Vogul

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

0. Preface  
  0.1. Introductory Remarks  
  0.2. Ethnonyms  
  0.2.1. Man'si  
  0.2.2. Vogul  
  0.3. The Position of Vogul in the Uralic Language Family  
  0.4. Geographical Distribution of Vogul Speakers and Vogul Dialects  
  0.5. Present Status of the Language and Prognosis for the Future  

1. Phonology  
  1.1. Vowel System  
  1.1.1. First-Syllable Vowels  
  1.1.2. Non-First Syllable Vowels  
  1.2. Consonant System  
  1.3. Syllabification  
  1.4. Syllable Structure  
  1.5. Consonant Clusters  
  1.5.1. Word-Initial Consonant Clusters  
  1.5.2. Word-Final Consonant Clusters  
  1.6. Stress  

2. Morphonology  
  2.1. Vowel Shortening  
  2.2. Avoidance of Vowel Juncture  
  2.3. Avoidance of Consonant Clusters  
  2.4. Stem Alternation  
  2.4.1. Syncopating Stems  
  2.4.2. Irregular Verbs  
  2.4.3. Vowel Alternation  
  2.4.4. Irregular Stem in Possessive Declination  
  2.5. Suffix Alternation  

3. Morphology  
  3.0. General Remarks  
  3.1. Nouns  
  3.1.1. Number  
  3.1.2. Case  
  3.1.2.1. Case Suffixes  
  3.1.2.2. Case Usage  
  3.1.3. Possessive Suffixes  
  3.2. Adjectives  
  3.2.1. Adjective Classification  
  3.2.2. Adjective Inflection  
  3.2.3. Adjective Comparison  
  3.3. Pronouns  
  3.3.1. Personal Pronouns  
  3.3.1.1. Simple Personal Pronouns
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 - Manši - 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. Manši

The name Manši 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 *manš '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 manš, Eastern Vogul (KU) mõånš, Western Vogul (P) mõns. 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 Manši. 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 (wâyaš)
The present-day speakers of Vogul are to be found in Northwest Siberia, in the Chanty-Mansi Autonomous Region with the city of Chanty-Mansiysk as the regional capital. The area occupied by Vogul speakers has been shrinking for some time.

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 Ugric languages (Hungarian and Ostyak) and to its sister language, Ostyak, the other Ob-Ugric language. Thus, within the Vogul lexis we can differentiate various strata, Proto-Uralic stems going back to the Proto-Uralic language, Proto-Finno-Ugric stems with no cognates in Samoyede, Ugric stems with cognates in Hungarian (and usually Ostyak as well) and Ob-Ugric 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-Mansiysk 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, Sovsa, 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-Ugric linguistics. (These abbreviations are based on the German designations for the dialects.)

Northern Vogul:  
Sosva (So.)  
Upper Lozva (LO)  
Sygva (Sy.)  
Ob (O)

Western Vogul:  
Middle Lozva (LM)  
Lower Lozva (LU)  
North Vagilsk (VN)  
Pelym (P)

Eastern Vogul:  
Upper Konda (KO)  
Middle Konda (KM)  
Lower Konda (KU)  
Yukonda (Ju.)

Southern Vogul:  
[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 *waŋ'ko* (UEW 550) and has cognates in several Uralic languages, including Vogul (*wő'Fluβstrecke*) and Hungarian (*völgy 'valley').
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 'leem' ~ 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 'pilow' ~ TJ asma, KU KM asme, VS asam.
4. Proto-Vogul long *a developed in Northern Vogul to á: Northern Vogul ámp 'dog' ~ T āmp, KU KM KO šmp, P LU LM šmp.

Morphological Differences:
1. The possessive suffix for the 3rd person plural is -anəl in Northern Vogul, whereas in most other dialects its form is -an/-ən or -ən: Northern Vogul χəp-anəl 'boat-Px3PLUR: their boat' ~ LM KO käpən, T käpən.
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 χəp 'boat-NomAcc:' ~ T āmp 'dog-Nom' ~ ámpm 'dog-Acc'; KU yontən 'Konda-Nom' ~ yontəm 'Konda-Acc'.
3. The substantivizing particle in Northern Vogul is ut, in the other dialects kar (or others): Northern Vogul janiy 'large, old' ~ janyut 'old man' (cf. 2.4.1.), K wis 'small' ~ wisəxər 'child', T śi 'foolish' ~ ləxər '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 šāt 'fire'; Northern Vogul šāli, Southern Vogul koŋkā 'reindeer'; Northern Vogul mis, Southern Vogul sawer '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>7,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>25,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>6,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>7,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>7,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>8,474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 influx of newcomers to the region. This is attested to by figures for the population of the Chanty-Mansi Autonomous Region:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>98,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>289,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>596,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1,268,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Voguls: 6.2%)
(Voguls: 2.9%)
(Voguls: 1.1%)
(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 become 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 \( \varepsilon \) does not occur in the first syllable, the vowel \( \varepsilon \) 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 \( u/\,o, o/\,o \) 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.: \( a \)]. Note that labial vowels can easily occur in non-first syllables in compound forms (e.g. \( \text{těnu} \) 'food' < \( \text{těne} \) 'present participle of tě- 'to eat' + substantivizing particle \( u/t \), \( \text{xősöx} \) 'name of a village' < \( \text{χosa} \) 'long' + \( löç \) '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 \( a-/\,a \), \( o-/\,o \), and \( u-/\,o \) in the first syllable, but not with \( e-/\,e \) or \( i-/\,i \), as in \( t \) and even more so \( e \) very rarely occur in the first syllable. Some examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-/a:} & \quad \text{sam} \sim \text{sám} \quad \text{'eye'} \sim \text{'corner'} \\
& \quad \text{tal} \sim \text{tál} \quad \text{'lap; fathom'} \sim \text{'winter; year'} \\
\text{o-/o:} & \quad \text{čol} \sim \text{čöl} \quad \text{'to stop'} \sim \text{'to die'} \\
& \quad \text{jor} \sim \text{jór} \quad \text{'trace'} \sim \text{'strength'} \\
\text{u-/o:} & \quad \text{put} \sim \text{pût} \quad \text{'ice-crust'} \sim \text{'cauldron'} \\
& \quad \text{sup} \sim \text{şüp} \quad \text{'shirt'} \sim \text{'mouth'}
\end{align*}
\]

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 (\( \text{u}, \text{ö}, \text{o} \)) whereas the front vowels are illabial (\( \text{i}, \text{e}, \text{e} \)). (The vowels \( a \) 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


### 1) Front

- **High**: ı, i (labial)
- **Mid**: ē, (e)
- **Low**: ā, a

### 2) Illabial

- **High**: ē, i (labial)
- **Mid**: ē, (e)
- **Low**: ā, a (labial)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td>ē, i</td>
<td>ā, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td>ē, (e)</td>
<td>0, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td>ā, a</td>
<td>0, o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks on the individual vowels:

1. /i/ Front, high, labial, 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: wif't 'face', it't 'evening' (~ vēft, ēft). When followed by the fricative ū it is backed (~jī). Example: pūn (~ pūn) 'boy, son'.

2. ī Front, high, illabial, short. Examples: ūla 'four', ūn' 'price'. When followed by the fricative ū or preceded by ĺ it is backed (~jī ~ ĺ). Example: wūn (~ wūn) 'he takes', īwū (~ ĺwū) 'to row'.

3. ē Front, mid, illabial, long. Examples: mēn 'we (dual)'; kēnt 'cap'. The vowel can also be diphthongized (ē ~ e).

4. /e/ Front, mid, illabial, short. This vowel occurs only very rarely in the first syllable and can be regarded as peripheral. Examples: ērtam 'as if' (also ērtam), nes 'perhaps' (also nas).

5. ū Back, high, labial, long. Examples: tūr 'lake', čūl 'fish'.

6. u Back, high, labial, short. In the vicinity of palatalized consonants and j it can be fronted to some extent. Examples: čūm 'man', pun 'feather'.

7. 0 Back, mid, labial, long. Examples: jōr 'strength', ďos 'sheep'. The vowel can also be diphthongized (ō ~ oā).

### 1.1.2. Non-First Syllable Vowels

The vowel phonemes a, e, i, and o (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.

1. 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: asarna 'cold', pasan 'table'.

2. e The phonetic length can vary, being shorter in closed syllables, longer in open syllables, although not in word-final position. Examples: mineyam 'I go', wite 'water-Px3So: his/her water'.

3. i Just as in the first syllable i has a back variant before ū. Examples: wārī 'he does/makes', jānī (jānī) 'large'.

4. ē Central, reduced vowel. It has several combinatorial 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 ū. In the vicinity of palatalized consonants it can become similar to ē. A velarized variant (e) can also occur, above all in certain flection forms. Examples: kēn 'button', sēm 'black', tōram (~ tōrm) 'sky', jōntap (~ jōntap) 'needle', jōrūwi (~ jōrūwi) 'he forgets', āmas (~ āmis) 'riddle'.

In this book neither the various vocalic allophones nor vowel length in non-first syllables will be indicated. Exceptions: 1) aw > 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, o, e, ē, ā, ū, ū, e, ū (cf. Kálmán 1976: 36).
1.2. Consonant System

The Vogul consonant system can be portrayed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
<th>Sibilant</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Tremulant</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>Sibilant</td>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>Tremulant</td>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dento-Alveolar</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveo-Palatal</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiovelar</td>
<td>k&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Remarks on individual consonants:**

- **p** Voiceless bilabial stop. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *pal’ear*, *nupal’to*, *t̂epp’food*.
- **t** Voiceless dental stop. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *t̂al’winter*, *t̂otap’chest*, *at’smell*.
- **t’** Voiceless, palatalized dental stop. Rare phoneme. Occurs in all positions, but is particularly rare in word-final position. Examples: *t̂upaen’dar* ‘deeaf’, *p̂it’nest*, *p̂ot’drip*. In the Sygva subdialect the occurrence of *t* is higher as there the change *ke* to *te* has taken place (*k̂en’t> t̂en’t’hat*, *kil> t̂il’two*).
- **k** Voiceless velar stop. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *k̂at’hand*, *aki’uncle*, *tak’strong*.
- **k”** 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 *a*. Examples: *k̂al’irop’, tak’eas’autumn*, *ak’one*.
- **w** Voiced, bilabial fricative. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *ŵot’wind*, *awi’door*, *juw’horse*.
- **s** Voiceless dental sibilant. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *ŝeemal’black*, *oseen’thick*, *luu’meadow*.
- **桢** Voiceless, palatalized alveo-palatal sibilant. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *ŝan’mother*, *râs’il silk clothing*, *pî’trick*.
- **l** Voiceless, dental lateral. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *l̂ey’tail*, *al’a’root*, *t̂al’winter*.
- **m** Voiceless, bilabial nasal. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *m̂an’small*, *namen’famous*, *yarem’tree*.
- **n** Voiceless, dental nasal. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *n̂e’woman*, *tinen’e expensive*, *bant’sinew*.
- **桢** Voiceless, palatalized alveo-palatal nasal. Occurs in all positions. Examples: *n̂amak’soft*, *ana’heap*, *sun’wealth*.
- **η** Voiced velar nasal. Occurs only medially and in word-final position. Examples: *m̂uji’egg*, *in’still*.

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

**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 2) pütt 'in the cauldron' < püt 'cauldron' + locative suffix -t, láwwe 'it is said' < láw- 'say' + passive suffix -we, patti 'he drops' < pat- 'to fall' + causative suffix -l, árrpal 'small (fish)-fence' < árpi 'fish-fence' + päl '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', le-pi 'he covers', tó-tap 'chest', só-jam 'brook', sim-ri 'perch', χul-ti 'he remains', jär-mak 'silk', sör-riən '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: a 'and'; but, ð-ŋ-eay 'aunt'
- VC: ʊs 'city', keterangan (he) 'sings'
- VCC: ʔn'thorn', ʔl-ty 'suddenly'
- CV: tı 'this', nŋ-lam 'longue'
- CVC: ɾár 'swamp', ɾay-rap 'axe'
- CVCC: jōwt 'bow', mo-wıint '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: kanaš 'distinguished man; superior' < Zyrian klraž 'prince' < Russian хра́з 'prince', 2) Metathesis: pirkata < Russian бригада 'brigade', 3) Prothetic vowel: iskap ~ askap 'cupboard' < Russian шка́ф 'id.', 4) Loss of first consonant: lusit 'to serve' < Russian сук- '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, = (relatively) uncommon cluster, × (non-occurring cluster). (In the following table liquid = lateral + tremulant and fricative = fricative + sibilant.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
<th>Stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 >-lam, -rs >-mt, etc.)

The most common of the consonant clusters would seem to be -nt, followed by -tr, -ns, -ŋk, -rs, -lt, -ľ, -rp, -ŋk*, -r, -ns, -ŋk, and -ŋt 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 -CCeC, for example mörtes - mörts - 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.
2. Morphonology

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: kappal 'small' (fish-)fence' < kappal (fish-)fence' + pál 'diminutive suffix', jawa 'river bank' < jā 'river + wāta 'bank', misne 'fairy' < mis 'spirit' + né 'woman', māhu 'gnat' < mān 'small' + aj '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 uf, ajnut 'drink' < ajne 'present participle of aj- 'to drink' + substantivizing particle uf.

ad 2) t(a) aji, ta tēy 'so, drink-3SGpres, so, eat-3SGpres: so he drinks and eats', čos(a) olsiy 'long, live-3DPast: they (dual) lived for a long time'.

2. Hiatus Deletion: In certain forms the consonant j is regularly inserted to avoid vowel juncture. Example: šaši-j-iy 'reindeer (Du)' < šaši 'reindeer' + -iy 'dual suffix', šaši-j-an-am 'my reindeer (Plur) < šaši 'reindeer' + -an 'suffix indicating plural possession' + -am 'P1x1Sg'.

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 > Geminates: This is not common, but instances can be found. Examples: okka 'young, tame reindeer' < owka, järppi 'barrier' < järtpi, pāssa 'mitten' – cf. KU pasya 'id.'.

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

ad 1) 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: tōk 'path' ≤ tōn - to 'from the path' ≤ tōn 'crying' – tōn 'cries'.

ad 2) If in an inflected form the consonant cluster is followed by a consonant, the nasal element will regularly disappear. Examples: tōn 'from the path' ≤ tōn 'path' + -nel 'ablative suffix', susne 'watching' < suns- 'to watch' + -ne 'present participle', časam 'I knew' < čan- 'to know' + -s 'preterite suffix' + -am '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 -at used with consonant stems (kēnt 'cap' – kēnt-at 'caps') rather than assuming a stem -at followed by a vowel.

2.4.1. Syncopating stems

Stems ending in -iy or -e + consonant lose this suffix 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: čōriy 'sack', āmsē 'riddle', nēlem 'tongue' + suffixes -et (Plur) and -am (P1x1Sg) – čōrat, āmsat, nēlmat, čōyam, āmsam, nēlmam.

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 flection 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

\[ \begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
& \text{Present-Tense Stem} & \text{Imperative Stem} \\
\hline i \sim a: & mi- 'to give' & maj- \\
i/u \sim a/i: & ji- 'to come' & jaj- \\
i \sim o/u: & wi- 'to take' & woj- \\
\hline
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{Present - Tense Stem } \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
m_i- \text{} \\
li- \text{} \\
ji- \text{} \\
wi- \text{} \\
te- \text{} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{Imperative Stem } \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
maj- \\
laj- \\
jjj- \\
woj- \\
tuj- \\
\end{array} \]

b) Vowel Alternation in Non-Verbal Stems

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{e}: \\
\tilde{a} \sim \tilde{u}: \\
\tilde{\delta} \sim \tilde{u}: \\
\tilde{o} \sim \tilde{u}: \\
i \sim a: \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
t\tilde{a} ' \text{winter' } \\
p\tilde{a} ' \text{to the shore' } \\
l\tilde{\delta} ' \text{downstream (direction)' } \\
\chi\tilde{u} ' \text{to leave' } \\
\chi\tilde{l} ' \text{to remain' } \\
\tilde{n} ' \text{upstream (direction)' } \\
\tilde{p} ' \text{to roll' } \\
\tilde{n} ' \text{four' } \\
\tilde{n} \text{a 'fifty' } \\
\end{array} \]

2.4.4. Irregular Stem in Possessive Declination

The word \( \chi \text{um 'man' } \) is unusual in that it has a second, i-augmented stem used in the possessive declination: \( \chi \text{umi-}. \) Thus: \( \chi \text{umi-m, \chi } \text{umi-n, \chi } \text{umi-te 'my/your/his-her man/husband', etc.} \)

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' - a\( \ddot{y}i-te \) 'his daughter'.

2. Presence/Lack of Vowel. Plural suffix -at - t: kol-at 'houses' - a\( \ddot{y}i-t 'daughters' \).

3. Vowel Alternation. Infinitive suffix -\( \ddot{a} \text{nk} \text{e} - -\( \ddot{u} \text{nk} \text{e}: \text{l\( \ddot{a} \text{wun} \text{k} \text{e 'to say' } \) - a\( \ddot{a} \text{lis\( \ddot{a} \text{nk} \text{e 'to hunt' } \)} \)

4. Consonant Alternation. Deminutive suffix -k\text{e} - -ke: a\( \ddot{y}i-k\text{e 'small girl' } \) - a\( \ddot{y}i-ke-m 'small girl-Px1 Sc: my small girl'.} \)
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 (píy ‘boy’ – áyi ‘girl’) or through composition (sá-li-ek’a ‘female reindeer’ – sá-li-ójka ‘male reindeer’ – sá-li ‘reindeer’, ek’a ‘woman’, ójka ‘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 [−iy] (after stems ending in consonants), and -iy [−iy] (after stems ending in -i). The plural endings are: -t (after stems ending in vowels) and -et (after stems ending in consonants).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'float, raft'</td>
<td>pöra</td>
<td>pöray</td>
<td>pörat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'woman'</td>
<td>ně</td>
<td>něγ</td>
<td>nět</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cup'</td>
<td>áni</td>
<td>ániyíy</td>
<td>ánit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'girl'</td>
<td>áyi</td>
<td>áyiýiy</td>
<td>áyít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boat'</td>
<td>č'áp</td>
<td>č'ápiy</td>
<td>č'ápet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tale'</td>
<td>mójít</td>
<td>mójiyíy</td>
<td>mójiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sack'</td>
<td>xórijy</td>
<td>xórijy</td>
<td>xóriyet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (ně ‘woman’: dual něγ – něγyíγ; plural nět – nětýt). 2) The plural ending -t can be added directly to the consonant stem (č'ol ‘fish’: č'olat – č'olit). 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 (č'olat ‘fish’) and locative singular (č'olit ‘in the fish’).

Usage: The basic function of the numbers is, of course, to express that we are dealing with one object (č'ap ‘(one) boat’), two objects (č'apiy ‘(two) boats’), or three or more objects (č'apet ‘(three) 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 appearing in pairs, rather than the dual (sam ‘eyes’, láyel ‘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 pál ‘half’ (pál, cf. 2.1.): sampály ‘eye’, láyelpály ‘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: ek’a ‘woman’, ójka ‘man’ > ek’ay ójkyay ‘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 -ns 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: tén jayáyns ‘PrOnPers3Du, father-daughter-Coll: They are sisters.’; ad 2: ásyáns minasen ‘father-Coll, go-3DuPast: The father left with his son/daughter.’ The collective suffix can also be followed by the plural suffix: ásy plýánás minasat ‘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: ə
Lative: 1. -n, 2. -ən (after consonant clusters)
Locative: 1. -t, 2. -ət (after consonant clusters)
Ablative: -an
Instrumental: 1. -t, 2. -ət (after dual suffix and possessive suffixes)
Translative: 1. -γ, 2. -γ (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), xāp 'boat' (consonant stem), tump 'island' (stem with word-final consonant cluster) and xūry '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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pōra</td>
<td>āwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōran</td>
<td>āwīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| pōrat | āwit | xāpt | xūryt | tumpet | pōratel | āwitel | χάρπ | χ Rendering the child a doll.' The lative is also used to express the agent in passive constructions (cf. 3.6.3.2.)

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 -en after a single consonant. Locative: additional allomorphs -la-ve. Instrumental: additional allomorph -t. Translative: additional reduplicated allomorph -γ. 

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 χαλι 'dog-Nom, run-3SG: The dog runs.' nāwramat jomagerat 'child-Plur, play-3Plur: The children play.' ad 2) tī - χi 'this, fish-Nom: This is a fish.' ad 3) āyi mōt lωntì 'girl-Nom, story- NOM, read-3SG: The girl is reading a story.' sāli sun χαχи 'reindeer-Nom, slied-Nom, pull-3SG: The reindeer is pulling a sled.' ad 4) χum səyrap-e 'man-Nom, axe-Px3SG: the man's axe', nāwram 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-nel ("house-Abl") 'from the house, out of the house, away from the house, etc.' To express precise relationships implicitly postpositions are employed, e.g. kol kjwèr-n 'into the house', kol kjwèr- in the house', kol kjwèr-nel 'out of the house' (< kjwèr 'inner part'). The local cases also have secondary temporal functions. Lative: the lative also fulfills the usual functions of a dative case. mān nāwram-n akari miyuuw ' Pron 1Pers 1Plur, 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.).
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person:</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-men</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-e, -te</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (amp-e 'dog-Px3Sg: his/her dog', amp-en 'dog-Px3Du: their dog'), those with t after vowel stems (p6ra-te 'raft-Px3Sg: his/her raft', p6ra-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 -y (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 expressed without 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Possession</th>
<th>Dual Possession</th>
<th>Plural Possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. 1. p6ra-m</td>
<td>awi-m</td>
<td>amp-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. p6ra-n</td>
<td>awi-n</td>
<td>amp-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. p6ra-te</td>
<td>awi-te</td>
<td>amp-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. p6ra-men</td>
<td>awi-men</td>
<td>amp-men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. p6ra-n</td>
<td>awi-n</td>
<td>amp-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. p6ra-ten</td>
<td>awi-ten</td>
<td>amp-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural 1. p6ra-w</td>
<td>awi-j-uw</td>
<td>amp-uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. p6ra-n</td>
<td>awi-n</td>
<td>amp-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. p6ra-nal</td>
<td>awi-j-anal</td>
<td>amp-anal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (p6ra 'raft, float'), 2) vowel stem in -i (awi 'door'), 3) consonant stem (amp 'dog').
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', rul 'bad', oṣṣe 'thin'

ad 2) Certain nouns can also be used attributively as adjectives, in particular, not exclusively, some color names and nouns designating materials (kēlḥ 'blood; red', wosram 'gall bladder; yellow'; kēr 'iron' + kālī 'rope' > kēr kālī 'chain', āyas 'stone' + ānkal 'post, pillar' > āyas 'stone pillar'). Polyssyllabic nouns with a reduced vowel in the last syllable have the tendency to lose this vowel when used as attributes (sāras 'sea' + pum 'grass' > sāras pum 'sea grass').

ad 3) There are several denominal suffixes used to form adjectives, e.g. -en (pāwəl 'village' > pāwilen 'village-AoJ'). 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-Ugric languages. When used in equational predicates, however, they agree with the noun in number and assume the usual absolute dual and plural suffixes: ti piyris jomas 'this, boy-NoMSG, good-SG: This boy is 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 (having the lesser quality of the adjective) is in the ablative case: am kolam naificaciones PERSPRON1Sg, house-Px1Sg, PERSPRON2Sg, house-Px2SgAbl, big: My house is bigger than your house.' There is also a comparative suffix -nuw karas 'tall' ~ karas-nuw 'taller'. When the forms with -nuw are used predicatively they can have the form -nuwe: āyi piyris-nal karas-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: karas ~ karas-nuw ~ saka/sar karas '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: män ‘small’ — män-män ‘smallest’; janiy ‘large’ — janiy-nal 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 jotam, na17 jotan, 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 am- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>nän</td>
<td>taw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>änem</td>
<td>nänan</td>
<td>tawe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>änenn</td>
<td>nänenn</td>
<td>tawen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>änennel</td>
<td>nänennel</td>
<td>tawenel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>änentel</td>
<td>nänentel</td>
<td>tawetel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>män</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mänmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mänmenn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>mänmennel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>mänmentel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 a (änenn, nänenn, tawen, etc.). 2) The accusative form of the first person dual can be mänamen, this form then forming the basis for the other oblique cases. 3) The accusative form of the first person plural can be mänanaw, 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: nänanall – nänanennal, 3PlurCom: tänantel – tänananantel).

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>amki</td>
<td>mënki</td>
<td>mänki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mänaw</td>
<td>nänan</td>
<td>tänan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mänawn</td>
<td>nänann</td>
<td>tänannel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>mänawnel</td>
<td>nänannel</td>
<td>tänaneln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>mänawtel</td>
<td>nänantel</td>
<td>tänantel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Often, the simple forms are used before the emphatic forms:

amki xap wäreym ‘PRONEMPH1SG, boat-NOM, make-1SG: I am making a boat myself.’ — män mänki xap wäreym ‘PRONEMPH1PLUR, 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.
### 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~-kk- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. amkkem</td>
<td>mënkkumen</td>
<td>mänkkw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. naykken</td>
<td>nänkken</td>
<td>nänkken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. takkete</td>
<td>tänkketen</td>
<td>tänkketenal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Example: men mënkkemen tit olu'ke at tanximen 'PRON-PERS1DU, PRON-SOL1DU, here, live-in, Neg, want-1 DU: 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-jji, tiji-t- tiji-tat; taji, taji-jji, taji-t- taji-tat) and case (usual nominal case suffixes).

   Other demonstrative pronouns include tixurip - likem 'this kind of' and tayurip - takem 'that kind of', tamte 'such a', ak'ti - ak'ta 'this/that same one'.

2. **Interrogative Pronouns**: The most important interrogative pronouns are χöyξa- χotjut 'who' (used in relationship with people) and manar 'what' (used in relationship with animals or inanimate objects). They are used in all three numbers (χöyξa, χöyξa-jji, χöyξa-t, χotjut, χotjut-ji, χotjut-at, manar, manar-ji, manar-at) and decline for case like nouns. Reduplicated forms for the dual and plural are common.

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

3. **Indefinite Pronouns**: These include χotpa 'someone', mater 'something', matersirmat 'some kind of', etc.

4. **Negative Pronouns**: Negative pronouns are formed with the prefix né(m)-: némɔtpa 'no one', némater 'nothing', nématsir 'no kind of', etc.

5. **General Pronouns**: pussan 'all', kase 'every', towa - mott(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
       2.1.2. 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.

- \( \text{ jail} \) 'with'
- \( \text{ kastel} \) 'for, because'
- \( \text{ mäyes} \) 'for, because'
- \( \text{ mus} \) 'till'
- \( \text{ sis} \) 'during'
- \( \text{ tarmel} \) 'on'

### 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 -nal), the instrumental -l or translative -y. 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 -l: \( \text{ xotis 'along', owelat 'about', palit 'during' } \)
b) Instrumental -l: \( \text{ jurtel 'with', palitel 'during, while', ontse 'near, beside', pase 'since', pentsel 'instead of', reyel 'with the help of', sirel 'like', ural 'about' } \)
c) Translative -y: \( \text{ pattijiy 'as, in the place of', torigj 'towards', urtiijy 'in place of'. (It should be noted that the translative case developed from a late case.)} \)

**Non-Augmented Stem with Local Case Suffixes:**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Lative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jail 'middle'</td>
<td>jail-n</td>
<td>jail-t</td>
<td>jail-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klivar 'inner part'</td>
<td>klivar-n</td>
<td>klivar-t</td>
<td>klivar-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kot 'middle'</td>
<td>kot-an</td>
<td>kot-at</td>
<td>kot-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap 'near'</td>
<td>lap-an</td>
<td>lap-t</td>
<td>lap-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal 'side, half'</td>
<td>pal-n</td>
<td>pal-t</td>
<td>pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pás 'area, end'</td>
<td>pás-n</td>
<td>pás-t</td>
<td>pás-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póx 'side'</td>
<td>póx-an</td>
<td>póx-at</td>
<td>póx-nal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.4.2.2. Augmented Stems

The word \( \text{ pal 'side, half'} \) 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Augmented Stem</th>
<th>Lative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éli-pal 'in front of'</td>
<td>éli-pal-n</td>
<td>éli-pal-t</td>
<td>éli-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joli-pal 'underneath'</td>
<td>joli-pal-n</td>
<td>joli-pal-t</td>
<td>joli-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiju-pal 'behind'</td>
<td>jiju-pal-n</td>
<td>jiju-pal-t</td>
<td>jiju-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koni-pal 'outside of'</td>
<td>koni-pal-n</td>
<td>koni-pal-t</td>
<td>koni-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numi-pal 'above'</td>
<td>numi-pal-n</td>
<td>numi-pal-t</td>
<td>numi-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àlam-pal 'beyond'</td>
<td>àlam-pal-n</td>
<td>àlam-pal-t</td>
<td>àlam-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sis-pal 'behind'</td>
<td>sis-pal-n</td>
<td>sis-pal-t</td>
<td>sis-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kit-pal 'both sides of'</td>
<td>kit-pal-n</td>
<td>kit-pal-t</td>
<td>kit-pal-nal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples:** kol joli-pal 'n 'beneath the house (direction)', kol joli-pal 'n 'out from behind the house'; jiju-pal 'n 'behind the tree (direction)', jiju-pal 'n 'behind the tree (position)', jihu jali-pal 'n 'out from behind the tree'; àlam-pal 'n 'behind the dog (direction)', àlam-pal 'n 'behind the dog (position), àlam-pal 'n 'from beside the dog'.

### 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 (amp póx-at 'beside the dog', ampiy póx-at 'beside the (two) dogs', ampat póx-at '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-en, nan jot-en, taw jot-e, men jot-men, nen jot-en, ten jot-en, men jot-uw, nan jot-en, tân jot-ân (with me/you/him-her, etc.).

2. Augmented Stem with Local Cases: am numi-pâl-en-t, nan numi-pâl-en-t, taw numi-pâl-t, men numi-pâl-men-t, nen numi-pâl-en-t, ten numi-pâl-en-t, men numi-pâl-uw-t, nan numi-pâl-en-t, tân numi-pâl-an-t (above me/you/him-her, etc.).

3.5. Numerals

3.5.1. Cardinal Numerals:

1-10:
1. ak"a
2. kitîy
3. xûrem
4. nilâ
5. at
6. ʒöt
7. sât
8. nololow (nololuw)
9. ontolow (ontoluw)
10. low (luw)

The numerals ak"a and kitîy have shorter forms (ak", kit) which are used attributively.

11-19: These numerals are formed with the cardinal + ʒu iP (= present participle of ʒu I - 'to lie') + low akw ʒu iP iow '11', kit ʒu iP iow '12', etc.

20, 30, 40 etc.:
20. ʒus
30. wât
40. naliman
50. atpan
60. ʒötpan
70. sätlow
80. nolsât
90. ontersât

21-29 - 81-89: These numerals are formed with a cardinal 30, 40, 50, etc. followed by the postposition nupel 'towards' and a numeral 1 through 9. Thus: wât nupel ak"a '21', naliman nupel kitîy '32', atpan nupel xûrem '43', etc. Another possibility is the use of the lative case instead of the postposition nupel: wâtn ak"a '21'.

91-99: For these numerals an unmarked additive construction (90-1, 90-2) is employed. Thus: ontersât ak"a '91', ontersât kitîy '92', ontersât xûrem '93', etc.

100: sât. This numeral is identical with sât '7'. Misunderstandings can be avoided by referring to 100 as janîsât 'large sât'.

100, 200, 300, etc.: These numerals are formed with latent multiplication (kitsât '200', xûrem sât '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 (janîsât nilâ '104', kitsât atpan '250', nilasât naliman nupel nilâ '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: atsât niliman nupel nilâ '434'.

1000: sôter. Higher thousands are formed with latent multiplication (kitsôter '2000', xûrem sôter '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" amp 'one dog', kit amp(iy) 'two dogs', xûrem amp 'three dogs', nilâ amp '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"it - ʒwel 'first', kitit - môt 'second'.

1. ak"it - ʒwel
2. kitit - môt
3. xûrimit
4. nilît
5. atît
6. ʒött
7. sâtît
8. nololowit
9. ontolowit
10. lowit

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. akwal
2. kitâl
3. xûremâl
4. nilal
5. atal
6. ʒötel
7. sâtel
8. nololowal
9. ontolowal
10. lowal

Reiterative Numerals: These numerals are formed from the cardinals with the suffix -îtîty or -antîty and express the meaning '(for) the first/second/third time, etc.'.

Examples: kit antîty 'for the second time', xûrimîttîy 'for the third time', nilîttîy 'for the fourth time'. The word sos 'time' can also be employed with a cardinal number to express how many times something takes place: akw sos 'once', kit sos 'twice', xûrem sos 'three times'.

1000: sôter. Higher thousands are formed with latent multiplication (kitsôter '2000', xûrem sôter '3000', etc.).
Approximative Numerals: To express the meaning 'approximately one, two, three, etc.' approximative numerals are formed from the cardinals with the suffix -\textit{man} (1, 10) or -\textit{ax} (2-9) to which the particle -\textit{kem} can be added. Examples: \textit{ak'man} \textit{kem} 'approximately one', \textit{kitax kem} 'approximately two', \textit{xarma x kem} 'approximately three', \textit{lowmankem} 'approximately ten'. There is some variation in these forms, e.g. the ending -\textit{ax} can also be used with \textit{low} 'ten' or the suffixes -\textit{man}, -\textit{ax} can be dispensed with entirely, the particle -\textit{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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. \textit{-m}</td>
<td>\textit{-men}</td>
<td>\textit{-w}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. \textit{-n}</td>
<td>\textit{-n}</td>
<td>\textit{-n}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. \textit{\O}</td>
<td>\textit{\gamma}</td>
<td>\textit{-t}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. \textit{-eyam}</td>
<td>\textit{-imen}</td>
<td>\textit{-ew}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. \textit{-eyan}</td>
<td>\textit{-eyan}</td>
<td>\textit{-eyan}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. \textit{-i}</td>
<td>\textit{-\gamma}</td>
<td>\textit{-eyat}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.1.2. Determinate Conjugation

The distinction between an indeterminate and a determinate conjugation is very typical for both 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? Determine objects are characterized by any of the following: 1) They are preceded by a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. \textit{ti} 'this', \textit{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, Kálnárn 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. \textit{-=am}</td>
<td>\textit{-=amen}</td>
<td>\textit{-=uw}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. \textit{-=an}</td>
<td>\textit{-=an}</td>
<td>\textit{-=an}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. \textit{-te}</td>
<td>\textit{-=ten}</td>
<td>\textit{-=an=ol}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: \textit{min} 'to go', \textit{lowi\=nt} 'to read, to count'
As can be seen, the major difference between the endings of the indeterminate and the determinate conjugations lies in the usage of -i- 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: *χανιστ-'to teach'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. χανιστ-i-jayom</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jamen</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-juw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. χανιστ-i-jayen</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jayen</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jayen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. χανιστ-i-jaye</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jayenl</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jan(an)al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Determinate Object in the Dual and Plural:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. -jeyom</td>
<td>-jeymen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -jeyen</td>
<td>-jeyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -jeye</td>
<td>-jeyenl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example: *χανιστ-'to teach'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. χανιστ-i-jeyom</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-janem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. χανιστ-i-jayen</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jan(ηn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. χανιστ-i-jaye</td>
<td>χανιστ-i-jan(ηn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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', te-'to eat', wa-'to see'). Their conjugation is somewhat different than the other verbs. The present-tense stems of these verbs end in -η (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 a. (Here, too, the vowel in the second person dual and plural can be velarized).

Example: *τε-'to eat'* (present-tense stem: τεγγ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. τεγγ-ηm</td>
<td>τεγγ-men</td>
<td>τεγγ-uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. τεγγ-ηn</td>
<td>τεγγ-ηn</td>
<td>τεγγ-ηn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. τεγγ</td>
<td>τεγγ-ηη</td>
<td>τεγγ-ηη</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: tēγ-)

Object - Singular  Object - Dual  Object - Plural
Sing. 1. tēγ-lam  tēγ-ay-am  tēγ-an-əm
2. tēγ-lan  tēγ-ay-en  tēγ-an(ən)
3. tēγ-te  tēγ-ay-e  tēγ-an-əe
Dual 1. tēγ-lamen  tēγ-ay-amen  tēγ-an-amen
2. tēγ-lan  tēγ-ay-en  tēγ-an(ən)
3. tēγ-len  tēγ-ay-en  tēγ-an-en
Plural 1. tēγ-luw  tēγ-ay-uw  tēγ-an-uw
2. tēγ-lan  tēγ-ay-en  tēγ-an(ən)
3. tēγ-anəl  tēγ-ay-anəl  tēγ-an(ən)əl

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -sam</td>
<td>-samən</td>
<td>-suw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -san</td>
<td>-san</td>
<td>-slan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -s</td>
<td>-siyə</td>
<td>-sat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These suffixes are added directly to the verbal stem or are preceded by the vowels -a- or -ə-. There is quite a bit of variation in this regard (connecting vowel: ə-a-ə) 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 ə is generally used.

The ending of the first person dual also shows variation: -smən, -samən, -samən. 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', jōxt- 'to come, to arrive', rupit- 'to work'

Determinate Object in the Singular:

Singular  Dual  Plural
1. -slam  -slamen  -sluən
2. -san  -san  -slan
3. -s  -siyə  -sat

Example: sopit- 'to produce, prepare':

Singular  Dual  Plural
1. sopit-a-sam  sopit-a-samən  sopit-a-suən
2. sopit-a-san  sopit-a-san  sopit-a-slən
3. sopit-a-stə  sopit-a-stən  sopit-a-slən

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. -sayəm</td>
<td>-sayəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -sayən</td>
<td>-sayən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -sayə</td>
<td>-sayən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -sanəm</td>
<td>-sanəm</td>
<td>-sanuəw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -sanən</td>
<td>-sanən</td>
<td>-sanən(ən)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -sanə</td>
<td>-sanən</td>
<td>-san(ən)əl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: liŋčal am pāwain mineyam, χolitan taw pāwain 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 tag 'then, later' can be used: mineyam tag 'go-1sGPresIndet, then: I will go'. 2) The infinitive can be used together with the auxiliary verb pat- 'to fall; to begin': ıt'unk'e pateyam '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-en '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
--- | --- | ---
min- 'to go': | min-en | min-en | min-en
ōl- 'to be; to live': | ōl-en | ōl-en | ōl-en
rupit- 'to work': | rupit-en | rupit-en | rupit-en

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 -elen 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 -elen in all numbers.
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 min- 'may he/she go', *wos miney 'may they (dual) go', *wos miney '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 e - 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-nuw-am</td>
<td>-nuw-amen</td>
<td>-nuw-uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-nuw-an</td>
<td>-nuw-en</td>
<td>-nuw-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-nuw-o</td>
<td>-nuw-iy</td>
<td>-nuw-et</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example: *dil- 'to be; to live'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>dil-nuw-an</em></td>
<td><em>dil-nuw-an</em></td>
<td><em>dil-nuw-an</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>dil-nuw-an</em></td>
<td><em>dil-nuw-an</em></td>
<td><em>dil-nuw-an</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>dil-nuw</em></td>
<td><em>dil-nuw</em></td>
<td><em>dil-nuw</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular Object</th>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>-nuw-lam</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-an</td>
<td>-nuw-an-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-nuw-lan</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-an</td>
<td>-nuw-an-an(-an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-nuw-te</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-e</td>
<td>-nuw-an-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-nuw-lamen</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-amen</td>
<td>-nuw-an-amen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-nuw-lan</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-an</td>
<td>-nuw-an-an(-an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-nuw-ten</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-en</td>
<td>-nuw-an-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-nuw-luw</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-uw</td>
<td>-nuw-an-uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-nuw-len</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-en</td>
<td>-nuw-an-en(-en)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-nuw-anet</td>
<td>-nuw-ay-an</td>
<td>-nuw-an-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example: wār- 'to make; to do'

**Singular Object**  |  **Dual Object**  |  **Plural Object**
---|---|---
1. wār-nuwayem  |  wār-nuwayem  |  wār-nuwanem  
2. wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwan(-en)  
3. wār-nuwaye  |  wār-nuwe  |  wār-nuwan(-en)

**Dual**  
1. wār-nuwayamen  |  wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwanamen  
2. wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwan(-en)  
3. wār-nuwe  |  wār-nuwe  |  wār-nuwan(-en)

**Plural**  
1. wār-nuwayuw  |  wār-nuwayuw  |  wār-nuwanuw  
2. wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwayen  |  wār-nuwan(-en)  
3. wār-nuwe  |  wār-nuwe  |  wār-nuwan(-en)

Example Sentences:

'If there were a pit in my path, I would jump over it.'

'If I went into the forest, I would kill that big bear.'

'If he hitched up the (two) fast reindeer, his sled would break.'

'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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Singular</strong></th>
<th><strong>Dual</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wār-nem</td>
<td>wār-nen</td>
<td>wār-nenal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-nete</td>
<td>wār-ne-ye</td>
<td>wār-ne-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-net</td>
<td>wār-ne-ten</td>
<td>wār-ne-nal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Narrative Present - Determinate Conjugation:**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Singular Object</strong></th>
<th><strong>Dual Object</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural Object</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wār-nem</td>
<td>wār-nen</td>
<td>wār-nenal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-nete</td>
<td>wār-ne-ye</td>
<td>wār-ne-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-net</td>
<td>wār-ne-ten</td>
<td>wār-ne-nal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.
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.

Example: wār- 'to make; to do'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wār-m-em</td>
<td>wār-m-emen</td>
<td>wār-m-uw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-m-en</td>
<td>wār-m-en</td>
<td>wār-m-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-em</td>
<td>wār-m-iy</td>
<td>wār-m-et</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Narrative Past - Determinate Conjugation:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Object</th>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1. wār-em-lam</td>
<td>wār-em-ayem</td>
<td>wār-em-anem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-em-lan</td>
<td>wār-em-ayen</td>
<td>wār-em-an(en)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-em-te</td>
<td>wār-em-aye</td>
<td>wār-em-ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 1. wār-em-lamen</td>
<td>wār-em-ayamen</td>
<td>wār-em-anamen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-em-len</td>
<td>wār-em-ayen</td>
<td>wār-em-amen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-em-ten</td>
<td>wār-em-ayen</td>
<td>wār-em-amen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural 1. wār-em-luw</td>
<td>wār-em-ayuw</td>
<td>wār-em-anuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-em-len</td>
<td>wār-em-ayen</td>
<td>wār-em-amen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-em-anel</td>
<td>wār-em-ayanel</td>
<td>wār-em-anel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -we-m</td>
<td>-we-men</td>
<td>-we-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -we-n</td>
<td>-we-n</td>
<td>-we-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -we-ø</td>
<td>-we-γ</td>
<td>-we-t</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Example: wār- 'to make; to do'

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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. wār-a-wem</td>
<td>wār-a-wemen</td>
<td>wār-a-ww</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. wār-a-wen</td>
<td>wār-a-wen</td>
<td>wār-a-wen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-a-we</td>
<td>wār-a-weγ</td>
<td>wār-a-wet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-wesam 'I am eaten', taf-wesam 'I was eaten'.

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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -we-s-am</td>
<td>-we-s-amen</td>
<td>-we-s-ww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -we-s-an</td>
<td>-we-s-en</td>
<td>-we-s-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -we-s-ø</td>
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<td>-we-s-t</td>
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Example: wār- 'to make; to do'

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<tr>
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<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wār-wesam</td>
<td>wār-wesamen</td>
<td>wār-wesuw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wār-wesan</td>
<td>wār-wesen</td>
<td>wār-wesen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. wār-wes</td>
<td>wār-wesγ</td>
<td>wār-weset</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example Sentences:

xum čāp wāri 'man-Nom, boat-Nom, make-3SgPRESINDET: The man is making a boat.'
3.6.2.2. 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 bring': naŋ wos totawen 'PRoN PERS2SG, may, take-2SGPRES: May you be taken', taw wos totawe 'PRoN PERS3SG, may, take-3SGPRES: 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.

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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nu-we-m</td>
<td>-nu-we-men</td>
<td>-nu-we-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu-we-n</td>
<td>-nu-we-n</td>
<td>-nu-we-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu-we-o</td>
<td>-nu-we-γ</td>
<td>-nu-we-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example: wār-'to make; to do'

3. 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)

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: χoταλ 'where to?', χοτ 'where?' - χοτελ 'where from?', χον 'home, back' - χο'н 'at home' - χο'νе 'from home', των 'to there' - το 'there' - των 'from there'.

Temporal Adverbs: τιχοταλ 'today', аχ 'now', ταχα 'then, later, ak'ay 'always', τελ 'in winter', ak'matnakt 'once'.

Adverbs of Manner: These are formed with different suffixes, e.g. 1) -а: kасан 'merry' – kаса'ң 'merrily'. 2) -γ: номтə 'clever' – номтə'ң 'cleverly'. 3) -к: ласат 'slow' – ласатқе 'slowly'. 4) -т: лат 'foot' – латэ '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 jurtjyrisam-nal säh Bojteysem 'PRONPERS1SG friend-Px1SG-PLUR POSS ABL early, come-1SGPAST INDET:* I arrived earlier than my friends.' [Rombandejeva 1989:151] 2) Morphological method. The suffix -nuw can be added to the adverb. *nan mofa-yung juw-joxyten 'PRONPERS2SG quickly-CMP home, come-2SGPRES INDET:* You will come home more quickly.'

**Superlative:** The superlative is formed with the particles saka, sár 'very, fully'. Example: *taw saka mofo-yung juw-joxyti 'PRONPERS3Sa, very, quickly, home, come-3SGPRES INDET:* 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. 3.8.2.3., 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), åte 'and not, nor', åte ... åte 'neither...nor'.
3. Disjunctive Conjunctions: *man 'or', manos 'or'.

**Subordinating Conjunctions:**

1. Temporal Conjunctions: *xun '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', åti '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: *mar 'what a ...!'
4. **Word Formation**

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. **Suffixed Noun Formation**

**Denominal Suffixes:**

1. -ke: This suffix is quite frequent and forms diminutive words. Examples: äy i'girl, daughter' > äyık'e, punık 'head' > punıkke'e.

2. -ri: The suffix forms diminutives which can sometimes have a pejorative meaning. Examples: jà 'river' > jəriš, xum 'man' > xumiriš 'weak, sickly man'.

3. -t: The suffix forms abstract nouns from adjectives. Examples: xosa 'long' > xosita 'length', mil 'deep' > milit '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 (ataŋ 'sweet' > atatut 'sweets' or participles (aj- 'to drink' > aj-ne 'drink-PARTPRES' > aj-n-ut 'person who likes to drink'), 2) wàrmal 'thing; deed' can also substantivize participles (woritot 'to fight' > woritotne 'fight-PARTPRES' > 'struggle', 3) sup 'piece, part' can be used as a deminutive word (xap 'boat' > xapsup), 4) kapat 'large; old' can be used as an augmentative word (okja 'man' okjakapaj 'very old or very large man'.

**Deverbal Suffixes:**

1. -cik: This suffix forms various abstract nouns. Examples: öns- 'to cross, to wade' > önsax 'foot-bridge', kis- 'to whistle' > kisik 'whistle'.

2. -i: The suffix forms nomina actionis/nomina acti. Examples: xojil 'to be ill' > xojit 'illness', min- 'to go, to move' > minit 'movement'.

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 particle (cf. Rombandejeva 1973:79-82, Rombandejeva/Vakhruševa:74-76). Examples: a) mà 'earth' + kol 'house' > 'earth house, dug-out', kát 'hand' + patta 'base' > kátpta 'palm (of the hand)', b) nájæ 'fiery' + xap 'boat' > nájąap 'steamship', janiy 'big' + aj 'animal' > janya'jelk, c) pōf- 'to freeze' + ûj 'animal' > pōjuf 'bullfinch', d) puwil- 'to bathe' [püwlən 'bath-PARTPRES'] + kol 'house' > puwilkol '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, syncopation, 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: söt '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: xosa 'long' + nöl 'nose' > xosa nöləŋ 'long-nosed'.

3. -t: This is a frequent, privative suffix (cf. 5.6.2.7.). Examples: suj 'sound, noise' > sujət 'wordless', nam 'name' > namtət '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: xatət- 'to know' > xastətal 'unknown, unknowing', xol- 'to end' > xoltətal '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: sǎw 'much' > sǎwni- 'to increase, to grow'
2. -l - -al: tǎwri 'crumb' > tǎwri- 'to crumble', sǎjak 'sober' > sǎjak- 'to wake up'
3. -j - -aj: gōnchi 'path' > gōnχai- 'to set off'
4. -a ml: rot 'quiet' > rotam- 'to quiet down'

b) Transitive Verbs:
1. -t: ontes- 'help' > ontast- 'to help'
2. -l: χoram 'decoration, ornament' > χorami- 'to decorate, to adorn'
3. -l lt: rēy 'heat, warmth' > rēyal- 'to heat'

**Deverbal Suffixes:**

1. Reflexive Formants: -χat, -aχi. Examples: mas- 'to dress' > masχat- 'to dress oneself', wojant- 'to defend' > wojantαχt- 'to defend oneself'.
2. Causative Formants: -l - -al, -l - -īt, -l - -ηt, -l - -t. Examples: suns- 'to look' > sunst- 'to show', mas- 'to dress' > mast- 'to dress (someone else)', mūl- 'to treat oneself' > mūlt- 'to entertain (guests)'.
3. Momentaneous Formants: -ap, -at, -as, -aj, -al, -l - -ηt, -l - -t. Examples: kāl- 'to stand up' > kālap- 'to jump up', sānl- 'to ring' > sānlat- 'to ring out suddenly', pīy- 'to squeak' > pīyas- 'to give a squeak'.
4. Frequentative Formants: -t - -l, -ηt, -ηal, -ηal, -at, -l - -t, -al, -y al. Examples: khitl- 'to ask a question' > khitlal- 'to ask repeatedly', suns- 'to watch' > sunsyl- 'to watch repeatedly', woj- 'to take' > wojyalal- 'to take repeatedly', ośmari- 'to use cunning' > ośmariyalal- 'to use cunning repeatedly'.
5. Inchoative Formants: -ma j, -al, -əmt, -miy, -ml. Examples: əl- 'to be; to live' > əlmaj- 'to start to live', əla jti- 'to run' > əlajalt- 'to start to run', laŋχ-'to want' > laŋmiy- 'to start to want'.

6. Durative Formants: -ant, -antal, -al, -as, -a al, -a al. Examples: satap- 'to grow dark' > satapt- 'to grow dark slowly', jōm- 'to walk' > jōmant- 'to walk steadily', tip'- 'to lose one's way' > tipyal- 'to roam, to wander', ērνt- 'to sing' > ērνral- 'to sing on'.

**Precautive Forms:** An interesting feature of Vogul verb formation is the behavior of the "denominative suffixes" -ke and -rīs which can be added to any verbal stem to form a new stem. (Rombandjeveva [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 -ke or -rīs 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 -ke (-ke, cf. 2.5.) is positive, denoting endearment, while -rīs is negative, expressing pity or depreciation. Examples: amkkem əlikem. PronSol1 Sg, be-PrecPres1 Sg. Good little me lives alone.' amkkem əlirišem. PronSol1 Sg, be-PrecPres1 Sg. Poor little me lives alone.'

4.3.2. Prefixal Verb Formation

A feature that Vogul shares with the other Ugric 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 meanings of the individual prefixes cannot be regarded as exhaustive.

ak"an- 'coming together': nēy- 'to tie, to bind' > ak"an-nēy- 'to tie together', mōr- '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', stop', χot- 'to be frightened' > χot-χot- 'to take fright suddenly'

e(l)a- 'forwards, onwards, away': jōm- 'to go, to strike' > el-jōm- 'to go away/on', tina- 'to sell' > et-tina- 'to sell off'

jol- 'concrete direction "down" and abstract nuances': patt- 'to drop' > jol-patt- 'to drop down to kill', tu/- 'to snow' > jol-tu/- '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'

kittl- 'separation': min- 'to go' > kittl-min- 'to separate; to get divorced', urt-at- 'to divide, to separate (intransitive): Kittl-urt- 'to branch off'

kōn- 'out'; away': kāl- 'to stand up, to go', rise' > kōn-kāl- 'to go out', li- 'to throw' > kōn-li- 'to throw out/away'

lak"a- (lak"a-') 'decentralized direction': jōm- 'to go, to strike' > lak"at-jōm- 'to go apart, to separate', urt- 'to divide' > lak"a-urt- 'to divide up, to distribute'
lap- 'completion of action': nát- 'to float' > lap-nát- 'to plug/clog up', lá- 'to eat; to burn' > lap-lá- 'to burn out'
nálw- 'towards the river; towards the fire': chaj- 'to run' > nálw-chaj- 'to run towards the river', tát- 'to hang' > nálw-tát- 'to hang over the fire'
nóx- (nóx [cf. 2.3.]) 'up': nóx- 'to stand' > nóx-nóx- 'to stand up', súns- 'to look' > nóx-súns- 'to look up'
páy- 'towards the shore; away from the fire': chaj- 'to pull; to drag' > páy-chaj- 'to drag to the shore', k'äl- 'to stand up, to go, to rise' > páy-k'äl- 'to get out of the boat, to land'
pálí- 'apart, in different directions, opening up': chaj- 'to pull; to drag' > pálí-chaj- 'to stretch (out); to open one's mouth wide', pokap- 'to burst' > pálí-pokap- 'to burst open, to break open'
ňy- 'in the direction of the speaker': rónxuwx- 'to yell' > ŋy-rónxuwx- 'to have someone come', tot- 'to bring' > ňy-tot- 'to bring here'
tuń- 'away from the speaker': mi- 'to give' > tuń-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: ąyít lowinteyat 'girl-Nom, read-Pres3Sg: The girl is reading,' ąyít lowinteyat 'girl-Plur, read-Pres3Plur: The girls are reading.' b) Nominal predicate without copula: The predicate can consist of a noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun. ti jiwi 'this, tree-Nom: This is a tree.' ti jiwi 'tree-Nom, big: The tree is big.' ti am 'this, PersPron1 SoNom: 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 ąl- 'to be, to live' or (more rarely) with ąs- '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 xot ąl- 'Stepan-Nom, where, be-Pres3Sg: Where is Stepan?' pawel lapat ąl- '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 ąt'im (Sg), ąt'im (Du), ąt'im (Plur): taw jun ąt'im 'PersPron3 SoHome, NegSg: He/she is not at home.' ŋen jun ąt'imiy. 'PersPron3Du, home, NegDu: They (Du) are not at home.' ŋen jun ąt'imiy. 'PersPron3Du, home, NegDu: They (Du) are not at home.' Ad 3: Attribute. Attributes can be adjectives, nouns (used as adjectives or as possessive nouns), numerals, pronouns, participles. kars ur 'high mountain', ńat nát 'iron trap', ýum ąmp-e 'man-Nom, dog-Px3Sg: the man's dog', at nát 'five arrows', ńi piwi 'this boy', ńoťeom wit '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. póniš kol pósii 'boy-Nom, house-Nom, draw-Pres3Sg: The boy is drawing a house.' ąsam ánum ąnum šokol anatošte. '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. rothiy rūfer! 'still, stand-kmp.sg: Stand still!' 

nawramet wŏrnil ẑăťeyet 'child-plur, forest-aal, run-pres3plur: The children run out of the forest.' 
towlařq sorry numi-pált mini 'airplane-nom, forest-nom, over, go-pres3sg: The airplane flies over the forest.' 

Ayi ęryim păy-minas. 'girl-nom, sing-er, 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: karas ur 'high mountain'.


Numeral + Noun: at nāl 'five arrows'. Pronoun + Noun: ti pĕy 'this boy'.

taw ěmp-e 'pronpres3sgsnom, dog-pxf3sg: his/her dog'. (Adjectival) Participle + Noun: pŏfem wi 'frozen water'. 2) Head Verb + Auxiliary Verb. nomsmunike pateyam 'think-lmk, aux-pres1sg: I will think'.

With the help of participial constructions attributive phrases can become quite lengthy, e.g. rūs pŏjar-piynə tūmæjəl tinałem manši ayį măyas ēryem ērįy. Here it is the last word of the attributive phrase ēryi '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: ēryi 'song'. What kind of song? ēryem ērįy = past participle of ērįy 'to sing'. The song sung. What kind of song sung? ayį 'girl' măyas 'about' ērįy ērįy. The song sung about a girl. What kind of girl? manši 'Vogul' ayį 'girl'. A Vogul girl. What kind of Vogul girl? tinałem manši ayį, tinałem = past participle of tinał: 'to sell'. The Vogul girl sold. How was the Vogul girl sold? tūmæjəl 'secretly'. To whom was she sold? piyna 'to the boy'. To what kind of boy? rūs pŏjar-piynə '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: ayį mojt lowiňi '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: janįy kol 'large house' - janįy kol-iy (Du), janįy kol-at (Plur), janįy kol-n (Lat), janįy kol-t (Loc), etc.; ti kol 'this house' - ti kol-iy (Du), ti kol-at (Plur), ti kol-n (Lat), ti kol-t (Loc), etc.

Numerals are followed by a noun in the singular: ak* 'one house', čąram kol 'three houses', săw 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: ẑum rupit-i 'man-sg, work-pres3sg: The man works.' - ẑum-iy rupit-ey 'man-du, work-pres3du: The men (Du) work.' - ẑum-at rupit-eyat 'man-plur, work-pres3plur: The men (Plur) work.' - năy rupit-eyen 'pronpres2sg, work-pres2sg: You (Sg) work ~ măn rupit-ew 'pronpres1sg, work-pres1sg: We (Plur) work.'

In addition, verbs in the determinate conjugation agree with the object in number: am piyris-ąm xanistijam 'pronpres1sg, son-px1sg, teach-pres1sgdetsg: I teach my son.' - am piyris-ąm xanistijam 'pronpres1sg, son-px1sg-duposs, teach-pres1sgdetplur: I teach my (two) sons.' - am piyris-anem xanistijanem 'pronpres1sg, 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 măyas 'people': măyas joxteyam '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: ęk'ay ęk'ay ęløy '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 xanistatxan piyris jomas 'this, learn-partpres, boy-sg, good-sg: This pupil [is] good.' - ti xanistatxan piyris-iy jomas-iy 'this, learn-partpres, boy-du, good-du: These pupils [are] good.' - ti xanistatxan piyris-at jomas-at '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.e. the use of pre- or postposed articles (Hungarian, Mordvinian), contrastive use of case (Finnic) 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 áyí lōwiti '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: ti áyí 'this girl', ta áyí '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 ámp-e 'dog-Px3SG' can mean either 'his/her dog' or 'the dog'. (The form with the preposed personal pronoun taw ámp-e [cf. 3.1.3.] will, however, only mean 'his/her dog'.) A third possibility is the use of the particle an 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) kól-ém, (naŋ) kól-ën, (taw) kól-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: xum ámp-e 'man-NOM, dog-Px3SG: the man's dog'.

ruma-m kól-e 'friend-Px1SG, house-Px3SG: my friend's house', já wátá(-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: ònhš- 'to have'. áyí kit say ònhší 'girl-NOM, two, braid-NOMSo, have-PRES3SG: The girl has two braids.' Another possibility is the use of the postposition pált-ón after the possessor with the possessed in the basic form and the verb of being: mós-né pált màn ńawram ńíl 'mós, woman-NOM, on, small, child-NOM, be-PRES3SG: The mós 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’ë, 2) Participles: -i, -η, -p, -na, -m (-im), -tal, 3) Gerunds: -ke-, -ima. Given that some of the participles (-na, -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’ë. It is attached directly to the vowel stems of the irregular verbs: tê- 'to eat' > têŋk’ë, lii- 'to throw' > liŋk’ë. With all other stems the number of syllables determines the connecting vowel used. If the stem has an even number of syllable the connecting vowel is -a, if it has an even number of syllables the connecting vowel is -e. Examples: 1) Odd number of syllables: lāw- 'to say' > lāw-ŋk’ë, aŋkwatāl- 'to look at' > aŋkwatāl-ŋk’ë. 2) Even number of syllables: ališ- 'to hunt' > ališ-ŋk’ë, kāk’aslaytiyl- 'to cough' > kāk’aslaytiyl-ŋk’ë.

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: tąŋk’- 'to want' > ďünk’ë tąŋk’eyem 'be-INF, want-PRES1SG: I want to be', worat- 'to try, to endeavor' > lak’altnk’ë worati 'jump out-INF, try-PRES3SG: He tries to jump out', noms- 'to think' > kol ďünk’ë nomsi 'house-NOM, build-INF, think-PRES3SG: He thinks of building a house'; b) motion: jal- 'to go, to walk' > kinsunk’ë jalew 'search-INF, go-PRES1PUR: We go to search', k’al- 'to go, to stride' > mis tittunk’ë k’als '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 not 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/-ne (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: ḫuji- 'to sing, to twitter' > ḫuji kukuk 'sing-PART, cuckoo-NOM: singing cuckoo', ḫuji-yi- 'to come up, to arise' > ḫotei ḫuji-yi saxei '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: ṽen- 'to sit' > ṽel-palet ṽi̱na̱s pot' before-Px3 SG, 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 onomatopoetic or affective verbal stems. Some examples: ḫopli- 'to knock, to beat' > ḫopli suj 'knock-PART, sound-NOM: knocking sound', ḫen- 'to roar' > ḫen-η tural 'roar-PART, voice-INSTR: with a roaring voice', ḫoyal- 'to laugh, to smile' > ḫoyal-η wifel '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/-ne 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: sajal- 'to suffer' > sawalap χum 'suffer-PART, man-NOM: suffering man', tef- 'to be born, to grow' ~ χol- 'to end, to disappear' > telpa jönxe-founder-grow-PART, moon, end-PART, moon: waxing moon ~ waning moon'.

5.6.2.5. Participle in -n/-ne/-ne

This is the general present (imperfective) participle. The element -n/-ne/-ne 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 vocative stem (min- 'to go' > minne, ṽe- 'to eat' > ṽene). 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: χaɾeːst- 'to crackle, to squeak' > mATER χaɾeːst suj 'something, crackle-PART, be heard-PRES3 SG: A crackling is to be heard', ḫaʃ̃iyi- 'to run around' > ḫi jat χaʃ̃iyi-a-ne-ne suj 'girl-PRES7 PL, run-PART-PX3 PL, be heard-PRES3 SG: The girls are heard running around. [The running around of the girls is to be heard.], ji- 'to come' > ḫont ji-ne-n naʃki 'army-NOM, come-PART-PX3 SG, be seen-PRES3 SG: 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' > nEN ji-ne-n aʃım χoːtal sät w̃yaːm 'PRON-PERS2 DU, come-PART-PX2 DU, PRON-PERS1 SG, three, day-SG, behind, know-PRES1 SG DET: 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: ḫer- 'to sing' > ḫer-ŋum 'sing-PART, man-NOM: singer [singing man], wʊraːj- 'to hunt' > wʊraːj-an χum 'hunt-PART, man-NOM: the hunter [the man who is hunting]', min- 'to go' > ḫaːle jot sāli-l min-ne χum 'woman-Px3 SG, with, reinder-INSTR, go-PART, man-NOM: the man going with his wife on a reindeer', w̃ar- 'to make' > χap w̃ar-ne χum 'boat-NOM, make-PART, man-NOM: the man (who is) making a boat, alis- 'to hunt' > χoː alis-an piŋʃi '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-n m̃i̱l-paːt 'PRON-PERS1 SG, go-PART-PX1 SG, before: before I go', potar- 'to speak' > potar-a-ne-ne-paːt 'speak-PART-PX3 PL, time-Loc: when they are speaking', ḫop- 'to work' > taw jomšak ḫop-a-ne-te m̃eːs 'PRON-PERS3 SG, good, work-PART-PX3 SG, because: due to his good work, ḫil- 'to be; to live' > tı̱ māt am ḫil-ne-n sis 'this, place-Loc, PRON-PERS1 SG, be-PART-PX1 SG, while: while living here', joxt- 'to come, to arrive' > am joxt-a-ne-ne muː 'PRON-PERS1 SG, come-PART-PX1 SG, until: until my arrival [coming]'.
5.6.2.6. Participle in -im

This is the past (perfective) participle. It is generally preceded by a connecting vowel (-a -a), but is added directly to the vocalic stem of the irregular verbs (tot- 'to bring' > totaim, wi- 'to take' - win). Just like the present participle, the past participle in -im 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: tilmat- 'to burst, to break' > ak'matér tow tilm-at m-e sujti suddenly, branch-Nom, break-PARTPxt3SG, be heard-PRES3Sc. Suddenly the breaking of a branch can be heard; pin- 'to place' > kánt-e pin-m-e náŋki 'hat-Px3SG, put-PART-Pxt3SG, be seen-Pres3Sc. It can be seen that he put on his hat.'

b) Predicate. The participle in -im 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: nōŋj-x-k'áíl- 'to get up' > nōŋj-x-k'áíl-m-e at wáylí? 'get up-PART-Pxt3SG, 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: ērgy- 'to sing' > ērgam xum 'sing-PART, man-NOM: the man who sang', wár- 'to make' > sun wárem xum 'sled-Nom, make-PART, man-NOM: the man who made the sled', ališi- 'to hunt' > wáš ališi- a-m pýrís 'wild duck-Nom, hunt-PART, boy-NOM: the boy who hunted wild duck', õñš- 'to have' > píy õñšam n-e boy-NOM, have-PART, woman-NOM: the woman who had a son', al- 'to kill' > wórajam xum al-a-m wört-oln-ut 'hunt-PART-Pres, woman-NOM, kill-PART-Past, 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-em-t 'PRON-Pers1SG, go-PART-Pxt1SLoc: when I went', min-a-m jui-palt 'go-PART, after: after I left', jákx- 'to come, to arrive' > jákx-em-e ural 'come-PART-Pxt3SG, about: about his arriving/arrival'.

There is also a past participle in -im, almost always used in a possessive 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' >
5.6.3.2. Gerund in -ke

The element -ke is attached either directly to the verbal stem or with a connecting vowel a - a and is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix indicating person and the locative case suffix -(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-ke-a-ke-nal-t 'arrive home-Ger Px3S PLURLoc: when he arrives home', nöx-ti:ami- 'to fly up' > tätig nöx-ti:ami-ke-nal-t 'loon-PLUR, fly up-Ger Px3 PLURLoc: when the loons fly up', jai- 'to go' > man üs man-ke-w-t 'PRON Pers1 PLUR, city-LAT, go-Ger Px1 PLUR Loc: 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 conjunctival 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. ojka potar äne:n poteratales, potertimate sâw sôs samwiate nêylâsi: 'old man-Nom, story-Nom, PRON Pers1 SG Dat, tell-Past3 Sg, tell-Ger Px3 Sg, many, time-Sg, tear-Px3 Sg-Du Poss, appear-Past3 Du: The old man told me a story (and) while telling it many times tears appeared.' 2) Posterior Action. kantmâjawes, samayen wit nêylâs

5.7.1.2. Conjunctional Paratactic Sentences

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

Temporal Sentences: 1. Concurrent Action (ös ~ i). ak têpos môt têpos juij-pâlt mini, i tân ak'än nêm-żynt at jöntçatayeget' one, month-Nom, second, month-Nom, after, go-Pres3 Sg, and, PRON Pers3 PLUR, together, never, NEG, meet-PRES Reflex PLUR: One month passes after the other and they never meet each other.' 2. Posterior Action (ös ~ i). iti tâñ nafûnât pôzyne nujjës, i mân ëus tâltan jûntalsâw 'suddenly, steamboat-Nom, howl-PAR Pes P3 SG, be heard-Past3 Sg, and, PRON Pers1 PLUR, all, town, quay-LAT, run-Past3 Plur: Suddenly the steamboat's horn sounded and we all ran down to the town's quay.'

Adversative Sentences (no ~ a): jôs:òtj jocat nôj-nêylâs, a kon in asimay òlas 'sun-Nom, long, appear-Past3 Sg, but, outside, still, cold-TRAN, be-Past3 Sg: The sun had been up for a long time, but outside it was still cold.'

Consecutive Sentences (ii): ûsyulî wiyôr pos pëlâmës i avtomobil jol-pôjçet '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.'
6. Lexicon

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 Rödei) 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 - čum 'man', ně 'woman', sasîj 'uncle'; FU - piy 'boy; son', ēs
younger sister', up 'father-in-law'; Ug. - (?) āyį 'girl'; daughter'; OU - ēŋk 'husband's
younger sister', jay 'father', jörn 'Samoyede

2. Human Body: U - mäj 'liver', nariy 'cartilage', punk 'head'; FU - pai 'ear', kät
'hand', puki 'navel'; Ug. - tur 'throat', wosiy 'penis'; OU - ēol 'nose', waŋen
'shoulder'

4. Fauna: U - ëol 'fish', xulax 'raven', palam 'horsefly'; FU - jippí 'owl', sort 'pique', ës 'sheep'; Ug. - âmp 'dog', lujw 'horse'; OU - nâwa 'toat', âlom 'salmon'

5. Flora: U - jiw 'tree', xâl 'birch', huli 'fir'; FU - tanx 'moss', ëosman 'onion'; Ug. - pum 'grass', jékar 'roots of a fallen tree'; OU - saw 'bud', sâwni 'blueberry'

6. House, Instruments, Clothes: U - âwi 'door', xulip 'net', jîw 'bow'; FU - kol 'house', sun 'sled', sup 'shirt'; Ug. - tawt 'quiver', nayer 'saddle'; OU - osma 'pillow', taj 'ladle', kêt 'cap'

7. Quality, Quantity: U - janiy 'large', ëosa 'long'; FU - sâw 'much', isam 'warm'; Ug. - jomas 'gut', mil 'deep'; OU - sâly 'thin', ater 'clear'

8. Numerals: U - kîth '2'; FU - akwa '1', ëurem '3', nila '4', at '5', xël '6', low '10', xuvs '20', sât '100'; Ug. - sât '7', hololow '8'

9. Basic Verbs: U - min 'to go', pin 'to place, to put', ëol 'to die'; FU - tê 'to eat', jîn 'to cut', aj 'to drink'; Ug. - joxj 'to come', nêy 'to tie', mas 'to dress'; OU - wêr 'to make; to do, jônt 'sew', jôny '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', wil 'water', nam 'name' (< Indo-European); FU - sât '100', åter 'lord', sôpî 'male reindeer' (< Indo-European); Ug. - sât '7' (< Indo-European), xunten 'mole' (Turkic); OU - mënk '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, Zyrarian, Tatar, and Russian. The most numerous borrowings occurred from Zyrarian, 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 Eva Korenchy (Iranische Lehnnöter in den obugrischen Sprachen, 1972). Some of the Vogul words she regards as being Iranian loan words (disregarding older etymological strata) are: ëros 'hearth', ësarma 'shame', kër 'iron', ëpant 'older sister's husband', pôi 'rich; wealth', siraj 'sword', sârka 'eagle', wôsiy '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: ëis 'sand', mul 'magic words', nôjër 'cedar nut', ossam 'crazy', ënti 'forest, wilderness', wôç 'copper, iron'.

Yurak: The linguistic contacts between Vogul and their northern neighbours the Yurak have been investigated most extensively by Wolfgang Steinitz (Zu den samojedischen Lehnnötern 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', jántwu 'reindeer rein', xôpt 'castrated reindeer or horse', xatar 'grey (reindeer)', lipi 'reindeer dog', pöjça 'fur made out of light and thin reindeer hide'.

Zyrarian: The Zyrarian 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 Zyrrians. Even later, contacts between the two peoples were retained, above all in the north where Zyrrians were wont to visit and settle. Károly Rédei studied the Zyrarian loan words in Vogul (Die syrjäischen Lehnnöter im Wogulischem, 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 group). They are typical cultural words and can be assigned to a great many different semantic groups. Some examples: kar 'woodpecker', tus 'beard', pûres 'pig', sörî 'beet', somi 'gold; golden', sârës 'ocean', sàjt 'rubile', lëstán 'whetstone', tôman 'lock', müják 'soap', jármak 'silk', ëän 'bread', jurt 'comrade, friend', rûs 'Russian', mût- 'to measure', kül 'devil', nêpák 'paper', saka 'very', sistam 'clean'.

Tatar: In his work published in 1925 (Die tatarischen Lehnnöter 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: əkər 'small housedog', xərtiya 'goshawk', sul 'oats', sələwa 'scythe', təxə 'knee timber', japa 'silk', əxəx 'hearth', pusə 'type of beer', ələk 'sieve', ən 'king', təurma 'type of string instrument', pəxəatur 'hero'.

Russian: The noted Hungarian Vogulist Béla Kálmán examined the Russian loan words in Vogul (Die russischen Lehnwörter im Vogulischen, 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: fon 'flax', turka 'shotgun', ərent 'debt', kərapfi 'ship', mustə 'bridge', nəpata 'work', əmsək 'earring', turpa 'pipe; chimney', pulka 'round bun', istakan 'drinking glass', kuflait- to (go for a) walk, pəp 'priest', kə(h)ika '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 Sovsa 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 Munkácsy (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 1995, the commentary volumes to I and II between 1892 and 1921. The commentary volumes to III and IV were written after Munkácsy'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 Munkácsy 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 régime. 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, Magdolina Kispál, Éva Sal, Károly Rédei, János Gulya, László Honli, László Keresztes, Katalin Sipócz [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 this 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/I: 79-82. It is included in the section "Fate Songs: Women's Songs".

äyi kit jay-piy önläl 

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

jay-piyaye törem zótaile jëmt-ke úsen jalentey, pojär-piy pält ajej, têyey. 

brother-Px3SGDu, God, day-Px3SG, every, city-LAT, go-3DU, rich man-son, at, drink-3DU, eat-3DU

jay-átylen pojär-piyle tumayel tilanatelen 

father-daughter [sister]-Px3DU, rich man-son-LAT, secret intention-INST prev-3DPASTDET

sát kémmy jémtes, äyi jay-piyayen pojär-piy pält öñne wówes. 

week, about, pass-3DPAST, girl, brother-3SG, have-3DPAST

materňi wówes, äyi żótel wołtě? 

something-TRANS, call-3DPASTPAST, girl, from where, know-3SGDET

äyi jany-önye nupel läwi: "am jánk sàxim júw télén!" 

girl, large, sister-in-law-Px3SG, to, say-3SG, PronPred1ST SG, white, fur-Px1 SG, in, bring-2SGmDET

mäh önye nupel läwi: k'osër-sis ñansan wàyaye júw tûleyen! 

small, sister-in-law-Px3SG, to, say-3SG, squirrel-back, dappled,.boot-Px1 SGDu, in, bring-2SGmDET

jân kâxila júw tolews, k'osër-sis ñansan wàyaye júw totwes. 

large, fur-Px3SG, in, bring-3DPASTPAST, squirrel-back, dappled, boot-Px3SGDu, in, bring-3DPASTPAST

ti masyats, k'onta k'âls, sunen ŭntas. 

then, dress-3DPASTREFLEX, out, go-3DPASTPAST, sled-Px3SG, sit, down-3SGDET

mäh pojär, mäh rumate pält ta tolewes. 

small, rich man, small, friend-Px3SG, to, then, bring-3DPASTPAST

pøjär-piy rad jâls, júw wàntaste, ak' lâyel lâyel rumkal sâwäl ajîte. 

rich man-son, towards, go-3DPAST, in, lead-3DPASTDET, one, leg-Adj, leg-Adj, glass-INST prev-3SGDET give to drink-3SGDET

äyi ajes, ajes; töl nanmasyûtì: wàssy at ajejem, jöl-jóytawem. 

girl, drink-3SGPAST, drink-3SGPAST, then, think-3SG, more, Neo, drink-1SG, get drunk-1SG

rumaten òs ajûn'e wóratawe. òs ajes, töl ta râytas. 

friend-Px3SG, again, drink-INF, urge-3SGPAST, again, drink-3SGPAST, afterwards, then, fall-3SGPAST

çosa, man wât'i xujes, nònyx sajkals. 

long, or, short, lie-3SGPAST, up, wake up-3SGPAST
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 .

"Aha!" he says. "My hand touched a fire-hole. It found a pot of fat. It ate, let fat solidify on its nose, let fat solidify on its legs and left. It could not fly off any more, it had eaten too much."

"Ah!" she 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!"

8.2. 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.

akas as jay-alyinha ole, torem chortal ta liyirti.

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

manar chonti, jay-alyiten tol, akmateri minas, kolna chonttatas, surmas tara jwuj-kaltaps.

what, find-3SG, sister-Px3SGCOLL, bring-3SG, once, go-3SGPAST, hut-LAT, come upon-3SGPAST, smoke-hole, through, go in-3SGPAST

wopuj chontas. tes, nole wojal poffes, layalye wojal poffes ta minas.

fat pot, find-3SGPAST, eat-3SGPAST, nose-Px3SG, fat-INST, set solidify-3SGPAST, leg-Px3SGDuPoss, fat-INST, set solidify-3SGPAST, then, go-3SGPAST

jwuj joytes, jay-alyiten chot-wojweset wojane, ta xujas, xolitan kaalsiy, os ta minas.

home, come-3SGPAST, sister-Px3SGCOLL, take away-3PLURPASTPAST, fat-Px3SGPUSPos, then, sleep-3PUPAST, in the morning, get up-3DUPLAPAST, again, then, go-3SGPAST

8.3. Animals and Birds in Winter

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

telijy jemi, toji pati. oyului toji chaln salteyet, to onliyate, et xuyalej.

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

xalyalej jemi, tan sultalej, xayijitim isilaleyet, joramteyet.

day-TRANS, become-3SG, PRONPEOPLUR, jump about-3PLUR, run about-GER, warm up-3PLUR, gather strength-3PLUR
Immediately, 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. Many of our companions, our friends are the wood grouse, the snow grouse, the hazel grouse, the black grouse. They spend their winter there. But other birds do not.

Other birds - ducks, geese - migrate to warm regions. There is food there and fresh water.

It is then, in the early spring, we become happy. Early spring has come, soon it will be real spring.

**9. Selected Bibliography**

In this section no exhaustive bibliography of works on the Volga 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.

**9.1. Glossaries and Dictionaries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Place of Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**9.2. General Grammars**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Place of Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>—</td>
<td>Wogulische Texte mit einem Glossar. Budapest, 1976</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.3. Grammatical Studies

9.4. Loanwords, Lexical Studies

9.5. Texts with Translations
10. Abbreviations

10.1. Abbreviations Used in Explanatory Notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>Adjectival suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aux</td>
<td>Auxiliary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Conditional-Optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll</td>
<td>Collective suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Datative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Det</td>
<td>Determinate conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DetDu</td>
<td>Determinate conjugation, dual object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DetPlur</td>
<td>Determinate conjugation, plural object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DetSg</td>
<td>Determinate conjugation, singular object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DuPoss</td>
<td>Dual possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ger</td>
<td>Gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>Indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indet</td>
<td>Indeterminate conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lat</td>
<td>Lative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narr</td>
<td>Narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part</td>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PartPast</td>
<td>Past participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PartPres</td>
<td>Present participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Prec</td>
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<td>Pres</td>
<td>Present tense</td>
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<td>PronEmph</td>
<td>Emphatic personal pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>PronPers</td>
<td>Simple personal pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>PronRefi</td>
<td>Reflexive personal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PronSol</td>
<td>Solitary personal pronoun</td>
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<td>Px</td>
<td>Possessive suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reflex</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>Singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>SgPoss</td>
<td>Singular possession</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trans</td>
<td>Translative</td>
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10.2. Abbreviations of Books and Journals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALH</td>
<td>Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUF</td>
<td>Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen, Helsinki</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSFOu.</td>
<td>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSFOu.</td>
<td>Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, Helsinki</td>
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<tr>
<td>NyK</td>
<td>Nyelvtudományi Közlönyek, Budapest</td>
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<tr>
<td>UAJb.</td>
<td>Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Wiesbaden</td>
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<td>UEW</td>
<td>Rédei, Károly (ed.): Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Budapest, 1988</td>
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