

Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) was by far the most significant Finnish linguist of the 19th century. In addition to being a linguist he was also a multidisciplinary scholar, equally versatile in the fields of ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history, and human geography. He left behind a huge corpus of field data, collected by himself during prolonged expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Arctic Russia, and Siberia between 1838 and 1849. During the short periods of time Castrén spent in an academic environment, he had little opportunity to synthesize his collections, a situation aggravated by his rapidly progressing and ultimately fatal illness. Therefore, a major part of his scholarly heritage remained unpublished when he died.

The Khanty grammar is one of the few materials Castrén was able to publish himself. He collected the material over the course of a few weeks in the summer of 1845 in the Irtyš and Surgut areas, where the southern and eastern dialects of Khanty were spoken. During these weeks, he outlined the Khanty grammar in Swedish and his companion Johan Reinhold Bergstadi translated it into German. After Castrén returned from his journey in 1849, he was able to check the German translation and oversee the printing of the book.

In this critical edition, most of the commentary is made based on the printed book, which is here translated into English. There are only minor comments on the differences between the printed version and the manuscript, as Castrén seemingly had control over the printing process, and thus the printed version can be regarded as his own synthesis of the grammatical and lexical notes. The commentaries are made on the basis of best modern knowledge of Khanty. In this volume, a brief modern grammar of Khanty is also presented, focusing on the Irtyš and Surgut dialects.



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MANUSCRIPTA  
CASTRENIANA

MATTHIAS ALEXANDER CASTRÉN

OSTIACICA

*M. A. Castrén*



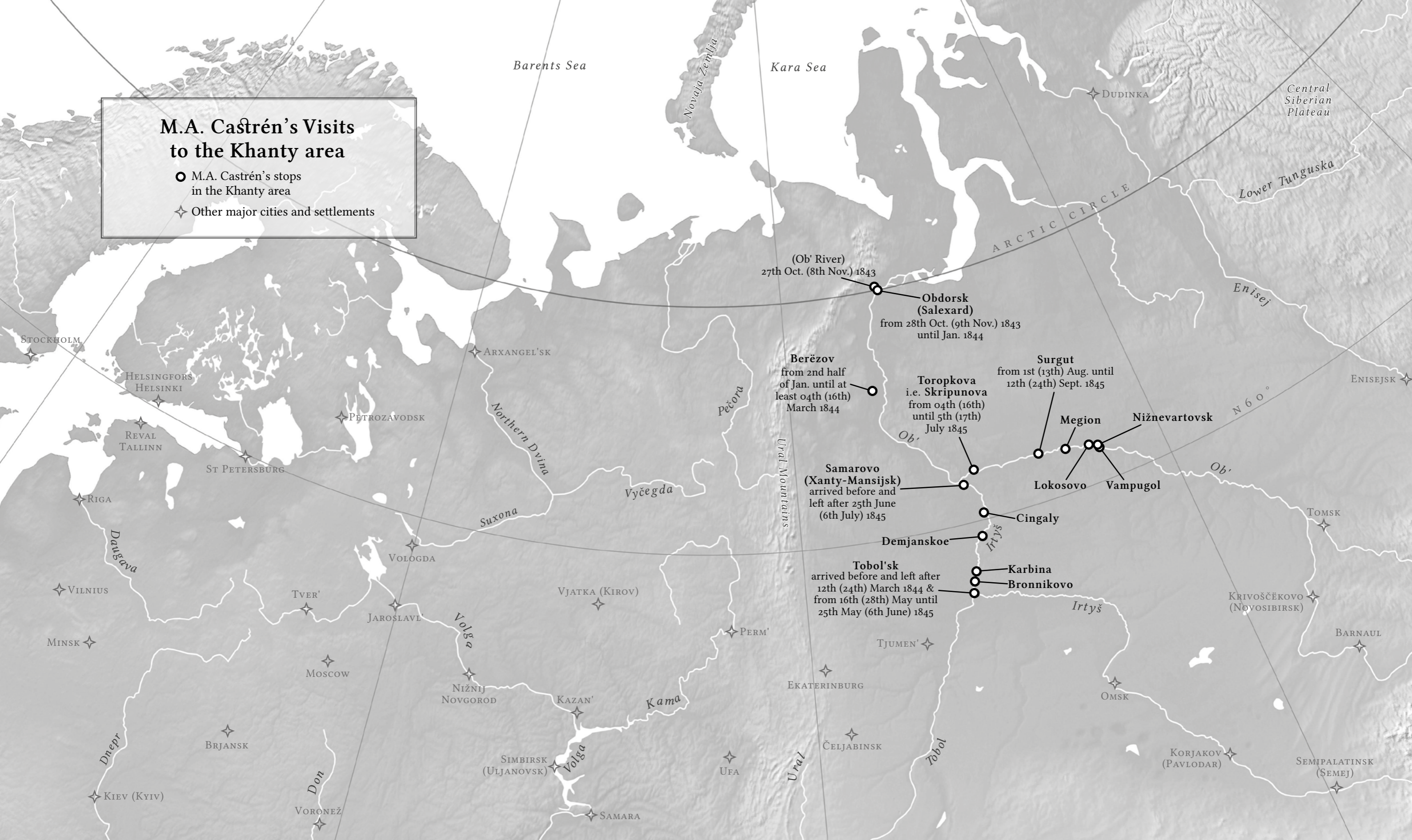
OSTIACICA

*Edited by Ulla-Maija Forsberg*

MANUSCRIPTA CASTRENIANA  
LINGUISTICA V

# M.A. Castrén's Visits to the Khanty area

- M.A. Castrén's stops in the Khanty area
- ✦ Other major cities and settlements



Manuscripta Castréniana  
Linguística V

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Matthias Alexander Castrén

OSTIACICA

*Edited by Ulla-Maija Forsberg*

Finno-Ugrian Society

Helsinki 2018

## Contents

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Matthias Alexander Castrén:  
*Ostiacica*

*Manuscripta Castréniana*  
*Linguistica V*

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Manuscripta Castréniana: A General Preface to the Series <i>by Juha Janhunen</i>	6
Editor’s Foreword <i>by Ulla-Maija Forsberg</i>	9
<b>Short Grammatical Description of Khanty</b> <i>by Ulla-Maija Forsberg</i>	11
<b>Matthias Alexander Castrén: ATTEMPT AT AN OSTYAK GRAMMAR WITH A SHORT WORD LIST</b> <i>Edited and commentary by Ulla-Maija Forsberg</i>	
Preface	41
I Phonetics (Sounds)	47
II Morphology	70
Ostyak Word List	123
Abbreviations	172
References	174

### Manuscripta Castreniana: A General Preface to the Series

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Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) was by far the most significant Finnish linguist of the 19th century. When he died at the young age of 38, he left behind a huge corpus of field data, collected by himself during prolonged expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Arctic Russia and Siberia from 1838 to 1849. In the short periods of time he spent in an academic environment, he was largely occupied by university teaching and social activities and had little opportunity to synthesize his collections, a situation aggravated by his rapidly progressing and ultimately fatal illness. Therefore, and in spite of his active production of specialized articles, reviews and travel reports during his lifetime, a major part of his scholarly heritage remained unpublished when he died. Ever since, the fate of this legacy has stood in the focus of Finnish linguistics.

In Castrén’s lifetime it was said that he had “written the grammars of fourteen languages”, but the actual number of separate idioms documented by him is much larger, coming close to thirty. Moreover, although his main focus was the Samoyedic branch of Uralic, he also recorded several Finno-Ugrian idioms, including varieties of Finnic, Saamic, Mari, Komi and Khanty, as well as languages and dialects belonging to the Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic and Yeniseic families. With most of these languages, he was the first to collect any kind of coherent grammatical information, which, moreover, was complemented by lexical collections of varying sizes. Not surprisingly, he is today regarded as the founder of not only Uralic, but also Altaic and Palaeosiberian linguistics. An important feature of his approach was that he worked in the framework of a consistent linguistic theory, close to what is today known as “basic grammar”.

It has to be added, however, that Castrén was not only a linguist, but a multidisciplinary scholar equally versatile in the fields of ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history and human geography. Although he had both predecessors and successors, he is with good reason honoured as the pioneer and foremost representative of the Finnish school of linguistic anthropology, a tradition that was formed several decades before the international breakthrough of the field. Using a more modern term, his way of looking into languages in their overall extra-linguistic context, would correspond to the concept of “rich grammar”. Considering his work on mythology, especially the study of shamanism, he was also the founding figure of the so-called “Northern Paradigm” of mythological studies, a branch of comparative religion whose significance has only recently been fully understood.

Folklore and mythology were discussed by Castrén in a number of public lectures he gave at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki. Linguistic topics were treated by him in a series of academic dissertations, presented between 1839 and 1850. In addition, he authored grammatical sketches with vocabularies on Izhma Komi and Meadow Mari, published in Latin in 1844 and 1845, respectively. After his last expedition he started working on a new series of German-language academic grammars to which he gave the general title *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*. The series was authorized and financed by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, and the first volume, on Khanty, appeared in 1849. In his remaining two years, Castrén managed to complete the manuscript for a second volume, on Samoyedic.

With Castrén’s death, however, the future of his grammars was in danger, and the series would have been discontinued had it not been taken up by his colleague Anton Schiefner (1817–1879). From 1852 to 1861, Schiefner rapidly completed the project by editing and publishing, not only the Samoyedic volume, but also five other volumes of Castrén’s linguistic field data, as well as a reissue of the Khanty volume. To these, he added the German editions of five volumes of Castrén’s lectures and earlier publications, including letters and travelogues, which were also being made available in parallel Swedish versions under the name *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, published between 1852 and 1870. This 12-volume international series immediately consolidated Castrén’s reputation and has been used as a basic tool of reference ever since—even for languages for which more extensive descriptions have subsequently become available.

In spite of the extremely valuable contribution made by Schiefner to Castrén’s legacy, it was almost immediately realized that even more needed to be done. For one thing, there remained important parts of Castrén’s materials that were not included in the series published by Schiefner. Moreover, Schiefner, who was not a field linguist, occasionally made mistakes when reading and interpreting Castrén’s handwritten materials, which were not always in an accessible format. The idea of republishing Castrén’s data in a more complete and correct form was first suggested as early as the 19th century, and this became one of the long-term objectives of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which was founded in Helsinki in 1883 with the specific goal of continuing Castrén’s work in the field of Uralic and Altaic linguistics and ethnography.

During the more than 125 years of its existence, the Finno-Ugrian Society has, indeed, cultivated Castrén’s legacy by both financing new field work by many generations of scholars and by publishing the results of their work. However, the full publication of Castrén’s manuscript materials has not been realized until now. After the idea had once again been mentioned in connection with the 110th anniversary of the

Society in 1993, the plan of opening a new series of publications under the name *Manuscripta Castreniana* gradually ripened. This series is scheduled to contain a critical edition of all relevant parts of Castrén's manuscripts, including both linguistic descriptions and non-linguistic materials. The series will consist of both printed volumes and digital materials available on the website of the project.

In accordance with the original agreement with the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, Castrén's manuscripts were placed in the library of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki, where Schiefner sent them after completing his work on them. For unknown reasons, however, a small part of the materials remained in the archives of the Academy in St Petersburg. The academy also received Castrén's important ethnographic collections from Siberia. The materials kept in Helsinki have been bound into 33 mainly folio-sized volumes, which, over the years, have been preliminarily catalogued and microfilmed. Unfortunately, the work has never been professionally completed, which is why the volumes still offer surprises to those delving into them.

For the new series of publications, the Finno-Ugrian Society has mobilized a representative team of experts. The volumes, published in a free order, are divided into three sections: *Linguistica*, *Realia* and *Personalia*. The *Linguistica* section will contain Castrén's grammatical and lexical data on all the languages he documented. The *Realia* section will contain his notes on extralinguistic realities, including ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history and geography. Finally, the *Personalia* section will contain his letters and travelogues, as well as a biography with a full bibliography of his works. The contents of all the volumes are annotated on the basis of today's level of scholarship. In this connection, it may be recalled that large parts of Castrén's materials, including, in particular, those dealing with subsequently extinct languages, are the only extant documents on the topics they deal with.

English was chosen as the language of this series in order to give Castrén's oeuvre the visibility it deserves among the international and Anglo-Saxon readership for whom English is the first language of scholarly communication. The Swedish and German editions, published in the 19th century, will, of course, retain their historical value, but they are inevitably losing their relevance as sources of primary data. For practical reasons, though perhaps unfortunate for some readers, certain parts of the primary material in our new series are made available only in the original languages, that is, mainly Swedish. This is particularly the case with Castrén's letters and travelogues. Even so, the present series will provide a basis for the future translation of these materials into other languages, including English.

Juha Janhunen

## Editor's Foreword

### *The Khanty Grammar*

During his second journey in 1845–49, Castrén worked for less than three weeks with Khanty informants. This happened in the summer of 1845 after he had arrived in Siberia. He travelled from Perm' to Ekaterinburg and further on to Tobol'sk, where he took the boat down along the river Irtyš towards Samarovo (today Chanty-Mansijsk). During this boat trip, he had an opportunity to make notes on the southern Khanty dialects.

From Samarovo, Castrén travelled down the river Ob' and worked with Forest Nenets, until he returned to the town of Surgut by the end of summer. There he checked his notes on Khanty and also collected additional material from the dialects in the Surgut area. During this couple of weeks, he outlined the Khanty grammar (in Swedish) and his companion Bergstadi translated it into German. After Castrén returned from his journey in 1849, he was able to check the German translation and oversee the printing of the book.

In this critical edition, most of the commentary is made based on the printed book, here translated into English. There are only minor comments on the differences between the printed version and the manuscript, as Castrén seemingly had control over the printing process, and thus the printed version can be regarded as his own synthesis of the grammatical and lexical notes.

### *The Manuscript*

Castrén's manuscript Vol. V in the Finnish National Library consists of grammatical notes (Förrarbeten till "Versuch einer Ostjakischen Sprachlehre"), the manuscript in Swedish (121 pages) and the German translation by Bergstadi (170 pages). In the German version, many paragraphs are written twice or even three times, of which the last has been printed and the first and possible second have been crossed out.

The printed version is a relatively true edition of the German translation (with minor differences). This, again, is not only a translation but also an edition. The differences between the Swedish and German versions come mainly from the order of presentation of the phonological modifications. The Swedish version also includes slightly more paradigms.

The Ostyak lexical collections make up Castrén's manuscript Vol. VI in the Finnish National Library. They consist of "Ostjakisk ord-förteckning" (Ostyak word list), 270 pages in a provisory alphabetical

order, Khanty – Swedish; “Ostjakisk ord-register” (Ostyak word register), pp. 271–330 ordered by theme/parts of speech; “Ostjakiskt Vocabularium” (Ostyak Vocabulary) pp. 331–381, again ordered alphabetically, translated into Swedish and also with etymological commentary (as in the printed version); as well as several “preparatory” versions of the word lists (383–545). Pages 547–629 consist of grammatical notes and paradigms. The original of the Khanty – German printed version is on pages 631–687 of manuscript Vol. VI.

### *The Structure of the Critical Edition*

In what follows, I will first present a short outline of Khanty grammar as it is understood today. The presentation is based on the southern dialects, which were studied after Castrén (and the Hungarian scholars Antal Reguly and József Pápay), especially by the Finnish scholar K.F. Karjalainen, who collected an extensive material from these dialects in the beginning of the 20th century (Karjalainen 1948, 1964, Vértes 1975). The dialects became extinct by the second half of the 20th century. The Surgut dialects, which also play a role in Castrén's grammar, are spoken still today, and have been extensively studied by the Hungarian scholars László Honti (e.g. Honti 1977) and Márta Csepregi (e.g. Csepregi 1998), also in the field. The present knowledge of these dialects is based mainly on their work.

The main part of the book is the translation of the printed grammar with comments presented in marginal notes. It has double page numbering: running page numbers at the bottom of the page and original page numbers from the printed grammar from 1849 at the top.

The final part consists of Castrén's word list (“Wörterverzeichnis”). The word list is commented on with a special method of its own, and this method is described in the beginning of the list (page 78/124).

All references used in the grammar parts (both the modern and the commented grammar) and in the word list are presented together at the end of the volume.

### *Acknowledgements*

I wish to thank the University of Helsinki for providing me with a sabbatical year after seven years of administrative work as a full-time dean and vice rector. I am also grateful to the Humboldt University in Berlin, which allowed me to work in the inspiring atmosphere at the Institute of Nordic Studies (Nordeuropa-Institut) and where I could feel the strong tradition in Ostyakology, Khanty studies, based on the work of Wolfgang Steinitz and his colleagues.

In Helsinki, December 2017

The editor

## Short Grammatical Description of Khanty

*Ulla-Maija Forsberg*

### *Phonology*

There is a clear tendency in the Khanty dialects, in phonology as well as at the other levels of grammar, for the eastern dialects to show a remarkable complexity compared to the other dialect groups. The northern dialects show a great simplification and the southern dialects fall somewhere in between.

The consonant system in Proto-Khanty was, according to Honti (1984: 25), the following:

Labial	<i>p</i>		<i>m</i>			<i>w</i>
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	
Palatal			<i>č</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ʎ</i>	<i>r</i>
Velar	<i>k</i>		<i>ć</i>	<i>ń</i>	<i>ľ</i>	<i>j</i>
				<i>ŋ</i>		<i>ʏ</i>

There was also a labial velar consonant (fricative) \**ɣ*<sup>o</sup>, which occurred only in one position (function): as the personal marker of the first person plural, as well as in possessive suffixes and in the verbal personal endings.

The essential changes from Proto-Khanty to the Surgut, southern (Irtyš and northern (O = Obdorsk) dialects are the following:

1. In front of a velar vowel, word-initial *k* changed into *χ* in all the western dialects, i.e. in the southern (Irtyš) and the northern dialects. There is thus a difference between the Irtyš/O and Surgut dialects in the words that begin with *χ* in Irtyš/O and *k* in Surgut.
2. The Proto-Khanty lateral fricative *ʌ* was (and still is) preserved in the Surgut dialects whereas in the Irtyš dialects it merged with *t* and in O with *l*. The original palatalized lateral \**ʎ* changed into a lateral palatalized fricative in Surgut and a palatalized *ʎ* in the South. The Proto-Khanty *ʎ* lost its cacuminality in the most dialects, taking the place of the unmarked lateral in the consonant system.

3. The Proto-Khanty  $\check{c}$  was preserved in all positions in the Surgut dialects, while in the Irtyš dialect it changed into  $\check{s}$  in when it precedes a consonant. In other positions, it was preserved in the Irtyš dialect, too. The palatalized affricate  $\acute{c}$  changed into  $\acute{t}$  in both the eastern (including Surgut) and southern (Irtyš) dialects. In O,  $\check{c}$  is represented by  $s$  and  $\acute{c}$  by  $\acute{s}$ .
4. In the Surgut dialects, the labial vowels  $o$  and  $\ddot{o}$  labialized the velar consonant following them, resulting in  $*k > k^\circ$ ,  $*\gamma > \gamma^\circ$ ,  $*\eta > \eta^\circ$ . In Proto-West-Khanty (predecessor of the southern [Irtyš] and northern dialects), the velar fricative  $*\gamma$  between vowels changed into  $w$  after a labial front vowel, while in other positions both  $*k$  and  $*\gamma$  became a voiceless fricative  $\chi$ . When  $n$  followed in the next syllable,  $*\gamma$  changed into nasal  $\eta$ . In word-final positions in nouns, it disappeared.
5. The marker of the first person plural  $*\gamma^\circ$  was preserved in some of the Surgut dialects, whereas in other dialects, including Irtyš, it changed into  $w$ .

The consonant phonemes in Surgut (Tremjugan, Trj) and Irtyš dialects are thus the following (Honti 1984: 26):

Trj	$p$			$m$			$w$
	$t$	$s$		$n$	$l$	$\Lambda$	
			$\check{c}$	$\eta$		$r$	
	$\acute{t}$			$\acute{n}$	$l'$	$\acute{r}$	$j$
	$k$		$\eta$			$\gamma$	
	$k^\circ$		$\eta^\circ$			$\gamma^\circ$	
Irtyš	$p$			$m$			$w$
	$t$	$s$		$n$	$l$		
		$\check{s}$	$\check{c}$	$\eta$		$r$	
	$\acute{t}$			$\acute{n}$			$j$
	$k$	$\chi$		$\eta$			$\gamma$

The phonological system of the northernmost dialects (O) has undergone a remarkable simplification. In the consonant system, the only opposition left is the palatalization of the dental consonants. The cacuminal row has disappeared.

O	$p$			$m$			$w$
	$t$	$s$		$n$	$l$		
						$r$	
	$\acute{t}$	$\acute{s}$		$\acute{n}$	$l'$		$j$
	$k$	$\chi$		$\eta$			

The vowel system in Proto-Khanty was the same as in the modern easternmost dialects (Vach and Vasjugan). It consists of 15 phonemes in the first syllable, 11 full vowels and four reduced or short vowels. The full vowels can also be considered to have a lax articulation, whereas the reduced ones have a firm articulation (Honti 1984: 19).

Full	$i$	$u$	$e$	$\ddot{u}$
	$a$	$\ddot{o}$	$\ddot{e}$	$\ddot{\ddot{o}}$
	$\check{a}$	$\check{o}$	$\check{e}$	$\check{\ddot{o}}$
Reduced				

In Surgut, the number of reduced vowels has increased, while the number of full vowels has decreased. The number of vowel phonemes that occur in the first syllable is 13. In non-initial syllables, Trj has eight vowels and the rest of the Surgut dialects have four. This is because the original (Proto-Khanty) velar/palatal vowel harmony is preserved in the easternmost dialects and the Trj dialect of the Surgut group. The other Surgut dialects, as well as the Irtyš and the northern dialects, have lost it (Honti 1984: 20).

	1st syllable			2nd syllable		(other Surgut dialects)
Trj	$i$	$u$	$e$	$i$	$e$	$i$
		$\ddot{o}$	$\ddot{e}$	$\ddot{e}$	$\ddot{e}$	$e$
		$\check{a}$	$\check{a}$	$a$	$\check{a}$	$\check{a}$
		$\check{o}$	$\check{e}$	$\check{a}$	$\check{a}$	$\check{a}$
		$\check{\ddot{o}}$	$\check{\ddot{e}}$	$\check{\ddot{a}}$	$\check{\ddot{a}}$	$\check{\ddot{a}}$
		$\check{\check{a}}$	$\check{\check{a}}$	$\check{\check{a}}$	$\check{\check{a}}$	$\check{\check{a}}$

The southern dialects show a somewhat simplified picture. The number of vowel phonemes in initial syllables is 11 and in non-initial syllables, four (Honti 1984: 21):

	1st syllable			2nd syllable
DN	$u$	$\ddot{u}$	$i$	$i$
	$o$		$e$	$e$
	$a$		$\check{a}$	$\check{a}$
	$\check{o}$		$\check{e}$	$\check{e}$
	$\check{\check{a}}$		$\check{\check{a}}$	$\check{\check{a}}$
				$\check{\check{a}}$



In O, the vowel system is even simpler, consisting of only ten vowels in the initial and four vowels in non-initial syllables. It is, interestingly enough, practically the same as the vowel system of the northern Mansi dialect (despite the two having arrived at the present state through very different historical developments) (Honti 1984: 22):

	1st syllable		2nd syllable
O	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
	<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>a</i>
			<i>ə</i>
	<i>ǔ</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	
	<i>õ</i>	<i>ã</i>	

### Morphology

Khanty has three numbers – singular, dual and plural – in the absolute nominal declension and in all personal categories (possessive suffixes of nouns and verbal personal endings). In the absolute nominal declension, the singular is unmarked, while the dual suffix goes back to Proto-Khanty *\*kVl* and the plural suffix *-t* derives from Proto-Uralic.

Dialect	Trj	Other Sur	DN/DT	O
SG	∅	∅	∅	∅
DU	<i>γə̃n/γə̃n</i>	<i>γə̃n</i>	<i>γə̃n</i>	<i>ηə̃n</i>
PL	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>

In the possessive declension, the dual suffixes represent Proto-Khanty *\*kVl* and the plural marker goes back to Proto-Khanty *\*l*. The dual suffix is likely a combination of the original Uralic dual *\*k* (which appears e.g. in the absolute dual *-γ* in Mansi) and a plural *\*l* of obscure origin.

(DN/DT = Demjanka, Southern/Irtyš, Ko = Konda, Southern/Irtyš)

Dialect	Trj	Other Sur	DN/DT	Ko	O
SG	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
DU	<i>γə̃λ/γə̃λ</i>	<i>γə̃λ</i>	<i>γət</i>	<i>ηət</i>	<i>ηil</i>
PL	<i>λ</i>	<i>λ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>l</i>

E.g.

O	<i>ewem</i> 'my daughter (1)'	<i>ewenilam</i> 'my 2 daughters'	<i>ewilam</i> 'my daughters (PL)'
Ko	<i>ewem</i> 'my daughter (1)'	<i>ewenətam</i> 'my 2 daughters'	<i>ewitam</i> 'my daughters (PL)'
Trj	<i>wälim</i> 'my reindeer (1)'	<i>wäliγə̃läm</i> 'my 2 reindeer'	<i>wäliläm</i> 'my reindeer (PL)'

### Possessive Paradigms

Khanty makes use of possessive suffixes indicating the person of the possessor and the number of the possessed (singular, dual or plural). The full possessive paradigm (in the nominative) thus consists of 27 forms. Of these forms, the second and third dual and second plural (2DU 3DU 2PL) have merged into a single suffix. This is a feature common to all Khanty and Mansi dialects, even if the morphology of the suffixes varies. The possessive forms can further be inflected in the nominal cases.

(O = Northern, Ko = Konda, Southern/Irtyš, Trj = Eastern/Surgut)

O *ewi* 'girl, daughter' (Honti 1984: 140)

	SG possessed	DU possessed	PL possessed
1SG	<i>ewem</i>	<i>ewenilam</i>	<i>ewilam</i>
2SG	<i>ewen</i>	<i>ewinilan</i>	<i>ewilan</i>
3SG	<i>ewel</i>	<i>ewinilal</i>	<i>ewilal</i>
1DU	<i>ewemə̃n</i>	<i>ewinilə̃mən</i>	<i>ewilə̃mən</i>
2DU	<i>ewan</i>	<i>ewinilə̃n</i>	<i>ewilə̃n</i>
3DU	<i>ewan</i>	<i>ewinilə̃n</i>	<i>ewilə̃n</i>
1PL	<i>ewew</i>	<i>ewinilə̃w</i>	<i>ewilə̃w</i>
2PL	<i>ewan</i>	<i>ewinilə̃n</i>	<i>ewilə̃n</i>
3PL	<i>ewel</i>	<i>ewinilal</i>	<i>ewilal</i>

Ko *ewə̃* 'girl, daughter' (Honti 1984: 132)

	SG possessed	DU possessed	PL possessed
1SG	<i>ewem</i>	<i>ewenətam</i>	<i>ewitam</i>
2SG	<i>ewen</i>	<i>ewenətan</i>	<i>ewitan</i>
3SG	<i>ewit</i>	<i>ewenətat</i>	<i>ewitat</i>
1DU	<i>ewemə̃n</i>	<i>ewenətə̃mən</i>	<i>ewitə̃mən</i>
2DU	<i>ewetə̃n</i>	<i>ewenətə̃n</i>	<i>ewitə̃n</i>
3DU	<i>ewetə̃n</i>	<i>ewenətə̃n</i>	<i>ewitə̃n</i>
1PL	<i>ewew</i>	<i>ewenətə̃w</i>	<i>ewitə̃w</i>
2PL	<i>ewetə̃n</i>	<i>ewenətə̃n</i>	<i>ewitə̃n</i>
3PL	<i>ewet</i>	<i>ewenətat</i>	<i>ewitat</i>

Trj wǎli ‘reindeer’ (Honti 1984: 130)

	SG possessed	DU possessed	PL possessed
1SG	wǎlim	wǎliyǎläm	wǎliläm
2SG	wǎle	wǎliyǎlä	wǎlilä
3SG	wǎli	wǎliyǎ	wǎli
1DU	wǎlimən	wǎliyǎlämən	wǎlilämən
2DU	wǎlin	wǎliyǎläən	wǎliläən
3DU	wǎlin	wǎliyǎläən	wǎliläən
1PL	wǎliy°	wǎliyǎläy°	wǎliläy°
2PL	wǎlin	wǎliyǎläən	wǎliläən
3PL	wǎli	wǎliyǎlä	wǎlilä

The 1SG suffix *\*-m* goes back to Proto-Uralic and has cognates in all of the related languages. The same element of the first person is included in the 1DU suffix, which additionally has a marker *-n*. The whole suffix *\*-mVn* can be traced back to Proto-Uralic, as it has cognates in Mansi (N *āyimen* ‘the daughter of us two’), Saami (N *nieidaime* id.) and Samoyedic (Nenets *ngənomyih* ‘the boat of us two’). The 1PL suffix originates from Proto-Ugric. Honti (1985, 1998) gives a reconstruction consisting of a round vowel and *-k* resulting in the Ob-Ugric languages in *-k°* and further in something identical to the modern Surgut form *-əy°*. In most of the Khanty dialects, as well as in Mansi, the suffix is represented by *-w* (*-əw*, *-uw*) in possessive suffixes (Mansi N *χāpəw* ‘our boat’) as well as in the verbal conjugation as a personal suffix (see pp. 24–25). In Hungarian, this Proto-Ugric personal suffix appears in its most original form, round vowel + *-k*, in the verbal conjugation, as the suffix of 1PL in the objective (definite) conjugation (e.g. *adjuk* ‘we give it’).

The form of the 2SG suffix *-n* has its origin in the verbal conjugation. In the conjugation, *-n* has a wider distribution, extending throughout an area where the Ob-Ugric languages are the core and reaching to Komi in the west and Samoyedic in the east. In Ob-Ugric, this 2SG *-n* has further occupied the second person pronouns, which did not occur in the neighbouring languages (Kulonen 2001a). The 2DU suffix goes back to *\*-tVn* (shown p. 15 in the southern [Ko] paradigm) and is parallel to the 1DU suffix *\*-mVn* (cf. Saami N *nieidade* ‘the daughter of you two’). The 2PL suffix originally had only the *-n* element, which refers only to person.

The three persons 2DU, 3DU and 2PL have merged in all of the dialects, but the merging has gone in different directions in different dialects. In Ko (southern), the suffix clearly has its origins in the 2DU suffix (as it is exactly the same as in Saami, for instance), while in O and Trj it is not possible to say which is the original function, 3DU or

2PL. As *-n* likely originates from verbal inflection and the second person *singular*, it is more likely that the *-n* (*in ~ an*) is the original 3DU suffix consisting of the dual marker of the possessive suffixes without a personal element, which would be a Proto-Khanty *\*-l-* (PU *\*s*). This, in turn, appears in the 3SG and 3PL suffixes with its regular sound correspondences (O *-l*, Ko *-t*, Trj *-l*).

#### Nominal Case System

The nominal case system in Proto-Finno-Ugric was the following (Janhunen 1982, Korhonen 1991)

Nominative	∅	Locative	<i>*-nA</i>
Accusative	<i>*-m</i>	Ablative	<i>*-tA</i>
Genitive	<i>*-n</i>	Lative	<i>*-k, ?*-n, ?*-j</i>

In the first phase of Proto-Ugric, the locative and the ablative merged into a case, which Korhonen calls the prolocative (Korhonen 1991):

Nominative	∅	Prolocative	<i>*-nA, *-tA</i>
Accusative	<i>*-m</i>	Lative	<i>*-k, ?*-n</i>

In the next phase (Proto-Ugric II), a new ablative case emerged, probably from a local derivative element. The accusative case (*\*-t*) comes from the pronominal declension (still occurring in this function in Khanty, see p. 19–); modern Hungarian uses this suffix in the accusative in nominal declension. At this stage, three new local cases were also formed on the basis of a series of postpositions (root *\*-nV*):

Nominative	∅	Locative	<i>*-nA, *-tA</i>	Locative II	<i>*-nVt(A)</i>
Accusative	<i>*-m/*-t</i>	Ablative	<i>*-l(A)</i>	Ablative II	<i>*-nVl</i>
		Lative	<i>*-k</i>	Lative II	<i>*-nVk</i>

In Proto-Khanty (Honti 1984: 40), the old case suffixes were represented as follows:

Nominative	∅	
Lative (Dative)	<i>*-a/*-ä</i>	< PFU, PUgric II Lative <i>*-k</i>
Locative	<i>*-na/*-nä</i>	< PFU Locative, PUgric II Locative <i>*-nA</i>
Instructive-Final	<i>*-at/*-ät</i>	< PFU Ablative, PUgric II Locative <i>*-tA</i>
Instrumental-Comitative	<i>*-nat/*-nät</i>	< PUgric Locative II <i>*-nVt</i>
Translative	<i>*-ya/*-yä</i>	< PFU, PUgric II Lative <i>*-k</i>

Additionally, there was an abessive case (\*-ləy/\*-lây) of unknown origin. The ablative was expressed, as in most of the modern Khanty dialects, with a postposition.

In the eastern dialects, the Proto-Khanty system was expanded with the approximative (\*-pa/\*-pâ (VVj) ~ \*-nam/\*-näm (Sur), distributive (\*-tältä/\*-tâltä) and expletive (\*-pti/\*-pti) cases, all of which are still preserved in the Surgut dialects. The ablative postposition was agglutinated into a suffix. In the southern (Irtyš) dialects, the function of the instrumental-comitative was taken over by the instructive-final and locative, while the functions of the translative were replaced by the lative. In addition, the abessive lost its productivity. The same happened to the abessive in the northern dialects: the locative took over the functions of both the instrumental-comitative and the instructive. The translative disappeared in all northern dialects except Obdorsk. All these steps have led to very different case systems depending on the dialect: the Surgut dialects have a diverse system of 11 cases and have thus approximately doubled the number of cases from the earlier phases and proto-languages, whereas the northern Khanty dialects today have the smallest number of nominal cases in the entire Uralic language family. The modern systems are the following (to show the dialectal variation in the case systems, the Kaz = Kazym dialect from the northern area as well as V = Vach dialect from the eastern area are also presented, Kr = Krasnojarsk, Southern/Irtyš):

## O (Honti 1984: 139)

Nominative	<i>ewi</i> 'girl'	<i>ewəŋən</i> '2 girls'	<i>ewet</i> '(PL) girls'
Lative-Dative-Loc.	<i>ewina</i>	<i>ewəŋəna</i>	<i>ewetna</i>
Translative	<i>ewəji</i>	(? <i>ewəŋənni</i> )	? <i>ewetti</i>

## Kaz (Honti 1984: 136)

Nominative	<i>ewi</i> 'girl'	<i>ewəŋən</i> '2 girls'	<i>ewet</i> '(PL) girls'
Lative-Dative	<i>ewija</i>	<i>ewəŋəna</i>	<i>eweta</i>
Locative	<i>ewijən</i>	<i>ewəŋənən</i>	<i>ewetən</i>

## Kr (Honti 1984: 133)

Nominative	<i>ewə</i> 'girl'	<i>ewəŋən</i> '2 girls'	<i>ewit</i> '(PL) girls'
Lative-Dative	<i>ewəja</i>	<i>ewəŋəna</i>	<i>ewita</i>
Locative	<i>ewənə</i>	<i>ewəŋənnə</i>	<i>ewitna</i>
Ablative	<i>ewiwə(t)</i>	<i>ewəŋəniwə(t)</i>	<i>ewitiwə</i>
Instrum.-Comitative	<i>ewəjat</i>	<i>ewəŋənat</i>	<i>ewitat</i>
Abessive	<i>ewəta</i>	?	?

## Trj (Honti 1984: 129)

Nominative	<i>imi</i> 'woman'	<i>imiyən</i> '2 women'	<i>imit</i> '(PL) women'
Lative-Dative	<i>iməjä</i>	<i>imiyənä</i>	<i>imitä</i>
Locative	<i>iminə</i>	<i>imiyənnə</i>	<i>imitnä</i>
Ablative	<i>iməji</i>	<i>imiyəni</i>	<i>imiti</i>
Approximative	<i>iminäm</i>	<i>imiyənnäm</i>	<i>imitnäm</i>
Instructive-Final	<i>iməjät</i>	<i>imiyənät</i>	<i>imität</i>
Instrum.-Comitative	<i>iminät</i>	<i>imiyənnät</i>	<i>imitnät</i>
Translative	<i>imiyə</i>	<i>imiyənə</i>	<i>imityə</i>
Abessive	<i>imiyəλ</i>		
Expletive	<i>imipti</i>		? <i>imitəpti</i>

## V (Honti 1984: 123)

Nominative	<i>köt</i> 'hand'	<i>kötkən</i> '2 hands'	<i>kötət</i> '(PL) hands'
Lative-Dative	<i>kötä</i>	<i>kötkənä</i>	<i>kötətä</i>
Locative	<i>kötnə</i>	<i>kötkənä</i>	<i>kötətnə</i>
Ablative	<i>kötöy</i>	<i>kötkənöy</i>	<i>kötətöy</i>
Approximative	<i>kötpä, kötäpä</i> ( <i>kötkən(ä)pä</i> )		( <i>kötət(ä)pä</i> )
Instructive-Final	<i>kötə</i>	<i>kötkənə</i>	<i>kötətə</i>
Instrum.-Comitative	<i>kötnä(t)</i>	<i>kötkənnä(t)</i>	<i>kötətnät</i>
Translative	<i>kötəy</i>	( <i>kötkənəy</i> )	( <i>kötətəy</i> )
Abessive	<i>kötləy</i>	<i>kötkənləy</i>	<i>kötətləy</i>
Distributive	<i>kötältä</i>	?	?
Comparative	<i>kötniŋi(t)</i>	<i>kötkənniŋi(t)</i>	<i>kötətniŋi(t)</i>

## Pronominal Case System

The personal pronouns have three basic cases: nominative, accusative and dative. The nominative is represented by the personal pronoun stem, the accusative has the ending *-t* and the dative is formed with the possessive suffix added to the stem. This seems to have been the pronominal case system of Proto-Khanty. Many of the related Finno-Ugric languages show a similar use of pronoun stem + possessive suffix (or relics of the system) either as accusative (Mansi, Hungarian) or dative (Erzya, Mari, Komi, Udmurt), so it is probably an old feature and might be the first actual inflected form of personal pronouns in the development of PFU (Kulonen 2001b). An accusative case with the ending *-t* is also found in Hungarian (nominal inflection) and Finnish

(personal pronouns), but the historical relationship of these accusative suffixes is not quite clear, essentially because of the two different strategies in personal pronoun declension in the Uralic languages, the other being a series of uninflected pronouns with a round vowel (Singular \**mun* \**tun* \**sun*). Khanty, as well as Mansi, Hungarian, Mari and the Permic and Baltic-Finnic languages represent the first type: a stem with illabial vowel (singular \**mi*, \**ti*, ? \**si*) and declension with possessive suffixes. The three cases in O (northern), DN (southern) and Trj (eastern, Surgut) are the following (Honti 1984: 143, 148, 150):

Nominative			
	O	DN	Trj
1SG	<i>mä</i>	<i>mä(n)</i>	<i>mä</i>
2SG	<i>näŋ, něj</i>	<i>nöŋ</i>	<i>nöŋ</i>
3SG	<i>luw</i>	<i>těw</i>	<i>лěγ°</i>
1DU	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>
2DU	<i>nin</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>nin</i>
3DU	<i>lin</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>lin</i>
1PL	<i>muŋ</i>	<i>möŋ</i>	<i>měj</i>
2PL	<i>näŋ</i>	<i>něj</i>	<i>něj</i>
3PL	<i>luw(ət)</i>	<i>těj</i>	<i>лěγ</i>

#### Accusative

The accusative in the northernmost dialects (incl. O) has merged with the dative. Accusative on its own is present only in the Kazym dialect of the northern group (and therefore presented here). This basic accusative has the ending *-t* (*-at*, *-ät*, *-tī*):

	Kaz	DN	Trj
1SG	<i>mantī, manət(tī)</i>	<i>mänt</i>	<i>mänt</i>
2SG	<i>naŋət(tī)</i>	<i>nöŋət</i>	<i>nöŋət</i>
3SG	<i>lūwət(tī)</i>	<i>těwat</i>	<i>лěγ°ät</i>
1DU	<i>mīnət(tī)</i>	<i>minat</i>	<i>minät</i>
2DU	<i>nīnət(tī)</i>	<i>ninat</i>	<i>ninät</i>
3DU	<i>līnət(tī)</i>	<i>tinat</i>	<i>linät</i>
1PL	<i>mūŋət(tī)</i>	<i>möŋət</i>	<i>mějät</i>
2PL	<i>naŋət, nīnət(tī)</i>	<i>nějät</i>	<i>nějät</i>
3PL	<i>līwət(tī)</i>	<i>tějät</i>	<i>лěγät</i>

#### Dative

The basic form of the dative is stem + possessive suffix. It appears in its most original form in DN (southern dialects) and some of the northern dialects (Nizjam and Šerkaly). In Kazym, the possessive suffix can take the further lative suffix (*-a*). In Surgut, the *t*-element can show influence from the accusative, while in the easternmost dialects, the dative is formed, analogically to the nominal declension, with the stem + nominal lative ending.

	O (Acc.-Dat.)	Kaz	DN	Trj
1SG	<i>mänem</i>	<i>mänem(a)</i>	<i>měnem</i>	<i>mäntem</i>
2SG	<i>näŋen, nějən</i>	<i>näŋen(a)</i>	<i>nöŋen</i>	<i>nöŋäti</i>
3SG	<i>luwel</i>	<i>лūwel(a)</i>	<i>těwet</i>	<i>лěγ°äti</i>
1DU	<i>minemən</i>	<i>mīnemən</i>	<i>minemən</i>	<i>minäti</i>
2DU	<i>ninan</i>	<i>nīnan(a)</i>	<i>ninesən</i>	<i>ninäti</i>
3DU	<i>linan</i>	<i>līnan(a)</i>	<i>tinesən</i>	<i>linäti</i>
1PL	<i>muŋew, muŋiləw</i>	<i>mūŋew(a)</i>	<i>möŋew</i>	<i>mějäti</i>
2PL	<i>näŋilən, nějilən</i>	<i>näŋan(a)</i>	<i>nějəsən</i>	<i>nějäti</i>
3PL	<i>luwilal</i>	<i>лūwel(a)</i>	<i>tějət</i>	<i>лěγäti</i>

#### Secondary Cases

There are a variable number of secondary cases of pronouns in different dialects. Of these, the locative is the most widespread. A locative form of the 1SG pronoun is also attested in O (Honti 1984: 150):

	O	Locative DN	Trj
1SG	<i>mänemna</i>	<i>mänə</i>	<i>mänə</i>
2SG		<i>nöŋnə</i>	<i>nöŋnə</i>
3SG		<i>těwnə</i>	<i>лěγ°nə</i>
1DU		<i>minnə</i>	<i>minnə</i>
2DU		<i>ninnə</i>	<i>ninnə</i>
3DU		<i>tinnə</i>	<i>linnə</i>
1PL		<i>möŋnə</i>	<i>mějə</i>
2PL		<i>nějə</i>	<i>nějə</i>
3PL		<i>tějə</i>	<i>лěγə</i>

The eastern dialects, including Trj in the Surgut group, have a complete nominal case paradigm for the pronouns as well (Honti 1984: 143):

	Ablative	Approxim.	Comitative	Instrumental	Translative
1SG	<i>māniŋtem</i>	<i>māntemnām</i>	<i>māntemnāt</i>	<i>māntemāt</i>	<i>māntemyə</i>
2SG	<i>nōŋniŋte</i>	<i>nōŋātinām</i>	<i>nōŋātināt</i>	<i>nōŋātājāt</i>	
3SG	<i>Λēy°niŋtia</i>	<i>Λēy°ātinām</i>	<i>Λēy°ātināt</i>	<i>Λēy°ātājāt</i>	
1DU	<i>minniŋtiməŋ</i>	<i>minātinām</i>	<i>minātināt</i>	<i>minātājāt</i>	<i>minātiyə</i>
2DU	<i>ninniŋtin</i>	<i>ninātinām</i>	<i>ninātināt</i>	<i>ninātājāt</i>	<i>ninātiyə</i>
3DU	<i>linniŋtin</i>	<i>linātinām</i>	<i>linātināt</i>	<i>linātājāt</i>	<i>linātiyə</i>
1PL	<i>mēŋniŋtiy°</i>	<i>mēŋātinām</i>	<i>mēŋātināt</i>	<i>mēŋātājāt</i>	<i>mēŋātiyə</i>
2PL	<i>nēŋniŋtin</i>	<i>nēŋātinām</i>	<i>nēŋātināt</i>	<i>nēŋātājāt</i>	<i>nēŋātiyə</i>
3PL	<i>Λēyŋiŋtia</i>	<i>Λēyātinām</i>	<i>Λēyātināt</i>	<i>Λēyātājāt</i>	<i>Λēyātiyəö</i>

#### Verbal Inflection

The structure of inflected verbal forms is stem + (tense +) (genus/object +) person, e.g.:

Ko	
<i>pān-əŋ</i>	'I (did) put (smth)' [ <i>pān-</i> + 1SG]
<i>pān-t-əŋ</i>	'I (do) put (smth)' [ <i>pān-</i> + PRS + 1SG]
<i>pān-aj-əŋ</i>	'you were being put' [ <i>pān-</i> + PASS + 2SG]
<i>pān-t-aj-əŋ</i>	'you are being put' [ <i>pān-</i> + PRS + 2SG]
<i>pān-t-em</i>	'I (do) put it' [ <i>pān-</i> + PRS + SG<1SG]
<i>pān-t-əŋət-am</i>	'I (do) put them two' [ <i>pān-</i> + PRS + DU + 1SG (or <i>pān-</i> + PRS + DU<1SG)]
Trj	
<i>tu-Λ-əŋ</i>	'I bring (smth)' [ <i>tu-</i> + PRS + 1SG],
<i>tu-s-əŋ</i>	'I brought (smth)' [ <i>tu-</i> + IMPF + 1SG],
<i>tu-Λ-oj-əŋ</i>	'I am brought' [ <i>tu-</i> + PRS + PASS + 1SG],
<i>tu-Λ-əyäl-am</i>	'I bring them two' [ <i>tu-</i> + PRS + DU + 1SG (or: <i>tu-</i> + PRS + DU<1SG)],
<i>tu-s-Λ-a</i>	'you brought them' [ <i>tu-</i> + IMPF + PL + 2SG ( <i>tu-</i> + IMPF + PL<2SG)]

#### Tempus

The only tense common to all Khanty dialects is the present tense marked with the (Proto-Khanty) suffix *\*l*, the origin of which is unknown. Most of the dialects have a system of two tenses, the other one being either the unmarked perfect (as in the southern dialects) or the imperfect with the marker *-s-*. This imperfect marker also appears in Mansi and has cognates in Nenets and Mari. Originally, it was probably a present/past participle suffix, as can be seen in some Mansi dialects (Kulonen 2007: 184–188). Of the Surgut dialects, Trj has both perfect (unmarked) and imperfect (*-s-*). The easternmost dialects (Vach and Vasjugan) make use of two additional narrative past tenses.

Dialect	PKh	VVj	Sur	Sal	Irt	Ni	Sher	Kaz	Ber	O
Present	<i>*l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>Λ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Λ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
Perfect	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	–	–	–	–
Imperfect	<i>*s</i>	<i>s</i>	( <i>s</i> )	( <i>s</i> )	–	–	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>
Hist.perf.	–	<i>yäl</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hist.imperf.	–	<i>yäs</i>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

#### Genus

The passive voice marker in Proto-Khanty was *\*-Vj-*, where the quality of the vowel cannot be reconstructed on the basis of a large variation in the modern dialects. In absolute final position, i.e. in the 3SG where no personal suffix is attached, the passive form ends with a vowel (except in South). In Trj, it disappears in some other forms, too. The eastern dialects show a labial vowel (*-u*, *-uj-* in VVj, *-o*, *-oj-* in Surgut) and most of the northern dialects have *-a*, *-aj-*, as well as Irtyš, where also the 3SG forms (absolute final) include *-j*. Some (middle) dialects show a reduced vowel *-ə*, *-əj-*, (Kazym) *-i*, *-ij-*. As stated on p. 22, the passive marker is placed between the tense suffix and the personal ending, unlike e.g. Mansi, which has a syntactically identical passive voice with an (etymologically) different suffix, which was originally a derivative element and is placed in front of the tense suffix.

In the passive forms, the basic personal endings of the verb are also visible. As an introduction to the personal forms, the past passive paradigms from O *mă-* 'to give' ('I was given, you were given', etc.), Ko *pān-* 'to put, to place' ('I was placed', etc.) and Trj *Λāpət-* ~ *lipt-* 'to feed' ('I was fed', etc.) are provided (Honti 1984: 113, 115, 122):

	O 'to give'	Ko 'to place'	Trj 'to feed'
1SG	<i>mäsajəm</i>	<i>pänajəm</i>	<i>läpətojəm</i>
2SG	<i>mäsajən</i>	<i>pänajən</i>	<i>läpətsə</i>
3SG	<i>mäsa</i>	<i>pänaj</i>	<i>läpətsi</i>
1DU	<i>mäsajmən</i>	<i>pänajmən</i>	<i>läpətojmən</i>
2DU	<i>mäsajtən</i>	<i>pänajtən</i>	<i>läpətsotən</i>
3DU	<i>mäsajən</i>	<i>pänajən</i>	<i>läpətsiyən</i>
1PL	<i>mäsajəw</i>	<i>pänajəw</i>	<i>läpətojəy°</i>
2PL	<i>mäsajti</i>	<i>pänajtə</i>	<i>läpətsotəy</i>
3PL	<i>mäsajət</i>	<i>pänajət</i>	<i>läpətsät</i>

### Personal Endings

There are two sets of verbal personal endings in Khanty, one of which is used in passive (provided above) and the subjective conjugation (sentences without object or with a focalized object), and the other in the objective conjugation (with a topicalized object often lacking in the overt sentence [as a zero anaphora]). The personal suffix follows the tense suffix except in the unmarked perfect, where it follows the stem.

The verbal endings of the subjective conjugation show the basic and original personal elements. In Proto-Khanty, they were the following:

1SG	2SG	3SG	1DU	2DU	3DU	1PL	2PL	3PL
<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	∅	<i>-mən</i>	<i>-tən</i>	<i>-yən</i>	<i>-y°</i>	<i>-təy</i>	<i>-t</i>

The third person singular has no ending, while the third persons dual and plural represent the absolute dual and plural suffix, respectively. The second person dual shows the areal innovation of *-n* instead of the PU suffix *-t* for the second person (see p. 16), but the old element *-t-* is present in the second persons of dual and plural. In addition to the passive paradigm presented above, the following paradigms of the subjective conjugation illustrate the mechanism. Examples are given from both the present and the perfect tense (Synja [Syn] here representing the northernmost dialects and imperfect instead of perfect). It can be noted that the 3SG form ends in a tense suffix, but when there is no such suffix (as in the southern perfect), a special personal ending *-ot* is added. It is of relatively late origin, and interesting in the sense that it is the only occurrence of a round vowel in non-first syllables in the southern dialects. A similar occurrence is the passive suffix *-oj-* in Surgut.

### Present tense (Honti 1984: 111, 114, 121)

Syn *pön-* 'to place' Ko *pän-* 'to place' Trj *läpət-* 'to feed'

	Syn <i>pön-</i> 'to place'	Ko <i>pän-</i> 'to place'	Trj <i>läpət-</i> 'to feed'
1SG	<i>pönləm</i>	<i>päntəm</i>	<i>läpətələm</i>
2SG	<i>pönlən</i>	<i>päntən</i>	<i>läpətələn</i>
3SG	<i>pönəl</i>	<i>pänt</i>	<i>läpətəl</i>
1DU	<i>pönləmən</i>	<i>päntəmən</i>	<i>läpətələmən</i>
2DU	<i>pönlətən</i>	<i>päntətən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
3DU	<i>pönləyən (-tən)</i>	<i>päntəyən</i>	<i>läpətələyən</i>
1PL	<i>pönləw</i>	<i>pänttəw</i>	<i>läpətələy°</i>
2PL	<i>pönlətī</i>	<i>päntətə</i>	<i>läpətələtəy</i>
3PL	<i>pönlət</i>	<i>päntət</i>	<i>läpətələt</i>

### Perfect (Honti 1984: 112, 115, 121)

Syn *pön-* 'to place' Ko *pän-* 'to place' Trj *läpət-* 'to feed'

	Syn <i>pön-</i> 'to place'	Ko <i>pän-</i> 'to place'	Trj <i>läpət-</i> 'to feed'
1SG	<i>pötsəm</i>	<i>pänəm</i>	<i>läptəm</i>
2SG	<i>pötsən</i>	<i>pänən</i>	<i>läptən</i>
3SG	<i>pönəs</i>	<i>pänot</i>	<i>läpt</i>
1DU	<i>pötsəmən</i>	<i>pänmən</i>	<i>läptəmən</i>
2DU	<i>pötsətən</i>	<i>päntən</i>	<i>läptətən</i>
3DU	<i>pötsəyən</i>	<i>pänyən</i>	<i>läpetyən</i>
1PL	<i>pötsəw</i>	<i>pänəw</i>	<i>läptəy°</i>
2PL	<i>pötsətī</i>	<i>päntə</i>	<i>läptətəy</i>
3PL	<i>pötsət</i>	<i>pänət</i>	<i>läptət</i>

It can further be noted that as the subjective conjugation endings represent the original verbal inflection, there is also no syncretism between the 2DU 3DU and 2PL forms, as in the case of possessive suffixes. The only exception is Synja, where there is a parallel suffix 3DU *-tən* adopted from 2DU.

The objective conjugation suffixes are adapted from the possessive suffix paradigm. In addition, the elements (endings) referring to two (dual) or more (plural) objects are the same as those denoting to DU or PL possessed in the possessive paradigm. The only exception to this is the SG<3SG suffix in the easternmost dialects, which use *-tə* instead of the expected *-l*. The objective conjugation is essentially used when there is a topicalized non-overt object in the sentence (zero anaphora, or rather the object represented by the objective conjugation suffix in the verb), but it can be used with an overt object as well. The idea of topicality instead of the former analysis based on the definiteness of the object comes from Mansi and the analysis made by Virtanen (2015).

Sample paradigms from the following dialects illustrate the similarity between the objective conjugation and possessive suffixes (Honti 1984: 111–122):

O <i>mǎ</i> - 'to give' (present)			
	SG object	DU object	PL object
1SG	<i>mǎlem</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilam</i>	<i>mǎllam</i>
2SG	<i>mǎlen</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilan</i>	<i>mǎllan</i>
3SG	<i>mǎlli</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲili</i>	<i>mǎlli</i>
1DU	<i>mǎlemən</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilmən</i>	<i>mǎlləmən</i>
2DU	<i>mǎllən</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilən</i>	<i>mǎllən</i>
3DU	<i>mǎllən</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilən</i>	<i>mǎllən</i>
1PL	<i>mǎlew</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲiləw</i>	<i>mǎlləw</i>
2PL	<i>mǎllən</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilən</i>	<i>mǎllən</i>
3PL	<i>mǎlət</i>	<i>mǎl̄ɲilal</i>	<i>mǎllal</i>

O <i>mǎ</i> - 'to give' (preterite/imperfect)			
	SG object	DU object	PL object
1SG	<i>mǎsem</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilam</i>	<i>mǎslam</i>
2SG	<i>mǎsen</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilan</i>	<i>mǎslan</i>
3SG	<i>mǎsli</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲili</i>	<i>mǎsli</i>
1DU	<i>mǎsemən</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilmən</i>	<i>mǎsləmən</i>
2DU	<i>mǎslən</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilən</i>	<i>mǎslən</i>
3DU	<i>mǎslən</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilən</i>	<i>mǎslən</i>
1PL	<i>mǎsew</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲiləw</i>	<i>mǎsləw</i>
2PL	<i>mǎslən</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilən</i>	<i>mǎslən</i>
3PL	<i>mǎsət</i>	<i>mǎs̄ɲilal</i>	<i>mǎslal</i>

Syn <i>pön</i> - 'to place' (present)		
	SG object	DU/PL object
1SG	<i>pönlem</i>	<i>pönləl(l)am</i>
2SG	<i>pönlen</i>	<i>pönləl(l)an</i>
3SG	<i>pönləl(li)</i>	<i>pönləl(li)</i>
1DU	<i>pönlemən</i>	<i>pönləl(m)ən</i>
2DU	<i>pönləl(l)ən</i>	<i>pönləl(l)ən</i>
3DU	<i>pönləl(l)ən</i>	<i>pönləl(l)ən</i>
1PL	<i>pönlew</i>	<i>pönləl(l)əw</i>
2PL	<i>pönləl(l)ən</i>	<i>pönləl(l)ən</i>
3PL	<i>pönlel</i>	<i>pönləl(l)at</i>

Ko <i>pän</i> - 'to place' (present)			
	SG object	DU object	PL object
1SG	<i>päntem</i>	<i>päntenətam</i>	<i>päntemət</i>
2SG	<i>pänten</i>	<i>päntenətan</i>	<i>päntenət</i>
3SG	<i>päntət</i>	?	
1DU	<i>päntemən</i>	<i>päntenətəmən</i>	
2DU	<i>päntetən</i>	<i>päntenətən</i>	
3DU	<i>päntetən</i>	<i>päntenətən</i>	
1PL	<i>päntew</i>	<i>päntenətəw</i>	<i>päntewət</i>
2PL	<i>päntetən</i>	<i>päntenətən</i>	
3PL	<i>päntet</i>	<i>päntenətət</i>	

Trj <i>läpət</i> - 'to feed' (present)			
	SG object	DU object	PL object
1SG	<i>läpətlem</i>	<i>läpətəyəläm</i>	<i>läpətələm</i>
2SG	<i>läpətəle</i>	<i>läpətəyəlä</i>	<i>läpətələ</i>
3SG	<i>läpətəyə</i>	<i>läpətəyələ</i>	<i>läpətələ</i>
1DU	<i>läpətələtəmən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtəmən</i>	<i>läpətələtəmən</i>
2DU	<i>läpətələtən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
3DU	<i>läpətələtən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
1PL	<i>läpətələtəy°</i>	<i>läpətəyələtəy°</i>	<i>läpətələtəy°</i>
2PL	<i>läpətələtən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
3PL	<i>läpətəli</i>	<i>läpətəyələli</i>	<i>läpətələli</i>

Trj <i>läpət</i> - 'to feed' (perfect)			
	SG object	DU object	PL object
1SG	<i>läptem</i>	<i>läpətəyəläm</i>	<i>läpətələm</i>
2SG	<i>läpte</i>	<i>läpətəyəlä</i>	<i>läpətələ</i>
3SG	<i>läpəttəy</i>	<i>läpətəyələ</i>	<i>läpətələ</i>
1DU	<i>läpəttəmən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtəmən</i>	<i>läpətələtəmən</i>
2DU	<i>läptətən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
3DU	<i>läptətən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
1PL	<i>läpəttəy°</i>	<i>läpətəyələtəy°</i>	<i>läpətələtəy°</i>
2PL	<i>läptətən</i>	<i>läpətəyələtən</i>	<i>läpətələtən</i>
3PL	<i>läpti</i>	<i>läpətəyəläli</i>	<i>läpətələli</i>

## Directives

Proto-Khanty had an imperative form for second persons. The imperative suffix was a full vowel (\**a*/\**ä* [subjective conjugation], \**i*/\**i* [objective conjugation]) and is still represented as a full vowel in different dialects (Honti 1984: 47). 2SG has no personal ending, and in 2DU and 2PL forms of the subjective conjugation respective personal endings are attached to the vowel-final imperative form. In the objective conjugation, the personal suffixes and the scope of objective conjugation forms vary between dialects, and the differences are not easily explicable.

Some examples of imperatives:

DN (Vértes 1975: 10)			
<i>jǎŋγ-a</i>	<i>měŋ-a</i>	<i>jǒχ</i>	<i>tuw-e!</i>
walk-IMP.2SG	go-IMP.2SG	to=home	take-IMP.SG<2SG
‘come, go and take him home!’			

O <i>mǎ-</i> , <i>mij-</i> ‘to give’ (Honti 1984: 122)			
	Subj. Conj.	SG Object	PL Object
2SG	<i>mija</i>	<i>miji</i>	<i>mijila</i>
2DU	<i>mijatən</i>	<i>mijalən</i>	<i>mijjalən</i>
2PL	<i>mijati</i>	<i>mijalən</i>	<i>mijjalən</i>

Ko <i>pǎn-</i> ‘to put’ (Honti 1984: 115)				
	Subj. Conj.	SG Object	DU Object	PL Object
2SG	<i>pǎna</i>	<i>pǎne</i>	<i>pǎneŋəta</i>	<i>pǎneta</i>
2DU	<i>pǎnatən</i>	<i>pǎnetən</i>	<i>pǎneŋətən</i>	?
2PL	<i>pǎnatə</i>	<i>pǎnetən</i>	?	?

Trj <i>läpət-</i> ‘to give to eat’ (Honti 1984: 112)				
	Subj. Conj.	SG Object	DU Object	PL Object
2SG	<i>liptä</i>	<i>lipte</i>	<i>liptiyälä</i>	<i>liptilä</i>
2DU	<i>liptitən</i>	<i>liptitən</i>	<i>liptiyälən</i>	<i>liptilən</i>
2PL	<i>liptitəy</i>	<i>liptitən</i>	<i>liptiyälən</i>	<i>liptilən</i>

In many dialects, there are also optative/jussive forms. In the northern dialects, they are lacking. The southern dialects have optative forms for first and third persons. There is no difference between subjective and objective conjugation. The forms seem to be based on the 2SG imperative:

DN *pǎn-* ‘to put’ (Honti 1984: 115)

1SG	<i>pǎnam</i>
3SG	<i>pǎnaŋ(at)</i>
1DU	<i>pǎnamən</i>
3DU	<i>pǎnaŋən</i>
1PL	<i>pǎnaw</i>
3PL	<i>pǎnat</i>

The Trj dialect also shows optative/jussive for first and third persons, and in most of them (excl. 1SG and 1DU), there is also a full paradigm for the objective conjugation:

Trj <i>läpət-</i> ‘to give to eat’ (Honti 1984: 112)				
	Subj. Conj.	SG Object	DU Object	PL Object
1SG	<i>liptimät</i>	?	?	?
3SG	<i>liptəjät</i>	<i>liptität</i>	<i>liptiyälät</i>	<i>liptilät</i>
1DU	<i>liptimənät</i>	?	?	?
3DU	<i>liptiyənät</i>	<i>liptitənät</i>	<i>liptiyälənät</i>	<i>liptilənät</i>
1PL	<i>liptiy°ät</i>	?	<i>liptiyäləy°ät</i>	<i>liptiləy°ät</i>
3PL	<i>liptität</i>	<i>liptilälät</i>	<i>liptiyälälät</i>	<i>liptilälät</i>

In the southern and Surgut dialects, the passive voice also has an optative paradigm. The suffix used in these forms in *-mus/-mos-* in Surgut and *-mas-* in the South. In the southern (Kr) dialect, the suffix has the function of optative and the structure of the form is stem + mood (*-mas-*) + genus (*-əj*) + person; in Trj, the suffix *-mus/-mos-* serves as the passive suffix, as the personal endings come from the optative paradigm where the mood suffix is in fact a kind of clitic. The structure of the Trj forms is stem + genus (*-mus/-mos-*) + person + mood (*-at*):

	Kr <i>seŋk-</i> ‘to beat’ (Honti 1984: 116)	Trj <i>läpət-</i> ‘to give to eat’ (Honti ibid. 113)
1SG	<i>seŋkmasəjəm</i>	<i>läpətmusəmat</i>
2SG	<i>seŋkmasəjən</i>	<i>läpətmusənat</i>
3SG	<i>seŋkmasə(j)</i>	<i>läpətmosat</i>
1DU	<i>seŋkmasəjmən</i>	<i>läpətmosmənat</i>
2DU	<i>seŋkmasəjtən</i>	<i>läpətmustənat</i>
3DU	<i>seŋkmasəjən</i>	<i>läpətmusyənät</i>
1PL	<i>seŋkmasəjəw</i>	<i>läpətmosəy°ät</i>
2PL	<i>seŋkmasəjtə</i>	<i>läpətmostəyät</i>
3PL	<i>seŋkmasəjət</i>	<i>läpətmosat</i>



**Syntax**

This very short description of syntactical phenomena is based on Southern Khanty.

*Word Order*

The basic word order in Khanty is SOV (and in intransitive constructions, S-Adv-V). The place for Topic is in the beginning of the sentence and the place for Focus in front of the verbal predicate. There are, though, exceptions, meaning that the word order can be seen as a tendency rather than a strict rule:

**SOV**

DN (SüdostjK: 6)

[ - - ]    *urt*    *täpät*    *piš*    *täw=soχ*    *tunt-ot*  
 [name]    hero (S)    7    fold    horse=pelt (O)    put=on-PAST.3SG (V)  
 ‘the hero put on a sevenfold horse pelt’

DN (SüdostjK: 9)

*mä*    *jěγ-päγ-em*    *wet-en*  
 1SG    brother-PX.SG<1SG (O)    kill-PAST.2SG (V)  
 ‘you killed my brother’

Ko (SüdostjP III: 2)

*χutəm*    *imə*    *χutəm*    *χut*    *wet-ət*  
 3    woman (S)    3    fish (O)    catch-PRET.3PL (V)  
 ‘the three women caught three fishes’

**SVO**

DN (SüdostjK: 1)

[ - - ]    *urt,*    *těw*    *täj-ot*  
 [name]    hero    3SG (S)    have-PRET.3SG (V)  
*sewəŋ*    *ewə,*    *wetəŋ*    *ewə*  
 braided    daughter (O)    beautiful    daughter (O)  
 ‘the hero, he had a braided daughter, a beautiful daughter’

**SVAdv**

DN (SüdostjK: 2)

*měŋ-t-əmən,*    *jěγ-päχ,*    *wit*    *woč-əmən-a*  
 go-PRS-1DU (V)    brother    upstream    town-PX.SG<1DU-LAT (Adv)  
 ‘brother, we’ll go to our upstream town’

*Complex Sentences*

Temporal subordinate sentences are formed with action converb structures if the sentences refer to the same time:

DN (SüdostjK: 3)

*těw-kemnä* [ - - ]    *kimət*    *äŋkər-məmitat-nə,* [ - - ]  
 then    outwards    look-PRTC.PX.SG<3PL-LOC,  
*jeyə*    *χör*    *pět-ewə*    *enə*    *rot*    *töt*    *ti*    *kätt-ət*  
 river    bend    bottom-ABL    big    boat    there    PTCL    appear-PAST.3SG  
 ‘then when they looked out (of the window), a big  
 boat [ - - ] appeared in the bend of the river’

If the sentences refer to happenings that follow each other, a particle *kemnä* follows the participle form of the subordinated verb:

DN (SüdostjK: 10)

*nöχ*    *χänč-atəmet*    *kemnä*    *ewəm-ta,*    *mostə-ta*  
 up    rip-PRTC.PX.SG<3SG    *kemnä*    hug-INF    kiss-INF  
*nöχ*    *ti*    *jěw-ət*  
 up    PTCL    start-PRS.3SG

‘when she has unpicked [the seams], she starts to hug and kiss him’

When there is any hint of causality in the subordination, a conjunction is used (along with a finite verb):

DN (SüdostjK: 10)

*köš*    *nöy*    *ätmitt-ət*    *wey-ət*    *ěnt*    *těrm-ət*  
 CNJ    up    lift-PRS.3SG    strength-PX.SG<3SG    not    be=enough-PRS.3SG  
 ‘when (~ even though) she tries to lift him, she has no strength’

*Predicative Structures*

In present predicative sentences where both NPs represent 3SG, there is no copula:

DN (SüdostjK: 1)

<i>äj-pe</i>	<i>jëg-päy-ät,</i>	<i>unt=tonχ-ta</i>	<i>pelkat</i>	<i>χoj,</i>	<i>kötəp</i>
small-CL	brother.PX.SG<3SG	forest=devil(-CAR)	half	man,	middle
	<i>jëg-päy-ät</i>	<i>pes=nem-ta</i>	<i>χoj</i>		
	brother.PX.SG<3SG	without-name-CAR	man		

‘his youngest brother is the man-half-forest-devil;  
his middle brother is the nameless-man’

In other persons and tenses, the verb *us-* (*ut-*) ‘to be’ is needed:

DN (SüdostjK: 11)

<i>tütəŋ</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>us-tan</i>
fiery	cunt	be-PRS.2SG

‘you are a fiery cunt’

*Possessive Structures*

The GN structure in Khanty is expressed with a possessor in nominative + possessed with a possessive suffix:

DN (SüdostjK: 12)

<i>täyər-sem</i>	<i>këŋən-tat</i>
armour	button-PX.PL<3SG

‘the buttons of the armour’

DN (SüdostjK: 10)

<i>täw</i>	<i>söχ-ät</i>	<i>jontəm=jät-tat</i>
horse	pelt-PX.SG<3SG	seam-PX.PL<3SG

‘the seams of the horse’s pelt’

DN (SüdostjK: 7)

<i>möŋə</i>	<i>jart-ew-a</i>	<i>tut-ew</i>
1PL	fortress-PX.SG<1PL.LAT	bring-PRS.SG<1PL

‘we’ll take him into our fortress’

Sav (SüdostjK: 141)

<i>müŋ</i>	<i>moχ-tew</i>	<i>wet-aj-ät</i>	<i>tëw neŋ-ät</i>	<i>pëŋa</i>
1PL	child-PX.PL<1PL	kill-PAST.PASS-3PL	3SG wife-PX.SG<3SG	because

‘our children were killed because of his wife’

When the possessor itself is possessed (is marked with PX), the possessed can also be left unmarked:

Sav (SüdostjK: 143)

<i>männək-em</i>	<i>kur</i>	<i>sämərm-ät-em</i>
nephew-PX.SG<1SG	foot	grab-PRS-SG<1SG

‘I’ll grab my nephew’s foot’

Sav (SüdostjK: 143)

<i>männəkət</i>	<i>kur</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>sämərm-ät</i>
nephew-PX.SG<3SG	foot	PTCL	grab-PAST.SG<3SG

‘he grabbed his nephew’s foot’

The predicative possession is expressed with the verb *täj-* ‘to have’:

DN (SüdostjK: 1)

[ - - ]	<i>urt,</i>	<i>tëw</i>	<i>täjot</i>	<i>sewəŋ</i>	<i>ewə,</i>	<i>wetəŋ</i>	<i>ewə</i>
[name]	hero,	3SG	have-PRET.3SG	braided daughter	beautiful daughter		

‘the hero, he had a braided daughter, a beautiful daughter’

*Dative Shift and Passive*

All Khanty dialects make use of dative shift to move topical/animate recipients and benefactives from oblique to object position. The object is marked with nominative, or, if it is a personal pronoun, with accusative, and the original object in the new oblique position is marked in the southern dialects with the instrumental-comitative (*-at*) case. Other dialects use either locative (*-nə*, northern dialects) or instructive-final (*-at/-ät*, eastern dialects), depending on the case system (see pp. 18–19). (One can also observe in these examples that in the case of coordinated parts of speech [marked here with \_], the inflectionally suffix usually occurs only on the latter one.)

DN (SüdostjK: 3-4)

*män-t, tüwetten χōj, pēt-ettem mǎχta,*  
1SG-ACC tall man ear-PX.PL<1SG along

*pěytā nōγās, pěytā wǎχsar-at mǎχta tāk-at*  
black\_sable\_black\_fox-INSTR along throw-OPT.3PL

‘may they cover me (throw around me), a big man,  
up to my ears (with) black sables, black foxes’

Similarly, topicalized objects can be moved to subject position by using the passive voice. The new subject is in the nominative and the former subject becomes the agent marked with locative (in all dialects; the locative in the northern dialects has a heavy load because it is used to mark many oblique constituents, even grammatical ones!):

Ko (SüdostjP III: 14)

*āj=pa neη-nā köttap=pa neη ǎńtast-aj*  
young=PRTC woman-LOC middle=PRTC woman ask-PAST.PASS. 3SG

‘the middle woman was asked by the youngest woman’

(< *āj=pa neη köttap=pa neη ǎńtast-at*  
young=PRTC woman middle=PRTC woman ask-PAST.SG.3SG)

DN (SüdostjK: 9)

*jěηk-a wayāt-tā ewe-t-nā köjant=otəη-at seηk-t-aj*  
water-LAT go-PRTC girl-PL-LOC yoke=end-INSTR beat-PRS-PASS.3SG

‘he is beaten by the water-carrying girls with  
the tip of the (water-carrying) yoke’

(< *jěηk-a wayāt-tā ewe-t köjant=otəη-at seηk-t-et*  
water-LAT go-PRTC girl-PL yoke=end-INSTR beat-PRS-SG.3PL)

‘the water-carrying girls beat him with the tip of the yoke’

Both the dative shift and the passive can occur in the same sentence, as in the following example. It is to be expected, because an animate, human entity often acts as a recipient in the sentence, and additionally, is the main character in the story and thus has a high degree of topicality:

DN (SüdostjK: 4)

*pěytā nōγās, pěytā wǎχsar-at weη-tat χǎnəm-tat-nā*  
black\_sable\_black\_fox-INSTR son-in-law-PX.PL<3SG\_relative-PX.PL<3SG-LOC

*ti kit-aj*  
PTCL send-PAST.PASS.3SG

‘he was sent black sables and black foxes  
by his sons-in-law, his relatives’

The agent in a passive sentence is often overt only when it is focalized. Agentless passive sentences are much more common (illustrated here with four sentences in a row from SüdostjK: 7):

DN

*těw-kemnā urttat-nā töt=ti kätt-aj.*  
then hero-PX.PL<3SG-LOC that=PTCL catch-PAST.PASS.3SG

*töt säγat nik ti wayatt-aj.*  
that time to=shore PTCL walk+CAUS-PAST.PASS.3SG

*tāpət piš tāw sōχ sēmə-ja ti jont-aj,*  
seven fold horse pelt inside-LAT PTCL sew-PAST.PASS.3SG

*rot-a ti pǎn-aj.*  
boat-LAT PTCL put-PAST.PASS.3SG

‘Then his heroes caught him. After that, he was  
taken down to the shore. He was put inside the  
sevenfold horse pelt and laid down in a boat.’

Another type of passive is the impersonal, where both subject and agent are lacking. The impersonal passive describes an action only, without reference to who is the actor (or the target). Here, an example is presented with context:

DN (SüdostjK: 6)

*jewǎttā-ta töt=tā jěw-ət i čupa pira*  
shoot-INF that-PTCL start-PAST.3PL and only around

*jewǎttā-ta jěw-aj*  
shoot-INF start-PAST.PASS.3SG

‘they (the heroes) started to shoot, there was shooting all around’

## Negation

In the standard negation, a negative particle *ěn(t)* is used. It is followed by the finite verb (predicate) in the same form as in affirmative sentences:

DN (SüdostjK: 11)  
*χoj tu-tə χăčax ěnt tāj-t-an*  
 man carry-INF strength NEG have-PRS.2SG  
 ‘you don’t have the strength to carry a man’

(cf.

*χoj tu-tə χăčax tāj-t-an*  
 man carry-INF strength have-PRS.2SG  
 ‘you have [enough] strength to carry a man’ [constructed])

Sav (SüdostjK: 150)

*män=pä ěn χeť-t-am*  
 1SG=too NEG stay-PRS.1SG  
 ‘I won’t stay either’

(cf.

*män=pä χeť-t-am*  
 1SG=too stay-PRS.1SG  
 ‘I will stay, too’ [constructed])

In the negation of predicative structures (existentials), the negative word is *ěntəm*. It is used with negative counterparts of affirmative sentences both without a copula and with *ut-* ‘to be’ (see p. 32). It cannot be called a negative particle because it is inflected in number:

DN (KT 58)

*těj tōtt(ə) ěntam-at män tōtt(ə) ěntam nin tōtt(ə) ěntam-eyən*  
 3PL there NEG-PL 1SG there NEG 2DU there NEG-DU  
 ‘they are not there’ ‘I am not there’ ‘you two are not there’

The negation of directives has a negative particle of its own in *ät*. It is followed by the imperative form, which is the same as in affirmative directives:

Sav (SüdostjK: 150)

*ät tawăť-atən!*  
 NEG scold-IMP.2DU

‘don’t scold me (, you two)!’

The same negative particle is also used in conjunctive functions (the conjunctive is expressed in the example with the Russian loan word *štobi*, but the function is stressed by using the imperative/optative variant of the particle):

DN (SüdostjK: 11)

*jöχ ti něr-ot štobi*  
 home PTCL run-PAST.3SG *štobi*  
*χeti-tat-nə ät äjət-taj*  
 grandson-PX.PL<3SG-LOC NEG see-PRS.PASS.3SG

‘(she) runs home so that she would not be seen by her grandsons’

**Matthias Alexander Castrén**

**ATTEMPT AT AN OSTYAK GRAMMAR**

WITH A SHORT WORD LIST

*Edited and commentary by Ulla-Maija Forsberg*

*Attempt at an Ostyak Grammar  
with a Short Word List*  
by Dr. M. Alexander Castrén  
St. Petersburg.  
Printed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.  
1849.



*Available through Eggers & Co., commissioner of the Academy.  
In Leipzig, by Leop. Voss.*  
(Price 75 Silver Crowns – 25 [Ngr.]



*Printed for the Imperial Academy of Sciences (and Letters).  
In December 1849.*

*Permanent Secretary  
P.H. Fuss.*

## Preface

The Ugric Ostyaks form together with their kinsmen, the Voguls, the most eastern and in the whole Asia the only branch of the widely spread and many times splintered Finnish<sup>1</sup> family. They are still until this day the main inhabitants in the old so-called Yugric Land that [A.C.] Lehrberg describes as follows: “it stretched between the 36th<sup>2</sup> and 67th northern latitude from the northernmost Ural mountains eastwards over the lower Ob’ all the way to the river Nadym, which flows into the Gulf of Ob’, and to Agan, which flows into Ob’ on the upper side of Surgut<sup>3</sup>; it also covered the areas by the lower Irtyš and by [the rivers] Tavda, Tura and Čusovaja; in the south it bordered the Tartar parts [of land] and in the north the land of the former Samoyeds. It was thus a remarkable part of northwestern Asia, and covered large parts of the modern Governments of Tobol’sk and Perm’.” Today, in the Government of Perm’, there are only

1. “Finnish” in this context is equivalent to the later term Finno-Ugric, which refers to both languages and peoples. One of Castrén’s main targets was to show a kinship between the Finn[o-Ugr]ic and Samoyedic languages. He was also studying the idea of a huge language family later referred to as Ural-Altai (incl. additionally the Uralic, Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus languages).
2. This latitude must be erroneous; 56 might be right. The southernmost parts of the modern Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug lie approximately on the 58th northern latitude.
3. Today’s Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug stretches farther to east to the border of Krasnojarsk Okrug. The Khanty-Mansi (in the beginning called Ostyak-Vogul) National Okrug was established in 1930 to cover approximately the same area. In 1977, it became an autonomous okrug and from 2003, “Jugra” is also an official appendix of the name.

4. According to the Census from 2010, the number of Ostyaks (Khanty) in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug is 19,068 and Voguls (Mansi) 10,977. Together they constitute only 2.1% of the Okrug's population. The biggest ethnic groups today are Russians (973,978) and Tatars (108,899). The whole population of the Okrug in 2010 was 1,532,243. The number of speakers of the Khanty and Mansi languages today is significantly lower than the ethnic number.
5. The exact area where the common ancestor of the Ugric languages was spoken is, of course, not known. Lately, it has been argued that the expansion centre would have been on the European side of the Ural mountains, from whence the speakers of the Ob-Ugric proto-language would have moved eastwards and merged with some aboriginal peoples of Siberia.

## ❖ VI ❖

about 700 Voguls of male sex, in the Government of Tobol'sk, the number of Voguls increases to 5025 [according to Köppen<sup>i</sup> 5235] and of Ostyaks to 18,657 (according to Köppen 18,840) individuals of both sexes<sup>4</sup>. These Asiatic Finns still stay almost on the same low level of civilization as were the Europeans in Tacitus' time. Even though many, especially Vogul, families have recently settled down, most of them are still wandering around from forest to forest, from one river to another. They live in miserable Yurts [huts] made from timber, peat, birch bark or reindeer fell. Their main source of livelihood is hunting in winter and fishing in summer. Some keep cattle, only few live of farming. Most of them are in name already Christians, but have still a lot of trust in their shamans.

The idea that the Ostyaks and Voguls are closely related to the Hungarians who originate from Ugria<sup>5</sup>, has been presented already since Herbertstein's time. "This is *Juharia* (*Juhra*, *Jugra*), from where the Hungarians have occupied Pannonia, led by Attila, subdued many European provinces. The Yugras have still today the same language as the Hungarians; whether this is right, I do not know" Herbertstein *Rerum Moscovit. commentar.* Basil. 1571. Gyarmathi is of almost the same opinion, and Klaproth argues in his *Asia Polygl[otta]* p. 190 that the Ostyaks and the Voguls speak a language "which of all the Finnish languages resembles most the roots of the modern, largely mixed Hungarian". This view is also confirmed through

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i. the total population in Russia in 1838.

## ❖ VII ❖

my own investigations. Even though the Ugric languages today have a great deal of differences from Hungarian, these differences are, anyhow, a natural consequence of a separation, in which the peoples have lived already for centuries<sup>6</sup>. During this time, the Hungarian language has adopted many foreign elements, and the Ugric languages, on the other hand, have changed their original character as a consequence of diverse influences from outside<sup>i</sup>. However, we can see in the Ugric languages and in Hungarian many root words<sup>7</sup> and even some grammatical elements<sup>8</sup>, which do not appear at all in the other related languages, or if they do, very seldom.

The academic community may probably look forward to a more detailed description of the affinity of the languages mentioned by a native Hungarian, who has recently arrived from his philological-ethnographic journey to the Ostyaks and Voguls. What concerns my studies in the Ugric languages, I have only been able to look at them as a side issue, as during my many years' stay in Siberia I was able to stay by the Ostyaks only for a few weeks. During this short period of time, I gathered not only various ethnographic and topographic data but also a small amount of material from the very little known<sup>ii</sup> Ostyak language<sup>iii</sup>.

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i. See my travelogue in *Bulletin historico-philol. de l'Acad. Impér. des sciences de St-Petersburg*, Part III. No. 19, 20

ii. I know the Vogul language only from a hand written catechism. I have, however, not used this material in the present study because it contains too many mistakes.

iii. What is found in the works of Gyarmathi, Pallas, Klaproth and others, consists only of insignificant and erroneous word lists.

6. Rather: millennia. According to Honti (1979: 23), the split of the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric family took place around approx. 1000 BC. The ancestors of today's Hungarians left their area in the modern Baškortostan, so-called Magna Hungaria, and began to travel southwest around 500 AD.
7. The number of root morphemes common to Hungarian and the Ob-Ugric languages (existing in either Khanty or Mansi or both) but unattested in other related languages is, according to UEW, ca. 100.
8. E.g. a set of postposition-based local cases (\*-*nä*), instrumental (\*-*l*), locative (\*-*t(tA)*), and the verbal ending of 1 person plural \*-*k°*. (Liimola 1963, Honti 1985, 1998, Kulonen 1993.)

9. Etymology is today mainly used to refer to the study of the origins of words. Here it refers to knowledge about the language (its structure and origin).
10. This is the relatively uniform group of dialects also known as the southern Khanty dialect. It has been extinct since the second half or middle of the 20th century, but is preserved for the academic community thanks to the abundant materials collected by Antal Reguly, Heikki Paasonen and especially K.F. Karjalainen. Based on the exact phonetic notes and a thorough description by the latter, the phonology and morphology of the dialect(s) is well known.
11. The Surgut group of dialects comprises the western subgroup of eastern Khanty dialects. There are still some hundreds of speakers today. The main subdialects today are those of Agan, Tromagan and Pym. Other eastern dialects are those of Vach and Vasjugan. The eastern dialects have a much larger internal variation than the southern dialects.
12. Obdorsk represents the third main group of Khanty dialects, the northern group. This is also composed of various dialects, including a dialect continuum along the river Ob' between the southern and northern dialects (Nizjam, Šerkaly). The middle northern dialects are represented by the Kazym dialect, and Obdorsk together with the Šuryškary dialect constitute the northernmost group. The northern dialects

## ❖ VIII ❖

I wanted to publish this material soon after that, but discovered then various deficiencies in my notes, and because of these I thought I would postpone the publication of this work as I was hoping to be able to visit the Ostyaks again and supplement my notes on my way back from Eastern Siberia. Unfortunately, I could not fulfil this plan, because I was already at that moment in such bad health that I had to forget all my scientific tasks. That is why I nevertheless find it necessary to publish my original notes and hope that in spite of all the shortcomings and errors in them, they will not be completely unwelcome and worthless for the experts of the Finnish and Tartar languages.

My present work on the Ostyak etymology<sup>9</sup> is mainly based on the dialect spoken in the Irtyš area<sup>10</sup>. In addition to this, there are still two main dialects spoken by the river Ob': the dialect of Surgut<sup>11</sup> on the upper and the dialect of Obdorsk<sup>12</sup> on the lower Ob'. Of these two, the latter is little known to me, and my notes from the Surgut dialect are also highly incomplete. Nevertheless, I have provided the most important characteristics of this dialect in this work, and, additionally, the reader will be shown some minor differences, which appear either on the upper or lower side of the town of Surgut. Abbreviations referring to the dialects as well as other languages are the following:

- i. See my travelogue in the Bulletin hist. phil. mentioned above.

## ❖ IX ❖

S. or Surg.	means:	the dialect of Surgut
US — U. Surg.	—	the dialect on the upper side of Surgut
LS — L. Surg.	—	the dialect on the lower side of Surgut
Finn.	means:	Finnish
Lapp.	—	Lappish <sup>13</sup>
Cher.	—	Cheremis <sup>14</sup>
Zr.	—	Zyrian <sup>15</sup>
Hu.	—	Hungarian
Sam.	—	Samoyedic <sup>16</sup>
O.Sam.	—	Ostyak-Samoyedic <sup>17</sup>
Tu.	—	Turkic (Turkish)
M.T.	—	Turkish or Tartar in Minusinsk
Ru.	—	Russian.

In order to avoid misapprehension, I still wish to point out that 1) I translate the future tense in this work with the German present tense<sup>18</sup> and the preterite with the German infinitive<sup>19</sup>; 2) I have left out from the word list all pronouns, all numerals and those particles that are not root words, because they can be easily found in the grammar; 3) in the word list, synonymous words from different Ostyak dialects are compared with each other only in cases when they are related not only by their meaning but also phonetically.

Helsinki, 14th of November 1849

Dr. M. Alexander Castrén

13. = Saami
14. = Mari
15. = Komi
16. mainly = Nenets
17. = Selkup
18. Castrén calls the Khanty non-past tense the future. It also has the function of the present.
19. The preterite or past tense in Khanty is the unmarked tense in the southern dialects and thus a kind of basic form, hence the translation with the German basic form infinitive. In the English translation, I use the unmarked basic form for both.

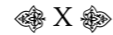


20. In the English version, the Ossetian characters are replaced by simple Latin phonetic ones with some exceptions: by <ɖ> (and its palatalized counterpart), Castrén means a sound that is a kind of a combination of *d* and *l*. It is a voiced variant of <ɖ>, an unvoiced lateral /ɖ/ phoneme in Surgut dialects (which in Khanty loan words in Mansi is actually replaced with *dl*); so there is no phonetic sign for it. Similarly, <ɖ> sounds like a combination of *t* and *l*.

The characters in this publication are mainly the ones Castrén has used in his manuscript. The original characters in the last version of the manuscript are: Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u, y, ö*; Consonants: *b, v, d, 'd, "d, f, g, ġ, # x, j, k, k, l, l, m, n, ñ, ñ, p, r, s, š, c, ê, ʒ, ʒ, t, 't, ĩ, "t*.

21. In all of the Khanty dialects, the vowels have two vowel lengths. Contemporarily they are, though, described as reduced (marked with  $\sim$ ) vs. full vowels (without marking). In the English version, they are marked according to the original (Castrén) as short vs. long (the phonemic form may be given in the comments between slashes //). In the manuscript, especially in the paradigms, the diacritics  $\acute{}$ ,  $\grave{}$  and  $\hat{}$  are used to mark the accent of the word. In the printing phase, these markings have been taken away and only partly replaced with the length symbol.

In the original Swedish manuscript, Castrén describes the Khanty vowel system in a way that very much resembles



### Errata

Page	7	row	1	read	<i>kathl</i>	instead of	<i>kuthl</i>
—	63	—	21	—	<i>panden</i>	—	<i>pandeu</i>
—	88	—	22	—	<i>mīt-xui</i>	—	<i>mīxtui</i>

The reader will kindly forgive any other typographic errors that might have slipped in after the author has left the printing house.

## I

### Phonetics (Sounds)

#### A. Description of the sounds

§ 1 To mark the sounds of the Ostyak language in this work, mainly the following characters of the Ossetian alphabet, introduced by Sjögren, will be used<sup>20</sup>:

Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u, ü, ö*

Consonants: *b, d, d, d', d', g, ġ, x, j, k, k, l, l', m, n, ŋ, ñ, p, r, s, š, c, č, ʒ, ʒ, t, t, t', t', w*

§ 2 There are also long vowels<sup>21</sup> in Ostyak, which we mark with a horizontal line above them:  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{ü}$ ,  $\bar{ö}$ .

§ 3 In addition, the language also has double vowels or diphthongs that can be marked with two vowels. It seems that the first vowel can be either short or long vowel; whereas the latter is always short and in the most cases *i* or *u*<sup>22</sup>. Sometimes the short *e* also appears as the latter part of a diphthong, as does *a*, but more rarely<sup>23</sup>. According to my undoubtedly very deficient observations, the double vowels in Ostyak are: *ai, āi, ei, ēi, oi, ōi, ui, üi, au, āu, eu, ēu, iu, īu, ou, ōu, ae, oe, ue, ie, ea*.

§ 4 Some of these vowels mentioned above appear only in specific dialects. So by Irtyš, the pure  $\bar{o}$  is seldom heard<sup>24</sup>, and  $\bar{u}$  is in all the dialects a sound which is rare and changes easily to a Russian  $\bar{y}$ . The

the modern way of thinking (see also § 6). The description in the manuscript is the following: "Ostyak has a double system of vowels, in which the first is characterized by a wide and open, the second by a dark, closed and narrower sound. Based on their pronunciation, the vowels can be divided into open ones, which are *a, e, i, o, u, y, ā, ö* and closed ones, to which belong  $\hat{a}$ ,  $\hat{e}$ ,  $\hat{i}$ ,  $\hat{u}$ . The difference between these two systems cannot be found in each separate case, because the vowels in Ostyak, especially the closed vowels, do not have enough strength and firmness; instead, they are pronounced sometimes with a darker, sometimes with a wider sound, and in many cases so that one single sound can allow several special ways of marking." It seems that Castrén has heard the difference between full and reduced vowels, but he has been too insecure about his observations to describe them in the grammar as a system.

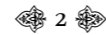
For the vowel systems in the southern and Surgut dialects, see p. 13 of the Short Grammatical Description.

22. These are not diphthongs but combinations of a vowel (any of them) and the consonants *j* and *w*.

23. There are no diphthongs in the phoneme system of any Khanty dialect. In the manuscript, we find: "being affected by the accent, the short vowels are not only lengthened in a normal way, but relatively often also changed into diphthongs. Thus,

in accented syllables, *a* changes to *ae* or *ai*, *e* and *i* to *ei*, *o* to *oi*, *u* to *ui* and so on, e.g. *njatxá*, *njatxaet* or *njatxait*, *joura* or *jourai* 'slanted', *kesä* 'glove', pl. *kesäet* or *kesäit*, *ét* or *eit*, *xo* or *xoi*, *xui*, 'man', etc." The fact that the diphthongs do not appear in the last version of the manuscript (or the printed grammar) is due to the decision to leave the accent unmarked. In the paradigms in the manuscript (see the commentary regarding page 33/79), we can see that the accent was, in the end, not shown in a systematic way, which definitely led to this decision.

24. The reduced *ö* appears in one of the southern dialects, DT (Demjanka, informant Tajlakov) (Honti 1984: 21).
25. They are not phonemes in any of the Khanty dialects.
26. All four of these represent the same phoneme, /*t*/. Sometimes, particularly in the South and consequently in Paasonen's texts and lexicon, they are marked with velar palatalized consonants.
27. Castrén is describing here the difference between full and reduced vowels. They both can, however, appear in open as well as in closed syllables.
28. The English translation describes the situation as it is; the German text (which is also a translation) talks about the long vowel in the following (instead of preceding) syllable; yet it uses the verb *vorausgehen*, which means 'precede'.
29. The schwa /*ə*/ is very common in non-initial syllables; in pronunciation, it often gets its



consonants marked with *d*, *t*, *d'*, *t'* are lacking in the Irtyš dialects. In all the dialects, *ʒ* and *c* are very rare<sup>25</sup> and in many areas *ǰ* and *k* are replaced by *d'* and *t'*.<sup>26</sup>

§ 5 On the other hand, the language shows many sound nuances that we have not marked at all, because in part they are very unstable and can in part also be described with common rules. These will be discussed in the following chapter.

### B. Pronunciation of the sounds

#### a) Pronunciation of the vowels

§ 6 In Ostyak, like in many of the related languages, the vowels have on one hand a pure, open and clear pronunciation, and on the other hand a dark and unclear one. It is understandable that the pronunciation of vowels is always purer in open syllables, and again in closed syllables darker and more vague<sup>27</sup>. Especially the vowel in short final syllables is very indefinable and unsure. In case of following a syllable with a long vowel<sup>28</sup>, the vowel of the final syllable is a kind of schwa, i.e. its pronunciation disappears completely or changes into a dark *e*; e.g. *tūrum*, *tūrm*, *tōrem* 'God'<sup>29</sup>.

§ 7 The general pronunciation of *a*, *ā* is exactly the same as in Russian and German; e.g. *ańaxa* 'step-mother', *ār* 'many', *aj* 'luck'. There are, however, two particular modifications of this sound.

a) The first one approaches a deep sound resembling *o*, which is also found in other languages. In Ostyak, this modification may appear in long or short syllables, in the end of the word as well as in the root; e.g. *opa*, *aba* 'elder sister', *ńot*, *ńat* 'arrow', *pox*, *pax* 'son', *por*, *par* 'drill', *jot*, *jat* 'lazy', *ōgot*, *augat* 'sleigh', *sōdop*, *sātep* 'blade, edge', *pōs*, *pās* 'glove'<sup>30</sup>. This *a* sounds in many dialects largely already like *o*,



and therefore we also mark it mainly with this character. In the Surgut dialects, this modification, even though the pronunciation is more like *a*, follows exactly the same etymological rules<sup>31</sup> as *o*; e.g. *pās* 'gloves'<sup>32</sup>, *pūsem* 'my gloves', *sārt* 'pike', *sūrdem* 'my pike', cf. *mōk* 'egg', *mūkam* 'my egg', *pōm* 'grass', *pūmem* 'my grass'. The pure *a* usually changes to *i*; e.g. *tās* 'ware', *tīsem* 'my things', *sāp* 'brook', *sīpem* 'my brook'.<sup>33</sup>

b) The other modification concerning *a* is closer to *e* and also appears in many other languages. In the stem, this modification is difficult to distinguish from the German *a*. In short final syllables, it sounds almost like a dark *e*, and changes into this in many dialects<sup>34</sup>; e.g. *jirnas*, *jernes* 'shirt', *kerap*, *kerep* 'vehicle', *āra*, *ārex* 'song', *ādaŋ*, *ādeŋ* 'morning', *anža*, *anže*, *anžex* 'rose hip'.

§ 8 The vowel *e* is in Ostyak the same open sound as in the other Finnish, Mongolian and Turkic languages. By the Ob', it sometimes sounds almost as open as the Finnish *ä*, and the same pronunciation can be found by the Irtyš in word-final positions; e.g. *kēle* 'reindeer fell', *pegde* 'black', *peste* 'sharp'. However, according to my observations, only the short *e* has this open sound, whereas the long *ē* is, at least in most cases, pronounced with a more closed sound resembling the French *é fermé*<sup>35</sup>. The closed *e* changes easily to *i*, while, on the other hand, the dark, open *e* varies with *ü* and the Russian *y*; e.g. *jēnget*, *jīnget* 'round basket', *jēndem*, *jīndem* 'sing', *nēbek*, *nīpek* 'paper', *tēdes*, *tīlis* 'moon, month', *edem*, *üđim* '(to) heat', *tēda*, *tüđex* 'winter', *tet*, *dūd* 'fathom'. This change occurs especially after *j* and *g*<sup>36</sup>.

§ 9 The pronunciation of *i* is generally the same as in the Germanic languages. However, every now and then it has a more closed sound and is pronounced almost like the Russian *ы*; e.g. *jig* 'father',

nuance according to the surrounding speech sounds, which is very well shown in this example. The phonemic form of the word is /*turəm*, *torəm*/ (with a full vowel in the initial syllable).

30. Many of the examples have a reduced vowel: *öpī* 'elder sister', *pāx*, *pōx* 'son, boy', *pōr* 'drill'. In those words that have a full vowel, there is often dialectal variation, just as it is said: *ńot*, *ńot* 'arrow', *pōs*, *pōs* 'glove'; the word for 'sleigh' represents a variation where the northern (Kazym) dialect has a middle vowel (corresponding to *o* or *u* in other dialects): Kaz *oxət*, O *uxət*; this sound, interpreted as a diphthong in Surgut, might be a step towards the middle vowel. i.e. the paradigmatic vowel alternation

31. The word is in the singular; Castrén's translation in plural, probably because of the plural (dual) character of the word.

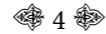
32. In the Surgut dialects (in nominal paradigms), *ā* and *o* alternate with *u*, whereas *ā* and *e* alternate with *i* (Honti 1984: 32).

33. Phonematically, this is /*a*/ in non-initial syllables.

34. The long, i.e. full vowels *e* and *i* are both counterparts to the short, i.e. reduced *ē*.

35. /*y*/; it is hard to see how this should be understood. The examples do not provide any evidence for this argument. In the word for 'fathom', *ü* originates from the very ancient phases of the language (at least Proto-Khanty and Proto-Ugric); in the word 'winter', it is a late and maybe sporadic change (phonematically *tēlay* < \**tälwä*).

37. At least in these examples, the vowel is reduced. In the northern dialects, these words contain an *i*, while in the southern and Surgut dialects the word for 'father' is *jěy*. The form Castrén gives for the verb 'come' is contradictory: in all dialects the stem alternant in e.g. the past tense, as here, with the stem-final consonant -w, has the vowel *ü* (stem alternation: South, Surgut [?] *jě-* ~ *jüw-*, North *jī-* ~ *jüw-*). The modification here is thus not the full vowel *i* but a reduced *ě*.
38. mscr. *kul'*
39. There are both full (*unč, tüš, püt, süit*) and reduced vowels (*kül, kōnč, tōŋ, sōŋ, kōj, kōr, kōt*) in these examples. In the words for 'stone' and 'lake', it is the word-final *w* (*kew, tēw*). Most of these full vowels represent *ü*, as discussed in § 12.
40. The southern dialects have no *ö* but instead an opposition between *u* and *ü* in the full vowel paradigm (see § 11). This observation might concern the Surgut dialects even if not said to be so. The reduced vowel *ö* is attested in Surgut dialects, in Trj and Tra it is represented by two phonemes, a closed and a half-open one.
41. Interestingly, Castrén has not noted the difference between /a/ and /ä/ in any of the dialects.



*jiwem* 'come'. This modification, too, seems to appear mostly in short syllables<sup>37</sup>.

§ 10 The vowel *o* in Ostyak has no modifications. It always sounds like the German *o* in the words *Gott, offen, Donner*.

§ 11 In the general pronunciation, the vowel *u* sounds as deep as the Finnish or Russian *u*. In Irtyš, I have observed in this vowel a modification, which is very near to the Swedish *u* or the Mongolian *ü*. According to my observations, this modification is always long, but appears most often in monosyllabic words; e.g. *ku*<sup>38</sup> 'devil', *kunč* 'nail', *unč* 'Salmo nelma (a fish)', *tuš* 'beard', *tun* 'summer', *sun* 'corner', *keu* 'stone', *teu* 'lake', *kui* 'swamp', *kur* 'leg, foot', *kut* 'middle (point)', *put* 'kettle, pot', *sut* 'grindstone'.<sup>39</sup>

§ 12 The seldom-appearing vowels *ü* and *ö* are regularly pronounced as the *ü* and *ö* in German. However, *ö* alternates often with the dark *e*, and *ü* with the dark *i* resembling the Russian *ы*; e.g. *köže, keže* 'disease', *pöm, pem* 'bath', *könjep, kenjep* 'miserable', *lök, lēk* 'track', *lünkim, liŋkem* 'cover'<sup>40</sup>. Both vowels *ü* and *ö* are very likely to disappear completely in the future. At the same time, the Russian *ы* will develop further, replacing and destroying not only these two but also many other sound nuances.<sup>41</sup>

#### b) Pronunciation of the consonants

§ 13 The Russian characters б, д, г, х, к, л, м, н, п, р, с and в correspond to the German b, d, g, ch, k, l, m, n, p, r, ss (Swedish s) and w. Between vowels, of which both or at least the preceding one is short, *j* sounds like *ij*; as e.g. in *ajan* (or *aijan*) 'happy'. Ostyaks who speak Russian often pronounce *l* like the



hard Russian л whenever it is followed by a hard vowel or the darker modifications of *e* and *i*; e.g. in *lep* 'two-pointed arrow', *lox* 'bay'. In *s*, a very smooth, lisping nuance can sometimes be heard; e.g. in *sun* 'corner', *sēwes* 'rear of the boat'<sup>42</sup>. It may further be noted here that that a word-final *p* is often followed by an aspiration and thus sounds like *pf* or *f*; e.g. *ēndep* 'belt', *jīndep* 'needle'.

§ 14 The smooth consonants *b, d* are seldom pronounced as weakly as the German *b, d*, but with harder sounds pronounced between *b, d* and *p, t*, as also attested in Lappish, Samoyedic and many Tartar languages<sup>43</sup>. The case with *g* is partly the same; it should be noted, however, that this character covers two different modifications that diverge significantly according to their pronunciation and their variations<sup>44</sup>.

a) Followed by a hard vowel (*a, o, u*), *g* is mostly, and additionally when preceded by a short hard vowel always, pronounced like an aspiration, as in *g* in Turkish, *ᠭ* in Mongolian and *g* in Lappish; e.g. *tōgos* (*tōghos*) 'friend'. The same modification can also be heard in syllable- and word-final positions, regardless of which vowels it is connected with; e.g. in *jig* 'father', *meg* 'land', *peg* 'strange', *teg* 'tail'. According to its pronunciation, this modification comes very close to *x*, and is also easily switched into that; e.g. *ańaga, ańaxa* 'mother-in-law', *nōgrem, nōxrem* 'carve', *jig, jix* 'father'.<sup>45</sup>

b) Preceding a smooth and light vowel, *g* generally has the same sound as the German *g*; e.g. *mēget* 'breast', *uigit* 'meadow', *pēgettem* 'I bath'. Sometimes *g* also seems to be pronounced before a hard vowel without aspiration; e.g. *jogadem* '(to) lose', *čugadem* 'crumble'<sup>46</sup>. In a harder pronunciation,

42. both variants (of *l* and *s*) and allophones
43. These "smooth" consonants are allophones of /p/ and /t/. The same concerns the palatalized consonant *d'*, which represents the phoneme /t'/ (see also note 26). In the words in which they are shown, they always appear between vowels or in nasal + stop combinations, thus the examples at the end of § 13 are phonematically /entəp/ and /jintəp/ (as for the second syllable schwa, see note 34).
44. In fact, in all the positions in which they appear (non-initial), they represent the same phoneme, /ɣ/. One of its realizations is the voiceless *x* (χ), which, on the other hand, is a separate phoneme but only in the context given in § 15.
45. phonematically /toyos/, /jěy/, /měy/, /pěy/, /těy/, /ańaya/, /ńoyram/
46. phonematically /meyət/, /ujyət/, /peɣətəm/, /joɣətəm/, /čöyətəm/

47. The sound change  $k > x$  in front of a back vowel has taken place in several dialects of both Khanty (southern and northern) and Mansi (northern, partly eastern), and Hungarian also shows the same tendency, as the representative of  $*k$  in front of a back vowel is  $h$ , e.g.  $*kala > \text{Hu. } hal$ , Khanty South  $xul$ , Surg.  $ku\Delta$ , Mansi North  $x\ddot{u}l$ .
48. This should be  $k\ddot{u}tem /ku\Delta\ddot{e}m/$ .
49. in the manuscript:  $h$
50. This is controversial and hard to understand; yet surely  $h$  is not a phoneme in any of the Khanty dialects.
51. There are no traces of a pronunciation like this in the later observations of Khanty. In Surgut dialects, there are phonemes  $/k^{\circ}/$  and  $/\gamma^{\circ}/$ , labialized velar stop vs. fricative, but they do not occur word-initially.
52. This is a phonetical co-articulation not marked by any other collector.

## ❖ 6 ❖

this modification sounds almost like  $k$  and often changes into this; e.g.  $\bar{a}rgem$ ,  $\bar{a}rkem$  'sing',  $kergem$ ,  $kerkem$  'fall'.

§ 15 There are also two modifications of  $k$ , of which one corresponds to the German  $k$  and the other to Turkish  $\ddot{c}$ . The former appears especially in front of light vowels, the latter in front of hard vowels<sup>47</sup>. In Irtyš, the aspirated  $k$  changes often into  $x$ ; e.g.  $xan\ddot{z}em$ , Surgut  $kan\ddot{z}em$  'write',  $x\ddot{u}dem$ , S.  $k\ddot{u}dem$ <sup>48</sup> 'hear'. The Surgut dialects do not accept word-initial  $x$ , but always use the aspirated  $k$  instead.

§ 16 With  $x$ <sup>49</sup> we mark the sharply aspirated sound, which in German is marked with <ch> and in Russian likewise with <x>. The weak German  $h$  is in Ostyak unknown. In the Surgut dialects in word-final positions, the aspiration is not very strong; yet it seems not to be a specific sound<sup>50</sup>. Occasionally, one can hear a weaker aspiration in word-initial position in front of  $w$ , which has also appeared earlier in Swedish (e.g. in the words  $hvem$ ,  $hvad$ )<sup>51</sup>; however, this sound nuance is so rare and unspecific that it does not need a character of its own.

§ 17 In addition to what was said about  $w$  in the preceding paragraph, it can still be noted that word-initial  $w$  in front of any vowel is followed by a half  $u$ ; e.g.  $w\ddot{e}dem$  or  $wu\ddot{e}dem$  'bone marrow',  $w\ddot{e}da$  or  $wu\ddot{e}da$  'reindeer'. In the middle of a word, this kind of pronunciation is rare, but in the same way as  $j$  between vowels changes into  $ij$ ,  $w$  is also occasionally pronounced as  $uw$  according to the same rule; e.g.  $kowa$  or  $kouwa$  'cuckoo',  $xowat$  or  $xouwat$  'for a long time',  $nowa$  or  $nouwa$  'white',  $towottem$  or  $touwottem$  '(I) row'.<sup>52</sup> Cf. § 13.

§ 18 The consonants  $d$  and  $t$  denote two aspirated sounds, of which one is pronounced like  $dl$  or  $dhl$  and the other like  $tl$ ; e.g.  $\bar{a}d\dot{a}n$  or  $ad\dot{a}n$  ( $adhlan$ )

## ❖ 7 ❖

'morning',  $kat$  or  $katl$  ( $kathl$ ) 'day'<sup>53</sup>. Sounds related to these also occur in the Finnish and Lappish languages<sup>54</sup>.

§ 19 The letters  $\check{s}$ ,  $c$ ,  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{z}$  and  $\check{z}$  all mark sibilants and they are pronounced in the following way:

$\check{s}$	like	sch	Russian	ш
$c$		ts		ц
$\check{c}$		tsch		ч
$\check{z}$		ds		дз
$\check{z}$		dsch		дж

§ 20 With  $\eta$ <sup>55</sup> we mark a nasal, which is written in German with  $ng$ ; e.g.  $wen$  ( $weng$ ) 'son-in-law',  $sun$  ( $sung$ ) 'corner',  $\bar{o}\eta et$  'horn'. The same sound appears in Finnish, Lappish and many other related languages.

§ 21 There are many sounds in the Ostyak language that are softened with  $j$ , and these are marked as follows:  $d'$ ,  $d'j$ ,  $g'$ ,  $k$ ,  $l'$ ,  $n'$ ,  $t'$ ,  $t'j$ . They are pronounced almost like  $dj$ ,  $d'j$ ,  $gj$ ,  $kj$ ,  $lj$ ,  $nj$ ,  $tj$  and  $t'j$ <sup>56</sup>.

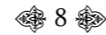
## C. Alternations of sounds

## a) Alternations of vowels

§ 22 In Finnish and other related languages, the vowels are separated into three classes: hard or *major* ( $a$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$ ), smooth or *minor* ( $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ ,  $\ddot{u}$ ) and light or *mediae* ( $e$ ,  $i$ ). In these languages, there is vowel harmony that never allows hard and smooth vowels to appear together in the same word but a) only hard vowels alone, smooth vowels alone or light vowels alone, or also b) hard vowels with light ones and smooth vowels with light ones. To follow these rules of vowel harmony, the Finnish language operates in such a way that the final vowels<sup>57</sup> are always adjusted to the vowel of the stem.

53. Cf. note 20. Castrén writes the voiced variant between vowels and in connection with the voiced variants of stops, the unvoiced variant mainly in syllable and word-final positions; phonematically  $/a\Delta\eta/$  and  $/k\dot{a}t\Delta\Delta/$ . In Castrén's notes, there is thus no difference between the word-final sequences  $-\Delta$  and  $-\Delta\Delta$ .
54.  $\Delta$  is a phoneme in Moksha Mordvin. In the Saami languages, there are unvoiced variants of laterals and nasals followed by stops due to preaspiration of the stops. Additionally,  $\Delta$  is a phoneme in Forest Nenets, which is spoken in the neighbourhood of the Surgut Khanty dialects.
55. in the manuscript  $ng$  (Swedish version),  $\ddot{n}$  (German version)
56. There are three palatalized phonemes in the Surgut dialects ( $/\acute{n}/$ ,  $/\acute{t}/$  and  $/\acute{l}/$ ), two in the south ( $/\acute{n}/$  and  $/\acute{t}/$ ) and three in the north (O) ( $/l'/$ ,  $/n'/$  and  $/t'/$ ). Out of the sounds presented here,  $d'$ ,  $g'$  and  $k$  are allophones of  $/t'/$  and  $d'$  is an allophone of  $t' = /l'/$ . Cf. also note 26.
57. This refers to the suffixal vowels.

58. There is still vowel harmony in part of the Surgut dialects (Trj) as well as in the easternmost dialects (VVj). In these dialects, the schwa (ə), the most common suffixal vowel, also has two variants, one more front and one more back. The vowel harmony is inherited from Proto-Khanty (Steinitz 1950, Honti 1984).
59. There are no diphthongs in Khanty, cf. note 23.
60. 'elbow'
61. Here we see the character <ï> in the original text. It is not provided in the character list on p. 1/47.
62. Phonematically, *a* and *e* in these words represent the schwa(s) /ə/, /a/.



§ 23 As the Ostyak language has nearly lost its smooth vowels due to Russian influence, the rules based on the trifold character of vowels also have little importance<sup>58</sup>. However, they are obeyed in the sense that e.g. hard and smooth vowels never appear together in the same diphthong<sup>59</sup>. The root words also thoroughly avoid this kind of mixture, cf. e.g. *koñar* and *köner* 'arm'<sup>60</sup>, *pāgart* and *pōgert* 'timber', *šudai* and *šĭgdei*<sup>61</sup> 'partridge'<sup>62</sup>. Obviously, the vowel change in the final syllable is due to the rules of vowel harmony mentioned above.

§ 24 These rules are often left unheeded in derived words and in suffixes, especially in the Irtyš dialects. Many suffixes have here adopted their specific final vowels, which are not subject to change based on the stem vowel. Additionally, a long vowel in the final syllable is not easily affected by the preceding vowels, and the aspirated consonants *x*, *g*, *k* are, especially in the Surgut dialects, nearly always followed by a hard vowel, even if there are smooth vowels preceding them. If the final syllable has a stronger stress, it also requires a harder vowel, regardless of the vowel of the stem. There are, however, also suffixes in which the hard *a* (*o*) alternates with the smooth *e*. The former follows a hard vowel or a light vowel connected with a hard one, while the latter may also follow a smooth vowel, a light vowel, or a smooth vowel connected with a light one. These rules mainly apply to the Surgut dialects; in the Irtyš dialects, hard consonants are also often followed by *e*.

§ 25 If the stem has a long *ā*, *ō* or *ū* followed immediately by an aspirated *g*, the vowel in the suffix occurs after *ā* as a short *a* and after *ō* or *ū* as a short *o*; e.g. *nāgam* 'smile', *cāgat* 'plank board', *tāgat* 'linen',



*wāgat* 'thin', *nōgos* 'sable', *ōgot* 'sledge', *pōgor* 'islet', *sōgot* 'plane (for shaving)', *mōgoŋ* 'pregnant', *jōgot* 'bow', *lōgom* 'still, tranquil', *mūgot* 'liver', *pūgot* 'village', *sūgom* 'thread'. All the other long vowels, even after *g*, are followed by *e*, and occasionally *i* is followed by *i*; e.g. *pōgert* 'timber', *mēget* 'breast', *čēget*, *čĭgit* 'tinder'. These rules, which in many Tartar languages are obeyed much more extensively, permit many exceptions in Ostyak.<sup>63</sup>

§ 26 A similar vowel harmony also sometimes occurs when the long vowel is followed by *d* (*d*) and *r*; e.g. *sōdom* 'the river Salym', *sōdop* 'sheath', *sōrot* 'sea', *sōrom* 'dry', *mōrom*, *māram* 'fold'. *r* can even be followed by *u*, in cases where the first syllable has an *ū*; e.g. *tūrum* 'God', *tūrup* 'sparse'<sup>64</sup>.

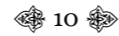
§ 27 Cases in which the vowel harmony affects in the way that the stem vowel alternates according to the following vowel are very rare. This kind of change occurs occasionally, when the stem is split and loses its stress due to division or in compound words; e.g. *xui* or *xaját* 'man', *xōt* 'tent', *xāt-xár* 'bottom of the tent'<sup>65</sup>.

§ 28 In general, the stem vowels in the Finnish-Tartar languages do not show any specific alternations, and this has been considered typical of the whole class of languages. The Surgut dialects are in this sense a peculiar counterexample, because here the stem vowels alternate almost as easily as in the Germanic languages. It deserves to be noted, especially because the target of the change is not the short vowel, which is occasionally unstable in other related languages, but mostly the long vowel in the stem<sup>66</sup>. This kind of change occurs mostly

- a) in nouns combined with a singular possessive suffix

63. This is simply a question of phonetic assimilation of the schwa. /ɤ/ might be a consonant that is so weak in itself that the assimilation is stronger in words where it occurs between the vowels.
64. This, again, means assimilation of the schwa to the consonants in the syllable, especially to the final labial consonant. Interestingly, the word for 'thread' /sūyəm/ would be expected to have a similar pronunciation (sūyum).
65. This, too, is essentially assimilation. In the case of /χāt-χār/, the full vowel (in /χot/) also changes into a reduced one (simultaneously with the loss of stress).
66. This paradigmatic vowel change is typical of the eastern dialects, in which it has evolved from the Proto-Khanty corresponding system (Honti 1984: 31–32). It is also used in other Khanty dialects as well as in Mansi, but only with a few so-called thematic verbs. This alternation is inherited from proto-Ob-Ugrian and it is considered the starting point of the more developed Proto-Khanty system.

67. The vowel alternation is the phonemical  $\bar{a} : u, o : u$ .
68. In the imperative, the alternation  $\bar{a} \sim u$  has a third alternant, the velar  $i$ .
69. =  $n\bar{a}n\bar{k} : n\bar{i}n\bar{k}am$  (with  $\eta$ )
70. The words with <a> all represent the paradigmatic vowel alternation  $\bar{a} : i$  (as Castrén did not make a difference between  $a$  ( $\bar{a}$ ) and  $\bar{a}$ ); i.e.  $\bar{a}mp : impem, t\bar{a}s : t\bar{i}sem, w\bar{a}s\bar{e}y : wisyam$  ( $wis\bar{y}\bar{a}m$ ).
71. Honti (1984: 32) gives the alternation  $\bar{o} : \bar{u}$  but only in the easternmost (VVj) dialects.
72. This happens occasionally in connection with derivative suffixes in all dialects (Honti 1984: 31).
73. The form of the word in the south is  $im\bar{a}$  (loc.  $im\bar{a}na$ ) and the correct translation is '(old) woman'. In this case, both  $a$  and  $e$  are phonetic realizations of the phoneme  $/a/$ . However, this word represents a flexion type that has some specific vowel alternations in all dialects; see note 78.



- b) in verbs in the past tense indicative, as well as participles, and occasionally also in the imperative.
- § 29 In the forms mentioned, the changes are:
1.  $o$  and the deep  $a$  into  $u$ ; e.g.  $p\bar{o}m$  'grass',  $p\bar{u}mem$  'my grass',  $\bar{o}\eta k$  'resin',  $\bar{u}\eta kam$  'my resin',  $s\bar{o}m$  'scale (of fish)',  $s\bar{u}mem$  'my scale';  $\bar{a}t$  'year',  $\bar{u}tem$  'my year',  $s\bar{a}rt$  'pike',  $s\bar{u}rtem$  'my pike',  $m\bar{o}n\bar{t}$ ,  $m\bar{a}n\bar{t}$  'story',  $m\bar{u}n\bar{t}em$  'my story',  $\bar{a}mettem$  'I set', past  $\bar{u}mdem$ ;  $n\bar{o}batt\bar{o}jem$  'I float', past  $n\bar{u}pt\bar{o}jem$ ;  $\bar{a}gattam$  'I vomit', past  $\bar{u}godem$ . In general, both the imperative and the past participle behave like the past tense<sup>67</sup>; however, if the stem has a deep  $a$ , occasionally in the imperative we can hear a modification of  $u$  which is sometimes near to  $\bar{u}$ , sometimes to  $\bar{y}$ <sup>68</sup>; e.g.  $\bar{j}\bar{a}nttem$  'I sew', past  $\bar{j}\bar{u}ndem$ , imperat.  $\bar{j}\bar{u}nde$  ( $\bar{j}\bar{u}nde, \bar{j}\bar{i}nde$ );  $\bar{a}rettem$  'I divide', past  $\bar{u}rdem$ , imperat.  $\bar{u}rde$  ( $\bar{u}rde$ );  $\bar{a}mestem$  'I sit', past  $\bar{u}msem$ , imperat.  $\bar{u}mse$  ( $\bar{u}mse$ ).
  2.  $a, e$  into  $i$ ; e.g.  $\bar{a}t$  'night',  $\bar{i}tem$  'my night';  $\bar{a}mp$  'dog',  $\bar{i}mpem$  'my dog';  $n\bar{a}nk$ <sup>69</sup> 'larch',  $n\bar{i}nkam$  'my larch';  $t\bar{a}s$  'ware',  $t\bar{i}sem$  'my thing(s)';  $w\bar{a}sex$  'duck',  $w\bar{i}sxam$  'my duck'<sup>70</sup>;  $n\bar{e}wer$  'lather',  $n\bar{i}urem$  'my lather';  $\bar{l}\bar{e}k$  'track',  $\bar{l}ikam$  'my track';  $\bar{a}demdem$  'I lift', past  $\bar{i}tmem$ ;  $\bar{j}\bar{e}nt\bar{t}em$  'I drink', past  $\bar{j}\bar{i}nd'em$ . Sometimes the  $a$  in the past tense remains unchanged and the imperative gets the  $\bar{i}$ ; e.g.  $\bar{j}\bar{a}\eta ettem$  'I spin', past  $\bar{j}\bar{a}\eta dem$ , imperat.  $\bar{j}\bar{i}\eta de$ .
  3.  $\bar{o}$  into  $\bar{u}$ ; e.g.  $k\bar{o}r$  'oven', S.  $k\bar{u}rem$  'my oven';  $k\bar{o}n$  'arctic fox',  $k\bar{u}n'em$  'my arctic fox'<sup>71</sup>.

N.B. As far as I know, a similar vowel alternation also occurs in the Irtyš dialects, exceptionally in derived words; e.g.  $n\bar{a}mas$  'sense',  $n\bar{a}masem$  or  $n\bar{u}mem$  'remember',  $k\bar{a}t$  'two',  $k\bar{i}met$  'second'. According to my observations,  $i, u$  and  $\bar{u}$  in the Surgut dialects do not alternate in this way<sup>72</sup>.

§ 30 While the vowels in the stem are stiff and invariable, the vowels in non-initial syllables are



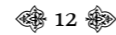
unstable and subject to change. We do not wish to show all changes of this kind, but only to provide some of the most important ones. When doing so, we refer mostly to the Irtyš dialects.

1. When the stem-final vowel is  $a$ , it is replaced in inflexion by a short  $e$ ; e.g.  $\bar{i}ma$  'mother', loc.  $\bar{i}mena$ <sup>73</sup>;  $\bar{a}da$  'sleep!', past  $\bar{a}dem$ <sup>74</sup>.
2. When  $a$  follows the aspirated consonants  $x, g, k$ , it remains unchanged; e.g.  $\bar{a}n\bar{a}xa$  'stepmother', dat.  $\bar{a}n\bar{a}xaja$ ;  $\bar{t}oga$  'bow', dat.  $\bar{t}ogaja$ , etc.
3. Additionally,  $a$  also remains unchanged in certain cases after other consonants, like in the future tense indicative 1st and 2nd person sing., in nominative plural, in front of 1st and 2nd person suffixes, etc.
4. In the Surgut dialects,  $a$  changes easily into  $i$ ; e.g.  $k\bar{a}ra$  'field',  $k\bar{a}rit$  'their field';  $\bar{a}t\eta am$  'I sleep', 3rd person past  $\bar{a}tnit$ <sup>75</sup>. This vowel alternation also sometimes occurs in the Irtyš dialects; e.g.  $k\bar{a}dn$  ( $k\bar{a}t$ ) 'two',  $k\bar{i}met$  'second';  $m\bar{a}$  'I', dual  $m\bar{i}n$ , etc.<sup>76</sup>
5. In all dialects  $e$  often changes into  $i$ ; e.g.  $\bar{p}anem$  'I have put', 3rd person pl  $\bar{p}anit$ <sup>77</sup>;  $\bar{i}met$  'mothers',  $\bar{i}midam$  'my mothers'<sup>78</sup>. This change occurs most often after  $j$  and the smooth  $g$ .
6. On the other hand, in the Surgut dialects,  $i$  can occasionally change into  $e$ ; e.g.  $k\bar{i}lsi$  'barbel (fish)',  $k\bar{i}lsem, k\bar{i}lsen$  'my, your barbel'.
7. Between two vowels,  $i$  and  $u$  change into  $j$  and  $w$ ; e.g.  $\bar{a}i$  'happiness',  $\bar{a}ja\eta$  'happy',  $\bar{k}eu$  'stone',  $\bar{k}ewe\eta$  'stony'<sup>79</sup>.

§ 31 The short  $a$  is often subject to elision, especially in cases where two similar vowels meet in compounds of two separate words; e.g.  $\bar{a}\eta a\eta a$  instead of  $\bar{a}\eta a-\bar{a}\eta a$  'grandmother'. The same happens to both vowels mentioned in front of many formative elements; e.g.  $\bar{n}owa$  'white',  $\bar{n}owox\bar{t}ep$  'whitish',  $\bar{w}erde$  'red',  $\bar{w}erdox\bar{t}ep$  'reddish'<sup>80</sup>. Moreover, word-final  $a$  and  $e$  following a long syllable

74. This is not a stem-final  $a$  but the ending of the imperative form, and in the past tense,  $e$  is a part of the suffix.
75. In the Surgut dialects, the 3rd person plural forms have the ending  $-ia$ ; here, too,  $i$  belongs to the suffix. In the word  $\bar{a}tnit$  / $\bar{a}t\eta ia$ /, the occurrence of <n> instead of <ŋ> seems to be a typographical error.
76. These Irtyš examples do not show the alternation in a non-initial syllable; the variation in these words is lexical.
77. See note 75.
78. This concerns a set of single words, i.e. it is a question of flexion type; the correct translation of  $\bar{i}mi$  ( $\bar{i}m\bar{a}$ ) is '(old) woman'; another word of the same flexion type is  $\bar{e}w\bar{a}$  'girl, daughter': (Kr. KO)  $\bar{e}wem$  'my daughter',  $\bar{e}w\eta\eta atam$  'my two daughters',  $\bar{e}witam$  'my (many) daughters' (Honti 1984: 133); basically, in this flexion type, the stem ends with a reduced vowel, which in certain forms alternates with a full one.
79. Rather, in syllable- and stem-final positions, the consonants  $j$  and  $w$  are weakened to semi-vowels. The etymological counterparts of the word  $\bar{k}ew$  'stone' in many related languages also show the consonant, e.g. Fi.  $\bar{k}ivi$  'stone'.
80. These words for weak colours are also compounds: the latter part  $-ox\bar{t}ep$  ( $-ox\bar{t}\bar{e}p$ ) is an adjectival derivative of the word  $\bar{o}x\bar{a}t$  'surface'; i.e. "with a red/white surface".

81. This means the vowel /ə/ in the second syllable.
82. The correct translation is 'come'.
83. All the examples are words which have /ə/ in the second syllable of the stem: *menət-*, *ayət-*, *jōχət-*, *teyət-*, *oηət*, *poγər*, *jarət-*, *ewət-*; this alternation is not dependent on the full vs. reduced character of the first syllable vowel.
84. This is because it only concerns the vowels of an original second syllable /ə/.
85. In the words *muraχ* and *χulax* the second syllable vowel is full, i.e. not /ə/.



are very easily lost, and in common speech they often disappear; e.g. *ēne* or *ēn* 'big', *sīra*, *sīr*, Surg. *sār* 'before'.

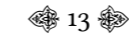
§ 32 There is also a particular type of elision in the middle of the word that is very influential and extensive. This elision has the following rule: in the middle of the word, any short vowel<sup>81</sup> can disappear when there is a long vowel in the preceding syllable if the two consonants beside them can be joined together without help of a vowel; e.g. *mēndem* instead of *mēnedem* 'bend'; *āxtem* instead of *āgadem* 'vomit'; *jōxtem* instead of *jōgodem* 'go in'<sup>82</sup>; *tēgdem* instead of *tēgedem* 'fly'; *ōηdet* instead of *ōηedet* plural of *ōηet* 'horn'; *pōxret* instead of *pōgoret*, plural of *pōgor* 'islet', etc. Dialectally, this elision can also occur immediately after a short syllable; e.g. *jaradem* or *jardem* 'forget'; *ewedem* or *eudem* 'cut, carve'.<sup>83</sup>

N.B. 1. This elision rule does not apply to compounds; e.g. *tūduš* (actually *tūt-uš*) 'flint pouch', pl. *tūdušet*<sup>84</sup>.

2. The elision is also sometimes absent in single words, especially if the consonants to be joined are too many and heterogeneous; e.g. *pēteη* 'cloud', dat. *pēteηa* or *pēteηa*; *ēpsendem* (not *ēpsndem*) 'smell'; *ēsemdem* (not *ēsmdem*) 'suck'; *mūraxat* (not *mūrchat*) 'cloudberries'; *xūlaxat* (not *xūlxat*) 'ravens'<sup>85</sup>.

3. Additionally, in connection with this kind of elision, the consonants involved can be either hardened or smoothened, sometimes they can be elided, too.

§ 33 In order to facilitate pronunciation, sometimes short vowels can be added at the end or also in the middle of a word; e.g. *pūma-xar* (instead of *pūm-xar*);



'mown meadow' *wāga-pēlek* (instead of *wax-pēlek*) 'one kopeck'; *xūdamet* 'sixth' (instead of *xutmet*); *mōgoη*, Surg. *mōkη* 'pregnant', etc. The language does not seem to have any specific rules for additions like this.

§ 34 If we compare the Irtyš dialect to both Surgut dialects, we can see many sorts of vowel differences both in the stem of the words and in the suffixes. Here is a short overview of these:

1. *a, e*; e.g. LS.<sup>86</sup> *kera* 'sterlet (fish)', LS. *kari*; *es-tem* 'let, release', US. *astem*; *kawa* 'hammer', LS. *kewi*; *eder* 'clear', S. *ater*, *kerap* 'vehicle', S. *kerep*; *jirnas* 'shirt', S. *jernes*; *šermat* 'headstall', S. *širnet*<sup>87</sup>
2. *ā, ē*; e.g. *ājem* 'glue', S. *ējem*; *ēbet* 'smell', S. *āpet*; *čawer* 'hare', US. *tēwer*; *pāgart* 'timber', LS. *pēwert*.
3. *a, i*; e.g. *opa* 'elder sister', S. *opi*; *aηa* 'mother', S. *aηki*; *lūla* 'a seabird', S. *lūli*; *īma* 'woman', S. *īmi*.
4. *ā, ī*; e.g. *jānd'em*, *jēnd'em* 'drink', S. *jīnd'em*; *tāsem* 'my things', S. *tīsem*<sup>88</sup>.
5. *a, o*; e.g. *jaradem* 'forget', S. *jorodem*; *adaša* 'stallion', S. *odoša*; *aidem* 'find', S. *ojodem*; *kowa* 'cuckoo', LS. *kawi*.
6. *ā, ō*; e.g. *ōηet* 'horn', S. *āηet*; *ōηdep* 'gaff, spear', S. *āηdep*; *mōrom* 'fold', S. *māram*; *sōm* 'fish flake', S. *sām*; *sōjem* 'mountain brook', S. *sājem*; *sōrt* 'pike', S. *sārt*; *ōš* 'sheep', S. *āč*<sup>89</sup>.
7. *a, u*; e.g. *warηai* 'crow', S. *urηi*.
8. *ā, ū*; e.g. *sūpos* 'knitting needle', US. *sāwas*; *āxtem* 'vomit', S. *ūgodem*.
9. *a, ü*; e.g. *aηasem* 'take off one's shoes', S. *ūηacem*.
10. *a, ai*; e.g. *joura* 'slanted', S. *jourai*; *natxa* 'spruce', S. *natxai*; *aηaxa* 'stepmother', S. *anjakai*<sup>90</sup>
11. *ai, oi*; e.g. *poi* 'aspen', S. *pai*; *poidek* 'willow grouse', S. *paitek*; *moitet* 'soap', S. *maitek*<sup>91</sup>.
12. *āu, īu*; e.g. *nāurem*, *nīurem* 'jump'<sup>92</sup>.

86. The first word (along with the words on the list without reference to dialect) represents the Irtyš dialect. This abbreviation is thus unnecessary (and false!).
87. The differences in the first syllable vowels show the result of historical sound changes, which have led to different phonemes. The ones in the second syllable again show phonetic realizations of the reduced vowel phoneme /ə/.
88. This is the paradigmatic vowel alternation *ā ~ i* in Surgut.
89. This is an attested and regular sound correspondence between the dialects.
90. Suffixal variation; the words without the final *i* (= *j*) show the simplification of the suffix.
91. Essentially the same alternation as in no. 6, with a syllable-final *i* (= *j*).
92. Essentially the same alternation as in no. 4, with a syllable-final *i* (= *j*).

93. The actual representation in Surgut is  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{y}$  (cf. nr. 17).
94. In the latter vowel, the labialization is a feature in the consonant, the Surgut (Trj, Tra) phoneme  $\eta^\circ$ : phonematically /  $j\eta^\circ at/$ .
95. The correct translation is 'child'.
96. The first example shows the same feature as explained in note 94 but with the rounded  $\gamma^\circ$  phoneme: (Irtyš (Kr.) *kew* vs. Surgut (Tra) *käy*<sup>95</sup>; the latter the combination *aw* vs. *ew* (the word 'child' has a full vowel in both syllables, even if marked as "short" here)
97. Cf. notes 94 and 96: the alternation is South *-w* vs. Surgut *-y*<sup>95</sup>: actually *něw* ~ *nöy*<sup>95</sup>, *těw* ~ *löy*<sup>95</sup>.
98. The verb 'come' is one of the so-called thematic verbs that have two or more vowel alternations in the stem; however, they appear in different inflective forms: in *juwem* 'I came', the vowel is *u*; the variant *i* does not occur in this form (past) but instead in *jitam* 'I come' (present/future).
99. Simplification of the suffix; see note 90.

## ❖ 14 ❖

13. *e, i*; e.g. *keredem* 'return, come back', S. *kirigdem*; *kiser* 'playing cards', OS. *keser*; *jermak*, *jirmak* 'silk'; *jirnas* 'shirt', S. *jernes*; *pete* 'bottom, ground', S. *pite*.
14.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ; e.g. *nēbek* 'paper', S. *nīpek*; *tīliš* 'moon, month', S. *tēdes*.
15. *e, o*; e.g. *ket* 'word', S. *kot*; *weŋ* 'son-in-law', S. *woŋ*; *kergem* 'fall (down)', S. *korgem*<sup>93</sup>.
16.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ; e.g. *ēne*, *ūna* 'big'.
17. *e, ö*: e.g. *pem* 'sauna steam', S. *pöm*; *keŋer* 'arm', US. *köner*.
18.  $\bar{e}$ , *ei*; e.g. *ēssig*, *eissig* 'old man', *ēt*, *eit* 'item'; *ēdem* 'leave (behind)', S. *eidem*.
19.  $\bar{e}$ , *eu*; e.g. *jēŋet* 'spinning wheel', S. *jeuŋet*<sup>94</sup>.
20.  $\bar{e}$ , *au*; e.g. *mēget* 'breast', S. *mauget*.
21. *ei, oi*; e.g. *tej* 'top, tip', LS. *toi*.
22. *ei, üi*; e.g. *tei* 'pus', S. *tüi*.
23. *eu, au*; e.g. *keu* 'stone', S. *kau*; *naurem* 'young'<sup>95</sup>, S. *neurem*<sup>96</sup>.
24. *eu, ou*; e.g. *neu* 'branch, twig', LS. *noux*; *teu* 'bone', S. *toux*<sup>97</sup>.
25. *i, u*; e.g. *jiwem*, *juwem* 'come'<sup>98</sup>; *šudai* 'partridge', LS. *šigdei*.
26. *i, ü*; e.g. *mil* 'hat', S. *mül*; *jinda* 'tow line', S. *jündex*; *linda* 'bullfinch', S. *lünti*.
27.  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ; e.g. *kīda* 'sister-in-law, brother-in-law', S. *kūdi*.
28. *i, ai*; e.g. *warŋai* 'crow', S. *urŋi*; *jeterŋai* 'capercaillie', S. *jeterŋi*; *kuŋnai* 'elbow', S. *kunxŋi*<sup>99</sup>.
29. *o, u*; e.g. *tun* 'summer', S. *toŋ*; *turt* 'root', LS. *tort*; *tunt* 'goose', S. *tont*; *unža* 'spruce', S. *onžex*; *puŋat* 'side', S. *poŋat*; *pusem* 'wash (clothes)', S. *possem*; *numem* 'remember', S. *nomem*.
30.  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ; e.g. *xūt* 'cough', S. *köt*; *xūlax* 'raven', US. *kōlak*; *mūrax* 'cloudberry', S. *mōrak*; *ōmsem* 'sit', S. *ūmsem*; *pūden* 'nettle', S. *pōden*.

## ❖ 15 ❖

31. *o, ö*; e.g. *koŋar*, *keŋer* 'arm', US. *köner*.
32.  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{ö}$ ; e.g. *kōr* 'oven', S. *kōr*; *koŋ*, *kōn* 'arctic fox'.
33. *o, ö, oi*; e.g. *nōgo* 'flesh, meat', S. *nōgoi*; *ōda*, *oida* 'sour'.
34. *o, ou*; e.g. *nox* (US.), *noux* (LS.) 'twig'; *nox* 'moose', LS. *noux*; *tox* (US.) 'lake', *toux* (LS.)<sup>100</sup>.
35.  $\bar{o}$ , *au*; e.g. *jōgot* 'bow', LS. *jaugot*; *pōgor* 'islet', S. *paugor*; *ōgot* 'sledge', LS. *augot*.
36. *oi, ui*; e.g. *toi*, *tui* 'top, tip', *tui* 'finger', LS. *toi*.

## b) Alternations of consonants

§ 35 In order to provide general rules for alternations in consonants, we divide them into three classes:

- A) Hard: *k, x, k̄, p, t, t̄, t̄, c, š, c, č*.  
 B) Smooth: *g, ḡ, ŋ, b, d, d̄, d̄, ʒ, ʒ̄*.  
 C) Light: *j, l, l̄, m, n, n̄, r, w*.

N.B. As an exception, *ŋ* has simultaneously the character of both a light and a smooth consonant.<sup>101</sup>

§ 36 There is a rule to be observed, in Ostyak as well as in other languages, that the smooth consonants may not appear either in word-initial or word-final position, whereas the hard and light consonants can occur in both these positions<sup>102</sup>. However, the vowel consonants *j* and *w* change into *i* and *u* in word-final position, and word-initially they are very common<sup>103</sup>.

N.B. 1. Among the smooth consonants, *ŋ* and the aspirated *g* can occur in word-final position, although the latter changes easily to *x*; e.g. *jig*, *jix* 'father'; *meg*, *mex* 'clay, land', *mag*, *max* 'honey'<sup>104</sup>.

2. If there are two consonants in the end of a word, may neither of these be smooth. Only exceptionally sometimes the first of these can be smooth; e.g. *kādn* or *kātn* 'two'<sup>105</sup>.

§ 37 Smooth consonants are equally rare in syllable-final positions inside one word, as they are

100. The labialization is, again, a feature of the consonant: "US." *-y* vs. "LS." *-y*<sup>95</sup>. However, the rounded consonants *k*<sup>95</sup>, *y*<sup>95</sup> and *ŋ*<sup>95</sup> are attested in all Surgut dialects.
101. In the German mscr., *ŋ* is classified as a light consonant and the "N.B." is the following: In the Surgut dialects, *h* has simultaneously the character of both a hard and a smooth consonant, e.g. *jandham* 'to sing' (unclear, looks like "singen").
102. With the exception of *g = /y/* and *ŋ*, the "smooth" consonants are voiced (or medial) allophones to the corresponding "hard", i.e. unvoiced stops and affricates, and they occur in word internal positions between vowels or following a nasal (*m, n, ŋ, ŋ*) or liquid (*l, r*).
103. So they, in fact, make up a group of their own.
104. *g = /y/* is the phoneme here and *x* its word-final voiceless allophone. In the observations of many other scholars, the voiced *g = /y/* also appears word-finally.
105. This is an inflected form, seemingly *kāt* '2' + PX2SG "your two", i.e. 'the two of yours'.



106. In the first example, there is a phonetic free variation of Surgut /aɫɫəm/. In the latter example, the first variant *maxta* [mäχtə] is from Irtyš and the latter *magdi* [Trj māγɫi] from Surgut.
107. Consonant!
108. There is no rule or tendency in the distribution of /k/ and /γ/ in this respect.
109. I.e. the smoother (voiced or medial) variants occur between vowels or in combination with a nasal or liquid (cf. note 102).
110. This is a rule which obviously has not been easy to formulate; e.g. in this example, the consonant *t* is not followed by a “hard” but by a “light” consonant. We only need one rule, which is formulated in note 109, and this is only for allophones.
111. This would be, though, exactly the same free variation as in *āddam* vs. *āttam* above, cf. note 106.
112. Phonematically: *jeñtəm* — *jeñttəm* ‘I drank — I (will) drink’; in the past tense, between a nasal and a vowel, the allophone is medial (or voiced).
113. free variation in one context (between vowels)

## ❖ 16 ❖

in word-final position. In the Irtyš dialects, only *ŋ* and *g* appear often in syllable-final position; e.g. *jigdeŋ* ‘stepfather’, *megdeŋ* ‘cyprinus dobula (dace)’, *megder* ‘angleworm’, *oŋdep* ‘gaff, spear’, *jēndem* ‘spin’, whereas in the Surgut dialects, other consonants can also appear, e.g. *ūddim* ‘I (will) heat’; *āddam* ‘I (will) sleep’.

§ 38 In syllable-initial positions, a hard consonant must always be preceded by a hard one and a smooth consonant by a smooth one.; e.g. *āddam* or *āttam* ‘I (will) sleep’, *maxta*, *magdi* ‘laurel willow’<sup>106</sup>. If the preceding syllable ends with a vowel or a light consonant, either a hard or a smooth consonant can initiate the following one. There are no specific rules in these cases, yet it seems that a condition can be given according to which a smooth vowel<sup>107</sup> follows a long syllable and a hard one a short syllable; e.g. *jukan* ‘lot (fate)’; *jōgot* ‘bow’.<sup>108</sup>

§ 39 According to the sound harmonic rules in Ostyak presented in §§ 36–38, the consonants are either hardened or smoothened. The smoothening occurs especially when a flexion ending is added, in compounds, in the frequent cases with additional vowels, etc.; e.g. *kerap* ‘vehicle’, pl. *kerabet*; *pēlak* ‘half’, *pēlget*; *xōdoxta* instead of *xōtoxta* ‘roof’; *āxtem* or *ūgodem* ‘vomit’<sup>109</sup>. On the other hand, the consonants are always hardened when they are word-final, as well as in the middle of the word following a hard consonant; e.g. *pēdem* ‘horsefly’, pl. *pētmet* (instead of *pēdemet*)<sup>110</sup>, *tūbat* ‘basket’, pl. *tuptet* (instead of *tūbadet*); *jōxtem* (instead of *jōgodem*) ‘go in’; *ōmattem* (instead of *ōmaddem*) ‘I (will) sit’<sup>111</sup>; *tāptem* (instead of *tābedem*) ‘feed’.

§ 40 In Ostyak, the smooth and hard consonants corresponding to one another are the following;

*b* and *p*; e.g. *libet* ‘leaf’, pl. *liptet*.  
*d* — *t*; e.g. *jādam* ‘seine net’, pl. *jātmet*.  
*d* — *t*; e.g. *nādem* ‘tongue’, pl. *nātmet*.

## ❖ 17 ❖

*d* and *t*; e.g. *jēndem* ‘drink’, fut. *jēnttəm*<sup>112</sup>.  
*d* — *t*; e.g. *siḏa* or *siṭa* ‘gunpowder’<sup>113</sup>.  
*g* — *k*, *x*; e.g. *jigem* ‘set (a bow, a trap)’; fut. *jiktem*; *nagam* ‘laugh’, fut. *nāxtam*<sup>114</sup>.  
*ǵ* — *k*; e.g. *senk* ‘bast’, *senǵem* ‘my bast’.  
*ŋ* — *nk*, *nx*; e.g. *seŋem* ‘hit’, fut. *senktem*; *jāŋam* ‘walk’, fut. *jānxtam*<sup>115</sup>.  
*(ʒ — c)*  
*ʒ* — *č*, *š*; e.g. *ūš* or *ūč* ‘cloth’, *ūžem* ‘my cloth’, *mungolžem* ‘I bound’, 1. prs. Pl.<sup>116</sup> *mungolšmen*.

N.B. The hard *s* has no smooth counterpart in the language and thus cannot occur together with a smooth consonant.

§ 41 A sequential rule after those concerning smoothening and hardening of the consonants in Ostyak is, as in most of the related languages, the very important rule that two consonants are not allowed either in the beginning of a word or syllable or in the end of them. Only in word- or syllable-final positions are there sometimes sequences of two consonants, when one of these, and most often the former, is a liquid or sibilant, or *ŋ* or *t*. We have observed the following combinations of two consonants: *lt*, *lʃ*, *mt*, *nt*, *nt*, *nt*, *nt*, *rt*, *ts*, *st*, *tt*, *lš*, *nš*, *nč*, *nk*, *nk*, *nx*, *tn*, *dn*, *mp*, *kŋ*, *rm*, *rn*, *rx*; e.g. *peltčēm* ‘I exchange’, *polʃ* ‘tallow’, *teremttem* ‘I spread (out)’, *tunt* ‘goose’, *mōnt* ‘story’, *kunt* ‘sunrise, sunset’, *sārt* ‘pike’, *sast* ‘lizard’<sup>117</sup>, *āmešt* ‘he sits’<sup>118</sup>, *ōtt* ‘they sleep’, *nōgolšmen* gerund of *nōgolžem* ‘stake, support’<sup>119</sup>, *čānšpan* ‘pitch thread’, *čānč* ‘knee’, *jānk* ‘nail’, *senk* ‘bast’, *ōŋx* ‘resin’<sup>120</sup>, *itn* ‘evening’, *kādn* ‘two’<sup>121</sup>, *āmp* ‘dog’<sup>122</sup>, *wokŋ* ‘strong’, *tūrm* ‘God’, *ārndeŋ* ‘guilty’, *ūr*, *er* ‘excessive’<sup>123</sup>.

§ 42 Some consonants occur in the combinations mentioned above only seldom, and usually change into other sounds. Thus, *m* in front of *t*

114. The examples represent two different alternations: in the first one the phoneme /k/ is represented by a medial between two vowels (phonetically {*jiGəm*}), whilst in the second one the phoneme /γ/ is represented by its voiceless allophone followed by a voiceless stop (backward assimilation).
115. In these cases, both the combinations *ŋk* and *ŋχ* have been sporadically simplified between vowels. This does not normally happen in Khanty dialects. The normalized verbs are *seŋk*- and *jāŋχ*-, respectively.
116. First person dual! All examples represent the phoneme /č/.
117. Up to this, they are combinations that truly exist in these positions, cf. 120 below.
118. *ɫ* and its counterpart *l* in the northern dialects form a syllable of their own when used as a personal ending, like here present tense 3SG.
119. These two have in the phonematic system, a schwa between the consonants; i.e. they are not combinations of two consonants but sequences of C1əC2.
120. Combinations of nasal/liquid + stop/affricate are allowed. They are, though, often simplified to a stop/affricate: *jak* : *janke*, etc.
121. *itən* ‘in the morning’, *kātən* ‘the two of yours’, cf. note 105.
122. Cf. 120 above, often *ap* : *ampem* ‘my dogs’, *apyən* ‘two dogs’ but *ampət* ‘(many) dogs’.
123. actually: (S.) *wōγʰəŋ*, *turəm*, *ārəntəŋ*, *ōrəγ*

124. dual = 'we two; both of us'
125. In the Surgut dialects, they represent the same phoneme, whilst in the southern dialects, /č/ and /š/ are separate (Honti 1984: 26).
126. This is a lexical phenomenon and concerns certain words. The ones mentioned here belong to the most important ones of this kind: the regular form for 'one' is /ěj/ {i}, and there are no later examples of the form *it*; *iwe(t) /iwa, iwət/* is a postposition which in many dialects has developed into ablative case suffix; *ěn* is a negative particle which is used in verb conjugation and often loses its final *-t* when the verb following it begins with a consonant (as in the final example of § 43); and the 1PSG pronoun (Surgut *mä*, O *ma*) only gets its *-n* in declension.
127. The possessive suffix of 2PSG is *-en*; it is recognizable also without the final *-n* on the basis of its full vowel.
128. Rather 'armless man'. There is also an assimilation <tt> in the written form, actually /kätΛəγ ku/ (*kät* 'arm, hand', *-Λəγ* is the caritive suffix); certainly an assimilation or elision takes place when *γ* and *k* meet at a word boundary; one would rather expect {*kätΛək ku*}.
129. The dual suffix is /-γən/; in the northern and part of the southern (Kr.) dialects, /-ŋən/.

## ❖ 18 ❖

usually changes into *n*; e.g. *terenttem* 'I spread (out)' instead of *teremttem*. In the middle of a word, *č* also very often becomes *š* when preceded by a consonant; e.g. *kenšmen* instead of *kenčmen* 'we<sup>124</sup> caught', *čānšpan* instead of *čānčpan* 'pitch thread'. Additionally, in the Surgut dialects, word-final *č* nearly always changes into *š*; e.g. *aš* instead of *ač* 'chalk'; *uš* instead of *uč* 'cloth'; *woš* instead of *woč* 'town'<sup>125</sup>.

§ 43 In order to prevent too many consonants from occurring together, the language uses the means of deleting one of the consonants, in most cases the first one. In addition, of the consonants mentioned in § 41, one is sometimes deleted; e.g. *ňamlet* instead of *ňamplet*, pl. of *ňambal* 'mud'; *kušpet* instead of *kunšpet*, pl. of *kunžep* 'comb', *jāxtam* instead of *jānxtam* 'I walk'. Sometimes the latter consonant is deleted; e.g. *tor* instead of *tort* 'root'. This happens especially often in situations when two words are tied together in pronunciation and thereby several consonants meet; e.g. *amnox* instead of *amp-mox* 'puppy'; *en werem* instead of *ent werem* 'I did not (do)'.

§ 44 Additionally, there are many elisions in Ostyak that are not dependent on any special rules. Especially in word-final position, *t*, *n* and in the Surgut dialects *x* are deleted; e.g. *i pa* instead of *it pa* 'once'; *opīwe* instead of *opīwet* 'from the elder sister'; *en* instead of *ent* 'not', *ma* instead of *man* 'I'<sup>126</sup>; *rīte* instead of *rīten* 'your boat'<sup>127</sup>; *kotta ku* instead of *kottax ku* 'man without a hand'<sup>128</sup>. The elision of *x* also sometimes occurs in the middle of a word; e.g. *lenkep* 'split', dual *lenkepan* instead of *lenkepaxan*<sup>129</sup>. Moreover, a double consonant is often pronounced as a single one, and when two similar syllables meet, one of them can sometimes be deleted; e.g. *imiden* instead of *imideden* 'your mothers'; cf. § 85. Some special elisions will be discussed in the morphological section.

N.B. In many cases, in the general pronunciation, the

## ❖ 19 ❖

consonant can partly be deleted, partly preserved. In the orthography, we follow the etymological demands of the language and thus write the sounds as completely as possible.

§ 45 Sometimes in Ostyak, the vowel consonants *j*, *w* as well as *g*, *x* and *k* can be added. This addition occurs in word-initial and word-final as well as word-internal positions:

A) When the word begins with a vowel, sometimes *j* and *w* are required as a kind of aspiration; e.g. *it* or *jit* 'under', *indep* or *jīndep* 'needle'<sup>130</sup>.

B) Word-final vowels in the Surgut dialects become aspirated when they occur with *x*; e.g. *neu*, *noux* 'twig'; *jeu*, *jeux* 'perch'; *jeura*, *jeurex* 'wolf'; *keu*, LS. *kaux* 'stone'<sup>131</sup>. The Irtyš dialect often uses *j* and this is why *i* is written after the vowel; e.g. *joura* or *jourai*, S. *jagrax* 'slanted'<sup>132</sup>.

C) Word-internally we find the following additions of consonants:

a) Between two vowels that come together, *j*, *g* or *w* is easily added; e.g. *mejem* instead of *me'em* 'give', *ňatxaja* or *ňatxaga* instead of *ňatxa'a*, dative of *ňatxa* 'pine', *tēwem* instead of *tē'em* 'eat'<sup>133</sup>. This addition of *j*, *g* often occurs when the two vowels are exactly the same and especially when the first one is long.

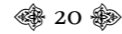
b) In the Surgut dialects, *g* can sometimes also be added between a vowel and a consonant; e.g. *jaran*, S. *jargan* 'Samoyed', *sēwem*, S. *sēwgem* 'braid, weave', *šudai*, S. *šigdei* 'partridge', *keredem*, S. *kirigdem* 'return'<sup>134</sup>.

c) Word-internally, an addition of *x*, *k* occurs sometimes but rarely in the Surgut dialects; e.g. *namasem*, S. *namaxsem* 'remember', *naresem*, S. *nareksem* 'play'<sup>135</sup>.

§ 46 In the Surgut dialects, a single consonant is very often duplicated between the vowels of the

130. In the first example, *j* is added in *jit*, while in the second example, *j* is original and deleted in *indep*.
131. In three of these examples, it is a question of the correspondence of South *-w* vs. Surgut *-γ°* (marked with <ux>; i.e. the labialization takes place on the consonant). In the word for 'wolf', there is an elision of the final consonant *-γ* in the South.
132. the same derivation type as in 'wolf' above
133. The verbs 'give' and 'eat' are thematic, i.e. they have two alternating stems: *mē-* ~ *měj-* and *te-* ~ *tew-* (Surgut *li-* ~ *liγ°-* or *liw-*, respectively). (Honti 1984: 35–36.)
134. In these words, too, *-γ-* is original, and in the South, an elision has taken place.
135. Here, too, the guttural is original, while in the South, an elision has taken place.

136. This is one reason why the vowels today are divided into full vs. reduced instead of long vs. short; because full vowels also have short allophones. It is rather interesting that Castrén has wanted to write a double *j* following the Finnish way with <ij>.
137. This is a partial assimilation to *ʌ*, which in these suffixes marks plurality of the possessed.
138. Here, an extra *j* is added, probably to stress the palatalization.
139. This is also assimilation; it is expected that the whole consonant cluster would get the palatalization of /*ńt*/ here; i.e. the palatalization does not move entirely from the consonant cluster of the stem to the suffix, but is rather extended to the suffix.
140. This is not a sound change or alternation but a difference in the suffixes referring to number and possession. In Surgut, the suffix for absolute dual is -*ɣən* and the one for dual possessed is -*ɣəl*- with the original dual marker -*ɣ*- and -*ʌ* probably adopted from the series of plural possessed, cf. possessive suffixes pp. 15–16 in the Short Grammatical Description.
141. The former is a speciality occurring in derivation, the latter a backward assimilation.
142. I.e. the reduced vowel makes the consonant sound stronger, cf. 136 above.

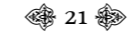


first and the second syllable. This reduplication takes place especially after a preceding long vowel, which in this position is normally pronounced as a short vowel (cf. § 52, section b); e.g. *xōteŋ*, S. *kōtteŋ* (*kotten*) ‘swan’; *kēne*, S. *kānnex* (*kannex*) ‘easy, light’, *ējem*, S. *ēijem* instead of *ējjem* (*ejjem*) ‘glue’.<sup>136</sup> It has to be noted that in connection with the reduplication, the weak consonants are always hardened; e.g. *edep*, S. *ettep* ‘verst’, *kugur*, S. *kukkur* ‘basket’; cf. § 39.

§ 47 Moreover, there are many consonant changes that cannot be described with common rules and regulations. We give the most important of these here:

- a) In the Surgut dialects, *č* changes often into *t*; e.g. *ūč* ‘cloth’, *ūttam* ‘my clothes’, *āč* ‘mutton’, *āttam* ‘my muttons’<sup>137</sup>.
- b) *ťt* (*t* + *t*) becomes *tť* (*t* + *t*) and *ńt* becomes *nt*; e.g. *jēndjem* ‘drink’<sup>138</sup>, fut. *jēnttēm* instead of *jēntēm*<sup>139</sup>.
- c) Similarly, *čt* (*č* + *t*) becomes *tč* (*t* + *č*); e.g. *pelžem* ‘exchange’, fut. *peltčēm* instead of *pelčtem*.
- d) *x* + *x* can never occur together, but instead change into *k* + *k* (*kk*); e.g. *wāsex* ‘duck’, dual *wāsekkān* instead of *wāsexxān*.
- e) *n* in Surgut changes sometimes into *t*; e.g. *rītxān* ‘two boats’, *rītxadām* (actually *rītxat-am*) ‘my two boats’<sup>140</sup>.
- f) *t* alternates with *s*; e.g. *ēbet* ‘smell’, *ēpsendem* (instead of *ēptendem*) ‘to smell’, *fīssir* instead of *fītsir* ‘that kind of’<sup>141</sup>.

§ 48 In cases where the syllable ends with a pure consonant *k*, *p*, *t*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s* and the vowel is short, the consonant is duplicated<sup>142</sup>; e.g. *jat*, *jatt* ‘lazy’, *ńot*, *ńott* ‘nose’, *jem*, *jemm* ‘good’, etc. As this duplication is most often due to organic reasons and does not occur when vowel-initial suffixes are added, it does not need any specific marking. However, when this reduplication



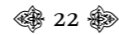
can be shown to have an etymological background, it must also be marked. In some monosyllabic words, a purely phonetical double consonant must also be indicated, because it is preserved in connection with suffixes that begin with a vowel; e.g. *xatt* ‘day’, *xattīwen* ‘during the days’, *xattet* ‘days’<sup>143</sup>; *semm* ‘eye’<sup>144</sup>, *semmet* ‘(several) eyes’.

§ 49 In a similar way as the vowels, consonants also vary conditionally in the different dialects. Here we give a short overview to some of the consonant alternations of that kind:

- A) The weak consonants *b*, *w*, *d*, *ḍ*, *ḍ̣*, *g*, *g̣*, *ŋ*, *ʒ*, *ʒ̣* alternate with the strong consonants *p*, *t*, *ṭ*, *ṭ̣*, *k*, *x*, *ḳ*, *nk*, *nx*, *c*, *č*; e.g. *libet*, S. *līpet* ‘leaf’; *jīpex*, *jīwex*, Irt. *jiba* ‘owl’; *ēndep*, *ēntep* ‘belt’; *kađa*, *kata* ‘dew’; *kuḍar*, *kuřar* ‘ermine’; *sida*, *sita* ‘gunpowder’; *argem*, *arkem* ‘sing’; *magdi*, *maxta* ‘white’; *ńōrgem*, *ńōxrem* ‘cut, curve’; *saŋa*, *sanki* ‘clear’; *muŋolžem*, *munxlodem* ‘bound’; *kēže*, *kāčex* ‘knife’<sup>145</sup>.
- B) The aspirated consonants alternate with tenues and mediae; e.g. *ādaŋ*, S. *ādaŋ* ‘morning’; *pēten*, S. *pēten* ‘cloud’; *petem*, S. *petem* ‘lip’; *ede*, S. *ače* ‘lid’<sup>146</sup>.
- C) The smooth or palatalized consonants are sometimes pronounced as hard ones; e.g. *āgañ* or *ākan* ‘doll’, *āngeš*, *ānkeč* ‘pea’, *šermat*, *sirmet* ‘headstall’.
- D) The following sibilants alternate:
- a) *s* with *c*; e.g. *aŋasem*, S. *uŋacem* ‘take off one’s shoes’.
- b) *s* with *š*; e.g. *ńarša*, S. *ńarse* ‘willow’.
- c) *š* with *č*; e.g. *aš*, *ač* ‘chalk’; *woš*, *woč* ‘town’, *uš*, *uč* ‘cloth’.
- d) *c* with *t*; e.g. *jirca*, *jirta* ‘brother-in-law’; *cātxa*, *fōtxa* ‘scythe’<sup>147</sup>.
- e) *č* with *t*; e.g. *čēwer*, *tēwer* ‘hare’<sup>148</sup>.
- E) The following gutturals alternate:
- a) *g* with *w* and *u*; e.g. *kowa*, S. *kogi* ‘cuckoo’; *joura*, S. *jograx*<sup>149</sup> ‘slanted’.

143. In the word for ‘day’, the double consonant is truly etymological: it originates from a combination of *t* and a syllable-forming *l*, of which the latter has changed into *t* in the South, as have all the *l*-sounds in these dialects (and in Surgut into *ʌ*; in Surgut the word is *kātāʌ*).
144. South /*sem*/ (full vowel), Surgut /*sām*/ (reduced)
145. This is partly between and partly within dialects: the medial pronunciation of stops and affricates between vowels and close to a nasal or liquid (cf. note 102).
146. The unvoiced (medial) laterals are suddenly called “aspirated”; these are the ones that originate from \**l*, which in its turn has become *t* in the South, cf. 143 above.
147. rather: *č* with *t*; *jirca* vs. *jirta*; *tatχə*
148. This is the same as in d) and 146: *čēwer* vs. *tēwer*.
149. on p. 19/65, “S. *jagrax*”

150. This is a regular sound correspondence between the Surgut and the southern dialects, where word-initial \**k* has become *x* in front of a back vowel.
151. In other positions, the change is less regular.
152. This is a question of a relatively small difference in pronunciation between specific dialects (Paasonen has marked velars instead of dentals in the Khanty dialect of Konda).
153. This is not the same \**l* that is represented by *t* in South.
154. In many Finno-Ugric languages, they are truly separate. Considering Khanty, also in what follows in Castrén's description, in some cases they are linked together. This is because the accent in Khanty is not as stable and strong as in e.g. Finnish or Hungarian.
155. This is, in fact, a connection between quantity and stress, although the quantity of vowels is not really an issue of quantity but rather one of full vs. reduced (cf. note 21).



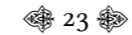
- b) *x* with *k*; e.g. *xump*, S. *kump* 'wave'; *xui*, S. *kui* 'man'<sup>150</sup>; *mūrax*, S. *mōrak* 'cloudberry'; *añaxa*, S. *añakai* 'stepmother'<sup>151</sup>.
- c) *g* with *ŋ*; e.g. *pegai*, S. *peŋai* 'the left (one)'; *tar-gat*, S. *tarŋet* 'lung'.
- d) *k* (*x*) with *nk*; e.g. *kōlak* (*xūlax*), *kōlank* 'raven'; *mēllek*, *mēllenk* 'warm'.
- e) *ǵ*, *k* with *d*, *t*; e.g. *nīŋgem*, *nīŋdem* 'take a rest'; *kenak*, *tenak* 'wart'<sup>152</sup>.
- F) The following liquid consonants alternate sometimes:
- a) *l* with *d*; e.g. *tīlis*, S. *tēdes* 'moon, month'<sup>153</sup>.
- b) *n* with *ŋ*; e.g. *xansa*, S. *xanŋsa* 'pipe'.

#### D) Accent and quantity

§ 50 The length (quantity) and the stress (accent) of the words in Ostyak obey almost the same regulations as in the Tartar languages. Although they are in some sense connected to one another, accent and quantity are in these languages two most independent phenomena<sup>154</sup>, and they may not be mixed, which so often happens in the Turkic and Mongolian languages.

§ 51 First, when it comes to stress, it is not equally strong in Ostyak as in Tartar, but falls, however, most often on the final syllable of the word. The strength of the stress depends on many factors, and here we wish to mention the most important ones:

- a) The final syllable is most strongly stressed in cases where it contains a long vowel while the other syllables only have short vowels; e.g. *urmā* 'mitten', *umbā* 'scoop', *pusā* 'beer', etc.<sup>155</sup>
- b) When the word consists of short syllables, the final syllable has a very weak stress; but if the word ends with a consonant, the stress is much stronger;



e.g. *jiba* 'owl', *maña* 'younger brother', *adam* 'man, human', *kerap* 'vehicle'.

N.B. This phenomenon is based on the fact that it is much harder for the organs to pronounce a consonant than a vowel in the end of a word. That is also why Finnish very seldom has word-final consonants, and why in Ostyak the final syllables ending in consonants only in order to make the pronunciation easier have a fuller stress and, as a whole, a greater volume.

c) A preceding long syllable in the word always makes the stress of the final syllable weaker; and if the penultima has a long vowel, the ultima gets a very weak stress or no stress at all; e.g. *jōgot* 'bow', *sōdop* 'sheath'. In this case, the vowel of the final syllable is pronounced almost like a schwa, or can be totally deleted; e.g. *tūrum* or *tūrm* 'God'.<sup>156</sup>

§ 52 The quantity of the syllables cannot be described with general rules, and that is why the long and the short vowels are separated with special marking in this work. However, it seems that concerning quantity, the following rules can be given for Ostyak:

- a) When, on one hand, the final syllable takes the stress, on the other hand, the first syllable tends to increase its length, at least on the basis of its position<sup>157</sup>.
- b) If a long vowel is followed by two consonants, it very often loses its length in pronunciation<sup>158</sup>; e.g. *jāstem* or *jastem* 'say', Finn. *haastan*<sup>159</sup>; *jēndem* or *jendem* 'drink'.
- c) If the vowel precedes an aspirated *g*, it is pronounced long as in the Tartar languages; e.g. *jāgam* 'moor', *jāgal* 'step'<sup>160</sup>.
- d) The long vowel in monosyllabic words is in most cases pronounced short; e.g. *ār* or *ar* 'big', *kēt*, *ket* 'hand'<sup>161</sup>.
- e) In a similar way, the vowel of the final syllable in multisyllabic words is most often pronounced short.

156. There are two additions in the German mscr.: "d) Bei dem Zusatze von Affirmativen kommt der Ton in der gewöhnlichen Aussprache zuweilen auf der letzten Sylbe des Stammes zu ruhen, z. B. *panémen*, wir (zwei) legten. e) In zusammengesetzten Wörter fällt der Ton, so wie in einfachen, nach der Regel auf der Endsylbe des letztes Wortes, z. B. *xadaú*, *čenstup*".
157. This is a cryptic rule that is hard to understand without examples.
158. This, again, means that the vowel is not phonologically long but rather full (vs. reduced, which in similar positions is pronounced short or overshort).
159. 'talk'; this is one of the few etymological comparisons presented in the grammar (more are found in the word list); the comparison is false, although basically the sound correspondence Kh. *j-* ~ Fi. *h-* is possible (e.g. Khanty *jěpə* 'owl' ~ Fi. *hyypiä* id., in which Finnish has a secondary prolongation of the vowel probably due to affect; the consonants represent the PFU \**š*). Nevertheless; the word internal correspondence *-st-* ~ *-st-* does not follow the sound-historical rules.
160. Phonematically, reduced (here: "short") vowels are also common in front of /*y*/, e.g. S *jěy* 'father', *jōyət-* 'come, arrive', *mōy(i)* 'what'.
161. in a closed syllable in front of a word-final consonant

162. The manuscript has a section of its own for adjectives, 4 ½ pages, including a list of derivative suffixes. In the printed version, this has been combined with the section for nouns.
163. when needed
164. or 'half leg'
165. There are lots of these, many already mentioned in the phonological section.
166. hiatus
167. In these words, the final consonant is original and the variants ending in a vowel show the result of word-final elision.
168. The Samoyed word is a cognate of the Khanty one; however, *-k* is here an old derivative suffix.
169. The word has two variants that are used partly in different functions (*neŋ* being more independent ('woman'), *ne* used more in compounds ('female')). *-ŋ* represents the original stem consonant (PU \**näxi* 'woman', e.g. Janhunen 1981: 27).
170. Concerning derivation, Castrén has in his Swedish original manuscript (p. 215) a historical introduction to the morphology of nouns:  
"As already has been denoted earlier, we have to assume, on the basis of the basic character of the Finnish languages, that the majority of primitive nouns in Ostyak, too, has consisted of two-syllable words, which have been vowel-final and had the accent on the first syllable of the word. In addition, in all the Finnish languages there are also some original stems that only have one syllable and usually end in a vowel, which usually is long. The Ostyak words that end in a

## II Morphology

### 1) Noun

§ 53 Like the Finnish and Tartar languages in general, the Ostyak language does not differentiate between nouns and adjectives<sup>162</sup>. Both classes of nouns take the same suffixes for cases and numbers; neither of them shows genus, which is expressed<sup>163</sup> by different words or using the word *xui* 'man; male' and *neŋ* 'woman, female'; e.g. *xui-tau* 'stallion', *neŋ-tau* 'mare', *xui-tawax* 'cock', *neŋ-tawax* 'hen'. The adjectives do not have an actual comparative form, which in some Finnish languages is used to justify the difference between nouns and adjectives. Even on semantic basis the two classes of nouns are not so different, because the same noun can often be used both as a substantive or an adjective; e.g. *jem* 'good; goodness', *kur-pēlek* 'lame' (actually 'half-foot'<sup>164</sup>).

§ 54 The stem of a noun does not have any special endings; nouns can end in any vowel or consonant. This concerns especially the monosyllabic root words; most of the disyllabic words end in a vowel. However, there are also some disyllabic nouns that end in a consonant, and yet they can be considered root words<sup>165</sup>; e.g. *čēwer* 'hare', *mūlem* 'smoke', *nādem* 'tongue'; it is, however, common that the final consonant in disyllabic as well as in

multisyllabic words is added to the stem in order to obey the rules of euphony<sup>166</sup> or it shows that the word is a derivative.

§ 55 For euphony, *x*, *j* (*i*) are added according to § 45 to the words ending with a vowel; e.g. *tunda* or *tondax* 'birch bark', *joura*, *jourai* (instead of *jouraj*), *jog-rax* 'slanted', *jemse*, *jemsai* 'the right side'<sup>167</sup>. In some words, also *k* as *ŋ* seems to be added on the basis of euphony; e.g. *pēlek* 'half', Sam. *pele*, Finn. *puoli*<sup>168</sup>; *neŋ* or *ne* 'woman'<sup>169</sup>, etc.

§ 56 Some nominal endings, which in most cases are used to form derivatives, can be mentioned here<sup>170</sup>:

A. *-ep* (*-ap*, *-op*) appears often in nouns (substantives) as well as in adjectives; e.g. *jīndep* 'needle', *ēndep* 'belt', *soodop* 'sheath', *ōndap* 'cradle', *jēdep* 'new', *ōdap* 'strong', *tūrap* 'loose, lax'. This suffix is used very often to turn verbs into nouns referring to tools or instruments; e.g. *kunžep* 'comb' (*kunžem* 'to comb'), *nōgolžep* 'strut, support' (*nōgolžem* 'to lean'), *tūtxaep* 'churn staff' (*tūtxaem* 'to churn')<sup>171</sup>.

B. *-eŋ* (*-aŋ*, *-oŋ*) is also a common ending in nouns and adjectives; e.g. *ādeŋ* 'morning', *jasenŋ* 'speech', *ajaŋ* 'happy', *namsenŋ* 'clever, wise'<sup>172</sup>. The possessive adjectives, too, are always built with this suffix; e.g. *keweŋ* 'stony' (from *keu* 'stone'), *mērgenŋ* 'winged' (from *mērek* 'wing'), *tāšaŋ* 'rich, someone who has things' from *tāš* 'thing(s)', *pūmaŋ* 'grass-grown', *pūnaŋ* 'hairy', etc.

C. *-li* is used in a few dialects to build diminutive forms from nouns and adjectives; e.g. *ateli* from *até* 'father', *īmili* from *īmi* 'mother', *ājeli* from *āj* 'small', etc.

D. The diminutive forms from adjectives are in most cases built with *-oxtep*<sup>173</sup>; e.g. *ājoxtep* 'smallish',

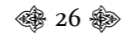
consonant are not genuine, but have evolved a) through shortening of the originally two-syllable stem; b) through inserting of a consonant (*n*, *ng*) into the one syllable, originally vowel-final stem. In addition, many two-syllable stems have occasionally adopted a consonant after their final vowel, and some of them have also pulled the accent back to the final syllable.

All nouns that have not developed according to the rules described in the preceding § are thus derived from other words or borrowed from other languages. In the following we will give some of the most common nominal suffixes...

[This historical comment seems to have been considered superfluous in the translation phase. It is also a very Finnish-based assumption. The current view of the original Proto-Uralic/Finno-Ugric stems is, indeed, that they were vowel-final and consisted of two syllables, but what comes to Castrén's point b), these also had the same original (C)VCV structure, and in the Finnic languages the long vowel is a consequence of the loss of a consonant like *j*, *w*, *ŋ* or *ɣ*, which is still present in the Khanty dialects.]

171. *jīndep* is also an instrument, cf. *jīndem* (*jint*- 'sew').
172. The word 'morning' is not a derivative; *jasenŋ* /*jäsəŋ*/ 'speech' cf. *jäst*- 'say, speak', *ajaŋ* /*öjəŋ*/ 'happy, lucky' cf. *öj* 'luck', *namsenŋ* /*nämsəŋ*, *nōmsəŋ*/ 'clever, wise', cf. *nāməs*, *nōməs* 'thought'.
173. Cf. note 80.

174. These are actually compounds, cf. *ot* 'thing; something' and the words given here as examples could also (or rather) be translated as 'the good one', 'the red one', 'the one that has been thrown'. It is thus rather a nominizer.



Russian маловатый (from *āj* 'small'), *werdoxtep* 'reddish', Russian красноватый (from *werde* 'red'), *nowoxtep* 'whitish, a little white', Russian бѣловатый (from *nowa* 'white'). In these adjectives, the suffix *žek, ček*, which is common in many Tartar languages, appears in some dialects; e.g. *aižek* 'smallish', *werdežek* 'reddish', *cenkček* 'a little bit warm'.

E. *-at* is an affix that forms indefinite nouns, pronouns and adverbs; e.g. *jemat* 'something good', *werda'at* or *werdagat* 'something red', *tagamemat* 'something that has been thrown'<sup>174</sup>.

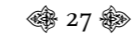
F. *-xa, -ka, -ga* appear mostly in loan words; e.g. *añaxa* or *añaka* 'stepmother', *ñatxa* 'spruce', *cātxa* 'scythe', *sulaika* 'inkwell', *seberga* 'broom'.

G. *-da (de), -ta (te)*, Surg. *-dax (dex), -tax (tex)* builds both the caritive case and negative adjectives; e.g. *tutta* 'mouthless, dumb', S. *tuttax*; *sēmde* 'eyeless, blind', S. *sēmdex*.

#### A. Declension

§ 57 In Ostyak, all nouns, adjectives, participles as well as many pronouns and numerals can be declined. The declension does not, however, take place in attributive relations but only in cases where the word has a nominal character; e.g. *āj* 'small', dative *āja* 'to the small one', *toma* 'this', ablative *tomīwet* 'from this one', *ādem* 'bad', nominative plural *ātmet* 'the bad ones', *werde* 'red', ablative *werdedīwet* 'from the red ones'. Cf. *āj ñaurema* 'to the little child', *toma xajadīwet* 'from these people', *ādem xōdat* 'bad huts', *werde xodadīwet* 'from the red huts'.

§ 58 The Surgut dialects have three numbers for all categories of nouns, pronouns and verbs: singular, dual and plural. In the Irtyš dialects, only verbs and personal pronouns have these three numbers; the nouns, adjectives, all numerals and many pronouns



have only two numbers: singular and plural<sup>175</sup>. As in other languages, too, the singular in Ostyak is also without a general suffix. The dual suffix forms are: *gan, xan, kan, (gen, xen, ken)*<sup>176</sup>, which correspond to the Lappish *ga* and *ka* and the Samoyed *ha*<sup>177</sup>. The plural takes in most cases the suffix *et (et)*, which also appears in Finnish and in many other related languages<sup>178</sup>.

§ 59 When it comes to declension cases, Ostyak is not as rich as most of the languages in the same family. In addition to many local cases, the genitive and accusative are also completely missing in Ostyak. In this language, only the following five cases have special suffixes: dative, locative, ablative, caritive and instructive. With the exception of personal pronouns, all nouns and pronouns take the same suffixes in singular, dual and plural. Only caritive is not used in the dual and plural. We will provide all of the different case suffixes in the following paragraphs.

§ 60 The stem of the word is used to express the singular nominative, e.g. *aŋa* 'mother', *ēwa* 'daughter', *keu* 'stone', *jink* 'water'.

The dual suffixes are<sup>179</sup>:

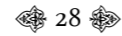
1. *gan (gen)*, when the stem ends with a vowel or a smooth consonant; e.g. *kara* 'bottom, ground', dual *karagan*, *iki*<sup>180</sup> 'old man', dual *ikigen*.
2. *xan (xen)*, when the stem-final consonant is hard; e.g. *wont* 'mountain', dual *wontxan*, *rit* 'boat', dual *ritxen*.
3. *kan (ken)* after a stem-final *x (k)*; e.g. *max* 'beaver', dual *makkan*.
4. Occasionally *an, en* after a hard consonant and especially after *k*; e.g. *lenkep* 'hole', dual *lenkepan*, *jāk* 'writer', dual *jākan*<sup>181</sup>.

The plural suffixes are:

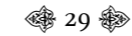
1. *-et*, Surg. *-et*<sup>182</sup>, in most of the words; e.g. *īma*

175. Nouns also have dual suffixes in the southern (DN, DT, Ko, Kr.) dialects (e.g. Honti 1984: 131–132). The absolute (i.e. non-possessive) dual suffix is in South *-yən*, in Surgut *-yən, -yān*.
176. The vowel alternations (also in the examples at the end of this page) represent the two different variants of the Surgut schwa (*a, ā*), according to vowel harmony.
177. This is a relevant and correct comparison. The PU reconstruction for absolute dual is *\*kA*.
178. These represent the PU absolute plural suffix *\*t*.
179. The consonant alternation shows the partial assimilation of *y* into the following consonant. In front of *k* it is often pronounced as *k*.
180. The role of the circumflex is not clear. It might be typographic error or a means to stress the accent on the final syllable (actually: *iki : ikīyən*).
181. This is a further development of the assimilation above (see note 179).
182. The suffix is *-t* in Surgut, too, because it represents the PU, POU *\*t*; the voiceless lateral *l* is the representative of PU, PFU lateral *\*l* (and *\*s*). What grounds this lateral interpretation in plural has, is completely unknown.

183. not “next” (“in der nächsten Silbe”) as in the original
184. The Surgut dialects have three plural suffix allomorphs: *ət/ət* after a consonant stem, *t* after a stem ending in full vowel (e.g. *imi* ‘woman’, pl. *imit*) and *-at* following a stem that ends with a reduced vowel. The Surgut suffixes are provided in their right form in the mscr. (MC V p. 74) as *-t*, *-et*, *-at*; why they are changed in the printed version to *-t*, *-at*, *-ot* is a mystery.
185. i.e. the functions of possessor and goal (object)
186. I.e. uses a relatively fixed SOV word order (and fixed constituent order of GN). In the Swedish manuscript (p. 198), the distinction between the subject and the object (nominative and accusative) is more cryptic: “In simple sentences, where a noun could denote both the subject and the object (of a sentence), the ambiguity shows in a way that the subjective sentences are expressed with a *active* passive construction where the subject [is] *i-inessivus* or *Instructivus* and the verb [i.e. a passive verb and a locative agent], the objective with an active, e.g. *xuina tagameda tagamai*, vir movit, a viro motum est, ‘the man throws; by the man is thrown’, *xui tagamaiot virum* (non vir) movit ‘[he] threw the man’.”
- While working on the German translation, Castrén reached a far simpler explanation based on basic word order.
187. *Oluga* (S) *tau* (*tāw*) ‘horse’ (G), *wāres* (*wārās*) ‘mane’ (Adv), *pan* ‘string’ (O), *wer-* ‘make’ (V). The example sentence is added after the German mscr.



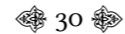
- ‘mother’, pl. *imet*. In front of a vowel *e* often changes into *i*; e.g. *ńatxaet*, *ńatxait*.
2. *-at*, *-ot*, Surg. *-at*, *-ot*, after an aspirated *g*, when there is *ā*, *ō* or *ū* in the preceding<sup>183</sup> syllable; e.g. *wāx* ‘money’, pl. *wāgat*; *mōx* ‘young of an animal’, pl. *mōgot*; *jūx* ‘tree’, pl. *jūgot*. In the Surgut dialects, *at* also occurs very often following other consonants, when there are hard vowels in the stem; e.g. *wont* ‘mountain’, pl. *wondat*.<sup>184</sup>
  3. *-t* in the Surgut dialects after a stem-final vowel; e.g. *kara* ‘bottom, ground’, pl. *karat*, also *karagat*; *iki* ‘old man’, pl. *ikit*. In Irtyš as well as in the Surgut dialects, the elision of the binding vowel can take place after *n*, *s* or diphthongs ending in *i*; e.g. *nui* ‘towel’, pl. *nuit*; *poi* ‘ash (Fraxinus)’, pl. *poit*; *xan* ‘sledge’, pl. *xant*; *pesan* ‘table’, pl. *pesant*; *kōs* ‘star’, pl. *kōst*.
- § 61 In Ostyak, the pure stem expresses not only the nominative but also the genitive and the accusative<sup>185</sup>. To avoid mixing these three cases, the language always places the genitive in front of its head and the accusative closest to the front of the verb, whilst the nominative takes the position in the beginning of the sentence as far as possible from the verb<sup>186</sup>; e.g. *Oluga tau wāresiwet pan werōt* ‘Olaus (ex) equi capillo chordam fecit; Oluga made a string out of the horse’s mane’<sup>187</sup>. Sometimes the genitive is expressed by a possessive adjective and in some cases *et* or *t* is added to the accusative, which undoubtedly is the personal suffix of the 3rd person singular.
- § 62 The Ostyak dative ends in *a* (*e*); e.g. *pox* ‘son’, dat. *poga*; *poi* ‘rich’, dat. *poja*; *iki* (Surg.) ‘old man’, dat. *ikije*. This suffix also expresses the illative; e.g. *jina* ‘into the water’, *rīda* ‘into the boat’, *tuda* ‘into the mouth’. In addition, it can also be used to express the allative, factive and consecutive; e.g. *pesana panet* ‘(he) put (something) on the



- table<sup>188</sup>, *rīda weret* ‘made a boat (out of it)’<sup>189</sup>, *mant wāgat jepana* ‘they called me John (Jepan)’<sup>190</sup>, *jina menōt* ‘(he) went to bring some water’<sup>191</sup>. This suffix can be compared to the illative suffix *ā* in Zyrian<sup>192</sup>, *he* (*hen*) in Finnish, *ga* (*ge*) in Tartar, etc.
- § 63 The locative is built using the suffix *na* (*ne*); e.g. *pēteŋna* or *pēteŋne* ‘in the clouds’, *xōtna* ‘in the hut’. In nouns ending in a vowel, the *a* is often dropped off; e.g. *ńatxana* or *ńatxan* ‘in the silver fir’. This suffix is used to express the inessive, and sometimes also the adessive; e.g. *jinkna* or *jinkne* ‘in the water’; *tagana* or *tagan* ‘in<sup>193</sup> the place’. Furthermore, the same suffix appears in the function of the essive, the instructive and especially the possessive; e.g. *kurukna* (essive) *tēgettēt* ‘flies like an eagle’<sup>194</sup>, *xuina* (instr.) *tagāmai* ‘thrown by the man’<sup>195</sup>, *imena* (poss.) *ūdet* ‘lives with the woman’<sup>196</sup>; *ruŋna wāx tājem* ‘by the Russian is (the Russian has) money’<sup>197</sup>. The suffix of the Ostyak locative also appears in the Finnish, Lappish, Zyrian, Samoyedic and many other related languages<sup>198</sup>. There is also a longer form of the suffix related to the ablative, *īwena* or *īwen*, which, however, occurs very rarely; e.g. *xattīwen* ‘today’.
- § 64 The ablative ends in *īwet* (*ēwet*), Surg. *eux*, *iux*, *ī*<sup>199</sup>; e.g. *xonīwet* (*xonēwet*) *S. kaneux*, *kani* ‘from the tsar’; *īmīwet* (*īmēwet*), *S. imijiux*, *imiji* ‘from the woman’. The suffix is also used in local relations and expresses not only the outer but primarily the inner location, which in other related languages is expressed with the elative; e.g. *tewīwet* ‘from the lake’, *kewīwet* ‘from the stone’. Sometimes the ablative can be used as prosecutive; e.g. *wondīwet ment* ‘went along the hill’. Concerning the etymology of the ablative suffix, it probably originates from a lost postposition.
- N.B. If my observations are otherwise correct, the ablative ends in the Obdorsk dialect in *ult* (*eult*)<sup>200</sup>;

188. *pēsan* ‘table’-DAT *pān-* ‘put’-PAST.3SG
189. *rit* ‘boat’-DAT *wer-* ‘make’-PAST.3SG
190. *mān-* ‘I’-ACC *way-* ‘call’-PAST.3PL *Jepan*-DAT
191. *jīŋk* ‘water’-DAT *mēn-* ‘go’-PAST.3SG
192. This is a correct comparison (the Komi illative suffix is *-ō* (*-e*)) < PFU lative \**k*.
193. German “auf” used in the translation is adessive.
194. *kurək* ‘eagle’-LOC *teyət-* ‘fly’-PRS.3SG
195. *χuj* ‘man’-LOC *tagam-* ‘throw’-PAST.PASS.3SG. This is a passive construction otherwise ignored by Castrén. In passive constructions, the agent is marked with the locative.
196. *imi* ‘woman’-LOC *ut-* ‘be’-PRS.3SG; this form is also similar to the comitative *-nat/-nāt* (see § 65), which appears, however, almost exclusively in the Surgut dialects. The verb form *utət* is, anyway, clearly southern (Surg. *wāλλ*).
197. *ruŋ* ‘Russian’-LOC *wax* ‘money’ *tāj-* ‘have’-PRTC.PAST. This is also a (stative) passive construction formed with the past participle *-m*. The agent is marked similarly as in dynamic passive constructions (see note 195). The actual meaning of the sentence is ‘the Russian has had money’.
198. PU locative \**nA* (e.g. Finnish *koto-na* ‘at home’)
199. South *-ewət/-iwət*, Surgut *-əγ°* (with a labiovelar fricative)
200. Postposition *ewəlt* ‘from’. There are only three cases in the Obdorsk dialect: the nominative, the locative (*-na*) and the lative (or translative; Honti 1984: 139) *-i*.

201. These resemble each other a lot. The ending *-ta* originates from the PU ablative *\*tA* in both suffixes, but the origin of the *-l-* element has remained unclear, despite many alternative explanations.
202. In Surgut dialects, there are two separate suffixes: *-at/-ät* for instructive-final and *-nat/-nät* for instrumental-comitative (Honti 1984: 129). The element *-n-* in the latter is probably not from the locative, but rather from a former postposition stem (Liemola 1963: 64).
203. Cf. note 174; the indefinite nouns are compounds and the instructive suffix is not included in them.
204. The southern form resembles the caritive suffixes with *-t-* in many Finno-Ugrian languages. The eastern dialects show, however, that the original consonant is *-l-* and that the Proto-Khanty form has been *\*-ləy* (as it is today in VVj; in Surgut dialects *-ləy*).
205. the same suffix as in the postposition *ewəlt*, S. *ewəlat* in § 64 (cf. note 201 above)
206. As has already been mentioned, the Obdorsk dialect has only three cases for nouns (cf. note 200).



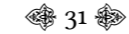
e.g. *unt-eult* ‘from the forest’. This suffix is probably related to the Finnish ablative *lta*<sup>201</sup>.

§ 65 The instructive has the suffix *-at*, which is normally attached to the stem but occasionally in some dialects to the locative; e.g. *kerabat* or *kerabnat* ‘with the boat’<sup>202</sup>. The comitative is also expressed with the same suffix; e.g. *imeat* or *imejat* ‘together with the mother’. Additionally, the Ostyaks who speak Russian use the instructive instead of the factive and the essive. That the same suffix also serves in forming indefinite nouns was already mentioned under § 56 E<sup>203</sup>.

§ 66 The caritive ends after vowels and smooth consonants in *da* (*de*), Surg. *dax* (*dex*), and after hard consonants in *ta* (*te*), Surg. *tax* (*tex*); e.g. *teuda*, Surg. *touḍax* ‘without a lake’, *pette*, Surg. *pettex* ‘without ear(s)’. It appears only in singular and can be used, according to § 56 G, as a negative adjective. The same suffix can be found in many variations in most related languages.<sup>204</sup>

§ 67 Many adverbs and postpositions have special suffixes of their own for the dative, the locative and the ablative, which, as far as I know, are not used for nouns. These are: 1) *ga* (*ge*, *go*), *xa*, *ka* (*xe*, *ke*, *xo*, *ko*) for the dative; e.g. *tege* ‘[come] here’, *kokko* ‘[go] far away’; 2) *ti* for the locative; e.g. *xunti* ‘when’, *kotti* ‘where’, *totti* ‘there’; 3) *tta*, Surg. *tta*, Obd. *lta* for the ablative; these correspond to the Finnish ablative suffix *-lta*<sup>205</sup>; e.g. *nūmatta*, Surg. *nōmetta*, Obd. *nōmalta* ‘from above’, *xowatta*, Surg. *kowatta* ‘from afar’, *kametta*, Surg. *kāmetta*, Obd. *kāmalta* ‘from outside’.

N.B. Additionally, the Obdorsk dialect has a special suffix for the allative and the adessive, which also appears with nouns<sup>206</sup>. I have written this suffix, according to the pronunciation of a Samoyed, as *lti* (*elti*) and thus it corresponds to the suffix *ti* given in this §.



In Finnish, the allative suffix *-lle* seems to be related to it.

§ 68 Here we provide once more an overview of all the case suffixes<sup>207</sup>.

Nominative	—
Genitive and Accusative	—
Dative	<i>a</i> ( <i>e</i> )
Locative	<i>na</i> ( <i>ne</i> , <i>n</i> )
Ablative	<i>iwet</i> ( <i>ēwet</i> )
	Surg. <i>eux</i> , <i>iux</i> , <i>i</i> .
Instructive	<i>at</i> ( <i>nat</i> )
Caritive	<i>da</i> ( <i>de</i> ), <i>ta</i> ( <i>te</i> ), Surg. <i>dax</i> ( <i>dex</i> ), <i>tax</i> ( <i>tex</i> ).

§ 69 There are no special alternations in the case suffixes with the exception of what has been mentioned above. Instead, the noun stem can change in various ways when a suffix is added to it. Although all the changes of this type have already been described here and there in the phonology, we still wish to provide an overview of the most important ones here.

- a) Nouns ending in a short vowel behave in their alternations in the following way:
1. In the Irtyš dialect, *a* changes into *e* in all cases and numbers with the exception of the ablative and occasionally the caritive (paradigm 1<sup>208</sup>)<sup>209</sup>.
  2. All nouns ending in *ga*, *xa*, *ka* preserve the final vowel unchanged, but in front of a suffixal *a*, and occasionally also in front of other vowels, *j* or *g* is added between them; e.g. *taga* ‘place’, dative *tagaja* or *tagaga*. In the Surgut dialects, the stem-final *a* also remains unchanged after all the other consonants<sup>210</sup>, but the hiatus is averted with the addition of *g*. Cf. § 71.
  3. In the Irtyš dialect, *a* and *e*<sup>211</sup> always disappear in front of the long binding vowel of the ablative

207. These are given for all three dialects in their present form in the Short Grammatical Description.
208. Cf. p. 33/79.
209. The final *a* in paradigm 1 (p. 33/79) is actually *-ə* and this rule can be written for the stem type with a final reduced vowel.
210. The same can be said about the southern dialects. This rule concerns stem types ending in a full vowel. In the word for ‘place’, it occurs in most dialects as *i* or its velar counterpart, which, of course, easily sounds like an *a*.
211. i.e. stem-final reduced vowels. Stem-final full vowels behave as described in point 5 (cf. also note 210 above): *ürma* ‘mitten’ : *ürmajiwət*.



212. These semivowels *j* and *w* have a more consonantal character between vowels: phonematically: *nuj* : *nuja*, *kew* : *kewa*.
213. i.e. full vowels
214. i.e. a full vowel, which can be pronounced either half-long or short
215. i.e. are pronounced smoothly between vowels
216. Cf. § 32 and note 3.
217. The paradigms in their present ("normalized") form are provided in the Short Grammatical Description; see p. 18.
218. stems with a final reduced vowel, e.g. *χántə* 'Khanty (person)'
219. stems with a final full vowel, e.g. *ürma* 'mitten'

The Swedish manuscript includes some more paradigms and some of them have accent marking. The irregularity of the marking shows that the accent probably did not ultimately appear to Castrén as the kind of system he had expected in the beginning of his notes (see also the description of the vowels, § 2 and § 6)

1.	
Sing.	Plur.
Nominat.	<i>Hánda</i> Ostyak <i>Handét</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Handà</i> <i>Handét</i>
Dat.	<i>Handèà</i> or <i>-èja</i> <i>Handeda</i>
Locat.	<i>Handèna</i> ( <i>na</i> ) <i>Handetna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Handiwet</i> <i>Handedíwet</i>
Instruct.	<i>Handèat</i> or <i>èjat</i> <i>Handedat</i>
Carit.	<i>Handeda</i> or <i>ida</i> <i>Handetta</i>

## ❖ 32 ❖

suffix; e.g. *īma* 'woman', abl. *īmīwet*. In some dialectal variations, the caritive also has the binding vowel *ī*, and in these cases as well, the final short *a* or *e* disappears at the end of the stem; e.g. *īmīda* 'without a woman'.

4. When they appear at the end of a diphthong, *i* and *u* change into *j* and *w* in front of suffixes with an initial vowel; e.g. *nui* 'towel', dative *nuja*; *keu* 'stone', dative *kewa*<sup>212</sup>.
5. All the other vowels<sup>213</sup>, though very rarely appearing in stem-final positions, do not undergo any change, but *j* or *g* is often added in front of a suffix-initial vowel, especially in the dative and the instructive singular; e.g. *nōgo* 'meat', dative *nōgoja*, instructive *nōgojat*. In the cases mentioned, a euphonic *j* or *g* can also appear in nouns ending in *a* or *e*.
- b) In some dialects, if the stem ends in a long vowel<sup>214</sup>, there are no changes, whilst in the other the long vowel is pronounced short. In the first case, *j* or *g* must be added in front of a vowel suffix, while in the latter the addition is absolutely needed when the vowels that come together sound exactly the same. If the vowels are different, the addition takes place in some dialects but not in others (cf. paradigm 2).

c) In the nouns ending in a consonant, the following changes in particular can be observed:

1. Hard consonants become smooth in front of all vowel-initial suffixes (paradigm 3)<sup>215</sup>. This rule is not very strongly obeyed in the Surgut dialects.
2. In monosyllabic words that include a short vowel, the final consonant is not always smoothed; on the contrary, it may become sharper. In this case, I have written it with a double consonant. It has to be noted, though, that the dialects diverge a lot from one another in this respect.

## ❖ 33 ❖

3. If there is long vowel in the penultima of a bi- or multisyllabic word, the short vowel in the final syllable disappears according to § 32. In connection to this, the consonants that come together change according to the general rules<sup>216</sup>.

§ 70 In accordance with the description above, the nouns in the Irtyš dialect are declined in the following way<sup>217</sup>:

1. <sup>218</sup>	
Singular	Plural
Stem	<i>xanda</i> Ostyak
Dative	<i>xandea</i> 1)
Locative	<i>xandena</i>
Ablative	<i>xandīwet</i> 2)
Instructive	<i>xandeat</i> 3)
Caritive	<i>xandeda</i> 4)
Stem	<i>xandet</i>
Dative	<i>xandeda</i>
Locative	<i>xandetna</i>
Ablative	<i>xandedīwet</i> 1)
Instructive	<i>xandedat</i>

- 1) *xandēja*  
2) *xandēwet*  
3) *xandèjat*  
4) *xandīda*

1) *xandedēwet*

2. <sup>219</sup>	
Singular	Plural
Stem	<i>urmā</i> mitten
Dative	<i>urmāga</i> 1)
Locative	<i>urmāna</i> 2)
Ablative	<i>urmāgīwet</i> 3)
Instructive	<i>urmāgat</i> 4)
Caritive	<i>urmāgeda</i> 5)
Stem	<i>urmāget</i> 1)
Dative	<i>urmāgeda</i> 2)
Locative	<i>urmāgetna</i> 3)
Ablative	<i>urmāgedīwet</i> 4)
Instructive	<i>urmāgedat</i> 5)

- 1) *urmāja*  
2) *urmān*  
3) *urmājīwet*,  
*urmāīwet*,  
*urmāewet*  
4) *urmājat*  
5) *urmāgīda*

- 1) *urmājet*, *urmaet*, *urmait*  
2) *urmājeda*, *urmaeda*,  
*urmaida*  
3) *urmājetna*, *urmaetna*,  
*urmaitna*  
4) *urmājedīwet*, *urmaedīwet*,  
*urmaidīwet*  
5) *urmājedat*, *urmaedat*,  
*urmaidat*

2.

Nominat.	<i>Njatxa</i>	<i>Njatxaet</i> or <i>ait</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Njatxa</i>	<i>Njatxaet</i> or <i>ait</i>
Dat.	<i>Njatxaja</i>	<i>Njatxaeda</i> or <i>aida</i>
Locat.	<i>Njatxana</i>	<i>Njatxaetna</i> or <i>aitna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Njatxaīwet</i> or <i>jiwèt</i>	<i>Njatxaediwèt</i> or <i>aidiwèt</i>
Instruct.	<i>Njatxajat</i>	<i>Njatxaedat</i> or <i>aidat</i>
Carit.	<i>Njatxaida</i>	( <i>Njatxaetta</i> or <i>itta</i> )

(3. *Péteng* cloud4. *Keráp* vehicle like in the translation)

5.

Nominat.	<i>Hât</i> <del><i>Hât</i></del> tent	<i>Hâdèt</i> or <i>Hâdat</i> -at
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Hât</i>	<i>Hâdèt</i> or <i>Hâdat</i>
Dat.	<i>Hâda</i>	<i>Hâdèda</i> or <i>ada</i>
Locat.	<i>Hâtna</i>	<i>Hâdètna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Hâdīwet</i>	<i>Hâdèdīwet</i>
Instruct.	<i>Hâdat</i>	<i>Hâdèdat</i>
Carit.	<i>Hâtta</i>	( <i>Hâdètta</i> )

6.

Nominat.	<del><i>Jux</i></del> <i>Poráxh</i> entrails	<i>Poragàt</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Porax</i>	<i>Poragat</i>
Dat.	<i>Poraga</i>	<i>Poragada</i>
Locat.	<i>Poraxna</i>	<i>Poragatna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Poragíwet</i>	<i>Poraga(x)íwet</i>
Instruct.	<i>Poragat</i>	<i>Poragadat</i>
Carit.	<i>Poraxta</i>	( <i>Poragatta</i> )

220. consonant-final stems without the elidable schwa (cf. point 3 on p. 33/79 and note 83)
221. consonant-final stems with the elidable schwa in the final syllable (cf. point 3 on p. 33/79 and note 83)
222. The present (“normalized”) paradigms are provided in the Short Grammatical Description; see p. 19.
223. There are, of course, alternations according to the stem type in the same way as in the southern dialects. Here, Cast-rén gives only the stem type with a stem-final full vowel; in his notes (and the Swedish mscr.) he also provides the consonant-final types:

Surgut paradigms in the manuscript (p. 211)

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nominat.	<i>Kará</i>	<i>Karagàn</i>	<i>Karagàt</i> or <i>Kara'at</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Kara</i>	<i>Karagan</i>	<i>Karagat</i>
Dat.	<i>Karaga</i>	<i>Karagana</i>	<i>Karagada</i>
Locat.	<i>Karana</i>	<i>Kara-</i> <i>ganna</i>	<i>Kara-</i> <i>gatna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Karagî</i> ( <i>Kara-</i> <i>geuxh</i> )	<i>Karagani</i> ( <i>Karaga-</i> <i>neuxh</i> )	<i>Karagadi</i> ( <i>Karaga-</i> <i>deuxh</i> )
Instr.	<i>Karanat</i>	<i>Kara-</i> <i>gannat</i>	<i>Kara-</i> <i>gatnat</i>
Carit.	<i>Karad-</i> <i>lax</i>	( <i>Kara-</i> <i>gandax</i> )	( <i>Kara-</i> <i>gattax</i> )

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nominat.	<i>Iki</i> old man	<i>Ikigen</i>	<i>Ikit</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Iki</i>	<i>Ikigen</i>	<i>Ikit</i>
Dat.	<i>Ikijä</i>	<i>Ikigenä</i>	<i>Ikidä</i>
Locat.	<i>Ikinä</i>	<i>Ikigennä</i>	<i>Ikitnä</i>
Ablat.	<i>Ikiji</i> ( <i>Ikijiux</i> )	<i>Ikigeni</i> ( <i>Ikigeneux</i> )	<i>Ikidi</i> ( <i>Ikideux</i> )
Instr.	<i>Ikinät</i>	<i>Ikigennät</i>	<i>Ikitnät</i>
Carit.	<i>Ikidäx</i>	( <i>Ikigendäx</i> )	( <i>Ik</i> )

❖ 34 ❖

3.<sup>220</sup>

	Singular		Plural
Stem	<i>kerap</i> vehicle	Stem	<i>kerabet</i>
Dative	<i>keraba</i>	Dative	<i>kerabeda</i>
Locative	<i>kerapna</i>	Locative	<i>kerabetna</i>
Ablative	<i>kerapīwet</i>	Ablative	<i>kerabedīwet</i>
Instructive	<i>kerabat</i>	Instructive	<i>kerabedat</i>
Caritive	<i>kerapta</i>		

4.<sup>221</sup>

	Singular		Plural
Stem	<i>pēteŋ</i> cloud	Stem	<i>pētŋet</i>
Dative	<i>pēteŋa</i> <sup>1)</sup>	Dative	<i>pētŋeda</i>
Locative	<i>pēteŋna</i>	Locative	<i>pētŋetna</i>
Ablative	<i>pēteŋīwet</i>	Ablative	<i>pētŋedīwet</i>
Instructive	<i>pēteŋat</i>	Instructive	<i>pētŋedat</i>
Caritive	<i>pēteŋda</i>		

1) *pētŋa*

§ 71 In the Surgut dialects, the declension happens according to the following paradigms<sup>222 223</sup>:

Singular			
Stem		Stem	<i>kara</i> bottom
Dative		Dative	<i>karaga</i>
Locative		Locative	<i>karana</i>
Ablative		Ablative	<i>karaeux</i> <sup>1)</sup>
Instructive		Instructive	<i>karanat</i>
Caritive		Caritive	<i>karadax</i>
1) <i>karagiux, karagi</i>			

	Dual		Plural
Stem	<i>karagan</i>	Stem	<i>karagat</i> <sup>1)</sup>
Dative	<i>karagana</i>	Dative	<i>karagada</i>
Locative	<i>karaganna</i>	Locative	<i>karagatna</i>
Ablative	<i>karaganeux</i>	Ablative	<i>karagadeux</i>
Instructive	<i>karagannat</i>	Instructive	<i>karagatnat</i>
1) <i>karagat</i> <sup>224</sup>			

❖ 35 ❖

B. Comparison

§ 72 The lack of comparison grades in Ostyak is, as in many other Finnish, Samoyedic and Tartar languages, substituted with case suffixes and different particles. In most cases, the ablative marks the word to which something is compared in order to express the comparative as well as the superlative; e.g. *tau sagarīwet kereš* ‘the horse is bigger (higher) than the cow’, *nank jūgodīwet ār* ‘the larch is the biggest of all trees’.<sup>225</sup>

§ 73 When the entity to which something is compared (comparandum) is not uttered but only thought of, the ablative of a demonstrative pronoun is sometimes used instead of it<sup>226</sup>; e.g. *sagar jem, tau tomīwet jem* ‘the cow is good, the horse is better than it’. In this case, the adverbs *os* or *ješo* (‘still’) can also be used to mark the comparative; e.g. *tem ai, tem os ai* ‘this is small, that (one) is still smaller’. The superlative can also be expressed with the particles *ašma, fax, čikka* (‘very’)<sup>227</sup> or with the adjectives *patlā, perda, inem* ‘omnis’, *patlāgīwet* ‘of (“from”) all’; e.g. *ašma* or *patlā jem* ‘very good’, *čikka ōgor* ‘very high’, *patlāgīwet ādem* ‘worst (bad of all)’.

Numerals

§ 74 With the exception of a few simple cardinalia, which are root words, the numerals in Ostyak and in other related languages are formed partly with derivation and compounds, partly with the help of case suffixes. The cardinal numerals in Ostyak are:

(Mscr. p. 213)

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nominat.	<i>Wont</i>	<i>Wontxan</i>	<i>Wondat</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Rit</i>	<i>Ritxen</i>	<i>Ridet</i>
Dat.	<i>Wont</i>	<i>Wontxan</i>	<i>Wondat</i>
	<i>Wonda</i>	<i>Wontxana</i>	<i>Wondada</i>
	<i>Ridä</i>	<i>Ritxenä</i>	
Locat.	<i>Wontna</i>	<i>Wont-</i> <i>Ritnä/Ridi</i>	<i>Won-</i> <i>xanna</i> <i>datna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Wondi</i>	<i>Wontxani</i>	<i>Wondadi</i>
	( <i>Wondeux/h</i> )	( <i>neuh</i> )	( <i>deuh</i> )
Instr.	<i>Wontnat</i>	<i>Wont-</i> <i>Ritnät</i>	<i>Won-</i> <i>xannat</i> <i>datnat</i>
		<i>Ritxennat</i>	
Carit.	<i>Wontta</i>		
	<i>Rittä</i>		

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nominat.	<i>Wāsex</i>	<i>Wāsekkàn</i>	<i>Wasxèt</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Wāsex</i>	<i>Wasekkan</i>	<i>Wasxet</i>
Dat.	<i>Wasega</i>	<i>Wasekkana</i>	<i>Wasxeda</i>
Locat.	<i>Wasexna</i>	<i>Wasek-</i> <i>kanna</i>	<i>Wasxetna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Wasegi</i>	<i>Wasekkani</i> ( <i>neux</i> )	<i>Wasxedi</i> ( <i>deux</i> )
Instr.	<i>Wasexnat</i>	<i>Wasek-</i> <i>kannat</i>	<i>Wasxetnat</i>
Carit.	<i>Wasextax</i>		

224. This is the correct plural form, cf. note 182.

225. Particles used in this function are South *kēnča*, Surgut *kiñtä*; e.g. Kr. *tāw wātəŋ kēnča kereš* ‘the horse is bigger than the reindeer’, Trj. *wāli lāk° kiñtä nāyāl* ‘the reindeer is smaller (lower) than the horse’ (Honti 1984: 66). There is also a suffix *-ätte-* in the south: C *mättem enə* ‘bigger than me’ (ibid.).

226. To me, this is a normal use of the demonstrative pronoun and is not directly connected with comparison.

227. At least in the easternmost dialects, the latter (V *ček* ‘very’) is used to mark the superlative (Honti 1984: 67).

228. The corresponding modern southern (DN) numerals are: *ěj* (attr., abs. *ějət*), *kět* (attr., abs. *kätən*), *χutəm*, *ńětə*, *wet*, *χot*, *täpət*, *ńita*, *ār-jon*, *jon*, *ěj-χat-jon*, *kät-χat-jon*, *χutəm-χat-jon*, *ńětə-χat-jon*, *wet-χat-jon*, *χot-χat-jon*, *täpət-χat-jon*, *ńit-χus*, *ār-χus*, *χus*, *χus-ěj(ət)*, *χus-kätən*, *χutəm-jon*, *ńetə-jon*, *wet-jon*, *χut-jon*, *täpət-jon*, *ńit-sot*, *ār-sot*, *sot*, *kět-sot*, *χutəm-sot*, *ńětə-sot*, *wet-sot*, *χot-sot*, *täpət-sot*, *ńitə-sot*, *ār-jon-sot*, *tarəs*, *jon-tarəs* (cited and constructed from Honti 1984: 152–53).
229. The numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ have two alternants: the shorter for attributive use and the longer for absolute use. The absolute ‘two’ is the dual form of the numeral: in Surgut *kätjən*.
230. in Surgut (Trj) *koləm*, O *χuləm*
231. Trj *ńěλλ*, O *ńil*
232. Trj *ńijλə*, O *ńijəl*
233. Trj *ir-jen*<sup>2</sup>; the word that is given here for ‘nine’ is in fact ‘11’, Trj *jen*<sup>o</sup>-*örək-ěj*
234. The Ugric ‘seven’ is of Iranian origin (UEW) and ‘eight’ is a Proto-Ugric innovation without any connection to ‘four’, which has an original palatal vowel whilst the vowel in ‘eight’ is velar.
235. The first part of the compound *ār* is not the same word as *ar*, *ār* ‘big, a lot’.
236. The correct translation is ‘eleven’ and the literal meaning something like ‘one on ten’ or ‘one outside ten’ (Honti 1993: 169). The same word Trj *örək-k(a)*, VVj *ěrki(i)* is used in all numerals from eleven to seventeen in the eastern dialects.

## ❖ 36 ❖

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>it</i> ( <i>i</i> , <i>ja</i> ), Surg. <i>ei</i> , <i>ij</i> . <sup>228</sup>  | 18. <i>ńit xūs</i> .                      |
| 2. <i>kāden</i> , <i>kādn</i> , <i>kātn</i> , <i>kāt</i> , Surg. <i>kāt</i> , <i>kāt xen</i> . <sup>229</sup>                  | 19. <i>ār xūs</i> .                       |
| 3. <i>xūdem</i> , Surg. <i>kūdem</i> , <i>kōdem</i> , Obd. <i>xōdem</i> . <sup>230</sup>                                       | 20. <i>xūs</i> , Surg. <i>kōs</i> .       |
| 4. <i>ńeda</i> ( <i>nieda</i> ), <i>ńeta</i> , <i>ńet</i> , Surg. <i>ńeda</i> , <i>ńeta</i> , Obd. <i>ńel</i> . <sup>231</sup> | 21. <i>xūs it</i> .                       |
| 5. <i>wēt</i> .  | 22. <i>xūs kādn</i> .                     |
| 6. <i>xūt</i> , Surg. <i>kūt</i> .   | 30. <i>xūdem jon</i> .                    |
| 7. <i>tābet</i> , Surg. <i>tābet</i> .   | 40. <i>ńeda jon</i> .                     |
| 8. <i>nīda</i> , <i>nīt</i> , Surg. <i>ńigedax</i> , Obd. <i>ńil</i> . <sup>232</sup>  | 50. <i>wēt jon</i> .                      |
| 9. <i>ār jon</i> ( <i>ār jaŋ</i> ), LS. <i>ürx jeuŋ</i> , US. <i>ei erx jon</i> . <sup>233</sup>                               | 60. <i>xūt jon</i> .                      |
| 10. <i>jon</i> ( <i>jaŋ</i> ), LS. <i>jeuŋ</i> .   | 70. <i>tābet jon</i> .                    |
| 11. <i>ja xat jon</i> ( <i>jaŋ</i> ).  | 80. <i>ńit jon</i> .                      |
| 12. <i>kāt xat j</i> .   | 90. <i>ār sōt</i> .                       |
| 13. <i>xūdem xat j</i> .   | 100. <i>sōt</i> , Surg. <i>sāt</i> .      |
| 14. <i>ńeda xat j</i> .  | 200. <i>kāt sōt</i> .                     |
| 15. <i>wēt xat j</i> .   | 300. <i>xūdem sōt</i> .                   |
| 16. <i>xūt xat j</i> .   | 400. <i>ńeda sōt</i> .                    |
| 17. <i>tābet xat j</i> .   | 500. <i>wēt sōt</i> .                     |
|  | 600. <i>xūt sōt</i> .                     |
|  | 700. <i>tābēt sōt</i> .                   |
|  | 800. <i>ńit sōt</i> .                     |
|  | 900. <i>ār sōt</i> .                      |
|  | 1000. <i>taras</i> , Surg. <i>fores</i> . |
|  | 10.000. <i>jon taras</i> .                |

N.B. 1. The six first cardinal numerals are apparently related to the Finnish: *yksi*, *kaksi*, *kolme*, *neljä*, *viisi*, *kuusi*. The Ostyak numeral *tābet* ‘seven’ (also: ‘week’) hardly originates from the Turkish *sebt* ‘Saturday’, Hebrew *שבת*. *nīda*, *ńigedax*, *ńil* ‘eight’ has without a doubt emerged from *ńeda* (*ńeda*, *ńel*) through lengthening of the vowel<sup>234</sup>. *ār jaŋ* ‘nine’ in Irtyš means in fact ‘big ten’<sup>235</sup>; whilst *ürx jeuŋ* (instead of *ürük jeuŋ*) in the LS. dialect means ‘extra ten’ or also ‘indirect ten’; *ei erx jon* (instead of *ei erek jon*) in the US. dialect has the following meaning: ‘ten without (with the exception of) one’.<sup>236</sup> *jon*, *jeuŋ* ‘ten’, Turkish *un*, Samoyed *jū* (*jung*), Zyrian *jam*<sup>237</sup> is also called *čam jon* ‘straight ten’.

## ❖ 37 ❖

2. The cardinal numerals from eleven to seventeen are built with the word *xat*, which we consider to be identical to *kāt* (*kat*) ‘two’<sup>238</sup>. According to this, the literal meaning of *ja xat jon* ‘eleven’, *kat xat jon* ‘twelve’ would be approximately ‘one, two of the second ten’, Finnish *yksi*, *kaksi toista kymmentä*, etc.

3. Of the other cardinal numerals, *xūs*, Surg. *kos* ‘twenty’ seems to be related to Zyrian *kyszj*. *sōt*, Surg. *sāt* appears in many related and other languages. *ńit sōt* and *ār sōt* have in Ostyak two meanings: 1) eighty and ninety, 2) eight hundred and nine hundred; *taras* ‘thousand’ also has the meaning of a trader.

4. In Ostyak, as well as in other related languages, the cardinal numerals form constructions with the singular; e.g. *kāt taŋa* ‘two kopecks’, *sōt taŋa* ‘one hundred kopecks’ or ‘one ruble’, *taras taŋa* ‘one thousand kopecks’. Only in the Surgut dialects does the counted entity appear in the dual after *kāt*; e.g. *kāt wākken* ‘two kopecks’.

5. In declension, the cardinal numerals behave very regularly; e.g. *it*, dative *ida*, instructive *idat*; *xūdem*, dative *xūdema*, instructive *xūdemat*, etc.

§ 75 Most ordinal numerals are formed from the basic numerals by rule with the addition of the syllable *met*, which in Zyrian expresses the superlative<sup>239</sup>. The ten first ordinal numerals in Ostyak are:

1. *ōdeŋ*, S. *ādeŋ*, *āteŋ*.<sup>240</sup>
2. *kīmet*.
3. *xūtmet*, S. *kūtmet*.
4. *ńetmet*, S. *ńetmet*.
5. *wētmet*.
6. *xūdamet*, S. *kūtmet*.

237. The exact etymology of the Khanty word for ‘ten’ is not known; the closely related Mansi language uses the word *low* (PFU \**luka*), which has counterparts in many related languages.

238. These are two separate words. As was seen on note 228, the word in question has a palatalized *-ł*, whilst ‘two’ does not. The vowel in ‘two’ is also palatal, whilst in *χăt*, it is velar. The northern dialects use the same word (*χōś*), whilst the eastern dialects use a different word, cf. note 236. Thus, the semantic comparison to Finnish is also erroneous.

239. The correct form is *-mət* and it corresponds to the PFU ordinal suffix \**-mti*, which is found in most Finno-Ugrian languages including Finnish (*kolmas*: *kolmante-* ‘third’) and Hungarian (*harmadik* ‘third’).

240. South (DN) *otəŋ*, Surgut (Trj) *äləŋ* literally ‘head, end, beginning’

241. It is not. Other related languages reveal that the consonant behind the Finnish alternation *t* : *s* (in front of *i*) is a dental spirant \**δ*, which in Khanty, as a matter of fact, has the same representation as *l* (South <*d*> /*t*/, Surgut <*d*> /*l*/). The etymological counterpart of the Finnish word is Khanty (Trj) *il* ‘the one in front, first; away’, which, as in Finnish, has a palatal vowel.
242. German does not make a distinction between ‘the first time’ and ‘for the first time’. The same thing can probably be applied to Khanty. All the constructions with ordinal numerals thus have two translations: (for) the second time, (for) the third time, (for) the first time.
243. *pelək* ‘half’, *jökan* ‘lot, share’
244. They have, of course, independent stems of their own, although the initial consonant serves as a kind of person marking device. The Ob-Ugric languages form, together with the Samoyedic languages and Komi, an area where the character of the second person is *n*- (in Komi only in verbal inflection) instead of *t*-, which is commonly regarded as the original (e.g. Hungarian *te* ‘thou’, *ti* ‘you’, Finnish *sinä* (< \**tinä*) ‘thou’, *te* ‘you’, Northern Saami *don* ‘thou’, dual *doai* ‘you’, pl. *dij* ‘you’).

## ❖ 38 ❖

7. *tābetmet*, S. *tābetmet*.
8. *nīdamet*, S. *ńigeḏaxmet*.
9. *ār joŋmet* (*jaŋmet*), LS. *ürx jeuŋmet*, US. *ei erx joŋmet*.
10. *joŋmet* (*jaŋmet*), LS. *jeuŋmet*.

N.B. *ōdeŋ*, *ādeŋ*, *āteŋ* ‘outermost, the first’ is probably related to the Finnish *esi* (actually *ete*) ‘the one in front’ and *esimäinen* ‘the first’<sup>241</sup>. *kīmet* has without a doubt developed from *kāt* through the elision of *t* and the vowel alternation described in § 29. *xūtmet* ‘third’ has developed from *xūdemmet* through contraction, and *xūdamet* ‘sixth’ gets an extra *a* in order to keep the two apart. All the other ordinal numerals are formed quite regularly; e.g. *xūsmet* ‘twentieth’, *sōtmet* ‘hundredth’, *tarasmet* ‘thousandth’, etc.

§ 76 Distributive numerals are usually formed in Ostyak using the instructive case of the basic numerals; e.g. *kādenat* ‘two each’, *wēdat* ‘five each’, *xūdāt* ‘six each’, etc.

§ 77 The formation of iteratives and temporals happens with the cardinal and ordinal numerals using the one syllable word *pis* (S. *pa*); e.g. *i pis* (US. *ei pa*) ‘once’, *ōdeŋ pis*, S. *ādeŋ pa* ‘the first time’; *xūdem pis* (Surg. *kūdem pa*) ‘three times’, *xūtmet pis* (Surg. *kūtmet pa*) ‘the third time’, etc. Temporals can be also expressed in the Surgut dialects by adding *xa*, *xe* to the ordinal numerals; e.g. *kīmetxe* ‘second time’, *kutmetxa* ‘third time’. As an exception, *ādeŋna* (locative of *ādeŋ*) is used to express ‘the first time’<sup>242</sup>.

§ 78 In expressing fractions and mixed numbers, the language uses the words *pēlek* and *jukan* ‘part, section, share’<sup>243</sup>; e.g. *kīmet pēlek* ‘one and a half’, *xūtmet jukan* ‘one third’, etc.

## ❖ 39 ❖

## C. Pronoun

§ 79 The different kinds of pronouns are, concerning their declension, very similar to the nouns. With a few exceptions, the same case suffixes are attached to both, and the characters of number are nearly always the same. Similarly to the noun, the pronoun also lacks declension in attributive position.

§ 80 The personal pronouns in Ostyak are nearly the only ones that somewhat differ from the general declension model. Even in the Irtyš dialects, they, unlike nouns, have three numbers, of which the dual and the plural are formed in a quite specific way.<sup>244</sup> Among the regular cases, the personal pronoun lacks the caritive whilst the accusative with *t* is very common<sup>245</sup>. The locative is gradually more and more often expressed with the help of postpositions, the ablative has in the Irtyš dialects a special suffix of its own, and the instructive is formed with two suffixes. Otherwise, it may be noted that in many case forms, the personal pronouns make use of the so-called personal suffixes<sup>246</sup>, which are not attached to the stem but, against the common rules, to the case suffixes<sup>247</sup>.

§ 81 The personal pronouns in Ostyak are *ma* (originally *man*) ‘I’, dual *mīn*, pl. *meŋ*; *neŋ* ‘thou’, dual *nīn*, pl. *neŋ*; *teu*, Surg. *teux* ‘he, it’, du. *tīn*, Surg. *tin*, pl. *teg*, Surg. *tex*. In Irtyš, they are declined in the following way<sup>248</sup>:

	Sing.	1. Dual	Plural
Stem	<i>ma</i> ‘I’	<i>mīn</i>	<i>meŋ</i>
Acc.	<i>mant</i>	<i>mīnat</i>	<i>meŋat</i>
Dat.	<i>menem</i> ( <i>mantem</i> )	<i>mīnemen</i>	<i>meŋewa</i>
Loc.	<i>mana</i>	<i>mīnna</i>	<i>meŋna</i>
Abl.	<i>ma’attem</i>	<i>mīnattemen</i>	<i>meŋattem</i>
Instr.	<i>ma’ademat</i> <sup>249</sup>	<i>mīnademenat</i> <sup>250</sup>	<i>meŋadewat</i> <sup>251</sup>

245. Castrén does not make a comparison with Finnish, which interestingly enough has the same accusative suffix in personal pronouns: *minut*, *sinut*, *hänet* ‘me, you, him/her’.
246. i.e. possessive suffixes
247. Possessive suffixes are used relatively widely in the Finno-Ugric languages in the declension of personal pronouns: in Mansi, they are used for creating a declension stem and the stem + Px serves alone as accusative, in Hungarian partly in the same way (*engem*, *téged* ‘me, you’ (in object position) and in the Permic languages Stem + Px expresses the dative (Vértes 1967, Kulonen 1993, Bartens 2000:150).
248. mscr. (p. 230) *Ma*, *Mín*, *Mēng*; *Nēng*, *Nin*, *Nēng*; *Teu*, *Tin*, *Teg*
249. Modern forms in DN (following Honti 1984: 146): *mā* (*mān*), *mānt*, *mēnem* (Honti gives a separate lative *māntema*), *mānə*, *mānättem*, *mānatemat*.
250. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *min*, *minat*, *minemən*, *minnə*, *minättemən*, *minatəmənət*.
251. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *mōŋ*, *mōŋat*, *mōŋew*, *mōŋnə*, *mōŋätteu*, *mōŋatewat*. The final *-m* instead of *-w* in the ablative might be a typographical error.

252. Modern forms in DN (Honti 1984: 146) *nõh, nõhat, nõhen, nõhna, nõhätten, nõhatenat*.
253. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *nin, ninat, ninesän, ninna, ninättesän, ninatesänat*. In Ko and Kr, the expected *-t-* appears instead of the somewhat surprising *-s-*.
254. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *něj, nějat, nějesän, nějna, nějättesän, nějättesän* (in Ko and Kr *nějätetänat*; see also note 253).
255. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *těw, těwat, těwet, těwnä, těwättet, těwatetat*.
256. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *tin, tinat, tinesän, tinna, tinättesän, tinättesänat* (see also note 253).
257. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *těj, tějat, těyet, těyna, těyättet, těyatetat*.
258. There are, for example, more case forms. The Surgut paradigms are given in the Short Grammatical Description, pp. 20–22.
259. Here, again, the possessive suffixes are meant.
260. mscr. (p. 235) Dual 2. *Atinnam*, 3. *Atinnam*, Plur. 1. *Atiunam*, 2. *Atinnam*, 3. *Atitnam*
261. I.e. possessive suffixes; mscr. p. 235 “Till pronomina personalia höra äfven de så kallade suffixa, hvilka urdhänges nomina och tjäna till och ersätter pronomina possessiva, som i de Finska språken saknat suffixa äro i den Irt. dial. med åsidosättande af bindevocaleren följande”.

## ❖ 40 ❖

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
Stem	<i>nej</i> ‘thou’	<i>nin</i>	<i>nej</i>
Acc.	<i>nejat</i>	<i>ninat</i> ( <i>ninet</i> )	<i>nejat</i>
Dat.	<i>nejen</i>	<i>nineden</i>	<i>nejeda</i>
Loc.	<i>nejna</i>	<i>ninna</i>	<i>nejä</i>
Abl.	<i>nejatten</i>	<i>ninatteden</i>	<i>nejatteden</i>
Instr.	<i>nejadenat</i> <sup>252</sup>	<i>ninadedenat</i> <sup>253</sup>	<i>nejadedenat</i> <sup>254</sup>

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
Stem	<i>teu</i> ‘you’	<i>tin</i>	<i>teg</i>
Acc.	<i>tewat</i>	<i>tinat</i>	<i>tegat</i>
Dat.	<i>tewet</i>	<i>tineden</i>	<i>teget</i>
Loc.	<i>teuna</i>	<i>tinna</i>	<i>teгна</i>
Abl.	<i>tewattet</i>	<i>tinatteden</i>	<i>tegattet</i>
Instr.	<i>tewadedat</i> <sup>255</sup>	<i>tinadedenat</i> <sup>256</sup>	<i>tegedadat</i> <sup>257</sup>

N.B. There are also many anomalies in the declension of personal pronouns in the Surgut dialects, which I, however, have not observed very carefully<sup>258</sup>. If I have made some mistakes in the Irtyš dialect, they cannot be of very much importance.

§ 82 In the Irtyš dialects, there are, according to my observations, no reflexive pronouns; they are always replaced by personal pronouns. The Surgut dialects make use of some derived words that are formed from an extinct stem with the help of personal pronouns<sup>259</sup> and a syllable *nam* attached to it; e.g. *atennam* ‘I myself’, *atennan* ‘thou thyself’, *atitnam* ‘he himself’, *atimemnan* ‘we (two) ourselves’<sup>260</sup>, etc.

§ 83 The so-called personal suffixes<sup>261</sup> are very common in Ostyak and are used instead of possessive pronouns. Like the personal pronouns, these suffixes also have three numbers in all Ostyak dialects; e.g. *kěžem* ‘my knife’, *kěžemen* ‘our (the two of us) knife’, *kěžeu* ‘our (several of us) knife’. They cannot be

## ❖ 41 ❖

attached to all case suffixes but only in the nominative or the basic form in singular, dual or plural; in all the other case forms, the personal suffixes are placed between the number characters and the case suffixes; e.g. *opa* ‘sister’, *opea* ‘to the sister’, *opema* ‘to my sister’, *opena* ‘to your sister’ *opedä* ‘to his/her sister’.

§ 84 Here we wish to provide an overview of the personal suffixes in the Irtyš dialect and additionally the most important characteristics of the Surgut dialects:

Singular<sup>262</sup>

- I: 1. *em* ‘my’, 2. *en* ‘your’, 3. *et*, S. *et* ‘his, her’.
- II: 1. *emen* ‘of the two of us’ 2. *eden, ten*, S. *in, ten* ‘of the two of you’, 3. *eden, ten*, S. *in, ten* ‘of the two of them’.
- III: 1. *eu*, S. *eux* ‘our (several of us)’, 2. *eden, ten*, S. *in, ten* ‘your (several of you)’, 3. *et*, S. *it* ‘their (several of them)’.

Dual and plural<sup>263</sup>

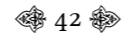
- I: *am* ‘my (several)’, 2. *an* ‘your (several)’, 3. *et*, S.urg. *et* ‘his, her (several)’.
- II: 1. *emen* ‘of the two of us’ 2. *en* ‘of the two of you’, 3. *en* ‘of the two of them’.
- III: 1. *eu*, S. *eux* ‘our (several of us)’, 2. *en* ‘your (several of you)’, 3. *et*, S. *et* ‘their (several of them)’.

§ 85 This overview shows that the singular and plural, as well as the dual in the Surgut dialects, take the same suffixes. These are, if we do not give attention to the binding vowel, in I: *m, n, t, (t)*, in II: *men, den (ten), den (ten)*, in III: *u (ux), den (ten), t (t)*. It has to be noticed, though, that *d* always falls away in dual and plural and that the personal suffix *eden* is contracted to *en*, cf. § 44. The elision of *d* occurs in the Surgut dialects already in singular. Moreover, in these dialects, the *n* of the second person singular can also be lost.

262. This is the series of the suffixes with the possessed in singular. The modern forms attached to the word ‘house’ are the following (DN, Honti 1984: 132): *χotem* ‘my house’ *χoten, χotät, χotemän* ‘the house of the two of us’, *χotesän, χotesän, χotew* ‘our house’ *χotesän, χotet*.

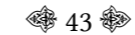
263. This is the series of the possessed in dual or plural. The suffixes themselves are the same, but dual possessed has a special dual character *-γät-* in front of the suffix and similarly, when referring to plural possessed, there is a plural character *-t-* between the stem and the suffix. So the whole possessive paradigm consists of 27 suffixes (or suffix combinations). The modern forms attached to the word ‘house’ (DN, ibid.) are in dual *χotyätam* ‘my two houses’, *χotyätan, χotyätat, χotyätemän* ‘the two houses of us two’, *χotyätän, χotyätəw* ‘our two houses’, *χotyätän, χotyätat*; and in plural *χottam* ‘my (several) houses’, *χottan, χottat, χottemän, χottän, χottän, χottəw* ‘our (several) houses’, *χottän, χottat*. In Surgut (Trj.), the corresponding character for dual possessed is *-γäl-/γäl-* and for plural possessed *-λ-*. The table of Surgut forms is given in the Short Grammatical Description p. 16.

264. The 1PL suffix *-w*, Surgut *-y°* originates from Proto-Khanty and Proto-Ugric suffix *-y°*, which also has an etymological counterpart in the Hungarian 1PL suffix of the definite conjugation *-uk* (Honti 1985).
265. The consonant behind the personal pronouns and endings is the PFU *\*s*, which in Surgut dialects (and Kaz) is represented by *ʌ*, in the South by *t* and in northern and easternmost dialects by *l*. The PFU *l* has the same representation.
266. There are a few etymologies in the (Baltic-)Finnic languages in which *t* and *n* seemingly correspond to each other, but this is far from a regular sound change. Cf. note 244.
267. It is worth noting that the vowel is a full one and thus part of the suffix, not a binding vowel. In 3SG and 1PL, the vowel is reduced and does not belong to the suffix.
268. This is not a diphthong; the role of *a* after a relatively weak velar consonant is purely acoustic.
269. A reduced vowel, phonematically /*a*/.
270. In Trj consonant-final stems, the vowel in singular persons and 1PL is *â/a*, in second and third persons dual and plural *i/i*. In vowel-final stems the vowel is full and its quality depends on the vowel of the stem, whether it is full or reduced.



N.B. It can easily be noticed that most of the suffixes mentioned above are closely related to the personal pronouns. In singular, *m*, *n*, *t* (*t*) are only shortened forms of *ma* 'I', *neŋ* 'thou', *teu* (*teux*) 'he'. Of the dual suffixes, *men* in the first and *ten* in the third person correspond *mîn* 'we (two)' and *tîn* 'they (two)' almost to the letter. The *m* in the first person plural has probably changed into *u*, like in many Samoyedic dialects, in order to make a difference from the first person singular<sup>264</sup>. The *t* (*t*) in the third person plural has a visual correspondence to the personal pronoun *teg* (*teg*)<sup>265</sup>. The suffix *den* (*ten*) in the second person dual and plural is, though, very different from the personal pronoun, but it seems that *neŋ* 'thou' originates from *teŋ* through a consonant change which is very common in the Finnish languages, and thus in this case it is easy to explain the affinity<sup>266</sup>.

§ 86 Concerning the vowel of the personal suffixes or the so-called binding vowel, it is in the Irtyš dialect nearly always the same and consists of an *e*<sup>267</sup>. The nouns ending in *x* normally have the binding vowel *ae*, especially in the first and second person singular<sup>268</sup>; e.g. *jūrax* 'side', *jūragaem*, *jūragaen*, *jūragat*. In the first and second person plural, *a* appears in most cases (see the paradigms). In the third person singular, *e* alternates sometimes with *a*, *o* and can, according to § 32, even be lost<sup>269</sup>: *wāx* 'money', *wāgat* 'his money', *sōx* 'skin', *sōgot* 'his skin', *pōs* 'glove', *pōst* 'his glove'. Sometimes an elision of the binding vowel also occurs in a consonant-final noun, when the dual and second person plural suffixes are attached to the nominative singular. In the Surgut dialects, though, the binding vowel disappears in front of the first person plural suffix (cf. the paradigm). Otherwise in the Surgut dialects the binding vowel is very vague<sup>270</sup>: Sometimes there is *a*, sometimes *e* and also other vowels that we cannot present exactly.

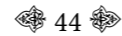


§ 87 In combination with the personal suffixes the noun stem is subject to regular changes, which have already been discussed in the phonology and partly also in § 69. We make a short remark on the most important ones:

- a) In most cases, a short final *a* changes into *e*, but remains unchanged after *x*, *g*, *k*; e.g. *aŋa* 'mother', suffixes I. *aŋem*, *aŋen*, *aŋet* 'my, your, his mother'; II. *aŋemen*, *aŋeden*, *aŋeden* 'our, etc. mother', III. *aŋeu*, *aŋeden*, *aŋet*; *aŋaxa* 'stepmother', suffixes I. *aŋaxaem*, *-xaen*, *-xaet*, II. *aŋaxaemen*, *-xaeden*, *-xaeden*, III. *-xaeu*, *-xaeden*, *-xaet*<sup>271</sup>. In the Surgut dialects, *a* also remains unchanged after other consonants, but in combination with the suffixes of the second and third person in dual and plural, *a* as well as *e* easily change into *i*<sup>272</sup>; e.g. *kara* 'ground, place', suffixes I. *karam* (also *kara'am*), *karan* (*kara'an*), *karat*; II. *karamen*, *karaten* or *karin*; III. *karau*, *karaden* or *karin*, *karit*, dual *karagaɬam*, pl. *karagaɬam*.
- b) In the Irtyš dialect, the other vowels remain mostly unchanged; e.g. *kēže* 'knife', suffixes I. *kēžem*, *kēžen*, *kēžet*; II. *kēžemen*, *kēžeden*, *kēžeden*; III. *kēžeu*, *kēžeden*, *kēžet*<sup>273</sup>.
- c) When ending a diphthong, *i* and *u* change into *j*, *w* in front of the binding vowel<sup>274</sup>; e.g. *woi* 'fat', suffixes I. *wojem*, *wojen*, *wojet*; II. *wojemen*; III. *wojeu*, pl. *woidam*; *keu* 'stone', I. *kewem*, *kewen*, *kewet*; II. *kewemen*; III. *keweu*; pl. *keudam*.
- d) In some of the Surgut subdialects, stem-final *i* changes into *e* after a preceding consonant in the first and second person singular; e.g. *kils* 'barbel', suffixes I. *kilsem*, *kilsen*, *kilsit*; II. *kilsimen*, etc., whilst in other dialects you can hear *ie* in the first and second person singular and *i* in the other persons; e.g. *kiuri* 'wound', suffixes I. *kiuriam*, *kiurien*, *kiurit*; II. *kiurimen*; III. *kiuriu*, etc.

271. In this single example, it is not only that *a* follows a velar consonant (cf. § 86, note 268) but also that the word consists of three syllables. It is therefore impossible to say whether *a* in *ae* is a similar acoustic phenomenon to that in the note 268 or the final vowel of the stem, which might be preserved in polysyllabic (3+) stems.
272. This *i* belongs to the suffix of the persons mentioned. The final vowels represent the reduced vowel (*karâ* 'place') and the paradigm in Surgut (Trj) is the following: *karam*, *kara*, *karaʌ*, *karamân*, *karin*, *karin*, *karay°*, *karin*, *karil*. The *n* of the second person singular is lost in Trj and the full vowel alone shows the function of the Px in question.
273. Actually, the stem-final schwa disappears in front of the full vowel of the suffix; there is thus an alternation between *ə* and *e*. What Castrén has heard would probably have been: (*keč* 'knife') *\*kečem*, *\*kečen*, *\*kečət*, *\*kečemən*, *\*kečetən*, *\*kečetən*, *\*kečew*, *\*kečetən*, *\*kečet* (cf. the DN Ko Kr paradigms in Honti 1984: 132–133).
274. This, too, shows clearly that it is not a binding vowel but part of the suffix. It is somewhat absurd to say that a binding vowel causes a change in the stem.

275. i.e. stem-final full vowels  
 276. A correct term would probably be “possessive”; Castrén has clearly thought of combinations of suffixes.  
 277. The suffix denoting dual possessed probably consists of the basic dual character *-y* and *l/ʌ/t* adopted from the suffix for plural possessed.  
 278. These two plural suffixes have different origins: the absolute plural suffix goes back to the PFU (PU) *\*-t* whilst the suffix for plural possessed originates from Proto-Khanty *\*-il*. In the southern dialects, the consonants cannot be distinguished from one another because of the common sound change *\*l > t*.  
 279. i.e. reduced vowel (ə)  
 280. The elision would also lead to unpronounceable consonant clusters.  
 281. We can also bear in mind that the two plurals are two separate suffixes, cf. note 278 above.



e) After long vowels and sometimes also after short ones<sup>275</sup>, *g* or *j* is added; e.g. *jesnā* ‘brother-in-law’, suffixes I. *jesnāgem* or *-jem*, *jesnāgen* or *-jen*, *jesnāget* or *-jet*, etc.

f) When the nominal stem ends with a consonant, the final consonant sometimes gets smoother, sometimes harder or undergoes another change according to general rules; e.g. *rīt* ‘boat’, *rīdem* ‘my boat’; *put* ‘kettle’, *pudem* ‘my kettle’; *kerap* ‘vehicle’, *kerabem* ‘my vehicle’; *nānk* ‘larch’, *nānem* ‘my larch’; *oit* ‘fence’, *oidem*, plural *oittam* ‘my fences’; *kān* ‘arctic fox’, plural *kāndam* ‘my arctic foxes’; *ńań* ‘bread’, plural *ńandam* ‘my breads’, etc.

§ 88 The following sound changes deserve a special attention, because they do not occur in the absolute declension but only in the suffixal<sup>276</sup> one.

a) In the Surgut dialects the dual character *xan*, *xen*, etc. changes into *xat*, *xet*, etc. in connection with the personal suffixes; e.g. *kara* ‘ground, place’, dual *karagan*, suffixal *karagađam*, *-gađan*, etc.<sup>277</sup>

b) the plural character *et* changes into *it* in front of the personal suffix; e.g. *kēže* ‘knife’, plural *kēžet*, suffixes I. *kēžidam*, *kēžidan*, *kēžidet*; II. *kēžidemem*, etc.<sup>278</sup>

c) When the nominal stem ends with a consonant and has a long vowel in the penultima, in the suffixal forms the short vowel<sup>279</sup> of the final syllable undergoes elision in singular, while in dual and plural this does not happen<sup>280</sup>; e.g. *pōgor* ‘islet’, singular *pōxrem* ‘my islet’, plural *pōgordam* ‘my islets’; *wāsex* ‘duck’, singular *wāsxam* ‘my duck’, dual *wāsekkadām*, plural *wāsektam* or *wāsekdām*.

d) Consonant-final stems always lose the binding vowel of the plural in connection with the personal suffixes; e.g. *xuran* ‘stall, shed’, plural *xuranet*, suffixal *xurandam*; *tābet* ‘week’, plural *tāptet*; suffixal *tābettam*; *kōr* ‘oven’, plural *kōret*, suffixal *kōrdam*.<sup>281</sup>



§ 89 In the following paradigms, the word *īma* ‘woman’ shows the comprehensive overview of the nominal declension in connection with the personal suffixes<sup>282</sup>. All the other examples *urmā* ‘mitten’, *kerap* ‘vehicle’, *pōgor* ‘islet’, *jūrax* ‘edge’ will be given only in the basic form.

1. <sup>283</sup>			
Basic form			
Singular			
I.	1. <i>īmem</i>	2. <i>īmen</i>	3. <i>īmet</i> <sup>284</sup>
II.	1. <i>īmemem</i>	2. <i>īmeden</i>	3. <i>īmeden</i>
III.	1. <i>īmeu</i>	2. <i>īmeden</i>	3. <i>īmet</i>
Plural			
I.	1. <i>īmidam</i>	2. <i>īmidan</i>	3. <i>īmidet</i>
II.	1. <i>īmidemem</i>	2. <i>īmiden</i>	3. <i>īmiden</i>
III.	1. <i>īmideu</i>	2. <i>īmiden</i>	3. <i>īmidet</i>
Dative			
Singular			
I.	1. <i>īmema</i>	2. <i>īmena</i>	3. <i>īmeda</i>
II.	1. <i>īmemena</i>	2. <i>īmedena</i>	3. <i>īmedena</i>
III.	1. <i>īmewa</i>	2. <i>īmedena</i>	3. <i>īmeda</i>
Plural			
I.	1. <i>īmidama</i>	2. <i>īmidana</i>	3. <i>īmideda</i>
II.	1. <i>īmidemena</i>	2. <i>īmidena</i>	3. <i>īmidena</i>
III.	1. <i>īmidewa</i>	2. <i>īmidena</i>	3. <i>īmideda</i>
Locative			
Singular			
I.	1. <i>īmemna</i>	2. <i>īmenna</i>	3. <i>īmetna</i>
II.	1. <i>īmememna</i> <sup>285</sup>	2. <i>īmedenna</i>	3. <i>īmedenna</i>
III.	1. <i>īmeuna</i>	2. <i>īmedenna</i>	3. <i>īmetna</i>
Plural			
I.	1. <i>īmidamna</i>	2. <i>īmidanna</i>	3. <i>īmidetna</i>
II.	1. <i>īmidememna</i> <sup>286</sup>	2. <i>īmidenna</i>	3. <i>īmidenna</i>
III.	1. <i>īmideuna</i>	2. <i>īmidenna</i>	3. <i>īmidetna</i>

282. There is also a series of dual possessed with the dual character *-ŋət*: *imeŋətam* ‘my two women’, *imeŋətan*, *imeŋətat*, *imeŋətamən* ‘the two women of us two’, *imeŋətən*, *imeŋətən*, *imeŋətəw* ‘our two women (of the several of us)’, *imeŋətən*, *imeŋətat*. (Kr Ko suffixes, cf. Honti 1984: 133.)  
 283. stem type ending in a reduced vowel  
 284. *imit* (*imit*) ‘his/her woman’ would be expected. The vowel in PX.SG<3SG is the same as in all persons of the plural possessed. It is also different from the form *imet* ‘their woman’ (PX.SG<3PL).  
 285. *īmemenna* (*imemənnə*) would be expected.  
 286. *īmidemenna* (*imitəmənnə*) would be expected.

287. stem type ending in a full vowel

❖ 46 ❖

Ablative Singular			
I.	1. <i>īmemīwet</i>	2. <i>īmenīwet</i>	3. <i>īmedīwet</i>
II.	1. <i>īmemenīwet</i>	2. <i>īmedenīwet</i>	3. <i>īmedenīwet</i>
III.	1. <i>īmewīwet</i>	2. <i>īmedenīwet</i>	3. <i>īmedīwet</i>
Plural			
I.	1. <i>īmidamīwet</i>	2. <i>īmidanīwet</i>	3. <i>īmidedīwet</i>
II.	1. <i>īmidemenīwet</i>	2. <i>īmidenīwet</i>	3. <i>īmidenīwet</i>
III.	1. <i>īmidewīwet</i>	2. <i>īmidenīwet</i>	3. <i>īmidedīwet</i>
Instructive Sing.			
I.	1. <i>īmemat</i>	2. <i>īmenat</i>	3. <i>īmedat</i>
II.	1. <i>īmemenat</i>	2. <i>īmedenat</i>	3. <i>īmedenat</i>
III.	1. <i>īmewat</i>	2. <i>īmedenat</i>	3. <i>īmedat</i>
Plur.			
I.	1. <i>īmidamat</i>	2. <i>īmidanat</i>	3. <i>īmidedat</i>
II.	1. <i>īmidemenat</i>	2. <i>īmidenat</i>	3. <i>īmidenat</i>
III.	1. <i>īmidewat</i>	2. <i>īmidenat</i>	3. <i>īmidedat</i>
Caritive Sing.			
I.	1. <i>īmemda</i>	2. <i>īmenda</i>	3. <i>īmetta</i>
II.	1. <i>īmemenda</i>	2. <i>īmedenda</i>	3. <i>īmedenda</i>
III.	1. <i>īmeuda</i>	2. <i>īmedenda</i>	3. <i>īmetta</i>
2. <sup>287</sup> Basic form Sing.			
I.	1. <i>urmāgem</i> <sup>1)</sup>	2. <i>urmāgen</i>	3. <i>urmāget</i>
II.	1. <i>urmāgemen</i>	2. <i>urmāgeden</i>	3. <i>urmāgeden</i>
III.	1. <i>urmāgeu</i>	2. <i>urmāgeden</i>	3. <i>urmāget</i>

1) or: *urmajem*, *urmajen*, *urmājet*, also: *urmaem*, *urmaen*, *urmaet*, cf. *ańaxaem*, *ańaxaen*, *ańaxaet*.

❖ 47 ❖

Plur.			
I.	1. <i>urmāgidam</i> <sup>2)</sup>	2. <i>urmāgidan</i>	3. <i>urmāgidet</i>
II.	1. <i>urmāgidemen</i>	2. <i>urmāgiden</i>	3. <i>urmāgiden</i>
III.	1. <i>urmāgideu</i>	2. <i>urmāgiden</i>	3. <i>urmāgidet</i>

2) or: *urmājidam*, *urmājidan*, *urmājidet*, also: *urmaidam*, *urmaidan*, *urmaidet*, cf. *ańaxaidam*, *ańaxadann*, *ańaxaidet*.

3.<sup>288</sup>  
Basic form Sing.

I.	1. <i>kerabem</i>	2. <i>keraben</i>	3. <i>kerabet</i>
II.	1. <i>kerabemen</i>	2. <i>kerabeden</i>	3. <i>kerabeden</i>
III.	1. <i>kerabeu</i>	2. <i>kerabeden</i>	3. <i>kerabet</i>

Plur.

I.	1. <i>keraptam</i>	2. <i>keraptan</i>	3. <i>keraptet</i>
II.	1. <i>keraptemen</i>	2. <i>keraptan</i>	3. <i>keraptan</i>
III.	1. <i>kerapteu</i>	2. <i>keraptan</i>	3. <i>keraptet</i>

4.<sup>289</sup>  
Basic form Sing.

I.	1. <i>pōxrem</i>	2. <i>pōxren</i>	3. <i>pōxret</i>
II.	1. <i>pōxremen</i>	2. <i>pōxreden</i>	3. <i>pōxreden</i>
III.	1. <i>pōxreu</i>	2. <i>pōxreden</i>	3. <i>pōxret</i>

Plur.

I.	1. <i>pōgordam</i>	2. <i>pōgordan</i>	3. <i>pōgordet</i>
II.	1. <i>pōgordemen</i>	2. <i>pōgorden</i>	3. <i>pōgorden</i>
III.	1. <i>pōgordeu</i>	2. <i>pōgorden</i>	3. <i>pōgordet</i>

5.<sup>290</sup>  
Basic form Sing.

I.	1. <i>jūragaem</i>	2. <i>jūragaen</i>	3. <i>jūragat</i>
II.	1. <i>jūragaemen</i> <sup>1)</sup>	2. <i>jūragaeden</i> <sup>2)</sup>	3. <i>jūragaeden</i> <sup>2)</sup>
III.	1. <i>jūragaeu</i>	2. <i>jūragaeden</i> <sup>2)</sup>	3. <i>jūragaet</i>

1) *jūraxmen*      2) *juraxten*

288. stem type ending in a full vowel + consonant

289. stem type ending in a reduced vowel (ə) + consonant, in which the metathesis/elision of ə takes place in certain inflected forms

290. <*jūrax*> is a derivative (with presumably a full vowel in the second syllable), cf. *jīra* 'aside'.



291. stem type ending in a reduced vowel
292. It is worth remembering that <d> and <t> represent the same phoneme. The plural possessor series with dual possessed is actually *kārayālay°* ‘our two places (of several of us)’, *kārayālan* ‘your two places’, *kārayālal* ‘their two places’.
293. Stem type ending in a consonant. There is also a paradigmatic vowel alternation (see p. 49/95) and a simplification of the stem consonant *č* > *t* in front of the character *л* for plural possessed.
294. The whole paradigm in a normalized form is the following: (possessed in singular:) *učem*, *učen*, *učān*, *učmān*, *učin*, *učin*, *učāy°*, *učin*, *učil*; (possessed in dual:) *áčyālam*, *áčyāla*, *áčyāla*, *áčyālamān*, *áčyālan*, *áčyālan*, *áčyālay°*, *áčyālan*, *áčyālal*; (possessed in plural:) *ātalam*, *ātala*, *ātla*, *ātāmān*, *ātān*, *ātān*, *ātāy°*, *ātālal*.

## ❖ 48 ❖

Plur.			
I.	1. <i>jūraxtam</i>	2. <i>jūraxtan</i>	3. <i>jūraxtet</i>
II.	1. <i>jūraxtemen</i>	2. <i>jūraxten</i>	3. <i>jūraxten</i>
III.	1. <i>jūraxteu</i>	2. <i>jūraxten</i>	3. <i>jūraxtet</i>

§ 90 For the Surgut dialects, we want to present the following paradigms: *kara* ‘ground, place’ and *āč* ‘sheep’.

1.291  
Basic form  
Sing.

I.	1. <i>karam</i>	2. <i>karan</i>	3. <i>karat</i>
II.	1. <i>karamen</i>	2. <i>karin</i>	3. <i>karin</i>
III.	1. <i>karau</i>	2. <i>karin</i>	3. <i>karit</i>

## Dual

I.	1. <i>karagadam</i>	2. <i>karagadan</i>	3. <i>karagat</i>
II.	1. <i>karagadamen</i>	2. <i>karagaden</i>	3. <i>karagaden</i>
III.	1. <i>karagadaux</i>	2. <i>karagaden</i>	3. <i>karagadat</i> <sup>292</sup>

## Plur.

I.	1. <i>karadam</i>	2. <i>karadan</i>	3. <i>karat</i>
II.	1. <i>karadamen</i>	2. <i>karaden</i>	3. <i>karaden</i>
III.	1. <i>karadaux</i>	2. <i>karaden</i>	3. <i>karadat</i>

## 2.293

Basic form  
Sing.

I.	1. <i>ūžem</i>	2. <i>ūžen</i>	3. <i>ūžet</i>
II.	1. <i>ūžmen</i>	2. <i>ūžin</i>	3. <i>ūžin</i>
III.	1. <i>ūžeux</i>	2. <i>ūžin</i>	3. <i>ūžit</i>

## Dual

I.	1. <i>āžxadam</i>	2. <i>āžxadan</i>	3. <i>āžxat</i>
II.	1. <i>āžxadamen</i>	2. <i>āžxaden</i>	3. <i>āžxaden</i>
III.	1. <i>āžxadaux</i>	2. <i>āžxaden</i>	3. <i>āžxadat</i>

## Plur.

I.	1. <i>āttam</i>	2. <i>āttan</i>	3. <i>ātt</i>
II.	1. <i>āttamen</i>	2. <i>āttan</i>	3. <i>āttan</i>
III.	1. <i>āttaux</i>	2. <i>āttan</i>	3. <i>āttat</i> <sup>294</sup>

## ❖ 49 ❖

§ 91 We add the following list of words that undergo a vowel alternation<sup>295</sup> in the Surgut dialects.

*a* and *i*<sup>296</sup>

		Suffix I.1.	
<i>āt</i>	‘night’		<i>ītem</i>
<i>āmp</i>	‘dog’		<i>īmpem</i>
<i>pān</i>	‘finger’		<i>pīnem</i>
<i>ārent</i>	‘debt’		<i>īrendam</i>
<i>jānk</i>	‘nail’??		<i>jīnkem</i>
<i>kār</i>	‘bark’		<i>kīrem</i>
<i>wāsex</i>	‘duck’		<i>wīsxam</i>
<i>tās</i>	‘ware, thing(s)’		<i>tīsem</i>
<i>rāk</i>	‘flour’		<i>rīkem</i>
<i>sāp</i>	‘brook’		<i>sīpem</i>
<i>sāpet</i>	‘neck’		<i>sīptem</i>
<i>čānc</i>	‘knee’		<i>čīnžem</i>
<i>tābet</i>	‘week’		<i>tīptem</i>
<i>tānt</i>	‘moss’		<i>tīntem</i> , etc.

*a* and *u*<sup>297</sup>

		Suffix I.1.	
<i>āč</i>	‘sheep’		<i>ūžem</i>
<i>kāt</i>	‘house’		<i>kūtem</i>
<i>nāt</i>	‘nose’		<i>nūdem</i>
<i>lāt</i>	‘hole’		<i>lūtem</i>
<i>mānt</i>	‘story’		<i>mūndem</i>
<i>āt</i>	‘year’		<i>ūdem</i>
<i>pās</i>	‘glove’		<i>pūsem</i>
<i>sārt</i>	‘pike’		<i>sūrtem</i>
<i>sājep</i>	‘net’		<i>sūipam</i>
<i>jāgam</i>	‘moor’		<i>jūgmen</i> <sup>298</sup>
<i>tār</i>	‘meadow’		<i>tūrem</i>
<i>tārax</i>	‘crane’		<i>tūrgam</i>
<i>wān</i>	‘shoulder’		<i>wūnem</i>
<i>tān</i>	‘vein’		<i>tūnem</i>
<i>kār</i>	‘ox’		<i>kūrem</i>
<i>wāt</i>	‘wind’		<i>wūdem</i> , etc.

295. The paradigmatic vowel alternation concerns the full vowels *ā*, *o*, *ā* and *e* in the first syllable.
296. phonematically *ā* vs. *i*
297. phonematically *ā* vs. *u*
298. This is “suffix I.2”, i.e. PX.SG <2SG; probably a typographic misprint instead of *jūgmem* (*juymem*).

299. phonematically the same (*e* vs. *i*)  
 300. phonematically the same (*o* vs. *u*)  
 301. probably a typographical misprint, *u* instead of *ū*  
 302. The word for ‘oven’ is in Surgut dialects Likr *kōr*, Trj *ker*.  
 303. South *tām*, *tām*, *tāmā*, Surgut *tem*, *temi* ‘this’; South Surgut *tōm*, South *tōmā*, Surgut *tōmī* ‘that’ (Honti 1984: 74)  
 304. These shorter pronouns (South *ḥēw*, Surgut *tū*) that refer to more distant objects (not visible, as opposed to *tōm*, South *tōmā*, Surgut *tōmī* ‘that’) are used only in attributive positions. In Surgut we also find *ḥi* ‘this (attributive)’ and *ḥit* ‘id. (absolute)’. (Ibid.)

❖ 50 ❖			
<i>e</i> and <i>i</i> <sup>299</sup>			
<i>nēwer</i>	‘lather’	suffix I.1.	<i>nūrem</i>
<i>lēk</i>	‘trace’		<i>likam</i> , etc.
<i>o</i> and <i>u</i> <sup>300</sup>			
<i>ōp</i>	‘father-in-law’	suffix I.1.	<i>ūpem</i>
<i>ōx</i>	‘head’		<i>ū’um</i> ( <i>ūgum</i> )
<i>lōx</i>	‘inlet, bay’		<i>lū’um</i> ( <i>lūgum</i> ) <i>mūkam</i>
<i>mōk</i>	‘young (of an animal)’		<i>ūnkam</i>
<i>ōnk</i>	‘resin’		<i>pumem</i> <sup>301</sup>
<i>pōm</i>	‘grass’		<i>rūkam</i>
<i>rōk</i>	‘front (of a cloth)’		
<i>sōm</i>	‘scale (of a fish)’		<i>sūmem</i>
<i>tōnt</i>	‘goose’		<i>tūndem</i>
<i>kōs</i>	‘star’		<i>kūsem</i> , etc.
<i>ö</i> and <i>ü</i> <sup>302</sup>			
<i>kōr</i>	‘oven’	suffix I.1.	<i>kūrem</i>
<i>kōñ</i>	‘arctic fox’		<i>kūñem</i>

§ 92 The demonstrative pronouns in Ostyak are *toma* (*tom*) ‘that’, Finnish *tuo*, and *tema* (*teme*, *tem*) ‘this’, Finnish *tämä*<sup>303</sup>. According to § 81, *teu* ‘he, it’ can also be used as a demonstrative pronoun. In adverbs as well as in some relative and interrogative pronoun compounds there are further demonstratives *ḥit* (*tūt*) ‘this’ and *ta* ‘that’<sup>304</sup>. The declension of *toma* and *tema* is regular when these pronouns are used absolutely; e.g. dative *tomeja*, *temeja*, locative *tomena*, *temena*, ablative *tomīwet*, *temīwet*; pl. *tomet*, *temet*, etc. Only the dual in the Surgut dialects is irregular: *tomīn*, *temīn*.

§ 93 Interrogative and relative pronouns are expressed in Ostyak, like in the other related languages, mostly using the same words. These are:

❖ 51 ❖

*xoi* or *xoje*, S. *koje* ‘who, which’, Finnish *ku*, *kuka*<sup>305</sup>.  
*met* or *metta* ‘which, what’, Finnish *mi*, *mikä*.  
*medoi*, *medoje* (originally *met-xoi*), Surg. *mugudi* ‘what’.<sup>306</sup>

The following words can also be regarded as relative pronouns: *mecir*, Surg. *mugusir* ‘what kind of’, *tissir* ‘that kind of’, *tament* ‘like that one’, *timent* ‘like this one’, etc.<sup>307</sup> The declension of these pronouns follows the general rules both in Irtyš and in the Surgut dialects; e.g. *xojīwet*, *medīwet*, etc.

§ 94 Indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogative and relative pronouns with the help of the derivative suffix *at*; e.g. *xajat* 1) ‘someone’, 2) ‘person’, from *xoi* ‘who’; *medat* or *mettat* ‘something’, from *met* or *metta* ‘what’; *mecirat* ‘some kind of’, Russian *какий то*; *tissirat* ‘that kind of’<sup>308</sup>, Russian *такий то*, etc.

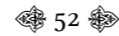
## 2) Verb

§ 95 There are two classes of verbs in Ostyak that not only differ from each other somewhat in their meaning but also in the flexion. One includes transitive or active verbs, the other includes all the intransitive and neutral verbs. In flexion, auxiliary and passive verbs correspond almost entirely to the latter.<sup>309</sup>

§ 96 Both classes of verbs can include basic words as well as derivatives. The first ones consist of one or at most two syllables, the latter have in their stem two syllables at least, often more. The derivation happens with the help of special character letters, which can be attached to a basic as well as to a derived stem of a noun or a verb. Verbs that form compounds with postpositions occur in Ostyak very rarely and they are formed completely on the basis of the sense of the Russian language.

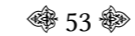
305. The Finnish counterpart is not relative but only interrogative. The comparison, though, is correct.  
 306. The simple interrogative-relative pronouns are in South *χōja*, Surgut *kōjayi* ‘who, which’, South *měj* (North *mūj*), Surgut *měj<sup>o</sup>i*, *mōyi* ‘what, which; what kind of’ (Honti 1984: 75).  
 307. They are not relative pronouns but rather pronominal attributes.  
 308. ‘this kind of’  
 309. Here the two Khanty conjugation paradigms (subjective vs. objective) are interpreted as qualities of the verbs. The transitive verbs, however, can be inflected in any of these two conjugations depending on whether there is a topicalized object in the sentence, either overt or deleted (Sosa 2017). In addition, many seemingly intransitive verbs (such as ‘come’) can be inflected in the objective conjugation, especially verbs of motion when there is a topicalized goal for the movement. These sentences can also be passivized so that the goal of the motion is in the subject position; e.g. *tāt-āḥket χūjnā jōχtaj* ‘a man (AG) came to see his grandmother’ (S) (SüdostjK 163) (Kulonen 1989: 158–).

310. Interestingly enough, Castrén does not make an exact etymological comparison to the Finnish suffix, even though in Proto-Khanty and the easternmost and northernmost dialects the suffix has (had) the form *-l-*.
311. In this word, the derivative suffix is also originally *-t-*, cf. Kaz *põtärtiA-* ‘to speak continuously’, where *-A-* is the suffix in question and *-t-* the suffix discussed in b).
312. Zero-derived verbs do not need to end in *t*; there are also a few of them that do not; e.g. *ΛOŋ* ‘warm (weather)’ *torəm ΛOŋəs* ‘the weather became warm’.
313. This is to say that it also appears as a regular stem consonant without a special function.
314. These represent the common and ancient PFU causative suffixes *\*t*, *\*tt* and *\*pt*.
315. originally and in the easternmost dialects *-il*



§ 97 Ostyak seems to be very rich in derived verbs. Because of the lack of sufficient material, we can only give here the most important derivatives and their component elements.

- a) *d*, *t*, (*d*, *t*) and *d'*, *t'*, (*d'*, *t'*) make diminutive verbs that express an action which is continuous, and are in Finnish formed with the character *l*<sup>310</sup>; e.g. *padartem* ‘to talk’<sup>311</sup>, *towottem* ‘to row’, *aidadem* ‘to hunt’, *tegdem* ‘to fly’. Both intransitive and transitive verbs also are formed from nouns with the same characters; e.g. *ōdā* ‘sour’, *ōdēdem* ‘become sour’; *ājem* ‘glue’, *ājemdem* ‘to glue’; *seker* ‘hit’, *sekerdem* ‘to hit’; *pōs* ‘mark’, *pōstem* ‘to mark’; *tēt* ‘full’, *tēttem* ‘to fill’. When the stem ends in the same letter, the derived verbs, at least the intransitive ones, do not need any special character; e.g. *mont* ‘story’, *montem* ‘to tell a story’; *pať* ‘excrement’, *paťem* ‘defecate’; *pēget* ‘bath’, *pēgtem* ‘to take a bath’<sup>312</sup>. It can be noticed, though, that these characters also appear in many primitive verbs and in many meanings; e.g. *tadem* ‘to pull’, *xadem* ‘to die’, *ūdēm* ‘to swim’, *jāstem* ‘to say’<sup>313</sup>.
- b) Moreover and primarily, transitive verbs out of intransitives and causatives out of immediatives are also formed with *t*, *t'*; e.g. *termadem* ‘to hurry (intr.)’, *termattem* ‘to hurry (tr.)’, *jendēm* ‘to drink’, *jenttēm* ‘to give to drink’. In these derivatives, *t* (*t'*) is often doubled; e.g. *tēbem* ‘to go wrong’, *tēbettem* ‘to make a mistake’; *sergem* ‘to drop (off)’, *sergettem* ‘to shake’. In many derivative verbs, *pt* appears instead of *tt*; e.g. *xajdēm* ‘to be left’, *xajdaptēm* ‘to leave (tr.)’, *kergem* ‘to fall’, *kereptēm* ‘to knock over’.<sup>314</sup>
- c) The frequentative verbs take usually the character *īd* (*īt*); e.g. *jāstem* ‘to say’, *jāstīdem* ‘to say many times’, *tōxnem* ‘to meet’, *tōxnīdem* ‘to meet often’<sup>315</sup>.



- d) It seems that many frequentative verbs can also be formed with the characters *x*, *k*, *k*, *g*, *g*; e.g. *ārgem*, *ārkem* ‘to sing’, *nuigem* ‘to get tired’, *jantkem* ‘to play’, *nāgam* ‘to laugh’, *tūtxaem* ‘to churn’<sup>316</sup>.
- e) Momentaneous verbs are formed with the help of *m*; e.g. *pulemem* ‘to swallow’, *pūmem* ‘to blow (once)’. This character not only expresses a momentaneous action, but also appears with many other meanings; e.g. *temem* ‘to scatter (tr.) around’, *kušmem* ‘to burn (intr.)’, *čošmem* ‘to scatter (tr.), to pour’.<sup>317</sup>
- f) *s* (*c*) is in Ostyak as well as in other related languages used to form augmentative verbs that express an action that is fulfilled quickly and energetically; e.g. *punžesem* ‘to open (quickly)’, Finnish *awaisen*; *aņasem* ‘to take one’s shoes off (quickly)’, Finnish *riiasen*; *mōņasem* ‘to rub’, Finn. *hierasen*; *xūdesem* ‘to cough’, Finn. *rykäsen*; *tāksem* ‘to spit’, Finn. *sylkäsen*.<sup>318</sup>
- g) The reflexive verbs have the character *š*; e.g. *mīdašem* ‘to be for rent’, etc.<sup>319</sup>
- § 98 Many of the characters mentioned in the § above can also be combined with each other to form further derivatives. We present some of these:
- h) The character of the diminutive can be followed by almost any other character; e.g. *jōxtēm* or *jōgodēm* ‘to enter’, frequ. *jōxtīdem*; *jōndēm* ‘to sew’, augm. *jōndesem*; *tēgdēm* ‘to fly’, mom. *tēgetmem*; *termadem* ‘to hurry (intr.)’ caus. *termattem*, etc.
- i) From the momentaneous verbs especially causatives can be formed; e.g. *ēnmēm* ‘to grow (intr.)’, *ēnmettem* ‘to nourish’; *kušmem* ‘to burn (intr.)’, *kušmettem* ‘to burn (tr.)’

316. In most of these, *k* or *γ* belongs to the stem in one way or another, at least historically, cf. Mansi (So) *ērəγ* ‘song, to sing’ (Khanty Trj *ārəγ* ‘song’, *ārəγ-* ‘to sing’) and (So) *janəγ* ‘play; to play’ (Khanty (DN) *jānt-*: *jāntkəm*, *jāntχəm*, *jānkəm* ‘to play’).
317. *-m-* is also very common as a translative suffix with which verbs are formed from nouns, and especially adjectives.
318. Honti (1984: 53–55) does not mention this suffix in Khanty, but it undoubtedly exists. The Finnish derivatives mentioned here go back to *\*ŋć*.
319. This is rare, too.

320. The basic formal difference between the subjective and objective conjugation (cf. note 309) is that the suffixes in the objective conjugation coincide with the possessive suffixes (§ 83–90) whilst the basic verbal personal suffixes are present in the subjective conjugation. We have seen (note 267) that the possessive suffixes of many persons include a full vowel.
321. E.g. Tra *měn* ‘he went’, *jöyät* ‘he came’; the present tense has a tense suffix  $\lambda$ : *mě $\lambda$*  ‘he goes’ (*mě $\lambda$ am* ‘I go’), *jöyät $\lambda$*  ‘he comes’ (*jöyät $\lambda$ am* ‘I come’, *jöyät $\lambda$ an* ‘you (Sg.) come’, etc.).
322. This does not, however, take into account the paradigmatic vowel alternation; the vowel used in the imperative is the more rarely occurring one.

❖ 54 ❖

- k) Many diminutive verbs that have the character *nt* and *md* have also probably been formed on the basis of other derivatives; e.g. *xūdem* ‘to hear’, *xūdandem* ‘to listen’; *ēpsendem* ‘to sniff’, *ńasamdem* ‘to slip, to slide’, *joworxamdem* ‘to turn (tr.)’.

*Conjugation*

1. The conjugation of the transitive and intransitive verbs

§ 99 The Ostyak language shares the feature with the Samoyedic languages that the transitive and intransitive verbs differ in their flexion to a certain degree. However, the differences occur mostly only in some personal suffixes and especially in the binding vowel.<sup>320</sup> The moods and tenses are formed quite similarly in both classes. In relation to the stem, we can notice that the final syllable in intransitives is often long, while in transitives it is often short. This definition cannot, however, be presented as any kind of common rule.

§ 100 It can further be added about the verbal stem that it seldom and only exceptionally appears in its simplest form: in the Surgut dialects in the third person singular indicative preterite with intransitive verbs<sup>321</sup>. But if we want to have a stem which is common to all dialects as well as intransitive and transitive verbs, we can find it easily by leaving out the final vowel in the second person imperative<sup>322</sup>. How different moods, tenses and other verbal forms are constructed based on this stem, will be presented in the following paragraphs.

*A. Indicative*

§ 101 In Ostyak, the indicative has two tenses: the preterite and the future. The present coincides with

❖ 55 ❖

the future<sup>323</sup>, and the preterite is able to express all modifications of the past tense. Sometimes the future is also expressed with the infinitive and the auxiliary verb *jidem*; e.g. *xantča jidem* ‘I will write’. In the past tense, in some dialects the augmentative and in others the diminutive verbal derivatives can be used to mark the perfect; e.g. *tēgetmem* ‘I have flown’, Russian улетѣлъ; *wermem* ‘I have made’, *pansim* ‘I have put’<sup>324</sup>.

§ 102 There is no special character for the preterite in Ostyak, instead, the personal suffixes are attached directly to the verbal stem; e.g. *panem* ‘I placed/put’ Imp. *pane*, stem *pan*. The character of the future is fully identical to the derivational suffix of the diminutive verbs, and consists thus of *d*, (*d*), *d’*, (*d’*) and *t*, (*t*), *t’* (*t’*)<sup>325</sup>. These consonants are attached to the stem according to the common rules presented in the phonology. The most important of these are:

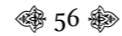
1. When the stem ends in a vowel or a smooth or indefinite consonant, the character of the future is *d* (*d*) or *d’* (*d’*), after a final hard consonant it is *t* (*t*) or *t’* (*t’*); e.g. *tuem* ‘to bring’, fut. *tudem*; *werem* ‘to make’, fut. *werdem* (stem *wer*); *emem* ‘to suck’, fut. *emdem* (stem *em*); *panem* ‘to put’, fut. *pandem* (stem *pan*); *telem* ‘to weep’, fut. *teldem* (stem *tel*); *jigem* ‘to harness’, fut. *jiktem* (stem *jik*); *tēbem* ‘to go wrong’, fut. *tēptem* (stem *tēp*), *ńāgam* ‘to laugh’, fut. *ńāxtam* (stem *ńāx*); *edem*, S. *ūdim* ‘to heat’, fut. *ettam*, S. *ūttim*, etc.

2. According to § 47, *čg*, *t*, *ńd* change in the future tense into *tč*, *t’*, *ńd’*; e.g. *ižem* ‘to stir’, fut. *ičtem* instead of *ičtem*; *muŋolžem* ‘to knot’, fut. *muŋoltčem*; *kenžem* ‘to seek’, fut. *kentčem*; *jēndem* ‘to drink’, fut. *jēntčem*; *ūdem* ‘to swim’, fut. *ūttam*; *pañem* ‘to twist’, fut. *pandem*, etc.

3. A final *i* (*j*), *u* (*w*) after a preceding vowel sometimes undergoes an elision, sometimes not; e.g.

323. The reason the future is considered the primary function of the non-past tense probably has to do with the grammatical traditions of that time. The other explanation could be its markedness in contrast to the past (preterite).
324. Both are participle suffixes. *-m* is clearly a past participle and very common in all Khanty dialects; *-s-* is more seldom used and also has (at least in Mansi) the function of a present participle (Kulonen 2007: 187–88). Anyway, this participle is the origin of the past tense (imperfect) suffix *-s-*, which is in use in the eastern dialects (VVj Surgut) as well as in the North. It seems that the example *pansim* is from Castrén’s observations from the Surgut dialects, even if it is not said to be so. In O, too, *pānsam* is the normal form of the past tense paradigm (SG1.PAST).
325. Actually *t* (South),  $\lambda$  (Surgut); the palatalized consonants here are due to assimilation and purely phonetic/acoustic variants, thus: (South) *tutəm*, *wertəm*, *emtəm*, *pāntəm*, *tēltəm*, *jiktəm*, *teptəm*, *ńāxtəm*, *ēttəm* (S. *ō $\lambda$ am*).

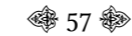
326. These are five of the seven total so-called thematic verbs (all monosyllabic), which have more than one alternating stems: South *mě-* ~ *měj-*; *wo-* ~ *woj-* (*u-* ~ *uj-* is the form in the south-north transitional dialects Ni, Šer as well as in Vj in the East; Surgut *wu-* ~ *wuj-*); *wě-* ~ *wěj-*; *jě-* ~ *jěw-* (Surgut *jě-* ~ *jěy-*); *te-* ~ *tew-* (Surgut *li-* ~ *liy°/liw-*). The two remaining verbs of this group are *ni-* ~ *niw-* 'to be visible' and *tu-* ~ *tāw-/těw-* (Surgut *tu-* ~ *tuy°-/tuw-*) 'to bring'. (Honti 1984: 36.)
327. Actually 'to have'; Khanty and Mansi are the only Finno-Ugric languages that have a commonly used verb with this meaning; the other languages use different structures to express having something.
328. i.e. a schwa (ə)
329. This is the same schwa (ə) marked here with different short (= reduced) vowels *a*, *e*, *o*.
330. Here, the stem is meant instead of future. This must be a lapsus. The vowel (schwa) comes between the two stem-final consonants.



*mejem* 'to give', fut. *medem*; *ujem* 'to see', fut. *udem*; *wejem* 'to take', fut. *wedem*; *jiwem* 'to come', fut. *jidem*; *tewem* 'to eat', fut. *tedem*<sup>326</sup>; cf. *tejem* 'to weave', fut. *teidem*; *tājem* 'to be<sup>327</sup>', fut. *tājdam*; *xujem* 'to spawn', fut. *xujdem*; *sēwem* 'to spin', fut. *sēudem*; *tīwem* 'to be born', fut. *tīudem*.

4. When the stem ends in two consonants, the following can be noted concerning the formation of the future:

- a) Sometimes, the character of the future can be attached directly to the stem, especially after *nt*, *mt*, *pt*, *nk*, *nx*; e.g. *jōndem* 'to sew', fut. *jōnttem*; *ēpsendem* 'to sniff' (stem *ēpsent*), fut. *ēpsenttem*; *tēremdem* 'to make the bed', fut. *tēremttem*; *ōrdem* 'to divide' (stem *ōrt*), fut. *ōrttem*. The verbs ending in *nť*, *lč*, *nč* form the future tense in the manner described in nr. 2 of this paragraph.
- b) The latter of the final two consonants, especially if it is *k* or *g*, can also undergo elision; e.g. *kergem* 'to fall', fut. *kerdam*; *ārgem* 'to sing', fut. *ārdam*; *jantkem* 'to play', fut. *janttam*; *jāḡam* 'to walk', fut. *jāḡxtam* or *jāxtam*.
- c) A short *e*<sup>328</sup> is often placed in front of the character of the future; e.g. *jāstem* 'to say', fut. *jāstedem*; *kattem* 'to hold', fut. *kattedem*; *kereptem* 'to fell', fut. *kereptedem*; *mūrtem* 'to brake', fut. *mūrtedem*; *tēgetmem* 'to fly away', fut. *tēgetmedem*; *unttem* 'to teach', fut. *unttedem*, etc.
- d) Whenever the preceding syllable is long, the auxiliary vowel<sup>329</sup> can be placed between the two consonants of the future<sup>330</sup>; e.g. *āxtem* 'to vomit', fut. *āgattam*; *jēḡdem* 'to spin', fut. *jēḡettem*; *jōxtem* 'to enter', fut. *jōgottam*; *nōxrem* 'to slice', fut. *nōgordam*; *nāurem* 'to jump', fut. *nāwerdam*; *ōmsem* 'to sit', fut. *ōmastem*; etc. All words of this kind have, in fact, lost their stem vowel both in the indicative preterite and in the imperative



according to § 32; e.g. *ēne* 'big'<sup>331</sup>, Ind. preterite *ēnemem*<sup>332</sup> instead of *ēnemem*, fut. *ēnemdem*<sup>333</sup>, imp. *ēnme* instead of *ēneme*.

§ 103 The personal suffixes for nouns and verbs in indicative preterite and future coincide with each other. Some exceptions occur in the Irtyš dialect only in intransitive verbs, whereas transitive verbs take the normal personal suffixes of the nouns<sup>334</sup>. Regarding the binding vowel it can be generally noted that there is a considerable similarity on one hand between the transitive verb and the vowel-final noun<sup>335</sup>, and on the other between the intransitive verb and the consonant-final noun<sup>336</sup>.

§ 104 In the Irtyš dialect, the verbal personal suffixes in the indicative future and preterite with the addition of the binding vowel are the following:

1. In the transitive verb <sup>337</sup>		2. In the intransitive verb <sup>338</sup>	
Sing. 1.	-em	Sing.1.	-em (am)
2.	-en	2.	-en (an)
3.	-et	3.	-ōt, et, t
Dual 1.	-emen	Dual 1.	-emen, men
2.	-eden	2.	-eden (den, ten)
3.	-eden	3.	-egen (gen, ken)
Pl. 1.	-eu	Pl. 1.	-eu
2.	-eden	2.	-edā or ede, (da or de, ta or te)
3.	-et	3.	-et

§ 105 This overview shows that the intransitive verbs have only two specific<sup>339</sup> suffixes: 1. in the third person dual *egen* (*gen*, *ken*), which is similar to the dual character of the nouns; 2. *eda* or *ede* (*da*, *de* or *ta*, *te*) in the second person plural. In the preterite, the third person ends in *ōt*, in the fut. in *et* or *t*<sup>340</sup> e.g. *ētīdem*

331. This is an adjective serving as a basis for the verbal derivation (cf. note 317).
332. 'I grew; I have grown'
333. 'I grow; I am growing'
334. I.e. they are equivalent to the possessive suffixes.
335. stem type ending in a reduced vowel (paradigm example *imə* 'woman')
336. In most persons (with the exception of 3SG) the vowel, if it appears, is a schwa (ə).
337. The suffixes for the objective conjugation (referring to one object) are *-em*, *-en*, *-ət*; *-emən*, *-etən*, *-etən*; *-ew*, *-etən*, *-et*.
338. The suffixes for the subjective conjugation are *-əm/-am*, *-ən/-an*, *∅/-ot*; *-mən*, *-tən* *-yən* (*-tən*); *-əw*, *-tə*, *-ət*.
339. It is meant that these suffixes differ considerably from the possessive suffixes. It is worth noticing that while Khanty makes use of *n* in many elements of the second persons (personal pronouns and all suffixes for 2SG), in the 2PL subjective conjugation we can see the original PU suffix *\*-te*.
340. *-t* is the tense suffix of the present ("future"), so the personal suffix is *∅*.

341. The corresponding actual forms: *ettitəm*, *ettitot*, *ettittam*, *ettitat*.
342. The corresponding actual forms: *mənəm*, *mənot*, *məntam*, *mənt*. The 3SG.PRS form has the zero personal suffix (cf. notes 338 and 340); *-t* is the tense suffix.
343. Usually for the form in question only the suffix *-ot* is given. There is no other documentation of this kind of variation in the southern Khanty texts, which makes this observation highly interesting.
344. Castrén has marked a diphthong *ae* instead of *e* (*a*) after velar consonants (cf. note 23). In the subjective conjugation, both *a* and *e* occur, depending on the stem type (Honti 1984: 41).
345. I.e. 1SG, 2SG; this is not dependent on the consonant of the stem but on the stem type (stable stems as opposite to non-stable (thematic) stems, cf. note 326). (Honti 1984: 41.)
346. Obviously a typographical error instead of *enmem* (1SG.PAST, used as the basic form for verbs in this grammar).

## ❖ 58 ❖

‘I watched’, third person *ēttidōt*, fut. *ēttittam*, third person *ēttittēt*<sup>341</sup> *menem* ‘I went’, third person *menōt*, fut. *mendem*, third person *ment*<sup>342</sup>. Some verbs have in the preterite third person sing. two suffixes *et* and *ōt*, the first to express the imperfect, the latter the perfect<sup>343</sup>; e.g. *jāstem* ‘to say’, third person *jāstet* ‘said, dixit’ (R. говорилъ), *jāstōt* ‘has said, dicebat’ (R. сказалъ); *werem* ‘to make’, third person *weret* ‘made, faciebat’ (R. дѣлалъ), *werōt* ‘has made’ (R. сдѣлалъ). Regarding further the binding vowel in the personal suffixes, the following can be noted:

- In the transitive verbs, the binding vowel remains unchanged in all persons of the pret. and fut.
- In the intransitive verbs, the binding vowel *e* can sometimes alternate with other vowels; e.g. *tapkaem*<sup>344</sup> ‘to whisper’, *nāgam* ‘to laugh’.
- In the future tense, the intransitive verbs, similarly to the nouns in pl., commonly have *a* as the binding vowel in the first and second person<sup>345</sup>, especially after a hard consonant; e.g. *ēnmen*<sup>346</sup> ‘to grow’, fut. first person *ēnemdām*, second person *-an*; *tinesem* ‘to trade’, fut. first person *tinesam*, second person *-an*; *āmdidem* ‘to be happy’, fut. first person *āmdittam*, second person *-an*.
- The binding vowel disappears completely in all dual persons and the second person plural of the preterite and especially the indicative future of the intransitive verbs, as long as the two consonants allow it; e.g. *towottem* ‘to row’, fut. *towottedem*, dual 1. *towottetmen*, 2. *towottetten*, 3. *towottetken*, plur. 2. *towottetta*.

§ 106 In the Surgut dialects, the personal suffixes in the indicative pret. and fut. are the following:

## ❖ 59 ❖

1. In the transitive verb. 2. In the intransitive verb.

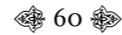
Sing. 1.	<i>em</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>em (am)</i>
2.	<i>en, e</i>	2.	<i>en (an)</i>
3.	<i>dax (dex), tax (tex)</i>	3.	—
Dual 1.	<i>damen (demen) tamen (temen)</i>	Dual 1.	<i>men</i>
2.	<i>ten</i>	2.	<i>ten</i>
3.	<i>ten</i>	3.	<i>xan, kan, gan (xen, gen, ken)</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>daux (deux) taux (teux)</i>	Pl. 1.	<i>aux</i>
2.	<i>ten</i>	2.	<i>tax</i>
3.	<i>it</i>	3.	<i>t</i>

N.B. This scheme might not be fully reliable, because we are lacking a sufficient number of paradigms from the Surgut dialects. It has to be noted especially, concerning the binding vowel, that it alternates a lot and often undergoes an elision<sup>347</sup>.

§ 107 Regarding personal suffixes, it is typical for the Surgut dialects that the intransitive verbs have no personal marking in the pret. and fut. third person singular, whilst in the transitive verbs the original *t* is lengthened into *tax (tax)* etc<sup>348</sup>; e.g. *menem* ‘I went’, Third person *men*; *panem* ‘I placed/put’ third person *panax* (probably from *pant*, *panda*). The suffixes for first person dual and plur. in transitive verbs have without doubt been formed from the third person sing. suffix mentioned through elision of the aspiration. Considering the<sup>349</sup> dual and plural suffixes *ten*, *tax*, it seems that *t* belongs to the original personal suffix (cf. § 85), even though it does not always appear with nouns<sup>350</sup>.

347. In 1SG and 2SG suffixes there is a difference between full vowel (*e*; objective conjugation) and a reduced vowel (*æ*; subjective conjugation); e.g. *lāpətλəm* ‘I feed’, *lāpətλem* ‘I feed him’.
348. *t* has the function of singular object in the Surgut dialects, even though it appears only in 3SG, 1DU and 1PL. In the paradigms of dual and plural object it is replaced by the characters of the dual (*-γəl-*) and plural (*-λ-*) object (= possessed); e.g. (perfect) *pāntāy* ‘he put it’, *pāntāmān* ‘we(2) put it’, *pāntāy°* ‘we put it’; *pānyāλ* ‘he put them(2)’, *pānyāλmān* ‘we(2) put them(2)’, *pānyāλy°* ‘we put them(2)’, *pānāλ* ‘he put them (several)’, *pānāλmān* ‘we(2) put them’, *pānāly°* ‘we put them’. In the present tense, *t* is also lacking in 3SG after the present tense suffix *λ*; the corresponding present tense forms (3SG, 1DU, 1PL) are (singular object) *pānāly*, *pānālytāmān*, *pānālytāy°*; (dual object) *pānālyγəl*, *pānālyγāλmān*, *pānālyγāly°*; (plural object) *pānāλ*, *pānāλmān* (lacking the plural *-λ-*!), *pānāλly°* (following Honti 1984: 111).
349. Second person has to be meant here.
350. Cf. note 339.

351. The inflected conjunctive is not described in the modern Khanty grammars (Honti 1984: 50).
352. Honti (1984: 112, 115) gives full paradigms, including the first persons, both to the Surgut and the southern dialects (see also the Short Grammatical Description (Directives), p. 28).
353. It is unclear which rules are meant here. Both are full vowels and thus stable.



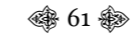
### B. Conjunctive

§ 108 As far as I know, the Irtyš dialect has no special inflected form for the conjunctive, instead this mood is formed, as in many other languages, with the particle *adaŋ*. This particle can be placed either before or after the indicative preterite or future; e.g. *ma adaŋ werem* or *ma werem adaŋ* 'I would have made'; *ma adaŋ werdem* or *ma werdem adaŋ* 'I would make'. Originally there has also been a special conjunctive with the suffix *ŋ* in the Irtyš dialect, and it seems that this character is attached to the particle *adaŋ* (from *at*) mentioned above. Moreover, it is probable that the imperative of the third person singular has borrowed its *ŋ* from the conjunctive.

§ 109 Instead, in the Surgut dialects, the conjunctive is still commonly in use, and formed with *ŋ*; e.g. *werŋam* 'I would make', Russian дѣлалъ бы, *panŋam* 'I would put' Р. клалъ бы<sup>351</sup>. Considering the personal suffixes, in the conjunctive they are exactly the same as in the nouns, both in transitive and in intransitive verbs, namely: Sing. 1. *am*, 2. *an*, 3. *at*. Dual 1. *amen*, 2. *in*, 3. *in*. Plural 1. *aux*, 2. *in*, 3. *it*; e.g. *werŋam*, *werŋan*, *werŋat*, *werŋamen*, etc.

### C. Imperative

§ 110 The imperative has no common character, instead the different persons are formed in different ways. The first person is missing in all the three numbers, and has no other expression but the future<sup>352</sup>. In the second person, the imperative ends in the Irtyš dialects in the transitive verb in *e* and in the intransitive verb in *a*, which also alternates with other vowels according to the general rules<sup>353</sup>. All the other persons have in all numbers a binding vowel *a* (Surgut *e*, *i*), to which in the second person dual and



plural the normal suffixes of transitive and intransitive verbs are attached<sup>354</sup>. The third person has a special character *g*, which also appears in many related languages<sup>355</sup>. This character alternates in the third person singular with *ŋ* (cf. § 108) and in the plural it can even undergo elision. In the singular, the character can either be followed by a further personal suffix or appear without it, in the dual the syllable *en* is attached to it, and in the plural the third person ends in *aget* or *at*<sup>356</sup>.

§ 111 Except in the second person singular and dual<sup>357</sup>, both the transitive and the intransitive verbs have the same suffixes. These are:

In the Irtyš dialect		In the Surgut dialect	
Sing. 2.	—	Sing. 2.	—
3.	<i>ag (aŋ), agat (aŋat)</i>	3.	<i>x, egat (eget)</i>
Dual 2.	<i>aden</i>	Dual 2.	<i>iten</i>
3.	<i>agen</i>	3.	<i>ēgenat (eginet)</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>aden, intr. ada</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>iten, intrans. itax (itex)</i>
3.	<i>at, agat</i> <sup>358</sup>	3.	<i>itat (itet)</i> <sup>359</sup>

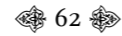
N.B. My material is not sufficient to define the quantity of the binding vowel; sometimes it is written long, sometimes short.

### D. Infinitive

§ 112 The infinitive ends in the Irtyš dialect in *dai (dei)* or *tai (tei)*, in the Surgut dialects in *daga (taga)*, and the same suffix is used to express the "accus. supin." as well. These characters are attached to the stem according to the rules given for the future tense. The final *i* in the Irtyš dialect and the syllable *ga* in Surgut are often dropped off; e.g. *ōmasta taŋadam* 'I want to sit', *tēde most* 'it is necessary to eat, one has to eat'.

354. This means that in the second persons there is a difference between transitive and intransitive, i.e. objective and subjective conjugation. The same is said in the introductory lines to § 111, although there is a slight inaccuracy in the numbers (see note 357 below).
355. i.e. the PFU imperative suffix \**k*
356. Honti (1984: 115) gives for Ko 3SG *-aŋ(at)*, 3DU *-aŋən*, 3PL *-at*.
357. In the table, the third person plural also has two different suffixes (tr./intr. = obj./subj.). In 2SG, the final vowel shows the conjugation, and also the number of the object is apparent (as in the indicative): *pāna* 'put (something)', *pāne* 'put it!', *pāneŋəta* 'put the two!', *pāneta* 'put them!' (Honti 1984: 115).
358. The subjective conjugation paradigm in South according to Honti (1984: 115) is ('to put') *pānam*, *pāna*, *pānaŋ(at)*; *pānamən*, *pānatən*, *pānaŋən*; *pānaw*, *pānata*, *pānat*.
359. The subjective conjugation paradigm in Surgut according to Honti (1984: 112) is ('to feed') *liptimät*, *liptä*, *liptəjät*; *liptimənät*, *liptitən*, *liptiyənät*; *liptiyät*, *liptitəy*, *liptität*.

360. This should be: final.
361. Typographical error: *uimemna* (уимемна) instead of *jimemna* (жимемна) (the letters (Ossetian-Cyrillic) *y* and (Latin) *j* may have been mixed here).
362. Castrén's idea of the origin of the suffix is, indeed, interesting (cf. Mansi *mā* 'ground, place', which is used to construct gerund-like forms). It is, though, related to the past participle (below) and e.g. in Mansi there is a gerund with *n*, which might be related to the *n*-element in this suffix. However, the form *jimemna* (*jēmemnə*) is not a gerund but the past participle with possessive suffix (PRTC.PAST-PX.SG<1SG-LOC) and the locative suffix is used here in a temporal function. The gerund does not take any possessive suffixes, but temporals like in the example are as a rule formed using the following formula: past participle + PX + locative.
363. It is also etymologically the same suffix.
364. The similarity is only superficial; the *-m* of the participle is not etymologically related to the first person suffix *-m*.
365. It corresponds to both active and passive participles in many languages, e.g. Finnish (*heittänyt* 'has thrown', *heitetty* 'has been thrown') and is thus used of all verbs. About transitivity as a verbal phenomenon in Khanty see note 309.
366. "To shed light on" is probably what is meant here: in the original, the verb should be *erleuchtern* instead of *erleichtern* ("erleichtern" is also in the German mscr. MC V, p. 143).



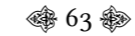
## E. Gerund

§ 113 In Ostyak, the gerund has the character *men*, which is probably the locative form of an extinct stem *ma*. The original suffix of the locative (*na*) has shortened in the absolute form through the elision of the initial<sup>360</sup> vowel, whilst in connection with the personal suffixes it appears in its full form; e.g. *ma uimemna*<sup>361</sup> 'in my going (when I go)'.<sup>362</sup> As a rule, the character of the gerund must be attached to the stem, but in cases where many consonants come together a binding vowel may be added; e.g. *werem* 'to make', ger. *wermen*; *menem* 'to go', ger. *menmen*; *xanžem* 'to write', ger. *xanšmen*; *jastem* 'to say', ger. *jastemen*; *attem* 'to stop', ger. *attemen*. There are no elisions in the gerund and it is worth noticing that even stem-final *i* and *u* remain unchanged in the gerund; e.g. *ujem* 'to see', ger. *uimen*.

## F. Participle

§ 114 The Ostyak language has two participles: 1. present or future, which ends in *da* (*da*), *de* (*de*) or *ta* (*ta*), *te* (*te*); 2. preterite with the suffix *em* (*am*). The present participle is formed similarly to the infinitive and often falls together with it<sup>363</sup>; e.g. *unttada xajat* 'teacher' (homo docens), *unttada menōt* 'went to teach', *xantča xui* 'writer', *xantča mendam* 'I go and write'. The preterite participle in its turn is similar to the first person of the indicative preterite<sup>364</sup>; e.g. *tagamem* 'I threw; thrown'. In Ostyak as well, like in many related languages, the preterite participle has mainly the meaning of passive and therefore it is seldom used with intransitive verbs.<sup>365</sup>

§ 115 In order to facilitate<sup>366</sup> the overview of the conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs, we provide two paradigms from both main dialects:



## 1. The transitive conjugation

In the Irtyš dialect      In the Surgut dialects

Indicative Preterite			
Sing. 1.	<i>panem</i> 'I placed/put'	Sing. 1.	<i>panem</i>
2.	<i>panen</i>	2.	<i>panet</i> <sup>367</sup>
3.	<i>panet</i>	3.	<i>pandax</i>
Dual 1.	<i>panemen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>pandamen</i>
2.	<i>paneden</i>	2.	<i>panten</i>
3.	<i>paneden</i>	3.	<i>panten</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>panen</i> <sup>368</sup>	Plur. 1.	<i>pandaux</i>
2.	<i>paneden</i>	2.	<i>panten</i>
3.	<i>panet</i>	3.	<i>panit</i>
Future			
Sing. 1.	<i>pandem</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>pandem</i>
2.	<i>panden</i>	2.	<i>panden</i>
3.	<i>pandet</i>	3.	<i>pandadax</i>
Dual 1.	<i>pandemen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>pandadamen</i>
2.	<i>pandeden</i>	2.	<i>pandaten</i>
3.	<i>pandeden</i>	3.	<i>pandaten</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>pandeu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>pandadaux</i>
2.	<i>pandeden</i>	2.	<i>pandaten</i>
3.	<i>pandet</i>	3.	<i>pandit</i>
Conjunctive			
Sing. 1.	<i>panem</i> or <i>pandem adan</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>panjam</i>
2.	<i>panen</i> or <i>panden adan</i>	2.	<i>panjan</i>
3.	<i>panet adan</i>	3.	<i>panjat</i>
Dual 1.	<i>panemen adan</i> etc.	Dual 1.	<i>panjamen</i>
		2.	<i>panjin</i>
		3.	<i>panjin</i>

367. Misprint: should be *panen* or *pane*.
368. Misprint: should be *paneu*; mscr. (p. 258) has *paneul*! "Sg 1. *paném* 2. *panén* 3. *panét* (*panót*) Du 1. *panémen* 2. *penéden* 3. *panéden* Pl. 1. *panéul* 2. *panéden* 3. *panét*."



369. Trj *pānitat* (Honti 1984: 112 *лїптітāt* 'feed' IMP.DEF.SG<3SG)  
 370. Ko *pānaḡan* (Honti 1984: 115)  
 371. Trj *pānitānat* (Honti 1984: 112 *лїптітāнāt* 'feed' IMP.DEF.SG<3DU)  
 372. Trj *pānilālat* (Honti 1984: 112 *лїптілāлāt* 'feed' IMP.DEF.SG<3PL)  
 373. *menḡen* (Ko *mēḡan*, Trj *mēḡan*) would be expected; the stem is *men-* (*mēn-*).

❖ 64 ❖

In the Irtyš dialect		In the Surgut dialects	
		Plur. 1.	<i>panḡaux</i>
		2.	<i>panḡin</i>
		3.	<i>panḡit</i>
Imperative			
Sing. 2.	<i>pane</i>	Sing. 2.	<i>pane</i>
3.	<i>panag (panaḡ)</i> or <i>panagat</i> ( <i>panaḡat</i> )	3.	<i>panex,</i> <i>panegat</i> <sup>369</sup>
Dual 2.	<i>panaden</i>	Dual 2.	<i>paniten</i>
3.	<i>panagen</i> <sup>370</sup>	3.	<i>paneganat</i> <sup>371</sup>
Plur. 2.	<i>panaden</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>paniten</i>
3.	<i>panat, panaget</i>	3.	<i>panitat</i> <sup>372</sup>
Infinitive			
<i>pandai</i>		<i>pandaga</i>	
Gerund			
<i>panmen</i>		<i>panmen</i>	
Participle			
Present	<i>panda</i>	Present	<i>panda</i>
Preterite	<i>panem</i>	Preterite	<i>panem</i>
2. The intransitive conjugation			
In the Irtyš dialect		In the Surgut dialects	
Indicative			
Preterite			
Sing. 1.	<i>menem</i> 'I went'	Sing. 1.	<i>menem</i>
2.	<i>menen</i>	2.	<i>menen</i>
3.	<i>menōt</i>	3.	<i>men</i>
Dual 1.	<i>menmen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>menmen</i>
2.	<i>menden</i>	2.	<i>menten</i>
3.	<i>meḡen</i> <sup>373</sup>	3.	<i>meḡen</i> <sup>373</sup>
Plur. 1.	<i>meneu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>meneux</i>
2.	<i>menda</i>	2.	<i>mentex</i>
3.	<i>menet</i>	3.	<i>ment</i>

❖ 65 ❖

Future			
Sing. 1.	<i>mendam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>mendem</i>
2.	<i>mendan</i>	2.	<i>menden</i>
3.	<i>ment</i>	3.	<i>ment</i>
Dual 1.	<i>mendemem</i>	Dual 1.	<i>mendemem</i>
2.	<i>mendeden</i>	2.	<i>mendeden</i>
3.	<i>mendedegen</i> <sup>374</sup>	3.	<i>mendedegen</i> <sup>374</sup>
Plur. 1.	<i>mendeu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>mendeux</i>
2.	<i>mendeda</i>	2.	<i>mendedex</i>
3.	<i>mendet</i>	3.	<i>mendet</i>
Conjunctive			
Sing. 1.	<i>menem</i> or <i>mendam adaḡ</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>menḡam</i>
2.	<i>menen</i> or <i>mendan adaḡ</i>	2.	<i>menḡan</i>
3.	<i>menōt</i> or <i>ment</i> <i>adaḡ, etc.</i>	3.	<i>menḡat, etc.</i>
Imperative			
Sing. 2.	<i>mena</i>	Sing. 2.	<i>mene</i>
3.	<i>menag</i> ( <i>menaḡ</i> ) or <i>menagat</i> ( <i>menaḡat</i> )	3.	<i>menex</i> ( <i>menegat</i> )
Dual 2.	<i>menaden</i>	Dual 2.	<i>meniten</i>
3.	<i>menagen</i>	3.	<i>menigenat</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>menada</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>menitex</i>
3.	<i>menat,</i> <i>menage</i> <sup>375</sup>	3.	<i>menidat</i> <sup>376</sup>
Infinitive			
<i>mendai</i>		<i>mendaga</i>	
Gerund			
<i>menmen</i>		<i>menmen</i>	
Participle			
Present (Preterite)	<i>menda</i> <i>menem</i>	Present (Preterite)	<i>menda</i> <i>menem</i>

374. There are two dialectal variations in South: DN *mēntaḡan*, Ko. *mēntaḡan*; Surgut (Trj) *mēnlāḡan* (Honti 1984: 111–115).  
 375. The corresponding forms in Ko (Honti 1984: 115) are *pāna*, *pānaḡ(at)*; *pānatān*, *pānaḡan*; *pānatā*, *pānat*; Honti also gives the first person forms: 1SG *pānam*, 1DU *pānamān*, 1PL *pānaw*.  
 376. The corresponding forms in Trj (Honti 1984: 112) are *pāna*, *pānā-jat*; *pānitān*, *pāniḡānat*; *pānitāḡ*, *pānitat*; Honti also gives the first person forms: 1SG *pāniḡmat*, 1DU *pāniḡmānat*, 1PL *pāniḡat*.

377. The alternation in the vowel length has no function here. All the vowels that are subject to paradigmatic vowel alternation are full (Castrén: long) vowels.
378. phonematically /ä/  
379. actually: 'to call'

## ❖ 66 ❖

§ 116 The verbs in which the stem vowel alternates in some way in the Surgut dialects are partly transitive but much more often intransitive. As already mentioned in the phonology § 28, the stem vowel can be subject to vowel alternation only in the indicative preterite, the imperative and in the preterite participle; e.g. *umsem* 'to sit', fut. *āmastem*; conj. *āmasṇam*, imperat. *umsa* (*ümsa*), inf. *āmastaga*, ger. *amasmen*<sup>377</sup>, present part. *āmasta*, preterite *umsem*. We provide here some examples of verbs of this kind:

	<i>i</i>		<i>a</i> <sup>378</sup>
Preterite	<i>tīgdem</i> 'to wait' <i>pīrdem</i> 'to order' <i>pīrtim</i> <i>tīdem</i> 'to pull' <i>tīptem</i> 'to feed' <i>īttem</i> 'to carry' <i>ītmem</i> 'to lift' <i>īrgem</i> 'to sing'	Future	<i>tāgattem</i> <i>pārettem</i> <i>pārttim</i> <i>tāttam</i> <i>tābettem</i> <i>āttem</i> <i>ādemdem</i> <i>āregdem</i>
	<i>u</i>		<i>a</i>
Preterite	<i>jūndem</i> 'to sew' <i>ūgodem</i> 'to vomit' <i>mūndem</i> 'to tell stories' <i>ūrдем</i> 'to divide' <i>ūmsem</i> 'to sit' <i>ūmdem</i> 'to set' <i>wūgem</i> 'to ask' <sup>379</sup> <i>kūdem</i> 'to stay the night' <i>tūdem</i> 'to stand' <i>kūndem</i> 'to climb'	Future	<i>jānttem</i> <i>āgattem</i> <i>mānttem</i>  <i>ārettem</i> <i>āmastem</i> <i>āmattem</i> <i>wāgadem</i> <i>kāttem</i>  <i>tāttem</i> <i>kāṇattem</i> , etc.
	<i>i</i>		<i>e</i>
Preterite	<i>jīndem</i> 'to drink' <i>nīurem</i> 'to jump' <i>linkem</i> 'to cover'	Future	<i>jēnttem</i> <i>nēwerdem</i> <i>lenktem</i> , etc.

## ❖ 67 ❖

	<i>u</i>		<i>o</i>
Preterite	<i>mūndem</i> 'to rub' <i>mūrtem</i> 'to break, crumble'	Future	<i>mōṇattem</i> <i>mōrettem</i>
	<i>ü</i>		<i>ö</i>
Preterite	<i>lūnkim</i> 'to cover'	Future	<i>lönktim</i> , etc. <sup>380</sup>

N.B. If my ear has not misguided me, there are also words that are subject to a special vowel alternation in the imperative: cf. § 29, nr. 1<sup>381</sup>.

## 2. The conjugation of the passive verbs

§ 117 Due to my insufficient observations it is not possible to say if the Ostyak language has a complete passive voice<sup>382</sup>; it is certain, though, that single passive forms appear commonly. Like in other related languages, in Ostyak the notion of passive seems to be connected with the reflexive; e.g. *unttem* 'teach', pass. *unttājem* 'I was taught' or 'I learned'<sup>383</sup>. In some passive verbs the reflexive function is even primary; e.g. *pōt* 'cold', pass. *pōdājem* 'get cold', pass. *pōtmājem*<sup>384</sup>; *pēgmem* 'to freeze (intr.)', pass. *pēgmājem*; *nešmem* 'become blunt', pass. *nešmājem*<sup>385</sup>. The examples above show that passive verbs cannot be formed only from transitive and intransitive verbs but also from nouns.

§ 118 The third person<sup>386</sup> preterite and future or present is the simplest and most common of all the passive forms. The character of the preterite is in the Irtyš dialect *āi* or *ai*, which is attached directly to the stem; e.g. *xanen*<sup>387</sup> (stem *xan*) 'to touch', passive pret. *xanai*; *werem* 'to make' (stem *wer*), passive pret. *werāi*; *mejem* 'to give' (stem *mei* or *me*), passive pret. *mejāi*; *xanžem* 'to write' (stem *xanč*), passive pret. *xanžāi*. The third person<sup>388</sup> future ends in *dāi*, *tāi* or *dai*, *tai* and is in its formation similar to the indicative future as well as especially the infinitive of the transitive and intransitive

380. The alternation of *ü* and *ö* is purely phonetical. The phoneme is /*ö̃*/.
381. the alternation of *ā* ~ *u* ~ (velar) *i*
382. On the next page, though, he gives a full paradigm from the southern dialect. He probably means that he does not have a sufficient amount of sentences to describe the use of the passive. The passive in Khanty is extensive, regular and rich in its use. (Kulonen 1989.)
383. The reflexive in Khanty has a separate suffix. In this example, the closeness of passive and reflexive is more due to the semantics of the verb itself.
384. I have called the passive verbs that have no active counterpart "medial"; they refer to states of affairs that are not actions, i.e. have no agent.
385. There are, indeed, verbs that have the same meaning with and without the passive suffix. These verbs are formed with the translative suffix *-m-*.
386. singular
387. PAST.2SG form used as basic form instead PAST.1SG; probably a misprint
388. singular

389. Of course, the similarity is superficial, as the elements are of different origins: present tense *t* (< Proto-Khanty \**t*) vs. infinitive *t* (< PFU \**tA*) and passive *j* (< PU reflexive-passive \**j*) vs. lative *j* (cf. Surgut *-taga*; < PU \**k*). The suffixal vowel in both is a full vowel *a*, and the final *i* in the infinitive in the southern dialects seems to have disappeared after Castrén's visit.
390. should be: third
391. There is also a passive paradigm from Surgut in the mscr. (p. 272): Preteritum Sg. 1. *onttojem* 2. *ontto* 3. *ontti* Du. 1. *onttoimen* 2. *onttoten* 3. *onttigen* Pl. 1. *onttojuh* 2. *onttotah* 3. *onttotat*; Futurum Sg. 1. *onttatojem* 2. *onttato* 3. *onttati* Du. 1. *onttatoimen* 2. *onttatoiten* 3. *onttatigen* Pl. 1. *onttatojuh* 2. *onttatotah* 3. *onttatat*.
392. This not quite true: the personal suffixes are the same as those in the subjective ("intransitive") paradigm.
393. Only part of the verbs discussed in this chapter are auxiliaries in the modern sense of the word. By "assisting verbs", Castrén refers to verbs of being, becoming and existing; he does not mention verbs like *taŋk-* 'want', etc., which occur together with infinitives and are the modern auxiliaries.
394. This is the verb 'to have' in Khanty. It also has the meaning of 'to keep, to hold'.
395. Both etymologies are incorrect. *taj-* is not connected to the demonstrative *ta* (which seems like an idea that just crossed Castrén's mind; it is interesting that he has decided to publish it here) and *ut-* is the original

verbs<sup>389</sup>; e.g. *unttem* 'to teach', fut. *unttedem*, inf. *unttedai*, future passive *unttedāi*; *edidem* 'to heat', fut. *edittem*, inf. *edittai*, passive future *edittāi*, etc. In the Surgut dialects, the passive preterite is formed in the first<sup>390</sup> person with *ōi* and the future with *tōj*, *dōj*; the other persons are unknown to me.

§ 119 Except for the third person sing., the preterite and the future in the Irtyš dialect<sup>391</sup> take exactly the same suffixes as the transitive and intransitive verbs<sup>392</sup>; e.g.

Preterite	
Sing. 1.	<i>unttājem</i>
2.	<i>unttājen</i>
3.	<i>unttāi</i> 1)
Dual 1.	<i>unttāimen</i> 2)
2.	<i>unttāiden</i>
3.	<i>unttāigen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>unttājeu</i>
2.	<i>unttāida</i> 3)
3.	<i>unttājet</i>

1) *unttai*, 2) *unttaimen*, *unttaiden*, *unttaigen*, 3) *unttaida*.

Future	
Sing. 1.	<i>unttedājem</i>
2.	<i>unttedājen</i>
3.	<i>unttedāi</i> 1)
Dual 1.	<i>unttedāimen</i> 2)
2.	<i>unttedāiden</i>
3.	<i>unttedāigen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>unttedājeu</i>
2.	<i>unttedāida</i> 3)
3.	<i>unttedājet</i>

1) *unttedai*, 2) *unttedaimen*, *-daiden*, *-daigen*, *unttedaida*.

§ 120 According to my observations, this passive form can be used only in the indicative. There is,

though, a periphrastic passive in all moods and tenses. This is formed with the preterite participle and the auxiliary verb *ūdem*; e.g. *kitem ūdem* 'I was sent', *kitem ūttam* 'I am being sent', etc.

### 3. The conjugation of the auxiliary<sup>393</sup> verbs

§ 121 The Ostyak language has two different verbs for 'to be': 1) *tājem* (Surg. *tōjem*), which has developed from *ta* 'that' and expresses existence<sup>394</sup>, and 2) *ūdem* (Surg. *wadām*), originally 'to live', from which 'to be' is a derived meaning<sup>395</sup>. When used as auxiliary verbs, both have the same meaning and the only difference between them is that *ūdem* has a complete and *tājem* a very incomplete conjugation<sup>396</sup>.

§ 122 Along with the preterite *tājem*, in<sup>397</sup> the indicative future or present *tāidam* or *taidam* is more often used. Of all the other moods I have noticed only the gerund *tāimen* (*taimen*). In the indicative preterite and future, the conjugation of this verb is quite regular; e.g. sing. *tājem*, *tājen*, *tājōt*, dual *tāimen* (*taimen*), *tāiden* (*taiden*), *tāigen* (*taigen*), plural *tājeu*, *tāida* (*taida*), *tājet*; fut. sing. *tāidam* (*taidam*), *tāidan* (*taidan*), *tāit* (*tait*); dual *tāidemen* (*taidemen*), etc.<sup>398</sup> It seems, according to my notes, that both *tājem* and *tāidam* can sometimes be used exactly like an impersonal; e.g. *ma wāx tājem* 'I had money', actually 'my money was'; *ma īsen tāidam* 'I have a mill'<sup>399</sup>.

§ 123 Because *ūdem*, as stated in § 121, is originally an intransitive verb<sup>400</sup>, it is conjugated according to the paradigm of the other intransitive verbs; e.g. pret. sing. *ūdem*, *ūden*, *ūdōt*; dual *ūtmen*, *ūtten*, *ūtken*; plur. *ūden*, *ūtta*, *ūdet*; fut. sing. *ūttam*, *ūtta*, *ūt*; dual *ūttemen*, etc., imperat. sing. 2. *ūda*, inf. *ūtta*, ger. *ūtmen*, etc. It was already mentioned above that the passive conjugation is formed with the help of this auxiliary verb.

PFU word for 'to be', related to Finnish *olla* (*ole-*), Mansi *ōl-* and Hungarian *van* (*val-*).

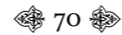
396. Both have a complete paradigm.
397. The preposition "in" serves no purpose in the German original and can also be left unread in the translation. It is probably an error in the typesetting process.
398. In the manuscript (pp. 274–275) Castrén gives a set of paradigms of "auxiliary verbs", i.e. not only *taj-* and *ut-* but also *ji-* 'to come'.

Preteritum		Futurum	
Sing. 1.	<i>tajem</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>tājdām</i>
2.	<i>tajen</i>	2.	<i>tāidan</i>
3.	<i>tajōt</i>	3.	<i>tāit</i>
Dual 1.	<i>tājmen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>taidēmen</i>
2.	<i>taiden</i>	2.	<i>taidēden</i>
3.	<i>taigen</i>	3.	<i>taidēgen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>tajeu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>taidēu</i>
2.	<i>taida</i>	2.	<i>taidēda</i>
3.	<i>tājit</i>	3.	<i>taidēt</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>ūdēm</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>ūtām</i>
2.	<i>ūden</i>	2.	<i>ūtān</i>
3.	<i>ūdōt</i>	3.	<i>ūt</i>
Dual 1.	<i>ūtmen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>ūtēm</i>
2.	<i>ūtten</i>	2.	<i>ūtēden</i>
3.	<i>ūtken</i>	3.	<i>ūtēgen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>ūdēu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>ūtēu</i>
2.	<i>ūtta</i>	2.	<i>ūtēda</i>
3.	<i>ūdet</i>	3.	<i>ūtēt</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>jīwēm</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>jīdēm</i>
2.	<i>jīwēn</i>	2.	<i>jīden</i>
3.	<i>jīwōt</i> ( <i>juwōt</i> )	3.	<i>jīt</i>
Dual 1.	<i>jīwmen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>jītmen</i>
2.	<i>jīwden</i>	2.	<i>jītten</i>
3.	<i>jīwgen</i>	3.	<i>jītken</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>jīwu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>jīdēu</i>
2.	<i>jīwda</i>	2.	<i>jītta</i>
3.	<i>jīwēt</i>	3.	<i>jīdet</i>

399. As already stated, 'to have' is the basic meaning of the verb. The sentences are not

impersonal nor existential (“my money was” is a misinterpretation) but simply: T-NOM ‘money’-NOM ‘have’-PAST.ISG (and same in all persons: *nan wax tajen* ‘you had money’, *tew wax tajot* ‘he had money’, *min wax tajew* ‘we had money’, etc.).

400. No matter the origin, ‘to be’ and ‘to live’ are, of course, both intransitive and thus follow the subjective conjugation paradigm.
401. Here, German (and during fieldwork, Russian) as the metalanguage has probably caused some confusion. The Russian [stat] of course has both the functions of future and becoming, as well as the German *werden*, but, as we can see from the examples, the function of *ji-* as an auxiliary is ‘begin, start’ (with infinitive: to do something) and occasionally it can also serve as a future auxiliary. In absolute position, i.e. without an infinitive, the meaning of the verb is, besides the basic ‘to come’, also (with dative) ‘to become (something)’.
402. This is the literal translation of the German translation; actually the word forms negative existential sentences and the example sentence is thus ‘there is no money’.
403. With a noun marked with a possessive suffix, a negative possession can be expressed, as in e.g. Hungarian, which has a similar negative particle, *lovam nincs* ‘I have no horse’, “my horse there-is-not”.
404. Rather: ‘there is nothing’; *i metta* alone means ‘nothing’.



§ 124 To express becoming or turning into something<sup>401</sup>, the language uses the intransitive verb *jiwem* (*juwem*, Surg. *jigem, jugam*), fut. *jidem* ‘to come’. This auxiliary verb is in its use quite similar to the Russian стану; e.g. *xantča jiwem* ‘I started to write’ (писать сталъ), *xantča jidem* ‘I will write’ (писать стану), *ēne jiwem* ‘I have become big’ (большой сталъ), *ēne jidem* ‘I will become big’ (большой стану). It has to be noticed that *jiwem* is constructed mainly with the dative; e.g. *saxseŋa jiwem* ‘I became fat’, *āra jit* ‘it will be a lot’. Considering the conjugation, this verb behaves like the intransitives.

§ 125 Lacking negative particles, Finnish and other related languages use one or more negative auxiliary verbs, which, together with the main verb, form a special, negative conjugation. In Ostyak, however, the affirmative and the negative conjugation are almost the same. The language has, indeed, a negative auxiliary: *endam* or *endem* ‘is not’, Russian нѣтъ, but this cannot be inflected; e.g. *wax entam* ‘it is not money’<sup>402</sup>, *tawem entam* ‘I have no horse’<sup>403</sup>, *i metta endam* or *per endam* ‘nothing’<sup>404</sup>, etc. At the most, dual or plural characters may be added to *endam* or *endem*; e.g. *miin endemgen* ‘we two are not’<sup>405</sup> (насъ нѣтъ), pl. *meng endemet*.

§ 126 Together with verbs, *endam* changes into *ent* or *en*, whilst the main verb undergoes no change<sup>406</sup>; e.g. *ent ujem* ‘I did not see’, *en menem* ‘I did not go’, dual 1. *ent ujemen*, *ent menmen*, fut. *ent udem*, *end mendem*, inf. *ent udai*, *ent mendai*, ger. *ent utmen*, *ent menmen*, etc. Only in the imperative does *ent*, *en* change in all persons and numbers into *at*, Surg. *at!*<sup>407</sup> e.g. *at uje* ‘don’t see’, *at mena* ‘don’t go’, dual *at ujadem*, *at menaden*, etc.



### 3) Particles

#### A) Postpositions

§ 127 Like the other related languages, Ostyak also has no prepositions but only postpositions, which are called so because they are placed after the word to which they are related. The postpositions do not, in fact, form a special class of words, because they are, with a few exceptions, real nouns, they form constructions with the genitive, they take personal suffixes, and thus share all the properties of the other nouns. Even though the nominal stem of many postpositions is not apparent any more, the case suffixes are often in these words easily recognizable. Only a few postpositions are expressed with the nominal stem or the nominative; most of them have the suffixes of the dative, the locative or the ablative, sometimes also the caritive. In § 67 it was already mentioned that in postpositions as well as in adverbs, there are case suffixes that have already disappeared in the nominal inflection.

§ 128 In the following, we provide a list of words that can be used as postpositions in Ostyak:

1. *erek*, NS.<sup>408</sup> *ürük* ‘extra, too much’ (Lat. *nimius, nimis*), ‘in addition to, except’ (Lat. *praeter*). In the Irtyš dialect, the caritive suffix is often attached to this postposition; e.g. *ma tau erekte i met en taidam* ‘I have nothing except a horse’<sup>409</sup>.
2. *it*, Surg. *it* ‘down, under’; *idn* (locat.), Surg. *idn* ‘down’, *itta* (abl.), Surg. *itta* ‘from below’. The words *it* and *jit* (cf. the word list) probably represent the same stem.
3. *itpeja* (*itpea*), Surg. *itpija* (dat.) ‘in front of’; *itpe-na*, Surg. *itpina* (loc.) ‘before, in front of’; *itpīwet*, Surg. *itpijeux* or *itpiji* (abl.) ‘from the front’. These postpositions are probably compounds

405. ‘we two are not there, there is no two of us’
406. I.e. in non-existential constructions. The particle behaves like *nicht* in German or *inte* in Swedish.
407. It is etymologically related to Mansi *ul* and Finnish *älä* (sg), *älkää* (pl) in the corresponding function. The main verb is in the imperative.
408. This abbreviation is not included in the list of dialects (p. ix). It is probably the Lower Surgut (LS) dialect, which in Swedish (the original language of the manuscript) would have this abbreviation (*Nedre Surgut*).
409. Note the very common use of the verb *taj-* ‘to have’ and its understandable translation, even though Castrén had troubles in describing the verb (§§ 121–122).

410. rather a derivative from the word (South) *it*, (Surg.) *itl* 'front'  
 411. Latin *pone* 'behind'  
 412. *pir* means 'the space behind something' whereas *puj* is primarily the body part.  
 413. locative  
 414. ablative  
 415. The comparison with Finnish is semantic, not etymological (and not meant to be, either).

## ❖ 72 ❖

- of two words: *it* 'front' and *pi* 'side'<sup>410</sup>.  
 4. *xowatta* 'along' from the stem *xou* 'long'.  
 5. *idat*, Surg. *jid'a* 'towards, at, against'.  
 6. *maxta* 'around'.  
 7. *moxta* Surg. *mugda* 'through'.  
 8. *nox*, Surg. *nok* 'up, upwards' (R. вѣверхъ).  
 9. *nūmen*, Surg. *nōmen* (locat.) 'up, above'; *nūmatta*, Surg. *nōmetta* (abl.) 'from above'. The stem of this postposition is *nūm* (*num*), Surg. *nōm* (*nom*) 'heights' (cf. the word list).  
 10. *oxteja*, Surg. *ogoteja* (dat.) 'on', actually 'into the above', *oxtena*, Surg. *ogotena* (loc.) 'on, in the above', *oxtiwet*, Surg. *ogotejeux* or *ogoteji* (abl.) 'from above'. The stem is in the Irtyš dialect *oxta*, cf. the word list.  
 11. *pira* (dat.) 'behind, back'; *pirna* (loc.) 'behind (pone<sup>411</sup>), after, afterwards', *piretta* or *piriwet*, Surg. *pireux*, *piri* (abl.) 'behind, from behind'. The stem is *pir* 'back side', cf. the word list. In the Irtyš dialect, there is *puja*, *puina*, *pujīwet* from *pui* 'behind'<sup>412</sup>, which is almost identical but less often used as a postposition. Furthermore, the Russian preposition *za* can also be formed into a postposition denoting the same space relations by adding the Ostyak case suffixes: *saja* (dat.), *saina* (loc.) and *sajīwet* (abl.).  
 12. *peda*, *pede*, *pete* 'in order to, because of, instead of'. In the same meaning, *pedan*, *pedait*, *sagait*, etc. are also used.  
 13. *puṇada*, S. *poṇada* (dat.) 'next to, beside', *puṇatna*, S. *poṇatna*<sup>413</sup> 'next to, beside'; *puṇatiwet*, Surg. *poṇaḍeux*, *poṇaḍi*<sup>414</sup> 'beside'. The stem: *puṇat*, *poṇat* 'side'.  
 14. *kuda* (dat.), *kutna* (locat.), *kudiwet* (abl.) 'between; among'. The stem: *kut* 'the place between', Finn. *väli*<sup>415</sup>.  
 15. *kutteba*, Surg. *ječega* (dat.) 'in the middle'; *kuttepna*, Surg. *ječen* (loc.) 'in the middle'; *kuttepīwet*,

## ❖ 73 ❖

- Surg. *ječegeux*, *ječegi* (abl.) 'from the middle'. The stem is in the Irtyš dialect *kuttep*, in the Surgut dialects *ječe* 'middle'.  
 16. *tibeja* (*tibea*), Surg. *tigbija* (dat.) 'into'; *tibena*, Surg. *tigbina* (loc.) 'in, inside'; *tibiwet*, Surg. *tigbijeux*, *tigbiji* 'from inside'. The postpositions are formed from the stem *tibe*, Surg. *tigbi* 'inside', and in the Surgut dialects, they can also be expressed with *onda*, *ondan*, *ondeux* or *ondi* from *ont* 'inside'.  
 17. *tom pēlga* or *tom peja*, Surg. *tom pīlega*, *tom pija* or *kaibija* (dat.) 'on the other side', *tom pēlgena* or *tom pena*, Surg. *tom pēlgena*, *tom pina*, *kai-bina* (loc.) 'on the other side', *tom pēlegīwet* or *tom pīwet*, Surg. *tom pēlegeux* (*pelegi*), *tom pijeux* (*piji*), *kaibijeux* (*kaibiji*) 'from the other side'. In a similar way *tem pēlga* or *tem peja*, Surg. *tem pēlega* or *tem pija* (dat.) 'on this side', etc.  
 18. *unda*, Surg. *andaga* 'up to, until'.  
 19. *wattax*, *waddax* (Surg.) 'without'.  
 20. *ūtta*, Surg. *ūtti* 'over, on the opposite side'.

## B) Adverbs

§ 129 Like the postpositions, the adverbs in Ostyak are also formed from the noun with different case suffixes, and it has already been shown in the previous paragraphs that many words can be used both as postpositions and as adverbs. There are also many adverbs in Ostyak that are formed from demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns. There are few primitive words among the adverbs, yet a noun and especially an adjective in the nominative case can also be used as an adverb. Furthermore, many adverbs are borrowed from Russian.

§ 130 The adverbs of location are, organized according to their stem, the following:

416. The Surgut particles *tegenam* and *togonam* are formed with the suffix of the approximative case.

❖ 74 ❖

1. *xoda*, Surg. *kotnam* 'where to'; *xodan*, Surg. *kotti*, *kot* 'where', *xotye*, Surg. *kotl* 'from where'. The stem is probably *xo* (cf. the pronoun *xoi*, *xoje* in § 93). Instead of these adverbs, in the Irtyš dialects *met tagaja* 'where to', *met tagana* 'where', *met tagajiwet* 'from where', etc. are used.
  2. *tege*, Surg. *tegenam*<sup>416</sup> 'here (to)', *tette*, Surg. *tetti*, *tet* 'here'; *tet sagat*, Surg. *tet* 'from here'. Cf. the demonstrative pronoun *tem* 'this'.
  3. *togot*, Surg. *Togonam*<sup>416</sup> 'there (to)', *totta*, Surg. *totti* 'there', Surg. *tot* 'from there'. Cf. the demonstrative pronoun *toma*.
  4. *nox* 'up, upwards'; see § 128 nr. 8.
  5. *nūmen* 'up, in the heights', *nūmatta* 'from above'; see § 128 nr. 9.
  6. *itn* 'down', loc. *idn*, etc. see § 128 nr 2.
  7. *awasta* 'from below', abl. of *awas* 'the underneath'.
  8. *pira* 'back', *pirna* 'behind', *piriwet* 'from behind', see § 128 nr 11.
  9. *itpeja* 'forth', etc. see § 128 nr 3.
  10. *xowa*, Surg. *kokko* 'far away', *xowan*, Surg. *kowon* (loc.) 'far away', *xowatta*, Surg. *kowatta* (abl.) 'from afar'. The stem is *xou* 'long'.
  11. *wana* (dat.) 'close (to)', *wanen*, *wanna* (loc.) 'close'; *wanetta*, Surg. *wanetta* 'from nearby'. The stem is *wan* 'short'.
  12. *kīm*, *kēm* 'out', *kāmen*, *kēmen* 'outside', *kāmetta*, Surg. *kāmetta* 'from outside'.
  13. *jox*, Surg. *jok* 'home' (domum), *jadan*, Surg. *jokon* 'at home' (domi), *jokotta* (Surg.), *xodiwet* (Irt.) 'from home'.
  14. *moxta*, Surg. *norok* 'straight'.
  15. *megde* 'past, by'
  16. *beste* 'all over', Russ. *вездѣ*.
- § 131 Among the temporal adverbs especially the following may be noted:
1. *xun*, Surg. *xunti* 'when'.
  2. *tutna* 'then'.
  3. *in*, Surg. *it* 'now'. Cf. the word list.
  4. *sīra*, Surg. *sār*, *sārna* 'before'; cf. the word list.

❖ 75 ❖

5. *pirna* 'after'; see § 128 nr 11.
  6. *xou*, *xowat*, Surg. *kowat* 'for a long time'; cf. word list.
  7. *xowan*, Surg. *kowan* 'long ago'.
  8. *sora*, Surg. *sarga* 'soon', Russ. *скоро*.
  9. *togan* 'always'.
  10. *us*, *uš* 'already', Russ. *уже*.
  11. *os*, *ješo* (Russ. *ещо*) 'still'.
  12. *mettatna* 'sometime'.
  13. *xattīwen* 'during the daytime'.
  14. *ātna*, Surg. *jōgon* 'in the night'.
  15. *idaina* 'in the evening'.
  16. *ādeŋ*, Surg. *ādeŋ* 'in the morning'.
  17. *tem xat* 'today', etc.
- § 132 Among the other adverbs, we can only give the following:
1. *ar* 'many, a lot'.
  2. *čimet*, Surg. *čimet* '(a) little'.
  3. *ašma*, *tax*, Surg. *čikka* 'very'.
  4. *cebara* 'well'.
  5. *medagem* 'how much'.
  6. *tegem*, *figem* 'this much'.
  7. *xot sagat* 'how'.
  8. *tem sagat*, *tegena*, *temida* 'like this'.
  9. *mediwet*, *medoi peda* 'why'.
  10. *tut peda* 'because of that'.

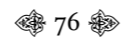
C. Conjunctions

- § 133 The Ostyak language has only a few conjunctions, and many of these are, furthermore, borrowed from Russian. Some conjunctions are independent words, while others can only be used enclitically. Here we list the most important of both classes:

a) Independent conjunctions

- ada* — *ada* 'either — or'.  
*lipa* — *lipa* 'either — or', Russ. *либо — либо*.

417. As already stated in note 174, this is not a particle but a noun *ot* 'thing'.
418. The semantics of the interjections are, of course, approximate.



*nīci* 'perhaps'.  
*otnāko* 'yet', Russ. *однако*.  
*met, metta* 'that, so that'.  
*sto ba, sto bi* 'so that', Russ. *что бы*.  
*ada metta, at metta* 'as if'.  
*ješeli* 'if', Russ. *ежели*.  
*i* 'also', Russ. *и*.  
*ādeŋ* the character of the conjunctive.  
*ta* 'and', Russ. *да*.

b) Enclitic conjunctions

*īti, īda* 'as, like'.  
*pa, ba* 'though', Finn. *pa, pä*.  
*se* or *še* 'yes, too', Russ. *же*.  
*wet*, Surg. *widi* 'even', Russ. *вѣдь*.  
*li* 'whether', Russ. *ли*.  
*kuš*, Surg. *kuč* 'even though', Russ. *хотя, хоть*.  
*at*, a particle that forms indefinite nouns, pronouns and adverbs.<sup>417</sup>

D. Interjections<sup>418</sup>

§ 134 Only the following interjections have been noticed by me:

*a'a* 'yes'.  
*au* 'what did you say?'  
*ta* 'well'.  
*ti, fit, fitti* 'well, see'.  
*a* 'ouch'.  
*ax* 'oh'.  
*ja* 'well'.

Ostyak Word List<sup>419</sup>

419. The word list has been rewritten, translated and commented on along the following principles:

The lemma is transcribed from Castrén's "Ossetian" Cyrillic script according to the same rules that are used in the grammar part. It is followed in brackets [ ] by the form that follows the standard southern Khanty phonematic transcription (in DEWOS, standardized by Wolfgang Steinitz, with minor exceptions, e.g. *ě* in the first syllable instead of *ə*). The same goes for additional forms (derivations and compounds) from the southern dialect, which are introduced later in the same lemma.

If the lemma is given only in its Surgut form ("S."), and mainly does not exist in southern Khanty, the standardized phonematic form in brackets [ ] is given from Trj (Tremyugan) or another modern (according to KT or DEWOS) Surgut dialect.

In cases where Castrén has added a variant from Surgut to the southern dialect lemma, a Trj or other modern Surgut dialect form is given in brackets [ ].

The translation is given according to Castrén's original translation, taking into account the semantics of the modern Khanty word; if there is a more significant difference, the modern, actual meaning is given in brackets [ ].

References to other languages are given according to Castrén either with a comma or semicolon only, or with "cf." ("vergl.").

The possible borrowing languages ("Turkish" for mainly Siberian Tartar; Russian or Komi) are not commented on separately, but the modern view of the possible borrowing is given according to Steinitz in brackets ( ) after the DEWOS reference.

The correspondences in the Uralic languages are marked with [≠] (no etymological correspondence) or [=] (reliable comparison) separately for each language.

For the Finno-Ugrian languages, abbreviations of the modern names are used in the translation ("Lapp." > Saa = Saami, "Tscher." > Mr = Mari, "Syrj." > Ko = Komi; Fi = Finnish, Est = Estonian, Hu = Hungarian) as well as in the references (Md = Mordvinian, Ud =

Udmurt, Mn = Mansi, MnN = Northern Mansi). By "Sam.", Castrén mainly refers to Nenets, but the abbreviation is kept unchanged, thus Sam = Samoyedic; however, "O. Sam." > Slk = Selkup. Also in the references to UEW, Sam refers to a correspondence in any Samoyedic language, which is not necessarily the same comparison Castrén has made.

For Surgut, Castrén's abbreviations (or their translations) are used in their original form, i.e. S. or Surg. = Surgut dialects, ("OS." >) US. = Upper Surgut (upstream from the town of Surgut), (US. >) LS. = Lower Surgut (downstream from the town of Surgut). There is also an abbreviation "NS.", which has not been explained. It seems to stand for the Swedish term *Nedre Surgut* 'lower S.' and has accidentally been left in the German version in some words on the list. Here it is replaced with LS.

For the Turkish languages, the names are kept in their original form, thus Turk = Turkish (in general), Tat = Tartar, MT = Minushinsk (Siberian) Tartar.

The references to the most important dictionaries are provided at the end of each lemma. These are: Wolfgang Steinitz *Dialektologisches und etymologisches Wörterbuch der ostjakischen Sprache* (DEWOS), K.F. Karjalainen & Y.H. Toivonen *Ostjakisches Wörterbuch* (KT) and Károly Rédei & al. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (UEW). If the Khanty word has a cognate in Mansi, it is given in brackets ( ) after DEWOS; if the word has cognates in other Uralic languages, this information is given in brackets ( ) after UEW. Page numbers are given for the Khanty dictionaries, because they encompass all Khanty dialects and thus follow an etymological order instead of a traditional alphabetical one. Page numbers are given only for the beginning of the lemma; one lemma might go through several pages (in DEWOS, each column has its own number). The modern (or standardized phonematic) form for the words in other Uralic languages can be found in UEW; they are not copied here.

If necessary, other references to literature are also given.

## A

*adak* [ãtak] 'storm'; [≠ Sam] *hãd* DEWOS 214 (Kh ? < Turk), KT 102.  
*adam* [ãtamã] 'man, person', Mr *edem*, Turk. *adem*; cf. *xui*; DEWOS 217 (Kh < Tat), KT 103.  
*ãdãñ*; *ãdeñ* [ãtãñ] 'morning'; Surg. *ãdãñ*, *ãdeñ* [Trj ãlãñ]; DEWOS 83, KT 117.  
*ãdem* [ãtãm] 'bad, evil'; Surg. *ãtem* [Trj ãtãm]; DEWOS 215, KT 103.  
*ãdem* [ãt-] 'to sleep'; Surg. *ãdam*, *ãdam*, *ãtem* [Trj ãl-]. Frequ. *ãdãdem* [ãtit-]; DEWOS 66, KT 126.  
*ãdaša*, *ãdoša* [ãtaša] 'stallion'; DEWOS 72 (Kh < Tat).  
*ãgan*, *ãgañ* [ãkañ] 'doll'; Ko *akañ*; DEWOS 45 (Kh < Ko), KT 24.  
*ãgerna* [ãgãrnã] 'ide, L. *Cyprinus rutilus* (*Leuciscus idus*)'; *ãger-na-tũjax* [Trj ãgãrnã-ãojãk] 'red kite, L. *Falco milvus*'; DEWOS 47, KT 25.  
*ãxtem* [ãxãt-] 'to vomit'; Surg. *ũgo-dem* [Trj uyãt-]; cf. [≠ Fi] *oksenan*, [≠] Hu *okád*; DEWOS 48, KT 26, UEW 716 (Fi = Md Mr Ko Ud).  
*ãi* [ãj] 'small'; DEWOS 12, KT 3.  
*ãi* [ãj] 'luck'; DEWOS 20, KT 6.  
*ãidadem* [ãjtãt-] 'to drive, to chase'; [≠] Fi *ajan*; DEWOS 26, KT 14, UEW 4.  
*ãidem* [ãjãt-] 'to find'; Surg. *ojodem* [Trj ojãytã-]; DEWOS 22, KT 13.  
*ãjan*, *ãijañ* [ãjãñ] 'lucky [fortunate (e.g. at catching fish)]' DEWOS 21, KT 6.  
*ãjem* [ãjãm] 'glue'; Surg. *ẽjem*, *ẽjem* [Trj ẽjãm]; DEWOS 24, KT 12.

*ãjemdem* [ãjãmt-] 'to glue'; LS. *ẽjemdem*, *ẽjemdem*; US. *ẽjemtim*, *ẽjemtim* [Trj ẽjãmtã-] DEWOS 24, KT 12.  
*ãjoxtep*, *ãjoxtep* [ãj-oxtep] 'smallish, quite small'; DEWOS 12, 33, KT 3, 32.  
*ãmdem* [ãmãt-] 'to rejoice'; frequ. *ãmdãdem* [ãmtit-]; DEWOS 106, KT 47-48.  
*ãmlep* [omlep (DN), Ko Kr *ãmlip*] 'hole in the ice' DEWOS 100, KT 48.  
*ãmp* [ãmp] 'dog'; [=] Hu *eb*; DEWOS 101, KT 48, UEW 836 (Kh = MnN *ãmp*, Hu).  
*ãna* [ãnã] 'thick'; Surg. *ãnex* [Trj ãnã]; *ãna-pãñ* [ãnã-pãñ] 'thumb'; *ãna-sãbet* [ãnã-sãpãt] a black and blue coloured duck with a thick (*ãna*) neck (*sãbet*) [*Anas fuligula*] DEWOS 109, KT 52.  
*ãñã*, *ãñze* [ãñã] 'rose hip'; Surg. *ãñzãx* [Trj ãñãx]; *ãñã-jux* [ãñã-jux] 'rose shrub'; Surg. *ãñzãx-jux* [Trj ãñãx-jux]; DEWOS 112, KT 54.  
*ãñãsem* [ãñãs-, Kr *ẽñãs-*] 'to take off one's shoes; undo (a knot), unbutton (one's coat)'; S. *ũnacem* [Trj ãntãksã-] DEWOS 142, KT 39, UEW 11.  
*ãñen* [õñãt; -n probably a misprint] 'chin'; DEWOS 140, KT 34.  
*ãña*, *ãñe* [ãñkã] 'mother'; Surg. *ãñki* [Trj ãñki], [≠] Hu *anya*, Turk *ana*; *ẽn-ãña* [ẽnã-ãñkã] 'grandmother', *ãi-ãña* [ãj-ãñkã] 'mother's younger sister; (female) cousin'; DEWOS 136 (Kh = MnN *ãñk*), KT 36.



- aŋaŋa* [aŋk-aŋkə] 'grandmother'; Surg. *aŋk-aŋki* [Trj aŋk-aŋk]; DEWOS 136, KT 36.
- āŋet*, *ānket* [aŋkət] 'stump, pillar, mast'; Surg. *āŋket* [Trj aŋkəl]; DEWOS 138 (= MnN *āŋk°al*), KT 38.
- aŋaxa*, *aŋaga* [aŋaxə] 'stepmother; uncle's wife'; LS. *ajanki*, US. *aŋakai* [Trj aŋkai]; DEWOS 130, KT 64, UEW 10 (= Sa ?Md ?Ud Ko Mn Hu Ne Slk).
- āŋgeš* [aŋkəš] 'pea'; Surg. *āŋkic* [Trj aŋkic]; Ko *aŋkycj* [aŋ-kij]; DEWOS 130 (Kh < Ko), KT 38.
- ār* [ār, DN *ar*] 'a lot, many'; cf. [≠] Fi *suuri*, [=] Sam *ār* 'big', [≠] Turk. *ār* 'heavy', [≠] Hu *ár* 'price'; DEWOS 155, KT 70, UEW 75 (Kh = Sam)
- āra* [ārə] 'song'; Surg. *ārex* [Trj ārəy], [≠] Turk. *ir*, *er*; *tūrum-āra* [turəm-ārə, Trj tōrəm-ārəy] 'prayer'; DEWOS 165 (Kh = MnN *ēriy*), KT 73.
- ārent* [ārənt] 'debt'; [≠] MT *ālem*, [≠] Fi. *velka*; DEWOS 172 (Kh < Ru), KT 77.
- ārenden* (*ārnden*) [ārəntən] 'in debt'; DEWOS 172, KT 78.
- āres* [probably *irəš*, *irəš*; Ko *iršas-* 'threaten'] 'troublemaker'; Tat. *arisch*, DEWOS 164 (Kh < Tat *iriz* 'quarrel'), KT 78.
- ārgem*, *ārkem* [ārə-] 'to sing'; Surg. *irgem* [Trj ārəy-]; DEWOS 166, KT 73.
- as* [ās] 'the river Ob'; *ās-jax* [ās-jax] 'the Ostyaks'; *awas ās-jax* [ōwəs ā.-j.] 'the Ostyaks in Berezov', *num ās-jax* [num ā.-j.] 'the Ostyaks in Surgut' [the Ostyaks on the lower vs. upper reaches of Ob' seen from Samarovo (today: Chanty-Mansijsk)]; *ās-pai* [Trj ās-paj] 'poplar'; DEWOS 184-86 (= MnN *ās*), KT 84-85.
- āsad* [asət] 'free, idle, lazy'; DEWOS 197, KT 89.
- āsem* [āsəm] 'pillow'; DEWOS 195 (= MnN *osma*), KT 88, UEW 18.
- aš* [aš, aš] 'white clay'; Surg. *ač* [not attested] DEWOS 5, KT 96, UEW 3 (Kh ? = Md *ašo* Ma *oš* 'white').
- āt* (*at*) [ät] 'night'; [=] Mr *jut*; DEWOS 199, KT 100, UEW 99 (Kh = MnN *ēti*, Mr Sam).
- ātmem* [ätəm-] 'to lift'; Surg. *itmem* [Trj äläm-]; DEWOS 76 (Kh = MnN *ālm-*), KT 125.
- āttem* [ättə-] 'to carry'; Surg. *ittem* (Trj äät- : prs. *iatəm*) [cf. previous].
- aťa* [Trj äti, O *äsi*] 'father', [≠] Fi *isä*, [≠] Hu *atya*, [≠] Saa *ačče* [áhčči], *tattje*, [≠] Turk *ata*, [≠] Mr *ätjä*; DEWOS 226, KT 93, UEW 22 (Kh = MnN *ās*, Sam).
- au* [aw] 'door'; [=] Fi *ovi*; DEWOS 26, KT 14, UEW 344 (=MnN *āwi*, Fi Sam)

*augudem*, S. [Trj äy°äl-] 'to become replete'; see *pidem*; DEWOS 40, KT 20.

*awas*, *owas* [āwəs, ōwəs] 'lower, the one below [downstream]'; *awas-wōt* [ōwəs-wot] 'north [wind]', cf. *jit-wōt*; DEWOS 29, KT 17.

## E

*ēbet* [epət] 'smell'; Surg. *āpet* [Trj āpəl], [=] Sam. *āpt*, DEWOS 148, KT 68, UEW 83-84 (Kh = MnN *at*, Saa Md Mr Ko Sam).

*ede* [ētə] 'lid'; Surg. *ate* [Trj älä] [E *wälə* 'roof, lid']; DEWOS 70, KT 116, UEW 574 (Kh = MnN *ala*, Fi *ylä-* etc.)

*edem* [ēt-] 'to heat'; US. *üdim* [Trj öä-], frequ. *edidem* [ētit-]; DEWOS 64, KT 129.

*ēdem*, *eidem* [et-] 'to leave (tr.), to let go'; [≠] Fi *jätän*, [≠] Mr *kodem*, [≠] Ko *kolja*; DEWOS 204 (unclear), KT 129.

*edep* [etəp] 'verst'; Surg. *ettep* [Trj ätäp]; DEWOS 203, KT 104.

*eder*, *ēder* [etər] 'bright, clear'; Surg. *ater*, *atter* [Trj ätər]; DEWOS 218 (= MnN *atər*), KT 104.

*ederoxtep* [etər-oxtep] 'somewhat clear'.

*ele*, *elle* [ělə] 'sapwood'; Surg. *ül* [Trj ö!], [≠] Fi *jälsi*; DEWOS 90, KT 41.

*emem* [em-] 'to suck'; [=] Fi *imen*, [=] Hu *emik*, [≠] Turk *emme*; DEWOS 97, KT 50, UEW 82 (Kh = Fi Hu Sam).

*emerdem* [ēmärt-] 'to scoop, to bail'; Surg. *emregdem* [Trj ämər-, ämräytə-]; cf. *jāxtem*; DEWOS 102, KT 44, UEW 25 (Kh = MnN *āmart-*, Ud).

*ēne* [enə] 'big; thick', also *ūna*; Surg. *ēnt* [Trj äñə]; cf. Ko *una*, Fi *enempi* 'more', *enin* 'most', [≠] Hu *ennyi* 'this much'; DEWOS 109, KT 52, UEW 74 (Kh = MnN *janəy*, Fi Saa ?Ud ?Ko Sam)

*ēnmem* [enəm-] 'to grow'; Surg. *ānmem* [Trj äñəm-]; DEWOS 110, KT 52.

*ēnmettem* [enmättə-] 'to grow (tr.), to raise' DEWOS 110, KT 53.

*ēndep*, *ēntep* [ēntəp] 'belt'; DEWOS 117 (= MnN *ēntəp*), KT 58.

*eŋedidem* [eŋätit-] 'to neigh'; DEWOS 141, KT 34.

*ēpsendem* [epsint-] ‘to sniff, to smell’; Surg. *āpsindem* [Trj āpsintə-]; DEWOS 148, KT 68, UEW 83.  
*erek* (erx) [ērə] ‘extra, too much, too many’; LS. *ürük* (ürx) [Trj örəy]; DEWOS 167 (Kh = MnN ariy), KT 74.  
*ēsem* [esəm] ‘breast, nipple’; *ēsem-jink* [esəm-jəŋk] ‘sweet milk’, actually ‘breast-water’; DEWOS 194, KT 89.  
*ēsemдем* [esəmt-] ‘to suck’; see *emem*.  
*ēssig*, *ēssix*, *eissig* (actually *ēsjiḡ*) [ēs-jěy, ēssəy] ‘old man’; [≠] Hu *ósz*; DEWOS 187, KT 87.  
*estem* [estə-] ‘to release, to let go, to let come (in)’; US. *astem*, LS. *estim* [Trj äsə-], [≠] Fi

*päästän*; DEWOS 193, KT 91, UEW 71 (Kh = MnN is-, Ud Ko Hu Sam).  
*et* [ět, ětə] ‘simple, common’; *et-wax* [Trj ät-wäx] ‘iron’; DEWOS 68, 69, KT 109.  
*ēt*, *eit* [et] ‘body, item’; DEWOS 56, KT 110.  
*ētteptem* [ettitəpt-, \*ettəpt-] ‘to show, to point at smth’; DEWOS 220, KT 108.  
*ēttidem*, *eittidem* [ettit-] ‘to look, to watch’; also: *eikidem*; DEWOS 220, KT 108.  
*ēwa* [ewə] ‘girl, daughter’, Surg. *ēwi* [Trj äy°i]; DEWOS 37, KT 16, UEW 835 (Kh = MnN äyi Hu).  
*ewedem*, *eudem* [ewət-] ‘to cut, to shave’; Surg. *agdem* [Trj äy°ət-]; DEWOS 50 (Kh = MnN jakt-), KT 18.

## I

*idai* [itän] ‘evening, night’, Surg. *itn* [Trj itän], [≠] Fi *ilta*; DEWOS 217, KT 104.  
*idem* [item] ‘shameful [shame]’; Surg. *idem* [Trj iləm]; DEWOS 79, KT 119.  
*īdek* S. [Trj ilək] ‘strainer, sieve’; see *puš*; DEWOS 74, KT 123  
*ika*, *iga* [ikə] ‘old man, husband’; Surg. *iki* [Trj iki], [≠] Fi *ukko*, [≠] Hu *agg*; DEWOS 34, KT 23, UEW 72 (Kh = MnN aki, Saa Sam).

*īma* [imə] ‘old woman, wife’; Surg. *īmi* [Trj imi]; cf. [≠] Fi *emä* ‘mother’, [≠] Hu *eme* ‘female’; DEWOS 97, KT 43, UEW 74 (Kh ≠ Fi Hu Sam).  
*īmel* [iməl] ‘a vehicle’ [a fish species]; DEWOS 100, KT 44.  
*īn* [in] ‘now, just (now), at the moment’; Surg. *it* [Trj in]; KT 51.  
*inar* [inar] ‘saddle’; Tat *ijar*; DEWOS 116, KT 53.

*īndep*, *jīndep* [jěntəp, Trj jīntəp] ‘needle’; Turk *ine*, *īnge*, [≠] Mr *īm*, [≠] Ko *jem*, [≠] Fi *äimä*; DEWOS 381 (Kh = MnN jūntəp), KT 175.  
*īnem* S. [Trj ěj-näm] ‘all’; see *per*; DEWOS 19.  
*īņisem* [ěñtəs-, Trj in̄təksə-] ‘ask’; DEWOS 131, KT 65.  
*isar* [isar] ‘stupid, simple-minded’; DEWOS 197, KT 89.

*īsem* [is-] ‘to grind’; *īsendem* [isənt-] id.; DEWOS 188, KT 90.  
*īsen* [isən] ‘grinder’; DEWOS 189, KT 89.  
*īšen* [išən] ‘window’; DEWOS 11, KT 99.  
*ižem* [ič-] ‘to move (tr.), to push’; DEWOS 5, KT 98.  
*ičex*, US [ičək] ‘younger sister [endearment]’; see *ņeņa*; DEWOS 10, KT 99, 193.

## X

*xadañ* [χätäñ] ‘Tatar’; S. *katañ-ku*; DEWOS 575, KT 362.  
*xadem* [χät-] ‘to die’; Surg. *kađem* [Trj käl- : köləm], [=] Fi *kuolen*, [=] Hu *hal*, [=] Mr *kolem*, [=] Ko *kula*; DEWOS 469, KT 373, UEW 173 (Kh = MnN χōla-, Fi Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).  
*xaxrem* [χäxər-] ‘to tickle [to scratch, to scrape, to rub, to shave]’; DEWOS 460, KT 293.  
*xaidem*, *xaiḡem* [χef-] ‘to stay, to remain; to be left’; DEWOS 576, KT 346.  
*xaideptem* [χefəptə-] ‘to leave (tr.)’; DEWOS 577, KT 347.  
*xaimak* [χajmax] ‘sour whole milk, thick cream’; Tat *kaimak*; DEWOS 447 (Kh < Tat), KT 283.  
*xainem* [χen-] ‘to dig’; Surg. *kinem* [Trj kiñ-], [≠] Fi *kaivan*; DEWOS 508 (Kh = MnN χün-, Ko Hu), KT 318.

*xaint* [χent] ‘birch bark basket’; [=] Fi *kontti*; DEWOS 516, KT 315, UEW 177 (Kh = MnN χūnt, Fi Ud Ko), SSA 1 398 (Fi = Kh Mn)  
*xaida* [χäjčə] ‘scissors, shears’; Turk *kaitse*, *kaitje*; DEWOS 449 (Kh < Tat), KT 283.  
*xaleu* [χälew] ‘tern, seagull’; Surg. *kallek* [Trj kälək]; DEWOS 487, KT 300.  
*xama* [χömäl(-)] ‘bladder, blister’; S. *komlañ* [Trj komləñ]; DEWOS 497, KT 305.  
*xanda* [χäntə] ‘a khanty person’; S. *kanda-ku* [Trj kántək-ko]; DEWOS 517, 518, KT 317, UEW 206 (Kh ? = Fi Saa Md Hu Sam).  
*xanem* [χän-] ‘to touch [to get caught, to adhere, intr.]’; DEWOS 504, KT 316.

- xanžem* [χǎnč-] ‘to make colourful [to stich, to embroider; to write]’; DEWOS 513 (Kh = MnN χans-); KT 313.
- xanžen* [χǎnčən] ‘colourful’; DEWOS 512, KT 313.
- xanžep* [χǎnžep] ‘ladder, stairs’, S. *kanžep* [Trj kǎnžip]; DEWOS 528, KT 297, UEW 127 (cf. χonχ-).
- xanša* [χamsa, χanša, χanχsa] ‘pipe’, S. *kaŋsa* [Trj kansa], Turk *kaŋsa*; DEWOS 693, KT 306.
- xar* [χǎr] ‘field, an even place in general’; e.g. *tant-xar* [tǎnt-χǎr] ‘(corn) field’, *num-xar* [num-χǎr] ‘meadow’, *xot-xar* [χot-χǎr] ‘floor’; S. *kara* [Trj kǎrǎ]; DEWOS 544, KT 327.
- xār* [χor] ‘oxen [male animal]’; S. *kār* [Trj kǎr]; cf. [≠] Fi *härkä*, [=] Sam *hora*; *ai-xār* [ǎj-χor] ‘stallion’; DEWOS 535, KT 328, UEW 168 (Kh = MnN χār, Fi Ko Hu Sam).
- xardagan* [χǎrtǎχan] ‘falcon’; DEWOS 558 (Kh < Tat), KT 341.
- xatt*, *xat* [χǎt (χǎtt-)] ‘sun, day’ [χǎt ‘provision, supplies (“Vor-rath”)’ is a separate word]; S. *kat* [Trj kǎtǎ], [≠] Mr *kedce*; DEWOS 469, KT 365 (χǎt ‘store, supplies’), DEWOS 571, KT 354.
- xōdan*, *xōten* [χōtən] ‘swan’; S. *kōtten* [Trj kōtən]; DEWOS 575, KT 362, UEW 857 (Kh = MnN χotan, Hu *hattyú* id.).
- xōdar* [misprint, ♂: xōdan i.e. χotǎp] ‘net’; DEWOS 479, KT 371, UEW 120 (Kh = MnN χulǎp, Fi Ko Hu Sam).
- xōdem* [χot-] ‘to stay overnight’;
- S. *kūdem* [Trj kǎl- : kulǎm]; DEWOS 462, KT 375, UEW 120 (= MnN χul-, Ud ?Ko Hu).
- xōxtem* [χoχǎt-] ‘to jump [to run]’; DEWOS 457, KT 294, UEW 198 (Kh = Fi Saa Md Ko Hu Sam).
- xōjem* [χojǎm] ‘ashes’; DEWOS 446, KT 281, DEWOS 194 (Kh = MnN kulǎm, Hu ?Md).
- xomas* [\*χomǎs] ‘violin [formerly used by Tatars and southern Khantys]’; DEWOS 500 (attested only by Castrén and Patkanov; Kh < Tat).
- xomǎe* [χamǎǎ] ‘whip’; S. *kamǎi* [Trj kǎmǎi]; DEWOS 503 (Kh < Tat), KT 306.
- xon* [χon] ‘emperor, khan, czar’; S. *kan* [Trj kǎn]; Tat *khan*; DEWOS 503 (Kh < Tat), KT 307.
- xon*, *xonai* [χōn] ‘stomach’ [χōnǎj ‘front part’]; DEWOS 509, KT 308.
- xonan* [χōnǎn] ‘pregnant’ [from χōn ‘stomache’]; DEWOS 510, KT 309.
- xonaza* [χōnǎcǎ] ‘young cow, heifer [also of a reindeer or an elk]’; DEWOS 519, KT 312.
- xondak* [? \*χōntǎk] ‘yeast’ [not in modern dictionaries].
- xonttem* [χōnt-] ‘to escape, to flee’; S. *kondem* [Trj kōnt-]; DEWOS 517, KT 319.
- xont* [χōnt] ‘fever’ [χōnt-, χōnt- ‘to have fever, to be ill’]; DEWOS 524, KT 322.
- xōnam* [χonχ-] ‘to climb, to go up-stream’; S. *kūndem* [Trj ku-ŋǎt-]; DEWOS 528, KT 296, UEW 127 (Kh = MnN χǎnχ-, Hu ?Ko).

- xordem* [χōrǎt-] ‘to bark’; frequ. *xordidem* [χōrtit-]; DEWOS 553, KT 338.
- xorem* [χōr-] ‘to skin, to peel’; S. *korodem* [Trj kōr-]; cf. [≠] Fi *kuorin*; DEWOS 542, KT 340, SSA 1 442 (Kh ? = MnE χor, Fi).
- xōs* [χos] ‘a species of duck’; DEWOS 559; KT 342.
- xosem* [χōs-] ‘to urinate’, [=] Fi *kusen*; DEWOS 561, KT 343, UEW 211 (Kh = MnN χuńś-, Fi Saa Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- xožem* [χočǎm] ‘hot, warm’; DEWOS 427, KT 348, UEW 114 (? = Udm Ko).
- xōt*, *xāt* [χot] ‘tent, house’; S. *kāt* [Trj kǎt], [=] Fi *kota*; [=] Saa *goatte*, [=] Mr *kuda*; DEWOS 565, KT 357, UEW 190 (Kh = Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- xou* [χōw] ‘long, distant’; S. *koux* [Trj koy]; cf. [=] Fi *kauwan*; DEWOS 450, KT 285, UEW 132 (Kh = Fi Saa Md), SSA 1 330 (Kh = Fi ?Md).
- xowoxtep* [χōw-oxǎp] ‘longish’.
- xowat* [χōwat] ‘along’, adv. [instru-mental-comitative case of χōw ‘long’]; DEWOS 452, KT 286.
- xūdandem* [χutǎnt-] ‘to listen’; S. *kōdendem* [Trj kolǎntǎ-]; DEWOS 465, KT 377, UEW 207 (Kh = MnN χūntǎl- Hu ?Fi), SSA 1 457 (Kh = Mn Hu Fi).
- xūdem* [χut-] ‘to hear’; S. *kūdem* [Trj kol- : kulǎm], [=] Fi *kuu-len*, [=] Hu *hall*, [=] Mr *kolam*, [=] Ko *kyla*; DEWOS 465, KT 377, UEW 197 (Kh = MnN χul-, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- xūdesem* [χutes-] ‘to cough’; DEWOS 463, KT 366.
- xui*, *xajat* [χoj, χuj; χǎjet, χǎjat] ‘human [χǎjet, χǎjat], man, male [χoj, χuj]’; S. *kui*, *ku* [Trj ko : (px.1sg) kujem]; DEWOS 423, 449, KT 279, 282; UEW 166 (Kh = MnN χuj, Saa Sam).
- xujem* [χuj-] ‘to spawn’; DEWOS 440, KT 285, UEW 194 (Kh = Mn Fi Saa).
- xūla* [χulǎ] ‘soot, dirt’; DEWOS 474; KT 299.
- xūlax* [χulǎχ] ‘raven’; US. *kōlak*, LS. *kōlank* [Vart kolǎk, Trj kolǎnk]; DEWOS 487, KT 300, UEW 200 (Kh = MnN χulǎχ Hu Sam).
- xūlatem* [χulettǎ-] ‘to soot, to make dirty’; DEWOS 475, KT 299.
- xump* [χump] ‘wave’; S. *kump* [Trj kump], [=] Sam *kumba*; DEWOS 498, KT 306, UEW 203 (Kh = MnN χump Fi Saa Md Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- xunt* [χunt] ‘sunrise, sunset’; S. *kunt* [Trj kuńǎ], [=] Fi *koi*, *koitto*, [? =] Slk *kuend*, [=] Ko *kya*; *idai-xunt* [itaj-χunt, Trj itǎ-kuńǎ] ‘sunset’; *xodai-xunt* [χōt-χunt] ‘sunrise’; DEWOS 217 (itǎ-kuńǎ), 464 (χōt-χunt), 522, KT 323, UEW 167 (Kh = Mn Fi Ko ?Sam).
- xuran* [χuran, χōran] ‘stable’; DEWOS 555, KT 336.
- xūs* [χus] ‘star’; DEWOS 561, KT 343, UEW 210 (Kh = MnS kōńś Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- xūt* [χut] ‘cough’; S. *kōt* [Trj kol]; DEWOS 463, KT 365, UEW 223 (Kh = Saa Md Ko Sam).

*xūt* [χut] ‘spruce’; S. *kōt* [kōl], [=] Fi *kuusi*, [=] Ko *kōz*, [=] Sam *xadi*; DEWOS 464, KT 366, UEW 222 (Kh = MnN χowt Fi Saa Md Ud Ko Sam).

*xut* [χut] ‘fish’; S. *kut* [Trj kuɫ], [=] Fi *kala*, [=] Hu *hal*; DEWOS 466, KT 380, UEW 119 (Kh = MnN χūl, Fi Saa Md Mr Hu Sam).

## J

*jādam* [jātəm] ‘seine net’; S. *sājep* [Trj sājəp]; DEWOS 419, KT 197, 820.

*jadem* [jātəm] ‘patch’ [“patched” from *jāt-* (Trj jōɫ-) ‘to patch’]; KT 199.

*jāgai* [jāxaj, DN jāyaj] ‘occiput; (nape of the) neck’; DEWOS 334, KT 147.

*jāgal* [jāxəl] ‘fork; step’; S. *jāgart* [Trj jāyārt ‘fork, branch’]; DEWOS 341, 342, KT 147, 150.

*jāgam* [jāxəm] ‘heath’; DEWOS 343, KT 148.

*jāgem* [jok-] ‘to dance’; S. *jikum* [Trj jek° (: jik°əm)]; DEWOS 330, KT 141, UEW 96 (Kh = MnN jēk°, Ud Ko).

*jāxleŋ* [jāxləŋ] ‘with a branch’; DEWOS 341, KT 147.

*jāxletəm* [jāxleŋtə-] ‘to step’; DEWOS 342, KT 148.

*jāxtem* [jāxət-] 1. ‘to scoop (water with a smaller scoop)’ 2. ‘to unload’; DEWOS 352 (= MnN jāxt-), KT 151.

*jāja* [jājə] ‘elder brother [male relative older than me, younger than my father]’; DEWOS 317, KT 133.

*jāk* [jäk] ‘clerk’; DEWOS 324 (< Ru), KT 141.

*jantkem*, *jantxem* [jänt-: jäntkəm, jäntxəm, jänkəm] ‘to play’; DEWOS 381 (= MnN jonγ-), KT 174.

*jāŋam* [jäx-, jāŋx-] ‘to walk’; frequ. *jāŋaidem* [jäŋyit-]; DEWOS 386, KT 155.

*jāŋk* [jäŋk] ‘nail [wooden, iron]’; DEWOS 387, KT 158.

*jara* [jāra] ‘other; strange [, not related]’; DEWOS 403, KT 182.

*jaran* [jārən] ‘samoyed’; S. *jargan* [Trj jāryan]; DEWOS 405, KT 184 (Kh = MnN jōrn).

*jardem*, *jaradem* [jārət-] ‘to forget’; S. *jordem* [Trj jōrəyɫə-], [≠] Sam *jurau*; DEWOS 405, KT 185.

*jāsax* [ječək] ‘poor’; DEWOS 10 (same word as Trj ičək ‘dear’ see *ičex*), KT 193.

*jāseŋ* [jāsəŋ] ‘speech [, language]’; DEWOS 414, KT 190.

*jāstem* [jāstə-] ‘to say; to speak’; [≠] Fi *haastan*; Frequ. *jāstidem* [jāstit-]; DEWOS 415, KT 191.

*jatt*, *jat*, *jattax* [jät] ‘lazy’; DEWOS 416, KT 195.

*jāwetmem* [jāwətmə-] ‘to hit, to knock’ [moment. from *jāwət-* ‘to flail’]; DEWOS 338, KT 136.

*jeaga* [jeχə] ‘small river, tributary’; [?] =] Fi *joki*, [?] =] Saa *joga*; DEWOS 319, UEW 99.

*jedernai* [jētərŋaj] ‘black grouse, Tetrao urogallus’; LS. *jeterŋi*, US. *jeterki* [Trj jätərŋi, Vart jētarki]; DEWOS 420, KT 198.

*jegan* [jekan] ‘reed mat’; LS. *jeki* [Trj jākī]; DEWOS 344 (< Tat), KT 146, 149.

*jem*, *jemm* [jəm] 1. ‘good, fresh’; 2. ‘seed’ [this is a separate word: *jem* (< Tat) DEWOS 367]; cf. [≠] Fi *hyvä* ‘good’, [≠] *jyvä* ‘seed’; [=] Hu *jó* ‘good’; DEWOS 367, KT 167, UEW 850 (Kh = MnN *jomas*, Hu).

*jemsai* [jəmsaj] ‘right; on the right hand side’; S. *jemse* [Trj jəmsi]; DEWOS 369, KT 169.

*jemettem* [jemət-] (from *jem* [Trj jim ‘taboo’]) ‘to be ashamed’; is said about the bride, when she bashfully covers her face in front of men; DEWOS 371, 373, KT 171.

*jēndem*, *jāndem* [jänt-] ‘to drink’; S. *jīndem* [Trj jeŋt- (jīntəm)], [=] Fi *juon*; DEWOS 383, KT 176, UEW 103 (Kh = Fi Saa Mr Ud Ko Mn Hu).

*jenttem* [jänttə-] ‘to give to drink’; DEWOS 384, KT 177.

*jēŋdem* [jeŋət-] ‘to spin’; LS. *jāŋdem* [Trj jāŋət-]; DEWOS 385, KT 157.

*jēŋet* [jeŋət] ‘spindle’; S. *jeuŋet* [Trj jāŋət]; DEWOS 385, KT 157.

*jenk* [jeŋk] ‘ice’; [=] Fi *jää*, [=] Mr *i*, [=] Ko *ji*, [=] Hu *jég*; DEWOS 391, KT 159, UEW 93 (Kh = MnN *jāŋk*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).

*jenen* [jeŋkəŋ] ‘icy’; S. *jenken* [jeŋkəŋ]; DEWOS 391, KT 160.

*jermak*, *jirmak* [jərmak] ‘silk’; DEWOS 409 (Kh < Ko), KT 186.

*jert* [jert] ‘rain’; [≠] Mr *jur*, [≠] Ko *zer*; DEWOS 411, KT 187.

*jerden* [jertəŋ] ‘rainy’; DEWOS 411, KT 187.

*jesnā* [jesna] ‘[elder] sister’s husband [, aunt’s husband, wife’s elder brother]’; DEWOS 414 (< Tat), KT 191.

*ječe* S. [Trj jăčə] ‘middle; place in the middle’; see *kuttep*; DEWOS 314, KT 193.

*ječem* S. [Trj jăč-, imperat. jěčä] ‘to twist, to braid’; DEWOS 311, KT 193.

*jěčem* [ječčə-] ‘to be in time, to ripen’; DEWOS 315 (< Ko), KT 194.

*jeu* [jew] ‘perch’; S. *jeux* [Trj jāy°]; DEWOS 330, KT 134

*jeura* [jewrə] ‘wolf’; S. *jeurex* [Likr jāy°rəy]; cf. [≠] Fi *peura*, [≠] Turk *bür*; DEWOS 352, KT 141.

*jēwdem* [jewət-] ‘to shoot’; DEWOS 356, KT 135.

- jiba* [jěpə] ‘eagle owl, L. *Strix bubo*’; LS. *jipex*, US. *jiwex* [Trj jěpəy]; DEWOS 395, KT 177, UEW 98.
- jibel* [jěpəl] ‘shadow’; S. *jīpel* [Trj jěpəl]; DEWOS 396, KT 178.
- jidenj* [itəŋ] ‘the lower, the one below’; DEWOS 61, KT 112 (*it* ‘the one below’).
- jīdep*, *jēdep* [jětəp] ‘young, new’; S. *jīdep* [Trj jěləp], [≠] Sam *jedaei*, *jedeä*, [≠] Fi *uusi*; DEWOS 358, KT 201, UEW 73 (= MnN *jil’pi* ‘new’, Fi *elää* ‘to live’ etc.)
- jig*, *jix* [jěy, jěχ] ‘father; bear’; [the word for ‘bear’ is separate: *iy*] LS. *atē* [Trj atī]; DEWOS 324 (*jěy*, *jěχ*), 226 (*atī*), 27 (*iy*); KT 145 (*jěy*, *jěχ*), 93 (*atī*), 22 (*iy*).
- jigdenj* [jěytəŋ] ‘stepfather’; DEWOS 326, KT 146.
- jigem* [jik-] ‘to harness’; cf. [≠] Ru *игро* ‘yoke’; DEWOS 327 (< Tat), KT 156.
- jinda* [jěntə, jintə] ‘towline’; e.g. *jādam-jinda* [jätəm-jěntə] ‘lace, towline’; *not-jinda* [nöt-jěntə] ‘string of a bow’; S. *jündex* [jöntəy], [=] Fi *jännet*; DEWOS 382, KT 174, UEW 92 (Kh = MnN *jāntəw*, Fi ?Saa Mr Hu Sam).
- jīnet*, *jēnet* [jěŋət] ‘basket, box [made of birch bark or wood]’; S. *jīnet* [Trj jěŋəɬ]; DEWOS 393, KT 158
- jink* [jěŋk] ‘water’; [≠] Sam *ji*’, [≠] Fi *wesi*, [≠] Mr *wit*; DEWOS 387, KT 160, UEW 93 (cf. *jenk*).
- jīneŋ* [jěŋəŋ, jěŋkəŋ] ‘watery, wet’; DEWOS 390, KT 162.
- jinktep* [jěŋktəp] ‘a place where there is supposed to be a treasure; [a flame can be seen above it,] similar to the Finnish *aarnin hauta*’; DEWOS 392, KT 164.
- jirem* [jěr-] ‘to bind, to tie, to knit (e.g. socks)’; [≠] Fi *kuron*; DEWOS 402, KT 188.
- jirnas* [jěrnəs] ‘shirt’; S. *jernes* [Trj järnäs]; DEWOS 409 (< Ko), KT 187
- jirta*, *jirca* [jěrttə]: the wife’s younger brother is called like this by the husband; DEWOS 412, KT 187.
- jižem* [jěč-] ‘to cut, to draw’; S. *jersem* [Trj jārəs-]; DEWOS 311 (*jěč-*), 404 (*jārəs-*), KT 194, 186.
- jižep* [jěčəp] ‘cut, strake’; S. *jer sem* [jārsəm]; DEWOS 312 (*jěčəp*), 404 (*jārsəm*) KT 194, 186.
- jīsem* S. [Trj jis-, Kr jes-] ‘to weep’; see *telem*; DEWOS 412, KT 189.

- jit* [it] ‘the one below’; S. *it* [Trj iɬ], [=] Mr *ul*, [=] Fi *ala*; *jit-xōt* [it-χot] ‘space under the living room (in a cottage)’, *jit-kan* ‘sail’; *jit-wōt* [jit-wot] ‘north’ [”north wind”, the word *jit* for ‘north’ is a separate lexeme]; DEWOS 61 (*il* ‘below’), 360 (*jit* ‘north’), KT 112 (*it* ‘below’), 200 (*jit* ‘north’), UEW 6 (*il* ‘below’ = MnN *jol-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- jiwem*, *juwem* [jě-, jěw-] ‘to come, become, to start (doing something)’; LS. *jigem*, OS. *jugam* [Trj jō-, jōy-, jěy°-]; DEWOS 309, KT 196.
- jogadem* [joχət-, joχa-, DN joya-] ‘to loose’; DEWOS 354, KT 150.
- jōgon* S. (Trj jōyən) ‘night’; see *āt*; DEWOS 345, KT 135.
- jōgot* [joχət] ‘bow’; US. *jōgot*, LS. *jaugot* [Trj jāy°əɬ], [=] Fi *jousi*, [≠] Turk *jai*, [=] Hu *ív*, *pai-jōgot* [pāj-joχət] ‘rainbow’; DEWOS 339, KT 153 UEW 101.
- jōxtem* [jōχət-] ‘to come, to enter’; LS. *jōgodem*, US. *jūgocen* [Trj jōyət-, jōy°ət-]; frequ. *jōxtidem* [jōχtit-]; DEWOS 355, KT 152.
- jom* LS. [Trj jōm] ‘rain’; see *jert*; DEWOS 375, KT 166.
- jōndem* [jont-] ‘to sew’; US. *jündem*, LS. *jüntim* [Trj jānt- (*juntəm*)], frequ. *jōndidem* [jontit-]; augm. *jōndesem* [jontəs-]; DEWOS 380, KT 175.
- jourai*, *joura* [jāwra] ‘twisted, slanted’; S. *jagrax*, *jograx* [Trj jāy°rəy], [≠] Turk *egri*, [≠] Fi *wäärä*; DEWOS 351, KT 141.
- jourem* [jōwər-] ‘to roll, to wind, to drill’; DEWOS 347, KT 137.
- jouraxamdem*, *joworxamdem* [jōw-rəχəmt-] ‘to rotate quickly; turn suddenly’; DEWOS 348, KT 137.
- judem* [jüt-] ‘to rub, to tan (a skin)’; S. *judem* [Trj juɬ-]; DEWOS 363, KT 137.
- jūx* [juχ] ‘tree, wood, forest’; DEWOS 331, KT 143.
- jukan* [jōkan] ‘lot, share’; cf. Fi *jako* ‘share, division’, Ko *juka* ‘divide’ [Kh < Ko = Fi]; DEWOS 345, KT 149, UEW 87.
- jūm* [jum] ‘black bird cherry’; S. *jōm* [jom]; [=] Fi *tuomi*; *jūm-jux* [jum-juχ] ‘black bird cherry tree’; DEWOS 374, KT 166, UEW 65 (Kh = Mn Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- jūrax* [jurəχ] ‘side’; DEWOS 405 (< Tat), KT 183.

## K

- kabak* US. [Trj *kāpək*] ‘light(weight)’; cf. [≠] Fi *kepiä*; see *kēne*; KT 289.
- kāgert* [*kāγərt*] ‘white stork [white bird, like swan but smaller; northern pintail, *Anas Acuta*]; see *petŋai*; DEWOS 611, KT 393.
- kaiŋi* [*kějŋaj*, *kājŋaj*] ‘mosquito’; DEWOS 599, KT 385.
- kāk* [*käk*] ‘tickle, itch [scab]’; DEWOS 599, KT 390.
- kāñ* [*kāñ*] ‘arctic fox, *Canis Lagopus*’; LS. *kōñ*, US. *kōñ* [Trj *keñ*, Likr *kōñ*], Ko *kynj*; DEWOS 651 (Kh > Ko), KT 413.
- kār* [*kār*] ‘bark; crust’; [≠] Fi *kuori*, [≠] Mr *kargas*, [≠] Ko *kyrs*; *kār-mox* [*kār-mox*] ‘egg’, i.e. a young animal with a crust; DEWOS 659, KT 415, UEW 148 (Kh = MnE *kēr*, Fi *keri*, Saa Md Mr *kər*, Ud Ko *kor*, Hu).
- kāreŋ* [*kārəŋ*] ‘with a crust’; DEWOS 660, KT 416.
- kariš* [DN Kr *kārə*] ‘a small white Sterlet’; DEWOS 673, KT 421 [cf. *kera*].
- kar-tau* S. [Trj *kār-łāγ*] ‘stallion’; see *adaša* [see *xār*].
- kaš* [*käč*] ‘boring, a long time [pleasure, fun; *käčəm xōtat* ‘I get/got bored’]’ S. *kač* [Trj *käč*]; DEWOS 585, KT 443.
- kažem* [*käš-*] ‘to have hiccups [, to burp]’; S. *kaugnīdem* [ɔ: -*dem*] [Trj *kōγən-*]; DEWOS 587 (*käš-*), 606 (*kōγən-*), KT 449 (*käš-*), 391 (*kōγən-*).
- kattem* [*kättə-*] ‘to grab, to take, to hold’; S. *kitem* [Trj *kätΛ-* : *kitä*]; [≠] Ko *kuta*, [≠] Fi *pidän*, [≠] Mr *kodcem*; DEWOS 699, KT 459.
- kattesem* [*kättəj-*] ‘to praise, to commend’; DEWOS 619, KT 459.
- kawa* [*kāwə*] ‘chamber [”Kammer”, ɔ: Hammer]’; LS *kewi*, US. *kawi* [Trj *key*°*i*, Likr *käyi*]; DEWOS 602, KT 387.
- kawala* ‘curl’; see *šegara* [not in modern dictionaries].
- kāwert* [*kāwər-*] ‘it is boiling’; LS. *kēwert*, US. *kōwert* [Trj *key*°*ər-*, Vart *kōγərtə-*]; DEWOS 609, KT 388.
- kawrak* [*kāwrak*] ‘weak, loose, sloppy’; DEWOS 712 (Kh < Tat), KT 390.
- keban* [*kepan*] ‘hay stack’; DEWOS 656 (< Tat), KT 414.
- kēle* [*kelə*] ‘a reindeer skin, which is worn instead of a shirt with hair against the body [; reindeer fur coat with hair outwards]’; DEWOS 626, KT 398.
- kelša* [*kelšə*] ‘barbel (L. *Cyprinus Barbus*) [; roach (*Rutilus Rutilus*); S. *kilsī* [Trj *kilsī*]; DEWOS 629 (Kh < Ko), KT 400.

- kēne* [*kenə*] ‘light, not heavy, easy’; LS. *kannex* [J *kōñəγ*], US. *kabak*; [≠] Fi *kewiä*, *kepiä*, [=] Hu *kōñnyü*; DEWOS 648, KT 407, UEW 862 (Kh = MnE *kiγnə*, Hu).
- kenžem* [*kěňč-*] ‘to seek; to hunt, to fish’; S. *kinžem* [Trj *kěňč-*]; DEWOS 644, KT 411, UEW 145 (Kh = MnE *kinš-*, Mr Ud Ko).
- kenč* [*kenč*] ‘socks made of soft reindeer fell’; DEWOS 645 (Kh = MnE *kēns*), KT 410.
- kendenj* [*kěntəŋ*] ‘angry’; DEWOS 649, KT 412.
- kenmājem* [KoP *kěnmaj-*, pass.; J Irt *kěntəm-*, *kěntmoj-*, pass.] ‘to get angry’; DEWOS 649, KT 412.
- ker* [*kěr*] ‘wooden mortar for tobacco’; LS. *kewel*, US. *kowel* [Trj *key*°*i*, J *kewi* ‘hammer’]; Ko *gyr*; DEWOS 602, KT 387 (*kāwə* ‘hammer’); DEWOS 661, KT 417 (*kěr* ‘mortar’).
- kera* [Ts *kērə*] ‘red Sterlet’; LS. *kari*, US. *kori* [Trj *kāri*, Vart *kōri*]; DEWOS 673, KT 421.
- keredem* [*kerət-*] ‘to return [; to turn around]’; S. *kirigdem* [Trj *kirəytə-*]; cf. [≠] Fi *kierrän*; DEWOS 668, 669, KT 424.
- keremsa*, *keremse* [*kěrəmsə*] ‘twig, rod [willow]’; DEWOS 680, KT 427.
- kerap*, *kerep* [*kerap*] ‘vehicle [boat, barge]’; S. *kerep* [Trj *kirip*]; DEWOS 682, KT 428.
- kereptem* [Ts *kerəptə-*, DN *keryəp-tə-*] ‘to drop’; DEWOS 677, KT 431.
- kereš* [*kěrəš*] ‘high [, tall]’; [≠] Fi *korkia*; DEWOS 674 (< Ko), KT 430.
- kergem*, *kerkem* [*kerə-*] ‘to fall’; S. *korgem* [Trj *kōrəγ-*]; frequ. *kerkidem* [*keryit-*]; DEWOS 676, KT 431.
- kesā*, *kesē* [DN Kr *kěsa*, Ts *kěsaj*] ‘pocket’; DEWOS 691 (Kh < Tat), KT 436.
- kēsem* [*kěs-*] ‘to run, to race’; DEWOS 690, KT 438.
- kesem* [no data from KhS] ‘to rip, to tear’; S. *kossem* [Trj *kōš-*]; DEWOS 690, KT 439.
- keš* ‘how husband and wife call each other’ [? *kōššəkə* ‘thank god; ?darling’; DEWOS 593, KT 447; cf. MnE *äššəkē* ‘thank god; darling’].
- kēže* [*kečə*] ‘knife’; LS. *kāčex*, US. *kōčex* [Trj *kōčəγ*], [=] Hu *kés*, [=] Mr *kize*, [≠] Fi *veitsi*; DEWOS 503, KT 445, UEW 142 (Kh = MnN *kasaj*, Mr Hu).
- keže*, *kōže* [*kěčə*] ‘illness’; S. *kiče* [Trj *kěčə*], [≠] Fi *kipu*; DEWOS 591, KT 446.
- kežerj*, *kōžerj* [*kěčəŋ*, *kěčerj*] ‘ill’; DEWOS 592, KT 446.

- kežedem, köžedem* [kěčət-] ‘to be ill’; DEWOS 592, KT 447.
- ket* [kět] ‘dew’; S. *kata, kada* [Trj kʌʌ]; DEWOS 620, KT 461.
- ket* [ket] ‘word’; S. *kot* [Trj kʌʌ]; DEWOS 615, KT 462, UEW 144 (Kh = Fi *kieli* ‘language’, Saa Ud Ko ?Mn Sam)
- kēt* [ket] ‘hand’; S. *kōt* [Trj kʌʌ], [=] Fi *käsi*, [=] Hu *kéz*, [=] Mr *kit*, [=] Saa *gietta*, [=] Ko *ki*; DEWOS 698, KT 452, 453, UEW 140 (Kh = MnN *kāt*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- kēt-jit* [ket-jět] ‘wrist’; *kēt-pete* [ket-pět] ‘palm’; DEWOS 698, KT 453.
- keu* [kew] ‘stone’; LS. *kaux*, US. *koux* [Trj kʌʌ°, Vart kʌʌ], [=] Fi *kiwi*, [=] Hu *kö*, [=] Mr *kū*; DEWOS 600, KT 385, UEW 163 (Kh = MnN *kaw*, Fi Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- keweŋ* [kewəŋ] ‘stony’; *keweŋ-jert* [kewəŋ-jert] ‘hailstone’; DEWOS 601, KT 386.
- kīda* [kitə] ‘brother-in-law, sister-in-law’; S. *kūdi* [Trj kiʌi, J kʌʌi]; DEWOS 620, KT 463, UEW 135 (Kh ? = Mn Fi Saa Md Ud Ko Sam)
- kīdem* [kit-] ‘to rise, to stand up’; DEWOS 617, KT 465, UEW 133 (Kh = MnN *kʌʌl-*, Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu)
- kijem* S. [Trj kij-, DN χāj-] ‘to leave (tr.)’; see *ēdem*; DEWOS 438, KT 283.
- kila* [kila] ‘penis [; hernia]’; [≠] Fi *kulli*; DEWOS 625 (Kh < Ru), KT 398.
- kimdek* S. [DN *kēmtə*, Trj *kēmʌʌʌ*] ‘wolverine’; DEWOS 639, KT 406.
- kīmet* [kimət] ‘tail (of a cloth), seam’; S. *kīmet* [Trj kiməʌ]; DEWOS 638, KT 404.
- kirem* [kir-] ‘to sow’; DEWOS 663, KT 434.
- kirendem* [kirənt-] ‘to sow’; DEWOS 663, KT 434.
- kiser* [kisər] ‘playing card’; LS. *keser*, US. *koser* [Trj kesär, V kösär]; DEWOS 694 (Kh < Ko), KT 437.
- kiš, kišmar* [kiš, kiš-mär] ‘curly-grained wood, gnarl, [kiš-änə] small cup’; S. *kič, kičmar* [Trj kěč, kěč-mär]; [≠] Fi *wisa*; DEWOS 587, KT 444.
- kitem* [kit-] ‘to chase, to drive, to send’; DEWOS 697 (Kh = MnN *kēt-*), KT 458.
- kitmesem* [kitəm-] ‘to pray devoutly’; DEWOS 704 (Kh < Ko), KT 456.
- kiuri* S. [DN *kiwrə*, Trj *kiyʌri, kiwri*] ‘hole in the ice’; see *adem*; DEWOS 610, KT 390.
- komat* S. [Trj kōmət] ‘wide’; see *uideŋ*; DEWOS 501, KT 304.
- konkai* LS. [J *konkij*] ‘ladle, scoop’, see *umbā*; DEWOS 526, KT 296.
- koñar* [koñar] ‘poor’; LS. *keñer*, US. *köner* [Trj keñär, Likr kʌñär], [<] Ko *konjer*; DEWOS 651 (Kh < Ko), KT 413.
- kōr* [kor] ‘oven’; S. *kōr* [Likr *kör*, Trj *ker*]; DEWOS 667 (Kh < Ko), KT 416.

- korsan* [kersan] ‘trough, washbasin’; DEWOS 685 (Kh < Tat), KT 433.
- košula* [košula] ‘fur coat’; DEWOS 594 (< Ru), KT 448.
- kowa* [kəwə] ‘cuckoo’; LS. *kawi, kagi*, US. *kogi* [Trj kʌʌʌi, J kʌʌwi, Vart kʌʌʌi]; DEWOS 603, KT 387, SSA 1 471 (cf. Fi *käki*).
- kowel* US. [Trj *keyʌʌ, Vart köʌʌ*] ‘ladle, scoop’, see *konkai*; DEWOS 604, KT 391.
- kūgur* [kōkər] ‘birch bark basket, box’; S. *kukkur* [Trj kōkər]; DEWOS 608, KT 392.
- kui* [kōj] ‘morass’; [≠] Mr *kup*; DEWOS 597, KT 383.
- kujanda* [kujantə] ‘scales [yoke (for carrying water)]’; Tat *kujanta*; KT 385.
- kulʌ* [kūʌ] ‘evil spirit’; Ko *kulj*; DEWOS 624 (Kh < Ko), KT 397.
- kunč* [kōnč] ‘(finger)nail’; [=] Fi *kynsi*, [=] Ko *kyž*, [=] Mr *kidc*; DEWOS 645, KT 408, UEW 157 (Kh = MnN *kos*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- kunžeŋ* [kōnčəŋ] ‘with nails’; *kunžeŋ-ika* [kōnčəŋ-ikə] ‘bear’; DEWOS 646, KT 408.
- kunžem* [kōnč-] ‘to comb, to rake’; DEWOS 646, KT 408.
- kunžep* [kōnčəp] ‘comb’; DEWOS 646, KT 409.
- kunžeŋ* [kōnčəŋ] ‘smth that rakes’; *kunžeŋ-jux* [kōnčəŋ-juχ] ‘harrow, rake’; DEWOS 646, KT 408.
- kunžalax* [Kr *kōnčəʌʌχə*] ‘handful’; KT 409.
- kunžnai* [(DN Fil Koš) *kōšŋaj*, (KoP Kr Ts) *kōŋaj*] ‘elbow’; S.
- kunxŋii* [Trj kōŋʌni]; DEWOS 647, KT 408 (s.v. *kōnč*), UEW 158 (Kh = MnN *konəl-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- kupa, kuba* [kōpə] ‘churn’; DEWOS 655, KT 413.
- kur* [kōr] ‘foot, leg’; *kur-pura* [kōr-purə] ‘calf’; *kur-jattəŋ* [kōr-jättəŋ] ‘heel’; *kur-jit* ‘shin bone’ [kōr-jět ‘ankle’, *kōr-wäχ* ‘shin bone’]; *kur-pede* [kōr-pētə] ‘sole’; *kur-pelek* [kōr-peʌk] ‘lame, limping’; DEWOS 664, KT 418, 419.
- kurem* [kōrəm] ‘step’; DEWOS 666, KT 426.
- kurmadem* [kōrmat-] ‘to (take a) step’; DEWOS 666, KT 427.
- kurmaŋ* [kōrməŋ] ‘nimble-footed’; DEWOS 666, KT 426.
- kurek* [kōrt] ‘steam, vapour [coal gas]’; DEWOS 678, 686, KT 433.
- kuruk* [kōrək] ‘eagle’; DEWOS 677, KT 424.
- kus* [only Castrén] ‘a fur coat of reindeer, which is worn over the *kēle*’; LS. *kuŋuš*, US. *kuŋaš* [Trj kōŋəš]; DEWOS 654, KT 396.
- kušmem* [kōčəm-] ‘to burn (tr, intr)’; DEWOS 590, KT 450.
- kušmetem* [kōšmättə-] ‘to burn (tr); to kindle’; DEWOS 590, KT 450.
- kut* [kōt] ‘place in between’; DEWOS 701, KT 450.
- kuttep* [kōttəp] ‘middle’; [=] Hu *közép*; DEWOS 702, KT 452, UEW 163 (Kh = MnN *koʌʌʌl*, Mr Hu).

*kuřar, kuřar* [kōřar] ‘ermine’; S. *kuřker* [Trj kōřkər]; DEWOS, KT 441.

*kuttēm* [kōř-] ‘to follow the track of an animal’; DEWOS 707, KT 441.  
*kelem* [řel-] ‘to weep’; [≠] Fi *kiljun*; DEWOS 1509, KT 909.

## L

*lādēk* [lātək] ‘wide; loose’; cf. [≠] Fi *lawia*; DEWOS 861, KT 492.

*laņem* [laņk-] ‘to cover’; S. *linkem, lūnkim* [Trj leŋ<sup>o</sup>k-]; DEWOS 842, KT 480.

*laņadem* [laņχət-] ‘to split’; DEWOS 841, KT 479.

*laņaep* [laņχep] ‘split, crack, cleft’; S. *lenkep* [Trj liŋkijp]; DEWOS 841, KT 479.

*lāt* S. [Trj lāt, Irt lot] ‘hole, pit’; see *wanx*; DEWOS 855, KT 492.

*lattem* [lātta-] ‘to leave, to get out’; [≠] Mr *lāktām*, [≠] Fi *lāhden*; DEWOS 860, KT 495.

*lāwettem* [lāwəttə-] ‘to pick up, to peel’; DEWOS 863, KT 470.

*lawlak* US. [Vart lōwlək] ‘chin [gills]’; see *naxsem*; DEWOS 850, KT 471.

*lāwum* [lāwəm] ‘charcoal’; DEWOS 825, KT 470.

*lēk* LS. [Trj lek<sup>o</sup>] ‘track [, way]’; US. *lōk* [Vart lōk]; DEWOS 820, KT 472.

*lemak* [lēmək] ‘thick, dense [sour milk; thick (porridge)]’ DEWOS 833, KT 483.

*lenka* [leŋkə] ‘poor person’; DEWOS 844, KT 482.

*lep* [lēp] ‘two-tipped arrow’; DEWOS 846, KT 488.

*libet, lipet* [lipət] ‘leaf’; [≠] Fi *lehti*, [=] Hu *lewél*; DEWOS 851 (Kh = MnN *lupta*, Hu), KT 489, UEW 259.

*linda* [lintə] ‘bullfinch [snow bunting]’; S. *lūnti* [Trj lūnti, Likr lūnti]; DEWOS 837, KT 485.

*lint* S. [Trj liŋt] ‘spit’; see *palax*; DEWOS 839, KT 487.

*lislup* [lis-lup] ‘snow storm [snowfall, wet snow]’; DEWOS 847, KT 491.

*lōgom* [Trj lōγ<sup>o</sup>əm] ‘peaceful, quiet [; good-natured]’; DEWOS 826, KT 476.

*lōx* [lōχ] ‘inlet, bay’; [≠] Fi *lahti*; DEWOS 817 (Kh = MnN *lōχ*, ?Fi), KT 473, UEW 234.

*lopař* US. [Likr lōpəř] ‘rain’; DEWOS 852, KT 470.

*lottem* [lotta-] ‘to bury’; DEWOS 857, KT 493.

*luk* [lök] ‘capercaillie’, *xui-luk, pegda-luk* [χuj-lök “male c.”, pēγət-lök “black c.”] ‘male capercaillie’, *neŋ-luk, xanžeŋ-luk* [neŋ-lök “female c.”, χānčəŋ-lök “colourful c.”]

‘female capercaillie’; DEWOS 819, KT 474.  
*lula* [lulə] ‘water bird’ (гнярька) [‘loon, *Gavia arctica*’]; S. *lūli* [lulij]; DEWOS 830, KT 482.  
*lopi* US. [Vart lōpij] ‘overcoat’; DEWOS 873, KT 1118.

## M

*madamdēm* [mātəmt-] ‘to show’; DEWOS 924, KT 557.

*madēm* [māt-] ‘to cook’; DEWOS 923, KT 559.

*mag* [māγ] ‘honey’; [≠] Ko *ma*, [? =] Mr *mu*, [≠] Hu *méz*, [≠] Fi *mesi*; DEWOS 898 (Kh = MnN *māγ*), KT 502, UEW 266 (Kh = Mn ?Mr)

*max* [maχ] ‘beaver’; [≠] Fi *maja* or *majava*, [≠] Ko *moi*; DEWOS 897, KT 502.

*maxta* [māχtə] ‘*Salix pentandra*, bay willow’; S. *magdi* [Trj māγ<sup>o</sup>Δi]; DEWOS 911, KT 516.

*mānedēm, mēnedēm* [menət-] ‘to bend’; DEWOS 933, KT 526.

*mardadēm* [mārtat-] ‘to measure’; Ko *murtala*; DEWOS 966 (Kh < Ko), KT 542.

*māren* [mārən] ‘spawn’; DEWOS 963 (Kh = MnN *mārn*), KT 540.

*mattax* ‘gun, rifle’; Turk *maltak* [not in modern dictionaries].

*meg, mex* [mēγ] ‘clay, land’; [=] Ko *mu*, [=] Fi *maa*; *morda-meg*

[*mōrtə-mēγ*] is the name of the land where the ducks migrate in the autumn; S. *mortimex* [Trj mōrti-mēγ]; DEWOS 898, 966, KT 504, 543, UEW 263 (Kh = MnN *mā*, Fi Mr Ud Ko Sam).

*megdēŋ* [meytəŋ] ‘*Cyprinus dobula*, [Leuciscus, dace]’; DEWOS 917, KT 515.

*megder* ‘angleworm’ [not in modern dictionaries].

*mēget* [meyət] ‘breast’; S. *mauget* [Trj māγ<sup>o</sup>Δi]; DEWOS 909, KT 514, UEW 267 (Kh = MnN *māγl*, Saa Md Mr Ud Hu).

*mejem* [mē-] ‘to give’; [=] Sam *mi<sup>o</sup>iu*; UEW 275 (Kh = MnN *mi*-, Fi Saa Sam; ?Ud ?Ko).

*mēlek* [melək] ‘warm, warmth, thaw’; US. *mēllek*, LS. *mēllenk* [Vart māłək, Trj māłəŋk], [=] Hu *meleg*; DEWOS 928, KT 521, UEW 868 (Kh = MnN *māltip*, Hu).



- menem* [mě̃n-] ‘to go’; [=] Sam *mi-ñam*, [=] Hu *menni*, [=] Fi *menen*, [=] Ko *muna*; frequ. *menīdem* [mě̃nit-], mom. *menemem* [mě̃nəm-]; DEWOS 931, KT 527, UEW 272 (Kh = MnN *min-*, Fi Saa Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- menžem* [mě̃ňč-] ‘to rip, to pluck’; DEWOS 936, KT 526, UEW 870 (Kh = MnN *manəmt*, Hu).
- meñ*, *meñeŋ* [meñ ‘daughter-in-law’, *meñəŋ* ‘bride’] ‘daughter-in-law’; [=] Fi *miniä*, [=] Ko *monj*, [=] Hu *meny*, [=] Sam *mejeä*; DEWOS 939, KT 529, UEW 276 (Kh = MnN *māñ*, Fi Saa Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- meredem* [mě̃rət-] ‘to dive’; Hu [≠] *márt*, [=] *merít*; frequ. *merīdem* [mě̃rtit-]; DEWOS 965, KT 541, UEW 869 (Kh = MnN *māraxt-*, Hu).
- mērek* [mě̃rək] ‘wing’; *mēreŋ* [mě̃rkəŋ] ‘with wings’; DEWOS 963, KT 539.
- merīdem* [mě̃rəj-] ‘to thunder’; *pai merīdet* [pāj mə̃rəjət] ‘it is thundering’; [≠] Est *mürris-tab*; DEWOS 959, KT 537.
- mežek* [mě̃čək] ‘fist’; LS. *meček* [Trj mə̃čək]; DEWOS 892, KT 551.
- met* [mět] ‘deep’; S. *meť* [Trj mə̃t], [=] Hu *mély*; DEWOS 919, KT 556, UEW 870 (Kh = MnN *mil*, Hu).
- metem* S. [Trj mə̃t-: imperat. *mětä*] ‘to get tired’; DEWOS 971 (Kh = MnN *mat-*), KT 554.
- mīdadem* [mitat-] ‘to rent, to hire’; S. *mīteđem* [Trj mitä-], Ko *medala*; DEWOS 973 (Kh < Ko), KT 552.
- mīdašem* [mitaš-] ‘to take a job’; DEWOS 973, KT 552.
- mil* [mil] ‘cap’; S. *mül* [Likr mül, Trj mil]; DEWOS 926, KT 520.
- mis* [Sotnik *mis*, DN *mäs*] ‘cow’; Ko *muös*, Turk *mys*; *mīs-saxsa* [mis-säxsə] ‘butter’; DEWOS 969 (Kh < Ko), KT 544.
- mīt* [mit] ‘salary [; rent]’; Ko *med*; *mīxtui* [ɔ: <mītxui> mit-χöj] ‘employee (man)’, *mīt-neŋ* [mit-neŋ] ‘employee (woman)’; DEWOS 973, KT 552, 553.
- mōgo* [moγə] ‘crucian carp’; S. *mūgi* [Trj muγi]; DEWOS 905, KT 507.
- mōgoŋ* [moχəŋ] ‘pregnant’; S. *mōkŋ* [Trj mokəŋ]; DEWOS 903, KT 503.
- mōx*, *mox* [moχ] ‘pup cub [; child]’; S. *mōk* [Trj mok]; cf. [≠] Fi *muna* ‘egg’; *xar-mōx* [kärə-moχ] ‘egg’, *am-mōx* [äm-moχ] ‘puppy (of a dog)’; *sagar-mōx* [säγər-moχ] ‘calf (of a cow)’; DEWOS 902, KT 503.
- moxsaŋ*, *moxseŋ* [mōχsəŋ] ‘a species of salmon, muksun’; DEWOS 916, KT 515.

- moi* [moj] ‘wedding’; DEWOS 894 (Kh = MnN *mūj*), KT 499.
- moiteg* [mōjtek] ‘soap’; S. *maitek* [Trj məjtik], Ko *maitäg* [mojtek]; DEWOS 896 (Kh < Ko), KT 501.
- mōnt*, *mānt* [moñt] ‘tale, story’; [≠] Hu *monda*; DEWOS 942, KT 531.
- mondem* [moñt-] ‘to tell stories’; S. *mūndem* [trj māñt-]; [≠] Hu *mond*; DEWOS 942, KT 531.
- mōŋasem* [DT *moŋas-*, DN *moŋγəs-*] ‘to rub, to plane [; to wipe]’; S. *mūŋdem* [Trj moŋə-]; DEWOS 951, KT 519.
- moŋnidem*, *moŋnidəjem* [Kr *moŋn-mitaj-* pass.] ‘to doze off’; DEWOS 913, KT 509.
- monà*, *manà* [ɔ: <moña, maña>, *māñä*] ‘younger brother’; S. *moñi* [Trj māñi]; DEWOS 941, KT 530.
- mōrom* [morəm] ‘fold’; S. *māram* [Trj mārəm]; DEWOS 962, KT 539.
- mosem* [mos-] ‘to love, to kiss’; DEWOS 968, KT 546.
- mōsenk* [mosəñt] ‘sulphur’; Tibet *musi*; DEWOS 971, KT 545.
- most* [mos-] ‘it is possible, it is necessary’; S. *moži*, *moči* [Trj mās-]; DEWOS 967 (Kh MnN *müst-* etc.), KT 545.
- mūgot* [muyət] ‘liver’; S. *mūgot* [Trj muγät], [=] Fi *maksa*, [=] Mr *moxs*, [=] Ko *mus*, [=] Hu *máj*, [=] Sam *muid*; DEWOS 910, KT 512, UEW 264 (Kh = MnN *mājt*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- mūjep* [mūjəp] ‘riddle’; DEWOS 896.
- mūjeptem* [mūjəptə-, *mojəptə-*] ‘to solve [make] riddles’; DEWOS 896, KT 500, UEW 284 (Kh = Fi Md Mr Ud Ko, ?Hu).
- mūker* [mōkər] ‘hunch, hump’; DEWOS 914, KT 509.
- mūkreŋ* [mōkrəŋ] ‘with a hunch’; DEWOS 914, KT 509.
- mūlem* [mulem, *mulim*] ‘smoke [; vapour; mist]’; DEWOS 929 (Kh = MnN *mūlat-*), KT 521.
- muŋol* [muŋχəl] ‘knot’; DEWOS 949, KT 517.
- muŋolžem* [muŋχəl-? *muŋχəlč-*] ‘to tie, to knot’; LS. *munxlodem*; US. *munxlaxtim* [Trj muŋ-łəytə-]; DEWOS 949, KT 517.
- mūrax* [murəχ] ‘cloudberry’; LS. *mōrak* [Vart *morək*]; US. *mōrenk* [Trj mōrəŋk]; KT 538, UEW 287 (Kh = MnN *mōrax*, Fi Ko Sam).
- mūrtem* [mōrttə-] ‘to break (tr.)’; [? =] Fi *murennan*, [? =] Hu *morczol*; mom. *muremem*; DEWOS 958, KT 537, UEW 288 (Kh = MnN *murl-*, Fi Hu Sam, ?Saa).
- mušná* [ɔ: <mušña>, *mušña*] ‘bag, pouch’; S. *mošni*; DEWOS 971, KT 552.
- mōsek* [mě̃šək] ‘cat’; [≠] Hu *macska*; DEWOS 893 (Kh < Tat), KT 551.

## N

- nāgar* [naxər] ‘cedar nut [; cedar cone]’; DEWOS 994, KT 572, UEW 298 (Kh = MnS *nēr*, Fi *nauris*).
- nai* [näj] ‘fire’; Obd. ‘sun’, [≠] Hu *nap* ‘sun’; KT 561.
- nāmat*, *nāmet* [nämət] ‘felt’; budhist Sanskrit (*namata*), Afg *namd*; DEWOS 1003 (Kh < Iran), KT 580.
- namas* [nämäs] ‘sense, intelligence’; DEWOS 1001, KT 582
- namsen* [nämšən] ‘wise, intelligent’; DEWOS 1002, KT 582.
- namasem* [nämäs-] ‘to think, to remember’; S. *namaxsem* [Trj *nömäksä*]; DEWOS 1000, KT 582.
- namattem* [nämättä-] ‘to remember’; DEWOS 1001, KT 583.
- nānk* [nāŋk] ‘larch’; DEWOS 1005, KT 578.
- naram* [nārəm] ‘sauna bench [; shelf, rack]’; DEWOS 1020, KT 592.
- nārep* [nārəp] ‘hemp knife’; DEWOS 1020 (Kh = MnN *nārap*), KT 592.
- nāres* [nārəs-] ‘playing (of an instrument)’ [abstracted noun; only in compounds, as]; *nāres-jux* [nārəs-juχ] ‘violin [string instrument]’; DEWOS 1012, KT 594.
- nāresem* [nārəs-] ‘to play (an instrument)’; LS. *nareksem* [Trj *nārəksä*], US. *nerim* [Likr *nir*]; DEWOS 1012, KT 593, 594.
- nart* [närt] ‘bridge [; step (in duck-boards etc.)]’; DEWOS 1017 (Kh = MnN *nortəχ*), KT 595.
- narwa* US. [Vart *närwə*] ‘grass mat (used as a bed)’; DEWOS 1017, KT 593.
- nāurem* [nāwər-] ‘to jump’; LS. *nūurem* [Trj *neyər*]; DEWOS 995, KT 565.
- nēbek*, *nēbak* [nepak] ‘paper’; S. *nīpek* [Trj *nipik*]; DEWOS 1007, KT 584.
- nem* [nem] ‘name’; [=] Fi *nimi*, [=] Sam *nim*, *nep*; [=] Hu *név*; DEWOS 998, KT 579, UEW 305 (Kh = MnN *nam*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- neŋ* [neŋ] ‘(a married) wife [; woman]’; LS. *ne*, US. *ni*, [=] Hu *nö*, [=] Sam *nè*, cf. [≠] Ko *nyy*, [≠] Fi *neiti* ‘girl’; KT 576, UEW 305 (Kh = MnN *nē*, Saa Md ?Ko Hu Sam).
- nerem* [nēr-] ‘to run’; frequ. *nerīdem* [nērit-]; DEWOS 1012, KT 595.
- nerkem* [ner- : *nerəm*, *neryəm*] ‘to copulate [; to hit oneself]’; DEWOS 1011.
- neu* [nēw] ‘twig’; LS. *noux* [Trj *nöy*], US. *nox* [Vart *nöχ*]; KT 564.
- nikibem* S. ‘to push’ [not in modern dictionaries]
- nīndēm* [nīnt-] ‘to rest’; [≠] Sam *nīñañ*; DEWOS 1062, KT 625.
- nink* [nīŋk] ‘maggot in a spoilt food’; DEWOS 1006, KT 618.

- nodem* [nót-] ‘to help’; DEWOS 1023 (Kh = MnN *nōt-*), KT 642.
- nogem* [noχ-] ‘to pick with a beak [; to stick, to sting]’; [≠] Fi *nokin*; DEWOS 987, KT 575.
- nōgolžem* [Ts *noyälčə* inf.] ‘to support, to prop’; DEWOS 993, KT 571.
- nōgolžep* [\**noyälčəp*] ‘support, prop’ [cf. *nōgolžem*].
- nojesem* [nojes-] ‘to swing’; DEWOS 983, KT 564.
- nōptem* [nopət-] ‘to flow, to go upstream’; LS. *nōptojem* [Trj *noπlojəm*, pass.] US. *nūptūjem*; DEWOS 1008 (Kh = MnN *nāt-*), KT 586.
- nowa* [nōwə] ‘white’; LS. *newi* [Trj *neyi*], US. *nogi* [Likr *näyi*]; KT 562, 563.
- nowoxtep* [nōw-oxtəp] ‘whitish’.
- nui* [nūj] ‘scarf’; Ko Sam *noi*; DEWOS 982 (Kh < Ko; Kh > Slk), KT 562.
- nuigem* ‘to get tired (said mostly about animals)’ [cf. V *nūyji* ‘tiredness’, *nūyājaŋ weli* ‘tired, weak reindeer’]; DEWOS 1030.
- nūm* (*num*) [*num*] ‘the above’; S. *nōm* (*nom*) [Trj *num*]; cf. Sam *num*; *nūm-wōt* [*num-wot*] ‘south [wind]’; DEWOS 988; KT 566.
- numem* [*num-*] ‘to remember’; S. *nomem* [Trj *nōm-*]; DEWOS 1000, KT 581.
- nūt* [nēt] ‘handle of a knife’; DEWOS 998, KT 598, UEW 304 (Kh = MnN *nal*, Fi Saa Hu Sam).

## Ñ

- ñadajem* [ñätəj-] ‘to lick’; S. *nađem* [Trj *ñäl-*], [=] Fi *nuolen*, [=] Mr *nulem*, [=] Ko *njula*, [=] Hu *nyal*; DEWOS 1047, KT 650, UEW 321 (Kh = MnN *ñolant-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam)
- ñādam*, *ñādem* [ñätəm] ‘tongue’; S. *ñāđem* [Trj *ñäləm*], [=] Hu *nyelv*, [≠] Sam *nja* ‘mouth’, [=] Saa *njalme* ‘mouth’; DEWOS 1049, KT 649, UEW 313 (Kh = MnN *ñēləm*, Saa Mr Hu).
- ñāgam* [ñäχ-] ‘to laugh’; DEWOS 1028, KT 602.
- ñāget*, *ñāgit* [Ts *ñäyət*, DN *ñiyət*] ‘path’; DEWOS 1036, KT 611.
- ñāx* (*ñax*) [ñäχ] ‘laughter’; DEWOS 1027, KT 601.
- ñaxsem*, *ñanxsem* [DN *ñanχšəm*, Kr *ñaxšəm*] ‘chin, jaw’; DEWOS 1064, KT 615, UEW 311 (Kh = MnN *ñaxšam*, Saa Mr Sam).
- ñāxsem*, *ñāgasem* [ñäχəs-] ‘to peel’; DEWOS 1038, KT 608.
- ñaxtesem* [ñäχtes-] ‘to sneeze’; DEWOS 1040, KT 613.

- nāla* [nālā] ‘spoon’; DEWOS 1052, KT 615.
- nalkam* S. [Trj nālək-] ‘to rejoice’; see *āmdem*: DEWOS 1053, KT 616.
- nālak* [nēwłak] ‘weak, soft, sloppy’; cf. *kaurak*; DEWOS 1053, KT 616.
- nāmbal* [nāmpəl] ‘mud, sludge’; DEWOS 1057, KT 621.
- nān* [nān] ‘bread’; Ko *njanj*; DEWOS 1061 (Kh < Ko), KT 623.
- nāpem* [nāp-] ‘to bite (fish)’; DEWOS 1065 (= MnN *nāp-*), KT 626.
- nāra* [nārā] ‘bare [; raw]’; DEWOS 1076 (Kh = MnN *nār*), KT 630.
- nārša* [nārsā, nāršā] ‘a willow species’ (Ru талъ), S. *nārsē* [Trj nāršē]; DEWOS 1079, KT 636.
- nāsāmdem* [nāsāmt-] ‘to slide, to slip’; DEWOS 1080, KT 640.
- nātxa* [nātχə] ‘silver fir, abies picea’; S. *nātkai* [Likr nāłki, Trj nālāłkij]; DEWOS 1049, KT 651, UEW 327 (Kh = MnN *nūli*, Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- nāurem* [nāwrem] ‘young [; child]’; S. *nēurem*, [≠] Fi *nuori*; *ai-nāurem* [āj-nāwrem] ‘child’; *xui-nāurem* [χoj-nāwrem] ‘boy’; *neŋ-nāurem* [neŋ-nāwrem] ‘girl’; DEWOS 1038, KT 601.
- nāwer* [nāwər] ‘foam’; S. *nēwer* [Trj nēwər]; DEWOS 1037, KT 600.
- nēŋa* [nēŋə] ‘younger sister’; LS. *nēŋi* [Trj nēŋi]; DEWOS 1063, KT 613.
- nerdem* [nērt-] ‘to feed (a rope)’; ([≠] Fi *lapan*) augm. *nerdesem* [nērtās- ‘to follow a rope’]; KT 639, 638.
- nerem* [nērəm] ‘twig, whip’; KT 635.
- neremem* [nērəmə-] ‘to grab, to take away’; DEWOS 1068, KT 638.
- neš* [nēš] ‘blunt’; Ko *nyšh*, [≠] Mr *nischke*; DEWOS 1025 (Kh ? < Ko), KT 641.
- nešmem* [nēčəm-, nēšmə-] ‘to become blunt’; Ko *nyschma*, [≠] Mr *nischkemäm*; pass. *nešmājem* [nēšmajəm]; DEWOS 1025, KT 641.
- nešmettem* [nēšmättə-] ‘to make blunt’; DEWOS 1025, KT 641.
- nettem* [nättə-] ‘to swallow’; [=] Mr *neläm*, [=] Fi *nielen*, [=] Hu *nyel*, [=] Sam *njalām*; DEWOS 1042, KT 648, UEW 315 (Kh = MnN *nālt-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- nēr* [nēr] ‘boot’; DEWOS 1070, KT 629.
- nogattem* [nōχattə-] ‘to swing’; DEWOS 1032, KT 610.
- nogo*, *noga* [nōχə] ‘flesh, meat’; S. *nōgoi* [Trj nōγ<sup>o</sup>i]; DEWOS 1030 (Kh = MnN *nōwl*), KT 603.
- nogoida* [nōχajta] ‘fleshless, skinny’; DEWOS 1031, KT 604.
- nogodem* [nōχtə-] ‘to move (tr.)’; LS. *nōxtim* [Trj nōγ<sup>o</sup>tā]; DEWOS 1032, KT 610.

- nōgos* [nōχəs] ‘sable’; DEWOS 1039, KT 607, UEW 326 (Kh = MnN *nōχəs*, Ud Ko, ?Fi ?Sam).
- nōx* US. [Trj nōχ : pl. nōγ<sup>o</sup>ət] ‘elk’; LS. *noux* [J nōw]; DEWOS 1029, KT 603.
- nōxrem* [nōχər-] ‘to cut, to carve’; S. *nōgrem* [nōγər-]; DEWOS 1037, KT 606.
- nōnxrem* [nōnχrəs-] ‘to gnaw’; frequ. *nōnxrīdem* [nōnχrit-]; DEWOS 1064, KT 614.
- nōrdem*, *nōrodem* [nōrət-] ‘to press’; DEWOS 1075; KT 635.
- nōrom* [nūrəm] ‘morass’; see *kui*; DEWOS 1078, KT 633, UEW 328 (Kh = MnN *nūrəm*, Fi Saa)
- not*, *nat* [DN nāt, DT nōt] ‘nose, front of a boat’; S. *nāt* [Trj nōł], [≠] Fi *nenä*, [≠] Mr *nēr*, [≠] Ko *nyr*; *not-wes* [nāt-wēs] ‘nostril’; DEWOS 1045 (Kh = MnN *nōl*), KT 642.
- notèm* LS. [ɔ: <nōfem>, Trj nāt-, nāt-] ‘to pluck; to skin’; US. *nācim*; see *sōxtem*; DEWOS 1082, KT 640.
- nūlem* [nūləm] ‘wound’; DEWOS 1054, KT 617.
- nūr* [nūr] ‘strap’; [≠] Fi *nuora*; DEWOS 1072, KT 626.
- nura* ‘bare, empty’ [= *nāra* ‘bare, raw’]; DEWOS 1076, KT 622.
- nūt* [nātə ‘rust’] ‘red earth’; DEWOS 1044, KT 646.
- nūtwedem* [nūt-wet-] ‘to fight (hit each other)’; DEWOS 1048, KT 647 (s.v. *nūta* ‘together’).

## O

- ōdam* [otəm, Trj āłəm] ‘sleep’; [≠] Fi *uni*, [=] Mr *ōm*, [≠] Sam. *āng*, *āngu*; DEWOS 67 (Kh = MnN E *ūlām*, Hu *áлом* id.; ← *āt-*, Trj *āł-* ‘to sleep’), KT 126, UEW 335 (= Md Mr Ud Ko Mn Hu)
- ōdeŋ* [otəŋ] ‘first, outermost [; beginning, (other) end]’; S. *āteŋ*, *ādeŋ* [Trj āłəŋ], [≠] Fi *esi*; *ōdaŋ paŋ* [otəŋ pāŋ] ‘forefinger’; DEWOS 81, KT 118,
- UEW 6 (Kh = MnN *ōwl*, Fi ?Saa ?Sam)
- ōdap* [otəp] ‘hero; strong forest devil’ DEWOS 84, KT 104, 121.
- ōdap*, *ōdep* S. [Trj ōłəp] ‘sleeping tent; bed curtain’; see *ūdap*; DEWOS 84, KT 121.
- ōda*, *oida*, *oiğa* [atə] ‘sour, acidic’ DEWOS 225 (Kh < Tat), KT 93.
- ōdedem*, *oiğedem* [atətaj- (passive)] ‘to sour’; DEWOS 225, KT 93.

- ōd'eptem, oiǰeptem* [a'əptə-, o'əptə-] 'to make sour'; DEWOS 225, KT 93.
- ōgor* S. [Trj ɔ̄y°ər, Kr ɔ̄χər] 'high', see *kereš*; DEWOS 46, KT 24.
- ōgot* [oχət] 'sleigh', LS. *augot* [Trj ǎy°ǎl]; DEWOS 39, KT 29.
- oxčam* [ɔ̄χčam] '(head)scarf'; DEWOS 38 (Kh < Ko), KT 31.
- oxta* [oχtə] 'surface, top', *xōt-oxta* [χot-oχtə] 'roof'; DEWOS 32, KT 31.
- oiif* [oif] 'fence'; [≠] Fi. *aita*; DEWOS 220, KT 93.
- ōmattem* [omattə-] 'to set, to let sit'; DEWOS 104, KT 45.
- ōmdem* [omət-] 'to sit (down); to set'; LS. *ūmdem*, US. *ūmtim* [Trj. ǎmǎt-, umǎt-]; DEWOS 104, KT 46.
- ōmdīdem* [omtiit-] frequ. 'to sit long enough'; DEWOS 105, KT 47.
- omplak* LS. [Trj ɔ̄m'ləŋ] 'operculum', see *ñaxsem*; DEWOS 100, KT 50.
- ōmse*m [oməs-] 'to sit'; S. *ūmse*m [Trj ǎməs-, uməsəm], [≠] Sam *āmdim, āmdak, ǎmtaiñ*; DEWOS 103 (Kh = MnN *ūnt-* 'to sit down', *ūnl-* 'to sit'), KT 45.
- ōndap, ǎndep* [ontəp] 'cradle'; S. *ǎntep* [Trj ǎntəp], DEWOS 105, KT 59.
- ont* S. [Trj ɔ̄nt; Irt *unt*] 'inside', see *tibe*; DEWOS 117, KT 56.
- oŋ* [oŋ] 'opening'; DEWOS 134, KT 32.
- ōŋda, ǎŋdep* [oŋtə] 'stake, spear', LS. *ǎŋdep* [Trj ǎŋ°təp]; DEWOS 144, KT 40.
- ǎŋden* [oŋtəŋ] 'horny, with horns'; DEWOS 144, KT 34.
- ǎŋet* [oŋət] 1. 'horn' 2. 'snuffbox (made of horn)' 3. 'jawbone' [separate word: Trj *uŋəl* 'jowl']; S. *ǎŋet* [Trj ǎŋət], [≠] Sam *āmd*; DEWOS 140 ('jawbone'), 143 (Kh *oŋət* 'horn' = MnN *ǎnit*), KT 34.
- onx* [oŋχ] 'resin'; S. *onk* [Trj oŋk]; DEWOS 135, KT 35.
- opa, oba, aba* [ǎpə] 'elder sister'; LS. *opi* [Trj opj], [≠] Saa *obba, oabba*, Sam *apa, appa, oppa*; DEWOS 146 (Forest Nenets < Kh), KT 66.
- ǎrdem* [ort-] 'to divide'; S. *ūrdem* [Trj ǎrt-, urtəm]; DEWOS 174, KT 243.
- ǎros* [arəš] 'rye', Ru. *рожь*, Fi *ruis* [< Germ]; DEWOS 184 (Kh < Tat), KT 78.
- ort* [ort] '(seasonal) worker'; cf. [≠] Fi *orja* 'slave'; DEWOS 176 KT 84.
- ǎš* [oš] 'sheep'; S. *ǎč* [Trj ǎč (učəm)]; *ǎš-pun* [oš-pun] 'wool'; DEWOS 4, KT 97
- ǎšña* [ošña] 'fur coat'; S. *ǎčñe* [Trj ǎčñj]; DEWOS 4, KT 97.
- ǎt* [ot] 'year'; S. *ǎt, ǎt* [Trj ǎt], [? =] Fi *vuosi*; DEWOS 53, KT 109, UEW 335 (Kh = Fi Saa Ud Ko Hu)

- ǎtman* [otmən] 'sleepy'; see *ǎdam*; DEWOS 67, KT 127.
- ǎtmesem* [otmes-] 'to dream'; see *ǎdam*; DEWOS 68, KT 127.
- ottadem* [ottə-] 'to lie; to deceive'; KT 130; DEWOS 87.

## P

- padartem* [pätərt-] 'to speak'; DEWOS 1248 (Kh = MnN *potərt-*), KT 766.
- padà, paǰa* [pätə] 'the wife's elder brother is called this by her husband'; Turk *badja, padja*; DEWOS 1253 (Kh < Tat), KT 748.
- pad'em* [pät-] 'to defecate'; [=] Fi *paskannan*; see *pat*; DEWOS 1252, KT 746.
- pāgal* [paχəl] 'churn staff; runner of a sledge'; DEWOS 1126, KT 667.
- pāgaptem* [Ts pākəptə-, Kr pokəptə-] 'to be frightened'; DEWOS 1114, KT 670.
- pāgart* [pāyərt] 'timber'; LS. *pēwert* [Trj pɛy°ərt], US. *pōgert* [Vart pōyərt]; DEWOS 1132, KT 671.
- pai* [pāj] 'thunder'; DEWOS 1102, KT 655.
- pai* [pāj] 1. 'pile, stack' 2. 'hay stack' 3. 'islet in the wood'; DEWOS 1101–1103, KT 654.
- pajar* [pājar] 'officer'; Ru *бояринъ*; DEWOS 1107 (Kh < Ru), KT 660.
- pāknem* [pākən-] 'to be frightened'; DEWOS 1113, KT 670.
- palax* [pāləχ] 'spit'; DEWOS 1159 (Kh = MnN *poləχ*), KT 695.
- pan* [pān] 'string'; S. *panna* [Trj pānə]; DEWOS 1174, KT 705.
- pān* [pān] 'sand'; DEWOS 1171, KT 705.
- pāneŋ* [pānəŋ] 'sandy' [cf. *pān*].
- panem* [pān-] 'to put'; [=] Fi *panen*, [=] Sam *pueñam, pannap*; DEWOS 1169, KT 712, UEW 353 (Kh = MnN *pin-*, Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- pāŋ* [pāŋ] 'finger, toe'; see *tui*; *kēt-pāŋ* [ket-pāŋ] 'finger'; *kur-pāŋ* [kør-pāŋ] 'toe'; DEWOS 1186 Kh = MnN *pāja*, KT 685.
- panèm* [ɔ: <pañem>, pāñ-] 'to wind'; DEWOS 1183, KT 717.
- parax* [pārəχ] 'the thicker end of a timber'; DEWOS 1208 (Kh = MnE *pārk*), KT 725.

- paraš* [päräs] 'mane'; LS. *mores* [Trj möräs]; DEWOS 1216, 964, KT 729, 541.
- pardem* [pärt-] 'to order; to allow'; LS. *pīrdem*, US. *pīrtim* [Trj pärt-, pirt-]; DEWOS 1218, KT 737.
- paresem, parešem* [pärätá-] 'to drill'; DEWOS 1201, KT 720.
- part* LS. [Trj pärt] 'timber, board'; see *sāgat*; DEWOS 1218 (Kh = MnN pārt), KT 735.
- pāst* [pāst] 'a curved tributary'; S. *pāsat* [Trj pāsA]; DEWOS 1229, KT 741, UEW 400 (Kh = MnN posal, ?Fi ?Saa ?Sam).
- paža* [páč-] 'dried pike'; DEWOS 1093, KT 753.
- pažem* [páč-] 'to sweep'; DEWOS 1092, KT 755.
- patlā* [pātla] 'all'; see *per*; DEWOS 1245.
- pať, pak* [pāt] 'excrement, shit'; [=] Fi *paska*, [=] Sam *palka*; DEWOS 1252, KT 746, UEW 396 (Kh = MnN poś, Fi Saa Md Mr Hu).
- pedem, pōdem* [pēt-] 'to be afraid'; S. *peđem* [Trj pēA-], [=] Fi *pelkään*, [=] Ko *bola*, [=] Saa *boalam*, [=] Hu *fél*; DEWOS 1142, KT 777, UEW 370 (Kh = MnN pil-, Fi Saa Md Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- pēdem* [pētəm] 'horsefly'; DEWOS 1150, KT 782, UEW 416 (Kh = MnN paləm, Sam).
- pedār, peğar* [pētār] 'rowan berry'; DEWOS 1256, KT 749, UEW 376 (Kh = MnN pašar, Fi Md Mr Ud Ko).
- peg* [pēy] 'stranger; another'; S. *pa* [Trj pā]; [=] Fi *muu*; DEWOS 1086 (*pā*) 1112 (*pēy*), KT 653, 665.
- pegai, peñai* [Ts pēyaj, Kr pēñaj] '(on the) left'; S. *pegi* [Trj pēyi-]; DEWOS 1118, KT 686.
- pegda* [pēytā] 'black'; Hu. *fekete*; DEWOS 1135, KT 682, UEW 882 (Kh = Hu).
- pegdoxtep* [pēyt-oxtəp] 'black, blackish'.
- pegem, pekem* [peχəm] 'spoilt'; DEWOS 1112, KT 668.
- pēget* [peyət] 'bath'; LS. *paugot* [Trj pāy°əA]; US. *peuget* [Vart pōyəA]; *pēget-xot* [peyət-χot] 'sauna'; DEWOS 1122, KT 678.
- pēgdem* [peyət-] 'to take a bath'; DEWOS 1122 (Kh = MnN puwl-), KT 678.
- pēgettem* [peyətə-] 'to bath (tr.)'; DEWOS 1122, KT 678.
- pēgmem* [peyəm-] 'to freeze'; [=] Hu *fagy*; pass. *pēgmājem* [peymajəm 'I am freezing']; DEWOS 1115, KT 680.

- pekrem, petrem* [pētār-] 'to squeeze water out of the clothes'; DEWOS 1256 (Kh < Ko), KT 749.
- pēlek* [pelək] 'the one half, side'; [=] Fi *puoli*, [=] Saa *beäle*, [=] Mr *pēle*, [=] Sam *peäleä*, [=] Hu *fél*; DEWOS 1159, KT 695, UEW 362 (Kh = MnN pāl, Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam, ? *pieli*)
- pelžem* [peláč-] 'to exchange'; frequ. *pelžidem* [pelčit-], augm. *pelesem* [peles-]; DEWOS 1155, KT 699.
- pem* [pēm] 'steam (from the sauna) [; heat]'; S. *pöm* [Trj pōm]; DEWOS 1167 (Kh < Ko), KT 703.
- pemen* [pēməñ] 'hot'; DEWOS 1167, KT 704
- pemdem* [pēmət-] 'to get hot', pass. *pemdājem* [pēmtaj-] id.; DEWOS 1167, KT 704.
- pemettem* [pēmättə-] 'to heat (the sauna)'; DEWOS 1168, KT 704.
- peñaš* [peñkaš] 'pike'; DEWOS 1189 (s.v. *peñk*), KT 691.
- penk* [peñk] 'tooth'; LS. *pank*, [=] Ko *pinj*, [=] Mr *pū*, [=] Saa *pane*, [=] Hu *fog*; DEWOS 1188, KT 689, UEW 382 (Kh = MnN puñk, Fi Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- peñeñ* [peñkəñ] 'with teeth', *peñeñ-juχ* [peñkəñ-juχ] 'rake'; see *kunžeñ-juχ*; DEWOS 1189, KT 690.
- peñ* LS. [Trj pēñ] 'spoon'; US. *piñ*; see *ńala*; DEWOS 1183, KT 716.
- per* [pēr] 'piece'; see *pul*; [=] Fi *puru*, [=] Mr *pura*; DEWOS 1197, KT 721, UEW 366 (Kh ? = MnW pār, ?Fi päre ?Ud ?Ko).
- per, perda* [pērta] 'all'; DEWOS 1219, KT 736.
- peradem* [pērat-] 'to spend one's time'; DEWOS 1205, KT 737.
- perem* [pēr-] 'to pass (intr., time)'; DEWOS 1204 (Kh < Ko), KT 736.
- pergadem* [pērkat-] 'to clean hemp; to shake the snow out of the shoes and clothes'; DEWOS 1210 (Kh < Ko), KT 731.
- perna* [perna] 'cross'; S. *pirne* [pirnä]; *pernajat panem* 'to christen'; DEWOS 1214 (Kh < Ko), KT 733.
- pernašem* [pernaš-] 'to cross oneself, to pray'; DEWOS 1215, KT 734.
- pesan, pesen* [pēsən] 'table'; Ko *pyzan*; *ai-pesan* [āj-pēsən] 'chair'; DEWOS 1231 (Kh < Ko), KT 742.
- peste* [pēstə] 'sharp'; [=] Mr *pise*; DEWOS 1232, KT 744.
- pet* [pit] 'bird nest'; [=] Fi *pesä*, [=] Sam *pideä* (*pitsche*), [=] Mr *peshāsh*, [=] Saa *beasse*, [=] Ko *poz*; cf. *teagat*; DEWOS 1141, UEW 375 (Kh = MnN piñi, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).

- pet* [pēt] 'ear'; S. *pet*, [=] Ko *pelj*, [=] Saa *bealje*, [=] Hu *fül*, [=] Mr *pelesch*; DEWOS 1140, KT 775, UEW 370 (Kh = MnN *pal*, Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- pette* [pētta] 'deaf'; S. *pettex* [Trj pēλλαγ]; DEWOS 1141, KT 777.
- pete*, *pede* [pēta] 'ground, bottom'; S. *pite*, Ko *pydäs*, Fi *pohja*; *nir-pede* [nir-pēta] 'shoe sole'; *kur-pede* [kōr-pēta] 'plantar', *kēt-pede* [ket-pēta] 'flat of a hand' DEWOS 1240 (Kh < Ko), KT 763, 764.
- petem* [pētəm] 'lip'; S. *pedem* [Trj pēλλαμ]; DEWOS 1150, KT 782, UEW 383 (Kh = MnN *pitmi*, Saa Sam).
- pētenj* [pētəŋ] 'cloud'; S. *pēdenj* [Trj pēλλəŋ], [=] Fi *pilwi*, [=] Hu *felhö*, [=] Mr *pil*, [=] Ko *pī*, [≠] Turk *bulut*; DEWOS 1151, KT 781, UEW 381 (Kh = Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- pētlem* [pētləm] 'dark'; DEWOS 1243, KT 768.
- pētlöt* [pētlä-, PAST.3SG *pētlot*] 'the darkness came'; *pētlidet* [pētlit- : PRS.3SG *pētlitət*] 'the darkness comes'; DEWOS 1243, KT 768.
- petnai* [petŋaj] 'mosquito'; S. *pitŋi* [J piλŋi]; DEWOS 1152, KT 784.
- peťa*, *peďa* [pēťa] a salutation formula; DEWOS 1253, KT 748.
- pīdem* [pit-] 'to become replete'; Ko *pöta*; DEWOS 1236 (Kh < Ko), KT 762.
- pili* S. [Trj *pili*] 'shovel'; see *ser*; DEWOS 1158, KT 694.
- pir* [pir] 'behind (in space or time); cf. [≠] Fi *perä* 'behind'; *pir-öt* [pir-öt] 'last year'; DEWOS 1199, KT 721.
- piriš* [pirš] 'old, ancient'; Ko *pörys*; DEWOS 1216 (Kh < Ko), KT 729.
- pīt* [pit] 'bird net'; DEWOS 1153, KT 780.
- pitem* US. [Trj *pit-*] 'to get angry'; see *kenmäjem*; DEWOS 1238, KT 773.
- pötäjem* [potaj-, pass.] 'to get cold, to freeze'; LS. *pütöjem* [Trj pät- : *putoj-*, pass.], [≠] Fi *palelen*, mom. *pötmem* pass. *pötmäjem* [potmaj-]; DEWOS 1233, KT 769, UEW 881 (Hu *fäzük*).
- pōgor* [poχər] 'islet'; S. *paugor* [J pāwər]; DEWOS 1128, KT 670.
- pōgos* [pōχəs] 'breast'; [=] Fi *powi*; DEWOS 1123, KT 672, 674, UEW 395 (Kh = MnN *pūtī*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko).
- pox*, *pax* [pāχ] 'boy, son'; [=] Fi *poika*, [=] Ko *pi*, [=] Hu *fiú*; DEWOS 1110, KT 664, UEW 390 (Kh = MnN *piy*, Fi Ud Ko Hu, ?Md ?Mr).
- pōxtam* [pōχtəm] 'cheek'; S. *pūgodem* [Trj puγλətm], [=] Fi *poski*, [≠] Hu *pofa*, [≠] Ko *pidzjes*, [=] Sam *pādi*, *pudal*; DEWOS 1121, KT 674, UEW 396 (Kh = MnN *pāj*, Fi Sam).

- poxtem* [poχət-] 'to push'; see *nikibem*; DEWOS 1119, KT 676.
- poi* [paj] 'rich'; Turk *bai*, *pai*; DEWOS 1101 (Kh < Tat), KT 656.
- poi* [poj] 'aspen; side board in a boat'; S. *pai* [Trj pāj]; cf. [≠] Fi *paju* 'willow'; [=] Sam *pi* 'aspen'; DEWOS 1100, KT 657, 658, UEW 391 (Kh = Md Ud Ko Sam).
- poidek*, *paidek* [pojtek] 'willow grouse'; LS. *paitek* [Trj pājtik]; DEWOS 1108, KT 660.
- polf* S. [Trj pōłf] 'tallow'; DEWOS 1165, KT 789, UEW 881 (Kh = Hu *faggyú*).
- pōŋot* [poŋχət] 'abscess, boil'; LS. *pūŋot* [Trj puŋkət], US. *pūnk*; DEWOS 1190, KT 692.
- por*, *par* [pār] 'drill'; [=] Hu *fúró*, [=] Fi *pura*, [=] Sam *parte*; *kēt-por* [ket-pār] 'pricker'; DEWOS 1200, KT 720, UEW 405 (Kh = MnS *porē*, Fi Saa Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- porax* [porəχ] 'entrails [; stomach]'; DEWOS 1207, KT 726.
- porem* [pär-] 'to bite, to gnaw'; [=] Fi *puren*, [=] Mr *puralam*; DEWOS 1202, KT 736, UEW 405 (Kh = MnN *pur-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko, ?Sam).
- pōs* [pos] 'mitten; sign; wasp'; S. *pās* [Trj pās], Ko *pas* 'sign'; DEWOS 1222, 1223 [3 separate words] KT 738, 739, 740, UEW 376 (Kh *pos* 'mitten' = MnN *pāssa*, Mr Ud Ko).
- pōsaŋ* [pasəŋ] 'with a sign'; DEWOS 1224, KT 739.
- pōstem* [pastə-] 'to draw [a sign], to mark'; S. *pāstem* [J pāstə-]; DEWOS 1224, KT 739.
- pöttem* [pottə-] 'to make cold, frozen'; DEWOS 1234, KT 771.
- pou* [Kr *pow*, DT *pāw*, DN *päy*] 'pine cone', a fruit of a conifer in general; S. *peux* [Trj pey]; DEWOS 1118, KT 663. UEW 362 (Kh = MnN *pāk*, Sam, ?Mr), *puđem* S. [Trj puł-] 'to harness', see *jegem* [ɔ: <jigem>]; DEWOS 1147, KT 784.
- pūden* [putən] 'nettle, hemp'; LS. *pōden*, US. *pöten* [Trj pōllən]; DEWOS 1150, KT 783, UEW 370 (Kh = MnN *ponal*, ?Fi).
- puđem* [put-] 'to lift [to be strong enough to carry smth]'; see *ätmem*; DEWOS 1253, KT 748.
- pūem* [pōw-] 'to blow'; S. *pōgem* [Trj pōy-, pōy°-], [≠] Fi *puhun*, [=] Sam *pu'u*; cf. [=] Mr *pualam*, [=] Hu *fú*; mom. *pūmem*; DEWOS 1114, KT 661, UEW 411 (Kh = MnN *puw-*, Md Mr Hu Sam).
- pūgot* [puχət] 'village'; S. *pūgot* [Trj puγət]; DEWOS 1122, KT 675, UEW 351 (Kh = MnN *pāwəl*, Hu ?Fi).
- pui* [püj] 'rear, behind'; [=] Sam *pui*; *pui-tōgot* 'tail of a bird', i.e. the back feathers; DEWOS 1104, KT 658, UEW 401 (Kh = MnN *puj*, Sam, ?Fi).

- puisseg* [püj-sëʏ] ‘the tail belt of the harness’; DEWOS 1105, KT 658.
- puklaŋ, pukleŋ* [pökləŋ] ‘navel’; DEWOS 1116 (Kh = MnN *puk-ni*), KT 669.
- pul* [pül] ‘piece [; mouthful]’; DEWOS 1155, KT 693, UEW 350 (Kh = MnN *pül*, Fi Md Hu Sam; ?Saa ?Mr, ?Ko).
- pulemem* [\*püləm-, KoP *pülimə-* ‘to take a bite’] ‘to swallow’; DEWOS 1156.
- püm* [pum] ‘grass’; S. *pöm* [Trj *pom*], [=] Hu *fü*; DEWOS 1165, KT 701, UEW 879 (Kh = MnN *pum*, Hu).
- pūmaŋ* [puməŋ] ‘with (a lot of) grass’; DEWOS 1166, KT 701.
- pūn* [pün] ‘wool’; DEWOS 1173, KT 706.
- pūnaŋ* [pünəŋ] ‘woollen, furry, shaggy’; *pūnaŋ-nīr* [pünəŋ nīr, Sg.] ‘furry boots’; DEWOS 1173, KT 707.
- punžem* [pünč-] ‘to open’; [≠] Mr *padtscham*; DEWOS 1175 (Kh = MnN *püns-*), KT 711.
- punttem* [punttə-] ‘to twist, to braid’; [=] Fi *punon*, [=] Sam *pannau*; cf. [=] Hu *fon* ‘to spin’; DEWOS 1182, KT 715, UEW 402 (Kh = MnN *pon-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- punat* [pöŋət] ‘side’; S. *poŋat* [Trj *pöŋät*]; DEWOS 1192, KT 687.
- pūraš, pūreš* [purəš] ‘pig’; S. *pōres*, Ko *pors*; cf. Fi *porsas* ‘piglet’; Sam *pares*, *pores*; DEWOS 1217, KT 729, UEW 736 (Kh < Ko, Sam < Kh; Fi Ko < Aryan).
- purumem* [purəm-] ‘to tread’; S. *pormem* [Trj *pörəm-*], [≠] Fi *poljen*; DEWOS 1212, KT 728.
- pusā* [püsa] ‘beer’; Tat *busa*; DEWOS 1228 (Kh < Tat), KT 742.
- pusem* [pus-] ‘to wash clothes; to milk’; S. *possem* [Trj *pös-*], [≠] Fi *pesen*, [≠] Hu *mos*, [≠] Mr *moschkam*; DEWOS 1226, KT 744.
- pusrem* [pusər-] ‘to squash’; cf. [=] Fi *puserran*; UEW 397 (Kh = MnW *pāsərt-*, Fi Ud Ko Hu).
- puš* [püš] ‘sieve’; DEWOS 1093, KT 751.
- pušnadem* [püšnat-] ‘to sift’; DEWOS 1093, KT 751.
- put* [püt] ‘kettle’; [=] Fi *pata*, [=] Mr *pat*, [=] Hu *fazék*; DEWOS 1239, KT 761, UEW 358 (Kh = MnN *püt*, Fi Mr Hu).
- pökem, pögem* [pěk-] ‘to suffer’; DEWOS 1111, KT 681.
- pöŋ* [pěŋ] ‘coil’; DEWOS 1185, KT 686.

## R

- rāba* [rāpə] ‘shaggy dog’; DEWOS 1279, KT 807.
- ralax* [rātəχ] ‘loose, fragile’; DEWOS 1287, KT 814.
- rāgam* S. [Trj *räyäm*] ‘familiar [; relative]’; DEWOS 1261, KT 800, UEW 418 (Kh = MnN *rōwn-ut*, Fi Hu).
- rāgap* [rəχəp] ‘lie’; DEWOS 1270, KT 798.
- rāxpaŋ* [rəχpəŋ] ‘false, untruthful’; DEWOS 1270, KT 798.
- rāxpejem* [rəχpəj-] ‘to lie’; DEWOS 1271, KT 798.
- rāk* [rāk] ‘flour, porridge’; [=] Ko *rok*, cf. [≠] Fi *rokka*; DEWOS 1262, KT 794, UEW 421 (Kh = MnN *-rak*, Ud Ko).
- ram* [rom] ‘repose; calm’; DEWOS 1271, KT 804.
- runt* [runt] ‘earring’; S. *ront* [Trj *ront*]; DEWOS 1273 (Kh = MnN *rünt*), KT 805.
- rāba* [rāpə] ‘shaggy dog’; DEWOS 1279, KT 807.
- ralax* [rātəχ] ‘loose, fragile’; DEWOS 1287, KT 814.
- rāgam* S. [Trj *räyäm*] ‘familiar [; relative]’; DEWOS 1261, KT 800, UEW 418 (Kh = MnN *rōwn-ut*, Fi Hu).
- rāgap* [rəχəp] ‘lie’; DEWOS 1270, KT 798.
- rāxpaŋ* [rəχpəŋ] ‘false, untruthful’; DEWOS 1270, KT 798.
- rāxpejem* [rəχpəj-] ‘to lie’; DEWOS 1271, KT 798.
- rāk* [rāk] ‘flour, porridge’; [=] Ko *rok*, cf. [≠] Fi *rokka*; DEWOS 1262, KT 794, UEW 421 (Kh = MnN *-rak*, Ud Ko).
- ram* [rom] ‘repose; calm’; DEWOS 1271, KT 804.
- runt* [runt] ‘earring’; S. *ront* [Trj *ront*]; DEWOS 1273 (Kh = MnN *rünt*), KT 805.
- rau* [rāw] ‘fine’; *rau-pun* [rāw-pün] ‘down’; DEWOS 1262 (Kh = MnN *-rāw*), KT 791.
- rēp* [rep] ‘steep river bank’; DEWOS 1278, KT 806.
- rīt* [rit] ‘boat’; DEWOS 1284, KT 812.
- robasem* [ropəs-] ‘to bark’; S. *rapesem* [Trj *rāpəs-*]; DEWOS 1281, KT 808.
- rōx* [roχ] ‘collar’; S. *rōk* [Trj *rok*]; DEWOS 1266 (Kh = MnN *rāχ<sup>o</sup>a*) KT 795.
- ruŋem* [röŋk-] ‘to wade’; DEWOS 1276, KT 803.
- rūt* [rut] ‘pockmark’; DEWOS 1286, KT 811.
- rūteŋ* [rutəŋ] ‘pockpitted’; DEWOS 1286, KT 812.
- ruť* [rüt] ‘Russian’; DEWOS 1288 (Kh < Ko), KT 810.
- rūwdem* [rēwət-] ‘to mix’; DEWOS 1267 (Kh = MnN *rawt-*), KT 793.
- sābet* [sāpət] ‘neck’; S. *sāpet* [Trj *sāpət*]; DEWOS 1356, KT 866, UEW 473 (Kh = MnN *sip*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko).
- sadem* [sät-] ‘to patch’; DEWOS 1382, KT 886, UEW 470 (Kh = Saa Ud Ko).
- sād'em* ‘to say’; [≠] Fi *sanon* [? *sät-* ‘to be heard; to twitter’]; DEWOS 1386, KT 883.
- sagasem* [sāyas-, sāyat-] ‘to break’; DEWOS 1301, KT 831.
- sāgar* [sāχər] ‘cow’; [≠] Sam *sigar*; DEWOS 1321 (Kh < Tat), KT 839.
- sāgat* [səχət] ‘plank board [; splint]’; DEWOS 1314 (Kh = MnN *sayila*), KT 842.

## S

- sax* [säk] ‘coat; woman’s dress’; LS. *sak* [Trj säk]; DEWOS 1301 (Kh = MnN *saxi*), KT 830.
- saxse* [säxsə] ‘fat, tallow’; *mīs-saxse* (*woi*) [*mis-säxsə* (*woj*)] ‘butter’; DEWOS 1324, KT 846.
- saxsen* [säxsən] ‘fat (adj.)’; DEWOS 1324, KT 846.
- saigem* [säjə- : säjyəm] ‘to go around, to get confused’; DEWOS 1297, KT 821.
- saigettem* [säjyətə-] ‘to go around smth, to roll’; DEWOS 1297, KT 822.
- säjep* [sojəp] ‘net, fyke net’; DEWOS 1299 (Kh = MnW *sâip*), KT 820.
- sāna* [sānə] ‘polypore’; S. *sānex* [Trj sānəy]; DEWOS 1345, KT 861, UEW 494 (Kh = MnN *sēniy*, Fi Saa Mr Ud).
- saŋa* [säŋkə] ‘bright, clear’; S. *sanki* [Trj säŋki]; DEWOS 1351, KT 850.
- sāp* [sāp] ‘brook, tributary’; cf. Turk *sēp*; DEWOS 1354 (Kh < Tat), KT 863.
- sāptəŋ* [sāptəŋ] ‘black fox’; DEWOS 1356 (s.v. *sāpət* ‘neck’), KT 866.
- sāram* [sārəm] ‘death’; [=] Fi *surma*; DEWOS 1366, KT 878, UEW 489 (Kh = Fi).
- sārax* [sārəx] ‘roach’; S. *sārak* [Trj sārək]; DEWOS 1370, KT 871.
- sārt*, *sōrt* [sort] ‘pike’; see *peŋaš*; DEWOS 1375, KT 875.
- sast* [säs, säst] ‘lizard’; S. *sasat* [Trj säsaat]; DEWOS 1380, KT 879, UEW 454 (Kh = MnN *sosla*, Fi Saa Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- sat* [sät] ‘salt’; Ko *sō*, [≠] Hu *só*, [≠] Fi *suola*; DEWOS 1327, KT 886, UEW 750 (Kh < Ko; Ko ? = Fi).
- satagiš* [sätə-kiš] ‘salt container’; see *kiš*; DEWOS 1328, KT 887.
- satagem* [sätəyə-] ‘to salt’; DEWOS 1328, KT 887.
- sāu* or *sāwen* [säw, säwen] ‘sober’; [≠] Fi *selwä*, MT. *sak*; DEWOS 1389 (Kh < Tat), KT 830.
- saudak* [säwtəx] ‘reins’; DEWOS 1390, KT 830.
- saunen* [säw-nəŋ] ‘magpie’; S. *seux* [Trj sey]; DEWOS 1309 (Kh = MnN *sāk<sup>o</sup>alāk*), KT 823.
- seberga* [sēpərka] ‘broom’; Tat *sibirtke*, MT. *sibirge*; DEWOS 1357 (Kh < Tat), KT 865.
- seg*, *sex* [sēj] ‘burbot’; DEWOS 1302, KT 835, UEW 469 (Kh = MnN *siy*, Fi Md).
- sēger* [seyər] ‘chain’; S. *sēget* [? ɔ : <sēger>, Trj *siyər*]; DEWOS 1322 (Kh = MnN *sēr*), KT 839.
- sei* [sēj] ‘voice, sound’; [≠] Hu *szó*; DEWOS 1295, KT 818, UEW 482 (Kh = MnN *suj*, Fi Saa Hu *zaj*, ?Mr).
- seker* [\**sekər*] ‘blow, stroke’ [cf. *sekerdem*, *seurem*].
- sekerdem*, *sekermem*, *sekremem* [sekərmə-] ‘to hit’; DEWOS 1322, KT 827, 839.

- sēm* [sem] ‘eye’; [=] Fi *silmä*, [=] Saa *tschalbme*, [=] Ko *sin*, [=] Mr *sinzä*, [=] Hu *szem*, [=] Sam *saeu*, *sai*; *sēm-jink* [sem-jəŋk] ‘tear’; *sēm-wāx* [sem-wäx] ‘glasses’; *sēm-pēlek* [sem-pelək] ‘one-eyed’, Fi *silmä-puoli*; Hu *fél-szemü*; DEWOS 1338, KT 855, UEW 479 (Kh = MnN *sam*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- sēmnda*, *sīmde* [semta] ‘blind’; S. *sīmdex* [Trj sämləy]; DEWOS 1339, KT 857.
- semm*, *sem* [sēm] ‘heart’; [=] Fi *sydän*, [=] Hu *szü*; [=] Ko *sjöläm*, [=] Mr *schym*, [=] Sam *seai*; DEWOS 1340, KT 857, UEW 477 (Kh = MnN *sim*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- sēna* [senə] ‘louse’; S. *sennex* [Trj sänəy], [≠] Ko *serō*, [≠] Saa *tschoros*, [≠] Fi *saiwar*, [≠] Hu *serke*; DEWOS 1345, KT 862, SSA 3 144.
- senak* [senak] ‘hayfork’; Mr *schenik*; DEWOS 1346 (Kh < Tat), KT 862.
- sent*, *senk* [señt] ‘bast (fibre)’; S. *sint* [Trj siñt]; DEWOS 1347 (Kh = MnN *sās*), KT 863.
- senem* [seŋk-] ‘to beat’; S. *senkim* [Trj seŋk-]; DEWOS 1350, KT 852, UEW 31 (Kh = MnN *sanjk-*, Ud Ko, ??Md).
- ser* [sēr] ‘shovel’; Ko *syr*; DEWOS 1362 (Kh < Ko), KT 868.
- serak* [serak] ‘wall’; DEWOS 1370 (Kh < Ko), KT 871.
- serdem* [sērt-] ‘to shovel the snow’; DEWOS 1362, KT 868.
- serem*, *serejem* [sērəj-] ‘to shudder’; frequ. *serīdem* [sērit-] DEWOS 1369, KT 870.
- sergem* [sēry-, cf. *sēryət-*] ‘to be shaken’.
- sergettem* [sēryət-] ‘to shake’; DEWOS 1369, KT 874.
- sēse* [sesə] ‘trap’; DEWOS 1380, KT 880.
- seu* [sēw] ‘stick, pole’; S. *sawa*, *sowa* [Trj sōy, J sōw]; [=] Fi *sauwa*, [≠] Ko *zib*; DEWOS 1305, KT 826, UEW 468 (Kh = MnN *suw*, Fi Saa).
- sēu* [sew] ‘plait’; S. *seux* [Trj säy]; DEWOS 1307, KT 824, UEW 471 (Kh = MnN *say*, Ud Ko Hu, ?Fi)
- sēwem* [sew-] ‘to plait’; S. *sēwgem* [Trj säy<sup>o</sup>-, J säw-]; DEWOS 1308, KT 825.
- sēwes* [sewəs] ‘rear of a boat, rudder’; DEWOS 1324, KT 828.
- sēwemsa* [sewəmsə] ‘bilberry’; DEWOS 1319 (Kh = MnN *sāw-ni*), KT 827.
- seurem* [sewər-] ‘to beat, to cut, to chop’; LS. *sagrem*, US. *sogrim* [Trj säyər-]; DEWOS 1321 (Kh = MnN *sāyr-*), KT 827.



- sink* [siŋk] ‘a small white duck with a white beak [Anas nigra]’; DEWOS 1350, KT 849.
- sīra, sīre* [sirə] ‘former; earlier’; S. *sār* [Trj sār]; DEWOS 1361, KT 870.
- sīta* LS. [Trj sēlá] ‘powder’; US. *sidá* [Vart sēlá]; cf. *tāra*; DEWOS 1337, KT 893.
- sīwes* [siwəs] ‘osprey, fishing eagle’; DEWOS 1324, KT 829, UEW 469 (Kh = MnN *siyəs*, Fi Saa, ?Ko).
- sōdom* [sotəm] ‘the river Salym’; *sōdom-xui* [sotəm-χöj] ‘Salym Khanty’.
- sōdop, sōdep* [sotəp] ‘sheath’; S. *sātep* [Trj sātəp]; DEWOS 1385, KT 885.
- sōgot* [soχət] ‘gouge, axe for hollowing out boats’; DEWOS 1315, KT 843, UEW 889 (Kh = MnN *sowli*, Hu)
- sōx* (*sox*) [sōχ] ‘bark of a willow (-type) tree [; skin]; sturgeon (осетръ) [”spawn sack”]’; S. *sōx, soux* [Trj sōχ]; DEWOS 1304 (Kh = MnN *sow*), KT 831 (‘sturgeon, caviar’), 832 (‘skin’).
- sōxtem* [soχət-] ‘to pluck’; DEWOS 1325, KT 842.
- soi* [soj] ‘a species of duck [golden-eye]’, S. *sai* [Trj sāj]; DEWOS 1292, KT 817.
- sōjem* [sojəm] ‘small mountain brook [in a riverbank]’; S. *sājem* [Trj sājəm]; DEWOS 1298 (Kh = MnN *sōjəm*), KT 819.
- sōm* [som] ‘(fish) scale’; US. *sām* [Trj sām], [=] Fi *suomu*; DEWOS 1337, KT 854, UEW 476 (Kh = MnN *sām*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko).
- sōrem* [sor-] ‘to dry (intr.)’; [=] Hu *szarít*; frequ. *sōridem* [sorit-]; DEWOS 1358, KT 877, UEW 466 (Kh = MnN *sūr-*, Ud Ko Hu).
- sōrettem* [sorəttə-] ‘to dry (tr.)’; DEWOS 1358, KT 878.
- sōref* [sarəf] ‘sea’; DEWOS 1538 (Kh < Ko), KT 872.
- sorńa* [sorńə] ‘gold’; S. *sarńa* [Trj sārńi], Ko *sarny*, Mr *schörtnje*, Hu *arany*; DEWOS 1373 (Kh < Ko), KT 874.
- sōrom* [sorəm] ‘dry’; LS *sārem* [Trj sārəm], [=] Hu *száraz*; DEWOS 1359, KT 877.
- sos* [sos] ‘ermine’; DEWOS 1377, KT 879.
- sugom* [suχəm] ‘yarn, thread’; DEWOS 1318, KT 837.
- sulaika* [šulejka] ‘glass bottle, ink bottle’; MT *suleike*; DEWOS 1511 (Kh < Ru).
- sūmet* [sümət] ‘birch’; S. *sūgmet* [Trj sēy˚mət]; DEWOS 1319, KT 860.

- suŋ* [söŋ] ‘corner, end’; Hu [≠] *szög*, [=] *szug*; DEWOS 1348, KT 846, UEW 888 (Kh = Hu).
- sūpos* [supəs] ‘[net] weaving needle’; LS. *sapos*, US. *sāwas* [Trj sāpəs]; DEWOS 1358 (Kh = MnS *tās*), KT 865.
- sur* [sur] ‘shaft’; [=] Hu *szár*; *nīr-sur* [*nīr-sur*] ‘bootleg’; DEWOS 1363, KT 867, UEW 890 (Kh = MnN *sor*, Hu).
- sur* [surəŋ, surnəŋ] ‘grey [gray-haired]’; S. *tārax*, [≠] Fi *harmaja*, [≠] Hu *szürke*; KT 877, 878.
- sūs* [sēwəs] ‘autumn’; S. *sugus* [Trj sēy˚əs], [=] Fi *syys, syksy*, [=] Mr *schishe*; DEWOS 1324, KT 828, UEW 443 (Kh = MnN *tak˚s*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Hu).
- susta* [sustə] ‘tapeworm’; DEWOS 1381, KT 881.
- sut* [sut] ‘intestine’; S. *sot* [Trj sōl], [=] Fi *suoli*, [=] Ko *sjū*, [=] Mr *schol*; DEWOS 1329, KT 888, UEW 483 (Kh = Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko); SSA 3 215 (< Aryan).
- sūt* [süt] ‘whetstone’; DEWOS 1384 (Kh < Ko), KT 885.
- sutńik* [sutńik] ‘onion’; DEWOS 1388, KT 883.
- Š
- šabur* [šəpər] ‘coat for everyday use [e.g. hunting]’; DEWOS 298 (Kh < Ru), KT 956.
- šad˚adem, šagadaem* [šätat-] ‘to be sorry’; DEWOS 268, KT 965.
- šam* [DN *šam*, Kr *šäm*] ‘light, candle’; S. *onk* [Trj oŋk]; Afg *sham*; *tūrum-šam* [turəm-šam] ‘wax candle in front of an icon’, *šam-xot* [šam-χot] ‘candlestick’; DEWOS 270 (Kh < Tat), KT 942.
- šatxan* [šətχan] ‘turnip’; Tat *schalgan*; DEWOS 305 (Kh < Tat), KT 964.
- šegara* [šəkarə] ‘curl’; DEWOS 249 (KoP *šekarə*), 265 (*šəkər* ‘curve, twist’).
- šegareŋ* [\*šəkarəŋ] ‘curly’; DEWOS 249.
- šemšar* [šəmšar, šəmšar] ‘a coloured duck [Mergus albellus, merganser]’; DEWOS 275, KT 949.
- šeren* [šertən, šerən] ‘bailer’; DEWOS 302, KT 958.
- šerendem* [DN *šertant-*, KoP *šerənt-*] ‘to clear grain with a bailer’; DEWOS 302, KT 959.

*šermat* [šermat] ‘headstall’; S. *sirmet* [Trj sirmät], Ko *sermäd*; DEWOS 1372 (Kh < Ko), KT 959.  
*šeška* [šiš] ‘a little bird’; [≠] Fi *sisko*; *tant-šeška* ‘sparrow’, i.e. corn bird; DEWOS 238 (Kh < MnE).  
*šudai* [šütaj] ‘partridge’; LS. *sigdei* [Trj sęyLäj], Ko *sjöla*; DEWOS 1315 (Kh < Ko), KT 964.

*šuidem* [šüj-] ‘to put in [e.g. a match into the box]’; DEWOS 244, KT 926.  
*šur* [šür] ‘bar pole, stick’; Ko *zor*; DEWOS 301 (Kh < Ko), KT 958.  
*šut* ‘edge, side’ [probably *šüt* ‘stripe, slice’]; DEWOS 268, KT 965.

## C

*cätxa, tötxa* [tatχə] ‘scythe’; DEWOS 1543 (Kh < Tat), KT 924.  
*cēdak* [Ts cētak, DN tētak] ‘a drinking dish [tub, can]’; DEWOS 1542 (Kh < Tat), KT 924.

*cēgajem* [čęyǝǝm] ‘swallow’ [? Kr *čękǝ-imǝ* ‘c-woman’]; DEWOS 1500, KT 900.

## Č

*čāget* S. [Trj čǝyǝt] ‘ruble’; DEWOS 245, KT 925.  
*čāgapterem* [čǝkǝptǝ-] ‘to strangle [to drown (tr.), to suffocate (tr.)]’; DEWOS 247 (Kh = MnE *šǝkǝp-*), KT 933.  
*čǝknem* [čǝkǝn-] ‘to get strangled [to choke (intr.), to suffocate (intr.)]’; DEWOS 247, KT 933.  
*čǝama* [čǝama] ‘right, straight, properly’; DEWOS 272, KT 944, UEW 52 (Kh = MnN *soma*, Fi).  
*čǝanč* [čǝnč] ‘knee’; DEWOS 281 (Kh = MnN *sǝns*), KT 949.  
*čǝanšpan* [čǝnč-pǝn] ‘pitch thread [twisted on the knee]’; DEWOS 282, KT 950.

*čǝawer* [čǝawǝr] ‘hare’; LS. *čǝwer* [Trj čęyǝr, J čęwǝr], US. *tǝwer* [Vart tǝyǝr]; DEWOS 264 (Kh > MnN *sǝwǝr*), KT 928 (*čęyǝr*), 980 (*tǝyǝr*).  
*čęǝmajem* [čęǝmaj-, pass.] ‘to get hot’; S. *čęǝmǝjem* [Trj čęǝmǝj-]; DEWOS 287, KT 940.  
*čęnk* [čęǝk] ‘heat, hot’; DEWOS 287, KT 940.  
*čęnč* [čęǝnč] ‘back’, *čęnč-wǝt* [čęǝnč-wǝt] ‘tail wind’; DEWOS 282, KT 950, UEW 56 (Kh = MnN *sis*, Fi ?Saa)  
*čǝimet* [čǝimǝt] ‘a little’; DEWOS 276, KT 948.

*čǝgom* [čǝǝg-] ‘to whistle’; DEWOS 253, KT 937.  
*čǝšmem* [čǝčǝm-, čǝšm-] ‘to scatter, to pour’; DEWOS 237, KT 961, UEW 60 (Kh = MnN *sǝs-*, Ud Ko Slk ?Fi).  
*čǝgadem* [čǝkǝt-] ‘to crumble’; DEWOS 258, KT 930.  
*čǝumat* [čǝumǝt] ‘the start of a building of a house; a casket built on

earth [to store things that cannot be taken home at the same time]’; DEWOS 277, KT 946.  
*čǝumdem* [čǝumǝt-] ‘to build of logs [to make a scop in timber]’; DEWOS 278, KT 947.  
*čǝužem* [čǝuč-] ‘to pass [to walk]’; frequ. *čǝužǝdem* [čǝučit-]; DEWOS 240 (Kh = MnN *sǝs-*), KT 962.

## T

*tǝbat* [tapat] ‘old, worn’; DEWOS 1460, KT 1009.  
*tǝbet* [tǝpǝt] ‘seven, week’; S. *tǝbet* [Trj lǝpǝt]; DEWOS 793, KT 1081, UEW 844 (Kh = MnN *sǝt*, Hu; < Aryan).  
*tǝda* [tǝtǝ] ‘empty’; S. *tǝdex* [Trj tǝlǝy]; DEWOS 1428 (Kh = MnN *tǝtǝl*), KT 1034.  
*tǝdem* [tǝt-] ‘to pull, to snuffle’; S. *tǝdem* [Trj tǝl- : tǝlǝm]; DEWOS 1424, KT 1037.  
*taga* [tǝǝgǝ] ‘place’; DEWOS 1408, KT 976.  
*tagamem* [tǝǝgǝmǝ-] ‘to throw’; DEWOS 1408, KT 988.  
*tagandem* [tǝǝǝnt-, tǝǝǝnt-] ‘to wrestle, to fight’; DEWOS 1408, KT 988.  
*tǝgapterem* [tǝǝǝptǝ-] ‘to make smth burst [to tear apart]’; DEWOS 1404, KT 987.

*tǝgat* [tǝǝgǝt] ‘linen [fabric woven from hemp or nettle]’; DEWOS 1422, KT 983.  
*tagdem* [tǝyǝt-] ‘to drive (steer) a horse’; KT 1048.  
*tǝgedem* [tǝyǝt-] ‘to wait, to guard’; S. *tǝgtem* [Trj lǝyǝl- : lǝyǝlǝm]; DEWOS 726, KT 1047.  
*tǝxnem* [tǝǝǝn-] ‘to burst [to tear (intr.)]’; mom. *tǝxnemem* [tǝǝǝnimǝ-]; DEWOS 1403, KT 987.  
*tǝjem* [tǝjǝm] ‘axe’; DEWOS 723, KT 1042.  
*tǝjem* [tǝj-] ‘to be [to have, to hold]’; S. *tǝjem* [Trj tǝj- : tǝjǝm]; DEWOS 1400, KT 969.  
*talai* [tǝlǝj] ‘flock of horses [or birds]’; DEWOS 1435, KT 996.  
*talažem* [Ts tǝlǝč-, Kr tǝlǝt-] ‘to steer a boat [to brake with the oars]’; DEWOS 1433, KT 999.

- tambak* [tāmpak] 'tobacco'; DEWOS 1440 (Kh < Tat), KT 1001.
- tań* [tan] 'bride gift'; S. *tan* [Trj tǎn]; DEWOS 1442, KT 1002 [cf. *tin*].
- tańam* [tǎŋ-] 'to go in, to step in'; S. *tańam* [Trj lǎŋ-]; DEWOS 773 (Kh = MnE *tuj-*), KT 1069.
- tańat* [tǎŋat] 'Irtyš'; S. *tanget* [Trj lǎŋǎl]; *tańat-jax* [tǎŋat-jax] 'the Khantys by Irtyš (say the Khantys by Ob)'; DEWOS 784 (Kh ? = MnN *tāyt* 'Sosva'), KT 1063.
- tańet* [tǎŋət] 'the one in front [front of the foot, the boot etc.]'; S. *tanjet* [Trj lǎŋǎl]; DEWOS 783, KT 1064.
- tańa* [tǎŋkǎ] 'squirrel, kopeck'; S. *tenki* [Trj lǎŋki], Turk *teiin*, MT. *tiin*; DEWOS 780 (Kh = MnN *lǎŋn*), KT 1067.
- tańam* [tǎŋx-] 'to wish, to want'; [≠] Fi *tahdon*; DEWOS 780, KT 1069.
- tanx* [taŋx] 'bristle [dorsal fin; withers of a horse or reindeer]'; DEWOS 775 (Kh = MnN *tāŋx*), KT 1064.
- tant* [tǎnt] 'corn'; DEWOS 769, KT 1076, UEW 496 (Kh = Mr Ko ?Hu).
- tapšax* [tǎpšax] 'a piece of cloth on the breast [small piece, patch; ruble]'; DEWOS 1457 (Kh < MnE *lǎpšax*), KT 1083.
- tapta* [tǎptǎ] 'a species of duck [wigeon, *Anas penelope*]'; DEWOS 794, KT 1083.
- tāpten* [tǎpət-] 'to feed'; S. *tīptem* [Trj lǎpət- : lǎiptəm]; DEWOS 715, KT 1100.
- tāra* [tǎrǎ] '[gun]powder'; Tat *tara*; DEWOS 1466 (Kh < Tat), KT 1012.
- tāram* [tarəm, tǎrəm] 'strong, solid'; S. *sara* [Trj sǎrǎ]; DEWOS 1368 (*sǎrǎ*), 1470 (*tarəm*); KT 869 (*sǎrǎ*), 1015 (*tarəm*).
- tardem* [tǎrt-] 'to cut hair, to shave'; S. *tordem* [Trj lǎört-]; DEWOS 806, KT 1092, UEW 503 (Kh = Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- tareš* [tǎrǎš] 'roof', *xōt-tareš* [xot-tǎrǎš] 'the roof of the tent [of a house]'; DEWOS 1466, KT 1022.
- taresem* [tǎrǎs-] 'to snort'; DEWOS 1469, KT 1025.
- tarŋet* [tǎrŋət, KoP tǎryət] 'lung'; S. *targat* [Trj tǎryǎt]; DEWOS 1470, KT 1023.
- tāš* [tǎš] 'things, belongings'; S. *tās* [Trj tǎs]; DEWOS 1481 (Kh < Ko), KT 1027.
- tāšaŋ* [tǎšaŋ] 'rich, who has belongings'; S. *tāsaŋ* [Trj tǎsaŋ]; DEWOS 1481, KT 1027.
- tau* [tǎw] 'horse'; LS. *taux* [lǎǎy], US. *tox* [Vart lǎǎy], [=] Hu *ló*; DEWOS 730, KT 1043, UEW 863 (Kh = MnN *luw*, Hu).
- tāwax* [tawǎx] 'cock'; DEWOS 1488 (Kh < Tat), KT 972.
- tāwen* [tǎwǎ] 'springtime' [tǎwǎn Loc. 'in the springtime']; S. *taux* [Trj tǎy], [=] Hu *tavasz*, [? =] Ko *tulys*, [≠] Slk *tagi*; DEWOS 1410, KT 971, UEW 532

- (Kh = MnN *tūja*, Fi Md Hu, ?Ud ?Ko).
- tawuš* [tǎw-üş] 'team (of horses)'; DEWOS 730.
- teagat* 'ceder[?]; bird net' [? *teχət* 'bird nest']; DEWOS 1412, KT 985.
- tēbem* [tǎp-] 'to get lost, take the wrong way'; DEWOS 1454, KT 1010, UEW 894 (Kh = MnN *tip-*, Hu).
- tēbet* [tǎpət] 'soft [sloppy, e.g. a bow]'; DEWOS 794, KT 1083.
- tēbettem* [tǎpətǎ-] 'to lead to wrong way'; DEWOS 1454, KT 1010.
- tēda* (*tēde*), *tēta* (*tēte*) [tǎtǎ] 'winter'; S. *tütex*, *tüdex* [Trj tǎlǎy], [=] Fi *talwi*, [=] Hu *tal* [tǎl], [=] Ko *töö*; DEWOS 1429, KT 1035, UEW 516 (Kh = MnN *tāl*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- tēdep* [tǎtǎp] 'moss'; DEWOS 1486, KT 1032.
- teg* [tǎy] 'tail'; S. *tex* [Trj lǎy]; DEWOS 727 (Kh = MnN *lǎy*), KT 1052.
- tāgdem* [tǎyət-] 'to fly'; S. *tēgedem* [Trj lǎyǎl-], [≠] Fi *lennän*, [≠] Sam *tijū*; DEWOS 738, KT 1059, UEW 500 (Kh = MnN *tiyl-*, Ko).
- tegetmem* [tǎyətma-] mom. 'to fly'; DEWOS 738, KT 1060.
- tēgemdem* S. [\**teyǎmt-*] 'to scratch'; DEWOS 1415 (← Castrén).
- tēges* [tekǎs] 'flat (adj.) [smooth; e.g. a path]'; DEWOS 1420, KT 982.
- tei* [tǎj] 'pus'; S. *tüi* [Trj lǎoj : lǎujǎm], [=] Slk *tē*; DEWOS 721, KT 1040, UEW 434 (Kh = MnN *saj*, Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- tei* [tǎj] 'uppermost, top, peak'; LS. *toi* [Trj tǎj] US. *tui* [Vart tǎj]; *jux-tei* [juχ-tǎj] 'treetop'; *jink-tei* [jǎŋk-tǎj] 'surface of water'; *jeaga-tei* [jeχǎ-tǎj] 'spring (of a river)'; DEWOS 1398 (Kh = MnN *talǎx*), KT 966.
- tejem* [tǎj-] 'to weave (a net)'; DEWOS 1039 (Kh = MnN *tij-*), KT 970.
- tēknem* [teknəm] 'tight, cramped'; LS. *tāknem* [Trj tǎk'nəm], US. *toknem* [V tǎynəm]; DEWOS 1406, KT 978.
- temem* [tem-] 'to strew around'; Tat *tögāmem*; DEWOS 1439, KT 1002.
- teŋer* [tǎŋkǎr] 'shoulder'; DEWOS 782, KT 1068, UEW 439 (Kh ? = Nenets)
- teŋer* [teŋkǎr] 'mouse'; DEWOS 782, KT 1068, UEW 500 (Kh = MnN *taŋkǎr*, Fi Md Ud Ko Hu).
- teŋrem* [tǎŋǎr-] 'to pinch'; DEWOS 1453 (Kh = MnN *taŋǎrt-*), KT 992.
- tera* [tǎrǎ] 'a root, which used as colourant'; DEWOS 798, KT 1088.
- teremdem* [terǎmt-] 'to unfold a skin, to make a bed'; DEWOS 803, KT 1089, UEW 497 (Kh = MnN *tāramt-*, Ko Hu).
- tereŋ* [tǎrǎŋ] 'hot [the weather in summer]'; DEWOS 1477, KT 1914.
- termadem* [termat-] 'to hurry'; caus. *termattem* [termattǎ-]; DEWOS 1474 (Kh < Ko), KT 1023.

- teštan* [teštan] 'a small whetstone'; DEWOS 809 (Kh < Ko), KT 1096.
- teštem* [tešta-] 'to tidy (up), to sort out, to clean'; DEWOS 717, KT 1096.
- tet* [tēt] 'fathom [lap]'; S. *tüt* [Trj ʌðʌ], [=] Fi *syli*, [=] Mr *schel*, [=] Hu *szál*, [=] Ko *syy*, [=] Slk *tī*; DEWOS 753, KT 1104, UEW 444 (Kh = MnN *tal*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- tēt* [tēt] 'full, low [two separate words]'; [=] Hu *tele*, [=] Ko *tyr*, [=] Fi *täysi*; DEWOS 747 (Kh *tet* 'low' = MnN *talk'a*), 1425 (Kh *tet* 'full' = MnN *tāyl*), KT 1033 (*tet* 'full'), 1103 (*tet* 'low'), UEW 518 (Kh *tet* 'full' = Mn Ud Ko Hu ?Fi ?Saa ?Mr).
- tēttem* [tettə-] 'to fill [to load (e.g. a sleigh)]'; [=] Fi *täytän*; DEWOS 748, KT 1111.
- teu* [tēw] 'lake'; LS. *toux*, US. *tox* [Trj tōy°, tōy]; cf. [=] Sam *to*, *tu*, [=] Hu *tó*; DEWOS 1406, KT 971, UEW 533 (Kh = MnN *tō*, Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- teu* [tēw] 'bone'; S. *toux* [Trj ʌðy°], [=] Fi *luu*; DEWOS 730, KT 1044, UEW 254 (Kh = MnN *luw*, Fi Md Mr Ud Ko Sam, ?Hu).
- teudem* [tewtəm] 'louse'; S. *tagutem* [Trj täy°təm], [=] Fi *täi*; DEWOS 1423, KT 974, UEW 515 (Kh = MnN *tākəm*, Fi Saa Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- tēwem* [te- : tewəm] 'to eat'; S. *tīwem* [Trj ʌi-], [=] Fi *syön*, [=] Ko *sjöja*; DEWOS 713, KT 1098, UEW 440 (Kh = MnN *tē-*, Fi Md Ud Ko Hu).
- tibe* [tipə, tēypə] 'the inside'; S. *tigbi* [Trj ʌēypɪ]; DEWOS 728, KT 1079.
- tīden* [titəŋ] 'living'; DEWOS 750, KT 1105. [cf. *tīt*].
- tiliš* [tiləš] 'moon, month'; S. *tēdes* [Trj tɪʌðs], Ko *tölys*, [=] Mr *tilze*; DEWOS 1430 (Kh < Ko), KT 998.
- tin* [tän : tinem] 'price'; DEWOS 1442 (Kh = MnN *tin*), KT 1003.
- tinda* [tinta] 'inexpensive'; DEWOS 1443, KT 1004.
- tineŋ* [tinəŋ] 'expensive'; DEWOS 1443, KT 1003.
- tinesem* [tines-] 'to trade'; DEWOS 1443, KT 1003.
- tinijem* [tinəj-] 'to sell'; DEWOS 1443, KT 1003.
- tis* [tis] 'loop, lasso'; DEWOS 808, KT 1094, UEW 239 (Kh = MnN *lēs*, Ko, ?Fi ?Saa).
- tīstem* [tištə-] 'to grieve'; Ko *tōshda*; DEWOS 1482 (Kh < Ko), KT 1028.
- tīt* [tit] 'spirit, breath [, life]'; DEWOS 749, KT 1105, UEW 247 (Kh = MnN *lil*, Fi Ud Ko Hu, ?Saa).
- tīwdem* [tiwət-] 'to go out'; S. *tīwdem* [Trj ʌiy°ət-]; DEWOS 746, KT 1047, UEW 239 (Kh = Fi Md Mr Ud Ko).
- tīwem* [tiw-] 'to be born'; DEWOS 1395 (Kh = MnN *tēl-*), KT 974.
- todek* [tātek] 'true bug'; Fi *lude*; DEWOS 812 (Kh < Ko), KT 1101, SSA 2 98 (Kh < Ko < Fi).
- toga* [toχa] '[shaft] bow [kettle handle]'; Ru *дуга*; DEWOS 1411 (Kh < Ru), KT 977.
- tōgop* [toχəp] 'fishing net (with handle)'; DEWOS 741 (Kh = MnN *tōp*), KT 1055.
- tōgos* [toχəs] 'friend, acquaintance'; [=] Mr *tos*, cf. Fi [=] *tuttu*; DEWOS 743, KT 1056.

- tōgot* [tōyət] 'feather'; [=] Hu *toll*; DEWOS 1412, KT 984, UEW 535 (Kh = MnN *towəl*, Saa Ud Ko Hu).
- tōx* [toχ] 'snow shoe [ski]'; DEWOS 730, KT 1051, UEW 450 (Kh = MnN *towt*, Fi Md Sam).
- tōxnem* [toχən-] 'to meet'; frequ. *tōxnīdem* [toχnit-]; DEWOS 740, KT 1054, UEW 845 (Kh = MnN *taχn-* Hu).
- tōxtem* [tōχət-] 'to sharpen, to chew [separate word: *toχət-*]'; S. *tōgodem* [Trj ʌðyət-, ʌðytəy-t(ə)-]; DEWOS 739 ('to chew'), 745 ('to sharpen'), KT 1057 ('to chew'), 1058 ('to sharpen'), UEW 448 (Kh *toχət-* 'to chew' = MnN *towt-*, Saa Ud Ko Sam).
- ton* [ton] 'vein'; S. *ton* [Trj ʌān], [=] Fi *suoni*, [=] Ko *sön*, [=] Sam *ti*, *tschat*, *tschen*; DEWOS 768, KT 1075, UEW 441 (Kh = MnN *tān*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).
- toń* [toń] 'flax, linen'; DEWOS 871 (Kh < Ru), KT 1077.
- tonx* [toŋχ] 'idol [, guardian spirit]'; DEWOS 777 (Kh = MnE *tow*; Kh > MnN *lōŋχ*), KT 1065.
- tonx* [toŋχ] 'hoof [the soft art in the middle of the hoof]'; DEWOS 776 (Kh = MnN *toŋχ*), KT 1066.
- top* [top] 'float of a net'; DEWOS 1455 (Kh < Ko), KT 1006.
- toppa* [tātpə] 'lead'; S. *totpa* [Trj ʌðʌpə]; DEWOS 756, KT 1109.
- tōr* [tor] 'flat area, meadow, morass [flat riverside which floods in the spring; lake]'; S. *tar* [Trj ʌār]; Ru *соръ*; DEWOS 795, KT 1084, UEW 843 (Kh = MnN *tūr*, Hu).
- tōra* [torə] 'crane'; S. *tārax* [Trj tārəy], [=] Hu *daru*, MT *turna*, *turja*; DEWOS 1467, KT 1013, UEW 513 (Kh = MnN *tāriy*, Ud Ko Hu).
- tožek* [tōček] 'wolverine'; DEWOS 716 (Kh < Ko), KT 1096.
- tōtma* [totma] 'secretly'; DEWOS 758, KT 1109.
- tōtmem* [totəm-] 'to steal'; S. *tūtmem* [Trj ʌʌʌm-]; DEWOS 757, KT 1109.
- towarem* [tāwar-] 'to unharness (a horse)'; DEWOS 1489 (Kh < Tat), KT 973.
- towottem* [tāwattə-] 'to row'; [=] Fi *soudan*; DEWOS 724, KT 1049, UEW 449 (Kh = MnN *tow-*, Fi Saa Mr Sam, ?Ko).
- tubat* [tupət] 'basket [of birch bark]'; DEWOS 1460 (Kh < Tat), KT 1009.
- tudagem* 'to pay' [cf. *tudem*].
- tudem* [tut-] 'to buy'; S. *tudem* [Trj ʌot-]; DEWOS 812, KT 1101.
- tuem* [tu-] 'to bring, to lead'; [=] Fi *tuon*; DEWOS 1395, KT 1031, UEW 529 (Kh = Fi Sam, ?MnN *tūl-*, ? Saa).
- tūgor* [tuχər] 'fir needle'; DEWOS 1419, KT 979, UEW 510 (Kh ? = Saa)
- tūgit*, *tūget* US. [Vart tōyət] 'fire'; see *tūt*; DEWOS 1420, KT 1029, UEW 895 (Kh = MnE *töäwt*, Hu).
- tui* [tūj] 'finger'; LS. *toi* [Trj ʌoj]; [=] Hu *új*; DEWOS 719, KT 1039, UEW 449 (Kh = MnN *tul'a*, Hu Sam).
- tuimem* [tujəm-] 'to get tired'; DEWOS 1402; KT 968.

- tujax* [tujəχ] ‘fish tail’; DEWOS 723, KT 1041.
- tujit* [tūjət] ‘ring in a finger’; DEWOS 720, KT 1039.
- tul* [tül] ‘stupid’; S. *tulpul* [Trj tul-pul], [≠] Fi *hullu*, [≠] Sam *salla*; DEWOS 1433, KT 995.
- tūlaš* [tubš] ‘arundo phragmites, reed’; DEWOS 1438 (Kh < Ko), KT 998.
- tuman* [*tuman*, DN *tōman*] ‘lock, latch’; Ko *toman*; DEWOS 1441 (Kh < Ko), KT 1000.
- tūmdem* [tumət-] ‘to put clothes on’; S. *tōmdem* [Trj lōmāt-], [≠] Sam *tondau*, [≠] Slk *tschondam*, *tondam*; DEWOS 762, KT 1073.
- tunda* [tuntə] ‘birch bark’; S. *tondax* [Trj tōntāy], [≠] Fi *tuohi*, MT. *tos*; DEWOS 1446 (Kh = MnN *tōnt*), KT 1005.
- tunt* [tunt] ‘goose’; S. *tont* [Trj lont], [=] Hu *lud*; DEWOS 770, KT 1077, UEW 254 (Kh = MnN *lunt*, Saa Mr).
- tun* [tōŋ] ‘summer’; S. *ton* [Trj lōŋ], [=] Fi *suvi*; DEWOS 772, KT 1062, UEW 451 (Kh = MnN *tow*, Fi Saa Sam).
- tunɟdem* [tōŋət-] ‘to read, to count’; S. *tonɟdem* [Trj lōŋət-], [? =] Fi *luen*; DEWOS 784, KT 1063, UEW 253 (Kh ? = MnN *lowint*-, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Sam).
- tunk* ‘stab?, splinter’ [? *tun*χ ‘rest of a cedar cone with no nuts in it’]; DEWOS 1451, KT 994.
- tūp* [tup] ‘rudder’; S. *tūp* [Trj lup]; DEWOS 787 (Kh = MnN *tūp*), KT 1078.
- tupas* [täpas] ‘storehouse’; DEWOS 790 (Kh < Ru), KT 1081.
- tūr* [tūr] ‘throat’; [≠] Fi *kurkku*, [=] Hu *torok*; DEWOS 1464, KT 1011, UEW 895 (Kh = MnN *tur*, Hu).
- tūrap*, *tūrup* [turəp] ‘light, sparse [e.g. net, cloth, forest]’; DEWOS 805, KT 1090.
- turt* [turt] ‘root’; LS. *tort* [Trj lōrt], US. *tor* [Vart lōr]; [≠] Fi *juuri*; DEWOS 799, KT 1086.
- tūrum*, *tūrm* [turəm] ‘God’; S. *tōrem* [Trj tōrəm]; *tūrm-xot* [turəm-χot] ‘church’; DEWOS 1472 (Kh = MnN *torəm*), KT 1015.
- tuš* [tüş] ‘beard’; DEWOS 1483, KT 1028.
- tušak* [tüšak] ‘mattress’; DEWOS 1397 (Kh < Tat), KT 1029.
- tut* [tut] ‘mouth’; S. *tut* [Trj luu], [≠] Fi *suu*, [≠] Hu *száj*; DEWOS 753, KT 1102, UEW 903 (Kh = Fi *huuli*, Saa).
- tutta* [tutta] ‘dumb’; S. *tuttax* [Trj luuəχ]; DEWOS 754, KT 1103 [caritive from *tut* ‘mouth’].
- tūt* [tüt] ‘fire’; US. *tūget* [Vart tōyət], [≠] Fi *tuli*, [≠] Mr *tol*, [=] Hu *túz*, [≠] Sam *tu*; see

*nai*. Appears in the Irtyš dialect only in compounds; e.g. *tūduš* [tüt-üč] ‘tinderbox’, [≠] Fi *tulus*; *tüt-wax* [tüt-wäχ] ‘piece of iron (in a gun)’, *tüt-keu* [tüt-kew] ‘brimstone’; DEWOS 1420, KT 1029, UEW 895 (Kh = MnE *töäwt*, Hu).

*tūtxaem* [tutəχ-] ‘to take fish from the net; to churn, to make butter’; DEWOS 756, KT 1108.

*tūtxaep* [tutχep] ‘pole, piston [used in fishing]’; DEWOS 756, KT 1108.

## T'

- tad'a* [tätə] ‘father’; LS *atī*; DEWOS 1544, KT 922.
- tagan* US. [Vart täyən] ‘fist’; see *mežek*; DEWOS 1503, KT 900.
- taxmai* [täχmaj] ‘mosquito’; see *pitŋi*; DEWOS 868, KT 903.
- tak* [tāk] ‘tip of land [tip (of grass), top (of a tree)]’; DEWOS 1495, KT 897.
- täksem* [täksə-] ‘to mock’ [‘to spit’; the German word *spotten* is used instead of *spucken* due to influence of the Swedish word *spotta* ‘to spit’]; DEWOS 865, KT 1115.
- täpaxem* [täpəj-, täpχes-] ‘to whisper’; S. *təpaxam* [Trj lōpəy-], augm. *täpaxesem* [täpχes-]; DEWOS 874, KT 1112.
- täpaxas* [Ts täpχəš, DT täpχəš] ‘loop which is used to catch ermine’; DEWOS 1528 (KhS < Tat), KT 915.

- tāras* S. [Trj tārās] ‘sea’; see *sōret*; DEWOS 1538, KT 872.
- tawdem* [täwət-] ‘to quarrel [to mock]’; DEWOS 869, KT 1112.
- teger* [tēyər] ‘ungenerous’; DEWOS 1505, KT 902.
- tēle* [tēlə] ‘thin [liquid, watery, weak (food: e.g. porridge)]’; DEWOS 1512, KT 907.
- tēlem*, *kelem* [tēl-] ‘to weep’; [≠] Fi *kiljun*; DEWOS 1509, KT 909.
- tēnek*, *tēnak*, *kēnak* [tēnək] ‘wart’; DEWOS 1520, KT 911.
- tōdem* [tōt-], *tōndem* [tōnt-] ‘to stand [tōt-]; [tōnt- to put up, to set up, to erect]’; S. *tūdēm* [Trj läl- : läləm], [=] Fi *seison*, [≠] Ko *sutala*; DEWOS 759 (*tōt*-), 771 (*tōnt*-), KT 1118; UEW 431 (Kh = MnN *tūñs*-, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko *siž*-).
- tont* [tōnt] ‘snow’; LS. *tant* [Trj lānt], [≠] Fi *lumi*; DEWOS 871, KT 1117.

*tōḡatēm* [tōḡaxaj-] ‘to burn’; DEWOS 1523.  
*tōr* [tōr] ‘round whetstone’; DEWOS 1532 (Kh < Tat), KT 915.  
*tūl* [tūl] ‘button’; DEWOS 1510, KT 907.  
*tūnem* [tūn-] ‘to jump’; DEWOS 1520, KT 912.

*tūrum* [tūrəm] ‘striped squirrel [KoP] [; ermine; weasel; marten]’; DEWOS 1537, KT 917.  
*tūtī* S. [Trj tūtī] ‘woman’s breast’; see *esem*; DEWOS 1544, KT 922.

## T

*tankem* S. [? Trj lāḡk-] ‘to pity’; see *šad’adem*; DEWOS 769, 780 (translation error instead of Trj lāḡk- ‘to wish, to want’) [cf. *taḡam*].  
*tapestem* S. [Trj lāḡpaxatə-] ‘to lie, to betray’; see *ottadem*; DEWOS 788, KT 1083.  
*taugaštem* S. [Trj lāḡʔasax-] ‘to hit’; see *jāwetmem*; DEWOS 743, KT 1056.

*tegedem* S. [Trj lexaxax-] ‘to look’; see *ēttidem*; DEWOS 726, KT 1057.  
*tegettem* S. [Trj lexaxatə-] ‘to show’; see *ētteptem*; DEWOS 726, KT 1057.  
*tiken* US. [ɔ: <tiker> V likər] ‘sleigh’; see *ōgot*; DEWOS 742, KT 1055.

## U

*ūdap* [utəp] ‘(sleeping) tent; linen tent as shield against mosquitos’; S. *ōdap* [Trj ōlāp]; DEWOS 84, KT 121.  
*ūdem* [ut-] ‘to live, to be’; S. *wādem* [Trj wāx-], [≠] Fi. *elän*, [= Fi] *olen*; DEWOS 1577; KT 127, UEW 580 (= Fi Md Mr Ud Ko Mn Hu).

*ūdem* [ut-] ‘to swim’; [=] Fi *uin*, [=] Saa *wuoiġjam*, [=] Ko *uia*, [=] Hu *úsz*; DEWOS 222, KT 96, UEW 542 (Kh = MnN *uj-*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu Sam).  
*ūges* [ükəs] ‘ox’; Turk *ögüz*, [≠] Ko *ös*; DEWOS 48 (Kh < Tat).  
*ūx* (*ux*) [uχ] ‘head’; US. *ōx* (*ox*), LS. *oux* [Trj oɣ°, oɣ : uɣəm]; DEWOS 30, KT 21.

*uiden* [utəŋ] ‘wide’; DEWOS 207, KT 101.  
*uigit* ‘style, manner’; Tat *ui* [not in modern dictionaries].  
*ujem* [uj-] ‘to see, to know’; [≠] Mr *uzam*, [≠] Ko *adzja*; cf. [≠] Fi *katson*; KT 268.  
*umbā* [umpə] ‘ladle’; see *kowel*; DEWOS 97, KT 50, UEW 7 (Kh = MnN *ūmpi* ‘ladle’, Fi Md).  
*unč* [unč] ‘Salmo Nelma’; DEWOS 111, KT 54.  
*unža* [unčə] ‘pine’; S. *onžex* [ōnčəχ]; DEWOS 113, KT 55.  
*unt* [unt] ‘ground, forest, hill’; S. *wont* [Trj wōnt]; DEWOS 1600, KT 55.  
*unttājem* [unttaj-, pass.] ‘to learn’; DEWOS 125, KT 62.

*unttem* [unttə-] ‘to teach’; S. *onttem* [Trj ōnātə-]; DEWOS 125, KT 62.  
*ūp* [up] ‘father-in-law’; S. *ōp* [Trj up], [=] Saa *wuopp*, [=] Fi *appi*, [=] Hu *ip*, *ipa*, [≠] *após*; *ūp-iga* [up-ikə] ‘father-in-law’, *ūp-īma* [up-īmə] ‘mother-in-law’; DEWOS 145, KT 65, UEW 14 (Kh = MnN *up*, Fi Saa Mr Hu).  
*urmā* [ürma] ‘mitten’; DEWOS 171 (Kh < Tat), KT 81.  
*urdesem* [urtes-] ‘order, call’; DEWOS 180, KT 84.  
*ūs, ūč* [üč] ‘cloth [thing, belonging(s), tool, device]’; DEWOS 8, KT 98.  
*ūt* [ut] ‘berry (blueberry; lingonberry)’; S. *ūt* (Vart *ua*), Ko *votys* ‘berry’; DEWOS 64, KT 272.

## W

*wad’a, waġa* [wāte] ‘twisted’, *wadāsēm* [wāte-sem(əp)] ‘cross-eyed’; DEWOS 1650, KT 254.  
*wāgam* [waχ-] ‘to ask, to call’ S. *wūgem* [Trj wāy- : wuyəm], [≠] Fi *waadin*; DEWOS 1566 (Kh = MnN *wōw-*), KT 216.  
*wāgat* [woχət] ‘thin’; S. *wōgot* [Trj wōy’āx]; DEWOS 1575 (Kh = MnE *wowtə*), KT 214.

*wāx* (*wax*) [wāχ] ‘1. (any) metal 2. gold 3. kopeck [money]’; DEWOS 1567, KT 208, UEW 560 (Kh = MnN *-wəs*, Fi Saa Ud Ko Hu Sam ?Mr).  
*waxsar* [wāχsar] ‘fox’; S. *wokai* [Trj wōki]; DEWOS 1573 (Kh = MnN *oχsar*), KT 212, 215.  
*wai* [wāj] ‘shaft’; DEWOS 1559 (Kh = MnN *wāj*), KT 203.

- wajen* [wājən] ‘with a shaft’; e.g. *wajen kēže* [wājən kečə] ‘a knife with a handle’; DEWOS 1560, KT 203.
- wan* [wän] ‘short’; DEWOS 1595, KT 225.
- wān* [won] ‘shoulder’; see *tejer*; DEWOS 1594 (Kh = MnN *wā-ŋən*), KT 226.
- wandat* [wāntat] ‘splinter’; S. *wandat* [Trj wāntaɫ]; DEWOS 1601, KT 229.
- wānder* [wāntər] ‘utter’; DEWOS 1602 (Kh = MnN *wōntər*), KT 229.
- wanoxtep* [wän-oxtəp] ‘a little short’ [cf. *wän*].
- wanx* [wonχ] ‘pit, pothole’; DEWOS 1610 (Kh = MnN *wōŋχa*), KT 218.
- wāñem* [wāñəm] ‘face’; DEWOS 1604, KT 230.
- war* [wār] ‘wall in a salmon trap [fishing dam]’; DEWOS 1613 (Kh = MnW *wēri*), KT 232.
- warem* S. [Trj wār-] ‘to cook [= *wer*-to do, to make]’; see *madem*; DEWOS 1614, KT 235.
- wāres* [wārəs] ‘hair of a horse, tail’; DEWOS 1625, KT 238.
- warŋai* [wārŋaj] ‘crow’; S. *urŋi* [Trj urŋi], [=] Hu *varju*, [=] Fi *wares*; DEWOS 173, KT 242, UEW 559 (Kh = MnN *ūrin-ēk’a*, Fi Saa Md Hu Sam).
- wāsa* [wāsə] ‘duck’; S. *wāsex* [Trj wāsəχ]; *wāsa-ñot* [wāsə-ñöt] ‘a blunt arrow’; [≠] Fi *wasama*; DEWOS 1636, KT 249, UEW 552 (Kh = MnN *wās*, Est Ko Hu, ?Saa ?Ud).
- wasta* [wästə] ‘green’; [≠] Ko *wesh*; DEWOS 1637, KT 252.
- wattap* [wättəp] ‘peeler’; S. *wattap* [Trj wältəp]; DEWOS 1585, KT 276.
- wattem* [wättə-] ‘to peel, to scrape, to shave’; S. *wattem* [Trj wält-]; DEWOS 1585, KT 276, UEW 579 (Kh = MnN *wolt-*, Fi Saa Ud Ko).
- wat* [wät] ‘narrow, thin’; DEWOS 1605 (Kh = MnN *iś*), KT 252.
- weda, weta* [wētə, wätə] ‘reindeer’; S. *weda, weti* [Trj wälɪ]; DEWOS 1583, KT 272, UEW 563 (Kh = Ud Ko, ?Saa ?Md ?Mr).
- wedem* [wet-] ‘to catch [to kill]’; S. *wedem* [Trj wäl- : wäləm], [≠] Fi *pyydän*; DEWOS 1580; KT 275, UEW 566 (Kh = MnN *al-*, Ud Ko Hu).
- wēdem* [wētəm] ‘bone marrow’; S. *wedem* [Trj wäləm], [=] Fi *ydin*, [=] Hu *welö*, [=] Ko *wem* ‘brain’; DEWOS 1584, KT 274, UEW 572 (Kh = MnN *wäləm*, Fi Saa Md Mr Hu).
- weg* [weγ] ‘strength’; S. *wok* [Trj wōγ], [=] Fi *wäki*; DEWOS 1571, KT 211, UEW 563 (Kh = MnN *wāγ*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko, ?Sam).
- wegen* [weγəŋ] ‘strong’; S. *wokŋ* [Trj wōγəŋ]; DEWOS 1571, KT 211.
- wejem* [wěj-] ‘to take’; [=] Fi *wien*, [=] Hu *wesz*; DEWOS 1549, KT 268, UEW 573 (Kh = MnN *wi-*, Fi Saa Md Ud Ko Hu).

- wēle* [welə] ‘alone, living without a partner’; S. *wellex* [Trj wäləγ]; *xui-wēle* [χuj-welə, welə-χuj] ‘widower’; *neŋ-wēle* [neŋ-welə, welə-neŋ] ‘widow’; DEWOS 1587 (Kh = MnN *wolk-*), KT 222.
- wenep* [wēnəp] ‘hook and line’; [≠] Fi *onki*; DEWOS 1599 (Kh = MnE *wōänəp*), KT 227.
- weneptem* [wēnəptə-] ‘to fish (with hook and line)’; DEWOS 1599, KT 227.
- wenŋ* [weŋ] ‘son-in-law’; S. *woŋ* [Trj wōŋ], [=] Fi *wāwy*, [=] Hu *wö*; DEWOS 1607, KT 217, UEW 565 (Kh = Fi Md Mr Hu Sam).
- wer* [wēr] ‘blood’; [=] Fi *weri*, [=] Saa *var*, [=] Ko *wir*, [=] Mr *wir*, [=] Hu *wér*; DEWOS 1617, KT 236, UEW 576 (Kh = MnN *wiyr*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- wēr* (*wer*) [wer] ‘deed, action’; DEWOS 1613 (Kh = MnN *wār-*; < *ieur*), KT 234.
- wērde* [wértə] ‘red’; DEWOS 1618 (s.v. *wēr*), KT 244.
- werdoxtep* [wért-oxtəp] ‘reddish’; DEWOS 1618 (*wértə-čək*).
- wērem, werem* [wer-] ‘to do, to make’; [≠] Fi *pyrin*, [≠] Saa *paerngam*; DEWOS 1614, KT 235.
- wes* [wēs] ‘hole’; DEWOS 1632 (Kh = MnN *as*), KT 247.
- wesenŋ* [wēsəŋ] ‘with holes’; DEWOS 1633, KT 248.
- weskar* [wēs-kär] ‘itch [skin disease]’; DEWOS 1633, KT 248.
- westem* [wěstə-] ‘to make holes’; DEWOS 1633, KT 248.
- wigai* [wikaj] ‘overcoat’; DEWOS 1572, KT 213.
- wigem* [wěγ-] ‘to scream’; DEWOS 1570, KT 217.
- wiŋidem* [wiŋkit-] ‘to stutter [to get stuck]’; DEWOS 1608.
- wiš* [wič] ‘border’; [≠] Fi *mesa* [unknown Finnish word!]; DEWOS 1555, KT 260.
- witax* [witəχ] ‘dirt’; DEWOS 1650 (Kh = MnN *woślaχ*), KT 255.
- witxadem* [\*witχət-] ‘to make dirty’.
- wōdenŋ* [wotəŋ] ‘windy’; DEWOS 1639, KT 264.
- woi* S. [Trj wōj, DN wāj, Kr ūj] ‘tallow, fat’; [=] Fi *woi*, [=] Hu *vaj*, see *saxse*; DEWOS 1560, KT 6, UEW 578 (Kh = MnN *wōj*, Fi Saa Md Mr Ud Ko Hu).
- woidem* [woit-] ‘to pick berries’; DEWOS 1604, KT 232.
- woidep* [woitəp] ‘berry basket’; DEWOS 1604, KT 232.
- wōje* [wojə] ‘animal’; S. *wājax* [Trj wājəγ]; *jem-wōje* [jēm-wojə] ‘bear’, see *jig*; *jink-wōje* [jēŋk-wojə] ‘beaver’, see *max*; *ēne-wōje* [enə-wojə] ‘elk’, see *nox*; *pulax-woje* ‘fly’; *rēp-wōje* [rep-wojə] [“strand swallow”]; DEWOS 1562 (Kh = MnN *ūj*), KT 204.
- woš, woč, wač* [woš, woč] ‘fort, town’; [≠ ??] Ko *wodzj* ‘in front’, [≠] Fi *esi*; DEWOS 1522, KT 259, UEW 577 (Kh = MnN *ūs*, Saa Md Ko Sam, ?Fi).
- wōt* [wot] ‘wind, weather’; S. *wāt* [Trj wāt]; DEWOS 1638 (Kh = MnN *wōt*), KT 263.

### Abbreviations

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<b>Abl.</b> = Ablative <b>ABL</b> = Ablative <b>Acc.</b> = Accusative <b>ACC</b> = Accusative <b>Adv</b> = Adverbial <b>Afg.</b> = Afghan <b>Ber</b> = Berëzov (dialect of Khanty) <b>C</b> = Consonant <b>CAR</b> = Caritive <b>Cher.</b> = Cheremis (Mari) <b>CL</b> = Clitic <b>CNJ</b> = Conjunction <b>Dat.</b> = Dative <b>DAT</b> = Dative <b>DN</b> = Northern Demjanka (dialect of Khanty) <b>DT</b> = Demjanka (dialect of Khanty), informant Tajlakov <b>Du</b> = Dual <b>DU</b> = Dual <b>Ešt</b> = Estonian <b>Fi</b> = Finnish <b>Fi.</b> = Finnish <b>Finn.</b> = Finnish <b>frequ.</b> = Frequentative <b>fut.</b> = Future (present) tense <b>G</b> = Genitive (Possessor) <b>Hu.</b> = Hungarian	<b>IMP</b> = Imperative <b>IMPF</b> = Imperfect (tense) <b>INF</b> = Infinitive <b>Instr.</b> = Instructive(-final) <b>INSTR</b> = Instructive-final <b>Iran</b> = Iranian <b>Irt</b> = Irtyš (dialect(s) of Khanty) <b>Kaz</b> = Kazym (dialect of Khanty) <b>Kh</b> = Khanty <b>Ko</b> = Konda (dialect of Khanty, in the grammar) <b>Ko</b> = Komi (in the word list = Zr.) <b>KO</b> = Upper Konda (dialect of Khanty) <b>Kr</b> = Krasnojarsk (dialect of Khanty) <b>Lapp.</b> = Lappish (Saami) <b>Likr</b> = Likrisovskoje (dialect of Khanty) <b>Loc.</b> = Locative <b>LOC</b> = Locative <b>LS.</b> = The dialect on the lower side of Surgut <b>Md</b> = Mordvin <b>Mn</b> = Mansi <b>MnE</b> = Eastern Mansi <b>MnN</b> = Northern Mansi <b>mom.</b> = Momentaneous <b>Mr</b> = Mari <b>M.T.</b> = Turkish or Tartar in Minušinsk <b>N</b> = Northern
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<b>N</b> = Noun <b>NEG</b> = Negative <b>Nen</b> = Nenets <b>Ni</b> = Nizjam (dialect of Khanty) <b>O</b> = Obdorsk (dialect of Khanty) <b>O</b> = Object <b>Obd.</b> = Obdorsk (dialect of Khanty) <b>OPT</b> = Optative <b>O.Sam.</b> = Ostyak-Samoyedic (Selkup) <b>PASS</b> = Passive <b>PFU</b> = Proto-Finno-Ugric <b>Pl.</b> = Plural <b>PL</b> = Plural <b>Plur.</b> = Plural <b>Pret.</b> = Preterite <b>PRS</b> = Present (tense) <b>PRTC</b> = Participle <b>PTCL</b> = Particle <b>PU</b> = Proto-Uralic <b>PUgric</b> = Proto-Ugric <b>PX</b> = Possessive suffix <b>R.</b> = Russian <b>Ru.</b> = Russian <b>S</b> = Subject <b>S.</b> = The dialect of Surgut <b>Saa</b> = Saami <b>Sal</b> = Salym (dialect of Khanty)	<b>Sam</b> = Samoyedic (mainly Nenets) <b>Sav</b> = Savodnija (dialect of Khanty) <b>Šer</b> = Šerkaly (dialect of Khanty) <b>Sg.</b> = Singular <b>SG</b> = Singular <b>Sing.</b> = Singular <b>Slk</b> = Selkup <b>So</b> = Sosva (dialect of Mansi) <b>Sur</b> = Surgut (dialect(s) of Khanty) <b>Sur.</b> = The dialect of Surgut <b>Surg.</b> = The dialect of Surgut <b>Syn</b> = Synja (dialect of Khanty) <b>Tat</b> = Tartar <b>Tra</b> = Tromagan (dialect of Khanty) <b>Trj</b> = Tremjugan (dialect of Khanty) <b>Ts</b> = Cingala (dialect of Khanty) <b>Tu.</b> = Turkic (Turkish) <b>Turk.</b> = Turkish <b>Ud</b> = Udmurt <b>US.</b> = The dialect on the upper side of Surgut <b>V</b> = Vach (dialect of Khanty) <b>V</b> = Verb <b>Vart</b> = Vartovskoje (dialect of Khanty) <b>Vj</b> = Vasjugan (dialect of Khanty) <b>VVj</b> = Vach and Vasjugan (dialects of Khanty) <b>Zr.</b> = Zyrian (Komi)
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# M.A. Castrén's Journeys

- Route of 1838
- Route of 1839
- Route of 1841-44
- Route of 1845-49
- ✦ (Other) major cities and settlements in their region

