

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 Finnish¹ 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 36th² 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 Surgut³; 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-Ugrian proto-language would have moved eastwards and merged with some aboriginal peoples of Siberia.

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about 700 Voguls of male sex, in the Government of Tobol'sk, the number of Voguls increases to 5025 [according to Köppenⁱ 5235] and of Ostyaks to 18,657 (according to Köppen 18,840) individuals of both sexes⁴. 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 Ugría⁵, 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

i. the total population in Russia in 1838.

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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 centuries⁶. 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 outsideⁱ. However, we can see in the Ugric languages and in Hungarian many root words⁷ and even some grammatical elements⁸, 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 knownⁱⁱ Ostyak languageⁱⁱⁱ.

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, Klapproth 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 (*-n \ddot{a}), 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

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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 etymology⁹ is mainly based on the dialect spoken in the Irtyš area¹⁰. In addition to this, there are still two main dialects spoken by the river Ob': the dialect of Surgut¹¹ on the upper and the dialect of Obdorsk¹² 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:

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

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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 ¹³
Cher.	—	Cheremis ¹⁴
Zr.	—	Zyrian ¹⁵
Hu.	—	Hungarian
Sam.	—	Samoyedic ¹⁶
O.Sam.	—	Ostyak-Samoyedic ¹⁷
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 tense¹⁸ and the preterite with the German infinitive¹⁹; 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

have the greatest number of native speakers today.

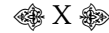
13. = Saami
14. = Mari
15. = Komi
16. mainly = Nenets
17. = Selkup
18. Castrén calls the Khanty non-past tense the future. It also has the function of the present.
19. The preterite or past tense in Khanty is the unmarked tense in the southern dialects and thus a kind of basic form, hence the translation 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 <ɬ>, an unvoiced lateral /ʌ/ 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, <ɬ> 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, ḍ, "d, f, g, g̣, # x, j, k, ḳ, l, ḷ, m, n, ñ, ṇ̃, p, r, s, ṣ, c, c̣, z, ẓ, t, ṭ, ṭ̣*.

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 used²⁰:

Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u, ü, ö*

Consonants: *b, d, d', d'', g, g', x, j, k, k', l, l',*

m, n, η, n', p, r, s, š, c, č, ž, ž', t, t', t', w

§ 2 There are also long vowels²¹ in Ostyak, which we mark with a horizontal line above them: *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, ũ, ȫ*.

§ 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*²². Sometimes the short *e* also appears as the latter part of a diphthong, as does *a*, but more rarely²³. 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 *ö* is seldom heard²⁴, and *ü* is in all the dialects a sound which is rare and changes easily to a Russian *ы*. The

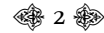
the modern way of thinking (see also § 6). The description in the manuscript is the following: “Ostyak has a double system of vowels, in which the first is characterized by a wide and open, the second by a dark, closed and narrower sound. Based on their pronunciation, the vowels can be divided into open ones, which are *a, e, i, o, u, y, ā, ö* and closed ones, to which belong *â, ê, î, û*. 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 Khan-ty 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 rare²⁵ and in many areas *ǵ* and *k* are replaced by *d'* and *t'*.²⁶

§ 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.

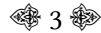
B. Pronunciation of the sounds

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 vague²⁷. Especially the vowel in short final syllables is very indefinable and unsure. In case of following a syllable with a long vowel²⁸, 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’²⁹.

§ 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’³⁰. 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 rules³¹ as *o*; e.g. *pās* ‘gloves’³², *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’.³³

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 dialects³⁴; e.g. *jīrnas*, *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*³⁵. 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*, *üdim* ‘(to) heat’, *tēda*, *tüdex* ‘winter’, *tet*, *düd* ‘fathom’. This change occurs especially after *j* and *g*³⁶.

§ 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 *и*; e.g. *jig* ‘father’,

nance 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: *ōpī* ‘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’, *pos*, *pos* ‘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.
31. i.e. the paradigmatic vowel alternation
32. The word is in the singular; Castrén’s translation in plural, probably because of the plural (dual) character of the word.
33. In the Surgut dialects (in nominal paradigms), *ā* and *o* alternate with *u*, whereas *ä* and *e* alternate with *i* (Honti 1984: 32).
34. Phonematically, this is /*a*/ in non-initial syllables.
35. The long, i.e. full vowels *e* and *i* are both counterparts to the short, i.e. reduced *ě*.
36. /*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 *tělby* < **tälwä*).

37. At least in these examples, the vowel is reduced. In the northern dialects, these words contain an *ĩ*, 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 *ũ* (stem alternation: South, Surgut [ʔ] *jě-* ~ *jűw-*, North *jĩ-* ~ *jűw-*). The modification here is thus not the full vowel *i* but a reduced *ě*.
38. mscr. *kul'*
39. There are both full (*unč, tüş, püt, süit*) and reduced vowels (*kül, könč, tőŋ, sőŋ, köj, kőr, kőt*) in these examples. In the words for ‘stone’ and ‘lake’, it is the word-final *w* (*kew, tějw*). 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 syllables³⁷.

§ 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. *kul*³⁸ ‘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’.³⁹

§ 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, lək* ‘track’, *lünkim, liŋkem* ‘cover’⁴⁰. 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.⁴¹

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 π 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, lipping nuance can sometimes be heard; e.g. in *suŋ* ‘corner’, *sēwes* ‘rear of the boat’⁴². 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’.

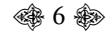
§ 14 The smooth consonants b , d are seldom pronounced as weakly as the German b , d , but with harder sounds pronounced between b , d and p , t , as also attested in Lappish, Samoyedic and many Tartar languages⁴³. The case with g is partly the same; it should be noted, however, that this character covers two different modifications that diverge significantly according to their pronunciation and their variations⁴⁴.

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 ξ in Turkish, ᠬ in Mongolian and g in Lappish; e.g. *tōghos* (*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’, *ńōghrem*, *ńōxrem* ‘carve’, *jig*, *jix* ‘father’⁴⁵.

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’⁴⁶. 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/*, */jěɣ/*, */měɣ/*, */pěɣ/*, */těɣ/*, */ańaya/*, */ńoyram/*
46. phonematically */meyət/*, */ujyət/*, */peɣəttəm/*, */joyatəm/*, */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. $ku\lambda$, Mansi North $x\ddot{u}l$.
48. This should be $k\ddot{u}tem /ku\lambda\ddot{a}m/$.
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.



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 $ق$. The former appears especially in front of light vowels, the latter in front of hard vowels⁴⁷. In Irtyš, the aspirated k changes often into x ; e.g. $xan\check{z}em$, Surgut $kan\check{z}em$ ‘write’, $x\ddot{u}dem$, S. $k\ddot{u}dem$ ⁴⁸ ‘hear’. The Surgut dialects do not accept word-initial x , but always use the aspirated k instead.

§ 16 With x ⁴⁹ 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 sound⁵⁰. 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 $hvem$, $hvad$)⁵¹; 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. $w\bar{e}dem$ or $wu\bar{e}dem$ ‘bone marrow’, $w\bar{e}da$ or $wu\bar{e}da$ ‘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’.⁵² 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. $\bar{a}d\grave{a}\eta$ or $ad\grave{a}\eta$ ($adhlan$)



‘morning’, *kat* or *katl* (*kathl*) ‘day’⁵³. Sounds related to these also occur in the Finnish and Lappish languages⁵⁴.

§ 19 The letters š, c, č, ʒ and ž all mark sibilants and they are pronounced in the following way:

š	like	sch	Russian	ш
c		ts		ц
č		tsch		ч
ʒ		ds		дж
ž		dsch		дж

§ 20 With *ŋ*⁵⁵ we mark a nasal, which is written in German with *ng*; e.g. *wen* (*weng*) ‘son-in-law’, *sun* (*sung*) ‘corner’, *ōnet* ‘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: *ḍ, ḍ̣, ġ, k, ḷ, ḷ̣, ṭ, ṭ̣*. They are pronounced almost like *dj, dj, gj, kj, lj, nj, tj* and *ṭ̣̣*⁵⁶.

C. Alternations of sounds

a) Alternations of vowels

§ 22 In Finnish and other related languages, the vowels are separated into three classes: hard or *maiores* (*a, o, u*), smooth or *minores* (*ä, ö, ü*) 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 vowels⁵⁷ 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 /*aɬəŋ*/ and /*kätəɬ*/. In Castrén’s notes, there is thus no difference between the word-final sequences *-ɬ* and *-təɬ*.

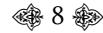
54. *ɬ* is a phoneme in Moksha Mordvin. In the Saami languages, there are unvoiced variants of laterals and nasals followed by stops due to preaspiration of the stops. Additionally, *ɬ* is a phoneme in Forest Nenets, which is spoken in the neighbourhood of the Surgut Khanty dialects.

55. in the manuscript *ng* (Swedish version), *ñ* (German version)

56. There are three palatalized phonemes in the Surgut dialects (/ *ṇ* /, / *ṭ* / and / *ɬ̣* /), two in the south (/ *ṇ* / and / *ṭ* /) and three in the north (O) (/ *ḷ* /, / *ṇ* / and / *ṭ* /). Out of the sounds presented here, *ḍ, ġ* and *ḳ* are allophones of / *ṭ* / and *ḍ̣* is an allophone of *ṭ̣* = / *ɬ̣* /. Cf. also note 26.

57. This refers to the suffixal vowels.

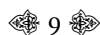
58. There is still vowel harmony in part of the Surgut dialects (Trj) as well as in the easternmost dialects (VVj). In these dialects, the schwa (ə), the most common suffixal vowel, also has two variants, one more front and one more back. The vowel harmony is inherited from Proto-Khanty (Steinitz 1950, 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) /â/, /ə/.



§ 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 importance⁵⁸. However, they are obeyed in the sense that e.g. hard and smooth vowels never appear together in the same diphthong⁵⁹. The root words also thoroughly avoid this kind of mixture, cf. e.g. *koñar* and *köner* 'arm'⁶⁰, *pāgart* and *pōgert* 'timber', *šudai* and *šigdei*⁶¹ 'partridge'⁶². 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* ‘vil-
lage’, *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*, *čīgit* ‘tin-
der’. These rules, which in many Tartar languages are obeyed much more extensively, permit many excep-
tions in Ostyak.⁶³

§ 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’⁶⁴.

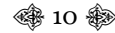
§ 27 Cases in which the vowel harmony affects in the way that the stem vowel alternates according to the following vowel are very rare. This kind of change occurs occasionally, when the stem is split and loses its stress due to division or in compound words; e.g. *xui* or *xaját* ‘man’, *xōt* ‘tent’,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

§ 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 stem⁶⁶. 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. /y/ 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’ /*sūyām*/ would be expected to have a similar pronunciation (*sūyūm*).
65. This, too, is essentially assimilation. In the case of /*χāt-χār*/, the full vowel (in /*χət*/) 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. = $n\bar{a}\eta k : ni\eta kam$ (with η)
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. $\bar{a}mp : impem$, $t\bar{a}s : tistem$, $w\bar{a}s\bar{a}y : wisyam$ ($wisy\bar{a}m$).
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:

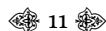
1. o and the deep a into u ; e.g. $p\bar{o}m$ 'grass', $p\bar{u}mem$ 'my grass', $\bar{o}\eta k$ 'resin', $\bar{u}\eta kam$ 'my resin', $s\bar{o}m$ 'scale (of fish)', $s\bar{u}mem$ 'my scale'; $\bar{a}t$ 'year', $\bar{u}tem$ 'my year', $s\bar{a}rt$ 'pike', $s\bar{u}rtem$ 'my pike', $m\bar{o}nt'$, $m\bar{a}nt'$ 'story', $m\bar{u}ntem$ '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 $\bar{u}go\bar{d}em$. In general, both the imperative and the past participle behave like the past tense⁶⁷; 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{u} ⁶⁸; e.g. $\bar{j}\bar{a}nttem$ 'I sew', past $\bar{j}\bar{u}ndem$, imperat. $\bar{j}\bar{u}nde$ ($\bar{j}\bar{u}nde$, $\bar{j}\bar{u}nde$); $\bar{a}rettem$ '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'; $n\bar{a}nk$ ⁶⁹ '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'⁷⁰; $n\bar{e}wer$ 'lather', $n\bar{i}urem$ 'my lather'; $\bar{l}\bar{e}k$ 'track', $\bar{l}ikam$ 'my track'; $\bar{a}demdem$ 'I lift', past $\bar{i}tmem$; $\bar{j}\bar{e}nt' em$ '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'; $k\bar{o}\bar{n}$ 'arctic fox', $k\bar{u}\bar{n}em$ 'my arctic fox'⁷¹.

N.B. As far as I know, a similar vowel alternation also occurs in the Irtyš dialects, exceptionally in derived words; e.g. $namas$ 'sense', $namasem$ or $numem$ '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 way⁷².

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



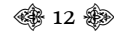
unstable and subject to change. We do not wish to show all changes of this kind, but only to provide some of the most important ones. When doing so, we refer mostly to the Irtyš dialects.

1. When the stem-final vowel is *a*, it is replaced in inflexion by a short *e*; e.g. *īma* ‘mother’, loc. *īmena*⁷³; *āda* ‘sleep!’, past *ādem*⁷⁴.
2. When *a* follows the aspirated consonants *x*, *g*, *k*, it remains unchanged; e.g. *ańaxa* ‘stepmother’, dat. *ańaxaja*; *toga* ‘bow’, dat. *togaja*, 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. *kara* ‘field’, *karit* ‘their field’; *ātńam* ‘I sleep’, 3rd person past *ātńit*⁷⁵. This vowel alternation also sometimes occurs in the Irtyš dialects; e.g. *kādn* (*kat*) ‘two’, *kīmet* ‘second’; *mā* ‘I’, dual *mīn*, etc.⁷⁶
5. In all dialects *e* often changes into *i*; e.g. *panem* ‘I have put’, 3rd person pl *panit*⁷⁷; *īmet* ‘mothers’, *īmidam* ‘my mothers’⁷⁸. 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. *kilsi* ‘barbel (fish)’, *kilsem*, *kilsen* ‘my, your barbel’.
7. Between two vowels, *i* and *u* change into *j* and *w*; e.g. *ai* ‘happiness’, *ajań* ‘happy’, *keu* ‘stone’, *kewen* ‘stony’⁷⁹.

§ 31 The short *a* is often subject to elision, especially in cases where two similar vowels meet in in compounds of two separate words; e.g. *ańańa* instead of *ańa-ańa* ‘grandmother’. The same happens to both vowels mentioned in front of many formative elements; e.g. *nowa* ‘white’, *nowoxtep* ‘whitish’, *werde* ‘red’, *werdoxtep* ‘reddish’⁸⁰. 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 *ātńit* /aʎńiʎ/, the occurrence of <n> instead of <ń> 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 *imi* (*imə*) is ‘(old) woman’; another word of the same flexion type is *ewə* ‘girl, daughter’: (Kr. KO) *ewem* ‘my daughter’, *ewenətam* ‘my two daughters’, *ewitam* ‘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 *kew* ‘stone’ in many related languages also show the consonant, e.g. Fi. *kivi* ‘stone’.
80. These words for weak colours are also compounds: the latter part *-oxtep* (*-oxtəp*) is an adjectival derivative of the word *oxət* ‘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'.

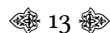
§ 32 There is also a particular type of elision in the middle of the word that is very influential and extensive. This elision has the following rule: in the middle of the word, any short vowel⁸¹ can disappear when there is a long vowel in the preceding syllable if the two consonants beside them can 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'⁸²; *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'.⁸³

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

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 *xūlchat*) 'ravens'⁸⁵.

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*); *mōgoŋ*, Surg. *mōkŋ* ‘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:

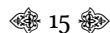
1. *a, e*; e.g. LS.⁸⁶ *kera* ‘sterlet (fish)’, LS. *kari*; *es-tem* ‘let, release’, US. *astem*; *kawa* ‘hammer’, LS. *kewi*; *eder* ‘clear’, S. *ater*, *kerap* ‘vehicle’, S. *kerep*; *jirnas* ‘shirt’, S. *jernes*; *šermat* ‘headstall’, S. *širmet*⁸⁷
2. *ā, ē*; e.g. *ājem* ‘glue’, S. *ējem*; *ēbet* ‘smell’, S. *āpet*; *čawer* ‘hare’, US. *tēwer*; *pāgart* ‘timber’, LS. *pēwert*.
3. *a, i*; e.g. *opa* ‘elder sister’, S. *opi*; *aŋa* ‘mother’, S. *aŋki*; *lūla* ‘a seabird’, S. *lūli*; *īma* ‘woman’, S. *īmi*.
4. *ā, ī*; e.g. *jāndem*, *jēndem* ‘drink’, S. *jīndem*; *tāsem* ‘my things’, S. *tīsem*⁸⁸.
5. *a, o*; e.g. *jaradem* ‘forget’, S. *jordem*; *adaša* ‘stallion’, S. *odoša*; *aidem* ‘find’, S. *ojodem*; *kowa* ‘cuckoo’, LS. *kawi*.
6. *ā, ō*; e.g. *ōŋet* ‘horn’, S. *āŋet*; *ōŋdep* ‘gaff, spear’, S. *āŋdep*; *mōrom* ‘fold’, S. *māram*; *sōm* ‘fish flake’, S. *sām*; *sōjem* ‘mountain brook’, S. *sājem*; *sōrt* ‘pike’, S. *sārt*; *ōš* ‘sheep’, S. *āč*⁸⁹.
7. *a, u*; e.g. *warŋai* ‘crow’, S. *urŋi*.
8. *ā, ū*; e.g. *sūpos* ‘knitting needle’, US. *sāwas*; *āxtem* ‘vomit’, S. *ūgodem*.
9. *a, ü*; e.g. *aŋasem* ‘take off one’s shoes’, S. *ūŋacem*.
10. *a, ai*; e.g. *joura* ‘slanted’, S. *jourai*; *ŋatxa* ‘spruce’, S. *ŋatxai*; *aŋaxa* ‘stepmother’, S. *anjakai*⁹⁰
11. *ai, oi*; e.g. *poi* ‘aspen’, S. *pai*; *poidek* ‘willow grouse’, S. *paitek*; *moitet* ‘soap’, S. *maitek*⁹¹.
12. *āu, īu*; e.g. *nāurem*, *nīurem* ‘jump’⁹².

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 \ddot{o} , $\ddot{\alpha}$ (cf. nr. 17).
94. In the latter vowel, the labialization is a feature in the consonant, the Surgut (Trj, Tra) phoneme η° : 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 y° phoneme: (Irtyš (Kr.) *kew* vs. Surgut (Tra) *käy^\circ*; 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^\circ*: actually *nëw* ~ *nöy^\circ*, *tëw* ~ *löy^\circ*.
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 *jitäm* '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'; *jimas* 'shirt', S. *jernes*; *pete* 'bottom, ground', S. *pite*.
14. \bar{e} , \bar{i} ; e.g. *nëbek* 'paper', S. *nïpek*; *tiliš* 'moon, month', S. *tëdes*.
15. *e, o*; e.g. *ket* 'word', S. *kot*; *weŋ* 'son-in-law', S. *woŋ*; *kergem* 'fall (down)', S. *korgem*⁹³.
16. \bar{e} , \bar{u} ; e.g. *ëne*, *üna* 'big'.
17. *e, ö*: e.g. *pem* 'sauna steam', S. *pöm*; *keŋer* 'arm', US. *köŋer*.
18. \bar{e} , *ei*; e.g. *ëssig*, *eissig* 'old man', *ët*, *eit* 'item'; *ëdem* 'leave (behind)', S. *eidem*.
19. \bar{e} , *eu*; e.g. *jëŋet* 'spinning wheel', S. *jeuŋet*⁹⁴
20. \bar{e} , *au*; e.g. *mëget* '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. *kaux*; *naurem* 'young'⁹⁵, S. *neurem*⁹⁶.
24. *eu, ou*; e.g. *neu* 'branch, twig', LS. *noux*; *teu* 'bone', S. *toux*⁹⁷.
25. *i, u*; e.g. *jiwem*, *juwem* 'come'⁹⁸; *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*; *jeteryai* 'capercaillie', S. *jeteryi*; *kuŋnai* 'elbow', S. *kunxŋi*⁹⁹.
29. *o, u*; e.g. *tuy* '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*; *ömsem* 'sit', S. *ümsem*; *pūden* 'nettle', S. *pōden*.



31. *o, ö*; e.g. *końar, keńer* ‘arm’, US. *kõner*.
32. *ō, õ*; e.g. *kōr* ‘oven’, S. *kōr; koń, kōn* ‘arctic fox’.
33. *o, ō, oi*; e.g. *nōgo* ‘flesh, meat’, S. *nōgoi; ōđa, oid’a* ‘sour’.
34. *o, ou*; e.g. *nox* (US.), *noux* (LS.) ‘twig’; *ńox* ‘moose’, LS. *ńoux; tox* (US.) ‘lake’, *toux* (LS.)¹⁰⁰.
35. *ō, 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, k, p, t, t, t, c, š, c, č*.
- B) Smooth: *g, ğ, ŋ, b, d, d, d, ʒ, ž*.
- C) Light: *j, l, l, m, n, n, r, w*.

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

§ 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 positions¹⁰². However, the vowel consonants *j* and *w* change into *i* and *u* in word-final position, and word-initially they are very common¹⁰³.

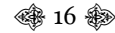
N.B. 1. Among the smooth consonants, *ŋ* and the aspirated *g* can occur in word-final position, although the latter changes easily to *x*; e.g. *jig, jix* ‘father’; *meg, mex* ‘clay, land’, *mag, max* ‘honey’¹⁰⁴.

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’¹⁰⁵.

§ 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°*. However, the rounded consonants *k°*, *y°* and *ŋ°* 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, n, 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 /aλλəm/. In the latter example, the first variant *maxta* [mäχtə] is from Irtyš and the latter *magdi* [Trj mäγλi] from Surgut.
107. Consonant!
108. There is no rule or tendency in the distribution of /k/ and /y/ 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* — *jeñftəm* ‘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)



in word-final position. In the Irtyš dialects, only *ŋ* and *g* appear often in syllable-final position; e.g. *jigden* ‘stepfather’, *megden* ‘*cyprinus dobula* (dace)’, *megder* ‘angleworm’, *oŋdep* ‘gaff, spear’, *jēndem* ‘spin’, whereas in the Surgut dialects, other consonants can also appear, e.g. *üddim* ‘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’¹⁰⁶. 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 vowel¹⁰⁷ follows a long syllable and a hard one a short syllable; e.g. *jukan* ‘lot (fate)’; *jōgot* ‘bow’.¹⁰⁸

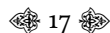
§ 39 According to the sound harmonic rules in Ostyak presented in §§ 36–38, the consonants are either hardened or smoothened. The smoothening occurs especially when a flexion ending is added, in compounds, in the frequent cases with additional vowels, etc.; e.g. *kerap* ‘vehicle’, pl. *kerabet*; *pēlak* ‘half’, *pēlget*; *xōdoxta* instead of *xōtoxta* ‘roof’; *āxtem* or *ūgodem* ‘vomit’¹⁰⁹. 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*)¹¹⁰, *tūbat* ‘basket’, pl. *tuptet* (instead of *tūbadet*); *jōxtem* (instead of *jōgodem*) ‘go in’; *ōmattem* (instead of *ōmaddem*) ‘I (will) sit’¹¹¹; *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. *līptet*.

d — *t*; e.g. *jādam* ‘seine net’, pl. *jātmet*.

č — *t*; e.g. *nāčdem* ‘tongue’, pl. *nātmet*.



d' and *t*; e.g. *jēndem* 'drink', fut. *jēnttem*¹¹².

d' – *t*; e.g. *siḏa* or *siṭa* 'gunpowder'¹¹³.

g – *k*, *x*; e.g. *jigem* 'set (a bow, a trap)'; fut.

jiktem; *ṅagam* 'laugh', fut. *ṅāxtam*¹¹⁴.

ǵ – *k*; e.g. *senk* 'bast', *senǵem* 'my bast'.

η – *nk*, *nx*; e.g. *seṅem* 'hit', fut. *senktem*;

jāṅam 'walk', fut. *jānxtam*¹¹⁵.

(*ʒ* – *c*)

ž – *č*, *š*; e.g. *ūš* or *ūč* 'cloth', *ūžem* 'my cloth',

mungolžem 'I bound', 1. prs. Pl.¹¹⁶

mungolšmen.

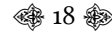
N.B. The hard *s* has no smooth counterpart in the language and thus cannot occur together with a smooth consonant.

§ 41 A sequential rule after those concerning smoothing 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 *η* or *t*. We have observed the following combinations of two consonants: *lt*, *lʔ*, *mt*, *nt*, *nt*, *nt*, *nt*, *rt*, *ts*, *st*, *tt*, *lš*, *nš*, *nč*, *nk*, *nk*, *nx*, *tn*, *dn*, *mp*, *kη*, *rm*, *rn*, *rx*; e.g. *peltčēm* 'I exchange', *polʔ* 'tallow', *teremttem* 'I spread (out)', *tunt* 'goose', *mōnt* 'story', *kunt* 'sunrise, sunset', *sārt* 'pike', *sast* 'lizard'¹¹⁷, *āmest* 'he sits'¹¹⁸, *ōtt* 'they sleep', *nōgolšmen* gerund of *nōgolžem* 'stake, support'¹¹⁹, *čānšpan* 'pitch thread', *čānč* 'knee', *jānk* 'nail', *senk* 'bast', *ōṅx* 'resin'¹²⁰, *itn* 'evening', *kādn* 'two'¹²¹, *āmp* 'dog'¹²², *wokη* 'strong', *tūrm* 'God', *ārndeŋ* 'guilty', *ūrx*, *erx* 'excessive'¹²³.

§ 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 /*ɣ*/ is represented by its voiceless allophone followed by a voiceless stop (backward assimilation).
115. In these cases, both the combinations *ηk* and *ηx* have been sporadically simplified between vowels. This does not normally happen in Khanty dialects. The normalized verbs are *seŋk-* and *jāŋx-*, 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. *ʌ* 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 phonemic 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* : *jankem*, etc.
121. *itən* 'in the morning', *kātən* 'the two of yours', cf. note 105.
122. Cf. 120 above, often *ap* : *ampem* 'my dogs', *apɣən* 'two dogs' but *ampət* '(many) dogs'.
123. actually: (S.) *wōŋ^oəŋ*, *turəm*, *ārəntəŋ*, *ōrəɣ*

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*; *īwe(t) / iwə, 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 *mā*, 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 /kātλγ ku/ (*kāt* 'arm, hand', -λγ is the caritive suffix); certainly an assimilation or elision takes place when *γ* and *k* meet at a word boundary; one would rather expect {kātλk ku}.
129. The dual suffix is /-γən/; in the northern and part of the southern (Kr.) dialects, /-ηən/.



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* 'we¹²⁴ 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'; *ūš* instead of *uč* 'cloth'; *woš* instead of *woč* 'town'¹²⁵.

§ 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. *ńamlet* instead of *ńamplet*, pl. of *ńambal* '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. *ammoz* instead of *amp-moz* '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'¹²⁶; *rīte* instead of *rīten* 'your boat'¹²⁷; *kotta ku* instead of *kottax ku* 'man without a hand'¹²⁸. The elision of *x* also sometimes occurs in the middle of a word; e.g. *lenkep* 'split', dual *lenkepan* instead of *lenkepxan*¹²⁹. 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. *īmiden* 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

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', *īndep* or *jīndep* 'needle'¹³⁰.

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'¹³¹. The Irtyš dialect often uses *j* and this is why *i* is written after the vowel; e.g. *joura* or *jourai*, S. *jagrax* 'slanted'¹³².

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', *ńatxaja* or *ńatxaga* instead of *ńatxa'a*, dative of *ńatxa* 'pine', *tēwem* instead of *tē'em* 'eat'¹³³. This addition of *j*, *g* often occurs when the two vowels are exactly the same and especially when the first one is long.

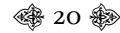
b) In the Surgut dialects, *g* can sometimes also be added between a vowel and a consonant; e.g. *jaran*, S. *jargan* 'Samoyed', *sēwem*, S. *sēwgem* 'braid, weave', *šudai*, S. *šigdei* 'partridge', *keredem*, S. *kirigdem* 'return'¹³⁴.

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'¹³⁵.

§ 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 *īndep*.
131. In three of these examples, it is a question of the correspondence of South -*w* vs. Surgut -*γ*^o (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-* ~ *liy^o-* 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 Λ , 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 $-\gamma\partial n$ and the one for dual possessed is $-\gamma\partial\Lambda$ - with the original dual marker $-\gamma$ - and $-\Lambda$ 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* (*kotteŋ*) ‘swan’; *kēne*, S. *kānnex* (*kannex*) ‘easy, light’, *ējem*, S. *ēijem* instead of *ējjem* (*ejjem*) ‘glue’.¹³⁶ 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’¹³⁷.
- b) *tt* (*t + t*) becomes *tʹ* (*t + t*) and *ńt* becomes *ńtʹ*; e.g. *jēndʹjem* ‘drink’¹³⁸, fut. *jēntʹtem* instead of *jēnttem*¹³⁹.
- c) Similarly, *čt* (*č + t*) becomes *tč* (*t + č*); e.g. *pelžem* ‘exchange’, fut. *peltčem* 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. *riřxān* ‘two boats’, *riřxadām* (actually *riřxāt-am*) ‘my two boats’¹⁴⁰.
- f) *t* alternates with *s*; e.g. *ēbet* ‘smell’, *ēpsendem* (instead of *ēptendem*) ‘to smell’, *fiřsir* instead of *fiřsir* ‘that kind of’¹⁴¹.

§ 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 duplicated¹⁴²; 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’¹⁴³; *semm* ‘eye’¹⁴⁴, *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, d, d', d', g, g', η, ʒ, ʒ'* alternate with the strong consonants *p, t, t, t', t', k, x, k, nk, nx, c, č*; e.g. *libet*, S. *lipet* ‘leaf’; *jipex, jiwex*, Irt. *jiba* ‘owl’; *ēndep, ēntep* ‘belt’; *kada, kata* ‘dew’; *kud'ar, ku'ar* ‘ermine’; *sida, sita* ‘gunpowder’; *argem, arkem* ‘sing’; *magdi, maxta* ‘white’; *nōrgem, nōxrem* ‘cut, curve’; *saŋa, sanki* ‘clear’; *muŋolžem, munxlodem* ‘bound’; *kēže, kāčex* ‘knife’¹⁴⁵.

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. *ate* ‘lid’¹⁴⁶.

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. *narša*, S. *narše* ‘willow’.

c) *š* with *č*; e.g. *aš, ač* ‘chalk’; *woš, woč* ‘town’, *uš, uč* ‘cloth’.

d) *c* with *t*; e.g. *jirca, jirča* ‘brother-in-law’; *cātxa, fōtxa* ‘scythe’¹⁴⁷.

e) *č* with *t*; e.g. *čēwer, tēwer* ‘hare’¹⁴⁸.

E) The following gutturals alternate:

a) *g* with *w* and *u*; e.g. *kowa*, S. *kogi* ‘cuckoo’; *joura*, S. *jograx*¹⁴⁹ ‘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).

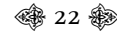
146. The unvoiced (medial) laterals are suddenly called “aspirated”; these are the ones that originate from **l*, which in its turn has become *t* in the South, cf. 143 above.

147. rather: *č* with *t*; *jirča* vs. *jirča*; *fātχə*

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'¹⁵⁰; *mūrax*, S. *mōrak* 'cloudberry'; *añaxa*, S. *añakai* 'stepmother'¹⁵¹.
- c) *g* with *ŋ*; e.g. *pegai*, S. *peŋai* 'the left (one)'; *targat*, S. *tarŋet* 'lung'.
- d) *k* (*x*) with *nk*; e.g. *kōlak* (*xūlax*), *kōlank* 'raven'; *mēllek*, *mēllenk* 'warm'.
- e) *g*, *k* with *d*, *t*; e.g. *nīngem*, *nīndem* 'take a rest'; *kenak*, *tenak* 'wart'¹⁵².
- F) The following liquid consonants alternate sometimes:
- a) *l* with *d*; e.g. *tilis*, S. *tēdes* 'moon, month'¹⁵³.
- b) *n* with *ŋ*; e.g. *xansa*, S. *xaŋsa* '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 phenomena¹⁵⁴, 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.¹⁵⁵
- 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’.¹⁵⁶

§ 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 position¹⁵⁷.

b) If a long vowel is followed by two consonants, it very often loses its length in pronunciation¹⁵⁸; e.g. *jāstem* or *jastem* ‘say’, Finn. *haastan*¹⁵⁹; *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’¹⁶⁰.

d) The long vowel in monosyllabic words is in most cases pronounced short; e.g. *ār* or *ar* ‘big’, *kēt*, *ket* ‘hand’¹⁶¹.

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 /ʎ/, 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, Cast-rén 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 adjectives¹⁶². Both classes of nouns take the same suffixes for cases and numbers; neither of them shows genus, which is expressed¹⁶³ 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 semantical 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'¹⁶⁴).

§ 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 words¹⁶⁵; 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 euphony¹⁶⁶ 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’¹⁶⁷. In some words, also *k* as *η* seems to be added on the basis of euphony; e.g. *pēlek* ‘half’, Sam. *pele*, Finn. *puoli*¹⁶⁸; *neη* or *ne* ‘woman’¹⁶⁹, etc.

§ 56 Some nominal endings, which in most cases are used to form derivatives, can be mentioned here¹⁷⁰:

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’)¹⁷¹.

B. *-eη* (*-aη*, *-oη*) is also a common ending in nouns and adjectives; e.g. *ādeη* ‘morning’, *jasēη* ‘speech’, *ajaη* ‘happy’, *namsēη* ‘clever, wise’¹⁷². The possessive adjectives, too, are always built with this suffix; e.g. *keweη* ‘stony’ (from *keu* ‘stone’), *mēgerēη* ‘winged’ (from *mērek* ‘wing’), *tāšaη* ‘rich, someone who has things’ from *tāš* ‘thing(s)’, *pūmaη* ‘grass-grown’, *pūnaη* ‘hairy’, etc.

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

D. The diminutive forms from adjectives are in most cases built with *-oxtep*¹⁷³; 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...

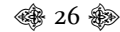
[This historical comment seems to have been considered superfluous in the translation phase. It is also a very Finnish-based assumption. The current view of the original Proto-Uralic/Finno-Ugric stems is, indeed, that they were vowel-final and consisted of two syllables, but what comes to Castrén’s point 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*, *η* or *γ*, 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; *jasēη* /*jäsəη*/ ‘speech’ cf. *jäst-* ‘say, speak’, *ajaη* /*ōjəη*/ ‘happy, lucky’ cf. *ōj* ‘luck’, *namsēη* /*nāmsəη*, *nōmsəη*/ ‘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'¹⁷⁴.

F. *-xa, -ka, -ga* appear mostly in loan words; e.g. *añaxa* or *añaka* 'stepmother', *ñatxa* 'spruce', *cātxa* 'scythe', *sulaiika* '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 plural¹⁷⁵. 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*)¹⁷⁶, which correspond to the Lappish *ga* and *ka* and the Samoyed *ha*¹⁷⁷. The plural takes in most cases the suffix *et* (*et*), which also appears in Finnish and in many other related languages¹⁷⁸.

§ 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 are¹⁷⁹:

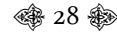
1. *gan* (*gen*), when the stem ends with a vowel or a smooth consonant; e.g. *kara* ‘bottom, ground’, dual *karagan*, *iki*¹⁸⁰ ‘old man’, dual *ikigen*.
2. *xan* (*xen*), when the stem-final consonant is hard; e.g. *wont* ‘mountain’, dual *wontxan*, *rīt* ‘boat’, dual *rīt xen*.
3. *kan* (*ken*) after 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*¹⁸¹.

The plural suffixes are:

1. *-et*, Surg. *-et*¹⁸², 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*, *-yən̄*.
176. The vowel alternations (also in the examples at the end of this page) represent the two different variants of the Surgut schwa (*ə*, *ə̄*), 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* : *ikiyən*).
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 *ɬ* is the representative of PU, PFU lateral **l* (and **s*). What grounds this lateral interpretation in plural has, is completely unknown.

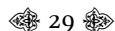
183. not “next” (“in der nächsten Silbe”) as in the original
184. The Surgut dialects have three plural suffix allomorphs: *at/āt* after a consonant stem, *t* after a stem ending in full vowel (e.g. *imi* ‘woman’, pl. *imit*) and *-at* following a stem that ends with a reduced vowel. The Surgut suffixes 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 preceding¹⁸³ 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*.¹⁸⁴
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 accusative¹⁸⁵. 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 verb¹⁸⁶; e.g. *Oluga tau wāresīwet pan werōt* ‘Olaus (ex) equi capillo chordam fecit; Oluga made a string out of the horse’s mane’¹⁸⁷. 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. *jiŋa* ‘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'¹⁸⁸, *rīda weret* 'made a boat (out of it)'¹⁸⁹, *mant wāgat jepana* 'they called me John (Jepan)'¹⁹⁰, *jīna menōt* '(he) went to bring some water'¹⁹¹. This suffix can be compared to the illative suffix *ä* in Zyrian¹⁹², *he* (*hen*) in Finnish, *ga* (*ge*) in Tartar, etc.

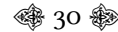
§ 63 The locative is built using the suffix *na* (*ne*); e.g. *pēteḡna* or *pēteḡne* 'in the clouds', *xōtna* 'in the hut'. In nouns ending in a vowel, the *a* is often dropped off; e.g. *ńatxana* or *ńatxan* 'in the silver fir'. This suffix is used to express the inessive, and sometimes also the adessive; e.g. *jinkna* or *jinkne* 'in the water'; *tagana* or *tagan* 'in¹⁹³ 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'¹⁹⁴, *xuina* (instr.) *tagāmai* 'thrown by the man'¹⁹⁵, *imena* (poss.) *ūdet* 'lives with the woman'¹⁹⁶; *ruńna wāx tājem* 'by the Russian is (the Russian has) money'¹⁹⁷. The suffix of the Ostyak locative also appears in the Finnish, Lappish, Zyrian, Samoyedic and many other related languages¹⁹⁸. 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*, *ī¹⁹⁹*; e.g. *xonīwet* (*xonēwet*) S. *kaneux*, *kani* 'from the tsar'; *īmīwet* (*īmēwet*), S. *īmijiux*, *īmiji* '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*)²⁰⁰;

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. *jīḡk* 'water'-DAT *mēn-* 'go'-PAST.3SG
192. This is a correct comparison (the Komi illative suffix is *-ö* (*-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. *ruń* 'Russian'-LOC *wāχ* '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^o* (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 (Liimola 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. *ewəlt* 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*²⁰¹.

§ 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’²⁰². The comitative is also expressed with the same suffix; e.g. *īmeat* or *īmejat* ‘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 E²⁰³.

§ 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. *toudax* ‘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.²⁰⁴

§ 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*²⁰⁵; 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 nouns²⁰⁶. 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 suffixes²⁰⁷.

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

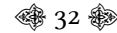
- a) Nouns ending in a short vowel behave in their alternations in the following way:
1. In the Irtyš dialect, *a* changes into *e* in all cases and numbers with the exception of the ablative and occasionally the caritive (paradigm 1²⁰⁸)²⁰⁹.
 2. All nouns ending in *ga, xa, ka* preserve the final vowel 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 consonants²¹⁰, but the hiatus is averted with the addition of *g*. Cf. § 71.
 3. In the Irtyš dialect, *a* and *e*²¹¹ 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): *ūrma* ‘mit-ten’: *ūrmajiwət*.

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>Handeà</i> or <i>-èja</i>	<i>Handeda</i>
Locat.	<i>Handèna</i> (<i>na</i>)	<i>Handetna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Handiwet</i>	<i>Handediwet</i>
Instruct.	<i>Handeàt</i> or <i>ejat</i>	<i>Handedat</i>
Carit.	<i>Handeda</i> or <i>ida</i>	<i>Handetta</i>



- 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*²¹².
5. All the other vowels²¹³, 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 vowel²¹⁴, 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)²¹⁵. 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.

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 rules²¹⁶.

§ 70 In accordance with the description above, the nouns in the Irtyš dialect are declined in the following way²¹⁷:

 1.²¹⁸

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

 1) *xandeja*

 2) *xandēwet*

 3) *xandejat*

 4) *xandīda*

 1) *xandedēwet*

 2.²¹⁹

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

 1) *urmāja*

 2) *urmān*

 3) *urmājīwet,*
urmāiwet,
urmāewet

 4) *urmājat*

 5) *urmāgīda*

 1) *urmājet, urmaet, urmait*

 2) *urmājeda, urmaeda,*
urmaidā

 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>jiwēt</i>	<i>Njatxaedīwèt</i> or <i>aidīwèt</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* cloud

4. *Keráp* vehicle like in the translation)

5.

Nominat.	<i>Hât</i> <i>Hât</i> tent	<i>Hâdêt</i> or <i>Hâdat</i> -at
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Hât</i>	<i>Hâdêt</i> or <i>Hâdat</i>
Dat.	<i>Hâda</i>	<i>Hâdêda</i> or <i>ada</i>
Locat.	<i>Hâtna</i>	<i>Hâdêtna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Hâdīwet</i>	<i>Hâdêdīwet</i>
Instruct.	<i>Hâdat</i>	<i>Hâdêdat</i>
Carit.	<i>Hâtta</i>	(<i>Hâdêtta</i>)

6.

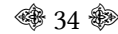
Nominat.	<i>Jux</i> <i>Poraxh</i> entrails	<i>Poragàt</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Porax</i>	<i>Poragat</i>
Dat.	<i>Poraga</i>	<i>Poragada</i>
Locat.	<i>Poraxna</i>	<i>Poragatna</i>
Ablat.	<i>Poragīwet</i>	<i>Poraga(x)īwet</i>
Instruct.	<i>Poragat</i>	<i>Poragadat</i>
Carit.	<i>Poraxta</i>	(<i>Poragatta</i>)

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

3.²²⁰

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>kerapîwet</i>	Ablative	<i>kerabediwet</i>
Instructive	<i>kerabat</i>	Instructive	<i>kerabedat</i>
Caritive	<i>kerapta</i>		

4.²²¹

Singular		Plural	
Stem	<i>pēteŋ</i> cloud	Stem	<i>pētŋet</i>
Dative	<i>pēteŋa</i> ¹⁾	Dative	<i>pētŋeda</i>
Locative	<i>pēteŋna</i>	Locative	<i>pētŋetna</i>
Ablative	<i>pēteŋîwet</i>	Ablative	<i>pētŋediwet</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^{222 223}:

Singular			
	Stem	<i>kara</i> bottom	
	Dative	<i>karaga</i>	
	Locative	<i>karana</i>	
	Ablative	<i>karaeux</i> ¹⁾	
	Instructive	<i>karanat</i>	
	Caritive	<i>karadax</i>	
	1) <i>karagiux, karagi</i>		
Dual		Plural	
Stem	<i>karagan</i>	Stem	<i>karagat</i> ¹⁾
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> ²²⁴	

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’.²²⁵

§ 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 it²²⁶; 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, táx, čikka* (‘very’)²²⁷ 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>
	<i>Rit</i>	<i>Ritxen</i>	<i>Ridet</i>
Genit.-Acc.	<i>Wont</i>	<i>Wontxan</i>	<i>Wondat</i>
Dat.	<i>Wonda</i>	<i>Wontxana</i>	<i>Wondada</i>
	<i>Ridä</i>	<i>Ritxenä</i>	
Locat.	<i>Wontna</i>	<i>Wont-</i>	<i>Won-</i>
	<i>Ritnä/Ridi</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>Won-</i>
	<i>Ritnät</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>Wasxetna</i>
		<i>kanna</i>	
Ablat.	<i>Wasegi</i>	<i>Wasekkani</i>	<i>Wasxedi</i>
		(<i>neux</i>)	(<i>deux</i>)
Instr.	<i>Wasexnat</i>	<i>Wasek-</i>	<i>Wasxetnat</i>
		<i>kannat</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 *kiñfä*; e.g. Kr. *tāw wātənə kēnča kēreš* ‘the horse is bigger than the reindeer’, Trj. *wāli lāk° kiñfä nāyāli* ‘the reindeer is smaller (lower) than the horse’ (Honti 1984: 66). There is also a suffix *-ätte-* in the south: C *māättem 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*, *ńěta*, *wet*, *χot*, *täpət*, *ńita*, *är-jon*, *jon*, *ěj-χaf-jon*, *kät-χaf-jon*, *χutəm-χaf-jon*, *ńěta-χaf-jon*, *wet-χaf-jon*, *χot-χaf-jon*, *täpət-χaf-jon*, *ńit-χus*, *är-χus*, *χus*, *χus-ěj(ət)*, *χus-kätən*, *χutəm-jon*, *ńěta-jon*, *wet-jon*, *χut-jon*, *täpət-jon*, *ńit-sot*, *är-sot*, *sot*, *kět-sot*, *χutəm-sot*, *ńěta-sot*, *wet-sot*, *χot-sot*, *täpət-sot*, *ńita-sot*, *är-jon-sot*, *farəs*, *jon-farəs* (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 *kätγən*.
230. in Surgut (Trj) *kolām*, O *χuləm*
231. Trj *ńěла*, O *ńil*
232. Trj *ńиләγ*, O *ńijəl*
233. Trj *ir-jen*²; the word that is given here for ‘nine’ is in fact ‘11’, Trj *jen*^o-*örakk-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 *är* is not the same word as *ar*, *är* ‘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 *örakk(a)*, VVj *ėrk(i)* is used in all numerals from eleven to seventeen in the eastern dialects.

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- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>it</i> (<i>i, ja</i>), Surg. <i>ei, ij</i> . ²²⁸ | 18. <i>nīt xūs</i> . |
| 2. <i>kāden, kādn, kätn, kät</i> , Surg. <i>kāt, kätxen</i> . ²²⁹ | 19. <i>ār xūs</i> . |
| 3. <i>xūdem</i> , Surg. <i>kūdem, kōdem</i> , Obd. <i>xōdem</i> . ²³⁰ | 20. <i>xūs</i> , Surg. <i>kōs</i> . |
| 4. <i>ńeda</i> (<i>nieda</i>), <i>ńeta, ńet</i> , Surg. <i>ńeda, ńeta</i> , Obd. <i>ńel</i> . ²³¹ | 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, nīt</i> , Surg. <i>ńigedax</i> , Obd. <i>ńil</i> . ²³² | 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> . ²³³ | 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>nīt jon</i> . |
| 12. <i>kāt xat j</i> . | 90. <i>ār söt</i> . |
| 13. <i>xūdem xat j</i> . | 100. <i>söt</i> , Surg. <i>sāt</i> . |
| 14. <i>ńeda xat j</i> . | 200. <i>kāt söt</i> . |
| 15. <i>wēt xat j</i> . | 300. <i>xūdem söt</i> . |
| 16. <i>xūt xat j</i> . | 400. <i>ńeda söt</i> . |
| 17. <i>tābet xat j</i> . | 500. <i>wēt söt</i> . |
| | 600. <i>xūt söt</i> . |
| | 700. <i>tābēt söt</i> . |
| | 800. <i>nīt söt</i> . |
| | 900. <i>ār söt</i> . |
| | 1000. <i>farəs</i> , Surg. <i>fores</i> . |
| | 10.000. <i>jon farəs</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 vowel²³⁴. *ār jaŋ* ‘nine’ in Irtyš means in fact ‘big ten’²³⁵; 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’.²³⁶ *jon, jeuŋ* ‘ten’, Turkish *un*, Samoyed *jū* (*jung*), Zyrian *jam*²³⁷ is also called *čam jon* ‘straight ten’.

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2. The cardinal numerals from eleven to seventeen are built with the word *xat*, which we consider to be identical to *kāt* (*kat*) ‘two’²³⁸. According to this, the literal meaning of *ja xat joŋ* ‘eleven’, *kat xat joŋ* ‘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 *kyzj. sōt*, Surg. *sāt* appears in many related and other languages. *nīt 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 superlative²³⁹. The ten first ordinal numerals in Ostyak are:

1. *ōdeŋ*, S. *ādeŋ*, *āteŋ*.²⁴⁰
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 *-t̃*, whilst ‘two’ does not. The vowel in ‘two’ is also palatal, whilst in *χāť*, 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 *-mät* 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) *āΛəŋ* 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 $*\delta$, which in Khanty, as a matter of fact, has the same representation as l (South $\langle d \rangle / t/$, Surgut $\langle d \rangle / \Lambda/$). The etymological counterpart of the Finnish word is Khanty (Trj) $i\Lambda$ ‘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’, *jōkan* ‘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* ($\langle *tinä \rangle$) ‘thou’, *te* ‘you’, Northern Saami *don* ‘thou’, dual *doai* ‘you’, pl. *dij* ‘you’).

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7. *tābetmet*, S. *tābetmet*.
8. *nīdamet*, S. *nīgedaxmet*.
9. *ār joŋmet* (*jaŋmet*), LS. *ūrjx 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’²⁴¹. *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’, *xūdat* ‘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’, *kūtmetxa* ‘third time’. As an exception, *ādeŋna* (locative of *ādeŋ*) is used to express ‘the first time’²⁴².

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

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.

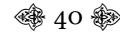
§ 80 The personal pronouns in Ostyak are nearly the only ones that somewhat differ from the general declension model. Even in the Irtyš dialects, they, unlike nouns, have three numbers, of which the dual and the plural are formed in a quite specific way.²⁴⁴ Among the regular cases, the personal pronoun lacks the caritive whilst the accusative with *t* is very common²⁴⁵. 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 suffixes²⁴⁶, which are not attached to the stem but, against the common rules, to the case suffixes²⁴⁷.

§ 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 way²⁴⁸:

	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> ²⁴⁹	<i>mīnademenat</i> ²⁵⁰	<i>meŋadewat</i> ²⁵¹

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, Mīn, 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*, *mānā, mānāttēm, mānatemat*).
250. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *min, minat, minemān, minnā, mināttēmān, minatēmānat*.
251. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *mōŋ, mōŋat, mōŋew, mōŋnā, mōŋāttew, mōŋatewat*. The final *-m* instead of *-w* in the ablative might be a typographical error.

252. Modern forms in DN (Hon-ti 1984: 146) *nõη, nõηat, nõηen, nõηna, nõηätten, nõηatenat*.
253. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *nin, ninat, ninesən, ninnə, ninättesən, ninatesən*. In Ko and Kr, the expected *-t-* appears instead of the somewhat surprising *-s-*.
254. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *něη, něηat, něηesən, něηna, něηättesən, něηättesən* (in Ko and Kr *něηatetən*at; see also note 253).
255. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *těw, tětawat, tětwet, tětwnə, tětättet, tětawatet*.
256. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *tin, tinat, tinesən, tinnə, tinattesən, tinätesən*at (see also note 253).
257. Modern forms in DN (ibid.) *těj, tětjat, tětjet, tětjna, tětjättet, tětjatet*.
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”.



2.

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
Stem	<i>nej</i> ‘thou’	<i>nīn</i>	<i>neη</i>
Acc.	<i>neηat</i>	<i>nīnat (nīnet)</i>	<i>neηat</i>
Dat.	<i>neηen</i>	<i>nīneden</i>	<i>neηeda</i>
Loc.	<i>neηna</i>	<i>nīnna</i>	<i>neηa</i>
Abl.	<i>neηatten</i>	<i>nīnatteden</i>	<i>neηatteden</i>
Instr.	<i>neηadenat</i> ²⁵²	<i>nīnadedenat</i> ²⁵³	<i>neηadedenat</i> ²⁵⁴

3.

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
Stem	<i>teu</i> ‘you’	<i>tīn</i>	<i>teg</i>
Acc.	<i>tewat</i>	<i>tīnat</i>	<i>tegat</i>
Dat.	<i>tewet</i>	<i>tīneden</i>	<i>teget</i>
Loc.	<i>teuna</i>	<i>tīnna</i>	<i>teгна</i>
Abl.	<i>tewattet</i>	<i>tīnatteden</i>	<i>teгattet</i>
Instr.	<i>tewadedat</i> ²⁵⁵	<i>tīnadedenat</i> ²⁵⁶	<i>teгadedat</i> ²⁵⁷

N.B. There are also many anomalies in the declension of personal pronouns in the Surgut dialects, which I, however, have not observed very carefully²⁵⁸. 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 pronouns²⁵⁹ and a syllable *nam* attached to it; e.g. *atemnam* ‘I myself’, *atennan* ‘thou thyself’, *atitnam* ‘he himself’, *atimemnan* ‘we (two) ourselves’²⁶⁰, etc.

§ 83 The so-called personal suffixes²⁶¹ 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

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' *opedā* '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:

Singular²⁶²

- 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 plural²⁶³

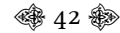
- I: *am* 'my (several)', 2. *an* 'your (several)', 3. *et*, S.urg. *et* 'his, her (several)'.
 II: 1. *emen* 'of the two of us' 2. *en* 'of the two of you', 3. *en* 'of the two of them'.
 III: 1. *eu*, S. *eux* 'our (several of us)', 2. *en* 'your (several of you)', 3. *et*, S. *et* 'their (several 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, χotat, χotemān* 'the house of the two of us', *χotesān, χotesān, χotew* 'our house' *χotesān, 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 *-γət-* 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 *χotyātām* 'my two houses', *χotyātān, χotyātāt, χotyātēmān* 'the two houses of us two', *χotyātān, χotyātāt, χotyātātaw* 'our two houses', *χotyātān, χotyātāt*; and in plural *χottām* 'my (several) houses', *χottān, χottāt, χottēmān, χottān, χottān, χottātaw* 'our (several) houses', *χottān, χottāt*. In Surgut (Trj.), the corresponding character for dual possessed is *-γəl/-γəl-* 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 /ə/.
270. In Trj consonant-final stems, the vowel in singular persons and 1PL is *ə/ə*, 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 *mīn* 'we (two)' and *tīn* '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 singular²⁶⁴. The *t* (*t*) in the third person plural has a visual correspondence to the personal pronoun *teg* (*teg*)²⁶⁵. 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 affinity²⁶⁶.

§ 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*²⁶⁷. The nouns ending in *x* normally have the binding vowel *ae*, especially in the first and second person singular²⁶⁸; 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 lost²⁶⁹: *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 vague²⁷⁰: 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*²⁷¹. 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*²⁷²; 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 *karagadam*, pl. *karadam*.

b) In the Irtyš dialect, the other vowels remain mostly unchanged; e.g. *kēžē* ‘knife’, suffixes I. *kēžem*, *kēžen*, *kēžet*; II. *kēžemen*, *kēžeden*, *kēžeden*; III. *kēžeu*, *kēžeden*, *kēžet*²⁷³.

c) When ending a diphthong, *i* and *u* change into *j*, *w* in front of the binding vowel²⁷⁴; 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. *kilsi* ‘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.

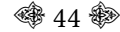
271. In this single example, it is not only that *a* follows a velar consonant (cf. § 86, note 268) but also that the word consists of three syllables. It is therefore impossible to say whether *a* in *ae* is a similar acoustic phenomenon to that in the note 268 or the final vowel of the stem, which 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 (*karā* ‘place’) and the paradigm in Surgut (Trj) is the following: *karam*, *kara*, *karaλ*, *karamān*, *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: (*kečə* ‘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 *-γ* 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 ones²⁷⁵, *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’; *kānī* ‘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 suffixal²⁷⁶ 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 *karagadam*, *-gadan*, etc.²⁷⁷

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. *kēžidemen*, etc.²⁷⁸

c) When the nominal stem ends with a consonant and has a long vowel in the penultima, in the suffixal forms the short vowel²⁷⁹ of the final syllable undergoes elision in singular, while in dual and plural this does not happen²⁸⁰; e.g. *pōgor* ‘islet’, singular *pōxrem* ‘my islet’, plural *pōgordam* ‘my islets’; *wāsex* ‘duck’, singular *wāsxam* ‘my duck’, dual *wāsekkadam*, plural *wāsektam* or *wāsekdam*.

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*.²⁸¹

§ 89 In the following paradigms, the word *īma* ‘woman’ shows the comprehensive overview of the nominal declension in connection with the personal suffixes²⁸². All the other examples *urmā* ‘mitten’, *kerap* ‘vehicle’, *pōgor* ‘islet’, *jūrax* ‘edge’ will be given only in the basic form.

1. ²⁸³ Basic form Singular			
I.	1. <i>īmem</i>	2. <i>īmen</i>	3. <i>īmet</i> ²⁸⁴
II.	1. <i>īmemen</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>īmidemen</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> ²⁸⁵	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> ²⁸⁶	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 *-ηət-*: *imeηətam* ‘my two women’, *imeηətan*, *imeηətat*, *imeηətamən* ‘the two women of us two’, *imeηətən*, *imeηətən*, *imeηətəw* ‘our two women (of the several of us)’, *imeηətən*, *imeηətat*. (Kr Ko suffixes, cf. Honti 1984: 133.)

283. stem type ending in a reduced vowel

284. *īmit* (*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>

2.²⁸⁷

Basic form
Sing.

I.	1. <i>urmāgem</i> 1)	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> 2)	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. *añaxaidam*, *añaxadann*, *añaxaidet*.

3.²⁸⁸

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>kerapten</i>	3. <i>kerapten</i>
III.	1. <i>kerapteu</i>	2. <i>kerapten</i>	3. <i>keraptet</i>

4.²⁸⁹

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>

5.²⁹⁰

Basic form

Sing.

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

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 *kārayāḷāy°* ‘our two places (of several of us)’, *kārayāḷān* ‘your two places’, *kārayāḷāḷ* ‘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 *ḷ* for plural possessed.
294. The whole paradigm in a normalized form is the following: (possessed in singular:) *učem*, *učen*, *učāḷ*, *učmān*, *učin*, *učin°*, *učiḷ*; (possessed in dual:) *áčyāḷam*, *áčyāḷa*, *áčyāḷ*, *áčyāḷmān*, *áčyāḷān*, *áčyāḷān*, *áčyāḷāy°*, *áčyāḷān*, *áčyāḷāḷ*; (possessed in plural:) *ātḷam*, *ātḷa*, *ātḷ*, *ātḷmān*, *ātḷān*, *ātḷān*, *ātḷāy°*, *ātḷāḷ*.

❖ 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>karaux</i>	2. <i>karin</i>	3. <i>karit</i>

Dual

I.	1. <i>karagađam</i>	2. <i>karagađan</i>	3. <i>karagat</i>
II.	1. <i>karagađamen</i>	2. <i>karagađen</i>	3. <i>karagađen</i>
III.	1. <i>karagađaux</i>	2. <i>karagađen</i>	3. <i>karagadat</i> ²⁹²

Plur.

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

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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>āžxadām</i>	2. <i>āžxadān</i>	3. <i>āžxat</i>
II.	1. <i>āžxadāmen</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>āttām</i>	2. <i>āttan</i>	3. <i>ātt</i>
II.	1. <i>āttāmen</i>	2. <i>āttēn</i>	3. <i>āttēn</i>
III.	1. <i>āttāux</i>	2. <i>āttēn</i>	3. <i>āttat</i> ²⁹⁴

§ 91 We add the following list of words that undergo a vowel alternation²⁹⁵ in the Surgut dialects.

a and *i*²⁹⁶

<i>āt</i>	‘night’	Suffix I.1.	<i>ītem</i>
<i>āmp</i>	‘dog’		<i>īmpem</i>
<i>pāŋ</i>	‘finger’		<i>pīŋem</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>čānč</i>	‘knee’		<i>čīnžem</i>
<i>tābet</i>	‘week’		<i>tīptem</i>
<i>tānt</i>	‘moss’		<i>tīntem</i> , etc.

a and *u*²⁹⁷

<i>āč</i>	‘sheep’	Suffix I.1.	<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> ²⁹⁸
<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*, *ū* 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 *kör*, Trj *ker*.
 303. South *tām*, *tām*, *tāmə*, Surgut *tem*, *temi* ‘this’; South Surgut *tōm*, South *tōmə*, Surgut *tōmj* ‘that’ (Honti 1984: 74)
 304. These shorter pronouns (South *tēw*, Surgut *tú*) that refer to more distant objects (not visible, as opposed to *tōm*, South *tōmə*, Surgut *tōmj* ‘that’) are used only in attributive positions. In Surgut we also find *tī* ‘this (attributive)’ and *tīt* ‘id. (absolute)’. (Ibid.)

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e and *i*²⁹⁹

<i>nēwer</i> <i>lēk</i>	‘lather’ ‘trace’	suffix I.1.	<i>nūrem</i> <i>līkam</i> , etc.
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o and *u*³⁰⁰

<i>ōp</i> <i>ōx</i> <i>lōx</i>	‘father-in-law’ ‘head’ ‘inlet, bay’	suffix I.1.	<i>ūpem</i> <i>ū’um</i> (<i>ūgum</i>) <i>lū’um</i> (<i>lūgum</i>) <i>mūkam</i>
<i>mōk</i>	‘young (of an animal)’		<i>ūnkam</i>
<i>ōnk</i> <i>pōm</i> <i>rōk</i>	‘resin’ ‘grass’ ‘front (of a cloth)’		<i>pumem</i> ³⁰¹ <i>rūkam</i>
<i>sōm</i> <i>tōnt</i> <i>kōs</i>	‘scale (of a fish)’ ‘goose’ ‘star’		<i>sūmem</i> <i>tūndem</i> <i>kūsem</i> , etc.

ö and *ü*³⁰²

<i>kōr</i> <i>kōñ</i>	‘oven’ ‘arctic fox’	suffix I.1.	<i>kūrem</i> <i>kūñem</i>
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§ 92 The demonstrative pronouns in Ostyak are *toma* (*tom*) ‘that’, Finnish *tuo*, and *tema* (*teme*, *tem*) ‘this’, Finnish *tämä*³⁰³. 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 *tīt* (*tūt*) ‘this’ and *ta* ‘that’³⁰⁴. 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:

xoi or *xoje*, S. *koje* ‘who, which’, Finnish *ku*, *kuka*³⁰⁵.

met or *metta* ‘which, what’, Finnish *mi*, *mikä*.

medoi, *medoje* (originally *met-xoi*), Surg. *mugudi* ‘what’.³⁰⁶

The following words can also be regarded as relative pronouns: *mecir*, Surg. *mugusir* ‘what kind of’, *ṭissir* ‘that kind of’, *tament* ‘like that one’, *ṭiment* ‘like this one’, etc.³⁰⁷ 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*; *ṭissirat* ‘that kind of’³⁰⁸, 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.³⁰⁹

§ 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.

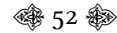
306. The simple interrogative-relative pronouns are in South *χōjə*, Surgut *kōjajj* ‘who, which’, South *měj* (North *mūj*), Surgut *měj̄ʹi*, *mōyi* ‘what, which; what kind of’ (Honti 1984: 75).

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-āŋket χūjnə 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. *AOŋ* ‘warm (weather)’ *toram AOŋas* ‘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*



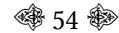
§ 97 Ostyak seems to be very rich in derived verbs. Because of the lack of sufficient material, we can only give here the most important derivatives and their component elements.

- 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 β^{310} ; e.g. *padartem* ‘to talk’³¹¹, *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. *ōd'a* ‘sour’, *ōd'edem* ‘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’; *pat* ‘excrement’, *patem* ‘defecate’; *pēget* ‘bath’, *pēgtem* ‘to take a bath’³¹². 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’, *ūdem* ‘to swim’, *jāstem* ‘to say’³¹³.
- 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.)’, *jendem* ‘to drink’, *jenttem* ‘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. *xajdem* ‘to be left’, *xajdaptem* ‘to leave (tr.)’, *kergem* ‘to fall’, *kereptem* ‘to knock over’.³¹⁴
- 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’³¹⁵.

- d) It seems that many frequentative verbs can also be formed with the characters *x*, *k*, *k̄*, *g*, *ḡ*; e.g. *ārgem*, *ārkem* ‘to sing’, *nuigem* ‘to get tired’, *jantkem* ‘to play’, *nāgam* ‘to laugh’, *tūtxaem* ‘to churn’³¹⁶.
- 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’.³¹⁷
- 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 *riisasen*; *mōņasem* ‘to rub’, Finn. *hierasen*; *xūdesem* ‘to cough’, Finn. *rykäsen*; *tāksem* ‘to spit’, Finn. *sylkäsen*.³¹⁸
- g) The reflexive verbs have the character *š*; e.g. *mīdašem* ‘to be for rent’, etc.³¹⁹
- § 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. *jōxtem* or *jōgodem* ‘to enter’, frequ. *jōxtīdem*; *jōndem* ‘to sew’, augm. *jōndesem*; *tēgdem* ‘to fly’, mom. *tēgetmem*; *termadem* ‘to hurry (intr.)’ caus. *termattem*, etc.
- i) From the momentaneous verbs especially causatives can be formed; e.g. *ēnmem* ‘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 **ηć*.
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 *mě̃n* ‘he went’, *jö̃yat* ‘he came’; the present tense has a tense suffix *λ*: *mě̃nλ* ‘he goes’ (*mě̃nλəm* ‘I go’), *jö̃yatλ* ‘he comes’ (*jö̃yatλəm* ‘I come’, *jö̃yatλən* ‘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.



- 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.³²⁰ 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 verbs³²¹. 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 imperative³²². 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

the future³²³, 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'³²⁴.

§ 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'*)³²⁵. 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*); *nāgam* 'to laugh', fut. *nāxtam* (stem *nāx*); *edem*, S. *ūdīm* 'to heat', fut. *ettam*, S. *üttim*, etc.

2. According to § 47, *čg*, *t̄t*, *nd* change in the future tense into *tč*, *t̄t'*, *nd'*; e.g. *ižem* 'to stir', fut. *itčem* instead of *ičtem*; *muŋolžem* 'to knot', fut. *muŋoltčem*; *kenžem* 'to seek', fut. *kentčem*; *jēndem* 'to drink', fut. *jēntčem*; *ūdēm* 'to swim', fut. *ūtām*; *pañem* 'to twist', fut. *pandēm*, etc.

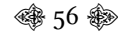
3. A final *i* (*j*), *u* (*w*) after a preceding vowel sometimes undergoes an elision, sometimes not; e.g.

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, *pānsām* is the normal form of the past tense paradigm (SG1.PAST).

325. Actually *t* (South), *ʌ* (Surgut); the palatalized consonants here are due to assimilation and purely phonetic/acoustic variants, thus: (South) *tutām*, *wertām*, *emtām*, *pāntām*, *fēltām*, *jiktām*, *teptām*, *nāxtām*, *ētām* (S. *ǎłłām*).

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-* ~ *jěŷ-*); *te-* ~ *tew-* (Surgut *li-* ~ *liŷ'/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*³²⁶; cf. *tejem* 'to weave', fut. *teidem*; *tājem* 'to be³²⁷', fut. *tājdām*; *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. *kerdām*; *ārgem* 'to sing', fut. *ārđām*; *jantkem* 'to play', fut. *janttam*; *jāŷam* 'to walk', fut. *jāŷxtām* or *jāxtām*.
- c) A short *e*³²⁸ 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 vowel³²⁹ can be placed between the two consonants of the future³³⁰; e.g. *āxtem* 'to vomit', fut. *āgattām*; *jēŷdem* 'to spin', fut. *jēŷettem*; *jōxtem* 'to enter', fut. *jōgottām*; *nōxrem* 'to slice', fut. *nōgordām*; *nāurem* 'to jump', fut. *nāwerđām*; *ōmseem* '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’³³¹, Ind. preterite *ēnemem*³³² instead of *ēnemem*, fut. *ēnemdem*³³³, imp. *ēn-me* 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 nouns³³⁴. 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 noun³³⁵, and on the other between the intransitive verb and the consonant-final noun³³⁶.

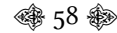
§ 104 In the Irtyš dialect, the verbal personal suffixes in the indicative future and preterite with the addition of the binding vowel are the following:

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

§ 105 This overview shows that the intransitive verbs have only two specific³³⁹ 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*³⁴⁰ 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: *ettitām*, *ettitot*, *ettittam*, *ettitət*.
342. The corresponding actual forms: *měnām*, *měnot*, *měntam*, *měnt*. 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* (*ə*) after velar consonants (cf. note 23). In the subjective conjugation, both *ə* and *a* 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).



‘I watched’, third person *ētīdōt*, fut. *ētīttam*, third person *ētītēt*³⁴¹ *menem* ‘I went’, third person *menōt*, fut. *mendem*, third person *ment*³⁴². Some verbs have in the preterite third person sing. two suffixes *et* and *ōt*, the first to express the imperfect, the latter the perfect³⁴³; 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:

- a) In the transitive verbs, the binding vowel remains unchanged in all persons of the pret. and fut.
- b) In the intransitive verbs, the binding vowel *e* can sometimes alternate with other vowels; e.g. *īapkaem*³⁴⁴ ‘to whisper’, *nāgam* ‘to laugh’.
- c) 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 person³⁴⁵, especially after a hard consonant; e.g. *ēnmen*³⁴⁶ ‘to grow’, fut. first person *ēnemdam*, second person *-an*; *tinesem* ‘to trade’, fut. first person *tines-tam*, second person *-an*; *āmdīdem* ‘to be happy’, fut. first person *āmdīttam*, second person *-an*.
- d) 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. *towot-tedem*, 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:

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 elision³⁴⁷.

§ 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)* etc³⁴⁸; e.g. *menem* 'I went', Third person *men*; *panem* 'I placed/put' third person *pandax* (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 the³⁴⁹ 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 nouns³⁵⁰.

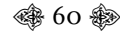
347. In 1SG and 2SG suffixes there is a difference between full vowel (*e*; objective conjugation) and a reduced vowel (*ə*; subjective conjugation); e.g. *läpətləm* 'I feed', *läpətləm* 'I feed him'.

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 (-*ʏəl*-) and plural (-*l*-) object (= possessed); e.g. (perfect) *pāntāy* 'he put it', *pāntāmān* 'we(2) put it', *pāntāy°* 'we put it'; *pānyāl* 'he put them(2)', *pānyālāmān* 'we(2) put them(2)', *pānyālāy°* 'we put them(2)'; *pānāl* 'he put them (several)', *pānālāmān* 'we(2) put them', *pānālāy°* 'we put them'. In the present tense, *t* is also lacking in 3SG after the present tense suffix *l*; the corresponding present tense forms (3SG, 1DU, 1PL) are (singular object) *pānlāy, pānlātāmān, pānlātāy°*; (dual object) *pānlāyāl, pānlāyālāmān, pānlāyālāy°*; (plural object) *pānlāl, pānlāmān* (lacking the plural -*l*-!), *pānlālāy°* (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 дѣлать бы, *paŋŋam* 'I would put' R. клалъ бы³⁵¹. 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 future³⁵². 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 rules³⁵³. 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 attached³⁵⁴. The third person has a special character *g*, which also appears in many related languages³⁵⁵. 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*³⁵⁶.

§ 111 Except in the second person singular and dual³⁵⁷, 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> ³⁵⁸	3.	<i>itat (itet)</i> ³⁵⁹

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*

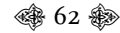
356. Honti (1984: 115) gives for Ko 3SG *-aŋ(at)*, 3DU *-aŋən*, 3PL *-at*.

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!’, *pāneŋata* ‘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’) *liptimāt*, *liptä*, *liptäjät*; *liptimənät*, *liptitən*, *liptiŋənät*; *liptiŋät*, *liptitəŋ*, *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* (*jēmemna*) 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 initial³⁶⁰ vowel, whilst in connection with the personal suffixes it appears in its full form; e.g. *ma uimemna*³⁶¹ 'in my going (when I go)'.³⁶² 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* (*dā*), *de* (*dē*) or *ta* (*tā*), *te* (*tē*); 2. preterite with the suffix *em* (*am*). The present participle is formed similarly to the infinitive and often falls together with it³⁶³; 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 preterite³⁶⁴; 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.³⁶⁵

§ 115 In order to facilitate³⁶⁶ 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> ³⁶⁷
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> ³⁶⁸	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 *paneul*; 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 *pānitāt* (Honti 1984: 112
лїптітāt ‘feed’ IMP.DEF.SG<3SG)
370. Ko *pānaḡaḡ* (Honti 1984: 115)
371. Trj *pānitānat* (Honti 1984: 112
лїптітānāt ‘feed’ IMP.DEF.SG<3DU)
372. Trj *pānilālat* (Honti 1984: 112
лїптілālāt ‘feed’ IMP.DEF.SG<3PL)
373. *menḡen* (Ko *mēḡḡaḡ*, Trj
mēḡḡaḡ) would be expected;
the stem is *men-* (*mēḡ-*).

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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> ³⁶⁹
Dual 2.	<i>panaden</i>	Dual 2.	<i>paniten</i>
3.	<i>panagen</i> ³⁷⁰	3.	<i>paneganat</i> ³⁷¹
Plur. 2.	<i>panaden</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>paniten</i>
3.	<i>panat, panaget</i>	3.	<i>panitat</i> ³⁷²
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> ³⁷³	3.	<i>meḡen</i> ³⁷³
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>

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Future

Sing. 1.	<i>mendam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>menɕem</i>
2.	<i>mendan</i>	2.	<i>menɕen</i>
3.	<i>ment</i>	3.	<i>ment</i>
Dual 1.	<i>mendemem</i>	Dual 1.	<i>menɕemem</i>
2.	<i>mendeden</i>	2.	<i>menɕeden</i>
3.	<i>menɕegen</i> ³⁷⁴	3.	<i>menɕegen</i> ³⁷⁴
Plur. 1.	<i>menɕeu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>menɕeux</i>
2.	<i>mendeda</i>	2.	<i>menɕedex</i>
3.	<i>menɕet</i>	3.	<i>menɕet</i>

Conjunctive

Sing. 1.	<i>menem</i> or <i>mendam adaŋ</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>menŋam</i>
2.	<i>menen</i> or <i>mendan adaŋ</i>	2.	<i>menŋan</i>
3.	<i>menōt</i> or <i>ment</i> <i>adaŋ</i> , etc.	3.	<i>menŋat</i> , etc.

Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>mena</i>	Sing. 2.	<i>mene</i>
3.	<i>menag</i> (<i>menaŋ</i>) or <i>menagat</i> (<i>menaŋat</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>menaget</i> ³⁷⁵	3.	<i>menidat</i> ³⁷⁶

Infinitive

<i>mendai</i>	<i>mendaga</i>
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Gerund

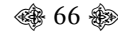
<i>menmen</i>	<i>menmen</i>
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Participle

Present (Preterite)	<i>menda</i> <i>menem</i>	Present (Preterite)	<i>menda</i> <i>menem</i>
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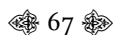
374. There are two dialectal variations in South: DN *měntəyən*, Ko. *měntəyən*; Surgut (Trj) *měnləyən* (Honti 1984: 111–115).
375. The corresponding forms in Ko (Honti 1984: 115) are *pāna*, *pānaŋ(at)*; *pānatən*, *pānaŋən*; *pānatə*, *pānat*; Honti also gives the first person forms: 1SG *pānam*, 1DU *pānamən*, 1PL *pānaw*.
376. The corresponding forms in Trj (Honti 1984: 112) are *pāna*, *pānājat*; *pāniṭən*, *pāniyānat*; *pāniṭəy*, *pāniṭat*; Honti also gives the first person forms: 1SG *pāniṭmat*, 1DU *pāniṭənat*, 1PL *pāniy^oat*.

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'



§ 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. *āmasḡam*, imperat. *umsa* (*ūmsa*), inf. *āmastaga*, ger. *amasmen*³⁷⁷, present part. *āmasta*, preterite *umsem*. We provide here some examples of verbs of this kind:

	<i>i</i>		<i>a</i> ³⁷⁸
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 ³⁷⁹ ' <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>mānttēm</i> <i>ārettem</i> <i>āmastem</i> <i>āmattem</i> <i>wāgadem</i> <i>kāttem</i> <i>tāttem</i> <i>kāḡattem</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>jēnttēm</i> <i>nēwerdem</i> <i>lenktem</i> , etc.



<i>u</i>		<i>o</i>	
Preterite	<i>mündem</i> ‘to rub’ <i>mürtem</i> ‘to break, crumble’	Future	<i>mōḡattem</i> <i>mōrettem</i>
<i>ü</i>		<i>ö</i>	
Preterite	<i>lünkim</i> ‘to cover’	Future	<i>lönktim,</i> etc. ³⁸⁰

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. 1³⁸¹.

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 voice³⁸²; 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’³⁸³. In some passive verbs the reflexive function is even primary; e.g. *pōt* ‘cold’, pass. *pōdājem* ‘get cold’, pass. *pōtmājem*³⁸⁴; *pēgmem* ‘to freeze (intr.)’, pass. *pēgmājem*; *ñešmem* ‘become blunt’, pass. *ñešmājem*³⁸⁵. The examples above show that passive verbs cannot be formed only from transitive and intransitive verbs but also from nouns.

§ 118 The third person³⁸⁶ 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*³⁸⁷ (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 person³⁸⁸ 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.

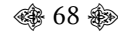
385. There are, indeed, verbs that have the same meaning with and without the passive suffix. These verbs are formed with the translative suffix *-m-*.

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 **l*) 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



verbs³⁸⁹; e.g. *unttem* 'to teach', fut. *unttedem*, inf. *unttedai*, future passive *unttedāi*; *edidem* 'to heat', fut. *edītem*, inf. *edīttai*, passive future *edīttāi*, etc. In the Surgut dialects, the passive preterite is formed in the first³⁹⁰ 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 dialect³⁹¹ take exactly the same suffixes as the transitive and intransitive verbs³⁹²; e.g.

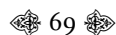
Preterite	
Sing. 1.	<i>unttājem</i>
2.	<i>unttājen</i>
3.	<i>unttāi</i> ¹⁾
Dual 1.	<i>unttāimen</i> ²⁾
2.	<i>unttāiden</i>
3.	<i>unttāigen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>unttājeu</i>
2.	<i>unttāida</i> ³⁾
3.	<i>unttājet</i>

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 auxiliary³⁹³ verbs

§ 121 The Ostyak language has two different verbs for ‘to be’: 1) *tājem* (Surg. *tōjem*), which has developed from *ta* ‘that’ and expresses existence³⁹⁴, and 2) *ūdem* (Surg. *wadam*), originally ‘to live’, from which ‘to be’ is a derived meaning³⁹⁵. 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 conjugation³⁹⁶.

§ 122 Along with the preterite *tājem*, in³⁹⁷ 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.³⁹⁸ 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’³⁹⁹.

§ 123 Because *ūdem*, as stated in § 121, is originally an intransitive verb⁴⁰⁰, 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*, *ūttan*, *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-*).

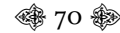
396. Both have a complete paradigm.
397. The preposition “in” serves no purpose in the German original and can also be left unread in the translation. It is probably an error in the typesetting process.
398. In the manuscript (pp. 274–275) Castrén gives a set of paradigms of “auxiliary verbs”, i.e. not 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>tājōt</i>	3.	<i>tāit</i>
Dual 1.	<i>tājmen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>tāidēmen</i>
2.	<i>taiden</i>	2.	<i>tāidēden</i>
3.	<i>taigen</i>	3.	<i>tāidēgen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>tajeu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>tāidēu</i>
2.	<i>taida</i>	2.	<i>tāidēda</i>
3.	<i>tājit</i>	3.	<i>tāidēt</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>udēm</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>ūttām</i>
2.	<i>udēn</i>	2.	<i>ūttan</i>
3.	<i>udōt</i>	3.	<i>ut</i>
Dual 1.	<i>utmen</i>	Dual 1.	<i>ūttmēn</i>
2.	<i>utten</i>	2.	<i>ūttēden</i>
3.	<i>utken</i>	3.	<i>ūttēgen</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>udēu</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>ūttēu</i>
2.	<i>utta</i>	2.	<i>ūttēda</i>
3.	<i>ūdet</i>	3.	<i>ūttēt</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: ‘I-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 something⁴⁰¹, 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 сталь), *xantča jidem* ‘I will write’ (писать стану), *ēne jiwem* ‘I have become big’ (большой сталь), *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’⁴⁰², *tawem entam* ‘I have no horse’⁴⁰³, *i metta endam* or *per endam* ‘nothing’⁴⁰⁴, etc. At the most, dual or plural characters may be added to *endam* or *endem*; e.g. *miin endemgen* ‘we two are not’⁴⁰⁵ (насъ нѣтъ), pl. *meng endemet*.

§ 126 Together with verbs, *endam* changes into *ent* or *en*, whilst the main verb undergoes no change⁴⁰⁶; 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*⁴⁰⁷ e.g. *at uje* ‘don’t see’, *at mena* ‘don’t go’, dual *at ujaden*, *at menaden*, etc.

3) Particles

A) Postpositions

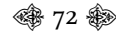
§ 127 Like the other related languages, Ostyak also has no prepositions but only postpositions, which are called so because they are placed after the word to which they are related. The postpositions do not, in fact, form a special class of words, because they are, with a few exceptions, real nouns, 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.⁴⁰⁸ *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'⁴⁰⁹.
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'; *itpiwet*, 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).



- of two words: *it* 'front' and *pi* 'side'⁴¹⁰.
 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 (pone⁴¹¹), 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*, *pujiwet* from *pui* 'behind'⁴¹², which is almost identical but less often used as a postposition. Furthermore, the Russian preposition *за* can also be formed into a postposition denoting the same space relations by adding the Ostyak case suffixes: *saja* (dat.), *saina* (loc.) and *sajiwet* (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*⁴¹³ 'next to, beside'; *puṇatiwet*, Surg. *poṇadeux*, *poṇadi*⁴¹⁴ 'beside'. The stem: *puṇat*, *poṇat* 'side'.
 14. *kuda* (dat.), *kutna* (locat.), *kudiwet* (abl.) 'between; among'. The stem: *kut* 'the place between', Finn. *väli*⁴¹⁵.
 15. *kutteba*, Surg. *ječega* (dat.) 'in the middle'; *kuttepna*, Surg. *ječen* (loc.) 'in the middle'; *kuttepiwet*,

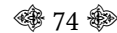
- Surg. *ječegeux*, *ječegi* (abl.) ‘from the middle’. The stem is in the Irtyš dialect *kuttep*, in the Surgut dialects *ječe* ‘middle’.
16. *tibeja* (*tibea*), Surg. *tigbija* (dat.) ‘into’; *tibena*, Surg. *tigbina* (loc.) ‘in, inside’; *tibīwet*, Surg. *tigbijeux*, *tigbiji* ‘from inside’. The postpositions 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*, *wadḏax* (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.



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 tagajīwet* 'from where', etc. are used.
 2. *tege*, Surg. *tegenam*⁴¹⁶ 'here (to)', *tette*, Surg. *tetti*, *tet* 'here'; *tet sagat*, Surg. *tet* 'from here'. Cf. the demonstrative pronoun *tem* 'this'.
 3. *togoł*, Surg. *Togonam*⁴¹⁶ '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', *pirīwet* '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.), *xodīwet* (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. *sira*, Surg. *sār*, *sārna* 'before'; cf. the word list.

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. еще) '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. *čīmet*, Surg. *čīmet* '(a) little'.
3. *ašma, fax*, Surg. *čikka* 'very'.
4. *cebara* 'well'.
5. *medagem* 'how much'.
6. *fēgem, fīgem* 'this much'.
7. *xot sagat* 'how'.
8. *tem sagat, tegena, temida* 'like this'.
9. *medīwet, medoi peda* 'why'.
10. *tut peda* 'because of that'.

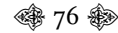
C. Conjunctions

§ 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*.
weŋ, 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.⁴¹⁷

D. Interjections⁴¹⁸

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

a'a 'yes'.
au 'what did you say?'.
ta 'well'.
ti, ŋit, ŋitti 'well, see'.
a 'ouch'.
ax 'oh'.
ja 'well'.