do not mention its ergative use except when dealing with the passive voice (MJ 137); Ahqvist does not mention this use at all.

Munkácsi (VNyj 8) divides the uses of the lative into five groups. The first is the already mentioned indirect object; this is followed by a separation into illative and allative uses which is hard to accept strictly because of shadings into complex concepts of what is in, particularly when used figuratively. He next presumes an ablative, by which he means an ablative of agent and means, and which I shall refer to as the lative of agent. Lastly he adds a terminative concept which I shall call the lative of limit.

Chernetsov attributes ideas of whither and to whom to this case when used properly, and adds the notion of purpose, probably the same as Munkácsi's consecutive notion; he also mentions the lative as being "governed" by the passive voice.

Citing Kannisto (FUF XIV 50) and Fuchs (FUF XXIV 308), Liimola (HF 162) says the lative can be used to show price; I have found no examples of this.

Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 117) state that the personal object of a causative verb is in the lative; I have not found any examples of this.

The main purpose of the lative case is to express the direction of an action; from this seems to stem the secondary reference to people, the direction of an action either toward them (indirect object) or from them (agent). Possible ambiguity here is usually avoided by the use of the passive voice with the agent.

I shall give examples of the lative in eight groups: allative, illative, limit, time, purpose, figurative, indirect object and agent.

Allative, ūsen joxteset 'they arrived at the town' (II 59, 93); pasanēn ūnts 'he sat down at his table' (I 133); luwe šāley olen lāk<sup>w</sup>en nēyste 'he tied his horse to the pure silver ring' (II 80).

Illative, minas wōren 'he went into a forest' (I 251); nāin pältelen 'put it into the fire' (II 104).

Limit, tōremn xōjiyli puŋke 'his head reaches the sky' (I 67, 68); šāna, lāylxopijayemn ti joxtesem 'Mother, I have gotten in up to my soles' (I 248).

Purpose, ūsen xolit wāylesēw winan 'we'll go to the city tomorrow for brandy' (II 51).

Occasionally any of the above can be used in a figurative manner; apiykem mat tolen ta patme sujti 'it is heard that my nephew has fallen into some good circumstances (lit. fluency)' (III 36); āk<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup> worin xun<sup>1</sup> xūntli 'how does he heed his aunt's prohibition?' (I 141); piye



soremn pats 'the boy died (lit. fell into death)' (V 138); jomas kēmen 'to a large extent' (I 141, II 50, 87, III 37).

Indirect object, kērsol tawen ti taktawes 'the iron nail was handed to him' (I 217); jā ti pūten mēnmān at tinalilem 'now won't you sell us this kettle of yours?' (III 22); mōt xumitēn miste 'he gave it to the other man' (III 27); kaŋkayēn takteste 'he showed it to his two older brothers' (V 112).

With a passive verb the lative case often denotes the agent, whether personal or impersonal. There is some overlapping here with the instrumental case; this will be considered when that case is treated. Occasionally only context will tell whether a certain noun is intended to signify the indirect object or the agent. This is one of the ambiguous situations in Vogul which will be discussed later.

Agent, xumen wojwes 'it was demanded by the man' (II 61); xōtpān tuw xal'temtawes 'she was stuck there by someone' (V 31); xōn totwes 'by whom was it taken?' (I 64); nēmataren aleŋk<sup>W</sup> at wērmawet, nēmataren pureŋk<sup>W</sup> at wērmawet 'they cannot be killed by anything, they cannot be bitten by anything' (II 152); manaren roxtēptawēsēn 'by what were you frightened?' (V 53).

#### 5.214 Locative Case

The locative is used to show a point in space and time; it indicates the place where and the time when something happens. Examples of place where or in which are: taw xāp xot'ilet ūnli 'he sits in the middle of the boat' (II 156); ōjkate wōret jales 'the man wandered through the forest' (I 252). Typical instances of time when are: xōrtan

tilamlam porat 'when the falcon flew away' (II 57); ōwlēt mater porat 'in the beginning at some time' (I 13); tōnt pileŋk patēy 'at that moment the two of them begin to feel fear' (III 25); ak<sup>w</sup> mat ert 'suddenly (lit. one some time-at)' (II 100); taitēt juw šaltes 'at that point he entered' (II 79).

In addition to regular nouns, this construction is often used with participles in conjunction with possessive markers, as in: xolit k<sup>w</sup>ālmenselt 'when they went out the next day' (III 31); wōrt jalkemēnt 'while we are wandering in the forest' (III 21); ēti xujimēt nomsi 'he thinks while he lies away the night' (II 91).

#### 5.215 Ablative Case

Ahlqvist gives only the simplest functions of the ablative, comparing it to the Finnish elative and ablative (WS 147), i.e. expressive of place from which. Munkácsi added the idea of source (V Nyj 8), and gave an example of what he considers to be an ablative of cause: poíem vitnel sornexleyim 'I shiver from the frozen water'; I believe this is an example of what I shall refer to below as point of effective action. In addition Munkácsi cites comparison without a comparative adjective; Kálmán later specified this as the positive (CV 33). Fuchs later added the idea of limitation to the ablative usage.

Balandin-Wahrushewa denote the ablative as employed to show origin or starting place. However they incorrectly try to add an idea of indirect object to the ablative with this sentence: mān piyris šānēnel tujtxatas translated as 'the little boy hid from his mother' (MJ 66). It is possible to see here, because another person is indirectly affected, a similarity to an ethical dative or a dative of reference, but hardly

an indirect object in the usual sense. Actually this sentence shows the normal separative reference of the ablative, in this case the person from whom, away from whom, the little boy has moved or is remaining.

In WV at least six separate ablative notions can be found and distinguished: motion from a place, source, prosecutivity, material, limit of action and comparative referent.

The main use of the ablative is to express motion from a place. Examples of this usage are: āsnel ak<sup>w</sup> xum joxtes 'a man came from the Ob' (V 153); kon ul aŋk<sup>w</sup>atēn sunannel 'do not look out of your sled!' (II 59); sārswatatānel moś minasey 'the two of them went a little way from the seashore' (II 90); luw sisēnel jolaporiymas 'he jumped down from the horse's back' (I 13).

It is also used prosecutively to express the idea of motion through and then away from something: āwinel kona k<sup>w</sup>āli 'he goes out through the door' (III 37, V 89); isnasnel konal sunsi 'he looks out through the window' (II 105).

By extension the ablative shows the source and origin of something: nañnel jir wōwawe, puri wōwawe 'from you a sacrifice of blood and food is demanded' (I 347); suljānel rumka sōses sāin 'she poured a glass from the bottle into the tea' (II 103).

Material, too, as the ultimate source from which something comes, is denoted by the ablative case: jiwnel ēluxōlas wārsēm 'I made a man out of wood' (I 254); tūp jiwpalnel wārawe 'the rudder is made from half a tree' (IV 490, note 3); jōwt wortnel wārawe 'the bow is made from seasoned wood' (IV 490-1, note 8a).

Another use of the ablative is to mark the point of effective action from an external force. This usage is most frequent with parts of the body, but is not limited to them. Examples are: tuwl pornē puŋkātneŋ puwweste 'then he grabbed the Por-woman by the hair' (I 212); tārey sipluwōneŋ puwwawe 'the crane is grabbed by its neck' (V 229); koŋfōneŋ xōjim xum 'the man who had been hit in the middle' (II 52); ōŋenpattatōneŋ soŋtiypaste 'he hung him up by the bottom of his chin' (I 134, 135).

This is also the case which expresses the referent in comparisons, with or without a comparative suffix. It is uncommon in this corpus: mōl xōtalneŋ āpel minōym 'I'll go earlier than yesterday' (II 54); sorteŋjāneŋ kitentey wērstasup palit alyālnuw ūrinēk<sup>w</sup> ūs ōli 'upstream 1 1/2 versts from Sartynja lies the Crow-woman's town' (I 203).

#### 5.216 Instrumental Case

Ahlqvist simply compares the instrumental with the prepositional cases of other languages using the prepositions meaning 'with': German mit, Swedish med, Latin cum (WS 147). At about the same time Munkácsi took a step forward when he named this case the *instrumentalis-comitativus* (VNyj 9), thus implying what Kálmán later said more explicitly (MN 16, CV 28), that this case is chiefly used for showing means and accompaniment. In basic effect this exhausts the use of the instrumental, but in theory its use can be somewhat further subdivided without breaking up its basic semantic unity.

According to Chernetsov (MJ 176) the instrumental case can also be used to show a type of separation, thus overlapping the ablative case. He gives two examples: ma janitel 'along the ground' and ta pasel

'along that border, place'. Kannisto's Sosva texts seem to show some overlap of the instrumental with the prosecutive ablative: isnāsel konal sunsi 'he looks out through the window' (II 80? 83, 85); māpok-tulel xansaḥsoper jolsaltaps 'the heath-hen went down a hole in the ground' (III 35). These, however, are actually ablatives which were changed by Pakin (see section 2.325), and it is probable that the above examples of Chernetsov are prosecutive ablatives.

The general function of the instrumental case is to answer the question 'how?'. Thus it expresses means, instrument, manner and description; an ūj nālel ta lajwes 'then the elk was shot with an arrow' (V 111); āwite k<sup>w</sup>alyel lapnēyeste 'she tied her door shut with a rope' (I 215); mān sar lākil os sāl<sup>w</sup>asālnuwlūw 'what if we just kick him with the ball?' (II 52); sipluwe tōrel pērawe 'a cloth is wrapped around his neck' (V 229); kēlpel sōseste 'he filled it with blood' (III 24); ōlm-xōlāsel tāyintam, mirel 'it was filled with men, with people' (I 70); rak<sup>w</sup>jonyil jonyawe, tūjtjonyil jonyawe 'they play the rain-game and the snow-game' (IV 26p); mat urel 'in some way' (III 10); ti širel 'in this way' (III 45); sēmēl ūj wlyr ūj saxil ōli 'he is dressed in pelts of black and red game' (I 62).

Several types of instrumental are worthy of special note. One is the habit of considering a dwelling as a tool, rather than as a place, e. g. mōsnē ... kolk<sup>w</sup>el ōli 'a Mosh-woman lives in a small house' (I 212); mōsnē jeypiykētēntel ōlēy kit kolel 'a Mosh-woman and her brother live in two houses' (I 66, 250). However mere location uses the locative: šalay ōlen jalpeḥ āpat 'in a sacred cradle of pure silver' (I 361p).

Another unique feature is the consideration of the personal object of a verb of 'giving' as the direct object, with the thing given in the instrumental, parallel to English 'present with' and 'treat to'. In many cases the personal pronoun of the recipient is present in the accusative: am nānān tēnutel totiylasanem, ajnutel totiylasanem 'I have brought you some food and drink' (I 229); āmpet tēnluwl ta pāxwtijane 'then she threw dog-bones to the dogs'; āntwoltpel miylem 'I'll give you the horn-scraper' (I 134); saxil wārite, wāil wārite, tōrel pintel-tite, ēntapel ēntite 'she makes it a frock, makes it shoes, dresses it, girds it with a belt' (I 210-1).

In an analogous manner the instrumental is used with the passive voice to show how something was done to something or someone else, as in the following: sunel nas utel sōpitawesey 'they were provided with a sled and so on' (V 132); pōtrusēn winal ajtawet 'they are given brandy to drink by the Russian tax-collector' (V 132); tōremn tapalōjka nēpākel ta miwe 'the Tapal-Elder is given a paper by god' (I 67).

The instrumental case also designates accompaniment of several types; this can be broken down into three general groups: people, means of transportation and miscellaneous. The following exemplify their use: ak<sup>w</sup> ojka āyitēt 'an old man and his daughter' (V 184); ek<sup>w</sup>apiy āk<sup>w</sup>ent olēy 'a nephew lives with his aunt' (I 141); luwel jisēn 'you came with horses' (III 22); xatañey lapōñtim pārsal minēy 'two Tatars are traveling on a completely tarred barge' (I 20); xum pājpel sālti 'a man enters with a knapsack' (V 157); jomaselke tañkijin 'if you want what is good for you' (III 30); tamīe ūjel at ośwēsen 'you never had such an animal' (II 104).

This miscellaneous group is especially favored in verse: āyite āymel jēntes 'his daughter became ill' (V 184p, note Liimola 332, note 2); āyi ... sānsel ūnlēn 'sit with your daughter on your knee' (I 359p); āyim ūliŋ sājk pasal ūnlēn 'sit with the happy cool health of my daughter' (I 328p, ff.); wāssey sorwit kāseŋ puŋkel ul os jōŋxnuum 'so I am not go around any more with a happy head full of beer' (I 272p).

In a few cases the instrumental is used where we might expect the nominative as a direct object: kamkal ūnttaste 'he put a net into it (lit. net-with he-set-it)' (V 118); jowtel ūnttilem 'I'll set a bow for him' (III 20). This is, in fact, an example of a verb which 'governs' the instrumental.

#### 5.217 Translative Case

According to Munkácsi (VNyj 8-9) the translative case has three functions: translative per se (change into something), terminative and adverbial. The last point he illustrates by only one participle: toryenāiy polwasem 'I became cold to the point of shivering'. Since it is extremely difficult to draw a sharp distinction between terminative and translative, and since I have already stated that all cases are used adverbially, I consider this merely an example of translative usage. The present participle appears more or less regularly in this form.

Kálmán recognized this fact and lists only terminative and translative uses, thus eliminating the adverbial (MN 16, CV 28). Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 68) add the important ideas of essive and appointive uses.

I shall consider this case from translative and essive attitudes.

The translative shows primarily the thing, person or condition in a functioning position or after change. The most common usage in available documents is the expression of change from one state to another. Nouns, adjectives and participles share in this function. Examples typical of it are: xumdy ūjey jēntēy 'if they-2 become men and animals' (I 250); puŋke jēntem əlmxōlasey 'his head had become human' (I 251); supey sāyrapawōsem 'I was chopped in two' (I 145); wōtasey jēntes 'it became a blizzard' (II 51); nomte lūley jēntes 'his mind turned bad' (I 13); ujtxatas ta tūrēn māney sālŋkamtaxteŋk<sup>w</sup> 'he dived into his lake to become young again' (I 13).

By *essive* is meant a state or condition which is the result of some kind of change.

A natural relation can be posited for sentences such as: rumay olēw 'we are (as) friends' (III 25); jurtey tuw salten 'come in as a friend' (III 13); xōntey minēyt 'they come as an army' (III 41); taw olēm xumen wojwes 'she was taken by the man who had been leader (lit. as-head been man)' (II 61).

In other cases a judgment forms the basis of the *essive* condition: kūsjiy lawwōsem 'I was named master' (I 325p); xansaŋ sātey nomilem, jāŋk sātey nomilem 'I consider it a colored seven, I consider it a white seven' (I 34); mān piyen nēyey wojwes 'the younger son took her as wife' (I 228); manne xuripay masteste 'she dressed her as a bride' (III 29).

Seasons are the object of another group of constructions: tūjay pusen tōrəmm xālŋxēyt 'in the spring all climb up to god' (I 66); tujey nomsite 'he thinks it is summer' (II 89); tōley nomsite 'he thinks it is winter' (II 89).



## 5.22 Particles

Some particles can modify verbs in an adverbial manner. A few typical examples of this qualification are: wāṅənpāl ūlamane mōśśak<sup>W</sup> śurtəmtawēst 'his shoulder clothes were slit a little' (I 139); ak<sup>W</sup> ta mōlāl ōlem māmen 'to my same former (been) land' (I 141); tās kērim sunt 'already harnessed sled' (II 51); simem sak ōtyelawe 'my heart is very hungry' (I 244); āk<sup>W</sup>e sakanuw lāwti 'his aunt abuses continuously' (III 24); ta lāteṅ ul loruwlēlen 'do not forget this word' (III 29).

## 5.23 Postpositions

Postpositional phrases can be considered as verbal qualifiers from two points of view.

Usually postpositions relate a noun or pronoun to a verb in an adverbial manner. In this way they express temporal, locational, behavioral and other relationships; these may be elucidated by the following examples.

Time: ta sis jalpeṅśak<sup>W</sup> os wāriyli 'in the meantime let the holy fire flood take place' (I 13); tak<sup>W</sup>si pōlne jōṅxup tarmel tōremm tapalōjka nēpakel ta miwe 'in autumn in the freezing month a paper is given to the Tapal Elder by god' (I 67).

Place: jalpeṅ xāl tārt xalnəl nōṅx ti neylesəy 'now they appeared between the roots of the holy birch' (I 21); kolkan koṭlən sunsi 'he looks into the middle of the floor' (II 80).

Manner: tuwl wāpsxum xuril ta śaltəs 'then he entered in the guise of a bridegroom' (III 31); an ampe taw jote juw 'now his dog comes with him' (I 65).

Purpose: nāwram karesey wārxatne māyes wāñnen ālmite 'she lifts a child onto her shoulders in order to appear tall' (V 45).

At times postpositions can also be used absolutely, because they are actually adverbs: ōlen kiwert 'stay inside!' (I 136); āntwoltep pōxən lak<sup>W</sup>ases 'Hornscraper moved to the side' (I 139); ālel susne xumin, ūltta susne nən mana nājk<sup>We</sup> 'to the man looking from afar, to the woman looking across, what a 'doll'' (V 161-2p); xalanelt potertēyt 'they talk with (lit. between) each other' (I 230).

#### 5.24 Converbs

The converb in -im is used in two ways to modify a verbal predicate. Used absolutely it has a temporal meaning coordinate with the verb form it qualifies; it designates a secondary action performed at the same time as the primary action (Rombandejeva JN MJ 355). Kispál states that it is almost subordinate (VIM 351). I would disagree only with the "almost".

Examples of this use are: an ōjka nāl woltim ūnli 'now an old man is sitting, whittling an arrow' (I 67); īāyalim mowwalim juwsaltsen 'talking and laughing, you entered' (I 246); nomim ōnsalen 'keep remembering it' (III 29). In this usage it can modify verb forms which are not finite, as mater sūlyim jinēt sujti 'something is heard coming, rattling as it comes' (I 136).

While the converb refers to the logical subject, it need not refer to the grammatical subject, thus: puuñem ak<sup>W</sup> pāle xolas tawe kinsim 'half of my herd perished while (I) looked for him' (II 95).

The converb is quite common with possessive suffixation which shows the logical subject of verbal action, whether or not the same as

the subject of the finite verb; in this use it is usually associated with the locative suffix -t, as in the following sentences: ōti ōs xujimat nomsī 'again while he is lying down at night, he thinks' (II 93); tuwīe sunsimēt íūnsēŋk pates 'while she looked there, she began to cry' (II 97); tox íāyantimanəŋ ak<sup>w</sup> mat ērt íāyes ... 'while they talked so, suddenly he said' (V 132).

The negative converb is used only in the absolute manner. Examples are: naŋ maner puŋk almtāl xujēyn 'why do you lie there without raising your head?' (I 71); ak<sup>w</sup> koləm xulfs sustāl 'one of my rooms remained unseen' (II 84).

### 5.25 Participles

In a verbal predicate, all participles are used as temporal modifiers. Although quite rare with the present participle, all are capable of suffixation with the locative marker -t with a time significance.

Examples are:

Present participle: ōjka minam jujipālt án piyris jomyesanēt kāsəy xasapsāiŋ pālən pāyxāŋxəs 'after the old man had gone, the boy while playing climbed up on a sleeping bench with a curtain' (II 97).

Past participle: ... poseŋ tōrəm ōlment tamle jiw at janiymi, tamle pum at janiymi 'when you were in the world of light, no such tree grew, no such grass grew' (II 104-5); juwí āŋk<sup>w</sup> atamēt noxsāmpə sākāpəm 'when he looked back, his sable hound had cnoaked' (I 69).

Past passive participle: totimēt sāli tumajtī 'while he pulled, the reindeer reflects' (I 228); minimēt nomsī 'while he went, he thinks' (II 91).

Sosva Participial Functions

<u>Participle</u>	<u>Ending</u>	<u>Tense</u>	<u>Voice</u> <u>Active</u>	<u>Passive</u>	<u>Inflection</u> <u>Possession</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Use</u> <u>Nominal</u>	<u>Adjectival</u>	<u>Adverbial</u>
Present	-n(e)	Coordinate	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Past	-(e, a)m	Past	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Past Passive	-im(a)	Past		x	x		x		x	
Temporal	-ke-	Coordinate	x		(x) only one example		x			x
Converb	-im	Coordinate								x
Negative Converb	-tāl	Coordinate							x	x

The -ke- participle can be used only as the equivalent of a temporal clause or adverb of time (Rombandejeva JN MJ 355). Examples of its rare occurrence are: wōrt jalkemēnt ēri 'it is necessary when we wander in the forest' (III 21); mēji mōlal jun ōlkemēnt ekWaymēn mēji nupelmēn mana mōrts fāwtōy 'when we-2 were at home recently, how badly our wives have been abusing us' (III 25).

### 5.26 Infinitives

In all but their rare occurrence as subjects and as direct or indirect imperatives, infinitives can be considered as verbal complements. They form complements to give form to an introductory verb of general meaning, and add the idea of purpose to some verbs.

Among the general verbs which are usually completed by an infinitive are: ālimaŋkWe 'have time', ēreŋkWe 'be necessary', jēmtēŋkWe 'become', nomelmateŋkWe 'intend', nomseŋkWe 'think (of)', pateŋkWe 'begin', rōweŋkWe 'be able', taŋxuŋkWe 'want', tumajtaŋkWe 'consider', wērmeŋkWe 'allow', and xānseŋkWe 'know (how)'.

A few examples of these in use are: liŋkWe at ālimes 'she did not have time to shoot' (I 151); ti pūt wiŋkWe ēri 'this kettle must be taken' (III 21, 25); xōtal ti ūntēŋkWe jēmtēm 'the sun had begun to set' (II 54); ēryeŋkWe ti nowes 'now he began to sing' (V 132); tēŋkWe taŋxēyen 'do you want to eat?' (I 243).

Infinitives are frequently used to express the purpose for which the action of the main verb is performed; these differ from complementary infinitives by the fact that the verbs which govern them do not normally govern an infinitive; verbs of motion often require this construction. Examples are: tawl pornē puŋkātneŋ puwweste sirail sayreŋkWe

'then he grabbed the Por-woman by the hair to cut her down with the sword' (I 212); mōsnēn siniytawes ańiylaŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'the Mosh-woman embraced him to kiss him' (I 211); tuw ujtatas ta tūrēn māney sāŋkamtaxteŋk<sup>W</sup> 'he bathed in that lake of his to rejuvenate himself' (I 13); íūńseŋk<sup>W</sup> xujiypes 'she threw herself down to cry' (I 218); kaŋkayēn puwes rāteŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'he was seized by his older brothers to be beaten' (V 112); xōntlaŋk<sup>W</sup> os jali ta xāpēt 'let him go to war with this boat of his' (I 220); án kolēn kinseŋk<sup>W</sup> ta minas 'now he went to look for their tent' (I 151).

The infinitive alone can be used in a question with an idea of purpose (Collinder SUL 332); my only example of this is mil wōŋkanel ... xum mus nōŋxpateŋk<sup>W</sup> 'how does one get out of the deep ditch?' (I 270p).

Infinitives are often used with the passive voice of patēŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'begin' in a periphrastic construction which supplements for the lack of passive infinitives. Examples of this are: nōŋxāí ti toteŋk<sup>W</sup> patwēsey 'now they began to be carried upward' (I 21); án taijane wāylttaŋk<sup>W</sup>e patwēset 'now their followers began to be killed' (I 258); āsēn ōs ta kitiylaŋk<sup>W</sup> patwes 'he began to be questioned by his father again' (I 70).

Infinitives can be used independently or dependently to express commands and prohibitions. This seems to be a softened form of command, and may be taken more in the nature of a suggestion or piece of advice. Possessive suffixes may be added to the infinitive in the independent construction (Munkácsi VNyj 42), though Chernetsov considers this form archaic (M(V)J 188).

Examples of the independent construction are: ēt kofí jujpālt konk<sup>W</sup>aleŋk<sup>W</sup> 'go out after midnight!' (I 138); sāt xōtal sis turman

wāreŋk<sup>w</sup> 'make it dark for seven days' (I 14); juw <sup>á</sup>salteŋk<sup>w</sup>ēte 'let him come in' (II 58); ti kāten, ti lāylen tot <sup>ō</sup>nsōŋk<sup>w</sup>en 'would that you had these arms and legs of yours there' (II 53).

Examples of the dependent construction are: sāp<sup>i</sup>w toteŋk<sup>w</sup> mētne kēti 'she sends a servant-girl to fetch decayed wood' (I 219); ājiŋxumpiyt <sup>í</sup>āywēst kūsaijanelen nāŋkjiwnor <sup>sā</sup>yreŋk<sup>w</sup> 'the weapon-boys were told by their master to chop down larch trees' (I 70); āyite <sup>lā</sup>weste xansaŋ <sup>sās</sup> xanseŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'she told her daughter to decorate birch bark' (I 256); ōlmxōlas āyi <sup>tē</sup>ŋk<sup>w</sup>e at <sup>tā</sup>ratitēn 'they-2 do not allow the human girl to eat' (I 255); mān <sup>tō</sup>rēm̄n <sup>lā</sup>wwesuw <sup>nēm</sup> <sup>xotti</sup> <sup>xumn</sup> at <sup>ale</sup>ŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'we have been told by god not to be killed by any man' (II 153).

## CHAPTER VI

## EQUATIONAL PREDICATES

Equational or nominal clauses lack a finite verb; instead of a verb, a nominal element (noun, pronoun, adjective, participle) or adverb is found. Equational clauses are usually found in relation to third person concepts, but may be first or second person. Sometimes equational clauses are used as completely independent sentences, at other times as adjuncts to expressed ideas of seeing, finding, hearing, etc. in general situations where we would expect constructions of direct or indirect discourse in Indo-European languages.

## 6.1 Noun Phrase Predicates

Noun phrases appear to be the most common type of nominal element in an equational clause. The noun can be in any number, and at times appears in an oblique case; it can also be suffixed with possessive markers. Some examples are: wārmaley noxšāmp '(it is a) real sable-hound' (III 21); xūrem nōwǎpūl '(there are) three pieces of meat' (I 144); an totim nē mōśnē 'now the woman (who) took it (was) a Mosh-woman' (I 228); mān owellunt, owelwās alne xumiγ 'we (are) two men killing our first goose, our first duck' (V 107, twice); sāt jūswuj íūlit tōrem āšem 'seven eagles high (is) the god my father' (II 156); ti maner wārne ūmpin 'what is your spoon for (lit. this what doing spoon-your)?' (V 112); jowte nāle ōs kātet 'her bow and arrows are also in her hand' (I 152).

To point out emphatic existence the verb ōleŋkʷe 'to be' is used where a nominal might be expected as predicate: akʷ ti āš ōli, akʷ ti posal ōli, akʷ ti mir ōlēyt 'they are the same Ob, the same tributary,



the same people' (I 20); am polemtōrem ōjka ōsem 'I am the old man deity of the Pelym' (I 65); nān xūrem nē ti ōlijin 'you are three women' (I 223).

## 6.2 Pronoun Predicates

Wherever a noun can occur predicatively in a nominal clause, so can a pronoun. However, personal pronouns do not usually occur finally in such clauses, but are followed by the demonstrative tij 'this here' or tā 'that there'; these may also be used with nouns and adjectives, but less commonly.

Examples of this construction are: mikoltōrem am tij 'I here am the god Nikolas' (I 250); am ōnsēm pivem naŋ tij 'you here are my own son' (I 212); tine tij 'it's price is this' (III 22, 25); pōtpinnutanel tā 'that is their tax payment' (V 132); naŋ samwitan am kāt pattāmet tit tijt 'your tears are these, here in the palm of my hand' (II 98).

In jevāyi, naŋ-a 'Sister, is it you?' (II 50), the -a in place of tij is the occasional interrogative or vocative particle. The tij may be omitted in poetry: kūsaj naŋ 'you are the leader' (I 272p).

## 6.3 Adjective Predicates

Adjectives in equational predicates agree in number with the antecedents to which they refer. Here are a few examples: ti šaŋk<sup>M</sup>em āymeŋ 'this part of me is sore' (I 262); sunem manarey tārwiteŋ 'why is my sled heavy?' (II 102); taw osmare saka sāv 'his tricks are very many' (III 26).

Numerals can also be used in this position: nēn ōlne kitey, nēn māŋ witeŋ kitey 'you being two, you are both with land and water' (II 88).

#### 6.4 Participial Predicates

Very often present and past participles, functioning as adjectives, form nominal predicates. Like adjectives they agree with their subjects in number. When the present participle is used, it often equals a perfect tense; when the past participle is used, it is often equivalent to a pluperfect tense (Kálmán MN 25; Rombandejeva JN MJ 355). In these cases the use of the participle instead of a finite verb form indicates that the speaker has not seen the action (Chernetsov MJ 185; Rombandejeva JN MJ 353). Examples of this type of predicate are: sánayn ásayn jomas sawalanetēn 'your mother and your father have suffered enough' (I 218); jiwjopali sáyrimē 'a carving had been whittled' (I 251); piye alime, sas alimēy 'his son had been killed, both had been killed' (II 103); ánmaleñ ok<sup>w</sup>ay ojkay saka matmoy 'there are an old man and woman, very aged' (II 62); nōwít takem ástent 'the (pieces of) meat are so done' (III 22); tawki kol sisēt ánmaleñ xujam 'behold, he had slept behind his own house' (II 54); tājem wārne tājensawaket taytalanet 'racks for drying fish are hanging up' (I 20); pusen sak<sup>w</sup>atimat 'all were crushed' (I 145).

The caritive or negative participle can also be used in this manner, but, as it does not normally permit suffixation, any agreement must be shown by another word: kāteñ iñ sōmtāl 'your arm(s) (are) still powerless' (I 141); mirmēn wāytāl patmet 'our people have become powerless' (I 71).

### 6.5 Adverbial Predicates

Adverbs may also be used in equational clauses. These are not common in our corpus, but their occurrence does not seem unusual: aki joy ākway jun 'the uncle and aunt are at home' (II 54); ta xurip kās akway 'such great fun is everywhere' (I 222).

## CHAPTER VII

## CLAUSE AND PHRASE STRUCTURE

Chernetsov (M(V)J 187-9) makes the statement that Vogul word order is "more stable" than that of Russian. He maintains that a direct object always follows the subject (unless the object is an accusative form), the predicate is always final, and the attribute always precedes the word it modifies. The indirect object and complements of time and place are not strictly fixed; in addition a lative of agent can precede the subject of a passive verb.

According to Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 184), sentence elements take the following positions (in both verbal and nominal clauses):

Time    Subject    Place    Object    Manner    Predicate.

This agrees with Chernetsov, but Balandin-Wahrushewa add that word order can be changed for emphasis and to coincide with Russian word order. Changes include moving the predicate to a position before the subject or verbal qualifiers: adverbs, complements and infinitives. They also assert, partially overlapping Chernetsov, that adverbs of place and direct and indirect objects are mutually interchangeable.

Rombandejeva, more strictly concerned with her native Sygva dialect than with literary Vogul, says that if both subject and object are animate, the former must precede; otherwise they can be transposed. The instrumental directly precedes the verb. The verb may be shifted from the end of a clause by a word chosen for logical stress (JN MJ 357-8).

The above three authors deal with word order from a native standpoint. A foreign scholar, Kálmán (CV 50), basically establishes word order in three generalizations: the attribute precedes the modified word,

the predicate comes last preceded in order from left to right by the subject and the object, and verbal prefixes (possibly followed by negative and other particles) precede the verb. He further states that adverbs and adverbial phrases may precede or follow the subject, while a stressed object may precede the subject. He lists at, ul 'not', ta 'then', xun 'when' and -ke 'if' as separating the verbal prefix from the verb.

The details of these four scholars' analyses can be summarized by stating that the main tendency is for the attribute to precede the head. In this sense the head of a sentence is normally its predicate; as exemplified in Chapter V, all other words grammatically related to a finite verb can be considered its attributes. It is also for this reason that dependent clauses usually precede independent clauses.

Thus it is obviously a change in the position of the predicate which would stress some other element in a sentence. Balandin-Waxrushewa (MJ 185) show this in several sentences intended to stress a normally subordinate element; they also demonstrate the role of the attribute as a regular precursor of its head (I have underlined only the predicates below):

1. Koln śaltas xastal xum; 'into-house entered-he unknown man'.
2. Man asuw juw joxtes eti; 'we father-our home came-he at-night'.
3. Ten onsey kit jayayi; 'they-2 they-2-have two sister'.
4. Minew jomas íēŋx kinseŋk<sup>w</sup>e; 'let's go good path to-seek'.

Normal order for these sentences would be: 1. Xastal xum koln śaltas. 2. Man asuw eti juw joxtes. 3. Ten kit jayayi onsey. 4. Jomas íēŋx kinseŋk<sup>w</sup>e minew. Note that the individual heads and their attributes retain the same positions relative to each other.

In Sosva, too, we find the same types of exceptions, examples of which follow: subject last, tot i alawet an máxum 'then the people are killed there' (I 205); object last, núnsim maneyti xús 'squatting she picks marsh calla' (I 34); time first, ōwlēt mater porat jalpeḷsák<sup>w</sup> ta wāriyles 'in the beginning at some time, the holy fire flood occurred' (I 13); place first, kolaisēt ōli ... tūr 'behind his house is a lake' (I 13); place last, nōḷpxāḷpxes kolalan 'he climbed up onto the roof of the house' (I 142); infinitive last, tuwl pornē puḷkātneḷ puwaste sirail sayreḷk<sup>w</sup>e 'then the Por-woman was seized by the hair to cur (her) with the knife' (I 212).

## 7.1 Phrase Structure

The previous statements show that the main rule of phrase structure is that the attribute precedes the modified word; in addition, each attribute may be preceded by its own attributes.

### 7.11 Noun as Head

Pronoun + noun. Pronouns are often used before nouns to express the notion of possession. In this type of phrase, the noun usually is suffixed with the possessive marker referring to the person of the pronoun: naḷ āsen 'your father' (II 64); taw luwe 'his horse' (II 81); māji jōranuw 'our powers' (III 26); but, am towleḷ ūj lāyleḷ ūj alne āpsí 'my younger brother who hunts birds and animals' (II 95).

Noun + noun. Three functions are expressed by this type of phrase: possession, quality, apposition.

When two nouns are in immediate sequence, or separated only by qualifiers of the second noun, the first frequently expresses

'ownership' of the second. The first may have any possessive marker or number marker required by the context, while the second may have a possessive marker referring to the first. It is more common for the second noun to be used in the absolute, i.e. unpossessed form: ōjka sāvrapūs 'the man's axe' (I 249); ūseŋ ōter ōjka piyeŋ āmp 'the dog of the two sons of the town prince' (II 21, twice); tī xum āmp 'this man's dog' (I 64); janiŋ ōjk ōk<sup>w</sup>a 'the old man's wife' (II 65); but sūmjaxanel tātel kurssipanel 'the bare walls of their storehouses' (I 203) with the possessive suffix -anel 'their' twice.

Often a noun is used in a similar construction, but without the idea of actual possession. Instead it indicates a quality expressed by the first noun and found in the second. No possessive suffix is found on the second noun referring to the first, though there can be a possessive suffix in accord with a mentioned or known owner. Examples of this are: ēlmxōlas āyik<sup>w</sup>e 'the human girl' (I 221); jōŋxpos ēt 'a moonlit night' (I 21); wōrtōlnut nāwrameŋ 'two bear cubs' (I 255).

If two nouns, or a pronoun and a noun, in succession denote the same person or thing, they are in apposition (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 192). In this case a suitable possessive marker may be found on a word referring to a kinship term, whether first or second. Examples are: numitōrem āsen 'the great god your father' (I 262); mānpiye, mirsusnēxum 'his younger son, the world-watcher' (I 13); ūseŋ ōter ās piŋ xumim 'the son of the town prince, my husband' (I 220); sōrni xum āsuw 'the golden khan, our father' (I 63); akitōjk 'his uncle (lit. uncle-his-old-man)' (II 54, 58); naŋ, piyk<sup>w</sup>e 'you, little boy' (II 97); tūlmax lūsemxum 'a robber, a man from the Lozva region' (I 151).

Any type of adjective, qualitative, indefinite, demonstrative, etc. can precede a head noun: janij ək<sup>w</sup>a 'big woman' (I 151); luweŋ xum 'a man with a horse' (III 29); tōli xōtal 'wintry day' (II 96); ti xum 'this man' (I 64); maner ūj 'whatever animal' (I 210); mater sir pum 'what kind of grass' (I 216).

Numbers, cardinal and ordinal, as well as other words of quantity, are attributes in noun phrases: xūrem xum 'three men' (I 213); atit xōtal 'fifth day' (I 217); sāw sūmjax 'seven storehouses' (I 245).

Very often nouns are modified by participles in any form: masem xum 'a man dressed' (I 63); ūnttim kol 'a house built' (I 62); ūnlen xum 'sitting man' (I 63); alne tumain 'your killing plan' (II 101).

## 7.12 Adjective as Head

Adjectives may have nouns and adverbs as attributes.

Noun attributes are of two types, indicative of size, or cognate. Examples of the first type are: tōrem-ma janit janij jā<sup>w</sup>kelma 'a marsh as big as the size of heaven and earth' (I 70); tōrem-ma janit janij tūr 'a lake as big as the size of heaven and earth' (I 69); mān tūr janit janij kol 'a house the size of a small lake' (IV 217p).

Cognate noun attributes are of the type sāt xārp xāreŋ sarek 'a hundred male reindeer reindeer herd' (I 203).

Adverbial attribution of adjectives is exemplified by the following: ta kem pālpey (translative) 'so sharp' (I 212); mośśa janvey (translative) 'a little big' (I 210); sar ater 'very bright' (I 67); saka íēn 'very lazy' (II 109); saka mat 'a large amount (lit. very some)' (I 246).



Comparative phrases are formed of an ablative plus an adjective in the positive in Vogul (Raun EETH 156; Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 79). No example of this construction occurs with an adjective (though there is one with an adverb) in my entire corpus.

### 7.13 Postposition as Head

Postpositions, for the most part, form a special class of nouns and are limited to the noun/pronoun + noun possessive construction mentioned in 7.11. In case some doubt be expressed about a postposition being a head, qualification by a possessive suffix in concord with a preceding noun or pronoun is a good indication; this argument is strengthened by the occurrence of postposition plus possessive suffix as a postpositional phrase with a possessive suffix but without an expressed nominal qualifier.

All postpositions in Sosva are preceded by the nominative case (basic case of nouns and nominative of personal pronouns, Rombandjeva JN MJ 355); the postposition usually takes the possessive marker of a pronoun 'object' but not of a noun. Examples are: taw toryele 'toward him' (I 152); taw nupele 'toward her' (I 220); mēn jotmēn 'with us' (V 103); āse nupel 'to his father' (II 127); āyite jot 'with his daughter' (V 186).

The object of a postposition can be double in some cases: tai man tai māves 'for this or that' (I 70); rak<sup>w</sup>tul wōttul xalanēn 'between the rain cloud and the wind cloud' (V 38p).

At least one postposition can be the head of a phrase with an adverbial attribute: konel ūlt 'from outside' (II 129); xotel ūlt 'from where' (I 210).

#### 7.14 Adverbial Particle as Head

Some adverbial particles can be used as heads with other adverbs as attributes. Often the head verb is in the comparative form: mośsak<sup>W</sup> tuwnuw (I 211), mōś totnuw 'II 94), moś tuwnuw (II 115), all meaning 'a little farther', as does mośsak<sup>W</sup> ēla (I 211); moś ōs tiynuw 'a little closer' (II 125). However the comparative form is not necessary and regular positive forms are more common: tup tox lāwses 'only thus spoke he' (I 68).

A number of adverbial phrases of manner are formed by placing ak<sup>W</sup> 'one' in front of a simple adverb. An example of this is ak<sup>W</sup> tox 'one thus' as in: ōs ak<sup>W</sup> tox juw ālmawes 'she was brought in again in the same way' (I 225).

#### 7.15 Verb as Head

The subject and object of a verb could be considered types of attributes; it is in this sense that they normally precede the verb. Here, however, only other types of verb phrases will be considered.

The examples used in Chapter V, section 5.2, adequately elucidate the verb as head with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and postpositions as attributes.

Two questions which remain to be resolved are the relative position of various adverbs, prefixes and particles as well as the position of so-called verbal prefixes before and after the verb.

It has been noted by Munkácsi (VNyj 28) and since (e.g. Kálmán CV 50) that negative particles separate a verbal prefix from a verb and that demonstrative and interrogative particles may do so; however the complete situation does not seem to have been examined closely.

Position of Adverbs and Particles before Verb

<u>Time</u>	<u>Manner</u>	<u>General Place</u>	<u>Specific Place</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Demonstrative</u>	<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Source</u>
ōs	ak <sup>w</sup> tox		juw				again likewise in	(I 225)
ōs	ak <sup>w</sup> tox				ta ... ta		again likewise both ... and	(I 222)
ōs			juw		ti		again home then	(I 151)
		tuwl	kon		ta		from-there out then	(I 151)
		tuwl	pāy		ta		from-there ashore now	(I 202)
wāssey		tit		at			more here not	(I 232)
jāta			juw		ti		now in then	(I 222)
kos	xomi					os	when over may	(I 20)
	tōna			at	ti		therefore not then	(I 224)
	wos			at	ti		even not then	(I 235)
		tuw	nōŋx		ta		thither up now	(I 263)
		tiy	jol				hither down	(I 225)
		tuw		at	ti		thither not then	(I 224)
		tuw				i	thither indeed	(I 204)
			nōŋx	ul		os	up not may	(I 14)

A careful study shows a generalized division into seven consistent, though not absolutely rigorous, categories; time, manner, general place, specific place, negative and restrictive, demonstrative, emphatic. The following chart shows many of the possible combinations.

It should be noted that this order is almost absolute in the case of two modifiers. Exceptions are more apparent than real. For example, juw tūp 'inside hardly' (I 253) seems to be rejection of the manner-place order; however, words like tūp 'hardly, only', āla 'almost', woril 'barely' show restriction rather than manner and thus fit the system perfectly.

When there are three modifiers, exceptions occur which can sometimes be explained by attribution. In nālw nas ul 'into-water simply not' (I 231), nas suggests manner and should precede nālw, but in this case actually seems to be an attribute of ul.

In the Sosva texts of WV I, there are sixteen cases of prefixes following the verb to which they refer; these come from a succession of 1788 sentences, thus represent less than one example per hundred sentences. None of them are used after a non-finite verb form. Two informants, Tasmanov and Atjin, account for all but two of the examples, with Vingalev (like Atjin, from Sartynja) furnishing the other two.

Sixty percent of them are final, evidently for emphasis, just as with any other word (see Chapter VII). The extremely low percentage suggests, certainly, that they are probably no more common following the verb than any other randomly chosen part of speech might be. A couple of examples point out their use: taw saltes juw 'she went in' (I 261), but the context previous to this sentence gives no reason for her entry;

hence it was unexpected. Another is perhaps a deliberate attempt at chiasmus: ōjkate wōrt jals i joxtes juw 'the old man went into the forest and home he came' (I 252). A third type of example suggests finality: taw ta pōrmāst wisāne xot 'she took the things away (and left them)' (I 251). With imperatives this position seems to have the force of stressing a command: minen juw 'go home!' (I 65); k<sup>w</sup>ālen kon 'get out!' (I 136).

At other times the prefix follows the verb, but does not seem to end the sentence (presumably because of intonation); the prefix seems to be acting as a correlative adverbial conjunction. Examples of this are: joxtest tuw, pāyk<sup>w</sup>ālset 'they arrived there, they went ashore' (I 202); taw minas juw, juw šaltes 'she came home, in she went' (I 262). At other times it seems to express a continuing series of actions: ān tūlmax lūsemxum tārmats jola, ǐōl<sup>h</sup>xe xosit ta xājts 'now the robber, the Lozva man, let himself down, then he ran along the path' (I 152); ān jiwjopali wiste, ālmāste nōl<sup>h</sup>xa, kona totaste 'now she took the carving, lifted it up, took it outside' (I 251).

As a random check on these facts, WV V was chosen for more examples. The entire prose section of this volume, much more limited than WV I, produced six examples of a final verbal prefix, all from Atjin. Five of the six are sentence final. One is emphatic (V 272, note 12) introducing a further fact, kaŋkēn āŋk<sup>w</sup>atawes juwle: ātim 'his brother looked behind him(self) for him: he is not there' (V 68).

A final conclusion which can be drawn here is that there is no verbal prefix in Sosva which is not just an adverbial alternate; they follow the normal rules of adverb and particle usage, which permit them

to follow the verb for emphasis. Furthermore, as shown in the chart of relative adverbial position before verbs, they are displaced as prefixes in exactly the same situations as other adverbs and particles.

In other word the Sosva dialect of Vogul does not possess any exclusive verbal prefixes.

## 7.2 Clause Equivalentents

Subordinate verbal ideas in Vogul are often expressed by verbal noun phrases rather than by dependent clauses (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 218-9; Rombandejeva JN MJ 355). To a large extent this parataxis takes the place of temporal and relative clauses found in Indo-European languages (Collinder IUL 64). The word order of a participial phrase mimics the word order of a normal independent clause; the main difference is the replacement of a finite verb by a participle.

### 7.21 Relative Participial Phrases

In a relative phrase, the logical subject or object of a finite verb becomes the head of a phrase with a participle as its attribute, along with any complements the latter may have.

Examples:

Participial Phrase	Clause
<u>nār xōwtneł ūnttim kol</u> (I 62)	<u>nār xōwtneł kol ūnttes</u> (Object)
'thin pdne-from built house'	'thin pine-from house he-built';
<u>puŋkey ōlem xumən</u> (II 61)	<u>xum puŋkey ōls</u> (subject)
'as-head been man-by'	'the man was leader (lit. as-head).

Other examples of relative participial phrases are: winawot wārim xum 'the man who had committed the crime (lit. crime committed man)' (I 65); ak<sup>w</sup> mus olne nāj 'a fire which burns constantly (lit always being fire)' (I 64-5); ōwl alam ūim 'the first animal I killed' (II 91).

Phrases of this type exhibit one typical change in case. Whenever the first noun expresses the agent of the action contained in the verb, a lative noun could be expected, as the participle then has passive meaning, and this sometimes occurs, as in nīla xumen, xūrem xumen alntālne pūt 'a pot to be carried by three or four men' (I 144).

More commonly we find a nominative form which can then be construed as a possessive noun as in: pornē tūlmantam piye 'the boy stolen by the Por-woman (lit. the Por-woman's stolen boy)' (I 211); tōrem lāum sāv ēt 'the many nights created by god' (I 64).

## 7.22 Temporal Participial Phrases

Temporal participles follow the same pattern as relative participles, but actually function as nouns in the locative case. Their subjects are represented by nouns and pronouns in a possessive construction with possessive suffixes on the participles. They also have an unrestricted range of complements.

Examples of these phrases are: juwle āṅk<sup>w</sup>atamēt 'when he looked back (lit. backward looked-his-at)' (I 69); tox ūlimāt 'while he sat thus' (I 67); juw joxtematēt 'when the two of them came home' (I 219); mēji mōlal jun ōlkemēt 'when the two of us were at home before' (III 25).

### 7.23 Participial Objects of Postpositions

Participial phrases, with any of the previously mentioned complementation and normally with possessive suffixes, can also be the objects of postpositions. In this case the postposition does not have a possessive suffix, though it will often have a locative suffix indicating time when. The use of these phrases is shown by: nōlx roxtēp-taxtamēt ert 'after she had awakened' (II 50); ti lātēl lāwne porat 'while this word is pronounced' (I 330); ńāl tāratame mus 'while he shot the arrow' (I 68); ta mā ōlnēt palitel 'while that land lasts (lit. that land being-its length-from)' (I 34); taw miname jujipālt 'when he had gone' (I 64); ńāwram karssey wārxatne māyes 'to make the child tall' (V 45).

### 7.24 Converb Phrases

Converbs in -im and negative converbs in -tāl are attributes of nouns and verbs. Although they have their own attributes, they never take the possessive suffixes of nouns preceding them. Examples are: taw samaye sunsim luw 'the horse seen by his eyes' (II 129); tētal ta ūsset 'they starved to death (lit. without-eating then they-died)' (I 203); puŋke alēmtāl ńāl wolti 'he whittles an arrow without raising his head' (V 132); tūlmax lūsemxum alślim jali 'the robber, the Lozva man, goes hunting' (I 149).



## CHAPTER VIII

## CONJUNCTION

Conjunction in Vogul is mainly a matter of parataxis. Not only words, but also clauses, are connected in this manner and completely native Vogul material shows very little evidence of any real conjunction with special words, i.e. conjunctions.

There are fewer than a dozen real conjunctions in Kannisto's Sosva materials, even when we count the compound forms. They are: xuń, kos 'when'; ta kos, ti kos 'although'; (a)man 'whether, or'; āti 'or'; ate 'nor'.

In modern times, because of Russian influence, some former adverbs have assumed conjunctive meanings, e.g. ōs, formerly 'also', now 'and'. Other conjunctions, i, a 'and', no 'but', have been directly borrowed from Russian (Rombandejeva JN MJ 358; Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 122, 166).

Collinder (IUL 63-4) lists four of the means of coordination generally used in Uralic in place of conjunction. They are juxtaposition, identical suffixation, qualifier plus coordinate, and comitative endings. In addition to this we may say that Vogul makes frequent use of ellipsis.

## 8.1 Asyndeton

By asyndeton I mean the juxtaposition of coordinate elements inside one clause with no formal means of conjunction, i.e. without a conjunction or conjunctive device such as Latin -que. Four types seem to exist in Vogul: completely unmarked, second element suffixed with a suffix applicable to both words, both elements marked individually with the same suffix, and both elements marked by repetition of a common head or common attribute. I shall refer to these respectively as:

unmarked asyndeton, periodic suffixation, serial suffixation, and doubling or anaphora.

### 8.11 Unmarked Asyndeton

Because of the highly inflectional nature of Vogul, examples of this construction are not as plentiful as might be presumed. Actually it is limited to the nominative or absolute forms of inflectional words and to non-inflectional words. A few examples of this are puuŋ śun 'wealth riches' (II 82); xāssi taŋk<sup>w</sup> 'mould moss' (I 21); ēlipal jujipal 'before after (i.e. other times)' (I 70); suŷya śārka 'bottle and cup' (II 83, 88); tēp wit 'food (and) water' (I 217).

### 8.12 Periodic Suffixation

Collinder states that one Finno-Ugric conjunctive device is the addition of a case ending to only the last member of a pair; he gives Estonian and Ostyak examples (IUL 56-7), but this applies also to Sosva Vogul. This device is very aptly described by the German word Suffix-lockerheit 'suffix-lack-ness' (Liimola HF 23). As previously mentioned (7.11), this is sometimes the situation in appositive noun phrases. The first two examples given below are written as one word, but this is a phonetic fiction: sūpnālemtāl 'without speaking (lit. mouth-tongue-without)' (I 246); uŷawittāl 'without fire and water' (III 29). Other examples are: oxsar lūtēl masxatim ōli 'he is dressed with fox and other things' (V 39); tēn ajnutel 'with eating and drinking things' (III 41).

## 8.13 Serial Suffixation

Words in succession with the same final suffix are often used in a conjunctive manner. One of the most common illustrations of this is the dual affix, repeated on each of the members of a natural or customary pair, to show that they are in close relationship. This particular aspect of the dual has been mentioned by many authors (i.e. Somogyi VKE 4 ff.; Collinder IUL 63). It could also be claimed that 8.11 should be considered a submember of this group, because its coordinate lack of marking also constitutes pairing.

Typical examples of the dual used in this manner are: nēyey xumiy 'woman and man' (V 182); āk<sup>w</sup>ay ojkay 'woman and husband' (I 230); akijaym āk<sup>w</sup>aym 'my uncle and aunt' (II 52); śaśayn āśayn 'your mother and father' (I 218); koləyn sūmjaxəyn 'into the house and larder' (II 57); śārkay sufyay 'bottle and cup' (II 85).

Examples of other similarly used suffixes are: plural, āyit piyet 'daughters and sons' (V 235p); paítat sirait 'coats and swords' (II 103); possessive suffixes, kātanel lāylanel 'their arms and legs' (I 71); luwane nōwíane 'her bones and flesh' (I 255); case, nālel jōwtel 'with arrow and bow' (III 34); tēnutel ajnutel 'with food and drink' (I 230); attributive adjectives, māll wítałl kitey 'two (people) with land and water (lit. landed watered two)' (II 88); participles, tajimat ajimat 'while he ate and drank' (I 137); gerund, lāyalim mowwalim 'talking and laughing' (I 246).

This construction is not limited to two words: pułkanl, wíłtanl, kātanel 'their heads, brows, arms' (I 213).

## 8.14 Doubling

Doubling is a process which occurs on a phrase and clause level in Sosva. It is based on the logical concept that the repetition has two heads or two attributes; one element, either head or attribute, is repeated, while the other is varied. Doubling may also include any of the previous conjunctive devices: asyndetic, periodic and serial.

The examples below are classified into main types:

Nouns, sēr wor mor wor 'dark forest thick forest' (I 247), cf. sēr mur wōr 'dark thick forest' (I 255); soreŋ tēp māyeŋ tēp 'beer-y food honey food' (II 78); xajtnē tul, minnē tul 'running cloud, going cloud' (II 80); ńila tal, at tal nāŋkjiw 'a four fathom, five fathom larch' (I 141-2); sēmēl ūj wiyer ūj 'black animal, red animal' (I 62); mire lūtēt, jiwe lūtēt 'with people and everything, with wood and everything' (I 232).

Adjectives, wowta nuj wowta jārmākel 'with thin cloth, thin silk' (II 55); maner tumaj, maner nomt 'what thought, what idea' (I 139).

Postpositions, tēnetēn xalt, ajnetēn xalt 'while the two of them eat and drink' (II 81), cf. tēnetēn ajnetēn xalt (II 83).

Verbal nouns, nē rowtāl xum rowtāl mān 'to a land untouched by man or woman' (II 153).

Nominal clauses, ak<sup>W</sup> sup āmp, ak<sup>W</sup> sup ēlmxōlas 'one half is dog, one half is human' (I 228); ak<sup>W</sup> pale at xum, ak<sup>W</sup> pale at xum 'five men on one side, five men on one (the other) side' (I 222); kāteŋ iŋ sōmtāl, lāylen iŋ sōmtāl 'your arms are still weak, your legs are still weak' (I 141); tāle sāt, tuwe sāt 'the winters are seven, the summers are seven' (I 220).

Verbal clauses, man śes ōńśi, man kās ōńśi 'what honor has it, what joy has it?' (I 233); ūsen neyles, pāwlen neyles 'he appeared in a town, he appeared in a village' (I 248); tōnut kinsjin, ajnut kinsjin 'you seek food, you seek drink' (I 230); tōremn tēlem, mān tēlem janiy nāŋk 'a large larch grown into the sky, grown into the earth' (I 144-5).

## 8.2 Word Conjunction

Word conjunction in Sosva is limited to nouns, pronouns, numbers, adverbs and verbs. The few conjunctions can be divided into two groups: those which are restricted to finite verbs, and those which can be used for any of the above mentioned parts of speech.

Non-finite verb forms are always connected by serial suffixation, as shown in 8.13. Finite verbs will be elucidated below in 8.3.

The only conjunction which can unite any part of speech, with the above restrictions, is (a)man 'or'; Kálmán, too, in his more general work makes mention of only this conjunction (CV 38).

Examples with this conjunction are: aman tul aman mā 'either cloud or land' (II 89); man luweŋ xum, man sāliŋ xum, man āmpelŋ xum 'either a man with a horse, or a man with a reindeer, or a man with a dog' (I 217); sōrye man pukite 'his belly or his stomach' (I 69); tai man tai māys 'for this or that' (I 70); kit man xūrem sōs 'two or three times' (I 242); kit man xūrem xōtaley 'for two or three days' (I 216); xosa man wāti '(for a) long or short (time)' (I 216).

### 8.3 Clause Conjunction

Clauses within one sentence may be related in Vogul with or without a conjunction; lack of a conjunction is more common (Romban-dejeva JN MJ 358).

Real conjunctions are limited to the words listed in 8.0, plus the enclitic -ke 'if'. Pronominal adjectives in various case forms are used to join clauses. They are in the nominative case for series sequence compound sentences and in oblique cases for complex sentences.

Clauses within the same sentence, depending upon their relationship to each other, form complex and compound sentences. More complicated sentences may be compound-complex.

### 8.4 Compound Sentence

Compound sentences are successions of individual, independent clauses, each of which has its own predicate. Three main types can be distinguished in Sosva Vogul. Series sequence compound sentences contain clauses which state a succession of events or several events occurring separately at the same time; intonation and coordinate tense structure are two marks of this type of sentence (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 227). Kannisto himself must have recognized this type of sentence by its intonational pattern. Parallel or balanced compound sentences include clauses with a common structure which often contain coordinate correlative words. Direct quotations, consisting of an introductory quotation word and followed by the quotation itself, form the third group of compound sentences.

## 8.41 Series Sequence Compound Sentence

These sentences are usually strings of short clauses, sometimes only the length of one verb, connected or not by pronominal adjectives. Examples are: tuw śalti, mowwali, ōs tuw śalti, ōs mowwinti ak<sup>W</sup>ay 'she goes in there, smiles, goes in there again, continues to smile again' (III 31); juw ta minas, juw joxtes 'he went home then, he reached home' (III 36); pūt wāsej, tēsej, ajsej 'they-2 put on the kettle, ate, drank' (III 39-40); xōtal ūnttete, tuwl ōtīmes, tuwl ta xujasej 'he set it up during the day, then it became night, then they-2 went to bed then' (III 20).

## 8.42 Parallel Compound Sentence

The following parallel compound sentences are joined by the adverbs tiyie ... tuwie, ēlai ... juwie, the repeated phrase ak<sup>W</sup> śēpēnel, and the repeated pronoun ak<sup>W</sup>ate: ōjka sāyrapūs jolipālel tiyie śaltapi, tuwie śaltapi 'under the old man's axe she slips through here, she slips through there' (I 249, intonation 483); ūnsiŋ ōwle ēlai wāreste, puŋeŋ ōwle juwie wāreste 'he put its back end forward, he put its head end backward' (II 79); tuwl ak<sup>W</sup> śēpēnel sār leymati, ak<sup>W</sup> śēpēnel wina suŋya leymati 'then from one of his pockets he takes tobacco, from his other pocket he takes a flask of brandy' (II 81); wojkan kit jiw ōnsi, ak<sup>W</sup>ate kasaj xōlt ōnsite, ak<sup>W</sup>ate nālnal māys ōnsite 'he has two white sticks, one he holds like a knife, the other he has for an arrow shaft' (V 50).

## 8.43 Direct Quotation Compound Sentence

This type of sentence is introduced by a "head" verb, i.e. a verb whose action, mental or other, takes place in an organ of the head: say, think, hear, know, ask, see, etc. Though no examples occur in the Sosva texts, we may presume that this extends to derivative actions, such as writing.

Indirect quotations fall into noun clause divisions as subject (4.4) or as object (8.521); indirect questions are treated in the relational clause section (8.522).

Despite the person and number of the speaker, a narrative quotation is very often followed by the word lāwi 'he says' to end the quotation; this device serves, then, as an oral quotation mark.

The following examples are typical of this construction: ākwe nupel lāwi: "oxsar xańsuwlam", lāwi 'he says to his aunt, "a fox has been hanging around", he says' (III 20); ta lāyes: sar minariśen! lāwi 'then he said, "just go, Son!" he says' (I 67); āk<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>a xotəm lāwti akway: "pūtsow ōńsen pūsown misen, manurel ōlimēn?" 'accordingly the aunt keeps abusing: "you had a little kettle, you gave your little kettle, how shall we live?" (III 24); tumajti: "xotāl minas taw?" 'he thinks, "Where did she go?" ' (III 29); ...piyaye wōws: "kona k<sup>w</sup>ālēn paśa wāreŋk<sup>w</sup> pōjksaŋk<sup>w</sup>!" '... he called to his two sons: "Come out, greet (him) and bow (to him)!" ' (III 30); ta porat juwle rōŋxuwles: nān manrey ak<sup>w</sup> kolēn atxatsen ...?" 'at that time he screamed into the house, "why have you all gathered in one house...?" ' (III 33); jā pōjksēy: "ta janit jomas wāren, naŋki totēlen!" 'now they-2 begged him: "Do this great favor, you take him!" ' (III 34).



## 8.5 Complex Sentence

Complex sentences are of two main types: paratactic and hypotactic. Paratactic clauses resemble series sequence compound clauses, but one action is so dependent upon the other that they cannot logically be separated into two independent sentences. Hypotactic sentences are connected by subordination; the main clause contains a noun, pronoun, adverb or conjunction which is in some way qualified by the second or subordinate clause.

### 8.51 Paratactic Complex Sentence

There are three types of this sentence: purpose, result and implied condition. The juncture is established between the clauses by intonation which starts high and later drops (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 226-7).

#### 8.511 Purpose Sentence

The purpose type of paratactic sentence usually has an action in the first clause leading toward the result expressed in the second. Examples of this are: jā tax tuw joxtēym, maner wōj tēym 'boy, when I get there, what fat I'll eat' (V 111); ta porat xumiten lapíūlawe, ek<sup>v</sup>at ul os sunsēyt 'at that time he is hidden by men, so that women cannot see him' (V 45); nāin ūnttēlen, os pājalti 'put it on the fire, (so that) it may cook' (III 21).

#### 8.512 Result Sentence

The result paratactic sentence follows the same pattern as the purpose type, but the purpose is seen as already fulfilled and the result as actual. Examples of these are: ta xurip pileŋ mā xōntas,

nāwrame apasowēŋtāyl jolūnttēste 'she found such a berry patch, that she put child, cradle and all down' (I 247); xosa man wāti kiwtēste, ta kem pālpey jōntēs, pum wiy, siraj ēlmin tārmatite, supey jaktawe 'he whetted it for a long or short time, it became so sharp, he takes a blade of grass, drops it on the edge of the sword, it is cut in half' (I 212); tox wārim pārša, kos xomi os pati, witen at āmarawe 'the barge is made so that, even if it overturns, it does not fill with water' (I 20).

### 8.513 Implied Condition

This is a type of sentence composed of two grammatically independent clauses, one of which is logically dependent upon the other as a necessary condition. This is a common construction in Sosva Vogul. Typical examples are given here: kērite man at kērite, ak<sup>w</sup> ta janit sorem tā 'he harnesses it or he does not harness it, it is the same big death' (II 50); xāp joxti, an kwāley ta niremtawe '(if) a boat comes, then the rope is pulled now' (I 204); kutsawen, sāw ul ajen '(if) you get drunk, don't drink much!' (II 81); janij mat wāyen patsen, pūtem ta xani, wojelen '(if) you have fallen into some great difficulty, my kettle hangs there, take it!' (V 132).

### 8.52 Hypotactic Complex Sentence

There are four types of hypotactic complex sentences. In most there is a particular word (or suffix -ke 'if') which unites two or more clauses into one grammatical unit. With noun clauses, however, the union is provided by the personal suffix of the verb. There is undoubtedly a particular intonational pattern, too, but in this case it is subordinate to the lexical or suffixal connection. The four types are: noun, referential, temporal-concessive and conditional.

## 8.521 Hypotactic Noun Clauses

Noun clauses of this type occur in two functions. Some are subjects and have been exemplified in 4.4. These are usually related to their predicate by a passive suffix on the verb in singular concord with them. All passive examples found have been with the verb wāreŋkwe 'to know' in a construction paralleling Indo-European indirect question.

Other noun clauses are objects of a verb which contains an objective suffix in singular agreement with them. Here, too, all examples are with the verb wāreŋkwe, so we may presume that the same noun clause could be the subject of a passive verb or the object of the same verb in the objective conjugation. Examples of noun clauses used as objects are: ... kaŋkaye matar nomt ōnšey, taw at wāyte 'what kind of plan his brothers have, he does not know' (V 103); os naŋ xōt xartwes, naŋ wāylen 'but you, where he was pulled, do you know?' (I 250); an mōsnē aman sājte xolas, aman ūlenn joxtawes, ak<sup>w</sup>ay at wāyte 'now the Mosh-woman does not know at all whether she has lost consciousness or been overcome by sleep' (I 215); at wāyte, xotal' totwes 'she does not know where it was taken' (I 210).

## 8.522 Hypotactic Referential Clause

Referential sentences contain a noun, pronoun or locational adverb in the main clause which is qualified in the subordinate clause. All examples here are equivalents to indefinite relative clauses, but in relation to Vogul sentence structure there is no reason why it cannot also be used for definite relative clauses. Examples of this construction are: taw manərsirut joxts, juw at salti 'what kind of thing has come, (that) it does not come in?' (I 133, 135); jā xōt ōli sar, ānəm tuw

totēlen 'now, where it is, then, take me there' (I 145); xottāī nomte pati, tuw os mini 'wherever it pleases her, let her go there' (I 245); maner ūj xōnti, pusen ali 'whatever animal he finds, he kills it all' (I 210); xō wina saka aji, sulya otarn ūntti 'whoever drinks a lot of brandy, offers the prince a flask' (I 272).

#### 8.523 Temporal-Concessive Clauses

Clauses in this group contain one of three conjunctions, or rather one of three varieties of one conjunction: kos 'when, although', ta kos, ti kos 'although'. They must be considered as one group because of the double connotation of kos, but I shall illustrate kos with both meanings:

Temporal, nālu kos puwtmaxti, akitōjkān xāpnolt puwwawe 'when he pushes off, the bow of the boat is seized by his uncle' (II 54); taixe kos sāyrapī, taw sispalēt rottiy tit nē lāyes 'when he is chopping off its crown, a woman suddenly spoke right behind him' (II 55).

Concessive, xōtpa joxti, kos ēsarma, janmaltilem '(if) someone comes, although (it will be a) disgrace, I shall bring him up' (I 210); taw ti kos simem ētyelawe, maner ōli 'then although my heart hungers (e.g. I am hungry), what is there?' (I 243); mir ta kos kinsēyt, at xōntawe 'although the people search, he is not found' (III 29).

#### 8.524 Conditional Clause

Conditional clauses are marked by the presence of the enclitic -ke 'if' added to one of their words. Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 130) and Rombandejeva (JN MJ 353) suggest with their mention of a conditional mood (see 2.82) that there are restrictions on the position of this

enclitic. If there are restrictions, it can still be stated that -ke can be suffixed to any adverbial negative and to any other head of a phrase: negative, atke 'if not' (I 203); ā́imke 'if it is not' (I 226); adverb, elake 'if forward' (I 67); pronoun, naŋke 'if you' (I 250); finite verb, ṓnsaske 'if it had' (I 71); infinitive, təŋk<sup>w</sup>ek 'if to eat' (I 203); noun, xuminke 'if your husband' (II 88); post-position, tarmelke 'if upon' (I 34).

Actually the authors mentioned above do not limit themselves in practise to adding -ke only to verbs. One example will suffice to show this: naŋen frontenke ketiluw 'what if we send you to the front?' with fronten 'to the front' + -ke (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 126).

The following page diagrams the types of conditions I have found in Sosva. More examples are given below.

General, atke wāslən, mikoltōrem am tij 'if you did not know me, I am the god Nikolas' (I 250).

Contrary-to-Fact, Present, naŋ nomen íúlke at olnuw, puseŋ jowtnuwane 'if it were not displeasing to you, he would buy everything' (I 233); ak<sup>w</sup> xurip sāt jatri tit olnuwke, šēs ošnuwt kās ošnuwt 'if seven such similar black grouse were here, they would have honor, they would have joy' (I 233).

Contrary-to-Fact, Past, ōltuleŋ sitjaŋ kol atke ērs, jalēn 'if you did not need any prosperous, wealthy hut, go!' (I 203).

## Types of Conditional Sentences

	<u>Protasis</u>	<u>Apodosis</u>
General Condition	Indicative, Imperative, Nominal, etc. <u>nēmater ātimke,</u> 'if no one is there,	Indicative, Imperative, Nominal, etc. <u>tax jiwel rātijane.</u> he'll beat them with a stick'(I 226).
Future Simple Condition	Indicative, etc. <u>mōrts tine miynke,</u> 'if you give me a suitable price,	Indicative, etc. <u>tinalilem.</u> I'll sell it' (III 22).
	<u>or</u> Subjunctive <u>am wōwnem sōmit tinke minuwen,</u> 'if you give me my high price,	Indicative, etc. <u>miylem.</u> I'll give it' (III 25).
Present Contrary-to-Fact	Subjunctive <u>oiam xōraxsi tit ōlnuwke,</u> 'if the fled robber were here,	Subjunctive <u>kēlpsame juwjalanuwluw.</u> we would drink the drops of his blood' (II 51)
Past Contrary-to-Fact, Negative	Past Tense <u>xuminke at jaltaptaslen,</u> 'if you had not revived your husband,	Past Tense <u>sipluwn pumtar ōls.</u> your neck would be a blade of grass' (II 88).

## CHAPTER IX

## ANCILLARY LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES

In Vogul, as in other languages, there are many general concepts which do not have a basic influence upon the structure of the language, but are rather subordinate to that structure, and which nevertheless are extremely important in using the language. Some of these have been mentioned in previous chapters, some in several places. This is an attempt to give some of these points a more detailed and complete treatment. The selection is far from exhaustive, but will at least suggest how some types of general concepts fit into the linguistic structure of Sosva Vogul.

## 9.1 Interrogation

Interrogation is expressed primarily by intonation, a rise on the word actually expressing the query or at the end of the sentence (see 3.12).

In addition to this, questions are often begun by (a)man 'or, whether' or are ended by -a 'huh?' (Kálmán CV 38; V 290-1, note 2).

A couple of examples of this are: man ta janit wāyel pilēyn 'why are you so afraid?' (I 68); aman ūsne sorem xōntas 'has it found its fatal (lit. dying) death?' (II 86); nān man at wāyenn-a 'then you don't know?' (V 290, note 2).

Pronominal adjectives are used in asking many questions which require some kind of choice for an answer. Examples of these are: ... maner ōli 'what is there?' (I 243); naŋ ānem wāylen, am xōŋxa 'do you know me, who I am?' (II 119); naŋ maner puŋk ālmtāl xujēyn 'why do you lie without raising your head?' (I 71); nēnān maner ēri 'what is

necessary for you?' (V 95p); xō ti janit wāyl rōlxi 'who shouts with this great force?' (III 35).

Many questions are introduced by interrogative adverbs and particles. Some of these are xuń 'how', manrey 'why', xotāí 'whither', xumíe, xot 'how'. Examples of their use are: jiypiyx tox xuń lāws 'how did my brother speak so?' (I 246); am xuń wāylem 'how do I know you?' (I 249); xumíe jēmtsən 'how did you get (that way)?' (I 145); xumim xot tox jēmtəs 'how did it happen so to my husband?' (II 87); nōwíān xotāí totsān 'where did you take your(pieces of) meat?' (I 144); os nañ ta piyen xotāí totslən 'but where have you taken your son?' (I 249); manrey mēñk<sup>w</sup>eten nowxatēyn 'why do you frequent the forest spirits?' (I 142).

There is also a special type of nominal clause consisting of an interrogative word, a participle (usually, if not always, past) and a noun: xōt ōlem piye 'the boy who was where (lit. where been boy)?' (I 248); manrey wārem nomən 'why did you make this plan (lit. why made plan-your)?' (I 14).

## 9.2 Negation

Negation can be expressed in Vogul in various ways in accordance with the grammatical item being negated. Negative pronominal adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions are used, as well as a special negative verb. Negation may be single or double; two negatives in Vogul do not ordinarily make an affirmative.

Negative answers are introduced quite frequently by ātim 'no': ātim, ak<sup>w</sup> jot jalimēn 'no, let's go together!' (II 85); ātim, āyik<sup>w</sup>e,



am jun oleŋk<sup>W</sup> at rōwwi 'no, daughter, it is not fitting for me to be in the house' (I 223).

Pronominal adjective usage accounts for many negative expressions in Sosva Vogul. Among these are nēmat xār ātim 'no reindeer bull is there' (I 202); nēm<sup>x</sup>otti āyin at toreltālssen ... 'you lost no daughter of yours' (V 31); nēmat wōt āti 'no wind exists' (II 49); nēmater at alas 'he 'got' nothing' (I 61); mān tōremn lāw<sup>W</sup>esuw nēm xoti xum<sup>n</sup> at aleŋk<sup>W</sup>e 'we were said to be-un-killable by any man' (II 153).

Negative sentences often depend upon negative particles. These are mainly the words which mean 'not'. Finite verbs, both indicative and subjunctive, are regularly negated with at, which also negates participles at times; at wēmitēn tōŋk<sup>W</sup> 'they cannot eat (it)' (I 135); tiy lōmte at joxtenuw 'he would not have come here' (I 235); tō xum alam, tō xum at alam 'the one man got (something), the other did not' (II 137); lēy at ōsne māys 'because he has no tail (lit. tail not having for)' (IV 505, note 16); at jōxtlattāl xūrey<sup>n</sup>pattāt 'on the bottom of the 'un-emptyable' wallet' (I 261).

Another negative particle is iŋet 'still not, not yet' as in ti xum pāŋk<sup>W</sup> tēs, iŋet sāj<sup>n</sup>kali 'this man ate mushrooms, he has not yet come to' (III 34); iŋet pājalti 'it is still not boiling' (III 23).

Occasionally other adverbs of an encompassing nature, e.g. ak<sup>W</sup>ay 'completely, at all', wāssey '(any) more', ak<sup>W</sup> mus 'continuously', are included in negative clauses. Examples of such are: ...ak<sup>W</sup>ay at wāyte 'she does not know at all' (I 215); wāssey at poterti pornē nupel 'he does not speak any more to the Por-woman' (I 212); jūntim mäte samt ak<sup>W</sup> mus at nāŋki 'the sewn spot cannot be seen at all with the eye' (III 28).

Imperative and hortatory clauses are negated with ul, also meaning 'not'. This is exemplified in ta porat xumiten lapíúlawe, ēkʷat ul os sunsēyt 'at that time he is surrounded by men, so that women cannot see him' (V 45); tiyl əlaí mōt nē nāwram mōt nēn ul os tūlmantawe 'from now on let not one woman's child be stolen by another woman' (I 212); əl ul majəlan 'do not give it away' (III 39); ānem sak ul ajtəlen 'do not give me a lot to drink!' (II 81); ... mater xūleyn, ul poterten 'don't tell what you hear' (I 253).

While not actually being conjunctions, negatives are found with conjunctions and sometimes are used as correlatives to negate successive clauses: kərite man at kərite 'he harnesses it or he does not harness it' (II 50); ... āte íawti, āte poterti 'he neither abuses nor speaks' (III 31).

A negative adverb may also play a part in negation: nəmxottal at alimes 'he had no time (to go) anywhere' (I 13).

## 9.21 Negative Verb

Sosva Vogul has a negative verb, the counterpart of the verb ələŋkwe 'to be'. In general use are found two forms, interchangeable in most predicative situations: āti and ātim. Kálmán (MN 26, CV 38) says that only the latter shows non-existence, but my examples below belie this. There seems to be no good reason to consider them as two distinct forms; it is more likely that they are usually free variants when used absolutely, while only the longer form permits suffixation.

Comparable examples of these two forms are:

nēmat xos ātim (I 62) 'it does not take (last) long' nēmat xos āti (I 62)  
an̄ ōjk akʷay ātim 'now the man is āse akʷay āti 'his father is not  
not there at all' (I 216) there at all' (I 14)  
nēmat xār ātim 'there is no wild nēmat wōrtōlnut āti 'there is no  
reindeer bull there' (I 202) bear there' (I 201)

I have found six suffixed forms of ātim in this Sosva corpus, two of which overlap: dual and translative. These are: dual, kityaye jun ātimey 'her two (companions) are not inside' (I 234, 237); ūseŋ ōter ās piyey akʷ mus ātimey, sas ojamey 'the two sons of the town prince are not even there, both have fled' (IV 189p); plural, tēne xuripat ātimet 'they do not seem edible' (I 243); an̄ ti jist wātem pil nupel kāsān ātimt 'now at this time you have no desire(s) to pick berries (lit. your desires are-not)' (IV 231p); man urel nān kāsān ātimt 'why have you no desire(s)?' (eo. loc.); sāntāl ōlne xūrem surtite ātimet, āstāl ōlne xūrem surtite ātimet 'his three motherless reindeer calves are not there, his three fatherless reindeer calves are not there' (II 46p); conditional, nēmater ātimke, tax jiwel rātijane 'if there is nothing there, he will beat them with a stick' (I 226); am nūpelem (ōlne) nomnek ōli, kʷāleyem, ātimk, am naŋen alilem 'if you have a plan against me, I'll get out, if not, I'll kill you' (II 102); pāljiup jiwel wōr ātimk ōls, pālump pumel wōr ātimk ōls 'if no forest with thick tress was there, if no forest with dense grass was there' (II 159); translative, tēnut ātimey jēmtas 'the food came to an end (lit. the eating-thing not-being-to it-became)' (V 257); caritive, ... akijaym akʷaym ātimtāl 'my uncle and aunt are not there' (II 52); second person singular, naŋ ti ūseŋ xum ātimen 'you are not a man of this town' (II 63).

Both āfi and āfim are used as negative correlatives: piy āfim, mater āfim 'there is no child, there is not anything' (I 245); nēmat wōt āfi, mater āfi 'there is no wind, there is nothing' (II 49).

Both forms may also be used to negate past participles, in effect forming a negative past: am tēmōm āfim 'I did not eat it (lit. my having-eaten is-not)' (I 144); sam sunsim āfi 'it was not seen (lit. an eye having-seen is-not)' (III 31).

### 9.3 Government

In most cases in Sosva Vogul government is a natural application of basic case meanings.

Thus an ablative is expected logically in sentences like śēpnēl śaskan leymatēs 'he took a handkerchief from his pocket' (I 13) and luw sisēnēl jolaporeymes 'he jumped down from the horse's back' (I 13), because they show separation.

However some verbs govern cases which are not so evidently dependent upon the basic meaning of a case. Balandin-Wahrushewa would not limit this to verbs; they claim that verbs, participles, converbs (all to be considered verbs from my point of view of clause equivalence) and nouns with a meaning of activity or state govern other words (MJ 177). They give as an example: Leningrad usēn man olepsow saka jomas olas 'our life in Leningrad was very good'. Obviously they are construing life as governing in the city of Leningrad. Since oleps has a verbal stem, this also supports my position that only a verb can govern directly.

Below I list a few cases of government, incomplete because of the smallness of the corpus from this point of view and because obvious verbs are not included.

Lative: tēl- 'grow' (I 144); potert- 'speak' (I 252); xōntxat- 'find oneself at' (II 120); nēy- 'tie' (III 23); rayat- 'fall down' (III 34); neyl- 'reach' (II 141).

Locative: xānsuwl- 'get used to' (III 20).

Ablative: pil- 'fear' (I 150); puw- 'catch' (I 226); kitiylaxt- 'ask' (I 346).

Instrumental: tāyint- 'fill' (I 69); ūntt- 'set up' (III 20); mast- 'dress' (III 29); taŋx- 'desire' (III 30); pin- 'put' (II 135); pēlamt- 'set (fire)' (II 134).

Many verbs govern postpositional phrases, adverbs and occasionally alternate cases besides the one which most normally corresponds to them. A few examples will suffice to point this out:

suns- 'look at': lative, jiw ak ōwln sunsēyt 'they look at one end of the coffin' (I 230); ablative, maner sunstēyn āneml 'why do you look at me?' (II 134); postpositional phrase, kol kiwer nupel sunsi 'he looks at the inside of the hut' (I 145); pūt fált tī sunsēy 'they-2-look into (lit. onto) the kettle' (III 21); lative particle, tuw sunsen 'look there' (V 154).

lāw- 'say, speak': lative, mirn lāwen 'tell the people' (I 71); postpositional phrase, nāitxum tuwl āymeŋ xum nupel lāwi 'the shaman then says to the sick man' (I 347).

śalt- 'enter': ablative, māpoktulēl xansaŋśoper jolsaltaps 'the heath-hen went down in through a hole in the ground' (III 35); lative, māpoktulēn jol ta śaltapassey 'then both of them went down into the hole in the ground' (III 37); kotjakten pāsēn śaltes 'he sank to his thighs' (II 86); postpositional phrase, sāsnak mus jolsaltes 'he sank to his knees' (II 86).

jēmt- 'become': translative, uíaŋ lotex xuripay jēmtes (III 35); postpositional phrase, uíaŋ lotex xōlt jēmtes (III 37), both sentences meaning 'it became like a fiery spark'.

The nominative is often used in place of other cases, especially in verse (Kálmán CV 30; IV 433, note 30; V 262, note 2). The following are examples of nominatives occurring where other cases are expected:

Lative: ak<sup>w</sup> pal minen ~ ak<sup>w</sup> pālen minen 'move to one side!' (I 246); mat íúit nōŋxa jales (III 40) ~ mat íúiten nōŋxjals (III 38) 'he went up high'.

Ablative: ńar xōwt ōltēn kolen joxtēst 'they reached a hut made of narrow fir (boards)' (V 71p) ~ ńar xōwtneł ūnttim kol 'hut made of narrow fir (boards)' (I 62). [This example is mentioned by Liimola, V 274].

Instrumental: wojkan saxi wojkan sōpak masēm xum 'a man dressed in a white pelt, in white boots' (I 63) ~ sēmēl ūj wiyr ūj saxil ōli 'he is in black and red pelts' (I 62).

Translative: seńamper wārnwlem, xisńamper wārnwlem 'I would turn (lit. make) her into sand and gravel dust' (I 245) ~ xāpey os wārawen 'may you be made into a boat!' (I 220).

At times one case seems to assume the meaning of another. One good example of this is taw jēmtes ākar xuril 'he turned by the shape of a house-dog (i.e. he became a house-dog)' (II 137) with the instrumental, although the translative would be expected, both because of the verb jēmt- 'become' and the meaning of change involved which is normally expressed by the translative case. Dr. Raun suggests (private communication, 18 April 1968) that this may be an imitation of Russian.

## 9.4 Contrast

Contrast in Sosva Vogul can be based on contradictory terms, covert comparison, overt comparison, degree and amount, identity and equivalence, and metaphor and simile.

Contradiction is shown in sentences like: ūńse ēlal' wāreste, puŋke juw'le wāreste 'he put its back end forward, he put its head backward' (II 79); ta xumite miles' totite, mānaw osnel totite 'he gives that man deeply (i.e. from the bottom), he gives us from the top' (I 469, note 8); tō ēk<sup>wa</sup> tōren rōwawe, tō ēk<sup>wa</sup> āti 'a kerchief fits one woman, but not the other' (V 320, note 4).

Covert comparison is found in terms like janiy piye 'his oldest son (lit. his big son)' (I 133); janiy āyit 'his oldest daughter' (II 141); māń' āyi 'youngest daughter' (II 142); cf. janiy 'large', māń' 'small'.

Covert comparison is also shown by the use of postpositions like konipal 'outside', as already pointed out by Dr. Raun (EETH 208); e.g. mūnt maner puuŋ ōls, ti konipal puuŋ 'what a herd was previously, the herd is outside this (i.e. bigger than it was before)' (II 83); ti konipal súń puuŋ 'still more wealth and riches' (II 82). Another postposition used in a similar way is tarmel 'upon': māń'si pupeytōrem tarmel am janiy 'over the Vogul spirit-gods I am the greatest (lit. great)' (II 107).

Overt comparison is shown morphologically by -nuw on the end of an adjective or adverb, syntactically by positive plus ablative. All examples of this found by me in Sosva have already been mentioned in 2.36 and 7.14.

Degree and amount are shown by the use of kēm 'amount', tamíe 'such' and -ak<sup>W</sup> 'somewhat' suffixed to an adjective or adverb. The equivalent of English 'the -er ... the -er' in Sosva Vogul is mana kem ... ta kem. Examples of this type of contrast are: am olmem ... tamíe tēp at tēsantasem 'I've never tasted such food in my life' (II 56); mana kem əla miney, ta kem jiw ta rati 'the farther they-2-go, the more he comes and beats them' (I 150); manakem tēvey ajōy, at towlawōy 'however much they eat and drink, they are not filled' (IV 494, note 33); mana kem wōwōyn, ta sāwitəl i miylemēn 'however much you ask, that much we-2 shall give you' (III 34); wāñenpāle jomas kēmen nōwíe 'his shoulder flesh (was pierced) to a good extent' (I 141); towl akitōjka jomas kēmen kanmima 'then the uncle became angry to quite a degree' (III 37); ta kem jolaí ta xarti, numəl towleŋ ujke mini, íapānəlnuwake mini, jol i nartemtawe 'now it draws downward so much (that) if a bird flies above, if it gets a little closer, it too is pulled down' (I 20); kit pēsāteŋ mośsak<sup>W</sup> ātīm 'it is a little less than two fathoms (lit. legal-fathoms by-a-little it-is-not)' (I 204).

Words like ōs 'also' and ti kem, ta kem 'such, this much' are used to express identity and equivalence. Examples are: taw ōs ak<sup>W</sup> tamíe 'she is just like him (lit. she also one such)' (III 28); xōtale kēme tā, joŋxpos ēt kēm 'there is as much light from the sun as from the moon at night (lit. the sun its-amount that, moon night amount)' (I 21); ak<sup>W</sup> ti kem tūji, ak<sup>W</sup> ti kem wōtas 'it keeps snowing the same way, it is stormy the same way' (V 104); mān istārssin xumíe pērijēw, tān ōs pērijēyt tāley tuwey ūnlen māys 'just as we select an elder, they also choose (one) for sitting for a winter and a summer' (I 66).



Metaphor is also used to express qualities by comparison with the quality used as a comparative standard: us tēlem mān āyirisey jēntes 'she became a girl as small as if just born (lit. just born little girl-to she-became)' (I 145); tūren man āsen ojiypes, kol ta janit tā 'he was faced by a lake or an Ob, so large is the house (lit. lake-by or Ob-by he-was-met, house that bigness that)' (II 80); an mir tōn kūmt tūp ak<sup>w</sup> lāyl ōssset, juwojast 'now the people at that moment, (as if) they had only one leg, fled home' (I 229); pānksow mir rāymatset 'the people dropped like soot' (II 87); ta sāwit sāli, wōrjiwe mōssa, sāli sāw 'there are so many reindeer, the forest trees are few, the reindeer are many' (II 96); ak<sup>w</sup>ay ta kem sālipuul<sup>n</sup> tij, urjiwe wōrjiwe mōssa, sāli sāw 'altogether this is such a reindeer herd, the trees in the forest and on the mountain are few, the reindeer are many' (II 59).

Simile can be expressed with xōit, mōrtēs and wojpi 'like, as'. Examples are: jāt tāreylāyl xōit towtalaxtēyt 'the rivers branch like a stork's foot' (V 257); lūmoj mōrtēs, palem mōrtēs 'like gnats, like horseflies' (II 159); ōs ak<sup>w</sup> taw wojpole sort 'a pike (fish) like him, too' (II 138).

### 9.5 Ambiguity

Ambiguity can arise from four sources in Sosva Vogul: homonymy, identically shaped suffixes, varying use of same form and word order. My corpus is not large enough to include many examples of these, but they can be treated theoretically with a minimum of examples.

Homonymy can cause difficulty in two ways. The most important is the multiple meaning of many words; first, words such as tōram 'sky, weather, epoch, god' (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 14) and secondly, words

whose meaning varies and entails an important difference in structure: ul 'not, probably' (Balandin-Wahrushewa MRS 128), at 'five, not' (op. cit. 5), (w)os 'surface, layer, let, may' (op. cit. 25-6, 72). With these words, phrase order usually prevents confusion, e.g. ul pel juw 'he probably comes' (V 56p); os juw 'let him come' (I 68).

A second possible difficulty is the use of Ostyak words, particularly in verse, which have meanings differing from identical Sosva words. A couple of examples, with the Ostyak meaning first, are: ūnti 'forest, he sets' (IV 424p); wis 'silt, he took' (IV 450p).

Suffixes on isolated words are capable of causing considerable difficulty, though again word order in context alleviates this problem. Without considering derivation, which I have not treated here, we find a great many homomorphous and homophonous suffixes. In fact there is no absolute number marker and only one case marker which is completely unique as a suffix, -tel 'with'.

The following chart is intended to be only indicative of the wide use of identical suffixes. It should be recalled, too, that morphophonemic rules cause these suffixes to have identical or very similar allomorphs under identical conditions.

Suffix	Number	Case	Possessive Suffix	Personal Verbal Suffix	Other
-γ	x	x		x	
-t	x	x	x	x	
-n	x	x	x	x	Present Participle
-nel		x	x	x	
-m			x	x	Past Participle, Converb

The fact that the same functional form can be used in different ways can cause misunderstanding, particularly in short clauses. The use of the lative case for both agent and indirect object is an example of this: xumitēn an̄ luwey ēla wānttawesey 'the two horses were led forward by/to the man' (I 219).

Another example of possible ambiguity can be produced by serial suffixation: kole jore sōpitaste 'he cleaned his house and his place' or 'he cleaned his house's place' (II 121).

Although Chernetsov (M(V)J 187-9), Balandin-Wahrushewa (MJ 184) and Rombandejeva (JN MJ 357-8) posit a rigid word order for Vogul, there are exceptions for the sake of emphasis (see 7.0). An extreme case is tuwl xum kēts xōn '(lit. then man sent king) then the king sent a man', which is syntactically capable of a reverse, in fact more probable, understanding (II 143).

## 9.6 Exclamation

The primary type of exclamation is a simple interjection. There are many of these in Vogul, but most can be given translations only in particular circumstances (Rombandejeva JN MJ 356). A few which I can cite are: ējxjā 'ouch!' (I 137); jāta 'now then' (I 210, Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 217); ē 'oh' (III 22); sōrnik<sup>We</sup> 'gosh (lit. goldy)!' expressing surprise or disgust (III 21).

Probably with interjections individually and certainly with phrases, we meet the special generally rising type of intonation mentioned in 3.14. With exclamatory phrases we usually find pronominal

adjectives, negative or indefinite, plus a noun. An example of this is: maner puuŋ, maner súŋ 'what wealth, what riches!'

Other examples of phrases and examples of clauses with intonation are found in 3.14.

## 9.7 Vocative

In general the vocative has no special form and appears identical with the nominative case. However, in some words, referring particularly to family relationships, there are special optional forms ending in -a. These occur in most dialects (Liimola HF 24) including Sosva, though they are rare in my corpus. In addition the diminutive ending -k<sup>W</sup>e is often used to express a hypocoristic vocative with the morphophonemic change mentioned in 2.1, viz. if the noun already ends in -k<sup>W</sup>e, -k<sup>W</sup>e + -k<sup>W</sup>e = -kek<sup>W</sup>e. Vocatives are usually found at the beginning of an utterance.

Where there are separate vocative forms, they are optional. Thus we find sāŋ (I 271) and sāna (I 248) 'mother'; ās, āsa (I 68) and āsk<sup>W</sup>e (V 143p) 'father'.

With diminutives, besides āsk<sup>W</sup>e, we find: piyk<sup>W</sup>e 'sonny' (I 62); jiypiyk<sup>W</sup>e 'brother' (I 246); and āk<sup>W</sup>mēk<sup>W</sup> 'auntie' (III 21).

Nouns in any number can be used in their nominative form as vocatives. Included among these are: āk<sup>W</sup> 'aunt' (III 35); tēxam 'pal' (V 154); jevāyi 'sister' (II 50); āntwoltep 'Hornscraper' (I 133); xumiy 'you two men' (I 202); xumijayb 'my two men' (V 155p); nān, nāwramt 'you, children' (II 117).

In some cases whole phrases are used in place of single words:  
nōḥjaniymanē xum 'growing man' (II 81); ta sāmt janiyman nājtāl xum,  
ōtertāl xum 'you man, who grew up in that region without a princess  
 or prince' (II 80); lilīḥ kēr šoxri 'living iron knife' (III 27)

CHAPTER X  
CONCLUSIONS

Sosva Vogul was a living dialect sixty-odd years ago when Kannisto was in the North Vogul area. It functioned, and probably still functions today, with the help of three interlocked systems: phonology, morphology and syntax. If these were entirely mechanical systems, their properties could be codified perfectly and a rigidly prescriptive grammar could be written which would account for every possible utterance. That this is not the case has been shown by its possible ambiguities and is also indicated by inconsistency in the application of some forms, e.g. the objective conjugation.

On the other hand, standard literary Vogul (as represented by Balandin-Wahrushewa in Mansijskij Jazyk) is much more rigid and lays down rules for its correct usage.

A synthesis of these facts, a loosely operating dialect evolving into a rigidly functioning standard literary language, leads to one conclusion. Sosva, as an independent dialect, functions through the collaboration of several tendencies rather than prescriptions; these tendencies need not be applied in the colloquial variants. A demonstration of the validity of such a judgment is necessary; I shall demonstrate its validity by presenting observed facts arranged in the order mentioned above: phonology, morphology and syntax.

### 10.1 Phonology

Despite my efforts and those of distinguished linguists (Kannisto GVES; Steinitz VSW; Kálmán VC 27-31; Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 18-24; Rombandejeva JN MJ 344-5) to phonemicize Sosva Vogul and its near

dialects adequately, there remain problems. These are caused largely by the existence of reduced vowels, particularly in even-numbered syllables; I have tried to overcome this difficulty by a wide use of -ə- to replace reduced vowels in certain distributional environments.

If we can trust the phonemicization and phonetic transcriptions of researchers in the field (and we must or give up hope of linguistic adequacy in many areas), we are forced to assume 1) that there is a very wide range in the phonetic value of some vowels or 2) that there is a personal difference in the degree of vowel reduction, so that some informants indicate the vowel which is reduced, while others reduce completely and indiscriminately, i.e. to -ə-. This is the only way I can account for differences between, e.g. minés (VNGy I,1 69) and minəs (I 69) 'he went'; or between joxtés (VNGy I,1 72), joxtəs (I 210) and joxts (I 133) 'he arrived'. This problem was alluded to in 2.861 on the shape of the infinitive suffix.

On the basis of examples furnished merely in WS Sosva texts, it is safe to say that Kannisto's informants had a tendency to reduce vowels before suffixes in non-first syllables.

The vowel between a consonant and -γ is representative of this difficulty. It has been variously written as -i̇' (maneri̇ 'why' Munkácsi VNGy I,1 74) and -iγ (tumpiy 'into an island' Kannisto I 69; matumiy 'aged [dual]' Kálmán NyK LXII 29). Perhaps it is often impossible to phonemicize it regularly and correctly at the same time, because this vowel -i- also occurs in the one-syllable word piy 'boy', where -ə- should not occur; this word must, therefore, be phonemicized as piy; Munkácsi made a distinction here by length, piyá 'his son' (VNGy I,1 73).

Morphophonemic changes, usually considered automatic, are not so in Sosva Vogul. This is why the rules in 2.1 include words like 'many, most, often'. Exceptions can be found, for example, for morphophonemic rule 3 as follows: sunsteyn (susteyn) 'you are looking at' (II 134); xōnstēna (xōntēna) 'did you find?' (II 64) where the nasal is irregularly retained and xāsi (xānsi) 'knows' (II 110) where it is irregularly dropped.

Thus it is evident that morphophonemics in Sosva Vogul is also a matter of compromise rather than of rigidity.

## 10.2 Morphology

The individual Sosva suffixes, by themselves, represent a fairly strict system. Second persons show a tendency toward common coalescence into -n, a tendency which has led to complete uniformity in standard literary Vogul (Balandin-Wahrushewa MJ 123-48) and seems to be approaching it in the Sygva dialect (Lakó RC 115-8, Rombandejeva JN MJ 352-3). I have shown this for Sosva in 2.33 and 2.82. The instrumental shows a wide variety in form (-l, -t, -tel) and usage of suffixes (2.325), and the ablative has two possible forms (-l, -nel) (2.324).

Any other differences in suffixation can probably be traced to morphophonemics.

However the question of compromise rests more with the application of suffixation than with the morphology itself.

One of the first properties of Sosva suffixation is its freedom. Except in "frozen" forms, it is true that there is a certain order of suffixes and certain limitations; e.g. postpositional phrases cannot become adjectival with the addition of an adjectival suffix to the



postposition, as happens in Hungarian [az Ob mellék 'beside the Ob' az Ob melléki manysi nyelvjárás 'the Vogul dialect along the Ob' (EMN 4)], but there is little real restriction. The caritive suffix -tāl occurs on noun and verb stems indiscriminately, even on the negative verb: ātimtāl (II 52) to produce a doubly negative form 'without being not there' = 'being away'; in a private communication, 18 April 1968, Dr. Raun recalls the parallel Hungarian nincstelen. The diminutives -rís and -k<sup>w</sup>e are found on verbs (precative forms), nouns and postpositions. Dual and plural endings are found on nouns, adjectives and subjective verb forms, as well as on all types of participles; I have not found a dual negative converb, but have found a plural wāytālt 'powerless' (IV 496, note 18) which indicates the probability of dual forms. The comparative is suffixed to adjectives, adverbs and postpositions. A seemingly unique form is the addition of comparative -nuw to a translative past participle: kutseməynuw '(to) somewhat drunk' (II, 698, note 19). Ob (hence possibly Sosva) can add an instrumental to a sociative form, rumańsel (ruma + ńs + el) 'as a friend' (NyK LXII 29), and Sygva can suffix a translative ending to a dual noun, māńsijiviy 'into two Voguls' (Lakó ALH VI 377) (see 2.326). Verbal endings can be suffixed to at least one noun stem, lūt 'thing', and to pronominal adjectival stems: lūts 'did so forth' (II 145); manarēyt 'they do something or other' (III 33).

The above facts indicate a wide degree of suffixational freedom. Despite the irregularity of the above-mentioned translative formations, I do not consider them incorrect, but rather an example of the richness of possible suffixation in Sosva Vogul; the same may be said for the

multitude of unusual forms to be found in verse, such as elipalkēmn 'to my little before' (IV 180p), composed of a postposition elipāl 'before', a diminutive -k(W)e, a possessive suffix -m and the lative suffix -n.

This penchant for free suffixation in Sosva Vogul produces another problem of theoretical importance. The morphological determination of parts of speech in Sosva is extremely difficult, and semantic and syntactic criteria are not always of great help.

Based on morphology and syntax, for example, ta can be a noun with possessive, number and case suffixes, it can be an adjective preceding a noun, an adverb qualifying a verb, and an adverbial and correlative conjunction. Nouns can be used as adjectives; nouns, adjectives and postpositions have adverbial uses; nominal forms of verbs are used as nouns, adjectives and adverbs; numbers become syntactic pronouns and personal pronouns are used adjectivally and adverbially. Distinctions vacillate among various criteria, and again it is the compromise which must be regarded as the standard for differentiation, based upon or supported by whatever morphological evaluations are available.

### 10.3 Syntax

Phrase structure seems to be quite rigid in its basic outlines (VII), but the only absolutely strict rule is that of qualifier preceding qualified. A difference in word order in this regard, as Chernetsov (M(V)J 187) has stated, produces a different meaning. The latter gives as an example ak<sup>W</sup> xum wortolnut alas 'a man killed a bear'; placing wortolnut 'bear' at the head of the clause makes the man the victim.

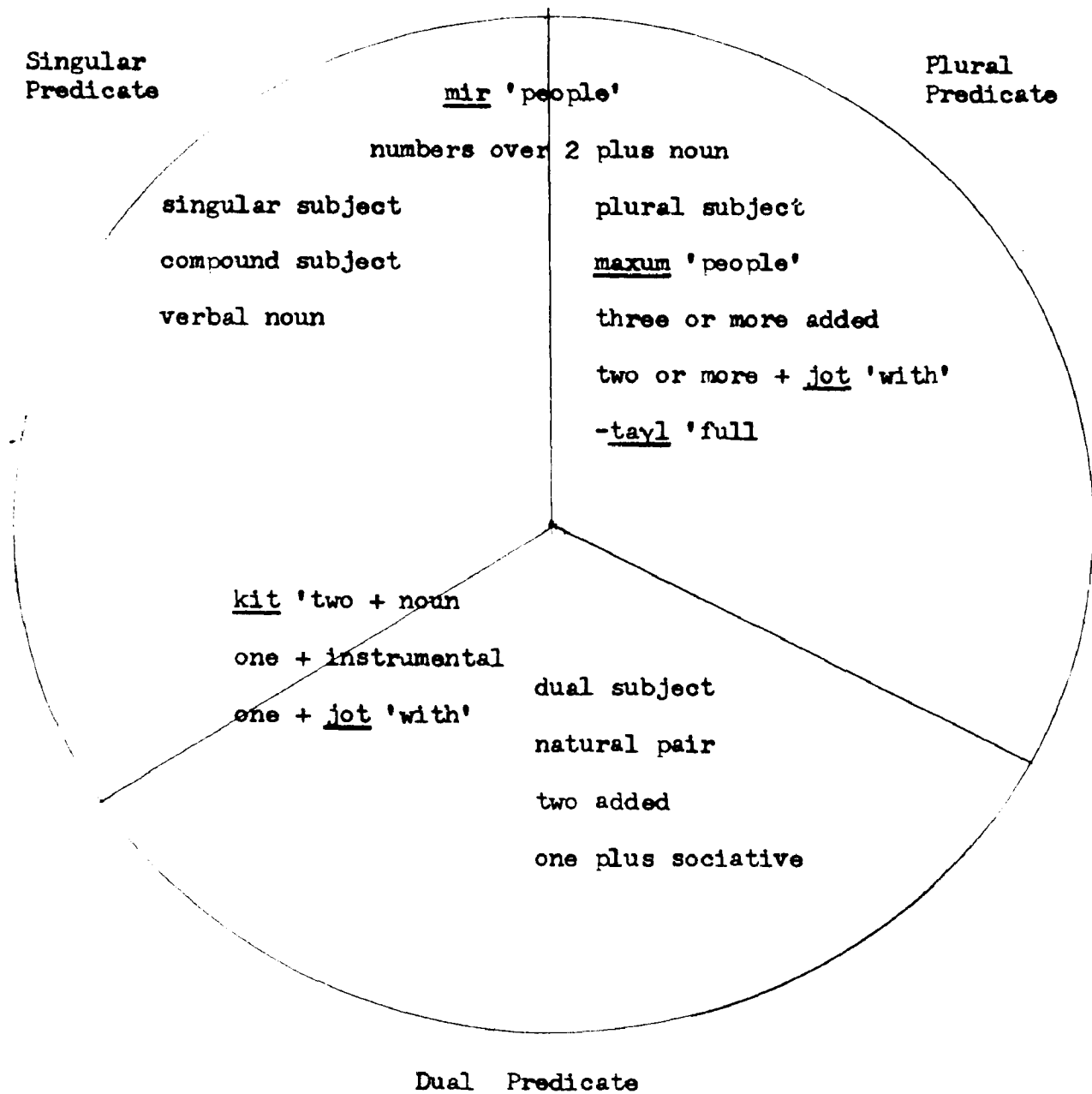
On the other hand, this rigid rule permits motivated exceptions for all types of emphasis. Any adverbial element can begin a sentence, as can an oblique form or a finite verb. Illustrative are the following examples: adverb, kona k<sup>w</sup>allēna sar 'go out, then!' (I 71); lative, pasanen anit tānki tiy joxtest 'the dishes went (there) onto the table by themselves' (I 62); finite verb, konk<sup>w</sup>als piye ... 'his son went out ...' (I 71).

The same modification occurs at the end of a sentence; the predicate is normally final, but a displacement of the predicate is possible by almost any word which it is desirable to emphasize in a given situation. In final position are found typically adverb, taw ōs kojite juji 'again he follows from behind' (I 62); lative, joxtes tākolēn 'he reached his travel hut' (I 61); subject, ... juwsalteŋk<sup>w</sup> patset ak<sup>w</sup>ay mēŋk<sup>w</sup>t 'only forest spirits began to go in' (I 63).

This freedom in the placement of some elements is also of value in producing special periphrastic verbal formations, sometimes equivalent to other forms. The present of ōleŋk<sup>w</sup>e 'to be' can be joined to a past participle or converb to show a past passive action or a present result: kolāwisūnen akarey nēyim ōley 'two house-dogs had been or were tied to the threshold of the hut' (II 145); as the text here indicates, nēyim ōley is equivalent to nēyimey. A similar example is an āyi pāl tōrel laptayatim ōli 'now the girl's sleeping bench had been or is covered with a cloth' (III 28).

Any kind of past participle, including converbs, can be followed by the negative verb to show lack of action in the past: tēmam ātim 'I did (have, had) not eat(en)' (I 144); sunsim āti 'did (has, had)

## Subject-Predicate Concord



not see(n)' (III 31). Although I have not found any examples in this Sosva corpus of a periphrastic future, there is absolutely no inherent reason for its absence (5.112).

The adjacent chart of subject-predicate concord reflects the information contained more diffusely in 4.4. Theoretically subjects should be considered singular, dual or plural in respect to verbal concord, but instead of clear lines of demarcation we find that some subjects can be singular or dual optionally, and that some can optionally be singular or plural. There seem to be conflicting factors here; on the one hand a subject in the singular form is predisposed to have a singular verb, and on the other hand a number before the noun develops a predisposition to a dual or plural verb. The additive factor, i.e. several nominative subjects or a logical subject mentioned subordinately, usually means a dual or plural, as opposed to a singular, verb. Most of the ambiguous cases (i.e. with logical subordinate subjects) have turned up in connection with the dual; the one exception where the plural would be expected is mentioned in 4.513. This particular situation, perhaps more than any other, demonstrates the particular vigor of the dual in Vogul; while it can be confused in certain cases with the singular, there is no overlap at all with the plural.

In regard to agreement with a previous direct and definite object, we again meet generalities. These are illustrated in a general manner by the following graph.

Agreement of Object with Verb  
(hatching indicates concord)

No Object, Indefinite Object	Object Clause	Reflexive Object	Definite Object in Clause	Personal Object	Object Mentioned Previously

The use of possessive suffixes on nouns and postpositions is also subject to two main tendencies which are not always followed. As briefly illustrated in 7.11 and 7.15, a noun 'possessed' by a preceding noun usually is found without a possessive marker. On the other hand a noun preceded by a personal pronoun almost always has the possessive marker. These same generalities apply to postpositions.

It has been stated in III that a minimum sentence consists of a finite verb. Besides being a minimum sentence, the verb represents what could be called the 'hub' of a Vogul clause or sentence, or its equivalent in a participial phrase. There is a very strong trend in Sosva Vogul to support everything but a strict noun phrase by some verbal form. This is probably the driving force which makes -tāl forms an ambivalent case; as an adjective they would directly precede a noun, as an oblique case they depend on a verb, kānttāl puŋkel 'with a hatless head' (IV 143p) opposed to xoltāl olne wiyŋ järmak 'red silk (being) without an end' (IV 28p). Adverbs, particularly those which have a locational declension, often follow the same pattern; examples of these are ak<sup>w</sup> mus olne nāj 'constantly being fire' (I 64-5); xotāl olne towleŋ sāt ... 'the winged seven (being) everywhere' (V 20p); xōt olne mānt 'on your land (being) someplace' (V 45p).

The present participles ōlne 'being' and ōsne 'having' occur in other different but similar situations, too. Examples are: am ōsne āyim 'my (having) daughter' (I 65), wōralś ōsnē xum 'a man with (lit. having) a forest trap' (V 118), xāpnolt ōlne nēnel 'their woman (being) in the bow of the boat' (V 215); kūsJay ōlne xumitēn 'their man being as leader, i.e. their leader' (V 70). This inclination toward verbal support is the reason for the size of Chapter V in which verbs and their qualifiers are treated.

Thus we come to the final conclusion, that Sosva Vogul is a linguistic system which operates with three main subsystems, phonological, morphological and syntactic, with a dichotomy of obligatory functions and dialectal and/or stylistic variations; the obligatory functions are sufficient to guarantee comprehension in most cases, while the optional features keep the language free enough to answer the needs of any contingencies.

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