

Vogul

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Morphology

3.0 General Remarks

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Noun

3.1.2 Noun

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0. Preface

0.1. Introductory Remarks

The main purpose of this book is to provide a short, succinct overview of the grammar of the (Northern) Vogul language. In the introductory section (0) the following points will also be covered: Vogul ethnonyms, the position of the Vogul language within the Uralic language family, the geographical distribution of Vogul speakers and dialect areas, as well as the present status and presumable fate of the language. Following the grammatical survey (1-5) there will be a brief discussion of the Vogul lexis (6) and a historical survey of Vogul linguistic studies (7). Part 8 will consist of three short Vogul texts together with lexical and grammatical explanations. To conclude with, a selected bibliography of the most important works on Vogul linguistics will be presented (9) and a list of the abbreviations used given (10).

In this volume there will be no major discussion of Vogul history or culture as this would fall outside the scope of the publisher's intention with the series *Languages of the World/Materials*. Suffice it to say the the Voguls have had a history very similar to their geographical neighbors in Western Siberia, nor does their traditional culture differ substantially from others in this part of the world.

0.2. Ethnonyms

There are two names in use for the Vogul people and language. The first - *Mañsi* - is the endogenous name used by themselves, the ethnonym *Vogul* being the exogenous one employed still to a wide extent by the outer world.

0.2.1. Mañsi

The name *Mañsi* can be traced back to the Proto-Ugrian (PUG.) period (cf. 0.3.) as there are cognates in the two other Ugrian languages, but not in the remaining Uralic languages. The *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (UEW, cf. 10.2.) reconstructs the form **mañć* 'Mann, Mensch' for Proto-Ugrian. In Ostyak various forms of the word are in use as the name of a phratry. The word also forms the first part of the Hungarian endogenous ethnonym *Magyar* (*magy*-). It is possible that the word is an old Iranian loanword in which case it would be cognate with the English word *man*. This term is used in all Vogul dialects: Southern Vogul *māñci*, Eastern Vogul (KU) *mōñś*, Western Vogul (P) *māñś*. Whereas this name was earlier used mainly by the Voguls themselves, official Soviet policy discouraged the continued use of exogenous ethnonyms for the peoples of the Soviet Union and the government as well as Soviet linguistic literature employed the term *Mañsi*. This practice has spread to the West in addition so that it is not uncommon for it to be found in Western publications on the Voguls or the Vogul language.

0.2.2. Vogul

The name *Vogul* is very likely connected with the name of a river, the *Vogulka*, which is a left tributary of the *Ob* River. The Ostyak name for this river (*wāγəɫ*)

[Tremyugan dialect] was also used by groups of Ostyak for the Vogul population living there. In time this designation came to be used by the Russians from whom it spread to Western Europe. The Proto-Uralic stem of the word has been reconstructed as **waδ'kə* (UEW 550) and has cognates in several Uralic languages, including Vogul (*wōl'* 'Flußstrecke') and Hungarian (*völgy* 'valley').

0.3. The Position of Vogul in the Uralic Language Family

The Vogul language can be classified as Uralic, then more specifically as Finno-Ugrian, Ugrian, and Ob-Ugrian. This means that it belongs to the broad Uralic language family, the two major subdivisions of which are the Finno-Ugrian and the Samoyede languages. The Finno-Ugrian branch in turn subdivides into the Finno-Permian and the Ugrian branch, the latter consisting of the Ob-Ugrian languages Vogul and Ostyak on the one hand and Hungarian on the other. Thus the most distant linguistic relatives of Vogul are the Samoyede languages, followed by the Finno-Permian languages (although there have been later connections with both branches, as attested to by loan words from the Finno-Permian language Zyrian and the Samoyede language Yurak). The theory of a Proto-Ugrian language, ancestral to Vogul, Ostyak, and Hungarian, is generally accepted today. The Proto-Ugrian unity dissolved sometime in the first millennium B.C. when the ancestors of the modern Hungarians left the area to begin their long journey, ultimately to settle in the Carpathian basin. The linguistic unity between the ancestors of the modern Voguls and Ostyaks lasted somewhat longer, but this linguistic separation is also ancient and has been assumed for the first millennium A.D. The two languages are quite distinct, but their relatively close degree of affinity can be noticed even by non-linguists.

Common elements connecting Vogul to the other Uralic languages can be found in all linguistic spheres: phonology, lexis, morphology, syntax. The number and intensity of these common features increase with the degree of linguistic affinity. Most can be found connecting Vogul to the other Ugrian languages (Hungarian and Ostyak) and to its sister language, Ostyak, the other Ob-Ugrian language. Thus, within the Vogul lexis we can differentiate various strata, Proto-Uralic stems going back to the Proto-Uralic language, Proto-Finno-Ugrian stems with no cognates in Samoyede, Ugrian stems with cognates in Hungarian (and usually Ostyak as well) and Ob-Ugrian stems with the only cognate to be found in Ostyak. Similar statements can be made for grammatical elements. It should also not be forgotten that Vogul (and other Uralic languages) are related typologically to a great number of languages with which no genetic relationship can be assumed for the simple fact that these languages contain a goodly number of agglutinative features.

0.4. Geographical Distribution of Vogul Speakers and Vogul Dialects

The present-day speakers of Vogul are to be found in Northwest Siberia in the Chanty-Mansi Autonomous Region with the city of Chanty-Mansijsk as the regional capital. The area occupied by Vogul speakers has been shrinking for some time.

Whereas we can assume that earlier there was a Vogul-speaking population to the west of the Urals, today they are to be found only east of the Urals, i.e. in Siberia. In the last century and at the beginning of the 20th century the Voguls lived primarily along various left tributaries of the Ob River, the most important of which were the Tavda, Konda, Yukonda, Pelym, Lozva, Vagilsk, Sosva, and Sygva (Russian: Lyapin) Rivers, as well as in few numbers along the Ob River itself.

Traditionally, the various Vogul dialects have been divided into four groups, each of which subdivides into several subdialects. These four major groups are: Northern Vogul, Eastern Vogul, Western Vogul and Southern Vogul. In the following list the dialects are listed together with the usual abbreviations used in Finno-Ugrian linguistics. (These abbreviations are based on the German designations for the dialects.)

Northern Vogul:	Sosva	(So.)
	Upper Lozva	(LO)
	Sygva	(Sy.)
	Ob	(Ob)
Western Vogul:	Middle Lozva	(LM)
	Lower Lozva	(LU)
	North Vagilsk	(VN)
	South Vagilsk	(VS)
	Pelym	(P)
Eastern Vogul:	Upper Konda	(KO)
	Middle Konda	(KM)
	Lower Konda	(KU)
	Yukonda	(Ju.)
Southern Vogul:	= Tavda Dialect	(T)
	[Village of Čandyri]	(TČ)
	[Village of Janyčkova]	(TJ)
	[Village of Gorodok]	(TG)

The western and southern Vogul dialect groups can be regarded as being extinct; our knowledge of them is based for the most part on texts collected in the 19th and early 20th centuries (cf. 7). The bulk of Vogul speakers today represent the northern Vogul dialect group with a handful of eastern Vogul speakers. Taking this into account, Russian linguists sometime refer only to Northern Vogul and Southern Vogul, the latter being identical with the Eastern Vogul dialects as presented above.

Linguistic work concentrates today on Northern Vogul. The literary language is based on the Sosva subdialect of Northern Vogul. This is also the (sub)dialect used in publication. Sosva Vogul is the form of Vogul which primarily will be described in this book. (The differences between the Sosva, Sygva, and Upper Lozva subdialects of Northern Vogul are not great and will not be treated in detail in this book. The Ob subdialect diverges to a greater extent from the other Northern dialects, particularly as regards the sound system. It will not be taken into consideration for the purposes of this short monograph.) Differences between the Vogul dialects can be found in all linguistic areas. The Vogul dialect diverging the most strongly from the others was the Southern (Tavda) dialect. In the following, a few examples will be given for differences in phonetics and morphology. The

examples given are chosen above all to illustrate the differences between Northern Vogul and the other dialects. For a complete analysis the reader is referred to the relevant literature.

Phonetic Differences:

1. Proto-Vogul word-initial voiceless stop *k- before back vowels developed into a voiceless fricative χ- in Northern Vogul (and KU): Northern Vogul χum 'man' ~ T kom, KM KO VS, VN P LU kum.
2. The Proto-Vogul sibilants *s and *š converged in Northern Vogul (and partially in Eastern Vogul) to s: Northern Vogul sus 'flea' ~ T šoš, KU šonš, VS VN P LM šunš.
3. Proto-Vogul short *a developed in Northern Vogul in most cases to o: Northern Vogul osma 'pillow' ~ TJ asmā, KU KM ásmə, VS asəm.
4. Proto-Vogul long *ā developed in Northern Vogul to ā: Northern Vogul āmp 'dog' ~ T āmp, KU KM KO āmp, P LU LM āmp.

Morphological Differences:

1. The possessive suffix for the 3rd person plural is -anəl in Northern Vogul, whereas in most other dialects its form is -ān/-ān or -ān: Northern Vogul χāp-anəl 'boat-Px3PLUR: their boat' ~ LM KO kəpān, T kāpān.
2. The ancient suffix -m for the definite accusative has been lost in Northern Vogul while being retained in Southern and Eastern Vogul. (In Western Vogul it was partially replaced by a new suffix.) Northern Vogul χāp 'boat-NOMACC' ~ T āmp 'dog-NOM' - āmpmi 'dog-ACC', KU χontəη 'Konda-NOM' - χontəηmə 'Konda-ACC'.
3. The substantivizing particle in Northern Vogul is ut, in the other dialects kar (or others): Northern Vogul janiγ 'large, old' ~ janyut 'old man' (cf. 2.4.1.), K wis 'small' ~ wisχār 'child', T lā 'foolish' ~ lāχār 'fool'.

Lexical Differences:

All dialects share a basic, common Vogul vocabulary but have been distinct long enough to exhibit numerous lexical deviations. Examples: Northern Vogul nāj, Southern Vogul tāwt 'fire'; Northern Vogul sāli, Southern Vogul koŋkā 'reindeer'; Northern Vogul mis, Southern Vogul sawər 'cow'.

0.5. Present Status of the Language and Prognosis for the Future

The number of Voguls has been stagnating for the last century. This is illustrated by the following figures from various Russian censuses:

1897: 7.600
1926: 5.754
1959: 6.449
1970: 7.710
1979: 7.563
1989: 8.474

Of even more importance is the language retention rate, i.e. the number of Voguls who actually speak the language as their mother tongue. This number has been decreasing steadily in recent years:

1959: 59.2%
1970: 52.4%
1979: 49.5%
1989: 37.1%

Thus, in 1989 (last available census figures) only a little over three thousand citizens of the Soviet Union gave Vogul as their mother tongue. It is apparent that all these figures do not bode well for the future of the language. In addition, studies have shown that there are grave differences in language retention with regard to age. The typical Vogul speaker is older than the average population; the language is not being passed on to younger generations. If this tendency continues, the Vogul language could dwindle and completely disappear in a number of years.

What are the reasons for this language loss (in most cases language shift Vogul > Russian)? The situation with regard to Vogul is no different than that with a great many small aboriginal languages in all parts of the world. A small minority finds it difficult to retain its own language and culture when faced with an overwhelming linguistic majority which at the same time represents the modern, outside world. It is not only the Vogul language which is in danger, but also the traditional way of life, folk customs, folk beliefs, etc. This century brought an end to the relative isolation in which the Voguls had lived. Ever since the 1930's when the Soviet authorities turned their attention to the situation of the small, aboriginal Siberian peoples, the Vogul language and civilization has been in great danger. The central state forced many Voguls to give up their traditional means of sustenance (hunting, fishing, reindeer husbandry) and had many give up their semi-nomad life and move to larger settlements where they were only a minority. More prosperous farmers and fishers, as well as the shamans, were particularly subject to repression and in many cases were killed. Children were forcibly sent to boarding schools where the language of instruction was Russian and where they lost contact with the traditions and language of their parents. To make matters worse, oil and natural gas were discovered in Northwest Siberia. This accelerated rural exodus and the loss of the traditional way of life. The Voguls settling in larger towns and cities typically formed an uneducated, lower class, looked down upon by the Russians and tended to assimilate linguistically. The exploitation of natural resources caused wide-spread and major ecological damage, doing permanent harm to the traditional fishing and hunting areas. It also resulted in a heavy afflux of newcomers to the region. This is attested to by figures for the population of the Chanty-Mansi Autonomous Region:

1938: 98.300 (Voguls: 6.2%)
1969: 289.000 (Voguls: 2.9%)
1979: 596.000 (Voguls: 1.1%)
1989: 1.268.000 (Voguls: 0.6%)

Today the Voguls form only a tiny minority in their ancient lands. The great majority of the newcomers have also had no interest in the culture and language of the ancient population, many discriminating against the "inferior natives". Impoverishment and alcoholism have become a major problem for the Voguls.

The future is bleak for the Vogul language and culture. Should it be possible to retain their lands and traditional way of life in some sort of "reservation", as has been proposed, there could be hope for the Vogul language in the new millennium. If developments continue as in the last decades, however, the Vogul language could very easily become extinct.

1. Phonology

1.1. Vowel System

There are large differences in the vowel systems of the various Vogul dialects. Here as well as in the rest of this book it is Northern Vogul which will be described.

For an analysis of the Vogul vowel system the following factors must be taken into consideration:

1. **Position.** The vowel inventory of the first syllable is different than that of non-first syllables (which is also a typical trait of Finno-Ugrian languages). The reduced vowel ə does not occur in the first syllable, the vowel e only rarely. (Phonematically) long vowels are restricted to the first syllable, although the vowels of the non-first syllables are by no means all of uniformly short phonetic length. The labial vowels u/ū, o/ō do not, as a rule, occur in non-first syllables. An "exception" here is u before labial consonants resulting from an underlying reduced vowel [cf. 1.1.2.: ə]. Note that labial vowels can easily occur in non-first syllables in compound forms (e.g. *tēnut* 'food' < *tēne* 'present participle of *tē-* 'to eat' + substantivizing particle *ut*, *χōslōχ* 'name of a village' < *χosa* 'long' + *lōχ* 'bay').

2. **Length.** The vowels of the first syllable are phonematically long or short, this difference having differentiating character. Minimal pairs can be formed with a~ā, o~ō, and u~ū in the first syllable, but not with e~ē or i~ī, as ī and even more so e very rarely occur in the first syllable. Some examples:

a~ā:	<i>sam</i> ~ <i>sām</i>	'eye' ~ 'corner'
	<i>tal</i> ~ <i>tāl</i>	'lap; fathom' ~ 'winter; year'
o~ō:	<i>χol-</i> ~ <i>χōl-</i>	'to stop' ~ 'to die'
	<i>jor</i> ~ <i>jōr</i>	'trace' ~ 'strength'
u~ū:	<i>put</i> ~ <i>pūt</i>	'ice-crust' ~ 'cauldron'
	<i>sup</i> ~ <i>sūp</i>	'shirt' ~ 'mouth'

Phonetically, the long vowels are approximately twice as long as the short ones. The nature of the syllable also influences the phonetic length of the vowels. In closed syllables they are shorter, in open syllables longer. This does not, however, affect the major phonematic distinction of short and long.

3. **Labiality.** The vowels are labial or illabial.

4. **Vowel Height.** Depending on the individual analysis either three vowel heights (high, mid, low) or two (high, low) are distinguished.

5. **Horizontal Tongue Position.** There is a correlation between back and front vowels, although actually this distinction is only a 'by-product' of labiality. Back vowels are labial (ū, u, ō, o) whereas the front vowels are illabial (ī, i, ē, e). (The vowels ā and a occupy a special position. They are illabial, being phonetically central-back, but can be considered phonologically back.)

6. **Environment.** Depending on the phonetic environment various allophones can be distinguished (cf. below). In general, the short vowels are more susceptible to being influenced by their environment than the long ones.

1.1.1. First Syllable Vowels

Different scholars have proposed various analyses of the first syllable vowels. These can be subsumed and abbreviated into two major systems: 1) Rombandejeva-Kálmán-Keresztes (cf. Rombandejeva 1973: 17-28, Kálmán 1984: 73-76, Keresztes 1998: 392-393) and 2) Steinitz-Honti (cf. Steinitz 1955: 32-36, Honti 1982: 16).

	Front	Central	Back
ad 1)			
<u>High</u>	ī, i		ū, u
<u>Mid</u>	ē, (e)		ō, o
<u>Low</u>		ā, a	
ad 2)			
	<u>Illabial</u>	<u>Labial</u>	
<u>High</u>	ē, i	ū, u	
<u>Low</u>	ā, a	ō, o	

The differences lie in the degree of phonological rigorousness, the treatment of *i* and *e*, and the priority given to the characteristics back~front as opposed to illabial~labial. A synthesis can be obtained as follows:

	Front	Back
<u>High</u>	/i/, i	ū, u (labial)
<u>Mid</u>	ē, /e/	ō, o (labial)
<u>Low</u>		ā, a (illabial)

Remarks on the individual vowels:

- /i/ Front, high, illabial, long. This vowel is rare and can best be regarded as a peripheral phoneme. In non-Sosva subdialects *ē* is frequently found in its place. Examples: *wil't* 'face', *it'i* 'evening' (~ *wē't*, *ēt'i*). When followed by the fricative *γ* it is backed (-īγ). Example: *pīγ* (~ *pīγ*) 'boy, son'.
- i Front, high, illabial, short. Examples: *ńila* 'four', *tin* 'price'. When followed by the fricative *γ* or preceded by *χ* it is backed (-iγ ~ χi-). Example: *wiγ* (~ *wiγ*) '(he) takes', *χiwl* (~ *χiwl*) 'to row'.
- ē Front, mid, illabial, long. Examples: *mēn* 'we (dual)', *kēnt* 'cap'. The vowel can also be diphthongized (*ē* ~ *eε*).
- /e/ Front, mid, illabial, short. This vowel occurs only very rarely in the first syllable and can be regarded as peripheral. Examples: *erttam* 'as if' (also *ērttam*), *nes* 'perhaps' (also *nas*).
- ū Back, high, labial, long. Examples: *tūr* 'lake', *χūl* 'fish'.
- u Back, high, labial, short. In the vicinity of palatalized consonants and *j* it can be fronted to some extent. Examples: *χum* 'man', *pun* 'feather'.
- ō Back, mid, labial, long. Examples: *jōr* 'strength', *ōs* 'sheep'. The vowel can also be diphthongized (*ō* ~ *oā*).

- o Back, mid, labial, short. Examples: *χosa* 'long', *pos* 'light'.
- ā Back, low, illabial, long. Examples: *sās* 'birch bark', *āt* 'hair'.
- a Back, low, illabial, short. Examples: *at* 'five', *kaŋk* '(elder) brother'. In the vicinity of palatalized consonants and *j* this vowel can be fronted to an extent.

The long back vowels *ū*, *ō* and *ā* also differ from short *u*, *o*, and *a* in being phonetically somewhat lower.

1.1.2. Non-First Syllable Vowels

The vowel phonemes *a*, *e*, *i*, and *ə* (with various allophones) occur in non-first syllables of Vogul words. They have two characteristics in common, being illabial and (phonologically) short. The opposition short~long is, as noted above, only relevant for the first syllable. In word-final position only *a*, *e*, and *i* occur.

- a The phonetic length can vary, being shorter in closed syllables, longer in open syllables, although not in word-final position. In closed syllables *a* can be somewhat reduced. Examples: *ašarma* 'cold', *pasan* 'table'.
- e The phonetic length can vary, being shorter in closed syllables, longer in open syllables, although not in word-final position. Examples: *mineγem* 'I go!', *wite* 'water-Px3Sg: his/her water'.
- i Just as in the first syllable *i* has a back variant before *γ*. Examples: *wāri* 'he does/makes', *janiγ* (~ *janīγ*) 'large'.
- ə Central, reduced vowel. It has several combinatory allophones. Before the labial consonants *m* and *p*, and in particular before *w* it is also more or less labialized and realized as a reduced or full *u*. In the vicinity of palatalized consonants it can become similar to *i*. A velarized variant (*ε*) can also occur, above all in certain flexion forms. Examples: *kēŋən* 'button', *sēməl* 'black', *tōrəm* (~ *tōr'm*) 'sky', *jūntəp* (~ *jūnt'p*) 'needle', *joγwli* (~ *joγwli*) 'he forgets', *āməs* (~ *āmīs*) 'riddle'.

In this book neither the various vocalic allophones nor vowel length in non-first syllables will be indicated. Exceptions: 1) *əw* > *uw*, 2) various suffixes which always contain a long vowel, 3) vocative long vowel (*oma* 'mother' ~ *omā* 'mother!').

Computation of vowel occurrence (first and non-first syllables) indicate the following order (in descending frequency): *a*, *i*, *ə*, *o*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*, *u*, *e*, *ū*, *ɪ* (cf. Kálmán 1976: 36).

1.2. Consonant System

The Vogul consonant system can be portrayed as follows:

	Stop	Fricative	Sibilant	Lateral	Tremulant	Nasal
<u>Bilabial</u>	p	w				m
<u>Dento-Alveolar</u>	t			l	r	n
<u>Alveo-Palatal</u>	t'		ś	l'		ń
<u>Palatal</u>		j				
<u>Velar</u>	k	χ, γ				ŋ
<u>Labiovelar</u>	k ^w	χ ^w				

General remarks: 1. The palatalization correlation is of great importance and involves all the dento-alveolars with the exception of r (t~t', s~ś, l~l', n~ń). 2. The correlation voiced~unvoiced plays no real role in the consonant system. (Note the lack of voiced b/d/g/d'/z/ž.) The only voiced-unvoiced pair is χ ~ γ, but it does not contrast (word-medially) to form minimal pairs. (A word-initial contrast is not possible, since whereas χ occurs commonly in word-initial position, γ never does.) 3. There is no phonological, distinctive contrast long~short among the consonants such as can be observed with the vowels, although geminate consonants can occur word-medially (cf. below). Syllable-closing consonants following a short vowel are pronounced somewhat longer, but this is a purely phonetic phenomenon. 4. In Russian loanwords additional consonants can occur. 5. In modern speech there is a tendency for the front vowels e~ē and i~i' to palatalize the preceding consonants. This can be ascribed to the influence of Russian.

Remarks on individual consonants:

- p Voiceless bilabial stop. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *pal'* 'ear', *nupəl* 'to, towards', *tēp* 'food'.
- t Voiceless dental stop. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *tāl* 'winter', *tōtap* 'chest', *at* 'smell'.
- t' Voiceless, palatalized dental stop. Rare phoneme. Occurs in all positions, but is particularly rare in word-final position. Examples: *t'ūpəŋ* 'dear', *pit'i* 'nest', *pot'* 'drip'. In the Sygva subdialect the occurrence of t' is higher as there the change ke, ki > t'e, t'i has taken place (*kēnt* > *t'ēnt* 'hat', *kit* > *t'it* 'two').
- k Voiceless velar stop. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *kāt* 'hand', *akí* 'uncle', *tāk* 'strong'.
- k^w Voiceless, labialized velar stop. The fricative-glide segment is voiced before vowels, otherwise voiceless. It would appear to be unstable in modern speech, progressively being replaced by k. This sound occurs word-initially only before ā. Examples: *k^wālīy* 'rope', *tak^wəs* 'autumn', *ak^w* 'one'.
- w Voiced, bilabial fricative. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *wōt* 'wind', *āwi* 'door', *luw* 'horse'.

- j Voiced palatal fricative. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *jā* 'river', *aji* '(he) drinks', *nāj* 'fire'.
- χ Voiceless velar fricative. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *χōtal* 'sun; day', *māχəm* 'people', *toχ* 'so'.
- γ Voiced velar fricative. It does not occur word-initially. Examples: *miy* '(he) gives', *māγəs* 'for; because'.
- χ^w Voiceless, labialized velar fricative. The second, fricative-glide segment is voiced before vowels, otherwise voiceless. Its phonemic status is not recognized by all researchers. This sound is relatively rare, does not occur word-initially, but principally medially. Examples: *āχ^wsalan̄k^we* 'to undress', *āχ^wtas* 'stone'.
- s Voiceless, dental sibilant. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *sēməl* 'black', *osəŋ* 'thick', *lus* 'meadow'.
- ś Voiceless, palatalized alveo-palatal sibilant. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *śāń* 'mother', *raśi* 'silk clothing', *piś* 'trick'.
- l Voiced, dental lateral. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *lēy* 'tail', *ala* 'roof', *tāl* 'winter'.
- l' Voiced, palatalized alveo-palatal lateral. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *l'ōmwoj* 'gnat', *χuli* '(he) leaves', *χāl* 'birch tree'.
- m Voiced, bilabial nasal. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *māń* 'small', *naməŋ* 'famous', *χūrəm* 'three'.
- n Voiced, dental nasal. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *nē* 'woman', *tinəŋ* 'expensive', *tān* 'sinew'.
- ń Voiced, palatalized alveo-palatal nasal. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *ńāmək* 'soft', *ańa* 'heap', *śuń* 'wealth'.
- ŋ Voiced velar nasal. Occurs only medially and in word-final position. Examples: *mūŋi* 'egg', *iŋ* 'still'.

In addition, some researchers consider ŋ (voiced, labialized velar nasal) to have phonematic character (cf. e.g. Honti 1982).

Computation of consonant occurrence (not including the labialized velars) indicate the following order (in descending frequency): t, l, m, s, w, r, n, p, k, γ, χ, j, ś, l', ń, ŋ, t' (cf. Kálmán 1976: 36).

Geminate Consonants: As remarked above, there is no phonological opposition in length among the consonants. Geminate consonants can, however, be observed in word-medial position, if not often. They can occur 1) in free morphemes, or 2) at morpheme boundaries.

ad 1) *sakka* 'sugar', *okka* 'young tame reindeer', *illtiy* 'suddenly', *kossəm* 'basket made of birch-bark', *pāssa* 'mitten', *l'āχχal* 'message'.

ad 2) *pāt* 'in the cauldron' < *pāt* 'cauldron' + locative suffix -t, *lāwwe* 'it is said' < *lāw-* 'say' + passive suffix -we, *patti* 'he drops' < *pat-* 'to fall' + causative suffix -t, *ārppal* 'small (fish)-fence' < *ārpi* 'fish-fence' + *pāl* 'deminutive suffix'.

1.3. Syllabification

Syllable number is determined by the number of vowels in the word, i.e. the vowel is the nuclear element of the syllable in Vogul. Syllables can be closed or open. Post-vocalic single consonants belong to the following syllable in polysyllabic words. In the case of medial consonant clusters or geminate consonants, the last element forms part of the following syllable. Examples: *χo-sa* 'long', *lē-pi* '(he) covers', *tō-tap* 'chest', *sō-jəm* 'brook', *sim-ri* 'perch', *χul-ti* '(he) remains', *jār-mak* 'silk', *sōr-nəŋ* 'golden', *kurs-ka* 'jug', *sak-kar* 'sugar'.

1.4. Syllable Structure

The following syllable types can be identified in native words, others being possible in recent (Russian) loan words.

V:	<i>a</i> 'and; but', <i>ē-nəŋ</i> 'aunt'
VC:	<i>ūs</i> 'city', <i>ēr-γi</i> '(he) sings'
VCC:	<i>ānt</i> 'horn', <i>ilt-tiy</i> 'suddenly'
CV:	<i>ti</i> 'this', <i>nē-ləm</i> 'tongue'
CVC:	<i>nār</i> 'swamp', <i>sāγ-rap</i> 'axe'
CVCC:	<i>jōwt</i> 'bow', <i>mo-wint</i> 'laughter'

1.5. Consonant Clusters

1.5.1. Word-Initial Consonant Clusters

As seen in 1.4., Vogul avoids word-initial consonant clusters. (The labio-velars *k* and *χ* should not be interpreted as being clusters.) This avoidance is characteristic not only for Vogul, but also for the majority of the Finno-Ugrian languages and represents an ancient feature of Vogul word structure. In older loan words the consonant clusters were dissolved in varying ways: 1) Insertion of an epenthetic vowel: *kanaś* 'distinguished man; superior' < Zyrian *knaž* 'prince' < Russian князь 'prince', 2) Metathesis: *pirkāta* < Russian бригада 'brigade', 3) Prothetic vowel: *iskap* ~ *askap* 'cupboard' < Russian шкаф 'id.', 4) Loss of first consonant: *lusit-* 'to serve' < Russian служит '(he) serves'. The tendency to avoid word-initial consonant clusters is still valid although in more recent (Russian) loan words the retention of initial consonant clusters can be observed. This is, of course, a consequence of growing and wide-spread bilingualism.

1.5.2. Word-Final Consonant Clusters

In word-final position certain types of consonant clusters are tolerated. They can be analyzed according to their individual components (combinations of stops, fricatives, liquids, and nasals). Not all combinations are possible or equally common. In the following table the combinations are presented with the symbols + (= [relatively] common cluster), 0 (= [relatively] uncommon cluster), x (= non-occurring cluster). (In the following table liquid = lateral + tremulant and fricative = fricative + sibilant.)

	+ Liquid	Nasal	Fricative	Stop
Liquid	x	+	+	+
Nasal	0	0	+	+
Fricative	0	0	0	+
Stop	0	x	0	0

Examples for the most common cluster types: 1) Liquid + Nasal: -ln (*oln* 'silver; money'), 2) Liquid + Fricative: -rs (*pors* 'dirt, dust'), 3) Liquid + Stop: -rt (*sort* 'pike'), 4) Nasal + Fricative: -ns (*kons* 'nail; claw'), 5) Nasal + Stop: -nt (*lunt* 'wild goose'), 6) Fricative + Stop: -jt (*pajt* 'face, cheek').

A great many of the Vogul word-final consonant clusters are unstable, i.e. there is a tendency for them to be a) simplified or b) dissolved. Ad a) Simplification: This is typical for clusters consisting of nasals and homorganic fricatives (-ns > -s) [cf. 2.3.]. Ad b) Dissolution: A reduced vowel can be inserted between the two components of the consonant cluster (-lm > -ləm, -rs > -rəs, -mt > -mæt, etc.).

The most common of the consonant clusters would seem to be -nt, followed by -rt, -nś, -ŋk, -rs, -lt, -jt, -rp, -ŋk", -rś, -ns, -ŋχ, and -χt in decreasing order. Not surprisingly all the common consonant clusters conform to the sonority hierarchy which states that "well-formed" word-final consonant clusters decrease in sonority (liquid > nasal > fricative > stop).

Word-final three consonant clusters are not unknown, but would appear to be unstable, being speech variants of the commoner sequence -CCəC, for example *mōrtəs* ~ *mōrts* ~ *mors* 'measure, weight, quality'.

It should be noted that the above remarks apply only to monomorphemic forms. Inflected forms with consonantal suffixes can show a wider variety of word-final consonant clusters.

1.6. Stress

Stress in Vogul words is fixed, falling regularly on the first syllable. This is in accordance with the majority of Finno-Ugrian languages. We can also assume first-syllable stress for Proto-Vogul. In Southern Vogul it shifted to the second syllable due to strong Tatar influence. In addition to the first-syllable stress in Northern Vogul there is a noticeable secondary stress on all additional odd syllables (third, fifth) with the exception of the final syllable.

In this chapter some regular tendencies will be discussed which (can) occur when two free morphemes are joined (word composition) or when a bound morpheme (suffix) is added to a free morpheme (stem).

2.1. Vowel Shortening

In word composition the long vowel of the second component can be shortened. Examples: *ārppal* 'small (fish)-fence' < *ārpi* '(fish-)fence' + *pāl* 'deminutive suffix', *jā-wata* 'river bank' < *jā* 'river' + *wāta* 'bank', *misne* 'fairy' < *mis* 'spirit' + *nē* 'woman', *māñuj* 'gnat' < *māñ* 'small' + *uj* 'animal'.

2.2. Avoidance of Vowel Juncture

To avoid vowel juncture or the formation of a diphthong different strategies can be employed.

1. Vowel Elision: The first vowel in what would otherwise be a combination of two vowels can be elided. This can be observed 1) in word composition and also 2) within phrases and sentences.

ad 1) *tēnut* 'food' < *tēne* 'present participle of *tē-* 'to eat' + substantivizing particle *ut*', *ajnut* 'drink' < *ajne* 'present participle of *aj-* 'to drink' + substantivizing particle *ut*'.

ad 2) *t(a) aji*, *ta tēγ* 'so, drink-3SGPRES, so, eat-3SGPRES: so he drinks and eats', *χos(a) δlsiy* 'long, live-3DuPast: they (dual) lived for a long time'.

2. Hiatus Deletion: In certain forms the consonant *j* is regularly inserted to avoid vowel juncture. Example: *sāli-j-iy* 'reindeer (Du)' < *sāli* 'reindeer' + *-iy* 'dual suffix', *sāli-j-an-əm* 'my reindeer (Plur)' < *sāli* 'reindeer' + *-an* 'suffix indicating plural possession' + *-əm* 'Px1Sg'.

2.3. Avoidance of Consonant Clusters

As noted in the previous chapter, certain consonant clusters are regularly tolerated in non-word-initial positions. Nonetheless, Vogul uses different methods of avoiding three-consonant clusters or of simplifying two-consonant clusters.

1. Consonant Cluster > Geminate: This is not common, but instances can be found. Examples: *okka* 'young, tame reindeer' ≤ *owka*, *jārppi* 'barrier' ≤ *jārtpi*, *pāssa* 'mitten' ~ cf. KU *pasγə* 'id.'.

2. Denasalization: The loss of the nasal element of a consonant cluster consisting of a nasal and a homorganic fricative/sibilant is quite common. These consonant clusters (= *-nχ*, *-ns-*, *-ñs-*, *-nχ*, *-nχ^h*, *-nς*) can be simplified 1) in word-final position, or 2) in word-medial position. (They do not occur in word-initial position.)

ad1) In the modern language there is a tendency for the first (nasal) element of these consonant clusters to disappear in word-final position, being, however, retained before suffixes beginning with vowels. Examples: *l'ōχ* 'path' ≤ *l'ōηχ* ~ cf. *l'ōηχət* 'paths', *l'ūs* ≤ *l'ūs^h* 'crying' ~ *l'ūs^hi* '(he) cries'.

ad 2) If in an inflected form the consonant cluster is followed by a consonant, the nasal element will regularly disappear. Examples: *l'ōχnəl* 'from the path' < *l'ōηχ* 'path' + *-nəl* 'ablative suffix', *susne* 'watching' < *suns-* 'to watch' + *-ne* 'present participle', *χaśśəm* 'I knew' < *χaśś-* 'to know' + *-s* 'preterite suffix' + *-əm* 'personal suffix: 1Sg'.

2.4. Stem Alternation

Vogul is a typical agglutinative language, in contrast for example to the Balto-Fennic languages, in that its word stems typically remain unchanged when inflected. Only few alternations need be noted here. (N.B.: In this book the connecting vowels appearing between certain suffixes beginning with a consonant and stems ending in a consonant will be considered as belonging to the suffix, thus representing suffix rather than stem alternation. For example, the plural suffix *-t* will be considered to have an allomorph *-ət* used with consonant stems (*kēnt* 'cap' ~ *kēnt-ət* 'caps') rather than assuming a sole plural suffix *-t* and two nominal stems (*kēnt* ~ *kēntə-*). The same applies to verbal stems with their various connecting vowels.)

2.4.1. Syncopating stems

Stems ending in *-iy* or *ə* + consonant lose this vowel when suffixes beginning with a vowel are added. This results in the loss of a syllable and the formation of a word-medial consonant cluster. Examples: *χūriγ* 'sack', *āməs* 'riddle', *ñēləm* 'tongue' + suffixes *-ət* (Plur) and *-əm* (Px1Sg) ~ *χūryət*, *āmsət*, *ñēlmət*; *χūryəm*, *āmsəm*, *ñēlməm*.

2.4.2. Irregular Verbs

Vogul possesses a small number (six) of irregular verbs, all having a vowel and a consonant stem and for the most part exhibiting vowel alternation (*mi-* 'to give', *li-* 'to throw', *wi-* 'to take', *ji-* 'to come', *tē-* 'to eat', *wā-* 'to see'). For paradigms of these verbs cf. 3.6.

2.4.3. Vowel Alternation

Both Vogul and Ostyak are characterized by paradigmatic vowel alternations appearing in flexion and word formation which to a certain extent can be traced back to the Ob-Ugrian proto-language. Whereas the system of vowel alternation is still viable in other Vogul dialects, in Northern Vogul it has become greatly leveled and has decreased in importance. Today it no longer forms a functioning system

but can only be observed in a number of irregularities. These occur in the small number of irregular verbs mentioned in 2.4.2. and in certain cases of word formation. The more important vowel alternations can be summarized as follows:

a) Vowel Alternation in Verb Stems

	Present-Tense Stem	Imperative Stem
i ~ a:	<i>mi-</i> 'to give' <i>li-</i> 'to throw'	<i>maj-</i> <i>laj-</i>
i/u ~ a/i:	<i>ji- ~ ju-</i> 'to come'	<i>jaj- ~ jij-</i>
i ~ o/u:	<i>wi-</i> 'to take'	<i>woj- ~ wuj-</i>
ē ~ ā:	<i>tē-</i> 'to eat'	<i>tāj-</i>

b) Vowel Alternation in Non-Verbal Stems

ā ~ ē:	<i>tāl</i> 'winter' ~ <i>tēli</i> 'in winter'
ā ~ ū:	<i>pāγ</i> 'to the shore' ~ <i>pājn</i> 'on the shore'
ō ~ ū:	<i>lōηχαl</i> 'downstream (direction)' ~ <i>lūn</i> 'downstream (place)'
ū ~ u:	<i>χūl'</i> 'to leave' ~ <i>χul't</i> 'to remain'
ō ~ u:	<i>nōηχαl</i> 'upstream (direction)' ~ <i>numən</i> 'on top'
o ~ u:	<i>powar-</i> 'to roll' ~ <i>puwər</i> 'round'
i ~ a:	<i>ñila</i> 'four' ~ <i>naliman</i> 'forty'

2.4.4. Irregular Stem in Possessive Declination

The word *χum* 'man' is unusual in that it has a second, i-augmented stem used in the possessive declination: *χumi-*. Thus: *χumi-m*, *χumi-n*, *χumi-te* 'my/your/his-her man/husband', etc.

2.5. Suffix Alternation

Many suffixes have two or more allomorphs. These alternations will be examined in detail in the pertinent sections of chapter 3. Here only the major types of suffix alternations with one example each will be listed.

1. Presence/Lack of Consonant. Possessive suffix of the third person singular -e ~ -te: *kol-e* 'his house' ~ *āγi-te* 'his daughter'.
2. Presence/Lack of Vowel. Plural suffix -ət ~ -t: *kol-ət* 'houses' ~ *āγi-t* 'daughters'.
3. Vowel Alternation. Infinitive suffix -aηk^we ~ -uηk^we: *lāwuηk^we* 'to say' ~ *aliślan^we* 'to hunt'.
4. Consonant Alternation. Deminutive suffix -k^we ~ -ke: *āγi-k^we* 'small girl' ~ *āγi-ke-m* 'small girl-Px1 Sg: my small girl'.

5. Short/Long Suffix Variants. Possessive suffix: second person singular, plural possession -n/-nən ~ an/anən: *pōra-n* ~ *pōra-nən* 'raft-Px2 Sg-PLUR Poss: your rafts', *kol-an* ~ *kol-anən* 'house-Px2 Sg-PLUR Poss: your houses'.

3. Morphology

3.0. General Remarks

As already mentioned, Vogul can be considered a typical agglutinative language. It is true that we find a plethora of inflectional affixes (almost all suffixes), but (in general) they are added to invariable stems, are themselves invariable (or possess transparent allomorphs), and have a one-to-one correspondence in meaning and form. This obviates the presence of differing declensions and conjugations found in inflecting languages. Various types of suffixes can be added to one stem to form a complex form, which, however, is for the most part easily analyzable.

In the treatment of the morphological structure of Vogul there will be more mention of optional variants as would be the case with languages having an old and well-established literary tradition. Although there definitely are norms for written Vogul it was thought best to mention here variants found in non-Sosva subdialects as well as some optional for Sosva speakers as well.

In this chapter the morphological system of Vogul will be discussed. Its transparent nature lends itself well to a traditional treatment based on the main parts of speech. They will be presented in the following order: 1. Nouns, 2. Adjectives, 3. Pronouns, 4. Postpositions, 5. Numerals, 6. Verbs, 7. Adverbs, 8. Conjunctions, and 9. Particles. Many of the example sentences in this chapter are taken from Balandin 1960.

3.1. Nouns

Vogul nouns can be inflected for number, case, and possession. Number and case are obligatory, possession optional. If number is not otherwise indicated on a Vogul noun, it is in the (unmarked) singular. If case is not otherwise indicated, the noun is in the (unmarked) nominative. Possession is always marked and always indicates number as well. Thus, the form of a Vogul noun can indicate a) number and case, or b) number, case, and possession.

There is no grammatical gender in Vogul, just as there is none in the other Finno-Ugrian languages. Natural gender is expressed through different words (*piy* 'boy' ~ *āyi* 'girl') or through composition (*sāli-ēk*'a 'female reindeer' ~ *sāli-ōjka* 'male reindeer' < *sāli* 'reindeer', *ēk*'a 'woman', *ōjka* 'man').

Vogul does not employ specific definite or indefinite articles, although there are ways of expressing definiteness or indefiniteness (cf. 5.4.).

With regard to nominal inflection there are no separate declensions to be taken into consideration, i.e. the same endings are employed for all nouns. On the other hand, there can be slight variation in the actual shape of the endings depending on the final sound(s) of the nouns. In this regard the following groups can be distinguished: vowel-final nouns (-a/-e and -i) and consonant-final nouns (single consonant final nouns and vowel cluster final nouns).

3.1.1. Number

Vogul distinguishes three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The singular is unmarked. The dual number is expressed with the endings: -γ (after stems ending

in -a and -e), -iy [-jγ] (after stems ending in consonants), and -jiy [-jγj] (after stems ending in -i). The plural endings are: -t (after stems ending in vowels) and -ət (after stems ending in consonants).

	Singular	Dual	Plural	
'float, raft'	<i>pōra</i>	<i>pōray</i>	<i>pōrat</i>	
'woman'	<i>nē</i>	<i>nēγ</i>	<i>nēt</i>	
'cup'	<i>āni</i>	<i>ānijiy</i>	<i>ānit</i>	
'girl'	<i>āyi</i>	<i>āyijiy</i>	<i>āyit</i>	
'boat'	<i>χāp</i>	<i>χāpiy</i>	<i>χāpət</i>	
'tale'	<i>mōjt</i>	<i>mōjtij</i>	<i>mōjtət</i>	
'sack'	<i>χūriy</i>	<i>χūriyγ</i>	<i>χūryət</i>	(Syncopating stem, cf. 2.4.1.)

Some variation in these endings can be observed in non-Sosva subdialects or Sosva idiolects: 1) The dual -γ and (more rarely) the plural -t can be reduplicated (*nē* 'woman': dual *nēγ* ~ *nēγiγ*, plural *nēt* ~ *nētəŋ*). 2) The plural ending -t can be added directly to the consonant stem (*χūl* 'fish': *χūlət* ~ *χūlt*). The much more general rule that the plural ending is attached to a stem ending in a consonant with a connecting vowel allows for the differentiation between nominative plural (*χūlət* 'fish') and locative singular (*χūlt* 'in the fish').

Usage: The basic function of the numbers is, of course, to express that we are dealing with one object (*χāp* '(one) boat'), two objects (*χāpiy* 'two boats'), or three or more objects (*χāpət* 'boats'). The following should be noted in connection with the a) singular and b) dual:

a) Singular: The singular is also generally used in connection with objects usually appearing in pairs, rather than the dual (*sam* 'eyes', *lāyəl* 'legs'). To express that we are dealing with only one member of the pair the usual procedure is to use a compound with the word *pāl* 'half' (> *pal*, cf. 2.1.): *sampal* 'eye', *lāyəlpal* 'leg'.

b) Dual: A special feature of Vogul (and Ostyak) is the usage of the dual to express coordination between two persons/objects having a particular affinity to one another. Thus: *ēk*'a 'woman', *ōjka* 'man' > *ēk*'ay *ōjkay*'a woman and a man = a married couple' and not 'two women and two men'.

Collective Suffix: There is a special collective suffix with the marker -ńś on the borderline between inflection and derivation. It is generally used with terms denoting kinship and has 1) collective, or 2) comitative meaning. ad 1: *tēn jayājinhś* 'PRONPERS3DU, father-daughter-COLL: They are sisters.', ad 2: *āsəhś minasəy* 'father-COLL, go-3DUPAST: The father left with his son/his daughter.' The collective suffix can also be followed by the plural suffix: *ās piyəhśət minasət* 'father, son-COLLPLUR, go-3PLURPAST: The father left with his sons.'

3.1.2. Case

3.1.2.1. Case Suffixes

Vogul nouns can appear in any one of six cases: nominative, lative, locative, ablative, instrumental, and translative. In addition there are vocative forms which do not form an integral part of the case system. The endings are the same in all three numbers. (The translative is generally used only with singular stems.) The suffix order is number + case. The major forms of the case endings are the following.

Nominative: \emptyset

Lative: 1. -n, 2. -ən (after consonant clusters)

Locative: 1. -t, 2. -ət (after consonant clusters)

Ablative: -nəl

Instrumental: 1. -l, 2. -əl (after consonants), 3. -təl (after dual suffix and possessive suffixes)

Translative: 1. -γ, 2. -iy (after consonants)

In the following table the declension of five nouns is shown: *pōra* 'float, raft' (vocalic stem in a), *āwi* 'door' (vocalic stem in i), *χāp* 'boat' (consonant stem), *tump* 'island' (stem with word-final consonant cluster) and *χūriγ* 'sack' (syncopating stem). Note the use of the syncopated stem in a) singular instrumental and translative, and b) in the complete dual and plural forms. Note also the hiatus blockage with -j- in i-stems in singular translative and the dual (cf. 2.2.)

Singular

Nom.	<i>pōra</i>	<i>āwi</i>	<i>χāp</i>	<i>χūriγ</i>	<i>tump</i>
Lat.	<i>pōran</i>	<i>āwin</i>	<i>χāpn</i>	<i>χūriγn</i>	<i>tumpən</i>
Loc.	<i>pōrat</i>	<i>āwit</i>	<i>χāpt</i>	<i>χūriγt</i>	<i>tumpət</i>
Abl.	<i>pōranəl</i>	<i>āwinəl</i>	<i>χāpnəl</i>	<i>χūriγnəl</i>	<i>tumpnəl</i>
Instr.	<i>pōral</i>	<i>āwil</i>	<i>χāpəl</i>	<i>χūriγəl</i>	<i>tumpəl</i>
Trans.	<i>pōray</i>	<i>āwijiy</i>	<i>χāpiγ</i>	<i>χūriγiy</i>	<i>tumpiy</i>

Dual

Nom.	<i>pōray</i>	<i>āwijiy</i>	<i>χāpiγ</i>	<i>χūriγiy</i>	<i>tumpiy</i>
Lat.	<i>pōrayn</i>	<i>āwijiyən</i>	<i>χāpiγn</i>	<i>χūriγiyən</i>	<i>tumpiyən</i>
Loc.	<i>pōrayt</i>	<i>āwijiyt</i>	<i>χāpiγt</i>	<i>χūriγiyt</i>	<i>tumpiyt</i>
Abl.	<i>pōraynəl</i>	<i>āwijiyənəl</i>	<i>χāpiγnəl</i>	<i>χūriγiyənəl</i>	<i>tumpiyənəl</i>
Instr.	<i>pōraytəl</i>	<i>āwijiytəl</i>	<i>χāpiγtəl</i>	<i>χūriγiytəl</i>	<i>tumpiytəl</i>
Transl.	—	—	—	—	—

Plural

Nom.	<i>pōrat</i>	<i>āwit</i>	<i>χāpət</i>	<i>χūriγət</i>	<i>tumpət</i>
Lat.	<i>pōratn</i>	<i>āwitn</i>	<i>χāpətn</i>	<i>χūriγətn</i>	<i>tumpətn</i>
Loc.	<i>pōratt</i>	<i>āwitt</i>	<i>χāpətt</i>	<i>χūriγətt</i>	<i>tumpətt</i>
Abl.	<i>pōratnəl</i>	<i>āwitnəl</i>	<i>χāpətnəl</i>	<i>χūriγətnəl</i>	<i>tumpətnəl</i>
Instr.	<i>pōratəl</i>	<i>āwitəl</i>	<i>χāpətəl</i>	<i>χūriγətəl</i>	<i>tumpətəl</i>
Transl.	—	—	—	—	—

Depending on the subdialect or personal usage there can be additional variations in the case suffixes. Lative: additional allomorph -na or use of the allomorph -ən after a single consonant. Locative: additional allomorphs -ta-tə. Instrumental: additional allomorph -t. Translative: additional reduplicated allomorph -γiy.

3.1.2.2. Case Usage

In this section only the major and/or primary functions of the various cases will be given. Other functions will be mentioned at the appropriate places.

Nominative: Although the traditional designation is "nominative", this case has different grammatical functions, owing most of all to the fact that the Vogul accusative is no longer found in Northern Vogul and that there never was a specific genitive case in the language. The major functions fulfilled by a Vogul noun in this case are: 1) subject, 2) nominal predicate, 3) direct object (accusative), 4) possessive attribute (genitive). ad 1) *āmp χājti* 'dog-NOM, run-3SG: The dog runs.' *ñāwramət jonγeyət* 'child-PLUR, play-3PLUR: The children play.' ad 2) *ti - χūl* 'this, fish-NOM: This is a fish'. ad 3) *āyi möjt lowiṛti* 'girl-NOM, story-NOM, read-3SG: The girl is reading a story.' *sāli sun χarti* 'reindeer-NOM, sled-NOM, pull-3SG: The reindeer is pulling a sled.' ad 4) *χum sāγrap-e* 'man-NOM, axe-Px3SG: the man's axe', *ñāwram ās-e* 'child-NOM, father-Px3SG: the child's father' (cf. 5.5.).

Local Cases (Lative, Locative, Ablative): These cases have a primary local function, i.e. to indicate direction to, position at, and direction from. It should be noted that they have a very general semantic character, i.e. depending on the context different nuances can be inferred. The word *kol-n* ('house-LAT') can mean 'into the house, onto the house, towards the house, etc.', *kol-t* ('house-LOC') can mean 'in the house, on the house, by the house, etc.', *kol-nəl* ('house-ABL') 'from the house, out of the house, away from the house, etc.'. To express preciser relationships implicitly postpositions are employed, e.g. *kol kiwər-n* 'into the house', *kol kiwər-t* 'in the house', *kol kiwər-nəl* 'out of the house' (< *kiwər* 'inner part'). The local cases also have secondary temporal functions. Lative: The lative also fulfills the usual functions of a dative case. *mān ñāwram-n ākañ miγuw* 'PRONPERS1PLUR, child-LAT, doll-NOM, give-3PLUR: We give the child a doll.' The lative is also used to express the agent in passive constructions (cf. 3.6.3.2.).

Instrumental: This case expresses the agent with which something takes place. *ñāwram ākañ-əl jonyi* 'child-NOM, doll-INST, play-3SG: The child plays with the doll.' The comitative sense is generally expressed in Vogul not with this case but with the postposition *jot* 'with'. *piy āyi jot at jonyi* 'boy-NOM, girl-NOM, with, NEG, play-3SG: The boy is not playing with the girl.'

Translative: This case has two main functions, 1) translative, and 2) essive. ad 1) *jāηk wit-iy jēmti* 'ice-NOM, water-TRANSL, become-3SG: The ice turns into water.' ad 2) *taw l'ēkkar-iy rūpiti* 'PRONPERS3SG, doctor-TRANSL, work-3SG: He/she works as a doctor.'

In addition, all case forms, including the basic (nominative) form can be used to form a variety of adverbials (cf. 5.1.).

Vocative: Although not forming an integral part of the case system, Northern Vogul employs certain vocative forms, used when addressing people. Vowel stems ending in a/e lengthen the final vowel, consonant stems are augmented with ā. Examples: *oma* 'mama' ~ *omā!*, *tine* '(female) comrade' ~ *tinē!*, *āk'a* 'old woman' ~ *āk'ā!*

3.1.3. Possessive Suffixes

In accordance with (the majority of) the Finno-Ugrian languages Vogul knows no possessive pronouns (my, your, his/her, etc.) but employs possessive suffixes instead. The possessor indicated can be in three persons and three numbers. In addition, the possession can be either in the singular, dual, or plural. The basic endings (singular possession) are as follows:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Person: 1.	-m	-men	-uw
2.	-n	-n, -en	-n, -en
3.	-e, -te	-en, -ten	-anəl

There is quite a bit of variation as to the exact form of certain possessive suffixes, depending on subdialect and personal usage, particularly as regards the quality of the vowels. In contrast, the consonants are stable. The variants with or without t in the third person singular and dual are predictable. The forms without t appear after consonant stems (*āmp-e* 'dog-Px3SG: his/her dog', *āmp-en* 'dog-Px3Du: their dog'), those with -t after vowel stems (*pōra-te* 'raft-Px3SG: his/her raft', *pōra-ten* 'raft-Px3Du: their raft'). The second person forms are syncretistic. All persons and numbers can, however, be differentiated without problems through the use of preceding personal pronouns (cf. below).

Dual possession is indicated through -γ (vowel stems) ~ -ay (consonant stems) preceding the possessive suffix. Plural possession is indicated through -n (vowel stems) ~ -an (consonant stems) preceding the possessive suffix. Thus, plurality of the possession is not expressed with the -t of the absolute stems.

In the following, a more complete listing of the possessive suffixes is given. The first form is that following a vowel stem in -a/-e, the second that following a consonant stem. (Remarks on vowel stems in -i below.)

	Singular Possession		Dual Possession		Plural Possession	
S1	-m	-əm	-γəm	-ayəm	-nəm	-anəm
S2	-n	-ən	-γən	-ayən	-n(ən)	-an(ən)
S3	-te	-e	-γe	-aye	-ne	-ane
D1	-men		-γamen	-ayamen	-namen	-anamen
D2	-n	-en	-γen	-ayen	-nen	-anen
D3	-ten	-en	-γen	-ayen	-nen	-anen
P1	-w	-uw	-γuw	-ayuw	-nuw	-anuw
P2	-n	-en	-γen	-ayen	-nen	-anen
P3	-nəl	-anəl	-γanəl	-ayanəl	-n(an)əl	-an(an)əl

Vowel stems in -i are characterized by a widespread usage of -j- as a hiatus blocker (followed by the endings for consonant stems) in the first and third persons plural (singular possession) and all dual and plural possession forms.

Example words: 1) vowel stem in -a~-e (*pōra* 'raft, float'), 2) vowel stem in -i (*āwi* 'door'), 3) consonant stem (*āmp* 'dog').

Singular Possession:

Sing. 1.	<i>pōra-m</i>	<i>āwi-m</i>	<i>āmp-əm</i>
2.	<i>pōra-n</i>	<i>āwi-n</i>	<i>āmp-ən</i>
3.	<i>pōra-te</i>	<i>āwi-te</i>	<i>āmp-e</i>
Dual 1.	<i>pōra-men</i>	<i>āwi-men</i>	<i>āmp-men</i>
2.	<i>pōra-n</i>	<i>āwi-n</i>	<i>āmp-en</i>
3.	<i>pōra-ten</i>	<i>āwi-ten</i>	<i>āmp-en</i>
Plural 1.	<i>pōra-w</i>	<i>āwi-j-uw</i>	<i>āmp-uw</i>
2.	<i>pōra-n</i>	<i>āwi-n</i>	<i>āmp-en</i>
3.	<i>pōra-nəl</i>	<i>āwi-j-anəl</i>	<i>āmp-anəl</i>

Dual Possession:

Sing. 1.	<i>pōra-γəm</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayəm</i>	<i>āmp-ayəm</i>
2.	<i>pōra-γən</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayən</i>	<i>āmp-ayən</i>
3.	<i>pōra-γe</i>	<i>āwi-j-aye</i>	<i>āmp-aye</i>
Dual 1.	<i>pōra-γamen</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayamen</i>	<i>āmp-ayamen</i>
2.	<i>pōra-γen</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayen</i>	<i>āmp-ayen</i>
3.	<i>pōra-γen</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayen</i>	<i>āmp-ayen</i>
Plural 1.	<i>pōra-γuw</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayuw</i>	<i>āmp-ayuw</i>
2.	<i>pōra-γen</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayen</i>	<i>āmp-ayen</i>
3.	<i>pōra-γanəl</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayanəl</i>	<i>āmp-ayanəl</i>

Plural Possession:

Sing.	1. <i>pōra-nəm</i>	<i>āwi-j-anəm</i>	<i>āmp-anəm</i>
	2. <i>pōra-n(ən)</i>	<i>āwi-j-an(ən)</i>	<i>āmp-an(ən)</i>
	3. <i>pōra-ne</i>	<i>āwi-j-ane</i>	<i>āmp-ane</i>
Dual	1. <i>pōra-namen</i>	<i>āwi-j-anamen</i>	<i>āmp-anamen</i>
	2. <i>pōra-nen</i>	<i>āwi-j-anen</i>	<i>āmp-anen</i>
	3. <i>pōra-nen</i>	<i>āwi-j-anen</i>	<i>āmp-anen</i>
Plural	1. <i>pōra-nuw</i>	<i>āwi-j-anuw</i>	<i>āmp-anuw</i>
	2. <i>pōra-nen</i>	<i>āwi-j-anen</i>	<i>āmp-anen</i>
	3. <i>pōra-n(an)əl</i>	<i>āwi-j-an(an)əl</i>	<i>āmp-an(an)əl</i>

Variation: The actual situation shows more variation than indicated in the above paradigms. The reduced vowel ə is unstable and is liable not to appear in certain forms (*āmpayəm* ~ *āmpaym* 'dog-Px1 Sg-DuPoss: my (two) dogs'). The e appearing in some dual and plural forms can be velarized. The i of i-stems can be lengthened in the second person dual and plural forms (singular possession). The suffixes indicating dual and plural possession (-ay-, -an-) can be reduplicated (-ayay-, -anan-). The ending in the second person plural (singular possession) can be -an. In the speech of some Voguls second person forms are so strongly syncretized that they do not differ for singular, dual, and plural of the possessor.

Personal Pronouns + Possessive Suffixes: The use of the appropriate personal pronoun (nominative case) before a noun with a possessive suffix is so widespread in Vogul that it cannot be considered as simply an emphatic form. It should be noted that the use of the possessive suffixes is still mandatory even if the pronouns also indicate the possessor. Forms with the personal pronouns have the advantage of being completely unambiguous, even if the possessive suffixes do not differentiate the possessor clearly.

Sing.	1. (<i>am</i>) <i>āmp-əm</i>	Dual	1. (<i>mēn</i>) <i>āmp-men</i>	Plural	1. (<i>mān</i>) <i>āmp-uw</i>
	2. (<i>nan</i>) <i>āmp-ən</i>		2. (<i>nēn</i>) <i>āmp-en</i>		2. (<i>nān</i>) <i>āmp-en</i>
	3. (<i>taw</i>) <i>āmp-e</i>		3. (<i>tēn</i>) <i>āmp-en</i>		3. (<i>tān</i>) <i>āmp-anəl</i>

Possessed Forms + Case suffix: All of the possessed forms function as absolute stems in that they can be inflected for case. After possessive suffixes the allomorph -əl of the instrumental case is used. The translative case is not generally used after possessed forms. The sequence is (stem) + possessive suffix + case suffix. As examples some of the above forms (with Px1Sg) + the ablative case can serve (from my float, from my (two) floats, from my floats, etc.):

<i>pōra-m-nəl</i>	<i>āwi-m-nəl</i>	<i>āmp-əm-nəl</i>
<i>pōra-yəm-nəl</i>	<i>āwi-j-ayəm-nəl</i>	<i>āmp-ayəm-nəl</i>
<i>pōra-nəm-nəl</i>	<i>āwi-j-anəm-nəl</i>	<i>āmp-anəm-nəl</i>

3.2. Adjectives**3.2.1. Adjective Classification**

Vogul adjectives can be roughly divided into three groups: 1) those appearing only as adjectives (or adverbs, cf. 3.7.), 2) nouns used as adjectives, 3) adjectives derived from other parts of speech (usually denominal).

ad 1) *jomas* 'good', *l'ūl* 'bad', *ośsa* 'thin'

ad 2) Certain nouns can also be used attributively as adjectives, in particular, but not exclusively, some color names and nouns designating materials (*kēlp* 'blood; red), *wošram* 'gall bladder; yellow'; *kēr* 'iron' + *k"āliy* 'rope' > *kēr k"āliy* 'chain', *āχ"tas* 'stone' + *āηk"al* 'post, pillar' > *āχ"tas āηk"al* 'stone pillar'). Polysyllabic nouns with a reduced vowel in the last syllable have the tendency to lose this vowel when used as attributes (*śārəs* 'sea' + *pum* 'grass' > *śārś pum* 'sea grass').

ad 3) There are several denominal suffixes used to form adjectives, e.g. -əη (*pāwəl* 'village' > *pāwələη* 'village-Adj'). Cf. 4.2.

3.2.2. Adjective Inflection

Attributive adjectives are not inflected for case or number, this in keeping with the majority of Finno-Ugrian languages. When used in equational predicates, however, they agree with the noun in number and assume the usual absolute dual and plural suffixes: *ti piyriś jomas* 'this, boy-NOMSG, good-SG: This boy is good.' *ti piyriśiy jomasiy* 'this, boy-NOMDU, good-DU: These boys are good.' *ti piyriśət jomasət* 'this, boy-NOMPLUR, good-PLUR: These boys are good.' In addition, the translative case is often used with predicate adjectives, above all in connection with certain verbs (e.g. *jēmt-* 'to become'): *ti piyriś jomasiy jēmtəs* 'this, boy-NOM, good-TRANSL, good-3SGPAST: This boy became good.'

3.2.3. Adjective Comparison

Comparative: An adjective can have comparative sense without any inflectional means if used with two nouns, one of which (that having the lesser quality of the adjective) is in the ablative case: *am koləm nan kolən-nəl janiy* 'PERSPRON1SG, house-Px1SG, PERSPRON2SG, house-Px2SGABL, big: My house is bigger than your house.' There is also a comparative suffix -*nuw*: *karəs* 'tall' ~ *karəs-nuw* 'taller'. When the forms with -*nuw* are used predicatively they can have the form -*nuwe*: *āyi piyriś-nəl karəs-nuwe* 'girl-NOM, boy-ABL, tall-COMP: The girl is taller than the boy.'

Superlative: There are two methods of forming the superlative. 1) The particles *saka* 'very' or *sar* 'fully' can be placed before the positive form of the adjective: *karəs* ~ *karəs-nuw* ~ *saka/sar karəs* 'tall-taller-tallest'. 2) Reduplication: the positive form of the adjective can simply be repeated, or (more often) its first

occurrence can be in the ablative case followed by the positive form: *mān* 'small' ~ *mān-mān* 'smallest'; *janiy* 'large' ~ *janiy-nəl janiy* 'largest'.

3.3. Pronouns

Vogul pronouns can be divided into two large groups: personal and non-personal pronouns.

3.3.1. Personal Pronouns

3.3.1.1. Simple Personal Pronouns

There are nine separate simple personal pronouns in accordance with the three persons and the three numbers. The simple personal pronouns appear in five different cases: nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, and comitative. The differences as compared with nominal declension are as follows: 1) The personal pronouns have accusative forms for the direct object, whereas the nouns in Northern Vogul lack an accusative. 2) The dative suffix is identical with the lative suffix of the nominal declension. With regard to usage it would seem more appropriate to use the designation dative rather than lative. 3) The comitative suffix is identical with the instrumental suffix in the nominal declension. It should be noted that these forms are usually replaced with constructions using the postposition *jot* 'with': *am jotəm*, *naη jotən*, *taw jote* 'with me/you/him-her', etc.). 4) The personal pronouns have no translative form.

Just as in the other Uralic languages the personal pronouns do not indicate gender: *taw* 'he/she/it'.

The accusative forms are comprised of the nominative form + the appropriate possessive suffix. (In the first person singular the accusative base is *ān-* rather than the nominative *am*.) The dative, ablative, and comitative are formed through the addition of the nominal lative, ablative, and instrumental suffixes to the accusative.

	<u>First Person</u>	<u>Second Person</u>	<u>Third Person</u>
		<u>Singular</u>	
Nominative	<i>am</i>	<i>naη</i>	<i>taw</i>
Accusative	<i>ānəm</i>	<i>naηən</i>	<i>tawe</i>
Dative	<i>ānəmn</i>	<i>naηənn</i>	<i>tawen</i>
Ablative	<i>ānəmnəl</i>	<i>naηənnəl</i>	<i>tawenəl</i>
Comitative	<i>ānəmtəl</i>	<i>naηəntəl</i>	<i>tawetəl</i>
		<u>Dual</u>	
Nominative	<i>mēn</i>	<i>nēn</i>	<i>tēn</i>
Accusative	<i>mēnmen</i>	<i>nēnan</i>	<i>tēnten</i>
Dative	<i>mēnmenn</i>	<i>nēnann</i>	<i>tēntenn</i>
Ablative	<i>mēnmennəl</i>	<i>nēnannəl</i>	<i>tēntennəl</i>
Comitative	<i>mēnmentəl</i>	<i>nēnantəl</i>	<i>tēntentəl</i>

		<u>Plural</u>	
Nominative	<i>mān</i>	<i>nān</i>	<i>tān</i>
Accusative	<i>mānaw</i>	<i>nānan</i>	<i>tānanəl</i>
Dative	<i>mānawn</i>	<i>nānann</i>	<i>tānanəln</i>
Ablative	<i>mānawnəl</i>	<i>nānannəl</i>	<i>tānanəlnəl</i>
Comitative	<i>mānawtəl</i>	<i>nānantəl</i>	<i>tānanəltəl</i>

Variation: There is some variation in the forms of the simple personal pronouns. Here only a few examples: 1) The dative forms can be augmented with an *(ānəmnə, naηənnə, tawenə, etc.)*. 2) The accusative form of the first person dual can be *mēnəmen*, this form then forming the basis for the other oblique cases. 3) The accusative form of the first person plural can be *mānanuw*, this form then forming the basis for the other oblique cases. 4) In the second and third persons dual and plural longer forms can be employed than those given above (e.g. 2DuABL: *nēnannəl* ~ *nēnanənnəl*, 3PLURCOM: *tānanəltəl* ~ *tānanəltəl*).

3.3.1.2. Emphatic Personal Pronouns

Emphatic forms (I myself, you yourself, etc.) can be formed from the personal pronouns with the help of the clitic *-ki*. (The third person singular is slightly irregular. The form *tak'i* is more usual than the 'regular' form *taw-ki*.) These forms are used only in the nominative.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>amki</i>	<i>mēnki</i>	<i>mānki</i>
2.	<i>naηki</i>	<i>nēnki</i>	<i>nānki</i>
3.	<i>tak'i</i>	<i>tēnki</i>	<i>tānki</i>

Often, the simple forms are used before the emphatic forms: *amki χāp wāreyəm* 'PRONEMPH 1SG, boat-NOM, make-1SG: I am making a boat myself.' ~ *mān mānki χāp wārew* 'PRONPERS 1PLUR, PRONEMPH 1PLUR, boat-NOM, make-1PLUR: We are making a boat ourselves.'

3.3.1.3. Reflexive Personal Pronouns

The reflexive personal pronouns are derived from the emphatic personal pronouns with the addition of *-na-* and the appropriate possessive suffix (e.g. first person singular: *am* > *am-ki* > *am-ki-na-* > *am-ki-na-m*). There are no nominative forms, but otherwise they appear in all the pronominal cases (accusative, dative, ablative, comitative). Once again, the accusative forms are the base to which the usual case suffixes are added. The most common forms are those in the accusative.

Singular

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Accusative	<i>amkinam</i>	<i>naŋkinan</i>	<i>tak^winate</i>
Dative	<i>amkinamn</i>	<i>naŋkinann</i>	<i>tak^winaten</i>
Ablative	<i>amkinamnəl</i>	<i>naŋkinannəl</i>	<i>tak^winatenəl</i>
Comitative	<i>amkinamtəl</i>	<i>naŋkinantəl</i>	<i>tak^winatetəl</i>

Dual

Accusative	<i>mēnkinamen</i>	<i>nēnkinan</i>	<i>tēnkinaten</i>
Dative	<i>mēnkinamenn</i>	<i>nēnkinann</i>	<i>tēnkinatenn</i>
Ablative	<i>mēnkinamennəl</i>	<i>nēnkinannəl</i>	<i>tēnkinatennəl</i>
Comitative	<i>mēnkinamentəl</i>	<i>nēnkinantəl</i>	<i>tēnkinatentəl</i>

Plural

Accusative	<i>mānkinaw</i>	<i>nānkinan</i>	<i>tānkinanəl</i>
Dative	<i>mānkinawn</i>	<i>nānkinann</i>	<i>tānkinanəlŋ</i>
Ablative	<i>mānkinawnəl</i>	<i>nānkinannəl</i>	<i>tānkinanəlŋəl</i>
Comitative	<i>mānkinawtəl</i>	<i>nānkinantəl</i>	<i>tānkinanəltəl</i>

Variation: The reflexive personal pronouns show considerable variation in subdialects and idiolectic speech, the most important of which is the possibility that the augment -na- is not used (*amkinam* ~ *amkim*, etc.).

Example: *Jura tak^winaten jil'pi pisał wis* 'Jura-NOM, PRONREFL3SGDAT, new, rifle-NOM, buy-3SGPAST: Jura bought himself a new rifle.'

3.3.1.4. Solitary Personal Pronouns

Solitary personal pronouns emphasizing the solitude of the persons (I alone/by myself, you alone/by yourself, etc.) are formed from the simple personal pronouns with the addition of *-kk-* ~ *-kke-* and the possessive suffixes. (In the third person singular the base *ta-* is used.) They are used only in the nominative. Just as in the case of the emphatic personal pronouns the simple personal pronouns are often used before the solitary personal pronouns.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>amkkem</i>	<i>mēnkkemen</i>	<i>mānkkew</i>
2.	<i>naŋkken</i>	<i>nēnkken</i>	<i>nānkken</i>
3.	<i>takkete</i>	<i>tēnkketen</i>	<i>tānkkenəl</i>

Variation: Here again various forms can be observed. The major variation is the usage of *-ke-* instead of the geminate *-kke-*.

Example: *mēn mēnkkemen tit oluŋk^we at taŋximen* 'PRONPERS1DU, PRONSOL1DU, here, live-1NF, NEG, want-1DU: We do not want to live here alone/by ourselves.'

3.3.2. Non-Personal Pronouns

1. **Demonstrative Pronouns:** The most important demonstrative pronouns are *ti* ~ *tiji* 'this' and *ta* ~ *taji* 'that'. The shorter forms *ti* ~ *ta* are used only attributively. Both *tiji* and *taji* can be declined for number (*tiji*, *tiji-jij*, *tiji-t* ~ *tiji-tət*; *taji*, *taji-jij*, *taji-t* ~ *taji-tət*) and case (usual nominal case suffixes).

Other demonstrative pronouns include *tixurip* ~ *tikem* 'this kind of' and *taxurip* ~ *takem* 'that kind of', *tam'e* 'such a', *ak^wti* ~ *ak^wta* 'this/that same one'.

2. **Interrogative Pronouns:** The most important interrogative pronouns are *χδηχα* ~ *χotjut* 'who' (used in relationship with people) and *manər* 'what' (used in relationship with animals or inanimate objects). They are used in all three numbers (*χδηχα*, *χδηχα-γij*, *χδηχα-t*; *χotjut*, *χotjut-ij*, *χotjut-ət*; *manər*, *manər-ijij*, *manər-ət*) and decline for case like nouns. Reduplicated forms for the dual and plural are common.

Other interrogative pronouns include *mana* 'what kind of?', *manxurip* - *manərsir* 'which?', *mansāwit* 'how many'. Interrogative pronouns may be used as relative pronouns.

3. **Indefinite Pronouns:** These include *χōtpa* 'someone', *matər* 'something', *matərsimat* 'some kind of', etc.

4. **Negative Pronouns:** Negative pronouns are formed with the prefix *nē(m)-*: *nēmχōtpa* 'no one', *nēmatər* 'nothing', *nēmatərsir* 'no kind of', etc.

5. **General Pronouns:** *pussən* 'all', *kāsəŋ* 'every', *tōwa* ~ *mōt(an)* 'other', etc.

3.4. Postpositions

The Vogul language knows no prepositions but instead employs postpositions after nouns and personal pronouns in accordance with the other Finno-Ugrian languages and agglutinative languages in general. Semantically the postpositions can be compared with case suffixes but express more precise relationships than the more general case suffixes (cf. 3.1.2.2.). Most are derived from nouns, or to a lesser degree from adverbs. The combination noun + (nominal) postposition + case suffix is identical to that of unmarked possessive constructions. In this section only the commonest postpositions will be mentioned.

The structure of Vogul postpositions allows them to be classified as follows:

1. Simple postpositions
2. Postpositions with case suffixes
 - 2.1. Non-augmented stem with case suffixes
 - 2.1.1. Non-augmented stem with one case suffix
 - 2.1.1. Non-augmented stem with the local case suffixes
 - 2.2. Augmented stem with the local case suffixes

3.4.1. Simple Postpositions

Simple postpositions are particle-like and in a purely descriptive sense contain no case suffixes. In some postpositions classified here as "simple" a case suffix is present historically, but is no longer apparent to the speakers.

<i>jot</i>	'with'	<i>kastəl</i>	'for, because'
<i>l'ǎlt</i>	'towards'	<i>mǎγəs</i>	'for, because'
<i>muwłaxi</i>	'around'	<i>mus</i>	'till'
<i>nupəl</i>	'towards'	<i>sis</i>	'during'
<i>tāra</i>	'through'	<i>tarməl</i>	'on'
<i>ūllta</i>	'across'		

3.4.2. Postpositions with Case Suffixes

3.4.2.1. Non-Augmented Stems

Simple (non-augmented) postpositional stems can be used with case suffixes, i.e. with the local case suffixes (lative -n, locative -t, ablative -nəl), the instrumental -l or translative -γ. In a somewhat simplified scheme two groups can be distinguished: those appearing with the locative, the instrumental or translative case suffixes and those appearing (at least potentially) with all three local case suffixes.

Non-Augmented Stem with One Case Suffix:

- a) Locative -t: *χosit* 'along', *δwəltət* 'about', *palit* 'during'
 b) Instrumental -l: *jurtəl* 'with', *palitel* 'during, while', *ontsəl* 'near, beside', *pāsəl* 'since', *pēntsəl* 'instead of', *rēγəl* 'with the help of', *sirəl* 'like', *urəl* 'about'
 c) Translative -γ: *pattijiy* 'as, in the place of', *toriy* 'towards', *urtijiy* 'in place of'. (It should be noted that the translative case developed from a lative case.)

Non-Augmented Stem with Local Case Suffixes:

These postpositions denote for the most part local or temporal relationships. Not all the stems appear with all three local case suffixes.

Stem	Lative	Locative	Ablative
<i>χal</i> 'middle'	<i>χal-n</i>	<i>χal-t</i>	<i>χal-nəl</i>
<i>kīwər</i> 'inner part'	<i>kīwər-n</i>	<i>kīwər-t</i>	<i>kīwər-nəl</i>
<i>kot'l</i> 'middle'	<i>kot'l-ən</i>	<i>kot'l-ət</i>	<i>kot'l-nəl</i>
<i>l'apa</i> 'near'	<i>l'apa-n</i>	<i>l'apa-t</i>	
<i>pāl</i> 'side, half'	<i>pāl-n</i>	<i>pāl-t</i>	
<i>pās</i> 'area, end'	<i>pās-n</i>	<i>pās-t</i>	<i>pās-nəl</i>
<i>pōχ</i> 'side'	<i>pōχ-ən</i>	<i>pōχ-ət</i>	<i>pōχ-nəl</i>

<i>saj</i> 'place behind'	<i>saj-n</i>	<i>saj-t</i>	<i>saj-nəl</i>
<i>sim</i> 'heart'	<i>sim-n</i>	<i>sim-t</i>	
<i>sis</i> 'back'	<i>sis-n</i>	<i>sis-t</i>	<i>sis-nəl</i>
<i>wāta</i> 'shore'	<i>wāta-n</i>	<i>wāta-t</i>	

Examples: *kol kīwər-n* 'into the house', *kol kīwər-t* 'inside the house', *kol kīwər-nəl* 'out of the house'; *jiw saj-n* 'behind the tree (direction)', *jiw saj-t* 'behind the tree (position)', *jiw saj-nəl* 'out from behind the tree'; *āmp pōχ-ən* 'beside the dog (direction)', *āmp pōχ-ət* 'beside the dog (position)', *āmp pōχ-nəl* 'from beside the dog'.

3.4.2.2. Augmented Stems

The word *pāl* 'side, half' can be used with the lative and locative case suffixes to form postpositions (cf. 3.4.2.1.). In addition, it is used as an augmentative and substantivizing element. In such cases it is added to local elements (in one case to a numeral) and appears with the three local case suffixes. The resulting word is used as a postposition (or adverb and postposition).

Augmented Stem	Lative	Locative	Ablative
<i>ēli-pāl</i> 'in front of'	<i>ēli-pāl-n</i>	<i>ēli-pāl-t</i>	<i>ēli-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>joli-pāl</i> 'underneath'	<i>joli-pāl-n</i>	<i>joli-pāl-t</i>	<i>joli-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>juji-pāl</i> 'behind'	<i>juji-pāl-n</i>	<i>juji-pāl-t</i>	<i>juji-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>koni-pāl</i> 'outside of'	<i>koni-pāl-n</i>	<i>koni-pāl-t</i>	<i>koni-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>numi-pāl</i> 'above'	<i>numi-pāl-n</i>	<i>numi-pāl-t</i>	<i>numi-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>āləm-pāl</i> 'beyond'	<i>āləm-pāl-n</i>	<i>āləm-pāl-t</i>	<i>āləm-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>sis-pāl</i> 'behind'	<i>sis-pāl-n</i>	<i>sis-pāl-t</i>	<i>sis-pāl-nəl</i>
<i>kit-pāl</i> 'both sides of'	<i>kit-pāl-n</i>	<i>kit-pāl-t</i>	<i>kit-pāl-nəl</i>

Examples: *kol joli-pāl-n* 'beneath the house (direction)', *kol joli-pāl-t* 'beneath the house (position)', *kol joli-pāl-nəl* 'out from beneath the house'; *jā āləm-pāl-n* 'beyond the river (direction)', *jā āləm-pāl-t* 'beyond the river (position)', *jā āləm-pāl-nəl* 'from beyond the river'.

3.4.3. Personal Pronouns and Postpositions

When a noun is used in conjunction with a postposition it remains in the nominative case, but can of course appear in all three numbers (*āmp pōχ-ət* 'beside the dog', *āmpiy pōχ-ət* 'beside the (two) dogs', *āmpət pōχ-ət* 'beside the dogs'). When used with personal pronouns the postposition must appear with the appropriate possessive suffixes. The possessive suffix is added directly to the simple postpositions and the non-augmented postpositions with one case suffix, whereas they appear between the stem and the case ending in the non-augmented and augmented postpositions with the local case suffixes. Just as with simple nouns there can be variation in the form of the possessive suffixes. Examples:

1. Simple Postposition: *am jot-əm, naŋ jot-ən, taw jot-e, mēn jot-men, nēn jot-ən, tēn jot-en, mān jot-uw, nān jot-ən, tān jot-anəl* (with *me/you/him-her*, etc.).

2. Augmented Stem with Local Cases: *am numi-pāl-əm-t, naŋ numi-pāl-ən-t, taw numi-pāl-e-t, mēn numi-pāl-men-t, nēn numi-pāl-ən-t, tēn numi-pāl-en-t, mān numi-pāl-uw-t, nān numi-pāl-ən-t, tān numi-pāl-anəl-t* (above *me/you/him-her*, etc.).

3.5. Numerals

3.5.1. Cardinal Numerals:

1-10:	1. <i>ak^wa</i>	6. <i>χōt</i>
	2. <i>kitiy</i>	7. <i>sāt</i>
	3. <i>χūrəm</i>	8. <i>ńololow (ńololuw)</i>
	4. <i>ńila</i>	9. <i>ontolow (ontoluw)</i>
	5. <i>at</i>	10. <i>low (luw)</i>

The numerals *ak^wa* and *kitiy* have shorter forms (*ak^w*, *kit*) which are used attributively.

11-19: These numerals are formed with the cardinal + *χujp* (= present participle of *χuj-* 'to lie') + *low*: *akwχujplow* '11', *kitχujplow* '12', etc.

20, 30, 40 etc.:	20. <i>χus</i>	60. <i>χōtpan</i>
	30. <i>wāt</i>	70. <i>sātlow</i>
	40. <i>naliman</i>	80. <i>ńolsāt</i>
	50. <i>atpan</i>	90. <i>ontərsāt</i>

21-29 ~ 81-89: These numerals are formed with a cardinal 30, 40, 50, etc. followed by the postposition *nupəl* 'towards' and a numeral 1 through 9. Thus: *wāt nupəl ak^wa* '21', *naliman nupəl kitiy* '32', *atpan nupəl χūrəm* '43', etc. Another possibility is the use of the lative case instead of the postposition *nupəl*: *wātn ak^wa* '21'.

91-99: For these numerals an unmarked additive construction (90-1, 90-2) is employed. Thus: *ontərsāt ak^wa* '91', *ontərsāt kitiy* '92', *ontərsāt χūrəm* '93', etc.

100: *sāt*. This numeral is identical with *sāt* '7'. Misunderstandings can be avoided by referring to 100 as *janiysāt* 'large sāt'.

100, 200, 300, etc.: These numerals are formed with latent multiplication (*kitsāt* '200', *χūrəmsāt* '300', etc.).

101-999: Numerals higher than 100 can be formed in two ways: 1) Unmarked additive construction of the hundreds and the appropriate numeral 1-99 (*janiysāt* '104', *kitsāt atpan* '250', *ńilasāt naliman nupəl* '434', etc.). 2) The hundreds

can be formed in analogy to 21-29 ~ 81-89 with the following hundred in the lative case, this followed by the appropriate numeral 1-99: *atsātn naliman nupəl* '434'.

1000: *sōtər*. Higher thousands are formed with latent multiplication (*kitsōtər* '2000', *χūrəmsōtər* '3000', etc.).

After cardinal numerals Vogul nouns stand in the singular, just as in the other Finno-Ugrian languages. (After *kit* '2' either the singular or the dual can be used). Thus: *ak^w āmp* 'one dog', *kit āmp(iy)* 'two dogs', *χūrəm āmp* 'three dogs', *ńila āmp* 'four dogs', etc.) When used attributively numerals are indeclinable, when used predicatively they can assume the usual case endings.

3.5.2. Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed with the suffix -it added to the cardinal numeral. The word-final vowel of the basic cardinals is lost before the suffix. For the first two ordinals there are alternate lexical forms: *ak^wit ~ ōwəl* 'first', *kitit ~ mōt* 'second'.

1. <i>ak^wit ~ ōwəl</i>	6. <i>χōtit</i>
2. <i>kitit ~ mōt</i>	7. <i>sātit</i>
3. <i>χūrmit</i>	8. <i>ńololowit</i>
4. <i>ńilit</i>	9. <i>ontolowit</i>
5. <i>atit</i>	10. <i>lowit</i>

3.5.3. Other Numerals

Distributive Numerals: These numerals are formed from the cardinals with the help of the instrumental suffix and have the meaning 'alone, one at a time; in twos, two at a time; in threes, three at a time, etc.'

1. <i>akwəl</i>	6. <i>χōtəl</i>
2. <i>kityəl</i>	7. <i>sātəl</i>
3. <i>χūrməl</i>	8. <i>ńololowəl</i>
4. <i>ńilal</i>	9. <i>ontolowəl</i>
5. <i>atəl</i>	10. <i>lowəl</i>

Reiterative Numerals: These numerals are formed from the cardinals with the suffix -ittiy or -əntiy and express the meaning '(for) the first/second/third time, etc.'. Examples: *kitəntiy* '(for) the second time', *χūrmittiy* '(for) the third time', *ńilittiy* '(for) the fourth time'. The word *šos* 'time' can also be employed with a cardinal number to express how many times something takes place: *akw šos* 'once', *kit šos* 'twice', *χūrəm šos* 'three times'.

Approximative Numerals: To express the meaning 'approximately one, two, three, etc.' approximative numerals are formed from the cardinals with the suffix *-man* (1, 10) or *-aχ* (2-9) to which the particle *-kem* can be added. Examples: *ak^wman* ~ *ak^wmankem* 'approximately one', *kitax* ~ *kitaxkem* 'approximately two', *χūrmaχ* ~ *χūrmaχkem* 'approximately three', *lowmankem* 'approximately ten'. There is some variation in these forms, e.g. the ending *-aχ* can also be used with *low* 'ten' or the suffixes *-man*, *-aχ* can be dispensed with entirely, the particle *-kem* then bearing the approximative meaning.

3.6. Verbs

Finite Vogul verbs distinguish the following inflectional categories: 1) Conjugation (indeterminate and determinate conjugations), 2) Person (first, second, and third persons), 3) Number (singular, dual, and plural), 4) Tense (present and past), 5) Mood (indicative, imperative, conditional-optative, narrative) and 6) Voice (active, passive).

3.6.1. Tenses

Present and past tenses are distinguished. There are various ways of expressing futurity.

3.6.1.1. Present Tense

3.6.1.1.1. Indeterminate Conjugation

Verbs in the indeterminate conjugation have no direct object or the direct object is considered "indeterminate" (cf. 3.6.1.1.2.).

The basic personal suffixes in the present tense of the indeterminate conjugation are as follows:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	-m	-men	-w
2.	-n	-n	-n
3.	∅	-γ	-t

These suffixes are not, however, added directly to the verbal stem but are preceded by obligatory elements which represent original present-tense markers or participial endings. The full present-tense suffixes are as follows.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	-eyəm	-imen	-ew
2.	-eyən	-eyən	-eyən
3.	-i	-ey	-eyət

The second person is strongly syncretistic, but allows for some variation - the reduced vowel in the final syllable can be velarized in the dual and plural suffixes.

Examples: *min-* 'to go', *lowiñt-* 'to read, to count'

	1.	2.	3.
Singular	<i>min-eyəm</i>	<i>min-eyən</i>	<i>min-i</i>
	<i>lowiñt-eyəm</i>	<i>lowiñt-eyən</i>	<i>lowiñt-i</i>
	<i>min-imen</i>	<i>min-eyən</i>	<i>min-ey</i>
Dual	<i>lowiñt-imen</i>	<i>lowiñt-eyən</i>	<i>lowiñt-ey</i>
	<i>min-ew</i>	<i>min-eyən</i>	<i>min-eyət</i>
	<i>lowiñt-ew</i>	<i>lowiñt-eyən</i>	<i>lowiñt-eyət</i>
Plural			

3.6.1.1.2. Determinate Conjugation

The distinguishment of an indeterminate and a determinate conjugation is very typical for both for Vogul and its most closely related languages: Ostyak and Hungarian. The systems in these languages are not identical, but the underlying principle is the same, namely that the speakers' interpretation of the nature of the direct object will determine their choice of conjugation. An "indeterminate object" (or no object) is followed by a verb in the indeterminate conjugation, a "determinate object" is followed by a verb in the determinate conjugation. What constitutes a "determinate object" for speakers of Vogul? Determinate objects are characterized by any of the following: 1) They are preceded by a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *ti* 'this', *ta* 'that'), 2) They have a possessive suffix, 3) They are a personal pronoun, 4) They were mentioned in a previous sentence, 5) They are dependent clauses. These "rules" can be considered generally valid, but not without exceptions. (Cf. Murphy 1968: 101-111, Kálmán 1976: 60-61, Honti 1988: 167-168)

A Vogul verb in the determinate conjugation not only indicates that the speaker considers the object to be determinate, but also encodes the number of the determinate object: singular, dual, or plural.

Determinate Object in the Singular:

When the determinate object is singular, the endings are as follows:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	-ləm	-ləmen	-luw
2.	-lən	-lən	-lən
3.	-te	-ten	-anəl

As can be seen, the major difference between the endings of the indeterminate and the determinate conjugations lies in the usage of *-l-* and *-te-* in the determinate conjugation. The second person is syncretistic; in the dual and plural forms the vowel can be velarized. The suffixes are attached to the verbal stem with the connecting vowel *-i-*. In the third person plural the usual hiatus blocker *-j-* appears.

Example: *χańíst-* 'to teach'

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>χańíst-i-ləm</i>	<i>χańíst-i-lamen</i>	<i>χańíst-i-luw</i>
2.	<i>χańíst-i-lən</i>	<i>χańíst-i-lən</i>	<i>χańíst-i-lən</i>
3.	<i>χańíst-i-te</i>	<i>χańíst-i-ten</i>	<i>χańíst-i-j-anəl</i>

Determinate Object in the Dual and Plural:

The marker of the dual determinate object in the determinate conjugation is *-aγ-*, that of the plural determinate object *-an-*. The connecting vowel is *-i-*. As the elements *-aγ-* and *-an-* begin with a vowel, the hiatus blocker *-j-* is used in all persons. The following endings are used:

	Dual Object			Plural Object		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>-jaγəm</i>	<i>-jaγmen</i>	<i>-jaγuw</i>	<i>-janəm</i>	<i>-janmen</i>	<i>-januw</i>
2.	<i>-jaγən</i>	<i>-jaγən</i>	<i>-jaγən</i>	<i>-jan(ən)</i>	<i>-jan(ən)</i>	<i>-jan(ən)</i>
3.	<i>-jaγe</i>	<i>-jaγen</i>	<i>-jaγanəl</i>	<i>-jane</i>	<i>-janen</i>	<i>-jan(an)əl</i>

Example: *χańíst-* 'to teach'

	Dual Object	Plural Object
Singular	1. <i>χańíst-i-jayəm</i>	<i>χańíst-i-janəm</i>
	2. <i>χańíst-i-jayən</i>	<i>χańíst-i-jan(ən)</i>
	3. <i>χańíst-i-jaye</i>	<i>χańíst-i-jane</i>
Dual	1. <i>χańíst-i-jaymen</i>	<i>χańíst-i-janmen</i>
	2. <i>χańíst-i-jayən</i>	<i>χańíst-i-jan(ən)</i>
	3. <i>χańíst-i-jayen</i>	<i>χańíst-i-janen</i>
Plural	1. <i>χańíst-i-jayuw</i>	<i>χańíst-i-januw</i>
	2. <i>χańíst-i-jayən</i>	<i>χańíst-i-jan(ən)</i>
	3. <i>χańíst-i-jayanəl</i>	<i>χańíst-i-jan(an)əl</i>

Example Sentences:

am pūmaś kńiga lowińteγəm 'PRONPERS1SG, interesting, book-NOM, read-1SGPRESINDET: I am reading an interesting book.'

am ti pūmaś kńiga lowińtiləm 'PRONPERS1SG, this, interesting, book-NOM, read-1SGPRESDETSg: I am reading this interesting book.'

taw kasaj pasann pini 'PRONPERS3SG, knife-NOM, table-LAT, place-3SGPRESINDET: He is putting a knife on the table.'

taw kasaje pasann pinite 'PRONPERS3SG, knife-Px3SG, table-LAT, place-3SGPRESDETSg: He is putting his knife on the table.'

am piγriśəm χańístiləm 'PRONPERS1SG, son-Px1SG, teach-1SGPRESDETSg: I teach my son.'

am piγriśayəm χańístijayəm 'PRONPERS1SG, son-Px1SG-DuPOSS, teach-1SGPRESDETDU: I teach my (two) sons.'

am piγriśanəm χańístijanəm 'PRONPERS1SG, son-Px1SG-PLURPOSS, teach-1SGPRESDETPLUR: I teach my sons.'

3.6.1.1.3. Irregular Verbs: Indeterminate and Determinate Conjugations

As mentioned in 2.4.2. Vogul possesses a small number (six) of irregular verbs, all having a vowel and a consonant stem and for the most part exhibiting vowel alternation (*mi-* 'to give', *li-* 'to throw', *wi-* 'to take', *ji-* 'to come', *tē-* 'to eat', *wā-* 'to see'). Their conjugation is somewhat different than the other verbs. The present-tense stems of these verbs end in *-γ* (or in the case of *ji-* 'to come' in *-w:* *juw-*).

Indeterminate Conjugation:

In the indeterminate conjugation only the basic personal suffixes are added (cf. 3.6.1.1.1.). The connecting vowel is the reduced *ə*. (Here, too, the vowel in the second person dual and plural can be velarized).

Example: *tē-* 'to eat' (present-tense stem: *tēγ-*)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>tēγ-əm</i>	<i>tēγ-men</i>	<i>tēγ-uw</i>
2.	<i>tēγ-ən</i>	<i>tēγ-ən</i>	<i>tēγ-ən</i>
3.	<i>tēγ</i>	<i>tēγ-iy</i>	<i>tēγ-ət</i>

Determinate Conjugation:

In the determinate conjugation the usual endings are added directly to the present-tense stem without the connecting vowel *-i-*. This obviates the necessity for the hiatus-blocker *-j-* when the determinate object is in the dual or plural.

Example: *tē-* 'to eat' (present-tense stem: *tēy-*)

	<u>Object - Singular</u>	<u>Object - Dual</u>	<u>Object - Plural</u>
Sing.	1. <i>tēy-ləm</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-əm</i>	<i>tēy-an-əm</i>
	2. <i>tēy-lən</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-ən</i>	<i>tēy-an(ən)</i>
	3. <i>tēy-te</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-e</i>	<i>tēy-an-e</i>
Dual	1. <i>tēy-lamen</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-amen</i>	<i>tēy-an-amen</i>
	2. <i>tēy-lən</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-ən</i>	<i>tēy-an(ən)</i>
	3. <i>tēy-ten</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-en</i>	<i>tēy-an-en</i>
Plural	1. <i>tēy-luw</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-uw</i>	<i>tēy-an-uw</i>
	2. <i>tēy-lən</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-ən</i>	<i>tēy-an(ən)</i>
	3. <i>tēy-anəl</i>	<i>tēy-aγ-anəl</i>	<i>tēy-an(an)əl</i>

3.6.1.2. Past Tense

3.6.1.2.1. Indeterminate Conjugation

The marker of the past tense is -s which is followed by the basic personal suffixes identical with those of the present tense. The past-tense suffixes are thus:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	-səm	-səmen	-suw
2.	-sən	-sən	-sən
3.	-s	-siγ	-sət

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem or are preceded by the vowels -ə- or -a-. There is quite a bit of variation in this regard (connecting vowel: ə~ə~a) and it is not always possible to predict the exact usage. Some general tendencies are: 1) In the third person singular a connecting vowel is usually used. 2) In monosyllabic verbs usually either no connecting vowel or the reduced ə is used, after a consonant cluster it is generally ə. 3) In polysyllabic verbs the connecting vowel a is generally used.

The ending of the first person dual also shows variation: -smen, -səmen, -samen. As in the present tense, the second person is syncretistic. The final vowel of the second person dual and plural can be velarized.

Examples: *əl-* 'to live, to be', *joxt-* 'to come, to arrive', *rupit-* 'to work'

Singular	1. <i>əl-s-əm</i>	<i>joxt-əs-əm</i>	<i>rupit-as-əm</i>
	2. <i>əl-s-ən</i>	<i>joxt-əs-ən</i>	<i>rupit-as-ən</i>
	3. <i>əl-s ~ əl-əs</i>	<i>joxt-əs</i>	<i>rupit-as</i>

Dual	1. <i>əl-s-əmen</i>	<i>joxt-əs-amen</i>	<i>rupit-as-amen</i>
	2. <i>əl-s-ən</i>	<i>joxt-əs-ən</i>	<i>rupit-as-ən</i>
	3. <i>əl-s-iγ</i>	<i>joxt-əs-iγ</i>	<i>rupit-as-iγ</i>
Plural	1. <i>əl-s-uw</i>	<i>joxt-əs-uw</i>	<i>rupit-as-uw</i>
	2. <i>əl-s-ən</i>	<i>joxt-əs-ən</i>	<i>rupit-as-ən</i>
	3. <i>əl-s-ət</i>	<i>joxt-əs-ət</i>	<i>rupit-as-ət</i>

3.6.1.2.2. Determinate Conjugation

The endings of the past tense in the determinate conjugation are composed of the past tense marker -s with the appropriate determinate personal endings used in the present. Just as in the present tense, the form of the ending indicates not only that the object is considered to be determinate, but also the number (singular, dual, plural) of this object. As in the past indeterminate a connecting vowel ə ~a can be inserted between vowel stem and verbal suffix as needed to prevent unacceptable consonant clusters. Here again, the vowel of the second person dual and plural can be velarized.

Determinate Object in the Singular:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	-sləm	-slamen	-sluw
2.	-slən	-slən	-slən
3.	-ste	-sten	-sanəl

Example: *šopit-* 'to produce, prepare':

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>šopit-a-sləm</i>	<i>šopit-a-slamen</i>	<i>šopit-a-sluw</i>
2.	<i>šopit-a-slən</i>	<i>šopit-a-slən</i>	<i>šopit-a-slən</i>
3.	<i>šopit-a-ste</i>	<i>šopit-a-sten</i>	<i>šopit-a-sanəl</i>

Determinate Object in the Dual/Plural:

The appropriate endings consist of the past tense marker -s with the same object markers as in the present tense with a possible connecting vowel (ə ~a) between verbal stem and suffix. The reduced vowel in the second person dual and plural can be velarized.

	<u>Dual Object</u>			<u>Plural Object</u>		
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	-sayəm	-saymen	-sayuw	-sanəm	-sanmen	-sanuw
2.	-sayən	-sayən	-sayən	-san(ən)	-san(ən)	-san(ən)
3.	-saye	-sayən	-sayanəl	-sane	-sanen	-san(an)əl

Example: *šopit-* 'to produce, prepare':

	Dual Object	Plural Object
Singular	1. <i>šopit-a-sayəm</i>	<i>šopit-a-sanəm</i>
	2. <i>šopit-a-sayən</i>	<i>šopit-a-san(ən)</i>
	3. <i>šopit-a-saye</i>	<i>šopit-a-sane</i>
Dual	1. <i>šopit-a-saymen</i>	<i>šopit-a-sanmen</i>
	2. <i>šopit-a-sayən</i>	<i>šopit-a-san(ən)</i>
	3. <i>šopit-a-sayen</i>	<i>šopit-a-sanen</i>
Plural	1. <i>šopit-a-sayuw</i>	<i>šopit-a-sanuw</i>
	2. <i>šopit-a-sayən</i>	<i>šopit-a-san(ən)</i>
	3. <i>šopit-a-sayanəl</i>	<i>šopit-a-san(ən)əl</i>

Example Sentences:

naŋ nāwram ērəpteyən 'PRONPERS2SG, child-NOM, love-2SGPRESINDET: You love children.'

naŋ nāwram ērəptasən 'PRONPERS2SG, child-NOM, love-2SGPASTINDET: You loved children.'

naŋ nāwramən ērəptilən 'PRONPERS2SG, child-PX2SG, love-2SGPRESDETSg: You love your child.'

naŋ nāwramən ērəptaslən 'PRONPERS2SG, child-PX2SG, love-2SGPASTDETSg: You loved your child.'

am luwəm sunn kēriləm/kēreslēm 'PRONPERS1SG, horse-PX1SG, sled-LAT, hitch-1SGPRESDETSg/1SGPASTDETSg: I hitch/hitched my horse to the sled.'

am luwayəm sunn kērijayəm/kērsayəm 'PRONPERS1SG, horse-PX1SG-DUPOSS, sled-LAT, hitch-1SGPRESDETDU/1SGPASTDETDU: I hitch/hitched my (two) horses to the sled.'

am luwanəm sunn kērijanəm/kērsanəm 'PRONPERS1SG, horse-PX1SG-PLURPOSS, sled-LAT, hitch-1SGPRESDETPLUR/1SGPASTDETPLUR: I hitch/hitched my horses to the sled.'

3.6.1.2.3. Irregular Verbs: Indeterminate and Determinate Conjugation

In the case of the irregular verbs the past tense endings, both indeterminate and determinate, are added directly to the vowel stem, thus obviating any need for a connecting vowel. Example: *tē-* 'to eat':

Past Indeterminate: *tē-səm, tē-sən, tē-s,* etc.

Past Determinate: Singular Object *tē-sləm, tē-slən, tē-ste,* etc.

Dual Object *tē-sayəm, tē-sayən, tē-saye,* etc.

Plural Object *tē-sanəm, tē-san(ən), tē-sane,* etc.

3.6.1.3. Expression of Futurity: Indeterminate and Determinate Conjugations

There is no future tense in Vogul per se. As in most Finno-Ugrian languages the present tense can in context have future meaning. Example: *tiḡōtal am pāwəlŋ mineyəm, ḡolitan taw pāwəlŋ mini* 'today, PRONPERS1SG, village-LAT, go-1SGPRESINDET, tomorrow, PRONPERS3SG, village-LAT, go-3SGPRESINDET: Today I am going to the village, tomorrow he will go to the village.'

In addition there are two possibilities to express futurity more explicitly: 1) The particle *taḡ* 'then, later' can be used: *mineyəm taḡ* 'go-1SGPRESINDET, then: I will go'. 2) The infinitive can be used together with the auxiliary verb *pat-* 'to fall; to begin': *δluŋk'e pateyəm* 'live-INF, begin-1SGPRESINDET: I will live'.

3.6.2. Moods

3.6.2.1. Indicative

The indicative mood has no special indicator in Vogul, being the neutral mood always used when there is no need for another one. It is also the mood in which the tense opposition present ~ past is fully valid.

3.6.2.2. Imperative

The imperative is used in Vogul in the second person. There is no special mood suffix, the second person marker being added directly to the verbal stem. Almost all imperative forms contrast morphologically with the longer indicative forms, e.g. indicative present indeterminate conjugation (*wār-eyən* 'you make/do') ~ imperative indeterminate conjugation (*wār-en* 'do, make'). The forms are strongly syncretistic for the three numbers, but there can be variation in the vowel of the marker, reduced in the singular, long or velarized in the dual and plural.

Imperative - Indeterminate Conjugation: The ending is *-en*.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>min-</i> 'to go':	<i>min-en</i>	<i>min-en</i>	<i>min-en</i>
<i>δl-</i> 'to be; to live':	<i>δl-en</i>	<i>δl-en</i>	<i>δl-en</i>
<i>rupit-</i> 'to work':	<i>rupit-en</i>	<i>rupit-en</i>	<i>rupit-en</i>

Imperative - Determinate Conjugation:

When the determinate object is in the singular the singular ending is *-eln*, the dual and plural endings being *-elen* with some variation in the quality of the last vowel. When the determinate object is in the dual the imperative ending is *-eyən* in all numbers, once again with some variation in the quality of the last vowel. When the determinate object is in the plural the imperative ending is *-en* in all numbers.

Example: *tot-* 'to bring'

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Object-Singular:	<i>tot-eln</i>	<i>tot-elen</i>	<i>tot-elen</i>
Object-Dual:	<i>tot-eyən</i>	<i>tot-eyən</i>	<i>tot-eyən</i>
Object-Plural:	<i>tot-en</i>	<i>tot-en</i>	<i>tot-en</i>

Irregular Verbs: The irregular verbs show imperative stems ending in -j and almost all exhibit vowel alternation. The imperative endings added to the stem are the same as for other verbs.

<i>mi-</i> 'to give':	<i>maj-</i>
<i>li-</i> 'to throw':	<i>laj-</i>
<i>ji-</i> ~ <i>ju-</i> 'to come':	<i>jaj-</i> ~ <i>jij-</i>
<i>wi-</i> 'to take':	<i>woj-</i> ~ <i>wuj-</i>
<i>wā-</i> 'to see; to know':	<i>wāj-</i>
<i>tē-</i> 'to eat':	<i>tāj-</i>

Example sentences:

naŋ juw'le minen 'PRONPERS2SG, back, go-2SGLMPINDET: Go back.'

nēn tot δlen 'PRONPERS2DU, there, live-2DULMPINDET: Live there.'

nān fabrikat rupiten 'PRONPERS2PLUR, factory-LOC, work-2PLURIMPINDET: Work in the factory.'

Kol'a, am tūpəm toteln 'Kol'a, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG, bring-2SGLMPDETSG: Kol'a, bring my oar.'

Waša os Pet'a, am tūpəm totelen 'Waša, and, Pet'a, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG, bring-2DULMPDETSG: Waša and Kol'a, bring my oar.'

piyrəsət, am tūpəm totelen 'boy-PLUR, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG, bring-2PLURIMPDETSG: Boys, bring my oar.'

Kol'a, am tūpayəm toteyan 'Kol'a, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG-DUPoss, bring-2SGLMPDETDU: Kol'a, bring my (two) oars.'

Waša os Pet'a, am tūpayəm toteyan 'Waša, and, Pet'a, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG-DUPoss, bring-2DULMPDETDU: Waša and Kol'a, bring my (two) oars.'

piyrəsət, am tūpayəm toteyan 'boy-PLUR, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG-DUPoss, bring-2PLURIMPDETDU: Boys, bring my (two) oars.'

Kol'a, am tūpanəm toten 'Kol'a, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG-PLURPoss, bring-2SGLMPDETPLUR: Kol'a, bring my oars.'

Waša os Pet'a, am tūpanəm toten 'Waša, and, Pet'a, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG-PLURPoss, bring-2DULMPDETPLUR: Waša and Kol'a, bring my oars.'

piyrəsət, am tūpanəm toten 'boy-PLUR, PRONPERS1SG, oar-PX1SG-PLURPoss, bring-2PLURIMPDETPLUR: Boys, bring my oars.'

Other Persons: To express imperative content in persons other than the second the particle *wos* ~ *os* is used together with the indicative forms. Examples with the verb *min-* 'to go': *wos mini* 'may he/she go', *wos miney* 'may they (dual) go', *wos mineyət* 'may they (plural) go'.

3.6.2.3. Conditional-Optative

The marker of the conditional-optative mood is *-nuw* which is added either directly to the verbal stem or with the help of a connecting vowel *ə* ~ *a*. The mood marker is followed by the basic personal suffixes either of the indeterminate or the determinate conjugation. As in many other cases, the vowel of the second person dual and plural can show variation. The endings of the conditional-optative are added to the vocalic stems of the irregular verbs.

Conditional-Optative - Indeterminate Conjugation:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>-nuw-əm</i>	<i>-nuw-amen</i>	<i>-nuw-uw</i>
2.	<i>-nuw-ən</i>	<i>-nuw-en</i>	<i>-nuw-en</i>
3.	<i>-nuw-ø</i>	<i>-nuw-iy</i>	<i>-nuw-ət</i>

Example: *δl-* 'to be; to live'

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>δl-nuwəm</i>	<i>δl-nuwamen</i>	<i>δl-nuwuw</i>
2.	<i>δl-nuwən</i>	<i>δl-nuwen</i>	<i>δl-nuwen</i>
3.	<i>δl-nuw</i>	<i>δl-nuwiy</i>	<i>δl-nuwət</i>

Conditional-Optative - Determinate Conjugation:

The endings of the conditional-optative mood in the determinate conjugation are dependent on the number of the (determinate) object. The determinate endings are those of the present tense determinate conjugation.

	Singular Object	Dual Object	Plural Object
Sg. 1.	<i>-nuw-ləm</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-əm</i>	<i>-nuw-an-əm</i>
2.	<i>-nuw-lən</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-ən</i>	<i>-nuw-an(-ən)</i>
3.	<i>-nuw-te</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-e</i>	<i>-nuw-an-e</i>
Dual 1.	<i>-nuw-lamen</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-amen</i>	<i>-nuw-an-amen</i>
2.	<i>-nuw-len</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-en</i>	<i>-nuw-an(-en)</i>
3.	<i>-nuw-ten</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-en</i>	<i>-nuw-an-en</i>
Plural 1.	<i>-nuw-luw</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-uw</i>	<i>-nuw-an-uw</i>
2.	<i>-nuw-len</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-en</i>	<i>-nuw-an(-en)</i>
3.	<i>-nuw-anəl</i>	<i>-nuw-aγ-anəl</i>	<i>-nuw-an-əl</i>

Example: *wār-* 'to make, to do'

	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>
Sg. 1.	<i>wār-nuwləm</i>	<i>wār-nuwayəm</i>	<i>wār-nuwanəm</i>
2.	<i>wār-nuwlən</i>	<i>wār-nuwayən</i>	<i>wār-nuwan(-ən)</i>
3.	<i>wār-nuwte</i>	<i>wār-nuwaye</i>	<i>wār-nuwane</i>
Dual 1.	<i>wār-nuwlamen</i>	<i>wār-nuwayamen</i>	<i>wār-nuwanamen</i>
2.	<i>wār-nuwlen</i>	<i>wār-nuwayən</i>	<i>wār-nuwan(-ən)</i>
3.	<i>wār-nuwten</i>	<i>wār-nuwayən</i>	<i>wār-nuwanen</i>
Plural 1.	<i>wār-nuwluw</i>	<i>wār-nuwayuw</i>	<i>wār-nuwanuw</i>
2.	<i>wār-nuwlen</i>	<i>wār-nuwayən</i>	<i>wār-nuwan(-ən)</i>
3.	<i>wār-nuwanəl</i>	<i>wār-nuwayənəl</i>	<i>wār-nuwanəl</i>

Example Sentences:

am l'ōχəmt wōηχα ke δlnuw, am wōηχα ūlta poriymanuwəm 'PRONPERS1 SG, path-Px1 SGLOC, pit-NOM, if, be-3SGCOINDET, PRONPERS1 SG, pit-NOM, over, jump-1 SGCOINDET: If there were a pit in my path, I would jump over it.'

am wōrn jalnuwəm ke, am ta janiy wōrtōlnut alnuwləm 'PRONPERS1 SG, forest-LAT, go-1 SGCOINDET, if, PRONPERS1 SG, that, large, bear-NOM, kill-1 SGCODETSG: If I went into the forest, I would kill that big bear.'

taw pēlp sālijaye kērnuyaye ke, sune sak"alanuw 'PRONPERS3 SG, fast, reindeer-Px3 SG-DUPoss, hitch-3SGCODET DU, if, sled-Px3 SG, break-3SGCOINDET: If he hitched up the (two) fast reindeer, his sled would break.'

χaniştan χum ti sawəη piyresət sāl'itanuwane ke, tən l'ul'səη χaniştaxtuηk"e patnuwət 'teach-PARTPRES, man, this, lazy, boy-PLUR, regret-3SGCODETPLUR, if, PRONPERS3 PLUR, poorly, learn-INF, begin-3PLURCOINDET: If the teacher were to feel sorry for these lazy boys, they would start learning even more poorly.'

3.6.2.4. Narrative

In Russian linguistic writing a further mood, the narrative (auditive, absentive) is distinguished. Whether the existence of such a mood is acknowledged or not will largely depend on one's own definition of mood. It differs from the other marked moods (imperative and conditional-optative) in various regards: 1) Auditive forms (present tense) are strictly speaking non-finite, as they are formed with a) the verbal stem, b) participial endings, and c) possessive suffixes to mark person (and not the usual verbal endings); 2) Two tenses are distinguished, present and past; 3) There are two separate markers of the auditive, the participial endings (present and past) for the auditive present and auditive past; 4) The "meaning" of the auditive is not as clearcut as in the case of the imperative and conditional-optative. In various works on Vogul linguistics (cf. Rombandejeva 1973: 137-144) we read that the auditive marks states and actions to which the speaker is/was not an eyewitness ("allegedly", "supposedly", "they say that", "it is reported that", etc.) It should also be

noted that these forms can be used to express actions which are considered uncertain, indefinite, or only of short duration.

Narrative Present - Indeterminate Conjugation:

The marker of the narrative present is *-ne-*, actually the ending of the present participle, to which the possessive suffixes are added.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>-ne-m</i>	<i>-ne-men</i>	<i>-ne-w</i>
2.	<i>-ne-n</i>	<i>-ne-n</i>	<i>-ne-n</i>
3.	<i>-ne-te</i>	<i>-ne-ten</i>	<i>-ne-nəl</i>

Example: *wār-* 'to make; to do'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>wār-nem</i>	<i>wār-nemen</i>	<i>wār-new</i>
2.	<i>wār-nen</i>	<i>wār-nen</i>	<i>wār-nen</i>
3.	<i>wār-nete</i>	<i>wār-neten</i>	<i>wār-nenəl</i>

Narrative Present - Determinate Conjugation:

In the determinate conjugation the mood marker *-ne-* is followed by the usual determinate endings: singular object (l ~ t), dual object (y), plural object (n).

	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>
Sg. 1.	<i>wār-ne-ləm</i>	<i>wār-ne-yəm</i>	<i>wār-ne-nəm</i>
2.	<i>wār-ne-lən</i>	<i>wār-ne-yən</i>	<i>wār-ne-n(ən)</i>
3.	<i>wār-ne-te</i>	<i>wār-ne-ye</i>	<i>wār-ne-ne</i>
Dual 1.	<i>wār-ne-lamen</i>	<i>wār-ne-yamen</i>	<i>wār-ne-namen</i>
2.	<i>wār-ne-len</i>	<i>wār-ne-yən</i>	<i>wār-ne-nen</i>
3.	<i>wār-ne-ten</i>	<i>wār-ne-yən</i>	<i>wār-ne-nen</i>
Plural 1.	<i>wār-ne-luw</i>	<i>wār-ne-yuw</i>	<i>wār-ne-nuw</i>
2.	<i>wār-ne-len</i>	<i>wār-ne-yən</i>	<i>wār-ne-nen</i>
3.	<i>wār-ne-nəl</i>	<i>wār-ne-yənəl</i>	<i>wār-ne-nəl</i>

Narrative Past - Indeterminate Conjugation:

The marker of the narrative past is *-m*, actually the suffix of the past participle, to which personal endings are added. Depending on the verbal stem a connecting vowel can be used.

Example: *wār-* 'to make; to do'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>wār-m-əm</i>	<i>wār-m-əmen</i>	<i>wār-m-uw</i>
2.	<i>wār-m-ən</i>	<i>wār-m-en</i>	<i>wār-m-en</i>
3.	<i>wār-əm</i>	<i>wār-m-iy</i>	<i>wār-m-ət</i>

Narrative Past - Determinate Conjugation:

In the determinate conjugation the marker of the narrative past (-m-) is followed by the usual determinate suffixes.

	<u>Singular Object</u>	<u>Dual Object</u>	<u>Plural Object</u>
Sg. 1.	<i>wār-əm-ləm</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayəm</i>	<i>wār-əm-anəm</i>
2.	<i>wār-əm-lən</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayən</i>	<i>wār-əm-an(ən)</i>
3.	<i>wār-əm-te</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayə</i>	<i>wār-əm-ane</i>
Dual 1.	<i>wār-əm-lamen</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayəmen</i>	<i>wār-əm-anamen</i>
2.	<i>wār-əm-len</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayən</i>	<i>wār-əm-anen</i>
3.	<i>wār-əm-ten</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayən</i>	<i>wār-əm-anen</i>
Plural 1.	<i>wār-əm-luw</i>	<i>wār-əm-aјуw</i>	<i>wār-əm-anuw</i>
2.	<i>wār-əm-len</i>	<i>wār-əm-ayən</i>	<i>wār-əm-anen</i>
3.	<i>wār-əm-anəl</i>	<i>wār-əm-aјanəl</i>	<i>wār-əm-anəl</i>

3.6.3. Voices

3.6.3.1. Active

The active voice in Vogul has no special suffix. All the forms presented above have been active forms.

3.6.3.2. Passive

Passive forms are typical for Vogul. The person indicated through the verbal endings experiences the action. An agent can be formally expressed and stands in the lative case. In contrast with many languages both transitive as well as intransitive verbs can be used in the passive. As the person undergoing the action can be regarded as the object no distinction is made between indeterminate and determinate conjugations.

3.6.3.2.1. Passive Indicative

Passive Indicative Present:

The marker of the passive is *-we*, usually attached to the verbal stem with the connecting vowel *-a*. In the case of the irregular verbs the marker is added directly to the vowel stem. The passive marker is followed by the personal endings.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>-we-m</i>	<i>-we-men</i>	<i>-we-w</i>
2.	<i>-we-n</i>	<i>-we-n</i>	<i>-we-n</i>
3.	<i>-we-ø</i>	<i>-we-γ</i>	<i>-we-t</i>

Example: *wār-* 'to make; to do'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>wār-a-wem</i>	<i>wār-a-wemen</i>	<i>wār-a-wew</i>
2.	<i>wār-a-wen</i>	<i>wār-a-wen</i>	<i>wār-a-wen</i>
3.	<i>wār-a-we</i>	<i>wār-a-weγ</i>	<i>wār-a-wet</i>

Passive Indicative Past:

In the passive indicative past the connecting vowel *-a* is used only when necessary to avoid unusual consonant clusters. The passive marker *-we-* is followed by the past tense marker *-s* and the personal suffixes. Forms of the irregular verbs use the bases with vowel alternation and *-j* (cf. 3.6.2.2.): *tē-* 'to eat', *tē-wem* 'I am eaten', *tāj-wesəm* 'I was eaten'.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>-we-s-əm</i>	<i>-we-s-amen</i>	<i>-we-s-uw</i>
2.	<i>-we-s-ən</i>	<i>-we-s-en</i>	<i>-we-s-en</i>
3.	<i>-we-s-ø</i>	<i>-we-s-iy</i>	<i>-we-s-ət</i>

Example: *wār-* 'to make; to do'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>wār-wesəm</i>	<i>wār-wesamen</i>	<i>wār-wesuw</i>
2.	<i>wār-wesən</i>	<i>wār-wesen</i>	<i>wār-wesen</i>
3.	<i>wār-wes</i>	<i>wār-wesiy</i>	<i>wār-wesət</i>

Example Sentences:

χum χāp wāri 'man-NOM, boat-NOM, make-3SgPRESINDET: The man is making a boat.'

χumn χāp wārawe 'man-LAT, boat-NOM, make-3SgPRESPASS: A boat is being made by the man.'

ōjka sāli kērās 'old man-NOM, reindeer-NOM, hitch up-3SgPASTINDET: The old man hitched up a reindeer.'

ōjkan sāli kērwes 'old man-LAT, reindeer-NOM, hitch up-3SgPASTPASS: The reindeer was hitched up by the old man.'

oχsar sískurek tēs 'fox-NOM, hen-NOM, eat-3SgPASTINDET: The fox ate a hen.'

oχsarn sískurek tājwes 'fox-LAT, hen-NOM, eat-3SgPASTPASS: The hen was eaten by the fox.'

3.6.3.2.2. Passive In Other Moods

1. Passive Imperative:

In the passive imperative the particle *wos* 'may' is employed together with the forms of the passive indicative present. Example with *tot-* 'to take': *naη wos totawen* 'PRONPERS2Sg, may, take-2SgPRESPASS: May you be taken', *taw wos totawe* 'PRONPERS3Sg, may, take-3SgPRESPASS: May he be taken'. (Cf. Rombandejeva 1973: 127)

2. Passive Conditional-Optative:

In some subdialects of Northern Vogul the passive conditional-optative can be formed with complete transparency, i.e. verbal stem + conditional-optative marker *-nuw* + passive marker *-we* + personal ending: *wār-* 'to make; to do', *wār-nuw-we-m*, *wār-nuw-we-n*, etc. 'I would be made, you would be made, etc.' It is, however, more usual for the geminate consonant *-ww-* to be simplified (*-ww-* > *-w-*) meaning that the difference between the passive conditional-optative and the active conditional-optative is seen (in most persons) through the presence of the vowel *-e* in the personal endings.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>-nu-we-m</i>	<i>-nu-we-men</i>	<i>-nu-we-w</i>
2.	<i>-nu-we-n</i>	<i>-nu-we-n</i>	<i>-nu-we-n</i>
3.	<i>-nu-we-ø</i>	<i>-nu-we-γ</i>	<i>-nu-we-t</i>

Example: *wār-* 'to make; to do'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>wār-nuwem</i>	<i>wār-nuwemen</i>	<i>wār-nuwew</i>
2.	<i>wār-nuwen</i>	<i>wār-nuwen</i>	<i>wār-nuwen</i>
3.	<i>wār-nuwe</i>	<i>wār-nuweγ</i>	<i>wār-nuwet</i>

3. Passive Narrative: There are separate forms for the passive narrative present and past.

3a. Passive Narrative Present. The forms of the passive narrative present are identical with those of the active narrative present, these forms thus being neutral with respect to diathesis. Context determines the specific meaning. Example: *tot-* 'to bring', *tot-ne-m* 'I supposedly bring. ~ I supposedly am brought.' (Cf. Rombandejeva 1973: 139)

3b. Passive Narrative Past. These forms are based on the gerund in *-ima-* to which the personal suffixes are added.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>-ima-m</i>	<i>-ima-men</i>	<i>-ima-w</i>
2.	<i>-ima-n</i>	<i>-ima-n</i>	<i>-ima-n</i>
3.	<i>-ima-ø-</i>	<i>-ima-γ</i>	<i>-ima-t</i>

Example: *tot-* 'to bring'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1.	<i>tot-imam</i>	<i>tot-imamen</i>	<i>tot-imaw</i>
2.	<i>tot-iman</i>	<i>tot-iman</i>	<i>tot-iman</i>
3.	<i>tot-ima</i>	<i>tot-imaγ</i>	<i>tot-imat</i>

3.6.4. Non-Finite Verbal Forms

For a discussion of Vogul non-finite verbal forms cf. 5.6.

3.7. Adverbs

3.7.1. Adverbial Classes

Adverbs form a heterogeneous class in Vogul being formed from pronouns, nouns, adjectives, numerals, etc. with the help of various endings among which we find, in addition to others, productive and non-productive case suffixes. In this context only a few semantic classes will be mentioned.

Local Adverbs: Among these many have three forms corresponding to the questions 'where to?', 'where', 'where from'. Examples: *χotal* 'where to?' - *χot* 'where?' - *χotəl* 'where from?', *juw'e* 'home, back' - *jun* 'at home' - *jujil* 'from home', *tuw'e* '(to) there' - *tot* 'there' - *tuwəl* 'from there'.

Temporal Adverbs: *tixōtal* 'today', *añ* 'now', *tajaχ* 'then, later', *ak"ay* 'always', *tēli* 'in winter', *ak"matnakt* 'once'.

Adverbs of Manner: These are formed with different suffixes, e.g. 1) *-əs*: *kāsəη* 'merry' ~ *kāsəηəs* 'merrily'. 2) *-γ*: *nomtəη* 'clever' ~ *nomtəηiy* 'cleverly'. 3) *-k"e*: *lāsəl* 'slow' ~ *lāsłak"e* 'slowly'. 4) *-l*: *lāγəl* 'foot' ~ *lāγəl* 'on foot'.

3.7.2. Comparison of Adverbs

The comparison of adverbs is very similar to that of adjectives.

Comparative: 1) Syntactic method: The person or object compared to is in the ablative case. The adverb bears no comparative ending. *am jurtpiyrisanem-nəl sārteŋ joχtesəm* 'PRONPERS1SG, friend-Px1SG-PLURPOSSABL, early, come-1SGPASTINDET: I arrived earlier than my friends.' [Rombandejeva 1989:151] 2)

Morphological method. The suffix *-nuw* can be added to the adverb. *naŋ mol'aχ-nuw juw-joχteŋen* 'PRONPERS2SG, quickly-COMP, home, come-2SGPRESINDET: You will come home more quickly.'

Superlative: The superlative is formed with the particles *saka*, *śar* 'very; fully'.

Example: *taw saka mol'aχ juw-joχti* 'PRONPERS3SG, very, quickly, home, come-3SGPRESINDET: He will come home the most quickly.'

3.8. Conjunctions

The category of the conjunction is not as well developed in Vogul as in typical Western European languages, this being in accordance with the basic agglutinative character of the language which employs a great many constructions with verbal nouns and personal suffixes or postpositions. The classification of certain word forms can also be difficult as various particles can in certain contexts be translated with (English) conjunctions. For example, the particle *wos* used in imperative constructions in persons other than the second (cf. 3.6.2.2.) can in many instances be translated with 'in order that'. Here only the most frequent conjunctions will be mentioned. For example sentences cf. 3.6.2.3., 5.7.1.2., 5.7.2.

Coordinating Conjunctions:

1. Copulative Conjunctions: *os* 'and; or' (formerly 'or'), *i* 'and' (< Russian).
2. Adversative Conjunctions: *a* 'but' (< Russian), *no* 'but' (< Russian), *āte* 'and not, nor', *āte ... āte* 'neither...nor'.
3. Disjunctive Conjunctions: *man* 'or', *manos* 'or'.

Subordinating Conjunctions:

1. Temporal Conjunctions: *χur* 'when'
2. Conditional Conjunctions: *ke* 'if'. This word could just as well be considered a particle, as it does not begin a clause.
3. Concessive Conjunctions: *kos* 'although'
4. Comparative Conjunctions: *ak* 'top' 'as if'

3.9. Particles

Vogul possesses a large number of particles expressing various nuances of meanings. As can be imagined it is often impossible to assign a particular English meaning to the individual particles, the concrete usage of a particle in sentences often being quite variable. Here only a few examples are given:

Negation: *at* 'not', *āt'i* 'no'

Prohibition: *ul* (negates imperative constructions)

Volitional: *wos* (in imperative constructions other than with the second person)

Interrogative: *-a* (in 'yes/no' questions), *aman* 'whether, likely'

Assent: *a-a* 'yes'

Intensification: *taw*, *ja*

Limiting: *tup* 'hardly, just'

Specifying: *ti*, *ta*, *taj*, *tij*

Exclamatory: *manər* 'what a ...!'

4.0. General Remarks

In this chapter no attempt can be made to give an exhaustive account of the processes by which new words are formed in Vogul. Instead a brief survey will be given of word formation as regards nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Whereas no word categories in Vogul can be regarded as being completely closed, these are certainly the most open in this regard. In keeping with its basic agglutinative nature, Vogul forms most new words through suffixation, with compounding still being a productive alternative. These suffixes can be classified in different ways, e.g. word category of the resulting word (> noun, adjective, verb, etc.), word category of the base word (denominal [< noun], deverbal [< verb], etc.), productivity, i.e. whether the suffix can still be used to form new words, and frequency, i.e. whether the suffix has been employed often or not to form new words. Here only the most frequent and productive suffixes can be mentioned. (The large number of unproductive suffixes will not be dealt with.)

4.1. Noun Formation

4.1.1. Suffixal Noun Formation

Denominal Suffixes:

1. -k^e: This suffix is quite frequent and forms diminutive words. Examples: *āyi* 'girl, daughter' > *āyik^e*, *puŋk* 'head' > *puŋkk^e*.
2. -riś: The suffix forms diminutives which can sometimes have a pejorative meaning. Examples: *jā* 'river' > *jāriś*, *χum* 'man' > *χumriś* 'weak, sickly man'.
3. -t: The suffix forms abstract nouns from adjectives. Examples: *χosa* 'long' > *χosit* 'length', *mil* 'deep' > *millit* 'depth'.

In addition to these suffixes several words can be used in a manner very similar to true suffixes: 1) *ut* 'thing' can substantivize adjectives (*atəŋ* 'sweet' > *atəŋut* 'sweets' or participles (*aj-* 'to drink' > *aj-ne* 'drink-PARTPRES' > *aj-n-ut* 'person who likes to drink'), 2) *wārmal* 'thing; deed' can also substantivize participles (*woritot-* 'to fight' > *woritotne* 'fight-PARTPRES' > *woritotne wārmal* > 'struggle'), 3) *sup* 'piece, part' can be used as a diminutive word (*χāp* 'boat' > *χāpsup*), 4) *kapaj* 'large; old' can be used as an augmentative word (*ojka* 'man' > *ojkakapaj* 'very old or very large man').

Deverbal Suffixes:

1. -χ (-k): This suffix forms various abstract nouns. Examples: *ūns-* 'to cross, to wade' > *ūnsaχ* 'foot-bridge', *kis-* 'to whistle' > *kisik* 'whistle'.
2. -l: The suffix forms nomina actionis/nomina acti. Examples: *χojt-* 'to be ill' > *χojtəl* 'illness', *min-* 'to go, to move' > *minil* 'movement'.

3. -mil: The suffix forms nomina actionis/nomina acti. Examples: *χāŋχ-* 'to climb' > *χāχmil* 'cliff, pass', *jurśχat-* 'to unite' > *jurśχatmil* 'union'.
4. -n (-nə/-nə): The suffix forms participles (cf. 5.6.2.5.) some of which have been substantivized. Examples: *tē-* 'to eat' > *tēne* 'food', *mat-* 'to age' > *matnə* 'old age'.
5. -p (-pa): This is an old participle suffix (cf. 5.6.2.4.) many forms of which have been substantivized. Examples: *sāγr-* 'to cut' > *sāγrap* 'axe', *janitl-* 'to respect' > *janitlap* 'respect'.
6. -tul: The suffix forms abstract, often collective nouns. Examples: *jory-* 'to scrape, to plane' > *jortul* 'shavings', *mas-* 'to dress' > *mastul* 'clothing'.

4.1.2. Compounding

A frequent method of noun formation is that of compounding. The first component can be a) another noun, b) an adjective, c) a verbal stem, d) a participle (cf. Rombandejeva 1973:79-82, Rombandejeva/Vakhruševa:74-76). Examples: a) *mā* 'earth' + *kol* 'house' > 'earth house, dug-out', *kāt* 'hand' + *patta* 'base' > *kātpatta* 'palm (of the hand)', b) *nājəŋ* 'fiery' + *χāp* 'boat' > *nājəŋχap* 'steamship', *janij* 'big' + *ūj* 'animal' > *janijuj* 'elk', c) *pōl-* 'to freeze' + *ūj* 'animal' > *pōluj* 'bullfinch', d) *puwl-* 'to bathe' [> *puwlən* 'bathe-PARTPRES'] + *kol* 'house' > *puwlənkol* 'bathhouse'.

As can be seen from several of the above examples the components of a compound (particularly the second one) are subject to various morphological rules (vowel shortening, syncope, etc. - cf. 2.1., 2.4.1.).

4.2. Adjective Formation

Denominal Suffixes:

1. -ŋ: This suffix is very frequent and forms adjectives with the meaning 'having, possessing something'. Examples: *sōt* 'happiness' > *sōtəŋ* 'happy', *wōt* 'wind' > *wōtəŋ* 'windy'.
2. -p (-pa): The meaning of this suffix (cf. 5.6.2.4.) is similar to that of -ŋ with the difference that it is used above all with another word to form an attributive phrase. Example: *χosa* 'long' + *ŋol* 'nose' > *χosa ŋolp* 'long-nosed'.
3. -tal: This is a frequent, privative suffix (cf. 5.6.2.7.). Examples: *suj* 'sound, noise' > *sujtal* 'wordless', *nam* 'name' > *namtal* 'nameless'.

Deverbal Suffixes:

1. -m: With -m participles are formed (cf. 5.6.2.6.) some of which can be used as adjectives. Examples: *aj-* 'to drink' > *ajəm* 'drunk', *mat-* 'to age' > *matəm* 'aged'.
2. -tal: This is a frequent, privative suffix (cf. 5.6.2.7.). Examples: *χaŋś-* 'to know' > *χaŋśtal* 'unknowing, unknown', *χol-* 'to end' > *χoltal* 'endless'.

4.3. Verb Formation

4.3.1. Suffixal Verb Formation

A large number of suffixes are used in Vogul to form new verbs. As in the case of the nouns and adjectives these suffixes can be denominal or deverbal, but most belong to the latter category. Here only some examples for the major types can be given.

Denominal Suffixes:

a) Intransitive Verbs:

1. -m: *sāw* 'much' > *sāwm-* 'to increase, to grow'
2. -l ~ -al: *tāwri* 'crumb' > *tāwri-* 'to crumble', *sājək* 'sober' > *sājka-* 'to wake up'
3. -j ~ -aj: *l'ōηχ* 'path' > *l'ōηχaj-* 'to set off'
4. -aml: *rot* 'quiet' > *rotaml-* 'to quiet down'

b) Transitive Verbs:

1. -t: *ontəs* 'help' > *ontəst-* 'to help'
2. -l: *χoram* 'decoration, ornament' > *χoraml-* 'to decorate, to adorn'
3. -ltt: *rēγ* 'heat, warmth' > *rēγəltt-* 'to heat'

Deverbal Suffixes:

1. Reflexive Formants: -χat, -aχt. Examples: *mas-* 'to dress' > *masχat-* 'to dress oneself', *wojant-* 'to defend' > *wojantaχt-* 'to defend oneself'.
2. Causative Formants: -l, -t, -lt, -pt, -tt, -ltt. Examples: *suns-* 'to look' > *sunst-* 'to show', *mas-* 'to dress' > *mast-* 'to dress (someone else)', *mūjl-* 'to treat oneself' > *mūjlalt-* 'to entertain (guests)'.
3. Momentaneous Formants: -ap, -at, -as, -aj, al, -alt, -iyp, -iyt, -liyt, -uwl, -m, -umt, -aml, -mat, -maj, -əlmat. Examples: *k"āl-* 'to stand up' > *k"ālap-* 'to jump up', *sāηl-* 'to ring' > *sāηlat-* 'to ring out suddenly', *pišy-* 'to squeak' > *pišyas-* 'to give a squeak'.
4. Frequentative Formants: -āl, -iyl, -yalāl, -iylāl, -āliyl, -atāl, -lant, -yal. Examples: *kitiyl-* 'to ask a question' > *kitiylāl-* 'to ask repeatedly', *suns-* 'to watch' > *sunsiy-* 'to watch repeatedly', *woj-* 'to take' > *wojyalāl-* 'to take repeatedly', *ošmarl-* 'to use cunning' > *ošmarlāliyl-* 'to use cunning repeatedly'.
5. Inchoative Formants: -maj, -alt, -əmt, -miyt, -ml. Examples: *ōl-* 'to be; to live' > *ōlmaj-* 'to start to live', *χājīt-* 'to run' > *χājītalt-* 'to start to run', *taηχ-* 'to want' > *taχmiyt-* 'to start to want'.

6. Durative Formants: -ānt, -ant, -yal, -l, -as, -aśl, -al, -āl. Examples: *satap-* 'to grow dark' > *satapānt-* 'to grow dark slowly', *jōm-* 'to walk' > *jōmant-* 'to walk steadily', *tip-* 'to lose one's way' > *tipyal-* 'to roam, to wander', *ēry-* 'to sing' > *ēryaśl-* 'to sing on'.

Precative Forms: An interesting feature of Vogul verb formation is the behavior of the "deminutive suffixes" *-k"e* and *-riś* which can be added to any verbal stem to form a new stem. (Rombandejeva [1973:176] writes that these two suffixes can in fact be added to any part of speech in Vogul with the exception of conjunctions.) A stem augmented with *-k"e* or *-riś* can then take tense, mood, or voice markers. These suffixes impart a strong subjective and affective tone to the basic meaning of the verb. The suffix *-k"e* (*-ke*, cf. 2.5.) is positive, denoting endearment, while *-riś* is negative, expressing pity or deprecation. Examples: *amkkem* *ōlikem*. 'PRONSOL1 SG, be-PRECPRES1 SG: Good little me lives alone.' *amkkem* *ōliriśem*. 'PRONSOL1 SG, be-PRECPRES1 SG: Poor little me lives alone.'

4.3.2. Prefixal Verb Formation

A feature that Vogul shares with the other Ugrian languages, Ostyak and Hungarian, is the presence of verbal prefixes. These prefixes modify the meaning of the base verb, often indicating direction (up, down, in, out, etc.), but also conveying more abstract notions. Below, only the most common verbal prefixes will be listed along with some examples. It should be noted that a prefix can modify the meaning of the base verb in various ways, particularly if we are dealing with abstract notions and not merely concrete directions. Thus the remarks on the meaning of the individual prefixes cannot be regarded as exhaustive.

- ak"an- '(coming) together': *nēγ-* 'to tie, to bind' > *ak"an-nēγ-* 'to tie together', *mōrm-* 'to wrinkle, to fold' > *ak"an-mōrm-* 'to fold up'
- χot- 'various nuances such as intensity of action, momentaneous action, direction away from something': *tōs-* 'to dry' > *χot-tōs-* 'to dry up/out', *min-* 'to go' > *χot-min-* 'to go away, to stop', *roχt-* 'to be frightened' > *χot-roχt-* 'to take fright suddenly'
- ēl(a)- 'forwards, onwards, away': *jōm-* 'to go, to stride' > *ēl-jōm-* 'to go away/on', *tinal-* 'to sell' > *ēl-tinal-* 'to sell off'
- jol- 'concrete direction "down" and abstract nuances': *patt-* 'to drop' > *jol-patt-* 'to drop down, to kill', *tūj-* 'to snow' > *jol-tūj-* 'to snow up', *mūr-* 'to sink, to dive' > *jol-mūr-* 'to dive in/down'
- juw- 'concrete direction "home; into" as well as completion of action': *min-* 'to go' > *juw-min-* 'to go home; to enter', *tē-* 'to eat' > *juw-tē-* 'to eat up'
- kittiγ- 'separation': *min-* 'to go' > *kittiγ-min-* 'to separate; to get divorced', *ūrtχat-* 'to divide, to separate (intransitive)' > *kittiγ-ūrtχat-* 'to branch off'
- kon- 'out; away': *k"āl-* 'to stand up, to go, to rise' > *kon-k"āl-* 'to go out', *li-* 'to throw' > *kon-li-* 'to throw out/away'
- lak"a- (lakk"a-) 'decentralized direction': *jōm-* 'to go, to stride' > *lak"a-jōm-* 'to go apart, to separate', *urt-* 'to divide' > *lak"a-urt-* 'to divide up, to distribute'

- lap- 'completion of action': *nāt*- 'to float' > *lap-nāt*- 'to plug/clog up', *tē*- 'to eat; to burn' > *lap-tē*- 'to burn out'
- nāluw- 'towards the river; towards the fire': *χajt*- 'to run' > *nāluw-χajt*- 'to run towards the river', *tayat*- 'to hang' > *nāluw-tayat*- 'to hang over the fire'
- nōχ- (nōηχ- [cf. 2.3.]) 'up': *l'āl*- 'to stand' > *nōχ-l'āl*- 'to stand up', *suns*- 'to look' > *nōχ-suns*- 'to look up'
- pāγ- 'towards the shore; away from the fire': *χart*- 'to pull; to drag' > *pāγ-χart*- 'to drag to the shore', *k"āl*- 'to stand up, to go, to rise' > *pāγ-k"āl*- 'to get out of the boat, to land'
- pāliy- 'apart, in different directions, opening up': *χart*- 'to pull; to drag' > *pāliy-χart*- 'to stretch (out); to open one's mouth wide', *pokap*- 'to burst' > *pāliy-pokap*- 'to burst open, to break open'
- tiγ- 'in the direction of the speaker': *rōηχuwl*- 'to yell' > *tiγ-rōηχuwl*- 'to have someone come', *tot*- 'to bring' > *tiγ-tot*- 'to bring here'
- tuw- 'away from the speaker': *mi*- 'to give' > *tuw-mi*- 'to give back/away'

5. Syntax

5.0. General Remarks

The basic agglutinative character of the Vogul language is seen particularly well in its syntax. For those acquainted with the syntax of such languages, Vogul will offer little, if anything, new. This chapter cannot intend to offer an exhaustive account of Vogul clause and sentence structure. For this the reader is referred to the relevant literature. Instead, certain salient points of Vogul syntax will be touched upon and discussed.

5.1. Constituent Sentence Parts

The traditional division of constituent sentence parts into 1) subject, 2) predicate, 3) attribute, 4) direct object, and 5) adverbial is applicable to Vogul sentence structure. **Ad 1: Subject.** The subject is generally a noun or pronoun in the nominative case. Reflexive personal pronouns, which do not appear in the nominative (cf. 3.3.1.3.), do not function as subjects. Personal pronouns need not necessarily appear explicitly as they are expressed implicitly through the appropriate personal ending of the verb. More rarely, substantivized numerals or adjectives or verbal nouns can appear as subjects. **Ad 2: Predicate.** The most common predicate types are: a) verbal predicate, b) nominal predicate without copula, c) nominal predicate with copula. a) Verbal predicate: *āyi lowiñti* 'girl-NOM, read-PRES3SG: The girl is reading.' *āyit lowiñteγət* 'girl-PLUR read-PRES3PLUR: The girls are reading.' b) Nominal predicate without copula: The predicate can consist of a noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun. *ti jiw* 'this, tree-NOM: This is a tree.' *jiw janiγ* 'tree-NOM, big: The tree is big.' *ti am* 'this, PERSPRON1 SGNOM: It's me.' Nominal predicates without a copula can be used in all three persons. c) Nominal predicate with copula: The nominal predicate can be used with the copulas *ōl*- 'to be, to live' or (more rarely) with *ōs*- 'to be'. Whereas the first verb can be conjugated in all tenses, the latter is indifferent in regard to tense and is only employed as a copula. *stepan χot ōli?* 'Stepan-NOM, where, be-PRES3SG: Where is Stepan?' *pāwəl lapat ōli* 'village-NOM, near, be-PRES3SG: The village is near by.' In addition, various non-finite verbal forms can be used as predicates, as well as the predicative words of negation *āt'im* (Sg), *āt'imiy* (Du), *āt'imət* (Plur): *taw jun āt'im* 'PERSPRON3SG, home, NEGSG: He/she is not at home.' *tēn jun āt'imiy*. 'PERSPRON3DU, home, NEGDU: They (Du) are not at home.' *tān jun āt'imət* 'PERSPRON3PLUR, home, NEGPLUR: They (Plur) are not at home.' **Ad 3: Attribute.** Attributes can be adjectives, nouns (used as adjectives or as possessive nouns), numerals, pronouns, participles. *karəs ur* 'high mountain', *kēr nāl* 'iron trap', *χum āmp-e* 'man-NOM, dog-PX3SG: the man's dog', *at nāl* 'five arrows', *ti piγ* 'this boy', *pōl'am wit* 'freeze-PARTPAST, water: frozen water'. **Ad 4: Direct object.** The direct object is generally a noun in the nominative case (basic form) or a pronoun in the accusative. *piγriś kol pōsli* 'boy-NOM, house-NOM, draw-PRES3SG: The boy is drawing a house.' *āsəm ānəm školan totəste*. 'father-PX1 SG, PRONPERS1 SGACC, school-LAT, bring-PAST3SGDETSG: My father brought me to school.' **Ad 5: Adverbial.** The wide category of adverbials can be made up of adverbs, nouns in oblique cases (or more rarely in the basic form, cf. Rombandejeva 1973:44), noun +

postposition, non-finite verbal forms. *rottij l'ul'en!* 'still, stand-IMP2SG: Stand still!' *nāwramet wōrnal χājteyət* 'child-PLUR, forest-ABL, run-PRES3PLUR: The children run out of the forest.' *towləŋχāp wōr numi-pālt mini* 'airplane-NOM, forest-NOM, over, go-PRES3SG: The airplane flies over the forest.' *āyi ēryim pāy-minas*. 'girl-NOM, sing-GER, go to the shore-PAST3SG: The girl went down to the shore singing.'

5.2. Word Order

5.2.1. Order in Constituent Parts

The basic agglutinative principle that the qualifier precedes the qualified applies to Vogul word order. This entails: 1) attribute + noun, 2) head verb + auxiliary verb, 3) verbal prefix + verb. 1) Attribute + Noun. Adjective + Noun: *karəs ur* 'high mountain'. (Adjectival) Noun + Noun: *kēr nāl* 'iron trap'. Possessive Noun + Noun: *χum āmp-e* 'man-NOM, dog-PX3SG: the man's dog'. Numeral + Noun: *at nāl* 'five arrows'. Pronoun + Noun: *ti piy* 'this boy', *taw āmp-e* 'PRONPERS3SGNOM, dog-PX3SG: his/her dog'. (Adjectival) Participle + Noun: *pōl'em wit* 'frozen water. 2) Head Verb + Auxiliary Verb. *nomsuŋk'e pateyem* 'think-IMP, AUXPRES1SG: I will think'. 3) Verbal Prefix + Verb. *pāy-min-* 'to go ashore'.

With the help of participial constructions attributive phrases can become quite lengthy, e.g. *rus pōjər-piynə tūlmaχəl tinaləm mańsi āyi māyəs ēryəm ēriy*. Here it is the last word of the attributive phrase *ēriy* 'song' which is modified by the two participial constructions preceding it. Such phrases are best analyzed (from an English speaker's point of view) beginning from the end of the clause: *ēriy* 'song'. What kind of song? *ēryəm ēriy*. '*ēryəm* = past participle of *ēry-* 'to sing'. The song sung. What kind of song sung? *āyi* 'girl' *māyəs* 'about' *ēryəm ēriy*. The song sung about a girl. What kind of girl? *mańsi* 'Vogul' *āyi* 'girl'. A Vogul girl. What kind of Vogul girl? *tinaləm mańsi āyi*. '*tinaləm* = past participle of *tinal-* 'to sell'. The Vogul girl sold. How was the Vogul girl sold? *tūlmaχəl* 'secretly'. To whom was she sold? *piynə* 'to the boy'. To what kind of boy? *rus pōjər-piynə* 'to a Russian rich man's son'. One can thus translate the phrase as: Song sung about a Vogul girl sold secretly to a Russian rich man's son.

5.2.2. Order of Constituent Parts in the Sentence

Vogul is a basic SOV language. This means that in a sentence with basic, neutral constituent part order the subject will be at the beginning, the finite verb (or non-finite verb form) will occupy the final position, with the (direct) object between the subject and predicate. Thus: *āyi mojt lowińti* 'girl-NOM, story-NOM, read-PRES3SG: The girl reads a story.' There is more leeway with regard to the adverbials. They can come first in the sentence or between subject and predicate. The stressed position in a basic sentence is before the predicate. Interrogative pronouns or

adverbs need not occupy the first position and there is no crass difference in word order between interrogative and declarative sentences.

The SOV word order is, however, not rigid. Should a certain constituent part bear particular emphasis other orders are possible, finite verb in initial position, adverbial in final position, etc. (Cf. Rombandejeva 1979: 67- for a detailed discussion of alternative positions of constituent parts.)

5.3. Congruence

Attributive Constructions: There is no congruence in Vogul between attribute and head noun: *janiy kol* 'large house' - *janiy kol-iy* (Du), *janiy kol-ət* (Plur), *janiy kol-n* (Lat), *janiy kol-t* (Loc), etc.; *ti kol* 'this house' - *ti kol-iy* (Du), *ti kol-ət* (Plur), *ti kol-n* (Lat), *ti kol-t* (Loc), etc.

Numerals are followed by a head noun in the singular: *ak' kol* 'one house', *χūrəm kol* 'three houses', *sāw kol* 'many houses'. The numeral *kit* (2) can, however, be followed by either the singular or the dual: *kit kol* ~ *kit kol-iy* 'two houses'.

Subject-Verb Agreement: Finite verbs agree in number and person with the subject: *χum rupit-i* 'man-SG, work-PRES3SG: The man works.' ~ *χum-iy rupit-ey* 'man-DU, work-PRES3DU: The men (Du) work.' ~ *χum-ət rupit-eyət* 'man-PLUR, work-PRES3PLUR: The men (Plur) work.' ~ *naŋ rupit-eyən* 'PRONPERS2SG, work-PRES2SG: You (Sg) work ~ *mān rupit-ew* 'PRONPERS1PLUR, work-PRES1PLUR: We (Plur) work.' In addition, verbs in the determinate conjugation agree with the object in number: *am piyrisəm χańistiləm* 'PRONPERS1SG, son-PX1SG, teach-PRES1SGDETS: I teach my son.' ~ *am piyrisayəm χańistijayəm* 'PRONPERS1SG, son-PX1SG-DUPOSS, teach-PRES1SGDETDU: I teach my (two) sons.' ~ *am piyrisanəm χańistijanəm* 'PRONPERS1SG, son-PX1SG-PLURPOSS, teach-PRES1SGDETPLUR: I teach my sons (plural).'

In certain cases when the noun is formally in the singular but has plural/collective meaning the predicate can stand in the plural. This is, for example, the case with the word *māχəm* 'people': *māχəm joχteyət* 'people-SG, come-PRES3PLUR: The people are coming.'

Two nouns coordinated with one another through the use of the dual suffix (cf. 3.1.1.) require a predicate in the dual: *ēk'ay djkay dley* 'woman-Du, man-Du, live-PRES3DU: The woman [and] the man are living.'

Nominal Predicate Agreement: A nominal predicate agrees with the subject in number: *ti χańistaχtən piyris jomas* 'this, learn-PARTPRES, boy-SG, good-SG: This pupil [is] good.' ~ *ti χańistaχtən piyris-iy jomas-iy* 'this, learn-PARTPRES, boy-DU, good-DU: These pupils [are] good.' ~ *ti χańistaχtən piyris-ət jomas-ət* 'this, learn-PARTPRES, boy-PLUR, good-PLUR: These pupils [are] good.'

5.4. Definiteness

Uralic languages employ various strategies to indicate the definiteness of subjects and objects, i.a. the use of pre- or postposed articles (Hungarian, Mordvinian), contrastive use of case (Fennic) or the special use of possessive suffixes (Eastern Uralic languages). Furthermore, many Uralic languages do not obligatorily indicate the definiteness of the subject and/or object, although they all have means to indicate this if felt necessary. Vogul belongs to this latter group.

Subject definiteness: The most important indicator of definiteness of the subject of a Vogul sentence is the context. Thus, without context it is often difficult or impossible to know if the speaker considers the subject to be definite or not. In the sentence *āγi lowiñti* 'girl-NOMSG, read-PRES3SG' context can determine whether 'The girl is reading' or 'A girl is reading' is meant. (Context will also determine whether the/a girl 'is reading' or 'reads', but that is a different matter.) There are, however, several possibilities to indicate definiteness explicitly. The first of these is the use of determining attributes, above all demonstrative pronouns: *tī āγi* 'this girl', *ta āγi* 'that girl'. A second possibility is the use of a possessive suffix, usually of the third person. This means that these possessive suffixes have two functions, firstly to indicate possession, secondly to indicate definiteness. Once again, context must indicate which function is being realized. Out of context *āmp-e* 'dog-Px3SG' can mean either 'his/her dog' or 'the dog'. (The form with the preposed personal pronoun *taw āmp-e* [cf. 3.1.3.] will, however, only mean 'his/her dog'.) A third possibility is the use of the particle *añ* to indicate definiteness and the numeral *ak* (1) to indicate indefiniteness. Rombandejeva considers these particles to be definite and indefinite articles (cf. e.g. Rombandejeva 1973: 200-201), a view which has not found wide acceptance. Whereas it is clear that these particles can be used in the sense of (English) definite and indefinite articles, they are neither common nor obligatory (as in English) which argues against their classification as articles.

Object definiteness: The determinate and indeterminate verbal conjugations so typical of Vogul and the other Ugrian languages indicate the definiteness or indefiniteness of the direct object (cf. 3.6.1.1.2.)

5.5. Possessive Constructions

Possessive Constructions with One Noun: Possessive constructions involving one noun consist of the noun and possessive suffix with or without a preceding personal pronoun: (*am*) *kol-əm*, (*nañ*) *kol-ən*, (*taw*) *kol-e* 'my, your, his/her house', etc. (cf. 3.1.3.).

Possessive Constructions with Two Nouns: In possessive constructions involving two nouns the possessor precedes the possessed and the possessor is unmarked, whereas the possessed is (usually) marked with a possessive suffix of the third person. The marking of the possession is particularly common if it indicates something animate. Thus: *χum āmp-e* 'man-NOM, dog-Px3SG: the man's dog',

ruma-m kol-e 'friend-Px1SG, house-Px3SG: my friend's house', *jā wāta(-te)* 'river-NOM, banks-(Px3SG): the banks of the river'.

Habeo-construction: In stark contrast to its otherwise clear agglutinative nature Vogul has developed a full-fledged habeo verb: *ōñs-* 'to have'. *āγi kit saγ ōñsi* 'girl-NOM, two, braid-NOMSG, have-PRES3SG: The girl has two braids.' Another possibility is the use of the postposition *pālt* 'on' after the possessor with the possessed in the basic form and the verb of being: *mōś-nē pālt māñ nāwram ōli* 'mōś, woman-NOM, on, small, child-NOM, be-PRES3SG: The mōś woman has a small child.'

5.6. Non-Finite Verbal Forms

Non-finite verbal forms (verbal nouns) play an important role in Vogul sentence structure. They are formed with various suffixes and are often used in conjunction with other suffixes, notably possessive and case suffixes (or postpositions). Since they often are equivalent to embedded sentences they can take their own arguments, i.e. objects and adverbials. In this section only the more important functions of the non-finite forms can be listed.

The Vogul non-finite verbal forms can be (roughly) classified as follows: 1) Infinitive: -ηk^we, 2) Participles: -i, -s, -η, -p, -nə, -m (-im), -tal, 3) Gerunds: -ke-, -ima. Given that some of the participles (-nə, -m (-im), -tal) are often used as adverbials in sentences there is no sharp dividing line between them and the gerunds.

5.6.1. Infinitive

The infinitive ending is -ηk^we. It is attached directly to the vowel stems of the irregular verbs: *tē-* 'to eat' > *tēηk^we*, *li-* 'to throw' > *liηk^we*. With all other stems the number of syllables determines the connecting vowel used. If the stem has an uneven number of syllable the connecting vowel is -u, if it has an even number of syllables the connecting vowel is -a. Examples: 1) Odd number of syllables: *lāw-* 'to say' > *lāw-uηk^we*, *aηkwatāl-* 'to look at' > *aηkwatāl-uηk^we*. 2) Even number of syllables: *aliśl-* 'to hunt' > *aliśl-aηk^we*, *kāk^waślaxtiyl-* 'to cough' > *kāk^waślaxtiyl-aηk^we*.

The infinitive can be used with a wide variety of inflected verbs. The usage with *pat-* 'to fall; to begin; to become' to form a sort of periphrastic future has already been noted (cf. 3.6.1.3.). In addition the infinitive can be used i.a. with verbs denoting a) volition, capability, thought, wish: *tāηχ-* 'to want' > *ōluηk^we tāηχeγəm* 'be-INF, want-PRES1SG: I want to be', *worat-* 'to try, to endeavor' > *lak^wəltanηk^we worati* 'jump out-INF, try-PRES3SG: He tries to jump out', *noms-* 'to think' > *kol ūnttuηk^we nomsi* 'house-NOM, build-INF, think-PRES3SG: He thinks of building a house'; b) motion: *jal-* 'to go, to walk' > *kinsunηk^we jalew* 'search-INF, go-PRES1PLUR: We go to search', *k^wāl-* 'to go, to stride' > *mis tittuηk^we k^wāls* 'cow-NOM, feed-INF, go-PAST3SG: He went to feed the cow'.

5.6.2. Participles

Vogul possesses a number of participles. Four of these, those in -i, -s, -η, and -p are no longer productive, but can still be found in folklore texts. Their function was mainly that of attributes. The participles in -i and -s were indifferent with regard to diathesis, whereas those in -η and -p were usually employed in an active sense. The two productive participles are those in -n/-ne/-nə (present participle) and -m (past participle), both of which can be found in active and passive senses.

5.6.2.1. Participle in -i

This participle is identical with the ending of the third person singular, present tense: *min-* 'to go' > *mini* 'he goes'. Its older, participial use can be considered to be archaic. Some examples: *lujy-* 'to sing, to twitter' > *lujyi kukuk* 'sing-PART, cuckoo-NOM: singing cuckoo', *χul'iyl-* 'to come up, to arise' > *χotəl χul'iyli šaxəl* 'from somewhere, arise-PART, storm-NOM: storm arising from somewhere'.

5.6.2.2. Participle in -s

The participle is identical with the suffix -s marking the past tense. Its participial function can be considered to be archaic. An example: *ünl-* 'to sit' > *ēli-pālet ünles pāt* 'before-Px3SG, sit-PART, cauldron-NOM: the cauldron (sitting) before him'.

5.6.2.3. Participle in -η

This participle is not completely archaic, but relatively rare. Nowadays its main function is as an attributive present participle used in connection with onomatopoeic or affective verbal stems. Some examples: *χopl-* 'to knock, to beat' > *χopləη suj* 'knock-PART, sound-NOM: knocking sound', *kēnγ-* 'to roar' > *kēnəη turəl* 'roar-PART, voice-INSTR: with a roaring voice', *moγal-* 'to laugh, to smile' > *moγaləη wil'təl* 'smile-PART, face-INSTR: with a smiling face'.

5.6.2.4. Participle in -p(a)

This participle has almost been completely replaced by the participle in -n/-ne/-nə and is used nowadays mainly in noun and adjective formation (cf. 4.1. and 4.2.). Still, in folklore texts there are a goodly number of occurrences of -p(a) as a present participle. Some examples: *sawal-* 'to suffer' > *sawaləp χum* 'suffer-PART, man-NOM: suffering man', *təl-* 'to be born, to grow' ~ *χol-* 'to end, to disappear' > *təlpə jəηχəp ~ χolpa jəηχəp* 'grow-PART, moon, end-PART, moon: waxing moon ~ waning moon'.

5.6.2.5. Participle in -n/-ne/-nə

This is the general present (imperfective) participle. The element -n/-ne/-nə is generally attached directly to the stem or with a connecting vowel after a consonant cluster. In the case of the irregular verbs it is added to the vocalic stem (*min-* 'to go' ~ *minne*, *tē-* 'to eat' ~ *tēne*). In compounds the final -e is usually lost: -ne > n. This participle is widely used in modern Vogul and fulfills a variety of different functions.

a) Subject. This function is most common in conjunction with verbs meaning 'to be heard, to be felt, to be seen'. Some examples: *χārəšt-* 'to crackle, to squeak' > *matər χārəštənə sujti* 'something, crackle-PART, be heard-PRES3SG: A crackling is to be heard', *χājtiyt-* 'to run around' > *āyit χājtiyt-a-ne-nəl sujti* 'girl-PLUR, run-PARTPx3PLUR, be heard-PRES3SG: The girls are heard running around. [The running around of the girls is to be heard.]', *ji-* 'to come' > *χōnt ji-ne-t nāηki* 'army-NOM, come-PARTPx3SG, be seen-PRES3SG: An army is seen coming. [The coming of an army is to be seen.]'

b) Predicate. The participle in -ne forms the basis of the present narrative (cf. 3.6.2.4.).

c) Object. This usage is not very common and occurs typically together with verbs meaning 'to hear, to see, to know'. An example: *ji-* 'to come' > *nēn ji-ne-n am χūrəm χōtal sājt wāyləm* 'PRONPERS2DU, come-PARTPx2DU, PRONPERS1SG, three, day-SG, behind, know-PRES1SGDET: I have known for three days that you are coming.'

d) Attribute. The participle is widely used in an attributive function and can be preceded by objects and adverbials, corresponding widely to (English) relative clauses. Some examples: *ēγ-* 'to sing' > *ēγən χum* 'sing-PART, man-NOM: singer [singing man]', *wōraj-* 'to hunt' > *wōraj-an χum* 'hunt-PART, man-NOM: the hunter [the man (who is) hunting]', *min-* 'to go' > *ēk'a-te jot sāli-l min-ne χum* 'woman-Px3SG, with, reindeer-INSTR, go-PART, man-NOM: the man going with his wife on a reindeer', *wār-* 'to make' > *χāp wār-ne χum* 'boat-NOM, make-PART, man-NOM: the man (who is) making a boat', *ališl-* 'to hunt' > *χūl ališl-an piγiś* 'fish-NOM, hunt-PART, boy-NOM: the boy (who is) fishing'.

e) Adverbial. In connection with various postpositions the present participle forms different sorts of adverbials. Person can be indicated with possessive suffixes. Some examples: *min-* 'to go' > *am min-ne-m ēli-pālt* 'PRONPERS1SG, go-PARTPx1SG, before: before I go', *potərt-* 'to speak' > *potərt-a-ne-nəl porat* 'speak-PARTPx3PLUR, time-Loc: when they are speaking', *rūpit-* 'to work' > *taw jomśak" rūpit-a-ne-te māγəs* 'PRONPERS3SG, good, work-PARTPx3SG, because: due to his good work', *ōl-* 'to be; to live' > *ti māt am ōl-ne-m sis* 'this, place-Loc, PRONPERS1SG, be-PARTPx1SG, while: while living here', *joχt-* 'to come, to arrive' > *am joχt-ə-ne-m mus* 'PRONPERS1SG, come-PARTPx1SG, until: until my arrival [coming]'.

5.6.2.6. Participle in -m

This is the past (perfective) participle. It is generally preceded by a connecting vowel (-ə ~ -a), but is added directly to the vocalic stem of the irregular verbs (*tot-* 'to bring' ~ *totəm*, *wi-* 'to take' ~ *wim*). Just like the present participle, the past participle in -m fulfills a wide variety of functions.

a) Subject. This function is (as is the case with the present participle) most common in conjunction with verbs meaning 'to be heard, to be felt, to be seen'. Some examples: *tōlmat-* 'to burst, to break' > *ak^mmatērt tow tōlmat-a-m-e sujti* 'suddenly, branch-NOM, break-PARTPX3SG, be heard-PRES3SG: Suddenly the breaking of a branch can be heard.', *pin-* 'to place' > *kēnt-e pin-m-e nāŋki* 'hat-PX3SG, put-PARTPX3SG, be seen-PRES3SG: It can be seen that he put on his hat.'

b) Predicate. The participle in -m forms the basis of the past narrative active (cf. 3.6.2.4.).

c) Object. This usage is not very common and occurs typically together with verbs meaning 'to see, to know'. An example: *nōŋχ-k^māl-* 'to get up' > *nōŋχ-k^māl-m-e at wāylən?* 'get up-PARTPX3SG, NEG, see-PRES2SGDET: Do you not see that he has gotten up?'

d) Attribute. The participle is widely used in an attributive function and can be preceded by objects and adverbials, corresponding widely to (English) relative clauses. Some examples: *ēry-* 'to sing' > *ēryəm χum* 'sing-PART, man-NOM: the man who sang', *wār-* 'to make' > *sun wārem χum* 'sled-NOM, make-PART, man-NOM: the man who made the sled', *aliśl-* 'to hunt' > *wās aliśl-a-m piyriś* 'wild duck-NOM, hunt-PART, boy-NOM: the boy who hunted wild duck', *ōńś-* 'to have' > *piy ōńśəm nē* 'boy-NOM, have-PART, woman-NOM: the woman who had a son', *al-* 'to kill' > *wōrajan χum al-a-m wōrt-ōln-ut* 'hunt-PARTPRES, man-NOM, kill-PARTPAST, bear-NOM: the bear killed by the hunter'.

e) Adverbial. In connection with various postpositions or case suffixes the past participle forms different sorts of adverbials. Person can be indicated with possessive suffixes. Some examples: *min-* 'to go' > *am min-a-m-əm-t* 'PRONPERS1SG, go-PARTPX1SGLOC: when I went', *min-a-m jui-pālt* 'go-PART, after: after I left', *jōxt-* 'to come, to arrive' > *jōxt-əm-e urəl* 'come-PARTPX3SG, about: about his arriving/arrival'.

There is also a past participle in -im, almost always used in a passive sense. Some researchers see here a special usage of the gerund in -im(a) (cf. 5.6.3.1.), but it would seem better to regard it as a separate participle, above all since its functions can quite clearly be separated from those of the gerund (cf. e.g. Kispál 270-276). The form in -im is always used as an attribute. Some examples: *jakt-* 'to cut' >

pukri-t jakt-im ēlmχōlas 'navel-PX3SG, cut-PART, person-NOM: person whose navel [umbilical cord] has been cut', *χōj-* 'to find, to hit, to strike' > *kot^l-e-nəl χōjim χum* 'middle-PX3SGABL, hit-PART, man-NOM: man hit in his middle'. If the agent is indicated together with the participle in -im it will (in keeping with the passive sense) stand in the lative. Compare the following two forms identical in meaning, but using participles in -m and -im: *al-* 'to kill' > *wōrajan χum al-a-m wōrt-ōln-ut* 'hunt-PARTPRES, man-NOM, kill-PART, bear-NOM: the bear killed by the hunter' ~ *wōrajan χum-n al-im wōrt-ōln-ut* 'hunt-PARTPRES, man-LAT, kill-PART, bear-NOM: the bear killed by the hunter'.

5.6.2.7. Participle in -tal

The suffix -tal (-tāl) is used to form adjectives from both nouns and verbs (cf. 4.2.), but can also form privative, negative participles. The form -tal is added to monosyllabic stems (*wār-* 'to make, to do' > *wārtal* 'undone', *suns-* 'to see, to look' > *sustal* 'unseen'), whereas -ttal is added to longer stems (*sak^mal-* 'to break' > *sak^malattal* 'undestroyed'). The participle is usually used as an attribute. Some examples: *suns-* 'to see, to look' > *nē sus-tal χōn* 'woman-NOM, see-PART, king-NOM: king unseen by women', *ūś-* 'to become tired' > *kāt-e ūś-tal χum* 'hand-PX3SG, tire-PART, man-NOM: man with a tireless hand'.

5.6.3. Gerunds

5.6.3.1. Gerund in -im(a)

This gerund is formed with the suffix -im(a) added to the verbal stem. The gerunds of the irregular verbs are formed from the stems with vowel alternation ending in -j (*tot-* 'to bring' ~ *totim(a)*, *tē-* 'to eat' ~ *tājim(a)*). It can be used as predicate or as an adverbial.

a) Predicate. The gerund forms the basis of the past narrative passive (cf. 3.6.3.2.2.).

b) Adverbial. As an adverbial of manner and state the gerund is not used with possessive suffixes. Some examples: *ēry-* 'to sing' > *āyi ēryim pāy-minas* 'girl-NOM, sing-GER, go to shore-PAST3SG: The girl went down to the shore singing.', *χart-* 'to pull; to smoke' > *ōjka χoχsa χart-im ūnli* 'old man-NOM, pipe-NOM, smoke-GER, sit-PRES3SG: The old man sits smoking a pipe.', *lowińt-* 'to read' > *nē nēpak lowińt-im ūnləs* 'woman-NOM, letter-NOM, read-GER, sit-PAST3SG: The woman sat reading a letter.' When used as a temporal adverbial the gerund can be used with possessive suffixes and/or postpositions or case suffixes: *k^māl-* 'to go; to get up' > *χolit k^māl-ima tonχ nakiŋti* 'morning, arise-GER, hoof-NOM, cut-PRES3SG: Getting up in the morning, he cuts hooves.', *χuj-* 'to sleep' > *χuj-ima-t k^mālaps* 'sleep-GERLOC, arise-PAST3SG:

After sleeping, he got up.', *kēt* 'to send' > *kēt-ima-m jui-pālt* 'send-GERPx1 Sg, after: after I was sent' ~ *kēt-ima-m-t* 'send-GERPx1 SgLoc: when I was sent'.

5.6.3.2. Gerund in -ke

The element -ke is attached either directly to the verbal stem or with a connecting vowel *ə* ~ *a* and is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix indicating person and the locative case suffix -t (*min*- 'to go' > *min-ke-m-t*, *min-ke-n-t*, *min-ke-te-t*, etc.) This gerund has the function of a temporal adverbial. Some examples: *juw-joxtal*- 'to arrive/come home' > *juw-joxtal-a-ke-te-t* 'arrive home-GERPx3 SgLoc: when he arrives home', *nōχ-tilaml*- 'to fly up' > *tāχtət nōχ-tilaml-a-ke-nəl-t* 'loon-PLUR, fly up-GERPx3 PLURLoc: when the loons fly up', *jal*- 'to go' > *mān ūsn jal-ke-w-t* 'PRONPERS1 PLUR, city-LAT, go-GERPx1 PLURLoc: when we go to the city'.

5.7. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences do not play as large a role in Vogul syntax as in that of other languages. This is in great part due to the fact that the numerous participial and gerund forms used in Vogul simple sentences correspond to subordinate clauses in languages of a non-agglutinative type, such as English. Still, there is certainly no lack of compound sentences in Vogul and one can say that with the increasing influence of Russian and the adoption of new, Russian conjunctions their number is growing. One can distinguish on the one hand between paratactic and hypotactic compound sentences, on the other between asyndetic (without conjunctions) and conjunctive sentences. In the following, examples will be given for the major sentence types belonging to these categories.

5.7.1. Paratactic Sentences

5.7.1.1. Asyndetic Paratactic Sentences

In Vogul two simple sentences can be juxtaposed to form a more complex whole, their connection and relationship to one another being made apparent by their individual meaning, context, and also the intonation utilized by the speaker. It should be noted that some sentences, whilst being formally paratactic, are logically hypotactical, i.e. one clause is logically subordinate to the other although this is not indicated formally. (The following examples for some types of asyndetic paratactic sentences are quoted from Balandin 1960:169-171.)

Temporal Sentences: 1) Concurrent Action. *ōjka potēr ānəmn potertales, potertimate sāv soś samwitaye nēylalasiy* 'old man-NOM, story-NOM, PRONPERS1 SgDAT, tell-PAST3 Sg, tell-GERPx3 Sg, many, time-Sg, tear-Px3 Sg-DUPoss, appear-PAST3 DU: The old man told me a story (and) while telling it many times tears appeared.' 2) Posterior Action. *kantmajawes, samayen wit nēyləs*

'become angry-PAST3 Sg, eye-Px3 Sg-DUPossLAT, water-NOM, appear-PAST3 Sg: He became angry (and then) began to cry.'

Adversative Sentences: *pōjərət χūrəm luwəl jalasasət, am tōp ak" luwəl jalsəm* 'official-PLUR, three, horse-SgINSTR, go-PAST3 PLUR, PRONPERS1 Sg, only, one, horse-SgINSTR, go-PAST1 Sg: The officials rode in a troika, (but) I went with one horse.'

Consecutive Sentences: *Minskij taw nūpəle āņkwatāləs, ose nērəp χol't jēmtəs* 'Minskij-NOM, PRONPERS3 Sg, at-Px3 Sg, look-PAST3 Sg, face-Px3 Sg, red, as, become-PAST3 Sg: Minskij took a look at him (and as a result) he blushed.

Conditional Sentences: *am pāltəm joxtəyən, am naņən jomas χāpəl miyləm* 'PRONPERS1 Sg, to-Px1 Sg, come-PRES2 Sg, PRONPERS1 Sg, PRONPERS2 SgACC, good, boat-INSTR, give-PRES1 SgDET: (If) you come to me, I will give you a good boat.'

Causal Sentences: *am āśəmnəl pōjərət saka pilsət, taw saka jōr dōləs* 'PRONPERS1 Sg, father-Px1 SgABL, official-PLUR, very, be afraid-PAST3 PLUR, PRONPERS3 Sg, very, strong, be-PAST3 Sg: The officials were very afraid of my father (because) he was very strong.'

5.7.1.2. Conjunctive Paratactic Sentences

Real paratactic clause-initial sentence conjunctions are few in Vogul. Here only the following will be mentioned: *ōs, i, a, no* (the latter three borrowed from Russian). (The following examples for some types of conjunctive paratactic sentences are taken from Balandin 1960:174-175.)

Temporal Sentences: 1. Concurrent Action (*ōs* ~ *i*). *ak" ētpos mōt ētpos juji-pālt mini, i tən ak"an nēm-χurāt at χōntχatəyleyət* 'one, month-NOM, second, month-NOM, after, go-PRES3 Sg, and, PRONPERS3 PLUR, together, never, NEG, meet-PRESREFLEX3 PLUR: One month passes after the other and they never meet each other.' 2. Posterior Action (*ōs* ~ *i*). *illtiy nājəņχāp rōχnetə sujtəs, i mān pussən ūs tāltən χājaltasuw* 'suddenly, steamboat-NOM, howl-PARTPRES Px3 Sg, be heard-PAST3 Sg, and, PRONPERS1 PLUR, all, town, quay-LAT, run-PAST1 PLUR: Suddenly the steamboat's horn sounded and we all ran down to the town's quay.'

Adversative Sentences (*no* ~ *a*): *χōtal χosət nōχ-nēyləs, a kon in asirmay dōləs* 'sun-NOM, long, appear-PAST3 Sg, but, outside, still, cold-TRANSL, be-PAST3 Sg: The sun had been up for a long time, but outside it was still cold.'

Consecutive Sentences (*i*): *ūsχuli wiyer pos pēlamlas i avtomobilit jol-pōjtsət* 'street-NOM, red, light-NOM, light up-PAST3 Sg, and, car-PLUR, stop-PAST3 PLUR: On the street the red light went on and the cars stopped.'

5.7.2. Hypotactic Sentences

Hypotactic sentences with clause-initial conjunctions are not very typical for Vogul. (The frequent "conjunction" -ke is actually a particle and never introduces the clause.) Some types of hypotactic sentences are as follows. (The examples are taken from Rombandejeva/Vakhruševa 159 or [conditional/local sentences] from Kannisto's text collection.)

Temporal Sentences (*χuhn* 'when'): *χuhn āsēm juw-joxti, mān tawe sāli ḥowl'el tittiluw* 'when, father-PX1SG, come home-PRES3SG, PRONPERS1PLUR, PRONPERS3SGACC, reindeer-NOM, meat-INSTR, feed-PRES1PLURDET: When father comes home, we will give him reindeer meat to eat.'

Conditional Sentences (-ke 'if'): *mōrtēs tine miyən ke, tinalilēm* 'adequate, price-PX3SG, give-PRES2SG, if, sell-PRES1SGDET: If you give an adequate price, I will sell it.' Conditional sentences of rejected condition are formed with the conditional-optative mood: *ojam χōraχsi tiit ḍlnuw ke, kēlpsame juw-ajalanuwluw* 'escape-PARTPAST, robber-NOM, here, be-CO3SG, if, blood-PX3SG, drink-CO1PLURDET: If the escaped robber were here, we would drink his blood.'

Concessive Sentences (*kos, takos* 'although'): *takos χājiti, ti puwawe* 'although, run-PRES3SG, then, catch-PRESPASS3SG: Although he runs, he will get caught.'

Comparative Sentences (*ak^wtop, ak^wtopmat* 'as if'): *mān takem pēlpēs χājitsuw, ak^wtopmat χajtnutn jujil ḥāwluwesuw* 'PRONPERS1PLUR, so, quickly, run-PAST1PLUR, as if, wolf-LAT, after, chase-PASTPASS1PLUR: We ran as quickly as if we were being chased by wolves.'

Local Sentences: Certain adverbs, i.a. the local adverbs *χōt* 'where', *χotal* 'where to', *χotəl* 'where to', can be used in a conjunctive sense: *χotal nomte pati, tuw wos mini* 'where, thought-PX3SG, fall-PRES3SG, there, let, go-PRES3SG: Wherever it pleases her, let her go there.'

6. Lexicon

6.0. General Remarks

In Vogul, just as in other languages, it is possible to distinguish between native and borrowed vocabulary. With native vocabulary we mean such items that have always formed a part of the Vogul vocabulary. Here we can differentiate between several strata: 1) Uralic (U) with cognates in Samoyede, 2) Finno-Ugrian (FU) with cognates in Finno-Permian but not Samoyede, 3) Ugrian (Ug.) with cognates in Hungarian but not in Finno-Permian (or Samoyede), and 4) Ob-Ugrian (OU) with the only other cognate being in Ostyak (cf. 0.3.). In addition to the native vocabulary Vogul has borrowed words from the following languages: Iranian, Ostyak, Yurak, Zyrian, Tatar, and Russian.

6.1. Native Vocabulary

The number of native stems in Vogul can be estimated at slightly over one thousand items. This number can be reached gleaning the following etymological works: *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (UEW, edited by Károly Rédei) for the U~FU~Ug. strata and the *Etymologisches Belegmaterial* contained in *Geschichte des obugrischen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe* by László Honti for the OU layer (cf. 9). In the latter work Honti compiles 829 common Ob-Ugrian stems (pages 123-206). An (approximate) number of Vogul stems deriving from Ob-Ugrian can be obtained by subtracting the U~FU~Ug. stems contained. An analysis of these works yields the following results: Uralic stems - 226, Finno-Ugrian stems - 363, Ugrian stems - 126, Ob-Ugrian stems - 323 stems, all together 1038 stems. These numbers can and should not, of course, be taken too literally. 1) Although they do not contain the very doubtful etymologies, they do contain those considered to be less than completely certain. If one were to remove all these the number would be reduced by about 200. 2) Not all of these stems are present in all Vogul dialects. 3) Future research will undoubtedly add new etymologies (and remove some present ones as being erroneous). Still, even if we take a range of anywhere from 800 to 1000 for native Vogul stems we are dealing with a comparatively large number of items. One must not forget that each of these stems is additionally capable of producing a smaller or larger number of words through the usual methods of word formation, meaning that the actual number of native words is much higher than the number of native stems. The native stems represent not only the oldest, but also the most basic layer of Vogul vocabulary. Here some examples from a few basic concept groups:

1. People, Relatives: U - *χum* 'man', *nē* 'woman', *sasiy* 'uncle'; FU - *piy* 'boy; son', *ēs* 'younger sister', *up* 'father-in-law'; Ug. - (?) *āyi* 'girl; daughter'; OU - *ēḥk* 'husband's younger sister', *jay* 'father', *jōrn* 'Samoyede'

2. Human Body: U - *mājt* 'liver', *ḥāriy* 'cartilage', *puḥk* 'head'; FU - *pal* 'ear', *kāt* 'hand', *pukrii* 'navel'; Ug. - *tur* 'throat', *wošiy* 'penis'; OU - *ḥol* 'nose', *wāḥən* 'shoulder'

3. **Nature:** U - *mā* 'land, earth', *nār* 'swamp', *χump* 'wave'; FU - *jāηk* 'ice', *nūrēm* 'meadow', *sēηk* 'fog'; Ug. - *posim* 'smoke', *tūr* 'lake'; OU - *ās* 'Ob', *rāw* 'dust', *wōt* 'wind'

4. **Fauna:** U - *χūl* 'fish', *χulaχ* 'raven', *palēm* 'horsefly'; FU - *jipiy* 'owl', *sort* 'pike', *ōs* 'sheep'; Ug. - *āmp* 'dog', *luw* 'horse'; OU - *nāwēr* 'foal', *ālən* 'salmon'

5. **Flora:** U - *jiw* 'tree', *χāl* 'birch', *nuli* 'fir'; FU - *taηk* 'moss', *χōśman* 'onion'; Ug. - *pum* 'grass', *jēk* 'ar' roots of a fallen tree'; OU - *saw* 'bud', *sāwñi* 'blueberry'

6. **House, Instruments, Clothes:** U - *āwi* 'door', *χūlöp* 'net', *jōwt* 'bow'; FU - *kol* 'house', *sun* 'sled', *sup* 'shirt'; Ug. - *tawt* 'quiver', *naηer* 'saddle'; OU - *osma* 'pillow', *taj* 'ladle', *kēnt* 'cap'

7. **Quality, Quantity:** U - *janiy* 'large', *χosa* 'long'; FU - *sāw* 'much', *isəm* 'warm'; Ug. - *jomas* 'gut', *mil* 'deep'; OU - *sāliy* 'thin', *atēr* 'clear'

8. **Numerals:** U - *kitiy* '2'; FU - *akwa* '1', *χūrēm* '3', *nīla* '4', *at* '5', *χōt* '6', *low* '10', *χus* '20', *sāt* '100'; Ug. - *sāt* '7', *nololow* '8'

9. **Basic Verbs:** U - *min*- 'to go', *pin*- 'to place, to put', *χōl*- 'to die'; FU - *tē*- 'to eat', *jin*- 'to cut', *aj*- 'to drink'; Ug. - *joχt*- 'to come', *nēγ*- 'to tie', *mas*- 'to dress'; OU - *wār*- 'to make; to do', *jünt*- 'sew', *jonγ*- 'to play'

Naturally enough, there can be ancient loan words in the native vocabulary of Vogul, words which were borrowed before Vogul became a distinct, separate language. Some examples: U - *mi*- 'to give', *wit* 'water', *nam* 'name' (< Indo-European); FU - *sāt* '100', *ōtēr* 'lord', *sōrpi* 'male reindeer' (< Indo-European); Ug. - *sāt* '7' (< Indo-European), *χuntəl* 'mole' (Turkic); OU - *mēηk* 'forest spirit' (< Indo-European).

6.2. Borrowed Vocabulary

Vogul has borrowed lexical items from the languages with which it has been in contact: Iranian, Ostyak, Yurak, Zyrian, Tatar, and Russian. The most numerous borrowings occurred from Zyrian, Tatar, and Russian. Today it is only Russian which plays an important role in this respect.

Iranian: Words borrowed from Iranian languages represent an old stratum in Vogul vocabulary. Contact with Iranian languages took place already in the Ugrian and Ob-Ugrian eras. The handful of words borrowed directly into Vogul came in the first millennium A.D. The most extensive work on the Iranian loan words in Vogul and Ostyak was done by Éva Korenchy (*Iranische Lehnwörter in den obugrischen Sprachen*, 1972). Some of the Vogul words she regards as being Iranian loan

words (disregarding older etymological strata) are: ? *ārēs* 'hearth', *ēsərma* 'shame', *kēr* 'iron', ? *pānt* 'older sister's husband', *pūη* 'rich; wealth', *siraj* 'sword', *sārēs* 'eagle', *wāsiy* 'reindeer calf'.

Ostyak: There have always been contacts between the two sister Ob-Ugrian languages Vogul and Ostyak, contacts which even today are retained to some extent. The mutual loan words (Vogul > Ostyak and Ostyak > Vogul) and their number have not yet formed the object of a large-scale study, but are commented upon in various etymological works. The major difficulty in their assessment lies in determining whether the word comes from common Ob-Ugrian stock or is indeed a loan word (and even if there is agreement that it is a loan word it is not always easy to determine the direction of the borrowing). Some examples for Ostyak loan words in (Northern) Vogul taken from the UEW: *χis* 'sand', *mul* 'magic words', *nōχer* 'cedar nut', *ossam* 'crazy', *ūnt* 'forest, wilderness', *woχ* 'copper, iron'.

Yurak: The linguistic contacts between Vogul and their northern neighbors the Yurak have been investigated most extensively by Wolfgang Steinitz (*Zu den samojedischen Lehnwörtern im Ob-Ugrischen*, UAJb. 31: 426-453, 1959). He finds a total of approximately 30 Yurak loan words in Vogul. These are restricted to the Northern dialect group. The great majority deal with reindeer husbandry. Some examples: *okka* 'tame reindeer', *jāmt'uw* 'reindeer rein', *χōpt* 'castrated reindeer or horse', *χatēr* 'grey (reindeer)', *lipi* 'reindeer dog', *pōrχa* 'fur made out of light and thin reindeer hide'.

Zyrian: The Zyrian loan words form one of the older strata in Vogul vocabulary. The earliest loan words probably entered the Vogul language between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, as it is assumed that many Voguls lived in this period west of the Urals in the direct vicinity of the Zyrians. Even later, contacts between the two peoples were retained, above all in the north where Zyrians were wont to visit and settle. Károly Rédei studied the Zyrian loan words in Vogul (*Die syrjänischen Lehnwörter im Wogulischen*, 1970) and deals with a total of 338 words, 297 of which he regards as certain loan words. The great majority of these words are to be found in the Northern dialect (or the Northern dialect and other dialect groups). They are typical cultural words and can be assigned to a great many different semantic groups. Some examples: *kar* 'woodpecker', *tus* 'beard', *pūrēs* 'pig', *sūrthi* 'beet', *sōmī* 'gold; golden', *sārēs* 'ocean', *sājī* 'ruble', *lēstan* 'whetstone', *tūman* 'lock', *mūjtak* 'soap', *jārmak* 'silk', *nāñ* 'bread', *jurt* 'comrade, friend', *ruś* 'Russian', *mōrt*- 'to measure', *kuł* 'devil', *nēpak* 'paper', *saka* 'very', *sistam* 'clean'.

Tatar: In his work published in 1925 (*Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Wogulischen*) Artturi Kannisto discusses a total of 554 words, 508 of which he regards as being certain Tatar loan words in Vogul. Their distribution in the Vogul dialects is uneven. The Tatars with whom the Voguls came into contact lived to the south of the Vogul population. Thus the majority of the Tatar loan words are to be found in the southern and/or eastern dialect groups with far fewer present in the other dialects.

For the northern dialect group Kannisto identified 42 certain and 7 uncertain loan words from the Tatar language. As is the case with the Zyrian loanwords the Tatar loan words cover many different semantic areas. Some examples: *ākar* 'small housedog', *χōrtχan* 'goshawk', *sul* 'oats', *šōlwa* 'scythe', *tōχα* 'knee timber', *japak* 'silk', *ūsaχ* 'hearth', *pusa* 'type of beer', *ēlak* 'sieve', *χōn* 'king', *tumra* 'type of string instrument', *pōχatur* 'hero'.

Russian: The noted Hungarian Vogulist Béla Kálmán examined the Russian loan words in Vogul (*Die russischen Lehnwörter im Wogulischen*, 1961). Restricting himself by and large to the words present by the last century he treats a total of 580 Russian loanwords 246 of which are present in the northern dialect group. The western and southern dialect groups showed even more loan words due to their closer contacts with the Russians although all dialect groups came into direct contact with them. The Russian loan words come from a great many semantic groups. Some examples: *l'on* 'flax', *turka* 'shotgun', *ārənt* 'debt', *kārapl'i* 'ship', *musta* 'bridge', *rūpata* 'work', *šimśak* 'earring', *turpa* 'pipe; chimney', *pulka* 'round bun', *istakan* 'drinking glass', *kul'ait* 'to (go for a) walk', *pūp* 'priest', *k(i)hika* 'book'.

It should be noted that Vogul has been exposed to an intensive Russian influence in this century unequal to that of before. The modern language employs a great many Russian loan words and any Russian word can be regarded as a potential loan word.

7. Vogul Linguistic Studies

Compared with better-known Finno-Ugrian languages such as Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian serious linguistic study on the Vogul language began late. From the time before the 18th century we possess only the sporadic mentioning of Vogul words or names, mostly in Russian chronicles. In the 1700's several short Vogul word lists were compiled (Herberstein, Messerschmidt, Strahlenberg, Fischer, Schlözer, Pallas, Klaproth). These glossaries possess value but are marred by an inexact notation of the Vogul words. Real work began with the Hungarian linguist Antal Reguly (1819-1858) who conducted an expedition to the Voguls in 1843-1844 and collected a goodly amount of material. In his short life Reguly was unable to prepare or publish his collection. Another Hungarian, Pál Hunfalvy (1810-1891) took up the work and used Reguly's material as a source for his book *A vogul föld és nép* [The Vogul Country and People], Pest, 1864, but was unable to decipher all of Reguly's texts. The work contains an account of Reguly's expedition, some Vogul texts, grammatical explanations, and information on Vogul folklore and religious beliefs.

In the middle of the last century the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark were translated into (Konda) Vogul by two missionary priests, the brothers Grigorij and Georg Popov. Hunfalvy published these texts together with Vogul-Hungarian glossaries in the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* IX and X (1872, 1873). The same texts were utilized by the Finn August Ahlqvist (1826-1889) who republished them (posthumously) in 1894 with a short grammar of the Konda, Pelym, and Sosva dialects (MSFOu. VII, 1894). Ahlqvist made a total of three trips to the Voguls in 1858, 1877, and 1880 and collected material, mostly from the Konda dialect.

Reguly and Hunfalvy had a worthy successor in the Hungarian Bernát Munkácsi (1860-1937) who conducted an expedition to the Voguls in 1888-89. He traveled extensively in the Vogul-speaking areas and collected a wealth of material from all four major dialect groups as well as going through Reguly's texts with native speakers in preparation for their editing. His major publications are: 1) *A vogul nyelvjárások szóragozásukban ismertetve* (Vogul Dialects and Their Inflection), NyK XXI-XXIV (1890-1894) treating the Northern, Middle Lozva, Lower Lozva, Konda, Pelym, and Tavda dialects, and 2) *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény* (Vogul Folklore Collection). This collection in four volumes is still a major source for research on the Vogul language. The texts are grouped by genre, not by dialect and are followed by a Hungarian translation. Volume I: Tales and Songs about the Creation of the World, Volume II: Heroic Songs of the Gods, Volume III: Bear Songs, Volume IV: Pictures from Life. The commentary volumes to the text volumes contain various treatises on Vogul folklore, religion, etc., notes on the texts with explanations of words or grammatical structures, and glossaries. The text volumes were published between 1892 and 1896, the commentary volumes to I and II between 1892 and 1921. The commentary volumes to III and IV were written after Munkácsi's death by the Hungarian Vogulist, Béla Kálmán (1913-1997), and published in 1952 and 1963.

The second Finn to travel to the Voguls was Artturi Kannisto (1874-1943) who spent nearly six years (1901-1906) doing field work there. The material he collected constitutes the second major Vogul text collection and like that of Munkácsi is still an indispensable source for Vogul linguistic research. Kannisto collected material from all the extant Vogul dialects and used a phonetic notation

far more exact than that of Munkácsi. Kannisto's material was posthumously edited and published by Matti Liimola (1903-1974) in six volumes in the MSFOu. Volume I: Mythical Texts (1951), Volume II: Tales of Wars and Heroes (1955), Volume III: Folk Tales (1956), Volume IV: Bear Songs (1958), Volume V: Presentations at Bear Festivals (1959), and Volume VI: Fate Songs, Laments, Children's Rhymes, Riddles (1963). The texts are followed by a translation in German and are supplemented with explanatory notes on particular words and structures.

Russian linguists only began to show real interest in Vogul after the fall of the czarist regime. The most important names in this regard are V. I. Černecov, A. N. Balandin, and more recently Elena Skribnik. Starting primarily from the 1950's there have also been native Voguls doing linguistic research on their mother tongue. Here we can mention M. P. Vakhrusheva, A. I. Sajnachova, E. A. Kuzakova and above all E. I. Rombandejeva who has published several eminently important works on Vogul.

Luckily, there has been no lack of Western researchers in the last century who have worked with and published on Vogul. Here it is not possible to mention all of them along with their works. Only some of the more prominent from recent years can be listed: Béla Kálmán, György Lakó, Magdolna Kispál, Éva Sal, Károly Rédei, János Gulya, László Honti, László Keresztes, Katalin Sipőcz [Hungary]; Matti Liimola, Vuokko Eiras, Ulla-Maija Kulonen [Finland]; Wolfgang Steinitz, Wolfgang Veenker [Germany]; Robert Austerlitz, Lawrence Murphy [USA]; Giuliano Pirotti [Italy].

8. Vogul Texts with Explanations

In the following texts the transliteration has been simplified. Unless otherwise indicated, in the explanatory notes a noun is in the nominative singular, a verb in the present indicative - indeterminate conjugation, and a possessive suffix denotes singular possession. If a verb is in the determinate conjugation the number of the object is noted only if it is not the singular.

8.1. Song of the Vogul Girl Sold Secretly to a Russian Rich Man's Son

The following is the abridged beginning of a tale to be found in Munkácsi's collection of texts (cf. 7), volume IV/1: 79-82. It is included in the section "Fate Songs: Women's Songs".

āyi kit jaγ-piy ōńśi.

girl, two, father-son [brother], have-3SG

jaγ-piyaye tōram χōtale jēmt-ke ūsən jalentey, pōjær-piy pālt ajey, tēyey.

brother-Px3SG-DuPOSS, God, day-Px3SG, every, city-LAT, go-3DU, rich man-son, at, drink-3DU, eat-3DU

jaγ-āyiten pōjær-piyne tūlmaxel tinalēsten.

father-daughter [sister]-Px3DU, rich man-son-LAT, secret intention-INSTR sell-3DU-PASTDET

sāt kēmīy jēmtəs, āyi jaγ-piyayen pōjær-piy pālt ūsnə wōwes.

week, about, pass-3SG-PAST, girl, brother-Px3SG-DuPOSS-LAT, rich man-son, to, city-LAT, call-3SG-PAST-PASS

matēriy wōwes, āyi χotəl wāyte?

something-TRANSL, call-3SG-PAST-PASS, girl, from where, know-3SG-DET

āyi janiy ōńye nūpəl lāwi: "am jāņk sāxim jūw tūleln!"

girl, large, sister-in-law-Px3SG, to, say-3SG, PRON-PERS1 SG, white, fur-Px1 SG, in, bring-2SG-IMP-DET

māñ ōńye nūpəl lāwi: k"ošer-sis χansanə wāyayem jūw tūleyen!

small, sister-in-law-Px3SG, to, say-3SG, squirrel-back, dappled, boot-Px1 SG-DuPOSS, in, bring-2SG-IMP-DET

jāņk sāxite jūw tūlwes, k"ošer-sis χansanə wāyaye jūw tūlwesiy.

white, fur-Px3SG, in, bring-3SG-PAST-PASS, squirrel-back, dappled, boot-Px3SG-DuPOSS, in, bring-3DU-PAST-PASS

ti masχats, k"ona k"āls, sunen ūntəs.

then, dress-3SG-PAST-REFLEX, out, go-3SG-PAST, sled-Px3SG-LAT, sit down-3SG-PAST

māñ pōjær, māñ rumate pālt ta totwes.

small, rich man, small, friend-Px3SG, to, then, bring-3SG-PAST-PASS

pōjær-piy l'a!t k"āləs, jūw wānttəste, ak" lāyļep lāyļen rumkal sāvəl ajtite.

rich man-son, towards, go-3SG-PAST, in, lead-3SG-PAST-DET, one, leg-Adj, leg-Adj, glass-INSTR, much-INSTR give to drink-3SG-DET

āyi ajəs, ajəs; tūl nomsaχti: wässiy at ajeyem, jol-joχtawem.

girl, drink-3SG-PAST, drink-3SG-PAST, then, think-3SG, more, NEG, drink-1SG, get drunk-1SG

rumaten ōs ajuņk"e woratawe. ōs ajəs, tūl ta rāyats.

friend-Px3SG-LAT, again, drink-1NF, urge-3SG-PASS, again, drink-3SG-PAST, afterwards, then, fall-3SG-PAST

χōsa, man wāt'i χujəs, nōņχ sajkals.

long, or, short, lie-3SG-PAST, up, wake up-3SG-PAST

takʷiten kʷoss χōnti: somarəŋ sūntəp wojkan jupkal mastima.

PRONREFL3SGLAT, when, look-3SG, pleat-ADJ, mouth-ADJ, white, blouse-INSTR dress-3SGPASTPASSNARR

lāylaŋen kʷoss χōnti: simśær-ńol kit pōsməχ mastima.

leg-Px3SG-DUPossLAT, when, look-3SG, duck-nose, two, shoe, dress-3SGPASTPASSNARR

χūńte mastima, takʷi at wāyte. sālijane ātʷimət, jay-piyaye ātʷimiy.

when, dress-3SGPASTPASSNARR, PRONREFL3SG, NEG, know-3SGDET, reindeer-Px3SG-PLURPoss, NEGPLUR, brother-3SG-DUPoss, NEGDU

āyi ness l'ūńsi, l'ūńsi.

girl, just, cry-3SG, cry-3SG

A girl has two brothers. Her brothers go to town every God-given day, they drink and eat at the rich man's son's place. They sold their sister secretly to the rich man's son. A week passed, the girl was invited by her brothers to the rich man's son's place. As to why she was invited, how should she know? The girl says to her elder sister-in-law: "Bring in my white fur." She says to her younger sister-in-law: "Bring in my squirrel-back dappled boots." Her white fur was brought in, her squirrel-back dappled boots were brought in. She got dressed. She went out and sat down on her sled. She was brought to the young rich man, to her little friend. She stepped up to the rich man's son, he led her inside. He gave her a lot to drink in a one-stemmed glass. The girl drank and drank. Then she thinks: "I won't drink any more, I'll get drunk." She is urged to drink again by her friend. Again she drank, then she fell down. She lay for a long time or a short time, then she came to. When she looks at herself she sees that she has been dressed in a white blouse with pleats around the neck. When she looks at her legs she sees that she has been dressed in two duck-nose shoes. She has no idea when she was dressed. Her reindeer are gone, her brothers are gone. The girl cries and cries.

8.2. A Little Bird and His Sister

This is the abridged beginning of a tale from Kannisto's text collection (Wogulische Volksdichtung III: 52-54) as edited by Matti Liimola.

katkaśi jay-āyińś ōley. tōrəm χōtal ta tiyliyti.

little bird, father-daughter [sister]-COLL, live-3DU, God, day, then, fly about-3SG

manər χōnti, jay-āyiten toti. akʷmatērt minas, kolna χōntχatas, surmas tāra juw-śaltaps.

what, find-3SG, sister-Px3SGLAT, bring-3SG, once, go-3SGPAST, hut-LAT, come upon-3SGPAST, smoke-hole, through, go in-3SGPAST

wōjpūt χōntas. tēs, ńole wōjəl pōl'əs, lāylaŋe wōjəl pōl'əs ta minas.

fat pot, find-3SGPAST, eat-3SGPAST, nose-Px3SG, fat-INSTR, let solidify-3SGPAST, leg-Px3SG-DUPoss, fat-INSTR let solidify-3SGPAST, then, go-3SGPAST

juw joxtəs, jay-āyiten χot-wōjwesət wōjanə. ta χujasiy, χolitan kʷālsiy, ōs ta minas.

home, come-3SGPAST, sister-Px3SGLAT, take away-3PLURPASTPASS, fat-Px3SG-PLURPoss, then, sleep-3DUPAST, in the morning, get up-3DUPAST, again, then, go-3SGPAST

ōs tuw joxtəs, surmas tāra juw-śaltaps, ōs akʷta wōjpūt χōntiŋpas.

again, there, come-3SGPAST, smoke-hole, through, go in-3SGPAST, again, same, fat pot, find-3SGPAST

ōs tēs, wāssiy noχ at lapi, sāw tēs. nomasi: "χōtal śalteŋəm?"

again, eat-3SGPAST, more, up, NEG, rise-3SG, much, eat-3SGPAST, think-3SG, where to, go in-1SG

śowallōχəŋ śaltaps ta ūnli.

fireplace-corner-LAT, go in-3SGPAST, then, sit-3SG

χumiy jineten ta sujti. śaltsiy juw, sunsiylaχtey: "wōjpūtmen ōs tājima!

man-DU come-PARTPRES Px3DU, then, be heard-3SG, come in-3DUPAST, inside, look around-3DU, fat pot-Px1DU, again, eat-PASTPASSNARR

taw manarna sa tēwe?" akʷ χumite nūpəl lāwi: "naŋ ul'a tūśten!"

it, what-LAT, then, eat-3SGPASS, one, man-Px3SG, to, say-3SG, PRONPERS2SG, fire, lay-2SGIMP

akʷate ul'a tūśtuŋkʷe pats, kāte tuw χōjas: "aχa!" lāwi.

one-Px3SG, fire, lay-INF, begin-3SGPAST, hand-Px3SG, there, touch-3SGPAST, oh!, say-3SG

"punəŋ matər kapajŋ kātəm χōjas." ul'a tūśtəs, ul'a pēlamtasiy, āŋkʷatasten:

feather-ADJ, something, big thing-LAT, hand-Px1SG, touch-3SGPAST, fire, lay-3SGPAST, fire, light-3DUPAST, look at-3DUPASTDET

"ej! mēn wōjpūtmen taw ti tēnete. sar naŋ ūnləŋ, ul'a wos lumśi; mēn naŋəŋ sar śōpitilmen!"

ah!, PRONPERS1DU, fat pot-Px1DU, it, then, eat-3SGNARR, just, PRONPERS2SG, sit-2SGIMP, fire, let, flame up-3SG, PRONPERS1DU, PRONPERS2SGACC, just, settle with-1DUDET

A little bird lives together with its sister. Every day it flies about. What it finds, it brings to its sister. Once it flew off and came upon a hut. It entered through the smoke-hole. It found a pot of fat. It ate, let fat solidify on its nose, let fat solidify on its legs and left. It came home, its sister took off the fat. They slept, they got up, it took off again. It went there again, entered through the smoke-hole and found the same pot of fat again. It ate again, it could not fly off any more, it had eaten too much. It thinks: "Where shall I hide?" It crawled into the corner by the fireplace and sits. Two men can be heard coming. They entered, they look around. "Our pot of fat has been eaten again! Who has been eating it?" One man says to the other: "Lay a fire." He starts to lay a fire and his hand reaches in: "Aha!", he says. "My hand touched something big and feathery." He laid a fire, they lit a fire and looked at it [the bird]: "Ah! It's the one that has been eating our pot of fat. You just sit there. Let the fire flame up. We'll settle with you!"

8.3. Animals and Birds in Winter

The following abridged text comes from the manual Мансийский язык (intended for use by students with Vogul as their mother tongue at teachers' colleges) by E. I. Rombandejeva and M. P. Vakhrusheva, page 118.

tēlijij jēmti, tūjt pati. ūjχulət tūjt χaln śalteŋət, tot ūnləŋət, ēt χūləŋət.

winter-TRANSL, become-3SG, snow, fall-3SG, beast-fish [animal]-PLUR, snow, between, go in-3PLUR, there, sit-3PLUR, night, sleep-3PLUR

χōtələŋ jēmti, tān sūltyaləŋət, χājtiytim isiltaχteŋət, jōramtaχteŋət.

day-TRANSL, become-3SG, PRONPERS3PLUR, jump about-3PLUR, run about-GER, warm up-3PLUR, gather strength-3PLUR

ūjχul taml'e piś, taml'e mutra ta δńśi.

animal, such, skill, such, trick, then, have-3SG

towləŋ ūjət - wāsət, luntət - rēyəŋ sāmn ŋoriyleyət. tot tēnut ōli, wite tol.

feather-ADJ, animal-PLUR, wild duck-PLUR, wild goose-PLUR, warm, region-LAT, migrate-3PLUR, there, food, be-3SG, water-Px3SG, fresh

tān tālanəl tot ta χoltijanel. tōwa towləŋ ūjət taj mān ōlne māwnəl rēyəŋ sāmn at ošiltaxtiyleyət.

PRONPERS3PLUR, winter-Px3PLUR, there, then, spend-3PLURDET, other, feather-ADJ, animal-PLUR, but, PRONPERS1PLUR, live-PARTPRES, country-Px1PLURABL, warm, region-LAT, NEG, go off-3PLUR

tān mān jotuw tit ta ōleyət, tit ta χūleyət. taj mān jortanuw, mān rumanuw - šopret,

āŋχat, kisəpat, jatrit.

PRONPERS3PLUR, PRONPERS1PLUR, with-Px1PLUR, here, then, live-3PLUR, here, then, sleep-3PLUR, you see, PRONPERS1PLUR, companion-Px1PLUR-PLURPOSS, PRONPERS1PLUR, friend-Px1PLUR-PLURPOSS, wood grouse-PLUR, snow grouse-PLUR, hazel grouse-PLUR, black grouse-PLUR

ūrinēk*at os sāk*al'akət taj tāl simet χotta' tuwnuw jalanteyət, tuwəl tūjapālay ōs ak*tiy juw'l'e joχteyət.

crow-PLUR, and, magpie-PLUR, then again, winter, heart-Px3SGLoc, somewhere, there-COMP, go off-3PLUR, from there, early spring-TRANSL, again, here, back, come-3PLUR

tān juw'l'e nēyleyət, mān ta šāytew: tūjapālay ta jēmtəs, mol'aχ tujy ti jēmti.

PRONPERS3PLUR, back, appear-3PLUR, PRONPERS1PLUR, then, be happy-1PLUR, early spring-TRANSL, then, become-3SGPAST, soon, spring-TRANSL, then, become-3SG

It is turning winter, snow is falling. The animals creep into the snow, there they sit and at night they sleep. When it turns day they jump about; running around they warm up and gather strength. Animals have skills and tricks like that. Birds - wild ducks, wild geese - migrate to warm regions. There is food there and fresh water. They spend their winter there. But other birds do not fly off from the country we live in to warm regions. They live here with us, they sleep here. Our companions, our friends are the wood grouse, the snow grouse, the hazel grouse, the black grouse. Crows and magpies fly further off in the dead of winter. Then in early spring they return here again. They appear once more and we are happy: early spring has come, soon it will be real spring.

9. Selected Bibliography

In this section no exhaustive bibliography of works on the Vogul language can be offered. Particularly in 9.3. (Grammatical Studies) only a short list of basic and more recent works is given. For further bibliographical data the reader is referred to the works listed below.

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10. Abbreviations

10.1. Abbreviations Used in Explanatory Notes

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Adj	Adjectival suffix
Aux	Auxiliary verb
CO	Conditional-Optative
Coll	Collective suffix
Com	Comitative
Comp	Comparative
Dat	Dative
Det	Determinate conjugation
DetDu	Determinate conjugation, dual object
DetPlur	Determinate conjugation, plural object
DetSg	Determinate conjugation, singular object
Du	Dual
DuPoss	Dual possession
Ger	Gerund
Imp	Imperative
Ind	Indicative
Indet	Indeterminate conjugation
Inf	Infinitive
Instr	Instrumental
Lat	Lative
Loc	Locative
Narr	Narrative
Neg	Negation
Nom	Nominative
Part	Participle
PartPast	Past participle
PartPres	Present participle
Pass	Passive
Past	Past tense
Plur	Plural
PlurPoss	Plural possession
Prec	Precative
Pres	Present tense
PronEmph	Emphatic personal pronoun
PronPers	Simple personal pronoun
PronRefl	Reflexive personal pronoun
PronSol	Solitary personal pronoun
Px	Possessive suffix
Reflex	Reflexive
Sg	Singular

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SgPoss Singular possession
Transl Translative

10.2. Abbreviations of Books and Journals

ALH	Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
FUF	Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki
JSFOu.	Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki
MSFOu.	Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki
NyK	Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, Budapest
UAJb.	Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher, Wiesbaden
UEW	Rédei, Károly (ed.): Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Budapest, 1988