EASTERN MANSI (KONDA) GRAMMAR

ULLA-MAIJA FORSBERG

(English version of Ulla-Maija Kulonen: *Itämansin kielioppi ja tekstejä*, Société Finno-Ougrienne Helsinki 2007)

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INTRODUCTION

This grammar of Eastern Mansi describes the Mansi dialects of Middle Konda and Lower Konda as they are manifested in the texts and grammar notes collected by Artturi Kannisto. This language form, exactly hundred years old at the time the present grammar was published in Finnish in 2007, was no more spoken as such at the offset of the 21st century. The data that this grammar is based on consists of the texts written in Middle Konda in the collection of samples *Wogulische Volksdichtung* by Artturi Kannisto and Matti Liimola. The materials have been previously published by the Finno-Ugrian Society in its series numbers 101 (WV I; mythological texts), 109 (WV II; heroic and war stories); 111 (WV III; fairy tales); 116 (WV V; songs from the great bear ceremonies) and 134 (WV VI; destiny songs and different kinds of small folklore genres).

For the purposes of the grammatical description I first transcribed all selected texts with a simplified phonematic transcription system. The notation used in this book differs from the traditional Finno-Ugric tradition in that the notation created for automatic processing does not include separate diacritics. The established practices in the Finno-Ugric standard languages (especially Finnish and Hungarian) have been followed in the transcription, e.g. in marking vowel length and palatalization, and the characters are part of the regular Scandinavian character encoding system.

I identified all inflectional and conjugational forms in the texts entered into the computer, and wrote the morphological description based on the resulting list. In order to complete the list of forms, I used Kannisto's morphological notes and paradigms that are kept as manuscripts in the dictionary of Mansi dialects and its card files. This compilation method defines the structure of the morphological part, which can also be motivated by the method used by Kannisto to collect his material in Siberia, and the form in which he published it. The main method in collecting the material on Konda dialects for Kannisto was to record the speech of an informant called Afanasiy in the village of Nakhrachy in the Lower Konda area. Almost all texts marked with KU represent the idiolect of this informant. Kannisto analysed these texts in detail with another informant, Andrey Yutkin, whose dialect represents a dialect within the Middle Konda (KM) group. The dialect of Middle Konda includes features that are typical especially for the Konda dialects thus separating them from other dialects, and it can be regarded as "the standard dialect" of Konda. (The standard language, written to some extent with Cyrillic characters, is based on the third variant, the Yukonda dialect.) The majority of the texts labelled with the marker KM are thus based on Yutkin's idiolect. In the collection *Wogulische Volksdichtung*, the texts told by Afanasiy and analysed by Kannisto with the help of Yutkin have been printed as parallel versions, the texts by Afanasiy as version A and the texts commented by Yutkin as version B. There is therefore both a KU and a KM variant available for the majority of the words. In the present grammar these are shown parallell to each other, so that the column on the left hand side always contains the KM words and word forms, and the column on the right hand side the corresponding KU forms (i.e. the original data). Some of the materials on Middle Konda have also been collected from other informants; one text for example has been told by Kannisto's third informant Vasiliy Nyemotop, whose idiolect clearly differs from Yutkin's. The items on the grammatical paradigms do not always totally correspond with the forms in the texts, even if they are from the same informant. In

some special cases and for less frequent forms, I have given special weight to the forms found in the texts and the examples highlighting them.

I describe and illuminate the usage of the morphological forms (possessive suffixes, cases, the object conjugation forms and the passive forms of the verbs) with examples added to the morphological description. The aim is to avoid a heavily abstract and isolated morphological description by letting the forms that occur in the examples appear as early as possible in the language learning process. The section of syntax has therefore remained quite short in this grammar, and I have selected only the very central features. Several phenomena in Mansi have still remained outside the scope of research and I hope that this book will play a part in encouraging researchers to take up this challenging task. All examples of usage as well as text examples in the sections for both morphology and syntax derive from the original texts. In few cases only have I chosen to leave out some long and poetical sequences that are frequent in folklore and not essential to the syntactic structure in question. The fact that all the clause examples are from the Middle Konda dialect is not specifically mentioned in conjunction with the clause examples whereas the clause examples otherwise motivated to represent Lower Konda have always been marked to represent this specific dialect. Where there is no marker stating the dialect in question, the clause examples thus always represent the Middle Konda dialect.

I PHONOLOGY

CONSONANTS

The consonants in the Konda dialects are shown in the table below. For the sake of clarity the IPA transcription system is presented in parenthesis on each row:

labials	p	w					m	(*p, w (β), m*)
dentals	t			s	l r		n	(*t, s, l, r, n*)
palatals	ty	j		sy	ly		ny	(*tʲ, j, sʲ, lʲ, nʲ*)
velars	k k°	g		x x°			ng	(*k, kʷ, ɣ, χ, χʷ, ŋ*)

Out of these /g/ and /ng/ do not occur in word initial positions in either dialect, and /x/ and /x°/ do not occur in word initial positions in KM (in KU preceding the back vowel *k-, k°-* > *x-, x°-*). /ng/ (*ŋ*) is here marked with n when preceding the velar (<nk> = *ŋk* , <nx> = *ŋχ*). When n (*n*) precedes g (*ɣ*) and k, it is marked with <n.g> <n.k>, e.g. *møn.gøm* ’I go’. Examples:
/p/   Word initial: KM KU *pupi* ’spirit’, KM *põõwøl* KU *paawøl* ’village’, KM KU *påly* ’chip’
     Word internal: KM KU *pupi* ’spirit’, KM KU *sopii* ’broken’
     Word final: KM *kop*, KU *xop* ’wave’, KM KU *seetøp* ’thread’, KM KU *sågrøp* ’axe’
/t/   Word initial: KM KU *tor* ’throat, sound’, *tol* ’cloud’, KM *töärø,* KU *täörø* ’through’
     Word internal: KM KU *tåti* ’to bring’
     Word final: KM KU *tøt* ’here’, KM *koot,* KU *xoot* ’6’
/ty/   Word initial: *työäty* ’father’
     Word internal: KM KU *wityøng* ’watery, wet’, *öätyi* ’is not’
     Word final: KM KU *jiiwty* ’trees’, *wity* ’water’,
/k/   Word initial: KM KU *köät* ’hand’, *kit* ’2’, *köäli* ’to rise, to get up’, *køtiili* ’to ask’, KM *konti* ’to find’
     Word internal: KM KU *wøkään* ’take it (you2/Pl)’
     Word final: KM KU *nok* ’up’, *jøsøn.k* ’if you come’, KM *såk* ’all’
/k°/   Word initial: KM KU *k°äl* ’house’, *k°än* ’out’, KM *k°åt* ’where’, *k°åsyø* ’for long’
     Word internal: KM KU *jeek°i* ’to dance’, *jeek°ør* ’root’, *lääk°ølti* ’to creep, to move’
     Word final: KM KU *äk°* ’one’ (otherwise word final x°)
/w/   Word initial: KM KU *woor* ’forest’, *wöä* ’strength’, *wity* ’water’
     Word internal: KM *löäwi,* KU *läöwi* ’to say’, KM *põõwøl* KU *paawøl* ’village’
     Word final: KM KU *jiiw* ’tree’, *juw* ’(to) home’, KM *noåløw,* KU *näöløw* ’to the shore’
/j/   Word initial: KM KU *jeek°i* ’to dance’, *jälwøl* ’demon’, KM *jor,* KU *jør* ’offering’
     Word internal: KM KU *äji* ’to drink’, KM *kooji,* KU *xooji* ’to hit’
     Word final: KM KU *muuj* ’guest’, KM *woj,* KU *uuj* ’animal, bear’
/g/   Word initial: —
     Word internal: KM KU *wøgøm* ’I take’, *wøgøn* ’you take’, KU *näägøn* ’you (acc.)’

Word final: KM KU *näg* 'you', *tøg* 'here', KM *tulømkäg*, KU *tulømxäg* 'secretly'

/x/ Word initial: KU *xonti* 'to find', *xoot* 'six' (in KM not in this position)

Word internal: KM *lyõxøl* KU *lyaxøl* 'message'

Word final: KM KU *(øs) öätyøx* 'why not', *köärøx* 'must' KM *kooløx*, KU *xooløx* 'people'

/x°/ Word initial: KU *x°oly* 'goblin', *x°oji* 'lie', *x°åt* 'where' (in KM not in this position)

Word internal: (in consonant clusters only: KM *põõx°ti*, KU *paax°ti* 'to shoot')

Word final: KM KU *meex°* 'goblin', KM KU *äjøx°, teex°, mønøx°* (to eat, to drink, to go) Infinitive suffix

/s/ Word initial: KM KU *sågrøp* 'axe', *søs* 'back', *sonsi* 'look', *soj* 'sound'

Word internal: KM KU *råsi* 'to throw', *søsäät* 'his back'

Word final: KM KU *pees* 'old', *kees* 'occasion', *ooløs* 'was' (and all Sbjc3Sg preterite forms)

/sy/ Word initial: KM KU *syük* 'mother', *syöär* 'place, region', *syüw* ' 'moment, time'', *syømør* 'bit'

Word internal: KM KU *uusyønti* 'to see'

Word final: KM KU *øsy* 'ouch', *mårøsy* 'a little'

/l/ Word initial: KM KU *lääk°i* 'to move', *løl* 'spirit', KM *löätti*, KU *läötti* 'to say'

Word internal: KM KU *jäli* 'to go', KM *noåløw*, KU *näöløw* 'to the shore'

Word final: KM KU *tol* 'cloud', *eel-ol* 'the first one', KM *öäl−öäl*, KU *äöl− äöl* 'either−or'

/ly/ Word initial: KM *lyõxøl* KU *lyaxøl* 'message', KM *lyånk*, KU *lyoonk* 'road'

Word internal: KM KU *sälyøm-wity* 'saliva', KM *tålyøk*, KU *tålyøx* 'top',

Word final: KM KU *påly* 'chip', KM *nonkäly*, KU *nonxäly* 'up'

/r/ Word initial: KM KU *råwøkti* 'to blaze', *reeti* 'to lure', KM *roåw*, KU *räöw* 'ash'

Word internal: KM KU *tåri* 'to something, to someone; towards', *mårøsy* 'a little', KM *töärø*, KU *täörø* 'through'

Word final: KM KU *tor* 'throat, sound', *puur* 'food offering'

/m/ Word initial: KM KU *möänk* 'we (pl emf)', *moot* 'another', KM *mõõ*, KU *maa* 'land'

Word internal: KM KU *seemøl* 'black', *syømør* 'piece'

Word final: KM KU *söäm* 'corner', KM *kom*, KU *xom* 'man'

/n/ Word initial: KM KU *nok* 'up', *näär* 'what'

Word internal: KM KU *møni* 'to go', *poni* 'put', *jäni* 'big'

Word final: KM KU *jon* 'at home', *pon* 'hair', KM *nään*, KU *nägøn* 'you (acc.)'

/ny/ Word initial: KM KU *nyøløm* 'tongue', *nyöäjt* 'shaman', *nyørøsi* 'to tear'

Word internal: KM KU *äänyø* 'pile'

Word final: KM KU *äny* 'now'

/ng/ Word initial: —

Word internal: KM KU *uumøngäg* 'to (become) sufficient' (only in inflected forms)

Word final: KM KU *wityøng* 'wet', *uumøng* 'sufficient', *näng* (variant) 'you'

Consonant clusters

There are no word initial consonant clusters. Also two consonants occurring on the border of the first and the second syllable usually belong to separate syllables.

Word or syllable final consonant clusters include only the homorganic clusters of nasal and a plosive or a sibilant (*mp, nt, ns, nty, nsy, nk, nk°*) and the ones with *-t* as the latter component. Other consonant clusters disperse at the end of the word or the syllable so that the sonorant vowel ø appears between the consonants. Two contiguous consonants belong to different syllables. This rule produces such variation in the stem that for the nouns the nominative and the inflected forms with the consonant initial suffix include a sonorant vowel, and the inflected forms with a vowel initial suffix include two successive consonants belonging to different syllables, e.g. *pårøk* 'root (nom.)' ~ *pårkøn* 'to the root (lat. *-øn*)' ~ *pårøknøl* 'from the root (abl. *-nøl*).'

In the consonant clusters the velar labial quality is transformed to the nasal as well (e.g. KM *mõõnk°* (*mɘ:ŋʷkʷ*) 'end, back'). In the palatal consonant clusters the palatal quality is marked in the latter component only (<nsy> = *nʲsʲ*, <nty> = *nʲtʲ*, <lty> = *lʲtʲ*). If the palatal quality in the potential palatal consonant cluster does not extend to the first component, this is also marked with the full stop (*mønøn.syøt* 'when you go'). In these cases there is a syllable border between the consonants.

VOWEL SYSTEMS

The vowels in the first syllable are the following:

	short			long	
KM					
CLOSE:	*ü*	*i*	*uu*		*üü*
CLOSE-MID	*o*		*oo*	*õõ*	*ee*
OPEN	*å*	*ä*		*öä*	*ää*

	short			long	
KU					
CLOSE	*ü*	*i*	*uu*		*üü*
CLOSE-MID	*o*		*oo*		*ee*
OPEN	*å*	*ä*	*aa*	*öä*	*ää*

/uu/   Long *u*: — KM KU *uuløm* 'dream', *uunk°ø* 'short', *puur* '(food) offering'; KM *kuuli*, KU *xuuli* 'to stay overnight', KM *kuun*, KU *xuun* 'when'. As the allophone a short *u*, mostly in a closed syllable, e.g. KM *usløw* 'we saw it' ~ *uux°* 'to see'. Similarly regularly before *w* (*juw* '(to) home', *tuw* '(to) there'). The cardinal number KM *kurøm*, KU *xurøm* 'three' has almost regularly a short vowel, although the vowel is in an open syllable. There are, however, examples with long vowels (KM *kuurøm*, KU *xuurøm*).

/üü/   Close or a close-mid long vowel y: — KM KU *küül* 'poor; slight', *lyüüly* 'bad'.

/o/   Open, short *o* (In KU the short o is closer and according to Kannisto's note also more frontal) — KM KU *tor* 'throat, sound', *tol* 'cloud', *powi* 'to catch', *sonsi* 'to look', *wonli* 'to sit', KM *kom*, KU *xom* 'man'.

/ü/ The sound mostly marked by Kannisto with close *ø* — KM KU *püw* 'son/boy', *syüw* 'moment, time', *syük* 'mother', *pümt-* 'begin', *syükør-* 'to die'.

/i/ is usually realized as a schwa *ə* — KU KM *isøm* 'hot', *jix°* 'to come', *jimti* 'to arrive', *liløng* 'living', *min-* 'to go', *nyilø* 'four', *syim* 'dear', *wix°* 'to take'. Allophones 1) in both dialects *i* in the palatal environment: KM *wity* 'water', *wisy* 'small', *lyink* 'wedge', *syisyøg-* 'to shout', *syin* 'abundance' and *kit* 'two' (no palatal environment!), *i* 'now etc.'; 2) in KU *i* (~ *e*), KM *ə*: KU *titt-*, KM *tixt-* 'to feed', KU *tit*, KM *tit* 'here', *kins-* ~ *kens-* ~ *kes-*, KM *kins-* ~ *kis-* 'to search' 3) KU *e*, KM *ə*: KU *pesøwl-*, KM *pisøwl-* 'blow', KU *ensy-*, KM *insy-* 'to keep, to own, to give birth', KU *kensy-*, KM *kinsy-* 'to wake', KU *el-*, KM *il-* 'away, further away', KU *peløj-* KM *piløj-* 'to catch fire', KU *syemør*, KM *syimør* 'piece', KU *lelt-*, KM *lilt-* 'to breathe' (the variation *ə* ~ *e* is very free especially in KU); 4) KU KM *e* : *jesøxt-* 'to rub', *nyerømt-* 'to catch' (~ *nyørøk-* 'to tear'). The phoneme /i/ is the short pair of /ee/.

/oo/ Long *o:* — or occasionally more open (open-mid) *o* when attached to velars, e.g. KM KU *ooli* 'to be', *ootør* 'prince', *moojt* 'story', KM *koot*, KU *xoot* '6', KM *lyoonk*, KU *lyoonx* 'road'.

/õõ/ In KM a long close-mid illabial central vowel *ə:* — *mõõ* 'land', *õõw* 'door', *põõwøl* 'village', *kõõp* 'boat', *lõõl* 'foot', *kõõnk-* 'to climb', *põõx°t-* 'to shoot'. As an allophone in the closed syllable infrequently also the short *õ*: KM *lyõx* 'speech' (~ *lyõõnkøl* 'to mark one's word, for some purpose'), *õx* ~ *õõx* 'bank'. This phoneme corresponds with
/aa/ the long front vowel *a:* in KU: *maa, aaw, paawøl, xaap, laal, xaanx-, paax°t-*. In some individual words by individual informants, the equivalent for the KM *õõ* can also be *ää* or *öä* (as mentioned above KM *lyõ(õ)x* 'speech'~ KU *lyax, lyäx*, KM *õõnyt* 'horn' ~ KU *öänyt*, KM *wõõlt-* 'to lead' ~ KU *wöält-*).

/ee/ Long monophthong *e:* (KU) or the diphthong-like *iè* (KM): KU KM *teex°* 'to eat', *nee* 'woman', *jeek°-* 'to play, to dance', *eek°* 'wife', *seemøl* 'black', *meex°* 'forest goblin'. As an allophone might also be regarded the vowel *ii* found in both dialects in the words *jiiw* 'tree', *jiiw* 'comes' (the conjugated form of the verb *ji*), before the palatal consonant preceding the closed syllable in the words *piily* 'sting' and *iity* 'night' and additionally the KM *iisy* 'sister', and the frontal closed syllable position of *w* corresponding with the words with *jiiw* as in *kiiwti* 'to rub; to fuck' and the KU *kiiwør* ~ KM *keewør* 'inside'. (In the palatal front positions in the northern dialect (So) -*ee*-: *peel-* ~ *peely-*, *eety*, *eesy*, but also in the positions preceding *w* also -*ii*-: *jiiw, jiiw, kiiwør*.) In KU there is further a long vowel *ii*- in the particle *jii-, jiit* ~ *jit* 'behind, from behind', that in KM corresponds with the *ji-, jit*. In KU this might be a case of a widened variation in quantity based on the syllable position, i.e. the word is within the variation of KU *i* ~ KM *ə*. the KM long vowel *ii* in turn corresponds with the KU *e*, (/i/ or /ee/) in the word KM *iilyøm* ~ KU *elyøm* '(axe's) blade'. Another exception might be found in the personal pronouns: KU *miink, niink* 'we2, you2 (emphatic)' ~ KM *meenk, neenk* (cf. also with the non-emphatic dual pronouns KU *min, nin, tin* ~ KM *meen, neen, teen*).

/å/ Short labial *ɒ* or illabial *a* (found mostly in KU), e.g. KM KU *sågri* 'hit, beat', *påt* 'duck', *mås* 'for', *tåri* 'to', *tåt-* 'bring, take'. Examples of systematic variation KU *a* ~ KM *å* are at least KU *ajwø-* ~ KM *åjwø-* 'fall asleep', KU *jal-, jaløn* ~ KM *jål-, jåløn* 'below, down (below)', KU *sax* ~ KM *såk* 'bar', KU *xal* ~ KM *kål* 'hole'. Words with *a*, where

both dialects have the unrounded *a* are KU *tanx-* ~ KM *tank-* 'want', KU *-xar* ~ KM *-kar* substantival base part of the compound, KU *xansy-* ~ KM *kansy-* 'to know', KU KM *jan.gi* 'to play, to act', KU *laxøl* ~ KM *lakøl* 'someone's way'. In addition to these also in several words *a* and *å* vary freely: KU *xåsøp* ~ *xasøp* 'sleeping tent', KU *tålyøx* ~ *talyøx,* KM *tålyøk* ~ *talyøk* 'top'.

/ä/   Short open *æ* — The distinction to the phonemically long vowel /ää/ can be drawn on the criterium of length only. Short vowels are the ones that occur as short in open syllables also, e.g. KM KU *mätør* 'someone', *päri* '(to come) back', *äjøx°* 'to drink', *jäni* 'big', *äk°* 'one' (open syllable e.g. *äk°ään* 'til one, together').

/öä/   In KM the diphthong *øæ* with variants (over-short initial component, semi-long latter component) and in KU also *øæ* (were the initial component is near-open): KM KU *wöär-* 'to do, to make', *söät* 'seven', *möänk* 'we Pl emf', *töänk* 'they Pl emf', *öä* 'girl, daughter', *köät* 'hand', *öätyi* 'is not', *syöärøsy* 'sea'. Allophones 1) KM *oå* (latter component semi-long), generally corresponds with the KU *äö* (labial *æ*), sometimes also the KU *öä*. KM *oå* occurs mostly next to *w* and *g* or in the neighbourhood: KM *noåløw* ~ KU *näöløw* 'to the shore', KM *toåwt* ~ KU *täöwt* 'fire', KM *loåwi* ~ KU *läöwi* 'to say, to tell to', KM *roåw* ~ KU *räöw* 'ash', KM *toågøl* ~ KU *täögøl* 'full' (sometimes in KM a monophthong is found instead of a diphthong: KU *mäögløp* 'breast-full' ~ KM *måågløp*, KU *täögøl* 'full' ~ KM *tåågøl;* in these then KM *åå* = *oå*). 2) There is a general equivalence also with KM *öä* KU *äö*: KM *löätti* ~ KU *läötti* id., KM *öänsyøx°* ~ KU *äönsyøx°* 'old man', KM *öäl–öäl* ~ KU *äöl–äöl* 'either–or', KM *köäprøn* ~ KU *käöprøn* 'mattress'. Occasionally the KM diphthong *öä* corresponds with the KU long monophthong *aa* or even the short *a:* KU *naaj* 'princess' ~ KM *nöäj*, KU *jaankøm* 'frozen' ~ KM *jöänkøm*, KU *man* 'we Pl' *tan* 'they Pl' ~ KM *möän, töän*.

/ää/   Long open *æ:* — *äät* 'smell', *nään* 'what', *ääny* 'now'. The paradigmatic variation in the vowel quantity occurs most frequently precisely with the phonemes /ä/ ~ /ää/ (see below for more information), and the frequency would be considered as a reason to question the phonemic status of the long and the short *ä*, as the length of the vowel so greatly depends on the quality of the syllable, which varies with the different inflection forms of the word.

The tables below present the vowel phonemes, with the vowel phonemes in bold face and their most frequent realizations with italics, and they are also found in text examples.

	short			long		
KM						
CLOSE :	u	**i**	**ü**	**uu**	ii	**üü**
			õ	e		
CLOSE-MID	**o**	ö	ø	**oo**	**õõ**	**ee**
OPEN	**å**	**a**	**ä**	oå	**öä**	**ää**

	short			long		
KU						
CLOSE :	u		i	uu	ii	üü
		e				

| CLOSE-MID | o | ö | ø | oo | | ee |
| OPEN | å | a | ä | aa | öä | ää |

QUANTITY AND VOWEL VARIATION

Similar to other dialects, the two vowel quantities are realized in Kannisto's texts as several different vowel lengths. As the main rule, the quantity is realized so that the phonemically long vowel is realized as long, especially in the open syllable, whereas in the closed syllable and before a 2nd syllable with a long vowel it is realized as semi-long or even only quarter-long. The phonemically short vowel can in an open syllable be realized as quarter-long or even semi-long, but in a closed syllable it is always short. Some frequent words in Kannisto's Konda texts occur very exceptionally in this respect: in the words *päti, pätøs* 'to begin, to get into; began, got into' and *tåti, tåtøs* 'to take, took' the vowel in the initial syllable is often realized as long: *pääti, päätøs, tååti, tååtøs*. (The long vowel *åå* is thus not part of the phoneme system; as is the corresponding *oå* (i.e. /öä/).)

The quantity is essentially connected to the paradigmatic vowel variation typical for the Mansi dialects. There are two kinds of vowel variation in Mansi: the thematic variation of old derivation, with the roots going back to the Ob-Ugrian parent language (see p. 000 on word stems), and the vowel variation derived from the separate development of Mansi and its dialects. The youngest variant, or at least the most transparent, is the quantitative variation of the inflection paradigms. There is qualitative variation detectable in the derivation, which can partly be derived from the parent Mansi or the partly non-differentiated dialects.

The basic principle of the paradigmatic quantitative vowel variation is that in the open syllable the vowel is long and in the closed syllable the vowel is short. The varying vowels form a pair long — short in the vowel system. This pair variation is especially typical for the eastern dialects. This system is very similar to cases where in a closed syllable the long vowel has as its pair the variant that is shorter that the long variant of the same phoneme. This can be called pseudo variation. The rule of the open syllable vs. closed syllable does not always hold: e.g. the locative and the plural -t are regularly marked as attaching to the stem without creating the syllable border (that is to form a closed syllable), but the preceding vowel is often long.

Paradigmatic »normal variation» (Steinitz 1955: 121)
ää ~ ä: KM-O *jääløs, jääløn* 'go, come!' ~ *jälsøm* 'went', KM *jälgøm* 'I go'; *ääji* 'drink' ~ *äjsøm* 'I drank', *k°äl* 'house' ~ *k°äält* 'in the house', *k°äälø* 'his house'; *täw* 'he' ~ *tääwø* 'him'
öä, oå (KM) **öä, äö** (KU) **~ å:** KM *loåwi, lööwi*, KU *lääöwi* 'says' ~ *låwwøsøm* 'I was said', *låwgäänøm* 'I order them to'; *jöält* 'down' ~ *jål* 'down'
ee ~ i [i, e, ə]: KU *neegååm* 'I tie' ~ *negsøm* 'I tied' (the KM *neegaam ~ nigsøm*): the variation thus produces either a semi-long variant OR a short vowel corresponding with the long vowel phoneme; both are possible). Variation /ee ~ i/ can thus be realized as variation *ee ~ e* in those dialects, where the realization of /i/ can also be a full vowel *e*.
oo ~ o: KM *kooli* 'hears' ~ *kolwøs* 'was heard', *toowaam* 'I row' ~ *towsøm* 'I rowed', *xotøl* 'day' ~ *xootøl* 'in the day', KU *xooji* 'hits' ~ *xojwøs* 'he was hit', KM KU *ooli* 'is' ~ *olsøm* 'I was'.

õõ (KM), **aa** (KU) **~ å:** KM *lõõl* KU *laal* 'foot' ~ *låjløt* 'feet'; KM *mõõt* 'liver' ~ Pl *måjtøt*; KU *paawøl* 'village' ~ *påjløw* 'our village'. This long vowel in Eastern Mansi has no short pair in the KM phoneme system. Historically it would be represented by a reduced central vowel, in case it had the phoneme position in the eastern dialects. All occurrences are, however, results from the pseudo variation caused by the open and the closed syllable.

VOWELS IN NON-INITIAL SYLLABLES

The vowel systems in non-initial syllables are the following:

KM
CLOSE VOWELS:			*i ~ ii*	
CLOSE-MID VOWELS			*ø*	
OPEN VOWELS		*a ~ aa*	*öä*	*ä ~ ää*

KU
CLOSE VOWELS:			*i ~ ii*		
CLOSE-MID VOWELS		*ø*		*e*	
OPEN VOWELS		*a ~ aa*	*å ~ åå*		*äö*	*ä ~ ää*

The phoneme system in non-initial syllables is simpler than the vowel inventory above: in the open series the vowels have no phonemic length difference, but there is variation of a different kind: preceding the velars the open vowels (*_g, _x, _x° ?_k*) (excluding the diphthong) are realized as short, otherwise mostly as long. A good example of this is provided by the reflexive derivational suffix variants *-(t)axt- ~ -xaat-*. In the definite conjugation person forms (Sg1, Sg2, Pl3) the length of the velar vowel varies freely (e.g. KU *minåm ~ minååm* 'I go'). Also the word internal variation of *i* from short to long is completely free; in the word final position *i* is then again mostly short in the 3rd person singular person marker, whereas in the dual forms it is always long, but this can only be regarded as a tendency, not a rule. The endings that are most frequently long are the identical markers for the dual and for the translative forms of the nouns, the word final *-ii* that in turn varies with *-äg*. In the suffixal positions there is no phonemic difference between *e* and *ø* (similar to the 1st syllable).

Out of the vowels found in the suffixes, the most frequent ones are the four front vowels *ø*, *ä(ä), öä* [~ KU *äö*] and *i(i)*. Out of these *ø* and *ää* share the occurrences in the majority of suffixes: *ø* is most frequent as the only vowel in the suffix, and also the combinations *ø + ää* and *ø + ii* are frequent. *ø* and *ää* vary in several suffixes so that under certain conditions one of these two suffix variants are chosen, either the variant with the vowel *ø* or the one with the vowel *ää*, mainly based on the syllable number of the stem. In the dual and the translative forms the *ii ~ äö/öä (~ ø) ~ ä(g)* vary. There is thus most variation where *-g-* is either missing or in the process of disappearing. The same applies to the present tense forms (1Sg, 2Sg, 3Pl) also, where the suffixal vowel in many cases is *a(a), å(å)*. With respect to the initial vowels discussed above there are notably few of these: in both dialects there are only two even partly back vowel verb conjugation suffixes, namely the 1st person singular forms. The 2nd person singular and the 3rd person plural present tense forms are back vocalic in KM but front vocalic in KU. These back vocalic suffixes are in such a way facultative that the suffixes also have evidently potential variants with the vowel *ø*. Even within one text (from the same informant in the same text) the variation is

demonstrated by e.g. the variations KM *tunsyaan ~ tusgøn* 'you stand', *minaam ~ min.gøm* 'I go'. In the noun declension there are suffixes with back vowels in the possessive suffixes in the category of the dual possessed (*-ååm*) and in the KM abessive (*-taal;* KU *-täöl*). There are somewhat more back vowel forms (-a-) within the derivational suffixes (and on the verb conjugation there is at least the reflexive suffix *(t)axt- ~ -xaat* and the continuative *-lal-*).

II MORPHOPHONOLOGY

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

The syllables in Konda share the following structure (both for the word stem morphemes and the inflectional morphemes):

v-: *ä-* (*ä-jøx°* 'drink' inf., *ä-jiiløm* 'I drink it')
vv-: *uu-* (*uu-møng* 'sufficient'), *oo-* (*oo-li* 'is'), *öä* 'daughter'
(never as non-initial, due to the fact that the word internal syllable border is always before the consonant)
cv-: *ji-* (*ji-søm* 'I came'), *ji* 'night', *lyi* 'or'
-cv (-cø): *-nø* (*k°äl-nø* 'to the house'); in the present tense 3Sg forms and factually also -ci: *tå-ti* 'he brings', *køtii-li* 'he asks'.
cvv-: *jee-* (*jee-k°øs* '(he) danced'), *xoo-* (*xoo-jøs* 'hit'), *mõõ* 'land', *nee* 'woman'
-cvv: *-lii* (*k°ää-lii* '2 houses'), *-nöä* (*mø-nöä* 'they 2 go')
vc-: *äl-* (*äl-wøs* 'he was killed')
(never as non-initial, due to the fact that the word internal syllable border is always before the consonant) vvc-: *ool-* (*ool-søm* 'I was'), *iity* 'night', *eel* 'first', *õõw* 'door', *uus* 'again'
(never as non-initial, due to the fact that the word internal syllable border is always before the consonant) cvc-: *jon* 'at home', *påt* duck', *k°äl* 'house' *k°äl-nø* 'to the house'
-cvc: *-wøs* (*äl-wøs* 'he was killed'), *-läly* (*jå-läly* 'down'), *-røp* (*såg-røp* 'axe') cvvc-: *teex°* 'eat' (inf.), *tuul-søm* 'I went (in)', *läöt-ti* 'says', *syöär* 'place, area'
-cvvc: *-sään* (*ää-lø-sään* 'he killed them'), *-wåäm* (*pü-wåäm* '2 of my sons') vc1c2-: *onk* 'resin', *åst* 'on the surface', *äxt-* (*äxt-søm* 'I collected') cvc1c2-: *joxt-* (*joxt-søn* 'you came'), *månyt* 'skein', *pänk* 'head'
-cvc1c2: *-wøst* (*äl-wøst* 'they were killed'), *-tøst* (*jox-tøst* 'they came') cvvc1c2-: *söämt* 'in the far corner', *moojt* 'story', *põõx°t-søm* 'I shot'
-cvvc1c2: *-nääsyt* (*joxt-nääsyt* 'while coming')

In the syllable final position only such consonant clusters are possible, where the latter component is *t*, in addition to the homorganic clusters of nasal and plosive. Other consonant clusters disperse to an independent syllable with the consonant medial *ø* as the sonorant vowel. The syllable border precedes the consonant following the vowel. It can also occur between two single consonants, or between the components of the geminate, and also in the sequences of three consonants after *t* or after the plosive in the homorganic cluster of the nasal + the plosive, so that the following syllable starts with a single consonant. There are no sequences of two vowels on the syllable border, and the non-initial syllable cannot start with a vowel. The sequence marked with two vowels in the examples is always either a syllable internal long vowel or a diphthong (*öä*, *äö* or *oå*). An exception to the rule of the syllable final consonant clusters is the suffix-like conditional marker *-k* that is attached to the preterite person marker of the verb. It attaches directly to the final consonant of the person marker without the sonorant vowel and without assimilating the person marker nasal: *teeslään.k* 'if you eat it', *älwøsømk* 'if I am killed'.

STEM STRUCTURE

The stem structure in Konda (free morphemes) is represented by the following structure types:

Monosyllabic
v-: *i* 'and, now'
vv-: *uu-* 'to see', *öä* 'girl, daughter'
vc-: *äj-* 'to drink', *äny* 'now'
vvc-: *ool-* 'to be, to live', *uus* 'town', *uus* 'again', *öät* 'not'
vc1c2-: *äxt-* 'to pick, to collect', *onk* 'resin'
vvc1c2-: *öärt-* 'to bar', *õõnk°-* 'to undress'
cv-: *ji-* 'to come', *ji* 'night', *lyi* 'or'
cvv-: *tee-* 'to eat', *nee* 'woman, wife', *mõõ* 'land'
cvc-: *min-* 'go', *pon-* 'put', *tol* 'cloud', *püw* 'boy, son'
cvvc-: *nõõk°-* 'to sting', *teel-* 'to be born', *xooj-* 'to hit', *pees* 'old', *köät* 'hand'
cvc1c2-: *joxt-* 'to come', *pümt-* 'to begin', *lont* 'goose', *pänk* 'head'
cvvc1c2-: *põõx°t-* 'to shoot', *moojt-* 'to tell a story; story', *söäjt* 'thought', *toåwt* 'fire'

Bisyllabic
vvpø-: *öäpø* 'cradle' cvcø-: *nyølø* 'four', [cvci(i): *pupi* (~ *pupii*) 'spirit(being)', *jäni* 'big']
vcøc-: *åjøg-* 'to shout', *owøl* 'head, end', *ałøn* 'silver'
vvcøc-: *eerøg-* 'to sing; song'
cvcøc-: *pånøl* 'hemp'
cvvcøc-: *põõwøl* 'village'

These are thus the structure types of the underived stems. In the bisyllabic words the vowel preceding the consonant in the second syllable is always ø (schwa), and there are full vowels in the derived words only. When a suffix starting with a vowel attaches to the bisyllabic stem, the vowel in the second syllable is dispersed and the syllable border moves from after the vowel in the first syllable into between the remaining consonants (*på-nøl* 'hemp': *pån-løn* 'your hemp'; *å-jøgsøm* 'I shouted': *åj-gøs* 'he shouted'). There are occasionally more larger scale changes occurring in the stems:

Stem variation

In the declension of some words the stem varies not only for the vowels but also for the stem consonants. Such are e.g.
KM *põõwøl*, KU *paawøl* ~ *påjl-* 'village': KM KU *påjløw* 'our village', KM *påjløtään*, KU *påjøltään* 'to his village'
KM *lõõl* KU *laal* ~ *låjøl*, *låjl-* 'foot': KM KU *låjløt* 'feet'
KM *mõõt* ~ *måjt-* 'liver': *måjtøm* 'my liver'

The stem variation is largest with the thematic verbs. There are seven of them, as follows:
mi- ~ *mäj-* (*määj-*) 'to give'
li- ~ *läj-* (*lääj-*) 'to throw, to shoot'
wi- ~ *wäj-* (*wääj-*) 'to take'
ti- ~ *täj-* (*tääj-*) 'to knit, to weave'
ji- ~ *jäj-* (*jääj-*) ~ *jiiw* 'to come'
ti- ~ *tee-* ~ *tööj-* ~ *tåj-* ~ *tii-* 'to eat'
wõõ- (KM) *waa-* (KU) ~ *uu-* 'to see'

The first four of these verbs vary regularly so that the *j*-stem occurs in the imperative and in the passive forms. Also the *j*-stem of the verbs 'to come' and 'to eat' behaves similarly.

The verb 'to come' also has a specific assimilated stem and suffix *jiiw* '(he) comes' for the 3rd person definite conjugation present tense. The conjugation of the verb 'to eat' is the most versatile, as it has two vowel stem variants (*ti-* and *tee-*), two *j*-stem variants (*tööj-* and *tåj-*) and additionally the suffix *tii-* (*juw-tiinøw* 'we would eat it') occurring in the conditional present tense. The variation on the phoneme level is not this large, as with the *öä ~ å* -variation there is a question of the same long and short vowel variation than with the first four verbs, and the *ee ~ ii* represent the same phoneme.

Denasalization

The nasal disappears from the clusters formed by a nasal and a sibilant when a suffix beginning with a consonant attaches to the stem, and the cluster is moved to the end of the syllable. In the verbal stems, the stem ending with a consonant cluster never ends the word form, whereas in the noun stems the nominative is denasalized and the nasal stem variant occurs in the inflected forms:
påns- 'be finished': *pånsi* 'will be finished', *påssøt* 'they were finished'
månsy- 'suffer, to be in distress': *månsyi* 'suffers', *måsysøn* 'you suffered, you were in distress',
sons- 'look': *sonsi* 'looks', *sosgøn* (~ *sonsaan*) 'you look'
tunsy- 'stand': *tunsyi* 'stands', *tusygøm* (~ *tunsyåäm*) 'I stand'
kins- 'search': *kinsi* 'searches', *kinsään* 'He searches for them', *kiswø* 'it is searched for', *kissään* 'he searched for them'.
Denasalization also occurs with the clusters of a nasal and a plosive, but more irregularly, e.g.
kuut ' 'back-bag, load': *kuuntøm* 'my 'back-bag', *kuuntøt* 'in the 'back-bag', *kuutmø* 'back-bag (acc.)'
kont- 'find': *kontåäm* 'I find', *kotsøm* 'I found', *kotwøs* '(it) was found'.

SUFFIX STRUCTURE

Various structure types can be identified for the inflection suffixes in Konda. One suffix can even have several phenotypes. Several suffixes that carry several functions simultaneously are composed of particles that can be separated (such as e.g. the dual accusative *-öämø = -öä* (dual) + *-mø* (accusative)). The agglutination is not as clear with all suffixes, and it is best to describe some suffixes as portmanteau morphs. The basic structure types are the following, with one example given of each type:

-v: *-ø* (PxSg3Sg variant attached to a consonant stem), *-i* (Sbjc3Sg.prs)
-vv: *-öä, -ii* (dual; translative)
-vvc: *-ååm* (Sbjc1Sg.prs; PxDu1Sg), *-öän* (Sbjc2Sg.prs), *-ääp* (PrtcPrs, trisyllabic feet), *-äät* (PxSg3Sg, trisyllabic feet)
-vvcv: *-iitø* (ObjcSg3Sg.prs)
-vvcvc: *-iiløm* (ObjcSg1Sg.prs), *-äänøl* (PxSg3Pl; PxPl3Pl)
-c: *-m* (PxSg1Sg), *-n* (PxSg2Sg), *-t* (locative), *-l* (instrumental), *-x°* (infinitive), *-s* (Sbjc3Sg.pret)
-cv: *-mø* (accusative), *-nø* (lative), *-tø* (PxSg3Sg variant attaching to the vowel stem)
-cvv: (KU) *-sii* (Sbjc3Du.pret)
-cvc: *-nøl* (ablative)
-cvvc: *-sään* (ObjcPl3Sg.pret etc.), *-gään* (ObjcPl3Sg.prs etc.), *-täöl* (abessive)
-cvvcvc: *-säänøl* (ObjcSg3Pl.pret)

There are even more complex structures in some suffix clusters. It is, however, usually possible to separate them into simpler elements.

III MORPHOLOGY

NOUN DECLENSION

The two declension categories assumed by the nouns are the absolute and the possessive declension. The nouns in both categories can be declined in three grammatical number categories, namely singular, dual and plural. In the possessive declension the grammatical number category is part of the possessive suffix, and it is realized as the number of the possessed. The noun inflected with the possessive suffix in the subject position causes the predicate actor agree in number, and in the object position it makes the definite object agree in number in the same way. The grammatical number of the absolute declension is shown later in the context of the nominative case absolute declension.

POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES (NOMINATIVE)

KM	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-øm**	**-åäm, -oåm**	**-äänøm**
2Sg	**-øn, -n**	**-öän**	-ään
3Sg	**-ø, -tø, -äät**	**-öä, -ii, -aa**	**-ään, -äänø**
1Du	**-äämøn**	**-öämøn, -oåmøn**	**-ønäämøn**
2Du	**-ään**	**-öän, ?-nän**	**-ønään**
3Du	**-øtään, -äätøn, -øn**	**-øn, -öän, -käätøn**	-ään
1Pl	**-øw**	-oåw	**-ønøw**
2Pl	**-ään**	-öän	-ään
3Pl	**-äänøl**	-äänøl	**-äänøl**

KU	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-øm**	**-åäm, -oam, -äöm**	**-äänøm**
2Sg	**-øn, -n**	**-äön**	-ään
3Sg	**-ø, -e, -tø, -äät**	**-äö , -ii, -ää**	**-ään**
1Du	**-äämøn**	**-äöm**	**-näämøn**
2Du	**-ään**	**-äön, ?-ønään**	**-(ø)nään**
3Du	**-ään, -äätøn, -ätøn -øn**	**-øn, -ään -kään, -käätøn**	-ään
1Pl	**-øw**	-nøw	**-ønøw**
2Pl	**-ään**	-nään	-(ø)nään
3Pl	**-äänøl**	-äänøl	**-äänøl**

The functions of the possessive suffix are closely related to expressing possession and other close togetherness and part-whole relations in a similar way than in the Finnish language. Different from Finnish (but similar to Hungarian), they are also used in forming GN constructions (»father's house») and existentials of possessive constructions (»you have a house / you have no house»). See »Possessive Constructions», p. 000. Some examples are also given in the section presenting the suffixes.

1SG

The possessive suffix in the category of the 1st person singular single possessed (Sg1Sg) is an invariable *-m*. It is attached to the base in consonant-final stems with the binding vowel (*-ⱷm*):

KM -(ø)m ~ KU -(ø)m

mõõm 'my land'	*maam* id.
neegøm 'my woman'	*neem* id.
onygøm 'my aunt'	*onygøm* id.
eergøm 'my song'	*eergøm* id.
lyonkøm 'my road'	*lyoonxøm* id.
løløm 'my spririt'	*løløm* id.
määnyøm 'my daugher-in-law'	*määnyøm* id.
põnytøm 'my brother-in-law'	*pånytøm* id.
moojtøm 'my fairy tale'	*moojtøm* id.
nåmtøm 'my thoughts'	*nåmtøm* id.
ojmøkøm 'my relatives'	*ojmøxøm* id.

E.g.
eergøm *pøl ools,* **moojtøm** *pøl ools* 'my song was (this), my fairy tale was (this)'
nåmtøm *päätøskäät, jäälååm* 'if I feel like it (»if my mind falls»), the I arrive'
*äk° **eeløm** k°åt nän såxtøslään?* 'how have you counted one of my years wrong?'
om päri-mønååm **põnytøm** *pookøn, noräänøm wøx° mønååm* 'I go back to my brother-in-law, I go revenge'

In compound words, the possessive suffix is often added to the first constituent only, if the head and the modifier have a subordinating relationship. Compound words denoting relatives are often of the following type: 'father+daughter' = 'sister', 'father+son' = 'brother', 'grandfather-daugher' = 'aunt'. The head is thus available for other endings and the inflection of the head can, in addition to possession, also denote number or case. All information in the single words is included in the suffix of the possessive declension. In asyndetic compounds with both parts equal (such as *jeg-syük* 'parents (= father-mother)', the suffixes used are usually those of the Px-category dual possessed that also employ a co-ordinating function (see below). Examples of subordinating compound words with possession marked in the modifier only are:

jägøm-öä 'my sister'	*jegøm-äö* id. (1=PxSg1Sg 2=Ø)
jägøm-püw 'my brother'	*jegøm-püw* id.
öäsyøm-öä 'my aunt'	*öäsyøm-öä* id.
noåjøm-öä 'my daughter-of-the-princess'	*naajøm-aa* id.

E.g.
om **jägøm-öä** *tulmøntøsløn, teep-wånsyørøn öätyi, loåm-wånsyørøn öätyi* 'you have robbed my sister, although you have no tablespoon, no soupspoon'
noåjøm-öä *ootrøm-öä køtiiliiløm, täw komøly loåwi, öät loåwi* 'I ask of my daughter-of-the-princess, my daughter-of-the-prince, what they say or not'
In the category of dual possessed, the element denoting the number or the possessed resembles the suffix of the absolute dual, but is not truly equivalent with it. In the possessive paradigm it is the velar monophthong *-åå-* that refers to the dual possessed in 1st person singular, whereas the absolute dual is marked by the palatal diphthong (*-äö ~ -öä*) or the monophthong *-ii* (see below for more information):

KM -ååm (-oåm) ~ KU -ååm (-oam, -ääm)

öägååm 'my daughters2'	*öägååm* id.
püwååm 'my sons2'	*püwååm* (*püwäöm*) id.
säämååm 'my eyes2'	*säämååm* id.
jääpååm (*jääpoåm*) 'my brothers2'	*jääpååm* (*jääpoam*) id.
(kit) ootrååm 'my2 princes'	*(kit) ootrååm* id.

E.g.
*om **säämååm** k°åtøl wøsöän?* 'where have you fetched my eyes?'
*om **püwååm** jon öätyømäg* 'neither of my sons are at home'
*om **püwååm** joxtøx° tø jømtsäg* 'my sons2 are coming'
***jääpoåm** løløngäg?* 'are my brothers2 with spirit (alive)?'

In the category of plural possessed, the element indicating person in the possessive suffix is attached to the element *-ään* denoting the plural possessed.

KM -äänøm ~ KU -äänøm (Pl1Sg)

ääkäänøm 'my uncles (pl)'	*ääkäänøm* id.
pänkäänøm 'my teeth (pl)'	*pänkäänøm* id.
kuusyäänøm 'my farmhands (pl)'	*xuusyäänøm* id.
inkijäänøm 'my maids (pl)'	*enkijäänøm* id.

E.g.
*tåm, öät tøgløm, tus-keewør-**pänkäänøm** öät piilyaat* 'no, I do not eat, (in-the-mouth-) my teeth can not'
In compound words, plurality can also be emphasized by attaching the absolute plural suffix to the head (in the example clause there are two synonyms, the single word constituent *ääk* 'uncle' and the two-word constituent *öäsy-püw* id.).

KM -øm + -t ~ KU -øm + -t

öäsyøm-püwt 'my uncles (pl)'	*öäsyøm-püwt* id.

*ääkäänøm, **öäsyøm-püwt** jål-søriløwt, koontløwt* 'my uncles (pl), my grandfather's sons (pl) are thrust with a sword and defeated'

2SG
The basic element in the 2nd person singular is *-n* and the same form also serves as the possessive suffix of the single possessed.

KM -øn, -n ~ KU -øn, -n (Sg2Sg)

öän 'your daughter'	*öän* id.
püwøn 'your son'	*püwøn* id.
mõõn 'your land'	*maan* id.
neen 'your wife'	*neen* id.
wöän 'your strength'	*wöän* id.
koolkøn 'your people'	*xoolxøn* id.
k°ääløn 'your house'	*k°ääløn* id
köätøn 'your hand'	*köätøn* id
låjløn 'your foot'	*låjløn* id.
påjløn 'your village'	*påjløn* id.

öänsyøk°øn 'your old man'   *äönsyøx°øn* id.

E.g.
*om jägøm-öä tulmøntøsløn, teep-**wånsyørøn** öätyi, loåm-**wånsyørøn** öätyi* 'you have robbed my sister, although you have no spoon no soup spoon' (existential possessive construction)
*syøm kom, näg **püwøn** päri-uurääløn!* 'good man, control your son!»
*oojt öäløm-pöält **påjløn** tåt tø wonli* 'on the other side of the meadow is your village'
***öänsyøk°øn** jöänkøt jål-piilyøs* 'your old man sank into the bog'
In the category of dual possessed the function of the dual is realized by a different vowel than in the 1st person singular: KM *-öä-* / KU *-äö-* :

KM -öän ~ KU -äön (Du2Sg)
öägöän-püwöän 'your children2'   *äögäön-püwäön* id.
püwöän (~ püwaan) 'your sons2'   *püwäön* id.

E.g.
***öägöän-püwöän** köärøx lyø öät köärøx?* 'do you need your children or not?'
*om keetwøsøm näg **püwöän** pookøn* 'I was sent to your sons'
In the category of plural possessed the suffix is the portmanteau morph *-ään:* KM KU *püwään* '(many) sons'.

3SG
The 3rd person singular possessive suffix has three suffix variants in the category of single possessed: *-ø, -tø* and *-äät*. Variant *-tø* is the rarest of these. It is, however, the only option for the single syllable vowel stems such as KM *mõõ*, KU *maa* 'land' and KM KU *nee* 'wife'. Variation between the variants is otherwise relatively free: both variants can be found in the text for several words (*lølø ~ løläät* 'spirit', *owlø ~ owläät* 'end', *työätyø ~ työätyäät* 'father', *torø ~ toräät* 'voice, throat', *iisyø ~ iisyäät* 'little sister'). In the three-syllable feet the variant *-äät* -variant is clearly primary:

KM -tø ~ KU -tø (Sg3Sg)
mõõtø 'his place, his land'   *maatø* id.
komtø 'his man'   *xomtø* id.

KM -ø ~ KU-ø (Sg3Sg)
sojø 'his voice'   *sojø* id.
tålykø 'his top'   *tålyxø* id.
mõõnk°ø 'his back'   *maank°ø* id.
låjlø 'his feet'   *låjlø* id.
lølø 'his spirit'   *lølø* id.
k°äälø 'his house'   *k°äälø* id.
kääsyø 'his little brother'   *kääsyø* 'little brother'
põnytø 'his brother-in-law'   *paanytø* id.

KM -äät ~ KU -äät (Sg3Sg)
løläät 'his spirit'   *løläät* id.
õõwäät 'his door'   *aawäät* id.
jiiwäät 'his wood'   *jiiwäät* id.

öänsyøk°äät 'his old man' *äönsyøk°äät* id.
osytøräät 'his whip' *osytøräät* id.
sågrøpäät 'his axe' *sågrøpäät* id.
oosymøsyäät 'his key' *osymøsyäät* id.
kosyäjnäät 'his master' *küsyäjnäät* id.

In the 3rd person GN (possessor + possessed noun) constructions the noun denoting the possessor is not declined, and the construction is marked with a possessive suffix attached to the possessed (see section »Constructions» for more details). When the possessor is known (in the translation into Finnish it usually expressed with the pronoun "he"), it is usually absent from the surface structure. The possessor is marked with a pronoun only if it is particularly stressed (as is the case in other persons).

*kom **løl**ø päri-tuujøpøs* 'man's spirit came back'
*pöäl **låjl**ø mønømtøwøs, pöäl **köät**ø mønømtøwøs* 'his one leg was torn, his one arm was torn'
*towøl-wojøt kom **põnyt**ø jåt pümtøs koontlaxtøx°* 'then the man started to fight with his brother-in-law'
*øl-säästøläp põõwøl-**owläät** øl-säästøliitø, øl-säästøläp uus-**owläät** øl-säästøliitø* 'the side of his expandable village side (he) expands, the side of his expandable town (he) expands'
*äk°-määsyt **toräät** köälynäät lyoomii-tornø päätøs* 'then its sound turned into gnat buzz'

In the 3rd person singular the possessive suffix has also a deictic function:
*moot **komt**ø tåri löättii* 'he says to another man (»his man»)'

In the category of dual possessed, the main variants of the 3rd person singular are the same than the usual variants *-äö* / *-öä* and *-ii* marking the absolute dual. It is therefore not possible to infer without context from an isolated word form whether it is a question of an absolute or a possessive dual (*kõõpöä* 'two boats' or 'his both boats'). Words denoting relatives can positively be interpreted as possessives. For the possessive form of compounds denoting relatives, the possessive suffix can be attached either to the first or the second part of the compound: KM *jägöä-püw ~ jäg-püwöä*, KU *jegäö-püw ~ jeg-püwäö* (father-PxDu3Sg+son-SgNom ~ father-SgNom+son-PxDu3Sg) 'his 2 brothers'. In KM there is also a non-frequent monophthong variant *-aa* in addition to the frequent variants.

KM -öä ~ KU -äö (Du3Sg)
kääsyöä 'his little brothers2' *kääsyäö* id.
köätöä '(both) his hands' *köätäö* id.
säämöä '(both) his eyes' *säämäö* id.
öägöä-püwöä '(both) his children' *äögäö-püwäö* id.

KM -ii ~ KU -ii (Du3Sg)
säämii '(both) his eyes' *säämii* 'eye' id.
öägii-püwii '(both) his children' *äögii-püwii* id.

KM -aa ~ KU -äö (Du3Sg)
owlaa '(both) his heads' *owläö* id.

köätaa '(both) his hands'   *köätäö* id.
lõõl-äälaa '(both) his ankles'   *laal-ääläö* id.

Some examples:
*kurøm jäg-püwønsy wisykø kom **jägöä-püw** pookøn joxtøs* 'of three brothers the youngest came to his brothers'
***jägø-püwöä** pårøwløsgø* 'his brothers jumped into it'
*k°oløx **öägöä-püwöä** øsøpøsgø säm nõõk°øx°* 'raven's young sat down to peck at (dead ones') eyes'
*ääktø säämiimø øsøm-wityøl syåstøgöä, ääktø **säämii** keeløptøwøsäg* 'he rubs uncle's eyes with hot water, uncle's eyes turned bloody'
*ääktø köäløpøs, **säämöä** punsiitaxtsäg* 'uncle got up and his eyes opened'
*puwøx° jømtøstø, **köätaa** öät tø joxtsäg* 'he was about to catch it, but his hands did not reach'

In the category of the plural possessed, the 3rd person possessive suffix singular is equivalent with the 2nd singular suffix, the 2nd/3rd person dual suffixes and the 2nd person plural possessive suffixes within the same category. It is thus a polysemous morpheme *-ään* which as a person marker also appears as part of several object conjugation suffixes (more of these below).

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (Pl3Sg)
komään '(all) his belongings'   *xomään* id.
wisy-karään 'his children (pl)'   *wisy-xarään* id.
kuusyään 'his farmhands (pl)'   *xuusyään* id.
kääwään 'his stones (pl)'   *kääwään* id.
püwään 'his sons (pl)'   *püwään* id.
inkijään 'his maids (pl)'   *inkijään* id.

E.g.
***wisy-karään** rõõsiilääm lyöälyt köälsøt* 'his children came crying to him'
***ton-tø-karään** söärøsynø noåløw tø råssään* 'he threw those his belongings into the sea'
*põnytø **inkijään kuusyään** koontlaat, juw-mønøst* 'his brother-in-law's farmhand and maid listen, went in'
*täw **püwään** kurøm püw* 'his sons were three sons'

1DU
The possessive suffix in the 1st person dual in the category of single possessed includes, in addition to the primary element denoting person *-møn*, also a full vowel *-ää-* functioning as the transitional vowel. (KM *öämpäämøn* 'our2 dog', *k°äälläämøn* 'our2 house', KU *k°ääläämøn* 'our2 house', *logäämøn* 'our2 horse'). Other examples:

KM -äämøn ~ KU -äämøn (Sg1Du)
öägäämøn 'our2 daughter'   *öägäämøn* id.
lyõõnkäämøn 'our2 word'   *lyaanxäämøn* id.
komäämøn 'our2 man'   *komäämøn* id.
nääräämøn 'what our2'   *nääräämøn* id.
kääsyäämøn 'our2 brother'   *kääsyäämøn* id.
nåmtäämøn 'our2 thought'   *nåmtäämøn* id.

In the category of dual possessed, the diphthong-element of the dual appears in the suffix. The suffix Du1Du found in one of the KM texts includes both the diphthong-element indicating the dual possessed, and the 1st person dual person element entirely. There are two diphthong variants for the dual: the palatal and the velar: *öämpoåmøn* '2 dogs of the two of us', *k°äälöämøn* (also *k°äälønäämøn* resembling the plural) '2 houses of the two of us'. The suffix in KU is more worn, and it includes only the dual element and the element *m* referring to the 1st person, and the marker *-n* denoting the dual possessor is absent. In the text example this is compensated by the personal pronoun of the possessor *min* 'we2':

KM -öämøn ∼ KU -ääm (Du1Du)
KM *öägöämøn-püwöämøn* 'our2 (both) children'
KU *min äögäöm-püwäöm* id.

In the category of the plural possessed the 1st person possessive suffix is transparent: the suffix *-näämøn* includes the *n*-element referring to the plurality and the person element *-møn* of the possessed.

KM -ønäämøn ∼ KU -ønäämøn (Pl1Du)
lølønäämøn 'our2 spirits (pl)'   *lølønäämøn* id.
jõõsønäämøn 'our2 hands (pl)'   *jåsønäämøn* id.
köätønäämøn 'our2 hands (pl)'   *köätønäämøn* id.

2DU
The 2nd person dual is together with the 2nd person plural the most infrequent of the person forms appearing in the text, and therefore only few examples can be expected, and it is precisely these two forms that have been joined together in most of the categories. In the category of the single possessed the suffix *-ään* (Sg2Du) is found in both dialects:

KM -ään ∼ KU -ään (Sg2Du)
jäg-öägään 'your2 sister'   *jeg-öägään* id.
öämølään 'your2 skill'   *öämølään* id.

In the category of the dual possessed, *-öän* (*öämpöän* 'your2 dogs2') is the frequent variant and includes the dual element. In his grammatical paradigms, Kannisto also presents the variants *-ønään* and *-ään* (*k°äälønään ∼ k°äälään* 'your2 houses2') that in form are close to the suffixes in the plural category. Only the most predictable form KU *-äön,* KM *-öän* can be found in nominative case in the text.

KM -öän ∼ KU -äön (Du2Du)
öägöän-püwöän 'your2 both children'   *äögäön-püwäön* id.

The example found in the text of 2nd person dual suffix of the plural possessed category is unclear regarding the number of the possessed, because it is in theory possible to refer to the dual members of the human body also with the suffix of the single possessed. Thus two pairs of eyes possessed by two possessors could also be realized with the dual form possessed. Most expressions of these dual body members do, however, include the suffix of the single possessor of the dual possessed (c.f. *ääktø säämii* 'his uncle's eyes', *köätöä* 'his hands' above), and the logical interpretations of two eyes of the dual possessor = four eyes = plural suffix as a result.

KM -ønään ~ KU -ønään (Pl2Du)
säämønään 'your (pl) eyes'   *säämønään* id.

3DU
In the 3rd person dual suffix, specifically in the category of the single possessed, the basic element *-tøn* marks the person category in question. It is attached as such to the monosyllabic vowel stem. The most frequent variant is *-äätøn* with an initial full vowel and there also exists an alternative variant *-øn* resembling the suffix Sg2Sg, that seems to occur attached to stems *-t*, *-ty* (i.e. **-täätøn, *-tyäätøn > -tøn, -tyøn*).

KM -tøn ~ KU -tøn (Sg3Du)
wöätøn 'their2 strength'   *wöätøn* id.

KM -äätøn ~ KU -äätøn (Sg3Du)
kääsyäätøn 'their2 brother'   *kääsyäätøn* id.
öämøläätøn 'their2 skill'   *öämøläätøn* id.
öätømäätøn 'their2 people'   *öätømäätøn* id.

KM -øn ~ KU -øn (Sg3Du)
köätøn 'their2 hand'   *köätøn* id.
työätyøn 'their2 father'   *työätyøn* id.

In the category of dual possessed the versatility is as large as in the category of single possessed described above. As can be expected, the same suffixes are found here than in the category of the singular; these are *-øn* and *-ään*, where no element in either of them is referring directly to the dual possessed. They are attached to words, where the dual is more or less implicit (KM *jäg-syük* 'father and mother', *köät* 'hand' and KU *äö-püw* 'child; daughter and son'), or the numeral *kit* 'two' is present as an attribute. The final *-n* itself can be interpreted as the marker for the dual possessor. Another dual type typically includes a diphthong as the dual marker, or some other vowel instead of the velar plosive *-k-*. Among these velar variants of the possessive suffix Du3Du are the KU KM *-käätøn* and the KU *-kään*. Out of these suffix variants *-käätøn* is the most transparent one: there is a clear dual element *-k-* and the most unambiguous 3rd person dual element *-tøn*.

KM -øn ~ KU -øn (Du3Du)
jägøn-syükøn 'their2 parents'   *jegøn-syükøn* id.

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (Du3Du)
kit köätään 'their2 hands'   *kit köätään* id.
KU *äögään-püwään* 'their2 children2'

KM -käätøn ~ KU -käätøn (Du3Du)
wäätøkäätøn 'their2 ski bindings2'   *wäätøkäätøn* id.

KU -kään (Du3Du)
wäätøkään 'their2 ski bindings2'
toorøm-nyol =maa-nyolkään 'their2 heaven and earth oaths'

In the KM texts even some other possessive suffix variants Du3Du are occasionally found: here is an example about both variant *-öän* and variant *-aan:* KM *öägöän-püwöän* 'their2 children2, KM *köätaan* 'their2 hands'.

Based on the Kannisto paradigm the notion of the suffix Du3Du is much more simple; Liimola (1963: 205–06) presents the following: KU *k°äälään, k°ääløtøn* (the same as suffixes Sg3Du), KM *öämpöän, k°äälään*. There are no examples about the plural possessed in this person category. The Kannisto paradigms (this volume, pp. 000) present suffixes KU *-ään, -ønään* (*k°äälønään* 'their many houses') and KM *-ään*.

1PL

The 1st person plural possessive suffix KU KM *-øw* is identical with the basic person element.

KM -øw ~ KU -øw (Sg1Pl)

jägøw 'our father'	*jegøw* id.
noåjøw, nöäjøw 'our princess'	*näöjøw, naajøw* id.
ootrøw, ootørøw 'our prince'	*ootrøw, ootørøw* id.
öäsy-öägøw 'our aunt'	*öäsy-öägøw* id.

In the category of the dual possessed, the suffix (Du1Pl) found in the Kannisto paradigm is the transparent *-oåw* in KM (Liimola 1963: 206), where *-oå-* is the dual element, and *-w* the possessed person element. In the KU paradigm this form is found in one example word only: *k°äälnøw*, and this is identical to the form in the possessed plural category. The plural possessed category suffix is *-nøw, -ønøw*. The latter one of these seems more frequent. It is also attached to a monosyllabic vowel stem with a binding vowel *-g-* (KM *wöägønøw* 'our power (pl)') similarly with *øw* of the single possessesed (*öägøw* above).

KM -(ø)nøw ~ KU -(ø)nøw (Pl1Pl)

sownøw 'our skins'	*sownøw* id.
noåjønøw 'our princesses'	*naajønøw* id.
ootrønøw 'our princes'	*ootrønøw* id.
nyuupønøw 'our brothers-in-law'	*nyuupønøw* id.
koontønøw 'our troops'	*xoontønøw* id.

2PL

In the 2nd person plural of the singular category, the suffix is the above mentioned *-ään* with multiple functions. The same suffix also functions in KM in the plural category (Pl2Pl) partly following the Kannisto paradigms. In these paradigms the dual category suffix for this person in KM is again *-öän* indicating the dual element. In KU the suffix Du2Pl is similar to the plural category suffix, but not precisely: in the paradigm (Liimola 1963: 205) *k°äälnään* 'their two houses' and *k°äälønään* 'their many houses'.

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (Sg2Pl)

sojään 'your (pl) voice'	*sojään* id.
syükään 'your (pl) mother'	*syükään* id.
tøtään 'this your (pl) (thing)'	*tøtään* id.
öäsy-öägään 'your (pl) aunt'	*öäsy-öägään* id.

3PL

The possessive suffix of the 3rd person plural is the same *-äänøl* in all number categories for the possessed. The suffix is attached to the monosyllabic vowel stem with the binding consonant *-g-* :

KM -äänøl ~ KU -äänøl (Sg3Pl)

mõõgäänøl 'their land'	*maagäänøl* id. (KM *mõõ*, KU *maa* 'land')
säägäänøl 'their plait'	*säägäänøl* id. (KM KU *säg* 'plait')
õõtäänøl 'their hair'	*aatäänøl* id.
keewräänøl 'their inside'	*kiiwräänøl* id.
põnytäänøl 'their brother-in-law'	*pånytäänøl* id.
lyoonkäänøl 'their road'	*lyoonxäänøl* id.
kosyäjnäänøl 'their master'	*küsyäjnäänøl* id.

When the possessive suffix does not show any difference between the single and the plural possessed, it is possible to mark only the first part of the compound with Px (as usual) and the absolute plural marker can thus be attached to the latter part, which usually is the basic form of the word: (KU) *jegäänøl-püw* 'their one brother' ~ 'their 2 brothers' ~ 'their many brothers' but *jegäänøl-püwt* only 'their many brothers'. An infrequent variant found in KU is a shorter polysemic *-ään*, which on the basis of its other functions more clearly indicates the plurality of the possessed (KU *jøn-xarään* 'their kin = their relatives at home' vs. KM *jon-karäänøl* id.).

KM -äänøl ~ KU -äänøl (Pl3Pl)

ääsäänøl 'their holes'	*ääsäänøl* id.
pänkäänøl 'their knobs'	*pänkäänøl* id.
köätäänøl 'their hands'	*köätäänøl* id.
jägäänøl-püwt 'their (all) brothers'	*jegäänøl-püwt* id.

CASE DECLENSION AND THE FUNCTIONS OF THE CASES

In addition to the invariable nominative, there are seven other noun cases. The case suffixes of the absolute declension are presented in the table below. The suffixes for the possessive declension are shown with to each case. Suffixes boldfaced in the table represent suffixes found in the texts. Suffixes printed in the normal font do not appear in the texts but I have added cases that seem uncontroversial to the KM table.

KM	Sg	Du	Pl
Nom	—	**-ii, -öä, -äg**	**-t**
Acc	**-mø**	**-iimø, -ägmø**	**-tmø**
Lat	**-øn, -ään, -nø**	**-öänø, -öän, -ägøn**	**-tnø**
Loc	**-t, -äät, -tø**	-öät	-tøt
Abl	**-nøl**	-öänøl	-tnøl
Transl	**-äg, -ii, -öä, -aa**	**-äg**	**-äg**
Instr	**-øl**	? -öätøl	? -tøl
Car	**-tal, -töäl**	?	?

KU	Sg	Du	Pl
Nom	—	**-ii, -äö**	**-t**
Acc	**-mø, -m**	-äömø	**-tmø**
Lat	**-øn, -ään, -nø**	**-äön, -ägøn, -öänø, -äönø**	**-tnø, -øtnø**
Loc	**-t, -äät, -tø**		
Abl	**-nøl**		**-tnøl**
Transl	**-äg, -ig, -ii, -äö**	**-äg**	**-äg**
Instr	**-øl**		
Car	**-täöl**		

Nominative, dual and plural

The **nominative** singular is invariable.
The **nominative dual** suffix is also the marker for the absolute dual. Its basic elements have several realizations: two of them are vocalic and one of them is consonantal. Historically, the consonantal elements are primary, because both of the vocalic elements can be considered to display the resulting forms of their phonological developments. Similar vocalizations can be identified in other suffixes and grammatical elements which can be historically seen as developed from the suffixes with the element *g*; among these are, in addition to the dual, also the present tense and the translative forms. Different variants have no clear distributions. Even examples of several words exist that occur with several different dual suffixes, e.g. KM *komöä / komii*, KU *xomäö / xomii* '2 men', KM *eek°-öänsyøk°öä / eek°-öänsyøk°äg*, KU *eek°-äönsyøk°äö / eek°-äönsyøk°ii* '2 old women-old men = old woman and old man'. In the texts there are three different types of dialectal variation: the first one has a diphthong (KU *-äö*, KM *-öä*) in both dialects, the second one has the monophthong variant *-ii* in both dialects, and the third one has a consonant variant *-äg* in KM corresponding with the monophthong in KU.

KM -öä ~ KU -äö (DuNom)

jääpöä 'brothers2'   *jääpäö* id.
eek°-äönsyøk°öä 'old woman and old man' *eek°-öänsyøk°äö* id.
jortöä 'partners2'   *jortäö* id.
xomöä 'men2'   *xomäö* id.

KM -ii ~ KU -ii (DuNom)

öägii-püwii 'children2'   *äögii-püwii* id.
komii 'men2'   *xomii* id.
neegii 'women2   *neegii* id.
toorømii 'gods2'   *toormii* id.
tõõxtii 'black-throated loons2'   *taxtii* id.

KM -äg (~ -øg) ~ KU -ii (DuNom)

nee-syisyk°äg 'wives2'   *nee-syisyk°ii* id.
lõõlwäg 'red-throated loons2'   *lalwii*   id.
eek°-öänsyøk°äg 'old woman and old man' *eek°-äönsyøk°ii* id.
jåsøg 'skis'   *jåsii* id.

The nominative plural suffix also functions as the marker of the nominal absolute plural. The ending *-t* is the same as the most frequent variant of the locative singular endings. The suffix is attached to the vowel stem as such, and also to most of the consonant stems, because it is the consonant clusters ending with *t* that are the most stable among the word final and syllable final endings. Only the plosives *-k, -p, -t* and *-k°* and the labiovelar *-x°* as stem final separate the suffix *t* into a separate syllable that thus begins with the final consonant of the stem in question. The plural *-t* is attached to the stems of type (C)v(v)cøc either directly or through metathesis, where *-ø-* moves from between the stem consonants to a position preceding the suffix. Examples of such alternating constructions are *ootør* 'prince': PlNom *ootørt / ootrøt* 'princes'.

KM -t ~ KU -t (PlNom)

(vowel-final stem)
neet 'women'   *neet* id.
kosgiit 'ants'   *xosiit* id.
(consonant-final stem)
k°äält 'houses'   *k°äält* id.
komt 'men'   *xomt* id.
öätømt 'people'   *öätømt* id.
öänt 'cups'   *öänt* id.
jäg-öänsyt 'siblings'   *jeg-öägønsyt* id.
püwt 'boys'   *püwt* id.
õõwt 'doors'   *aawt* id.

KM -øt ~ KU -øt (PlNom)

öäsøkøt 'trunks'   *öäskøt* id.
eek°øt 'old women'   *eek°øt* id.
öänsyøk°øt 'old men'   *äönsyøx°øt* id.
koontøt 'troops (pl)'   *xoontøt* id.
kowtøt 'spruces'   *xowtøt* id.

The word *jiiw* 'tree' (which has a homonym verb *jiiw* 'comes') gets an exceptional plural suffix *-ty* KM KU *jiiwty* 'trees (pl)' which is not found with any other noun. *jiiwt* is merely the form 'they come'.

The functions of the nominative

Nominative is the case denoting subject. With the nominal subject in nominative singular, the verb takes the 3rd person singular form:

kom *joxti* 'man comes', **eek°** *mønøs* 'old woman left'.

The nominative dual can function as a marker for the dual subject, where the verb agrees with it in numeral, and it is thus in 3rd person dual:
neegii *tåtøxtøsgø, mønøsäg* 'women traipsed around, left'
komii *löättöä* 'men say'.

In the nominative plural, also the verb, in addition to the subject, is in the 3rd person plural:
tåt päjøktääm ooløm **öätømt** *tulsøt, mønøst, säämnøl kåriløst* 'people there at the fish drying job had escaped, vanished out of sight'
kurøm **jäg-öänsyt** *tok oolaat* 'so live three sisters'.

In the passive clause, the nominative constituent with which the verb agrees in person functions as the subject:
(dual) **eek°-öänsyøk°äg** *komøly kasywäg?* 'how old man and old woman are known?'
(plural) *uus-õõwt pöäli-ponwøst* 'city gates were opened'
ääkäänøm öäsyøm **püwt** *jål-søriløwt, koontløwt* 'my uncles, my grandfather's sons are thrust with a sword and are defeated'.

Nominative is also the case of the indefinite object (cf. accusative). The dual object and the plural object in nominative can also be definite, which can in these cases be seen in the way the object conjugation of the verb is used. The verb thus agrees with the dual or the plural object (see »object conjugation» in more detail):
(dual) **komöä** *kåjøntäx° päts**öä** 'he started to beat men'
(plural) *iity-søgør-kom k°ål-søgør-kom* **eek°øt** *neegii wøs**ään** 'he wedded the wives of the men of the red of eve and the red of dawn'
eek°ø mønøs, **nyolt kowtøt** *jåt-mänliites**ään** 'old woman went, snatched along firs and spruces'
möänknaan wöäng **ooløpøt, ootrøt** *kønsøx° köärkøt* 'must find us strong heroes and princes'.

Also nouns with possessive suffixes are definite, and as objects it is often enough to mark them with the possessive suffix of the nominative. Therefore the accusative case of the possessive declension is very rare and in practice it is limited to 3rd person objects.
äk° **eeløm** *k°åt nän såxtøslään?* 'how have you counted one of my years wrong?'
joorlii **öän**, *joorlii* **püwøn** *tøxtääløn, äjtääløn* 'feed, give a drink to your poor daughter, your poor son'.

The nominative constitutent can further function as a the predicative of the clause (but see the translative case also):
(dual) *kon **nee-syisyk°äg**?* 'whose dear wives are they?'
(plural) *töän k°åtøm pøl **koontøt** tøt* 'these must be troops'.

The possessor is also marked with the nominative, and it also indicates to whom or where something belongs. In these constructions the possessed is marked with the possessive suffix (see «Possessive construction»):
*õõw-wõõtäät jääpöä **jåsøg** wäätøkäätøn øl-sågrøpesöä* 'he cut out in the doorway his brothers' ski bindings'
*k°oløx **öägii-püwii** jägøn-syükøn joxtsäg* 'raven chicks' father and mother came'
*k°ääløng **eek°-öänsyøk°öä** eek°ø löättii* 'house's couple's old woman says'
*når **öäsøkøt** tålykäänøl koot toorøs, söät toorøs* 'tops of long trunks were six, seven shaftments'.

Also the possessor in the possessive constructions of the habeo-type are in the nominative, as possession is expressed with the verb (*ønsyi* 'habet / he has'), and the possessor is the subject of the clause:
*õõx°tøsøng-mågløp **ooløpøt** õx°tøs-søm **ønsyaat**, a ton-mänt keewräänøl töätlään* 'stone-breasted heroes have a stone heart, but their insides are empty'.

Nominative is also the case for the modifier in the postpositional phrase:
*pöätømläämäät wojøl k°oløx **öägii-püwii** tärmøløn pätøs* 'when he jumped he fell on the raven sons'
***eek°-öänsyøk°öä** pookøn juw wøl koojøn!* 'do not go to the old woman and old man!'
***k°äält** kålt sopøl tunsyi* 'in the middle of the houses stands a pillar'.

In addition to substantival nouns, dual and plural suffixes can be attached to other nouns (adjectives) and pronouns. These are used in the position of the predicative:
*køtiiløgöä: »jääpoåm **løløngäg?**»* 'he asks them: »Are my two brothers with spirit?»' (»alive»)
*teen toorømii äm **näärii?*** 'are they two gods or what?'.

The dual and the plural forms of the particle *öätyøm* 'is not, does not exist' denoting the predicative existence function similarly:
KU *öätyimii ~ äötyømäg* 'are not (two)', KM *öätyømäg* id.
*om püwåäm jon **öätyømäg*** 'my two sons are not at home'
*uurøs, uurøs, **öätyømäg*** 'he waited and waited, they (two) do not come'
*uurkaatsøt, uurkaatsøt, **öätyømt*** 'waited and waited, no one comes (»there is no one»)'.

An important function of the dual is to denote the asyndetic coordination of two nouns. The dual marker is then usually attached to both coordinated nouns. The compound 'old woman and old man', with the latter part always in the dual form and the first part ('old woman') always in singular, is an exception to this rule.
***eek°-öänsyøk°äg** komøly kasywäg?* 'how do they know old woman and old man?'
*kääsøtäänøl **tõõxtii lõõlwäg** k°än-öälmøjøsöä* 'took out from his pocket a black-throated loon and a red-throated loon'.

Accusative

The accusative suffix is *-mø*. In KU there is also a less frequent variant *-m* or *-øm* with a genuine gliding vowel; it can also follow a broken consonant cluster, e.g. KU *påtøløm* 'lump, block (acc.)'

KM -mø ~ KU -mø, -(ø)m (SgAcc)

mõõmø 'land (acc.)'	*maam(ø)* id.
neemø 'woman (acc.)'	*neem(ø)* id.
woormø 'forest (acc.)'	*woorøm* id.
påtølmø 'lump (acc.)'	*påtøløm* id.
søriimø 'sword (acc.)'	*søriimø* id.
nöäjmø 'woman, princess (acc.)'	*najmø* id.
k°älmø 'house (acc.)'	*k°älmø* id.
kommø 'man (acc.)'	*xommø* id.
õõwmø 'door (acc.)'	*aawmø* id.
põõwølmø 'village (acc.)'	*paawølmø* id.
öänsyøx°mø 'old man (acc.)'	*äönsyøx°mø* id.
tänkørmø 'mouse (acc.)'	*tänkørmø* id.

In conjugating the demonstrative pronouns, the stem is readily expanded with a substantival uniting element *-kar* (KU *-xar*):

KU	**KM**
ton-karmø 'it (acc.)'	*tonmø* id.
tøtmø 'this (acc.)'	*titmø* id.

The **accusative plural** is an agglutinative suffix, which is combined out of the absolute plural suffix and the accusative suffix. The plural element is attached to the word *jiiw* 'tree' in the form of *-ty* (see above). It was also noted above that even the determinate plural object is often in the nominative form, and the determinacy of the object is expressed with the object conjugation of the verb. The same is expected to hold with dual definite objectives, as accusative duals are not found in the texts.

KM -tmø ~ KU -tmø (PlAcc)

k°äältmø 'houses (acc.)'	*k°äältmø* id.
wisy-kartmø 'children (acc.)'	*wisy-xartmø* id. (*wisy-kar* »little one« (noun))
koontøtmø 'troops (acc.)'	*xoontøtmø* id.
jiiwtymø 'trees (acc.)'	*jiiwtymø* id.

The **possessive accusative** is rather rare and in practice restricted to the objects possessed by the 3rd person (see the examples of nominal objects above). The 1st and the 2nd person possessive suffixes are sufficient in covering the separate case marker of the definite object in the same way than in Hungarian (*láttam a férjed* 'I saw your spouse'), thus also e.g.

*om **lyoonkøm** öät kansyiiløm* 'I know not my road'
*wønø mät onk-syømør-**toåwtøn** wäjääløn!* 'take your resin-lump-fire, if you want!'
*om **öägöän-püwöän** nåløw-pöäjtøgååm* 'I put your children into the pot'

KM	Sg poss.	Du poss.	Pl poss.
3Sg	-ääm, øtääm	-iimø	?
3Du			

3Pl			

KU	Sg poss.	Du poss.	Pl poss.
3Sg	-ääm, øtääm	?-iimø	?
3Du			
3Pl			

The Sg3Sg suffix of the possessive accusative has two basic variants *-ääm* and *-(ø)tääm*. The first one of these is formed with the possessive suffix vowel variant (*eek°ø* 'his wife' → *eek°ääm*), and the other one (*-tääm*) is in principle based on the less frequent variant *-tø* (*öätø* 'his daughter' → *öätääm*). In practice in the nominative form the possessive suffix is *-äät*, and in the accusative the words the possessive suffix is *-øtääm*.

KM -ääm ~ KU -ääm (Sg3Sg Acc)
eek°ääm 'his wife'   *eek°ääm* id.
runtääm 'his ship'   *runtääm* id.
sågrøpääm 'his axe'   *sågrøpääm* 'id.

KM -tääm ~ KU -tääm (Sg3Sg Acc)
öätääm 'his daughter'   *öätääm* 'daughter' PxSg3Sg + Acc II: 207
påtøltääm 'his lump (akk.)'   *påtøltääm* id.
öäk°røsytääm 'his aunt'   *äök°røsytääm* id.

KM -øtääm ~ KU -øtääm (Sg3Sg Acc)
ääkøtääm 'his uncle'   *ääkøtääm* id.
nyõõløtääm 'his arrow'   *nyaaløtääm* id.
põnytøtääm 'his brother-in-law' *pånytøtääm* id.
püwøtääm 'his son (akk.)'   *püwøtääm* id.

We have information about the possessive Du3Sg accusative in KM only. The suffix is the completely transparent *-iimø*. It is a question of a possessive accusative of an asyndetic compound, where the suffix of the first part is a plain px and the suffix of the latter part is a combination of the px and the case ending: KM *öägii-püwiimø* 'his two children'. The possessive accusative of a subordinate compound can be formed as a combination of the px in the first part and the case ending in the latter part: KM *jägøm-püwmø* 'my brother', KU *jegøm-püwmø* id., e.g.
jägøm-püwmø *jåt wotääløn!* 'invite my brother too!'

Use of the accusative form
The accusative is the case for the definite object, while the indirect object is marked with the nominative case. The primary actants attached to transitive verbs are the prototypical direct objects:
*jäg-**mõõmø**, syük-**mõõmø** k°åtøl wøgäänøm?* 'where do I find my father's land, my mother's land?'
*muj-nee tääk° neetäätøl **søriimø** jål-jäxtøpøstøn* 'strange woman and wife cut out the sword from its belt'
*jøni-säm uumøsy-säm wisyøng **nöäjmø** reetøng woj kurøm reetøl reettøstø* '(pretty as a) sea-buckthorn pretty as a raspberry maiden he lured with three decoy charms'

mõõ-säx° eek°ø k°änø jøs, kontøstø tåt **kommø** 'land-hillock-old woman came out, found the man'
tøg joxtsøm jø **õõwmø** *öät kontiiløm* 'I came here, and I do not find door'
tøt **õõx°tøs-påtølmø** *nok-kølølään!* 'dig up that stone pillar!'
*sålyøng-nyåløp woor-k°oløx-***tågølmø** *määsøstø, ponøstø* 'he dressed up, put on white frost-beak-forest raven -cloth'.
Examples of the possessive accusative:
wõõt-seen.gøp seen.gøng **runtääm** *noålwø runtøxtøsäänøl* 'they shoved into the water their 30-fungus fungus-woodboat'
jäni ooløp **öätääm** *øl-tujtøstø* 'older hero had hidden his daughter'
ton tørmään syääptøstø ääløm **põnytetääm** 'in that coffin he buried his killed brother-in-law'.
Pronouns:
ton-karmø *tøg peertølään!* 'sell it to me!'
tøtmø *öälmøx° uusiilään?* 'can you lift this?.

Also the verb 'ask' is transitive and thus receives an object:
*(köärt) wisy-***kommø** *køtiliitø* '(stork) asks young man'
eek°ääm *køtiiliit* 'asks from his wife'
wisykø kom **syükøtääm** *køtiiliitø* 'younger man asks his mother'

In Mansi also the motion verbs can receive objects in the accusative form:
söät woor jääløn, äk° **woormø** *wøl mønääløn!* 'go to seven forests, in one **forest** do not go!' (*jääl-* 'walk', *møn-* 'go')
eek°ø-püw wisykø **kommø** *tärmøl pårøwløstø* 'old woman's son jumped on a young **man**'
uusmø *jåløl tuusäänøl, nomøl tuusäänøl* 'they forced their way into the **fortress** from below, from above' (*tuu-* 'enter, go, get in')
tøt **uusmø** *komlyäly wojliiløw?* 'how do we get around this **fortress**'
põõwølmø *wojølsäänøl koontläx°* 'they made war on the **village**' (*wojøl-* 'enter')
*päätmäät wojøl õõx°tøs-***mõõmø** *nyoor-***mõõmø** *töärø-lääk°øltøstø kit toorøs syüwnø* 'when it fell down it sunk into a rocky **land**, Ural-**land** into two shaftments' **kääsyøtääm** *lääk°øltääptøstø, kääsyø koji* 'he crept to his **brother**, brother sleeps' (*lääk°ølti* 'move, step, creep')
*k°åsyø lyø wõõty mønøs, jäg-***püwøtääm** *joxtøstø* 'he went a long way or a short way, he reached his brother' (*joxt-* 'come').

The clause constituent in a recipient or a beneficent role can also be a (definite) clause object. This is an instance of the so called dative shift which is realised in ditransitive trivalent verbs. In the construction, the demoted patient object is marked with the instrumental (see this section and »Constructions»)
Tänkørmø *äät köärøs-toågøl løgnøl ääløstøn, äät köärøs-toågøl nyoxsøl ääløstøn* 'they caught for **the mouse** five storehouse-full of squirrels, five storehouse-full of sables'
påsøng-kom jäg **püwøtääm** *suurøny osymøsy-köärøk°øl wööxtøstø* 'cheerful man father threw **his son** a golden bunch of keys'

Lative
The most frequent suffix variant in the lative case in both dialects is the vowel final *-nø*. In addition to it there is also a less frequent variant, the consonant final *-øn*. These two alternate (e.g. *xuur : xuurøn ~ xuurnø* 'end', *lyaxøl : lyaxøløn ~ lyaxølnø* 'message', *paawøl : paawøløn ~ paawølnø* 'village' in KU). Only the KM pronoun forms (*nän, kon*)

seem to be systematically consonant final. The consonant final variant *-ään* is attached to vowel stems (*pusyirka* 'bottle' : *pusyirkään*, *äk°ø* 'one' : *äk°ään*).

KM -nø ~ KU -nø

jaa 'river'	*jaanø* id.
meex°nø 'goblin'	*meex°nø* id.
nyõõlnø 'to an arrow'	*nyaalnø* id.
kålnø 'in between'	*xålnø* id.
k°älnø 'to a house'	*k°älnø* id.
sämnø 'to an eye'	*sämnø* id.
jånøgnø-kännø 'to a play field'	*jån.gøn-kännø* id.
kuurnø 'to the edge of'	*xuurnø* id.
uusnø 'to a town'	*uusnø* id.
jõõtnø 'to the middle of'	*jaatnø* id.
köätnø 'to a hand'	*köätnø* id.
nåmtnø 'to a thought'	*nåmtnø* id.
pääsønnø 'to the table'	*pääsønnø* id.
söärøsynø 'to the sea'	*söärøsynø* id

KM -(ø)n ~ KU -(ø)n

maa 'to a land'	*maan* id.
jöänkøn 'to a swamp'	*jöänkøn* id.
öänkøn 'to aunt'	*äönkøn* id.
öäløm-pöäløn 'to the other side'	*ääløm-pöäløn* id.
keelpøn 'into blood'	*keelpøn* id.
wityøn 'into water'	*wityøn* id.

KM -ään ~ KU -ään

äk°ään 'together'	*äk°ään* id.
åsmään 'on a pillow'	*åsmään* id.
pusyirkään 'into a bottle'	*pusyirkään* id.

Pronouns KM -n ~ KU -nø

Nän 'what (lat.)'	*näänø* id.
Kon 'who (lat.)'	*xonø* id.

The form with the diphthong KM *-öän(ø)*, KU *-äön(ø)* is the basic variant of the **dual lative**, and in addition to it there is also a consonantal dual element *-ägøn*:

KM -öänø ~ KU -öänø, -äönø

jääpöänø 'to two brothers'	*jaapöänø* id.
komöänø 'to two men'	*xomäönø* id.

KU -öän ~ KM-äön

eek°-öänsyøk°ään 'old woman and old man' *eek°-äönsyøk°ään* id.

KM -(j)ägøn , -(j)ägnø ~ KU -(j)ägøn

komøjägøn ~ komøjägnø 'to two men'   *xomøjägøn* id.

The **plural lative** suffix consists of the plural element *t* and the lative vowel final suffix variant. The lexeme 'tree' (*jiiw*) is here as well a distinctive palatal plural suffix element, but there is also a non-palatal variant.

KM -tnø ~ KU -tnø

püwtnø 'to boys'	*püwtnø* id.
wõõtøtnø 'to the shores'	*waatøtnø* id.
jiiwtnø (*jiiwtynø*) 'to the trees'	*jiiwtnø* (*jiiwtynø*) id.

The endings for the possessive lative are shown in the table below. The endings boldfaced are those found in the texts. The others have been added to the KM table on the basis of the possessive nominative paradigm.

KM Lat Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-ømnø**	**-oåmnø, -oåmønnø**	-äänømnø
2Sg	**-ønnø, -øn**	**-öännø**	-äänønnø
3Sg	**-ään, -øtään**	**-öänø, -øjägnø, -åånø**	**-äännø**
1Du	-mønnø	**-oåmønnø**	-ønäämønnø
2Du	-ønnø	**-ønännø**	-ønännø
3Du	**-tønnø**	-ønännø	-ønännø
1Pl	**-øwnø**	-oåwnø	-ønøwnø
2Pl	**-äännø**	-öännø	-ønännø
3Pl	**-äänølnø**	-äänølnø	-äänølnø

KU Lat Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-ømøn, -ømnø**	**-ååmøn**	
2Sg	**-ønnø, -øn**	**? -ään**	
3Sg	**-ään, -tään, -øtä**	**-öän, -äön, -äönø**	**-ään, -äänøn**
1Du			
2Du		**-ønäännø**	
3Du	**-tøn**		
1Pl	**-øwnø, -øwøn**		
2Pl	**-äännø**		
3Pl	**-äänølnø, -äänø**		

KM -ømnø ~ KU -ømøn, -ømnø (Sg1Sg LATIVE)

pookømnø 'to me'	*pooxømnø, pooxømøn* id.
püwømnø 'to my son'	*püwømnø, püwømøn* id.

The lative dual (Du1Sg) example is a question of an asyndetic compound (KM) *työätyoåm-syükoåm* 'my father and mother' (literally thus 'my two fathers and two mothers'). The exceptional lative suffix *-ønnø* might result from the fact that, in this example, the roles of the dual singular and the dual 1st person might have been mixed up. The standard representation would rather be *syükoåmnø* '»to my two mothers»'

KM -oåmnø, -oåmønnø ~ KU -ååmøn (Du1Sg LATIIVI)

työätyoåmnø '»to my two fathers», lat.'	*tyäätyååmøn* id.
syükoåmønnø '»to my two mothers», lat.'	*syükååmøn* id.

KM -ønnø, -øn ~ KU -ønnø, -øn (Sg2Sg LATIVE)
kotølønnø 'to your day'   *xotølønnø* id.
syüwønnø 'like you'   *syowønnø* id.
jüürsyønnø 'to your brother-in-law'   *jüürsyønnø* id.

The Du2Sg lative is transparent and regular *-öän + nø* in KM, whereas in KU there is a shortened form *-ään* instead, which in addition is similar to the possessed plural suffix basic form.

KM -öännø ~ KU -ään (Du2Sg LATIVE)
jäg-püwöännø 'both your brothers (lat.)'   *jeg-püwään* id.
The shortest variant of the 3rd person singular lative suffix is the polysemic *-ään*. In principle it is formed directly from the vowel variant of the Sg3Sg possessive suffix: *öämpø* 'his dog' → *öämpään* 'to his dog'. The most frequent variant is *-(ø)tään* which is formally built on the variant *-tø* of the px. This is the foundation to at least *neetø* 'his wife' → *neetään* 'to his wife'. Most of the other forms are analoguous, and the nominative *-äät* or *-ø* alternates with the lative *-(ø)tään* (*påjlø* 'his village' : *påjøltään* ~ *påjløtään* 'to his village', KM *käänäät* 'his road' : *käänøtään* 'to his road', KU KM *owlø* ~ *owläät* '(its) end' : *owløtään* 'to (its) end'.

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (Sg3Sg LATIVE)
pänkään 'on his head'   *pänkään* id.
wõõtään 'to its shore'   *waatään* id.

KM -øtään ~ KU -ään (Sg3Sg LATIVE)
köätøtään 'on his hand'   *köätään* id.
käänøtään 'on his road'   *käänään* id.
kääsøtään 'into his pocket'   *kääsøtään* id.

KM -tään ~ KU -tään (Sg3Sg LATIVE)
neetään 'for his woman'   *neetään* id.
tuustään 'into his mouth'   *tuustään* id.
ootørtään 'for his prince'   *ootørtään* id.
påjløtään 'into his village'   *påjøltään* id.
öänsyøk°tään 'for her old man'   *äönsyøk°tään* id

KM -øtään ~ KU -øtään (Sg3Sg LATIVE)
jägøtään 'for his father'   *jegøtään* id.
owløtään 'on its head'   *owløtään* id.
põõwøltään 'into his village'   *påwløtään* id.
k°ääløtään 'into his house'   *k°ääløtään* id.
käänøtään 'on his road'   *käänøtään* id.
müwøtään 'to his (toilet-)business'   *müwøtään* id.
öäk°røsytään 'for his aunt'   *äök°røsytään* id.
kõõnk°øltääpøtään 'to his ladder'   *xanx°øltääpøtään* id.

The possessive Du3Sg lative has several suffix variants. In KU both the dual elements and the case elements (vowel final vs. consonant final) alternate, in KM only the dual

element. Of the suffix variants the diphthong *-öä-*, the monophthong *-åå-*, and *-øjäg-* are all found in KM. As the vowels in KU alternate *-äö-*, *-öä-* and *-aa-*:

KM-öänø ~ KU -äönø (Du3Sg LATIVE)
låjläönø 'to his feet'   *låjlöänø* id.
köätöänø 'to his hands'

KM -åånø ~ KU -äönø (Du3Sg LATIVE)
owlåånø 'onto its both ends'   *owläönø* id.

KM-öänø ~ KU -äön/-öän (Du3Sg LATIVE)
jäg-püwöänø 'to his two brothers'   *jeg-püwäön* id.
jääpöänø id.   'to his two brothers'   *jääpöän* id.

KM -øjägnø (Du3Sg LATIVE)
öägii-püwøjägnø 'to his two children'

KU -aan (Du3Sg LATIVE)
wojnaan 'onto his shoulders'

The Pl3Sg latives in KU and KM rather systematically differ from each other. In KU the lative is expressed by the polysemic *-ään* alone, whereas in KM there is an overt case suffix *-nø* / *-øn*.

KM -äännø ~ KU -ään (Pl3Sg LATIVE)
inkijäännø 'piioilleen'   *inkijään* id.
kuusyäännø 'rengeilleen'   *xuusyään* id.
lyonkäännø 'teilleen'   *lyoonxään* id.
wisy-karäännø 'lapsilleen'   *wisy-xarään* id.

The 1st and 2nd person dual lative forms are found in the Kannisto paradigms edited by Liimola: KM *k°äälöämønnø* (Du1Du + Lat) 'to our2 houses2' KM *k°äälöännø* (Du2Du + Lat) 'to your2 houses2', KM *k°äälønännø* (Pl2Du + Lat) 'to your2 houses(pl)'. Based on other paradigms, these forms are regular, even though Liimola regards them as unstable (1963: 232).

The ending of the Sg3Du possessive lative has several variants: the KU variants are *-tøn* and *-ønnø*. The variant *-tøn* seems to lack the case suffix and *-ønnø* is similar to the Sg2Sg lative suffix. The latter is also found in KM where there are also variants *-tønnø* and *-äätønnø* which include the 3Du possessive elements:

KM -(ää)tønnø ~ KU -tøn (Sg3Du LATIVE)
mõõtønnø 'into their2 land'   *maatøn* id.
jägäätønnø 'for their2 father'

KM -ønnø ~ KU -ønnø (Sg3Du LATIVE)
jägønnø 'for their2 father'   *jegønnø* id.

Of the plural person cases, the 1st and the 3rd person lative forms are clearly agglutinative (px + Cx), the 2nd person plural singular lative is equivalent with the

Pl3Sg lative form. The Pl3Pl lative suffix is exactly similar to the suffix in the category of single possessed.

KM -øwnø ~ KU -øwnø (Sg1Pl LATIVE)
jägøwnø 'for our father'   *jegøwnø* id.
mõõgøwnø 'into our land'   *maagøwnø* id.
pookøwnø 'to us'   *pooxøwnø* id.

KM -äännø ~ KU -äännø (Sg2Pl LATIVE)
jägäännø 'for your father'   *jegäännø* id.
KM -äänølnø ~ KU -äänøløn, -äänøløn (Sg3Pl LATIVE)
mõõgäänølnø 'into their land'   *maagäänøln(ø), maagäänøløn* id.
påjläänølnø 'into their village'   *påjläänølnø, påjläänøløn* id.
jägäänølnø 'for their father'   *jegäänølnø* id.
uusäänølnø 'into their town'   *uusäänøløn* id.

KM -äänølnø ~ KU -äänøløn (Pl3Pl LATIVE)
k°ääläänølnø 'into their houses'   *k°ääläänøløn* id.

Functions of the lative

The primary, adverbial function of the lative is to denote location in the directional cases:
*ton tø õõx **k°ätyølynø** mønøs, **õõxnø** nok-suumøs* 'went to the middle of that hill, galloped to the hill'
***k°älnø** juw-tuus* 'stepped into the house'
*mønøst **jånøgnø-kännø*** 'they went to the playground'
*mønøsäg, mønøsäg, äk°-määsyt tol **kuurnø** joxtsäg* 'they went, went, then they came to the edge of the cloud'
*öäs-**wõõt-sørnø** joxtsäg* 'they came to the shore sand of Ob'
*tømøly **uusnø** joxtsäg* 'they arrived at such a town'
*ootør kõõp-**jõõtnø** töäløs* 'the prince positioned himself in the middle of the boat'
*neenk põõwøl-kän **jõõtnø** konii kojään* 'lie you down in the middle of the village path'
*jöänk **jõõtnø** kontøs* 'he looked into the centre of the bog'
*jowtø-nyõõlø **köätnø** öälmøjøstø* 'he took the bow and arrow into his hand'
*toonøntøl jöänkøm-wooj poolyøm-wooj **pääsønnø** wotsäg* 'then they sat down at a table set with cold fat and frozen fat'
***söärøsynø** noåløw öältøntøgään* 'he carries them to the seashore'
*mønøsäg, söärøsy **öäløm-pöäløn** joxtsäg* 'they2 went, they2 came to the other side of the sea'
*läwläw, jeekøx° möästør-karøw **wityøn** pätøs* 'friends, our dance master fell into the water'
*nee-k°oløx **pusyirkään** köät-tolyø lükømøwøs* 'a finger was pushed into the mother raven's bottle'
*ton tø jõõ **wõõtøtnø** jäni pupi jäni teer lakøl tow wontään!* 'on that river's riverside settle down there as great spirits great gnomes!'
*eek°ø wøstø, mågøl-**wõõtään** juntøp k°årøl tosytpøstø* 'the old woman took him, inserted him as a needle in her bosom'
*toonäätøl käänøng põõwøl **käänøtään** mønøs, käänøng uus **käänøtään** mønøs* 'then he went along his path in his pathful village, his road in the roadful town'

*tågløng **põõwøltään** tågløng **uusøtään** tow i wontøs* ’into his full village into his full town he there settled down’.

The lative suffix attached to animate nouns usually takes the function of the dative (such as to give or to make something for someone). This function is relatively rare, as the animate recipient is usually promoted through dative shift to the position of the subject in the clause. There are very few examples of the datival lative:

*pon-sop wisy-kortkään såjrøng tåglø, oxtoor-tåglø **ootørtään** pøsøwløstø* ’the moulting small hawk blew his white cloth his shroud to the prince’
*påsøng-kom **jägøtään** puurlaxtøs* ’for the cheerful man his father he prepared a food offering’
*ton tø säm-wojäät nom-toorøm-kom **jägøtään** nok-råwlöäløstø* ’these eye-birds he sent to the god in heaven, his father’
*jääjøn om **püwømnø**!* ’come to my son!’.

The lative cases governed by some verbs denoting utterances resemble this pattern. On the other hand, *loåwi* ’say, command’ and *køtiili* ’ask’ are realized with the accusative (see above). E.g. *oåjgi* ’to shout’ receives the dative form:

*pupi-torøl k°oly-torøl oåjgøs nonkäly påsøng-kom **jägøtään*** ’he shouted up to the cheerful man his father with a voice of the spirit, with a voice of the underworld spirit’
*söärkøsy-tågøl määsøm kom ootør nom-toorøm-kom **jägøtään** åjgøltøs* ’the man dressed in an eagle’s suit shouted at the god in heaven, his father’.

The lative is also used to indicate the resulting state of change, of becoming something:

*äk°-määsyt köälynäänøl tø roågnøs, lyoomii-**tornø** päätsøt* ’soon their voice quietened down, turned into gnat buzz’
*mønnø-mõõmt öäl **løløngnø** öäl **koolømnø*** ’after I have gone (I return if I return) alive or dead’
*öänøm näänk **syüwønnø** päättøsløn* ’you made me just like yourself’.

Special phrasal cases are 1. to wed a man, 2. to be born (»to come ~ to fall into one’s eyes»)

*näg öäl-nøsør woor-jälwøl, woor-**meex°nø** komøjøsøn* ’you have wedded some forest demon, some forest goblin’
*om **püwømnø** komøjøn!* ’take my son to be your husband!’
sämnø päätøm wisy-öä-püw ’newborn baby’
sämnø-päätøm kurmøt kotøltäät jowtøl nyõõløl øtø pøl põõx°tlii ’on the third day from his birth (he) starts shooting with a bow and an arrow’.

The grammatical function of the lative is the marking of the agent in the passive clause (see also «Passive»):
Animate agents:

*moot k°älnø juw-tuux° wisy-**neenø** öät täärøtøwø* ’he is not let in the other house by the girl’
koontøn tø jøwø ’the troops attack’

tow k°ås joxti, **eek°-öänsyøk°öänø** *kotwøs: nyöäny* 'when it comes, it was seen by the old woman: (it's) a bread!'

Inanimate (instrumental) agents:

älwøs kit-wor-ootør **nyõõlnø** 'he has been killed by the arrow of a two-hill prince'

kopnø *põõ-lowøsøwt* 'the (things) were washed up on the shore with the wave'

nyõõlnø jowtnø *wøl koojønk°ään!* 'so that you would not be hit by arrows and bows!'

om älwøsømk, **keelpøn** *syonkløwø* 'if I am killed, there dries blood'

låjlöänø *k°åt tåtwø, tow joomi,* **pänkään** *k°åt tåtwø, tow joomi* 'he walks where he is carried by his feet, walks where his is taken by his head '

Locative

The basic variant of the locative suffix is the consonantal element *-t*. The suffix is attached to the bisyllabic and longer vowel stems in the form of *-äät*. This is thus an instance of the same final vowel mutation as in the lative suffix (see above). The ending is attached to the shortest stems (CV-) in the form of *-tø* (KM KU *jøtø* 'in the night').

KM -t ~ KU -t

mõõt 'on the ground'	*maat* id.
jõõt 'in the middle'	*jaat* id.
jålt 'in bed'	*jålt* id.
söämt 'in the corner'	*söämt* id.
åst 'on surface'	*åst* id.
søst 'on back'	*søst* id.
päätyøt 'at the bottom'	*päätyøt* id.
lyoonkøt 'on the road'	*lyoonxøt* id.
wityøt 'in the water'	*wityøt* id.
põõwølt 'in the village'	*paawølt* id.

KM -äät ~ KU -äät

öäpäät 'in the cradle'	*öäpäät* id.
k°åsyäät 'a long time ago'	*x°åsyäät* id.

The following table shows some endings of the possessive locative:

KM Loc Poss	Sg possessed	(Du possessed)	(Pl possessed)
1Sg	**-ømt**		
2Sg	**-nt, -ønt**		
3Sg	**-äät, -øtäät**	*-öät* (Liimola)	
1Du			
2Du			
3Du	**-ønt, -tønt**		
1Pl	**-wt**		
2Pl			
3Pl	**-äänølt, -ønänt**		

KU Loc Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-ømt**		
2Sg	**-nt**		
3Sg	**-äät, -täät**		
1Du			

2Du			
3Du	**-ønt, -tønt**		
1Pl	**-wt**		
2Pl			
3Pl	**-äänølt**		

KM -mt, -ømt ~ KU -mt, -ømt (Sg1Sg LOCATIVE)
mõõmt 'in my land'   *maamt* id.
käxrømt 'in my stomach'   *käxrømt* id.
tärmølømt 'on top of me'   *tärmølømt* id.

KM -ønt, -nt ~ KU -nt (Sg2Sg LOCATIVE)
mõõnt 'in your land'   *maant* id.
toormønt 'in your time'

The locative ending of the possessive declension (Sg3Sg) takes similar variants to the possessive lative. The most usual of these is *–täät* that builds on the suffix *tø*, but there are also examples of the simpler variant *-äät*. This in turn is based on the simple vowel variant of the px: *käänø* 'his road', *käänään* 'into his road', *käänäät* 'on his road' (and further *käänäänøl* 'from his road' and *kaanäätøl* 'with his road'). The use of the locative variant *-(ø)täät* is thus based on analogy similar to the usage of the possessive cases above.

KM -äät ~ KU -äät (Sg3Sg LOCATIVE)
käänäät 'on his road'   *käänäät* id.
toräät 'in his throat'   *toräät* id.

KM -(ø)täät ~ KU -(ø)täät (Sg3Sg LOCATIVE)
kotøltäät 'on his day'   *xotøltäät* id.
kääsøtäät 'in his pocket'   *kääsøtäät* id.
puwtøtäät 'in his bosom'   *puwtøtäät* id.
søsøtäät 'on his back'   *søstäät* id.
owløtäät 'at the end'   *owløtäät* id.
pättyøtäät 'at the bottom of it'   *pättyøtäät* id.

The Sg3Du locative suffix is also built on both *øn-* (in the consonant stems) and the variant *tøn* (in the vowel stems):

KM -ønt ~ KU -ønt (Sg3Du LOCATIVE)
pänkønt 'on their2 head'   *pänkønt* id.

KM -tønt ~ KU -tønt (Sg3Du LOCATIVE)
mõõtønt 'in their2 land'   *maatønt* id.
The possessive Sg1Pl locative in both dialects is the regular Px + Cx, *-(ø)wt:*

KM -(ø)wt ~ KU -(ø)wt (Sg1Pl LOCATIVE)
mõõgøwt 'in our land'   *maagøwt* id.
wõõtygøwt 'near us'   *waatygøwt* id.

In addition to the possessive Sg3Pl locative suffix *-äänølt*, there is a KM variant *-ønäänt*. This variant is found only in the word *mõõ* 'land, place', in its temporal use (see below):

KM -äänølt, -ønäänt ~ KU -äänølt (Sg3Pl LOCATIVE)
mõõgäänølt, mõõgønäänt 'in their land'   *maagäänølt* id.
pöältäänølt 'with them'   *pöältäänølt* id.

Use of the locative

The locative has as its basic function the marking of the state case essive.

oolaat tøtø **mõõt** ' they live in that place'
neemøntøng **jålt** *köäprønøng* **jålt** *k°oji kom* 'the man is lying on the bed with blankets and mattresses'
täw **jø-pöält** *mønøs, nyowølkaatøs, jäg-püwøtääm juw keetøstø* 'he went after him, followed, sent his brother home'
*somlyøx-***söämt** *ømøn-jiiw soj-jiiwøm uusløn?* 'did you see my holy staff-wood in the storehouse corner?'
põõwøl oåjpääm **oolt***, kit ämnø kurøm oåjgøl* **syüwt** *kit ämnø kurøm sõõt syüw kåspøt neegøm olgøt* 'at the end of the village in two or three versts there are two or three hundred sleeping tents set up'
*tø syüwt nomøn kõõrsyøtøs sorøm-***ääst** 'then at the top in the vent hole there was a rumble'
lyoonkøt *tunsyi, eesøplaxtii, k°åtäly mønøx°* 'he is standing on the road, thinking where to go'
lyoonkøt *teenø kool* 'travel snack' (»food eaten on the road»)
kit neegöä **kääsøtäät***, kurmøt neetø* **puwtetäät** 'two wives in his pocket, third wife in his bosom.

The local case can also be directional or separative:

*tawaj, kõõp-***päätyøt** *väärt-jiiw-tuupøt nok-leewøtään!* 'take the hard-wood-paddles from the bottom of the boat!'
öänsyøk°øn **jöänkøt** *jål-piilyøs* 'your old man fell into the bog'
jøsøt, jøsøt pøl **söärsyøt** *jøkäänøl, pöänkii tø keløjøst, ääjølän wity-kål tø(g) öätyi* 'they came, came and after coming to the sea (they) looked like soot, there is even no drinking water place'

Another important function is a temporal one:

meen syükräänäämøn **jø-pöält** *nöänk oolään!* 'you go on living after our deaths!'
kom mønøm **jø-pöält** *muj-nee uus joxtøpøs* 'after the man had gone the strange woman came again'
kuun **syüwt** *jøx° tø jiiwnø, omnaanøl pänkii öät köäliinø* 'some time when you come anyway, you will not above me rise'
tø **syüwt** *nomøn kõõrsyøtøs sorøm-ääst* 'then at the top in the vent hole there was a rumble'

sämnø-päätøm kurmøt **kotøltäät** *såjlø-jiiw jowtøl nyõõløl ølø pøl põõx°tlii* 'on the third day from his birth (he) starts shooting with a bow and an arrow made of shingle'.

The possessive locative of the words KM *mõõ* KU *maa* 'place' is used in specifying time: KU *mønnø-maant* ('to go'-Gerund + 'your place' PxSg2Sg + Loc) 'as you go', KM *mønøm mõõgønänt* 'after (their) having gone'. More examples:
*mønnø-***mõõmt** *öäl løløngnø öäl koolømnø* 'when I go (I return if I return) alive or dead'
*näg pøl mønnø-***mõõnt** *ponøng jøpiinø, ponøng torgiinø wøl puwønk°øn!* 'let no feather-full eagle owl, no feather-full eagle catch you as you go!'

The locative can also be instrumental:

towløng-köärt kom-wäärø **päätyøt** *kojøp-jiiw tålykøtään säärø tø wäärøtøs nok* 'the winged stork with his manpowers was hardly able to rise on top of a snag tree'.

Ablative

The ablative suffix is an invariable *-nøl*.

KU -nøl ~ KM -nøl

jaanøl 'from the river'	*jõõnøl* id.	
maanøl 'from the place, land'	*mõõnøl* id.	
nyixnøl 'from the larch'	*nyixnøl* id.	
sujnøl 'from the moor'	*sujnøl* id.	
xomnøl 'from the man'	*komnøl* id.	
woornøl 'from the forest'	*woornøl* id.	
xuurnøl 'from the edge of'	*kuurnøl* id.	
witynøl 'from the water'	*witynøl* id.	
kiiwørnøl 'from inside'	*keewørnøl* id.	
konnøl 'from whom'	*xonøl* id.	

The suffix of the ablative plural is agglutinated from the plural element *-t-* and the ablative basic suffix. E.g. KM KU *puutøtnøl* 'from the pots'
The following table shows the endings of the possessive ablative:

KM Abl Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	-ømnøl	**-öämnøl**	
2Sg	-ønnøl		
3Sg	**-øtäänøl**	**-öänøl**	
1Du	-mønnøl	-öämønnøl	
2Du		-öännøl	
3Du	-tønnøl		
1Pl	**-øwnøl**		
2Pl	**-önäännøl**		
3Pl	**-äänølnøl,** **-önäännøl**		

KU Abl Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg			

2Sg			
3Sg	**-äänøl, -aanøl**	**-äänøl**	
1Du			
2Du			
3Du	**-ønnøl**		
1Pl	**-øwnøl**		
2Pl	**-äännøl**		
3Pl	**-äänølnøl**		

There are no examples of the category for the 1st and 2nd person single possessed in the texts. These forms are, however, quite predictable (*k°äälømnøl* 'from my house', *k°äälønnøl* 'from your house'). In the category of the dual possessed there is a front vowel dual diphthong (example in KM only):

KM -öämnøl (Du1Sg ABLATIVE)
saagöämnøl 'of my plaits'
The most usual ending variant in the Sg3Sg possessive ablative seems to be *-äänøl* which is built on the Px vowel variant. Some examples are also found of the type *tø* representative *-(ø)täänøl*.

KM -äänøl ~ KU -äänøl (Sg3Sg ABLATIVE)
tålykäänøl 'from its top'   *talyxäänøl* id.
syükäänøl 'from his mother'   *syükäänøl* id.
kääsäänøl 'from his pocket'

KM -täänøl ~ KU -øtäänøl (Sg3Sg ABLATIVE)
syopørtäänøl 'from his neck'   *kääsøtäänøl* 'from his pocket'

The Du3Sg ablative in KM is the transparent *-öänøl*. The suffix *-äänøl* in KU is equivalent with the Sg3Sg ablative (as there is a paired body part in the example, the suffix can in principle naturally also be of the category for the single possessed).

KM -öänøl ~ KU -äänøl (Du3Sg ABLATIVE)
kånøl-pättyöänøl 'from his armpits'   *xanøl-pättyäänøl* id.
saagöänøl 'of/from his plaits'

In the Liimola (1963: 232–33) paradigm there is an example about a Du1Du ablative (KM) *k°äälöämønnøl* and a Du2Du ablative (KM) *k°äälöännøl*. In the KU text there is one example of a Sg3Du ablative. Its counterpart in the KM text is the lative form *jägäätønnø*. Both of these are possible to find in the texts: 'they2 shouted' of their father the god in heaven (KU) / -to their father (KM) the heat (KU) / that he would fix the heat (KM)'. In this KU suffix the ablative is attached to the short Px-variant:

KU -ønnøl (Sg3Du ABLATIVE)
jøgønnøl 'from his father'
The ablative suffix of the plural person possessors is transparent in both dialects: Sg1Pl *-øwnøl*, Sg2Pl KM *-ønäännøl*, KU *-äännøl* and Sg3Pl *-äänølnøl*. In KM there is in addition also the variant *-ønäännøl* that is built on another Px variant (as for the locative *-ønäänt* above):

KM -øwnøl ~ KU -øwnøl (Sg1Pl ABLATIVE)
työätyøwnøl 'from our father'   *työätyøwnøl* id.

KM -ønäännøl ~ KU -äännøl (Sg2Pl ABLATIVE)
jägønäännøl 'from your father'   *jegäännøl* id.

KM -äänølnøl ~ KU -äänølnøl (Sg3Pl ABLATIVE)
mõõgäänølnøl 'from their land'   *maagäänølnøl* id.

KM -ønäännøl (Sg3Pl ABLATIVE)
mõõgønännøl 'from their land'

Use of the ablative
The primary use of the ablative is to mark the locality of the separative case:
Motion verbs:

*öälnø **mõõnøl** öälnø **syöärnøl** jøm kit kom oosmøn* 'we are two men coming from some land, from some corners'
*ootør kuul-k°årøl **witynøl** nok-nøgløpøs* 'the prince rose from the water in a shape of fish'
*k°äl **keewørnøl** kit nee k°än-lääk°øltøsgø* 'two women came out of the house'.
Other verbs: to detach, to find, to bring, to hang with something etc.:
***nyixnøl** nyix-påly k°ostøs, **kosynøl** kosy-påly k°ostøs* 'he whittled from larch a larch-chip, whittled from spruce a spruce-chip'
*söät woor ool **woornøl** äältal **woornøl** towøl kølsååm* 'from the last forest of seven forests, from the forbidden forest there I dug them2 up'
*kontøng **keewørnøl** tåtøm neetmø wityøn sok k°än-towgään!* 'shove into the water all women brought from Konda!'
*påsøng-kom **jägetäänøl** söät jorøl juwtkaatø* 'from a cheerful man his father, he bought himself free with seven blood offerings'
*söät täl **saagöämnøl** tägmäätwøm* 'I am hanged from my seven fathom long plaits'.
The subject of stories told, singing etc. is expressed with the ablative, and the patient (song, tale) is expressed with the instrumental such as in the following example (see also below)
*jäni eeri owløl eerøgpååm, **konnøl** eerøgpiiløm* 'I sing the end of my great song, who shall I sing it about?'

Parenthood is also one of the subject areas of the ablative:

*ton **komnøl** söät püw teeløs, kuurøm öä teeløm oolii* 'seven sons were born to that man, three daughters have been born'
*jänik **ooløpnøl** öä teeløs, wisykøk **ooløpnøl** püw teeløs* 'a daughter was born to the older hero, a son was born to the younger hero'

The distribution of the expressions denoting birth is the following: from the point of view of the parent, and when the one being born is in the focal point of the clause, the verb *teeli* is used (which also means 'grows'), and when the one being born is the topic of the clause, the expression *sämøn päti* is chosen (see the examples of the lative).

Translative

Some of the variants of the translative suffix are phonologically equivalent with the dual suffix. The basic variants in the translative are *-ii* and *-äg*. The distributional tendencies can be traced from the examples only well enough to conclude that especially in KM, but also to some extent in KU, the polysyllable feet favour the suffix variant *-äg* and the bisyllabic translative feet most often end in the suffix *-ii*. The suffix *-ii* is attached to the monosyllabic vowel stem with the gliding consonant *-g-*, in the bisyllabic -c1øc2 stems the syncope of *ø (uuløm : uulmii* 'dream') takes place. With the monosyllabic stem ending in a final plosive, the final plosive tends to duplicate in front of the ending (*teep : teeppii* 'food'):

KU -ii ~ KM -ii

neegii 'into a woman'	*neegii* id.
muujii 'into a guest'	*muujii* id.
pänkii 'into a head'	*pänkii* id.
täöglii 'into a suit'	*tåglii* id.
päämii 'into heat'	*päämii* id.
eeppii 'into steam'	*eeppii* id.
jortii 'into a partner'	*jortii* id.
jiiwii 'into a tree'	*jiiwii* id.
ootrii 'into a prince'	*ootrii* id.

KU -äg ~ KM -äg (mostly with the trisyllabic feet)

öätømäg 'into a person'	*öätømäg* id.
k°ürnyikäg 'into a pie'	*k°ørnyøkäg* id.
tunsyøngäg 'into a high'	*tunsyøngäg* id. (*tunsyøng* ← *tunsyi* 'stand')
syåxløngäg 'into hillock-full'	*syåxløngäg* id. (*syåxløng* ← *syåxøl* 'hillock')
wonkøngäg 'into hole-full'	*wonkøngäg* id (*wonkøng* ← *wonk* 'hole')
tulømxäg 'secretly'	*tulømkäg ~ tulmøkäg* id (*tuulmøx* 'thief')

But sometimes also with the bisyllabic feet:

tälk°äg 'into low'	*tälk°äg* id.
søgläg 'into shred'	*søgläg* id.
køgnäg 'into light'	*køgnäg* id.
wöänngäg 'into strong'	*wöänngäg* id. (*wöäng* ← *wöä* 'strength')

The diphthong variants (KU *-äö*, KM *-öä*) are more infrequent. In translative they seem to appear only in the lexicalized, temporal particles such as the KM *eeröä*, the KU *øgräö* 'forever', KU *x°ålnäö* 'in the end' (KM *k°ålnäg*). Even more infrequent variants such as the KM *-aa : iity-pöälaa* 'later in the evening' are found in similar expressions. The translative has no dual or plural declensions, nor are there any possessive declension forms. Such forms are at least not found in the texts. The translative denoting the dual subject and the plural subject is the translative singular: *eek°-öänsyøk°äg wøktøsgø* 'they2 took each other into husband and wife', *jäniimøst kom jääntäg* 'they grow to the size of men'.

The basic function of the translative is to 'become something', 'stay as something' or 'make into something' and constructions such as 'take to something':

om neegøm **neegii** *nän wøsløn?* 'why have you taken my woman as your wife?'
k°än-tulømtiiläämøn, **neegii** *wøgläämøn!* 'let us steal her, take to be a wife!'»
*öätø komøly tulmøntäx° **neegii**?* 'how to steal a girl to become a wife?
*oosykäg syoornäg, koont-**jortii** jåt jiiwnø?* 'Oosyk and Syoorn, will you come along to be my fellow fighters?'
*ton kuuly-tõõt-pöälmø eek°ø wisy-komnø kuuly-**tåglii** juntøstø* 'the old woman sewed the kaftan's sleeve into a kaftan for the young man'
k°äl-toågøl jiiwtymø sok juw-tåtøste, **k°äälii** *nok sågrøx° pümtøstø* 'houseful of (necessary) logs (he) brought all home, started carving them to be a house'.
tø syüwt sågrøpäät **køgnäg** *jømti, äk° køgnäg jømtøs* 'then an axe becomes lighter, all the more lighter'
toorøs syüwnøl töärø jomiitiitø mõõ-känmø, **wöänngäg** *tok tø jømtøs* 'he walks a span's deep in the earth crust, so strong he has become'
näg **öätømäg** *teelsøn* 'you were born to become a human being'
pon-sop wisy-kortkään k°årøl jääløm løl k°olytøs **öätømäg** 'the spirit in the shape of a moulting small hawk remained a human being'
jäniimøs, nee **jääntäg**, *kom* **jääntäg** *jømtøs, säästøs, woortøs* 'he grew up, became a size of man, size of woman, grew up, got older'
*wøktøsgø, eek°-**öänsyøk°äg** wøktøsgø* 'united into a man and a wife' (a singular translatival adverbial in addition to the dual predicate).

Predicative is another central function of the translative:

nyowlyøt **tånk°ømäg** *kumlyø uulöät?* 'how are the pieces of meat (this) hard?' (singular translatival predicative in addition to the plural subject)
sålyøng-nyåløp woor-k°oløx-tågøl määsøm **ootrii** *ooløn!* 'be a prince dressed in a white frost-beak-forest raven cloth!'.

Another function close to the translative is the function of the state of things corresponding to the Finnish essive and the construction 'to consider as something':

øsøm-wity **eeppii**, *toåwt-**päämii** towøl komøly k°än-köäløs* 'as it had stepped out from there as a hot water steam, as the heat from the fire'
*såly-**teepii**, puut-**teepii** kon teex° wäärøtøwään?* 'who wants to eat you as dried food (? = stockfish) as pot food?'
kit eek°-öänsyøx-karnø nyöänyii wöärwøsøm, woojøng **k°ørnyøkäg** *olsøm* 'old woman and old man made a bread out of me, as a fatty Cornish pasty I was'
öänøm uus **öätømäg** *kåjtømtäptiiløn?* 'will you make me again to run as a human being?»
räx°-säm päätøs, **tojii** *lowøntøwøs, tuujt-säm päätøs,* **töälii** *lowøntøwøs* 'when a rain drop fell down, it was taken as summer, when a snow flake fell down, it was taken as winter'.
The translative denoting purpose is also frequent:
muujii koontii *määtør tø joxtøs* 'some one has come for a visit, for a conquest'
*(eek°ø tåri löättøn,) jønäät syüwt nyol-jiiw kowt-jiiw jåt mänliitø wonsøx-**jiiwii**!* '(tell the old woman,) to bring along fir trees and spruce trees for duckboards!'
The translative can also function as the patient of the clause (or the phrase in the following example). In the same clause there is also the construction 'to take as something':
teepii *tees teepøng jortii,* **uulmii** *kojøs uulmøng jortii wäjwøst i powwøst* 'they were taken and abducted as **food** eating food partners, **sleep**-full sleeping partners'.

Translative is also used in constructions of the type 'seem, sound, feel something':
*söärsyøt jøkäänøl, **pöänkii** tø keløjøst* 'after coming to the sea (they) looked **like soot**'.

Instrumental

The suffix of the instrumental in the absolute declension is the invariable *-l*, that is attached to the vowel stem as such and to the consonant stem with the binding vowel *-ø-* :

KU -(ø)l ~ KM -(ø)l (SgInstr)

maal 'land (instr.)	*mõõl* id.
søriil 'sword (instr.)'	*sørøjøl* id.
åjgøl 'cry (instr.)'	*oåjgøl* id.
paanxøl 'fly agaric (instr.)'	*põõnkøl* id.
woojøl 'fat (instr.)'	*woojøl* id.
keelpøl 'blood (instr.)'	*keelpøl* id
x°öärøl 'shape (instr.)'	*k°årøl* id
aax°tsøl 'stone (instr.)'	*õx°tøsøl* id.
täöwtøl 'fire (instr.)'	*toåwtøl* id.
wityøl 'water (instr.)'	*wityøl* id.
köärøk°øl 'bundle (instr.)'	*köärøk°øl* id.
öätømøl 'human being (instr.)'	*öätømøl* id.
sank°øltääpøl 'harp (instr.)'	*söänk°øltääpøl* id.

In the possessive declension the ending of the instrumental is *-tøl*. This is preceded by the regular possessive suffix. The forms are shown in the following table:

KM Instr Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-ømtøl**	**-öämtøl**	-äänømtøl
2Sg	**-øntøl**		-äänøntøl
3Sg	**-äätøl, -(ø)täätøl**	**-öätøl**	**-ääntøl**
1Du			
2Du			
3Du	**-øntøl, -äätøntøl**		
1Pl	-øwtøl		
2Pl			
3Pl	**-ääntøl, -äänøltøl**		**-ønääntøl**

KU Instr Poss	Sg possessed	Du possessed	Pl possessed
1Sg	**-ømtøl**	**-äömtøl**	
2Sg	**-øntøl**		
3Sg	**-äätøl, -(ø)täätøl**	**-öätøl**	**-ääntøl**
1Du			
2Du			
3Du	**-øntøl**		
1Pl			
2Pl			**-ääntøl**
3Pl	**-ääntøl, -äänøltøl**		**-ääntøl , -äänøltøl**

Examples of the forms found in the texts are shown below. A special case are the particles with the meaning 'then/in time' formed with the possessive instrumental from the demonstrative *toon* ('that'). The person of the possessive suffix of the particle is determined following the clause subject.

KM -ømtøl ~ KU -ømtøl (Sg1Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
toåwtømtøl 'with my fire'   *täöwtømtøl* id.
lyõõnkømtøl 'with my message'   *lyankømtøl* id.

KM -öämtøl ~ KU -äömtøl (Du1Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
låjlöämtøl 'with my feet'   *låjläömtøl* id.

KM -øntøl ~ KU -øntøl (Sg2Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
toåwtøntøl 'with your fire'   *täöwtøntøl* id.
oosytørøntøl 'with your whip'   *oosytørøntøl* id.

In the 3rd person singular the instrumental suffix has again two basic variants: *-äätøl* built on the vowel variant of the Px, and *-(ø)täätøl* built on the variant *tø*. The latter of these is more frequent, and its formation is similar to the possessive suffixes presented above (p. 000).

KM -äätøl ~ KU -äätøl (Sg3Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
k°åräätøl 'in his shape'   *x°öäräätøl*, *x°äöräätøl* id.
toonäätøl 'then (he)'   *toonäätøl* id.

KM -(ø)täätøl ~ KU -(ø)täätøl (Sg3Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
neetäätøl 'with his wife'   *neetäätøl* id.
noåjøtäätøl 'with his woman'   *näöjtäätøl* id.
öätømøtäätøl 'with his people'   *öätømtäätøl* id.
põnytøtäätøl 'with his brother-in-law' *panytøtäätøl* id.
uulmøtäätøl 'with his dream'   *uulmøtäätøl* id.
toonøtäätøl 'then (he)'   *toonøtäätøl* id.

KM -öätøl ~ KU -öätøl (Du3Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
määrøköätøl 'with his wings'   *määrköätøl* 'wing'

KM -ääntøl ~ KU -ääntøl (Pl3Sg INSTRUMENTAL)
jäg-püwääntøl 'with his brothers'   *jeg-püwääntøl* id.

KM -øntøl ~ KU -øntøl (Sg3Du INSTRUMENTAL)
toonøntøl 'then (they2)'   *toonøntøl*

KM -äätøntøl (Sg3Du INSTRUMENTAL)
lyõõxøläätøntøl 'with (their2) words'

KU -ääntøl (Pl2Pl INSTRUMENTAL)
losøm-owlääntøl 'with your bone ends'

In the 3rd person plural the instrumental can be found in both dialects in both the longer agglutivative variant *-äänøltøl* and the shorter suffix built on the Px *-ään*. The variants of the plural possessed are KM *-ønääntøl* and KU *-ääntøl*, *-äänøltøl*:

KM -äänøltøl ~ KU -äänøltøl (Sg3Pl INSTRUMENTAL)
kämpäänøltøl 'with their power'   *kämpäänøltøl* id.

KM -ääntøl ~ KU -ääntøl (Sg3Pl INSTRUMENTAL)
noåjääntøl 'with their princess'   *nöäjääntøl* id.

KM -ønääntøl ~ KU -ääntøl (Pl3Pl INSTRUMENTAL)
toonääntøl 'then (they)'   *toonääntøl* id.
sõõnønääntøl 'with their birch barks'

KU -äänøltøl (Pl3Pl INSTRUMENTAL)
wujäänøltøl 'with their animals'
säm-päly-täögøläänøltøl 'with their eyes and ears full'

Use of the instrumental

The basic function of the instrumental is denoting medium: the thing with which, with the help of which or using which something is done.

sørøjøl *sågrøpäx° nyoriitø k°ås, søriimø köältiitø, öät kojwø* 'although (he) tries to thrust with a sword, raises the sword, it does not hit'
jøni-säm uumøsy-säm wisyøng nöäjmø reetøng woj kurøm **reetøl** *reettøstø* 'the maiden (pretty as) a sea-buckthorn (pretty as) a raspberry (he) lured with decoy's three charms'
woor-põõwøl syääräänyäät koji, **toåwtøl** *nok-pølømtøwøs* 'Vorpaul lies as a pile of ash, it has been burnt with the fire'
*lowtsøgään, løløng-***wityøl** *säärtgään* 'he washed them, spreads with the water of life'
løløng-wity **wityøl** *teeliitøwøs* 'the water of life was mixed in water (~ with water)'
toåwtø **köät-pättyøl** *läp-wåtiitøstø, jål-lyäpsøts* 'fire with the hand (he) smacked, (it) went out'
towøl-wojt **lõõl-nyål-tålykøl** *nok-owriitestø* 'then he rolled it up with the tip of his toe'
kon **söänk°øltääpøl** *söänk°ølti, kon* **tõõri-sop-jiiwøl** *wöärli* 'who plays the harp, who the crane-instrument'
*pum-***määrøköätøl** *tøglømløs* 'took off into the air with his hay wings'
*tøt onk-syømør-***tööäwtøntøl** *näär wöärlalwø?* 'what will be done with your resin-lump-fire'
låjlööämtøl *jøm päält lyoonkøt toorøm-syisyk°ääm öät kontøsløm* 'on the long road I walked on foot I have not found a god'
ton **syinyøtäätøl**, *ton* **känsyøtäätøl** *ääny pøl tø ooli, tåkøly pøl tø ooli* 'in his abundance, in his well-being (he) lives there even now, lives there even later'.

This is closely related to a comitative function with especially animate (and possessive) instrumentals, but a similar function is possible also with inanimate constituents:

k°ål-søgør-pänk-kom **noåjøtäätøl** *kurøm jäw-terax pårkøn tow jål-wotsäg* 'the red of dawn man was put to sit with his princess under those three giant pine trees'

wisykø kom **põnytøtäätøl** *äk°ään tåxøn.katsäg* 'young man and his brother-in-law attacked each other'
*ton løløng-***wityøtäätøl** *mønøs månt juw-teem-kart pookøn* 'with that water of life (he) went to the earlier eaten people'.

The grammatical function of the instrumental is to denote the patient in the ditransitive clauses (with two objects), where the recipient is the clause member in nominative or accusative that is promoted to become the object through the dative shift (see p. 000):

põõnkøl *tøxtøx° köärøx* 'he must be fed with the fly agaric'
*öänøm oolnø-***mõõl** *loåwääløn!* 'order me a place to govern!'
öänøm kääwøl **õõx°tøsøl** *äxtølään!* 'collect me stones and rock!'
tänkørmø äät köärøs-toågøl **løgnøl** *ääløstøn* 'they caught five storehouse-full of squirrels for the mouse'
wityøl *lowsaxtøx° köältiiløwt* 'water is carried to them so that (they) could rinse themselves'
påsøng-kom jägøtään **öätømøl** *mäjwøs* 'the cheerful man gave him people, twenty thousand men'
*oosymøsy-***köärøk°øl** *wöäxtwøs* 'he was thrown a key bundle'.

The instrumental patient can also be attached to the recipient, as well as to the directional locative:

mõõl *köältøstø, sowøl köältøstø* 'land and bog he lifted on top of them'
pööäjøltääm **wityøl** *soosøntäx° pümtsään* 'they started pouring hot water over them'.
Expressions of the type ' full' are realized by the constituent in the instrumental:
jälwøl-öänsyøx° käxør keewør **öätømøl** *toåglø* 'the goblin's stomach is full of people'
ääny tok uusøw keewør pupi-k°orøl **åsjø-løgpøl** *täwløwø* 'now our town fills up with snakes and lizards'.

Some inanimate constituents resembling subjects can be instrumental. Usually in this case the verb is of the type 'be seen, appear':

k°ål-søgør-kom ox-toor nyåsømsiipøtääm kontøstø: **keelpøl** *nøgløs, syonkløs* 'the man of the red dawn notices his white shroud: blood shows there, blood dries there'
*ooløp-***uulmøtäätøl** *åjwøs* 'he fell into heroic sleep'.

The figure (KM *k°år*, KU *x°äör*) is usually in the instrumental form, as well when appearing as a certain figure as when transforming into one:

tääk° losywøn wåsy-woj **k°årøl** *råwlaxtøs* 'the scoundrel transformed himself into a frog'
*ootør kuul-***k°årøl** *witynøl nok-nøgløpøs* 'the prince rose out of water in a shape of a fish'
ton kop mänt kurøm jäg-püwønsyt juw-äxøtsyaxtøst, kon åsjø-løgøp **k°årøl**, *kon k°årt* **k°årøl**, *kon toonsy* **k°årøl** 'in the meantime the three brothers gathered inside (in the town), one as a lizard, one as a caterpillar, one as a worm'
juuntøp tääk° kom **k°åräätøl** *tunsyølmäätøs* 'the needle rose up standing in (his) shape of a man'.

Caritive / Abessive

The basic form of the caritive suffix in KU is *-täöl* and in KM *-tal* (phonetically as *-taal*, but actually the invariable *-tal*).

KM -tal ~ KU -täöl
nåmttal 'without a thought, thoughtless'   *nåmttäöl* id.
sowtal 'without skin, skinless'   *sowtäöl* id.
teetal 'without food'   *teetäöl* id.
õõwtal 'without door, doorless'   *aawtäöl* id.
sorømtal 'without vent hole'   *sorømtäöl* id.

The caritive suffix can appear in the text forming, like the abessive, a free adverbial, but its nature as the derivational suffix is indicated among other things by the fact that it is possible to attach other derivational suffixes to the caritive suffix, such as the ending *-t* (KU *wisyxar-xart säöjttäölt* 'the children are foolish'). An adjective formed in the same way can naturally also be an adjective attribute:

sowtal *köät-tolyäät moot pusirk keewørnø lükmøstø* 'he pushed his skinless finger into the other bottle'
k°äälø(g) **õõwtal** *sorømtal k°äl* 'his house is doorless, a house without a vent hole'.

On the other hand, the suffix in the following clauses functions like an abessive, forming a word form occurring as an adverbial:

moot nee öätyi-näär öät löättii, **nåmttal** *wonlii* 'the other woman does not say anything, sits without thoughts'
teetal *päätsøt* 'they were left without food'
tok tø kojøpøs **teetal** 'so he went to bed without food'.

The same suffix can also be attached to the verb stem. The caritive suffix attached to the verb stem produces a verbal noun, the use of which resembles a participle, and which modifies the noun:

piilytal 'unpierceable'   *piilytäöl* id.
tusytal 'ungrowable'   *tusytäöl* id.
kåntal 'unstickable'   *xantäöl* id.
peerttal 'unsellable'   *peerttäöl* id.
joxttal 'unarrivable'   *joxttäöl* id.

E.g.
*ton k°än-pöälnø määsøs sørii-***piilytal** *sørii-***kåntal** *tolyø-nyål-***kåntal** *juuntøp-tågøl* 'over it he wore a sword unpierceable sword un-stickable fingertip un-stickable suit of armour'
owlø **joxttal** *põõwøl teelø, owlø* **joxttal** *uus teelø!* 'let here be born a never-ending village, let be born a never-ending town!'.

Just because of the attachment to the verb stem, it is virtually impossible to treat the caritive as a real case form but rather as a derivational suffix. On the other hand, the caritive suffix in the possessive declension behaves structurally and functionally the same way than the case suffixes. Its nature is thus an ambivalent derivational or inflectional

suffix. There are examples of the 1st person singular only, but these examples are unambiguous, structurally transparent Px + Cx examples:

KM -ømtal ∼ KU -ømtäöl (Sg1Sg ABESSIVE)
oosymøsyømtal 'without my key'   *oosymøsyømtäöl* id.
sågrøpømtal 'without my axe'   *sågrøpømtäöl* id.

The caritive forms of the verb are different. These examples are from the inflection of the 3rd person possessive singular, and at least in these examples the order of the suffixes is different: Only the caritive suffix makes the verb stem able to take the possessive suffix attachment.

KM -töäläät Car + PxSg3Sg
kistöäläät 'his unsearched one'
kottöäläät 'his unfound one'
The context in the example is the following:

KM
täw   kistöäläät,   täw   kottöäläät   näär uuli.
he   search-Car-PxSg3Sg   he   find-Car-PxSg3Sg   what is-sbc3Sg.prs
'What is (such) that he could not search for (hunt) and find (catch)?

The behaviour of the ambivalent abessive-caritive in the possessive declension of the nouns and the verbs as described above would so far be quite logical. The surprise awaits in the pronoun declension, where all case inflection is possessive keeping in mind that the declension stem of the personal pronouns is formed with the help of the possessive suffix (more of this below, see p.???). The abessive, of which there is an example of the 3rd person singular only, shows also in this case a reverse order compared to other cases: *täwtöäläät* 'without him' = *täw* 'hän' + *-töäl-* Abess + *-äät* PxSg3Sg. More information for solving this problematic case can be found only when we know more about the abessive cases of other personal pronouns on the one hand, and about the 3rd person singular pronoun declension. The texts provide surprisingly sparse examples of this pattern.

Adjective comparison and modal particles

The suffix of the **comparative** denotes comparison of adjectives and adverbs. The comparative forms can be further inflected so in that respect they are derivatives. On the other hand the comparative suffix follows the case suffix (either historical or synchronic) in the adverb comparison. The comparative suffix in both dialects is *-nyøw*:

KU -nyøw ∼ KM -nyøw (Comp)
wisnyøw 'smaller'   *wisnyøw* id.
weernyøw 'younger'   *weernyøw* id.
åsjønyøw 'thinner'   *åsjønyøw* id.
päämøngnyøw 'stronger'   *päämøngnyøw* id.
townyøw 'further there'   *townyøw* id.
öälpølnyøw 'before'   *öälpølnyøw* id.

Examples of the use:

åsjønyøw-*kart tøg öälømwøt noåløw, åsøng-kart öät tøg uuswøt* 'thinner (trunks) are carried to the shore, thick ones can not'

tow nyårømtøs, noåj kommø **townyøw** *kåsømtøstø* 'he crawled, the maiden pulled the man closer'

The **modal** suffix is used for turning adjectives into adverbs. It is thus more a derivative for the adverbs than a declension suffix. The ending is *-sy*.

KU -(ø)sy ~ KM -(ø)sy (Mod)

køgnøsy 'easily'	*køgnøsy* id.
øtøngøsy 'hard'	*øtgøsy* 'hard' id.
päämøngøsy 'loudly'	*päämøngøsy* id.

PERSONAL PRONOUN DECLENSION

The declension patterns of the personal pronouns differ from the noun declension described above, where also the demonstrative and the interrogative forms were presented. In addition to the nominative cases, the personal pronouns have only three inflectional cases, at least following Liimola (1944). Liimola has provided a detailed description of the personal pronoun declension based on Kannisto's grammatical notes. The following table shows the forms he concluded for Konda. Abessive is not at all included. I have added in italics such parallel forms that were found in the texts but not mentioned by Liimola. The forms in the regular font are the forms in Liimola's paradigms that are not found in the text, and the ones in the bold font are found in both the Liimola paradigm and the texts.

The accusative of the personal pronoun consists in principle of the pronoun stem and the basic element of the possessive person suffix. The forms are, however, not systematic. Also in the accusative there is much variation in the most frequent person forms, such as the 2nd person singular.

	KM	**KU**
1Sg	**om**	**om**, *åm*
Acc	oånøm, *öänøm*	**öänøm**
Lat	**omnöän**, öänøm, *omnaan*	omnaan, *åmnaan*
Abl	omnöänøl, *omnaanøl*	omnaanøl, *åmnaanøl*
2Sg	**näg**, *näng*	näng, *näg*
Acc	**nään**	näängøn, *näägøn, nägønmø*
Lat	nägnöän, *nägnaan*	**nägnaan**, nängnaan, *nägnäön*
Abl	**nägnöänøl**, *nängnöänøl*	**nägnaanøl**, nängnaanøl
3Sg	**täw**	**täw**
Acc	tääwø, tääwøtääm	tääwø
Lat	täwnöän	täwnaan
Abl	täwnöänøl	täwnaanøl
Abess	*täwtöäläät*	*täwtöäläät*
1Du	**meen**	**min**
Acc	meenaam, *meenååm*	miinäömøn, miinååm, *miinaam*
Lat	meenöän	miinäönø, miinäön
Abl	meenöänøl	miinäönøl
2Du	**neen**	**nin**, *niin*
Acc	neen	niinøn
Lat	neenöän, **neen**	niinäön, *niin*
Abl	neenöänøl	niinäönøl
3Du	**teen**	**tin**
Acc	teen	tiinøn
Lat	teenöän	tiinäön
Abl	teenöänøl	tiinäönøl

1Pl	**möän**	**man**
Acc	**möänøw**	möänøw, *maanaw*, *maanøw*
Lat	möänöän	mönaan
Abl	möänöänøl	mönanøl

2Pl	nöän	**nan**, *naan*
Acc	**nöän**	**nöänøn**
Lat	nöänöän, *nöänaan*	nöänaan, *naanaan*
Abl	nöänöänøl, *nöänaanøl*	nöänanøl, *naanaanøl*

3Pl	**töän**	**tan**
Acc	töän	täönøn, töänäänøl
Lat	töänöän	töänaan
Abl	**töänöänøl**	töänaanøl, *taanaanøl*

NUMERALS

The cardinal numbers are the following (Honti 1993: 197–98)

	KM	**KU**
1	*äk°~ äk°ø*	*äk° ~ äk°ø*
2	*kit ~ kitøg*	*kit ~ kitøg*
3	*kuurøm*	*xuurøm*
4	*nyølø*	*nyølø*
5	*ät*	*ät*
6	*koot*	*xoot*
7	*söät*	*söät*
8	*nyåløw*	*nyaløw*
9	*ontøløw*	*ontøløw*
10	*low*	*low*
11	*äk-kujøp-low*	*äk-xujøp-low*
12	*kit-kujøp-low*	*kit-xujøp-low*
13	*kuurøm-kujøp-low*	*xuurøm-xujøp-low*
14	*nølø-kujøp-low*	*nyølø-xujøp-low*
15	*ät-kujøp-low*	*ät-xujøp-low*
16	*koot-kujøp-low*	*xoot-xujøp-low*
17	*söät-kujøp-low*	*söät-xujøp-low*
18	*moot-lowøn-nyåløw*	*moot-lowøn-nyaløw*
19	*moot-lowøn-ontøløw*	*moot-lowøn-ontøløw*
20	*kos*	*xos*
30	*wõõt*	*waat*
40	*nälmøn*	*nälmøn*
50	*ätpøn*	*ätpøn*
60	*kootpøn*	*xootpøn*
70	*söät-low*	*söät-low*
80	*nyål-sõõt*	*nyal-saat*
90	*ontøl-sõõt*	*ontøl-saat*
100	*sõõt*	*saat*
1000	*sootør*	*sootør*

The **ordinal** numbers are formed of the cardinal numbers with the suffix *-(ø)t*. This is a word final variant. When word internal, i.e. in the inflected forms, the ordinal suffix appears in the form *-nt-* (*söätøntii* 'for the seventh'). Formation of the ordinal 'the first' is exceptional, as in most languages. Also 'the second' is formed out of the demonstrative pronoun *moot* 'other' instead of the numeral (*kit, kitøg*), which also is quite usual. The ordinal 'second' does include the ordinal suffix.

KM -nt-	**KU -t (Ord)**
mootøt ~ mootønt-	*mootøt ~ mootønt-* '2.'
kuurmøt ~ kuurmønt-	*xuurmøt ~ xuurmønt-* '3.'
nyøløt ~ nyølønt-	*nyøløt ~ nyølønt-* '4.'
äätøt ~ äätønt-	*äätøt ~ äätønt-* '5.'
kootøt ~ kootønt-	*xootøt ~ xootønt-* '6.'
söätøt ~ söätønt-	*söätøt ~ söätønt-* '7.'
? nyåløwt ~ nyåløwønt-	*nyaløwt ~ nyaløwønt* '8.'
? ontøløwt ~ ontøløwønt-	*ontøløwt ~ ontøløwønt-* '9'
? lowt ~ lowønt-	*lowt ~ lowønt-* '10.'
eel-ol 'first'	*eel-ol* 'first'

VERB CONJUGATION

The finite conjugation categories of the verb are voice (active/passive), tense (present tense/preterite), mood (indicative, imperative/optative, conditional), definiteness and person. In addition to the finite categories also infinite categories are used in temporal and other infinite clauses that chain the progress of events. All clauses except for the predicative clauses include a verb. Predicative 3rd person clauses never have copulas and they appear occasionally in other persons.

The starting point for the description of the verb conjugation is the subject conjugation of the active indicative preterite. There are several reasons for starting off with the preterite. The main tense in the existing material, and the Kannisto linguistic data which is the primary source for the present book, is the past, and the texts describe past events; they are fairy tales and heroic tales, to a lesser extent destiny songs and songs and to the least extent the present tense folklore texts (riddles, rhymes etc.) and descriptions of the songs and plays in the great bear ceremonies. The predominant tense in the texts is thus the preterite. Another reason for this is didactic: the preterite is simpler in form than the present tense. Both categories of time are marked in Konda (as in Mansi in general), and the preterite marker *-s-* is clearly agglutinative in form and position. It is thus possible to easily segment the basic elements of the person forms included in the preterite forms. These primary personal endings of the present tense forms are partly assimilated into the temporal material.

After the indicative preterite and the present tense in the subject conjugation, the definite conjugation, i.e. the object conjugation is presented, after which the other modal forms and their use are described, and finally the passive forms and the morphology of the nominal verb forms are presented. The use of the passive and the nominal forms is presented separately in the syntax section.

INDICATIVE PRETERITE; SUBJECT CONJUGATION

The marker of the preterite is *-s-;* the indicative modus is unmarked. The verb inflects in nine persons: in three numbers (singular, dual, plural) in three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd). In the indicative preterite, the tense marker is followed by the person markers in their primary forms:

KM	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-øm**	**-øn**	**Ø**
Du	-møn	**-ään**	**-äg, -gø**
Pl	**-øw, -wø**	**-ään**	**-øt, -t**

KU	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-øm**	**-øn**	**Ø**
Du	-møn	**-ään**	**-ii, -gii, -äö**
Pl	**-øw, -wø**	**-ään, -nø**	**-øt, -t**

The person markers are for the most part the same than in the nominal possessive declension (possessive suffixes). The most important differences are found in the 3rd person forms, where there are no person elements involved. The ending of the 3rd person singular is null (the preterite thus ends with the preterite marker *-s*), the ending for the 3rd person dual is the dual marker and the ending for the 3rd person plural is the plural

marker correspondingly. The 2nd person dual and plural forms are identical. There are no remarkable differences between KM and KU in this respect. The only more significant difference is the phonetic difference, and the pleonasm related to it, found in the 3rd person dual ending in KU.

The elements are rather familiar from the Mansi perspective, and partly also in a much larger scale from the Uralic point of view. The mere segmenting of the personal suffixes functionally into smaller parts clearly creates difficulties. The element *-m-* can be regarded as the basic element of the 1st person. However, the suffix of 1st person plural is of another origin (Honti 1979). In the 1st person dual the element *-m-* marking the 1st person precedes the dual element *-n,* but this element is absent in the rest of the dual paradigm. In fact it also appears in the 2nd person dual, but there it cannot be, unambiguously at least, interpreted as a dual marker, as the same element also denotes the 2nd person plural, and this element *n* is also common to all 2nd person elements. The element that most clearly denotes the 2nd person is thus *n* that only historically marks the dual form. The 3rd person dual suffix *–tøn* that is analoguous to the 1st person dual suffix is found in the object conjugation and in the nominal possessive suffixes, but not in the indicative of the subject conjugation.

The element indicating person for the 2nd person forms is thus clearly *-n*. The synchrony of the 2nd person forms in the dual and the plural is the element uniting the whole Ob-Ugrian linguistic area. A clear separating element between the singular and the non-singular is absent.

The 3rd person forms represent the feature familiar from the Uralic perspective that the actual element denoting person is absent, presenting thus Ø instead. The 3rd person singular forms always end with the marker for the tense, and the subject conjugation preterite never includes the element marking number or person. The 3rd person dual suffix is the same suffix than the marker for the dual number in the absolute nominal declension, and in the 3rd person plural suffixes the tense suffix is followed by the plural suffix *-t* that resembles the marker for the absolute plural number. The dual that in most paradigms shows the most remarkable phonetic variation and alteration in form is the only form to include unexpected elements in the preterite paradigm also. The absolute dual suffixes in the nominal declension are the KU *-ii, -äö* and the KM *-ii, -öä, -äg*. Among the elements presented in the table, the predictable (Sbjc pret) 3rd person dual suffix elements are thus the KU *-ii, -äö* and the KM *-äg*. The unexpected suffixes KU *-(s)gii* and KM *-(s)gø* are such variants that are defined by the syllable position, and their source of analogy goes back to the present tense conjugation. The diversity of the dual suffix is explained historically primarily by the fact that the marker for both the present tense and the dual form has previously been the velar spirant *-g-* that is very clearly present in the standard Northern Mansi. This velar spirant has in Konda showed a tendency towards vocalization, and for this reason the double suffixes forced by analogy or other (historical) reasons have gained ground. A typical dual suffix of this kind is the KU *-gii* that, if regarded as a preterite suffix, should naturally be interpreted as a suffix made of two dual suffixes but as it most evidently is derived from the present tense paradigm, the *-g-* in the suffix is historically the present tense *-g-* instead of the dual *-g-*.

Single person forms (1SG 2SG 3SG)

The preterite suffix *-søm* of the 1st person singular similarly to the 2nd person singular suffix *-søn* is attached without variation to all stem types and syllable positions:

KM -søm ~ KU -søm (1Sg PRET)

jøsøm 'I came'	*jøsøm* id.
oolsøm 'I was'	*oolsøm* id.
jälsøm 'I went'	*jälsøm* id.
tåtsøm 'I brought'	*tatsøm* id.
kåtsøm 'I found'	*xåtsøm* id.
uurkaatsøm 'I waited'	*uurxaatsøm* id.
pägørmäätsøm 'I rolled, I have rolled'	*pägørmäätsøm* id.

KM -(ø)søn ~ KU -(ø)søn (2Sg PRET)

jøsøn 'you came'	*jøsøn* id.
teelsøn 'you were born'	*teelsøn* id.
jälsøn 'you went'	*jälsøn* id.
kotsøn 'you found'	*xotsøn* id.
komøjøsøn 'you wedded, you have wedded'	*xomøjøsøn* id.

The preterite marker *-s* functioning as the 3rd person preterite singular suffix is attached as such to the monosyllable vowel stem and with a binding vowel to the consonant final stem:

KM -øs, -s ~KU -øs, -s (3Sg PRET)

jøs 'he came'	*jøs* id.
løs 'he shot'	*løs* id.
jeek°øs 'he danced'	*jeek°øs* id.
ooløs 'he was'	*ooløs* id.
mønøs 'he went'	*mønøs* id.
löäwøs 'he said'	*läöwøs* id.
jål-jiinkøs 'it got dark'	*jal-jiinkøs* id.
kåjtøs 'he ran'	*xajtøs* id.
pøløjøs 'it lit'	*peløjøs* id.
nyowømtøs 'he rose'	*nyowømtøs* id.
pägørmäätøs 'he rolled'	*pägørmäätøs* id.

Dual person forms

There are no examples of the 1st person dual forms, but based on other corresponding forms it is safe to assume that the form is the invariable *-smøn* (like the exceptional present tense form of the verb 'to be' *oosmøn* 'we2 are' vs. *oosøm* 'I am', *oosøn* 'you are' ~ *oolsøm* 'I was', *oolsøn* 'you were'). The preterite suffix in the subject conjugation 2nd person dual is the invariable *-sään*. It is possible that the same variation that is seen in the 2nd person plural form also occurs under the same conditions in this suffix. As it has been shown above, the 2nd person dual and plural forms show a tendency towards external similarity in all person form categories, and e.g. the monosyllabic vowel stem verb *jø-* 'to come' of the subject conjugation 2nd person preterite dual would be expected to be *jøsnø* 'you2 came'. There are no examples of these in the texts.

KM -smøn ~ KU -smøn (1Du PRET)

jøsmøn 'we2 came'   *jøsmøn* id.
mønøsmøn 'we2 went'   *mønøsmøn* id.

KM -sään ~ KU -sään (2Du PRET)
tuulsään 'you2 fled'   *tuulsään* id.
wöärsään 'you2 did'   *wöärsään* id.
pätsään 'you2 fell'   *päätsään* id.

The most frequent variants of the 3rd person dual suffixes are the KM *-säg* ~ the KU *-sii*. This can thus be considered the prototype of the suffix. It can be found in all other positions except attached to a monosyllabic vowel stem, and it is usually attached directly to the stem. In some frequent word tokens such as *mønøsäg* ~ *mønøsii* 'they2 went' there is a binding vowel between the stem and the suffix. There are also cases of metathesis, such as *nøgølsäg* ~ *nøgløsii,* in which the binding vowel is the stem vowel moving in the metathesis. The combination *säg* ~ *-sii* forms a separate syllable in each case, and the preceding syllable can end at least in a vowel (except for the first syllable), in a consonant (*-j, -g, -l, -m, -s, -t*) or in a consonant cluster with the final *t*.

KM -säg ~ KU -sii (3Du)
äjsäg 'they2 drank'   *äjsii* id.
kuulsäg 'they2 stayed the night'   *xuulsii* id.
jälsäg 'they2 went'   *jälsii* id.
køssäg 'they2 searched (pret)'   *køssii* id.
löätsäg 'they2 said'   *läötsii* id.
joxtsäg 'they2 came'   *joxtsii* id.
kojøsäg 'they2 lay'   *xojøsii* id.
nøgølsäg 'they2 appeared'   *nøgløsii* id.
peeltaxtsäg 'they2 changed'   *peeltaxtsii* id.
lowtsaxtsäg 'they2 washed themselves'   *lowtsaxtsii* id.
wontølmäätsäg 'they2 sat down'   *wontølmäätsii* id.

The actual position of the second basic variant KM *-sgø* ~ KU *-sgii* is after the monosyllabic vowel final stems. These are the so called thematic stems (see «Stem variation«), of which the most frequent ones in Konda are *jø-* 'to come', *wø-* 'to take' and *tee-* 'to eat'. In addition to these the KM *-sgø* ~ KU *-sgii* can also be attached to the bisyllabic or several syllable vowel final stem. The vowel final stems are often derivatives, in which the stem structure is regulated by the attachment of the stem and the suffix and the metathesic processes occurring within the attachment. The vowel in the third syllable (*tøglømlø-, kåjtømlø-*) is no longer metathesic but forms a vowel stem (these derivatives have no variants of the type *tøglømøl*). The vowel stem appears in the border of the second and the third syllable if the consonant cluster at the end of the stem turns out to be too heavy. Either metathesis (*-x°øt-*) or cluster lenition: *-kt > -xt* would be alternative consonant stems for the derivatives *-x°tø-* and *-ktø-* in the examples below. In KU this has indeed occurred (*puuxtøsgii*), but the suffix is still the variant typically attached to the trisyllable. Among the examples there are thus some instances of KU *-sgii* ~ KM *-sgø* attached to a bisyllabic stem but the tendency would seem to be towards the fact that the ending in question specifically favours monosyllabic and trisyllabic vowel stems, and the end result is a bisyllabic or a quadrasyllabic foot. The endings attached to the bisyllabic stems are thus analoguous.

KM -sgø ~ KU -sgii (3Du PRET)

jøsgø 'they2 came'   *jøsgii* id.
wøsgø 'they2 took'   *wøsgii* id.
teesgø 'they2 ate'   *teessii, teesgii* id.
wøktøsgø 'they2 took each other'   *wøktøsgii* id.
puuktøsgø 'they2 grasped each other'   *puuxtøsgii* id.
tøglømløsgø 'they2 took off'   *tøglømløsgii* id.
såsømøsgø 'they2 settled'   *sasømøsgii* id.
kåjtømløsgø 'they2 ran'   *xajtømløsgii* id.
kuulmiitøsgø 'they2 stayed overnight'   *xuulmiitøsgii* id.

Plural person forms

The suffix in the 1st person plural has two variants. In both dialects, the most usual one is *-søw:*

KM -søw ~ KU -søw (1Pl PRET)

joxtsøw 'we arrived'   *joxtsøw* id.
øsysøw 'we owned, we had'   *esysøw* id.

The variant KM KU *-swø* ending with a vowel is attached to the monosyllabic vowel stems, being similar to the variant 3Du *sgø ~ sgii*. This rule is not consistent in KM, as the basic variant is also valid in this position. The same ending can also form a quadrasyllabic foot.

KM -swø, -søw ~ KU -swø (1Pl PRET)

jøsøw, jøswø 'we came'   *jøswø* id.
jöäpøsytøswø 'we aimed at'   *jöäpøsyteswø* id.

The same distribution with the suffixes above is also found for the preterite suffixes in the subject conjugation 2nd person plural. There are, however, quite few examples available. In the verb conjugation, the basic variant is phonetically equivalent with certain forms in the object conjugation and the corresponding nominal possessive suffixes (*joxtsään* also 'he reached them2 / them (Pl)'.

KM -sään ~ KU -sään (2Pl PRET)

joxtsään 'you arrived'   *joxtsään* id.

KM -snø ~ KU -snø (2Pl PRET)

jøsnø 'you came'   *jøsnø* id.

The variation in the suffixes for the 3rd person plural is possibly the most automatic variation pattern of the ones described above, and the variation is, conforming with the rules governing the syllable structure, also relatively free. Out of the consonant clusters, those ending with *t* are the most stable ones, and in addition to the homorganic clusters formed by a nasal and a plosive, also the only possible ones. Clusters of three consonants do not, however, exist. Therefore the preterite forms of the 3rd person plural in the subject conjugation have been interpreted so that the form of the suffix is *-søt,* whenever preceded by a consonant. In case the verb has a vowel stem, the attaching 3rd person preterite plural suffix of the subject conjugation is *-st,* except for the case of a

thematic monosyllabic short vowel stem (*jø-* 'to arrive'). The long vowel in the stem *tee-* 'to eat' already admits the word final cluster (*teest*). These rules are based on the method with which Kannisto has marked the syllable boundaries in his texts. E.g. the verb 'to arrive' can in Kannisto's original transcription be in the form *joxt(st or jox(tst* .

In the first case the sonant is positioned between the consonants (*joxtsøt*), and in the second case the position of the sonant in the 2nd syllable is after the first consonant (*joxtøst*). This is because a syllable (and a word) can end with two consonants under the conditions stated above, but it is not possible for a syllable to begin with two consonants. The variation is quite free after a vowel (*teesøt ~ teest*), although usually in this case the ending is undoubtedly *-st*, unless the syllable border has been specifically marked.

KM -søt ~ KU -søt (3Pl PRET)

jøsøt 'they came'	*jøsøt* id.
teesøt 'they ate'	*teesøt* id.
wöärsøt 'they did'	*wöärsøt* id.
loåwsøt 'they said'	*läöwsøt* id.
joxtsøt 'they arrived'	*joxtsøt* id.
k°olytsøt 'they stayed'	*x°olytsøt* id.
jømtsøt 'they became (something)'	*jømtsøt* id.
syisyøgsøt 'they screamed'	*syisyøgsøt* id.
uurkaatsøt 'they waited'	*uurxaatsøt* id.

KM -øst, -st ~ KU -øst, -st (3Pl PRET)

teest 'they ate'	*teest* id.
äjøst ' they drank'	*äjøst* id.
mønøst ' they went'	*mønøst* id.
åjgøst ' they shouted'	*åjgøst* id.
koojøst ' they struck'	*xoojøst* id.
såsømøst 'they settled'	*såsømøst* id.
kåmøtøst ' they made a noise'	*xåmøtøst* id.

INDICATIVE PRESENT TENSE; SUBJECT CONJUGATION

In the subject conjugation the segmentation of the person form endings in the present tense is more complicated compared to the preterite person endings. The present tense paradigm is often considered the basic paradigm in the verb conjugation, to which the further elements are added by the marked tense (the future tense or the past tense) or the modal forms, or even the definite object. There is no actual unmarked paradigm, as the basic elements in the person forms presented in the table on p. 000 are elements on which the present tense paradigm builds. Some forms in the paradigm are clearly agglutinative: clearly segmentable variants can be found here and there, in which the element *-g-* resembling the marked form and the basic element of the person form (above) are readily recognizable. On the other hand it seems that two totally separate, even if historically closely related suffix variants can represent one function, as is the case of the 3rd person dual suffix ending, the variation of which is already shown above. The variation of the suffixes presented in the table seems already at first glance more diversified than those of the preterite paradigm. The diversity is due to the fact

that the actual present tense marker -*g*-, well preserved in e.g. the Northern Mansi, is vocalized in several Konda cases, and the vowel resulting from the phonological development varies qualitatively. (There is also quantitative variation but it is not phonological in nature.). However, this present tense marker has not existed in all person forms: such are the 3rd person singular (the ending of which is originally a participle, cf. the participial -*ii*) and the 1st person dual, the 2nd person dual, the 1st person plural and the 2nd person plural, in which the suffix -*ii*- is analoguous to the 3rd person singular ending.

The table below shows the subject conjugation present tense person endings

KM	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-aam, -ååm -gøm, -øm**	**-aan, -öän, -gøn,-øn**	**-i, Ø**
Du	**-iimøn**	**-iin, -iinø, -nø**	**-öä, -gø, -aa**
Pl	**-øw, -wø, -gwø, -iiwø**	**-iinø**	**-aat, -öät, -gøt, -t**

KU	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-åm, -ååm, -gøm**	**-äön, -gøn, -øn**	**-i, Ø**
Du	**-iimøn**	**-iin, -nø**	**-äö, -gii**
Pl	**-øw, -wø, -wwø**	**-iin, -øn, -nø**	**-äöt, -gøt, -øt, -t**

The basic paradigm of the verb 'to go' in KM looks like the following

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	*mønååm*	*mønaan*	*møni*
Du	*møniimøn*	*møniinø*	*mønöä*
Pl	*mønøw*	*møniinø*	*mønaat*

In the Sosva dialect (in Northern Mansi) the corresponding paradigm looks like this

	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	*mineegøm*	*mineegøn*	*mini*
Du	*minmeen*	*mineen*	*mineeg*
Pl	*mineew*	*mineen*	*mineegøt*

Comparison of the paradigms reveals the changes caused by the vocalization of the *g*-marker in the present tense (and the 3rd person dual ending). In the 1st and 2nd person singular as well as the 3rd person plural the variants retaining the *g*-marker *møn.gøm* 'I go', *møn.gøn* 'you go' and *møn.gøt* 'they go' are possible also in Konda, but these are unusual in the texts, more like stylistic variants.

Singular person forms (1SG 2SG 3SG)
The basic element in the 1st person singular was defined above as -*m* ~ -*øm*. The preterite suffix is contrasted clearly by the 1st person singular present tense suffix -*gøm* that can be segmented into the present tense marker -*g*- and the basic personal element. One would suppose that this suffix would be extremely popular because of its transparency, but it appears to be very rare in the texts.

KM -gøm ~ KU -gøm (1Sg PRESENT TENSE)

løltgøm 'I breathe'   *leltgøm* id.
tusygøm 'I stand'   *tusygøm* id
øsygøm 'I have'

The 1st singular present tense suffix in the subject conjugation of the monosyllabic thematic verbs and also the verb 'to be; to live' (*ooli*) is the simplest type possible: it is thus identical with the person element. These verbs are of such a nature that the knowledge on the tense is encoded in their stem, and most of them take use of the present tense sub stem ending with *g*, and in addition also other possible stem variants (e.g. *wø- ~ wøg- ~ wäj-* 'to take'). The verb *jiiw* 'to come' is the same verb with the preterite forms based on the stem *jø-*, as is the case of several other verbs also; for this particular verb the suffix *-w-* can be interpreted as the marker for the present tense, but it is not the present tense marker for the paradigm, as it is functional in this one stem only. In the verb *ooli* 'to be', on the other hand, the present tense stem ends — rather astonishingly — with consonant *-s-*, the only clear tense marker that in all other verbs except for this particular verb denotes the preterite.

KM -øm ~ KU -øm (1Sg PRESENT TENSE)
oosøm 'I am'   *oosøm* id.
jiiwøm 'I come'   *jiiwøm* id.
wøgøm 'I take'   *wøgøm* id.

The most usual 1st person singular present tense suffix is KM KU *-ååm*. In some KM idiolects there is a corresponding suffix *-aam* that includes an illabial vowel.

KM -ååm ~ KU -ååm (1Sg PRESENT TENSE)
jäälååm 'I go'   *jäälååm* id.
mønååm 'I go'   *mønååm* id
ønsyååm 'I have'   *ensyååm* id.
löättååm 'I say'   *läöttååm* id.
kansyååm 'I know'   *xansyååm* id.
kønsååm 'I search'   *kønsååm* id.
kontååm 'I find'   *xontååm* id.
eerøgpååm 'I sing'   *eergøpååm* id.
lääk°øltååm 'I creep'   *lääk°øltååm* id.
lükømååm 'I postpone'   *lükømååm* id.
oormølaxtååm 'I try'   *oorømlaxtååm* id.

KM *-aam* e.g. *løltaam* 'I breathe', *tunsyaam* 'I stand', *oolaam* 'I am', *mønaam* 'I leave', *joxtaam* 'I come', *säjgøntaam* 'I stray', *tuujøpöälaam* 'I drop in'.

The 2nd person singular suffixes are relatively symmetrical with the 1st person singular suffixes. The distributions are equal. There is more variation in the portmanteau-suffix vocalization. The suffix *-gøn* is precisely similar to the infrequent 1st person singular suffix variant *-gøm*. This corresponding 2nd person singular suffix is as infrequent as the corresponding 1st person singular suffix, and the occurrence is also found in the same context.

KM -gøn ~ KU -gøn (2Sg PRESENT TENSE)
tusygøn 'you stand'   *tusygøn* id

The basic person element *-øn* occurs in the subject conjugation present tense function under the same conditions than the corresponding 1st person singular suffix variant *-øm* i.e. attached to the verb 'to be' (with the present tense sub stem *oos-*) and the present tense stems of the thematic verbs:

KM -øn ~ KU -øn (2Sg PRESENT TENSE)

oosøn 'you are'	*oosøn* id.
jiiwøn 'you come'	*jiiwøn* id.
wøgøn 'you take'	*wøgøn* id.

The portmanteau-morpheme has two main variants. The more frequent of these is the one where the KU suffix *-äön* corresponds with the KM *-aan*. It is evident and uncontroversial that in KM this is a question of an illabial monophthong that actually phonetically resembles the latter component of the diphthong *öä-*. In a very rare variant in KM there is a diphthong: *-öän*. Sometime also the KU KM *-ään* is found in this position.

KM -aan ~ KU -äön (2Sg PRESENT TENSE)

küünaan 'you want'	*küünäön* id.
ønsyaan 'you have'	*ensyäön* id
jäälaan 'you go'	*jääläön* id.
mønaan 'you go'	*mønäön* id.
wöäraan 'you do'	*wöäräön* id.
nyoraan 'you want, intend'	*nyoräön* id.
kønsaan 'you search'	*kønsäön* id.
tunsyaan 'you stand'	*tunsyäön* id.
lünsyaan 'you cry'	*lyüünsyäön* id.
löättaan 'you say'	*läöttäön* id.
joxtaan 'you arrive'	*joxtäön* id.
kolilöälaan 'you hear'	*xolilöäläön* id.
wöärlöälaan 'you dabble'	*wöärläöläön* id.
mønøntaan 'you go'	*mønääntäön* id.

KM -öän ~ KU -äön (2Sg PRESENT TENSE)

pägräntöän 'you roll'	*pägräntäön* id.
komøjöän 'you take as a husband'	*xomøjäön* id.

There is relatively little variation in the 3rd person singular suffix compared to the ones described above. The Ø representation of the basic person element appears in few verbs only, such as *jiiw* 'to come'. The ending *g* of the thematic verbs, which is the original present tense suffix, can also be regarded as Ø representation historically but as an independent present tense variant synchronically. Although thematic verbs as such are quite frequent, these forms are not often found in the texts.

KM Ø ~ KU Ø (3Sg PRESENT TENSE)

jiiw 'he comes'	*jiiw* id.

KM -g ~ KU -g (3Sg PRESENT TENSE)

wøg 'he takes'	*wøg* id.
*teeg 'he eats'	**teeg* id.

*wõõg 'he knows'   *waag id.

The full vowel *-i ~ -ii* is the basic variant of the subject conjugation 3rd person singular present tense suffix. As concluded above, the quantity of the vowels in the non-initial syllables has no distinctive function. From the phonological point of view it might be justified to consider the long vowel on the basis of its frequency as unmarked, and thus also as the basic form of the suffix in question. In precisely this suffix, however, it is the short vowel that is the more usual realization. The suffixes that consist merely of the full vowel *i* are so distributed that the present tense suffix discussed here is primarily realized as short (in Kannisto's original texts there is a short or sometimes a semilong vowel), whereas the dual suffix is primarily realized as long (in Kannisto's original texts there is a long or sometimes a semilong vowel). This is the case for the dual especially in the nominal declension, but the *-ii* in the dual suffix is usually long as part of the verbal suffix also, as is the 3rd person dual preterite suffix variant of the subject conjugation *-sii* discussed above.

KM -i ~ KU -i (3Sg PRESENT TENSE)
åjgi '(he) shouts'   *åjgi* id
koji 'he lies'   *x°oji* id.
nõõk°i 'he stings'   *naak°i* id.
jonki 'he turns'   *jonki* id.
köäli 'he rises'   *köäli* id.
teeli 'he is born'   *teeli* id.
wonli 'he sits, he is'   *wonli* id.
møni 'he goes'   *møni* id
pori 'he bites'   *pori* id.
sonsi 'he looks'   *sonsi* id.
tunsyi 'he stands'   *tunsyi* id.
löätti 'he says'   *läötti* id.
loåwi 'he says'   *läöwi* id.
uusyøntöäli 'he sees'   *uusyinti* id.
kuntønti 'he carries'   *xuntänti* id.
öälmønti 'he carries, he lifts'   *äölmønti* id.
kåjtømli 'he runs'   *xåjtømli* id.

Dual person forms (1DU 2DU 3DU)

The suffix *-møn* functioning as basic element of the 1st person dual forms the subject conjugation present tense suffix alone for the verbs 'to be' and the thematic verbs (*jiiwmøn* 'we2 come', *wøgmøn* 'we2 take'). The dominating type in this paradigm is -*iimøn*. The suffix contrasts with the corresponding preterite suffix, so that whenever the preterite suffix includes the tense element *-s-*, its position in the present tense paradigm is taken by the suffix *-ii-* as if functioning as the present tense marker that has been abstracted from the 3rd person singular ending following the preterite analogy:

mønøs :   *mønøsmøn*   ('left; we left2'
møni   :   x   ('leaves; we leave2'); x = *møniimøn*

Through this process the suffix *-ii-* has also become part of the 1st person plural, and the 2nd and the 3rd person dual suffixes. In none of these, however, does it appear as regularly as in the 3rd person singular and the 1st person dual suffixes. It cannot exactly be considered the marker for the present tense as it is absent from more than half of the present tense person forms in the paradigm.

KM -møn ~ KU -møn (1Du PRESENT TENSE)

oosmøn 'we2 are'	*oosmøn* id.
jiiwmøn 'we come2'	*jiiwmøn* id.

KM -iimøn ~ KU -iimøn (1Du PRESENT TENSE)

møniimøn 'we2 go'	*møniimøn* id.
k°åsgiimøn 'we2 pray'	*x°åsgiimøn* id.
wööriimøn 'we2 do'	*wööriimøn* id.
ønsyiimøn 'we2 have'	*ensyiimøn* id.
loåwiimøn 'we2 say'	*läöwiimøn* id.
wøktiimøn 'we2 unite'	*wøktiimøn* id.
peeltaxtiimøn 'we2 change'	*peeltaxtiimøn* id.
uurkaatiimøn 'we2 wait'	*uurxäätiimøn* id.
jälpööliimøn 'we2 go'	*jääløpööliimøn* id.
kuutøltaxtiimøn 'we2 swing'	*xuutøltaxtiimøn* id.

In KM there is also a suffix variant *-iimø,* which clearly lacks the final consonant denoting duality. However, on the grounds of its final vowel, it does differ even as it is from the 1st person singular, where *-m* is always in the absolute final position and from the 1st person plural, where *-w(ø)* instead of *m* denotes the person.

KM -iimø (1Du PRESENT TENSE)

møniimø 'we2 go'
ooliimø 'we2 are'

The sequence KM *-iinø* ~ KU *-iin* can be considered the basic form of the 2nd person dual present tense suffix. The variant *-nø* is attached to the thematic verbs and other monosyllabic vowel stems. The difference between the preterite and present tense is reflected in this person, as well as in the 2nd person plural, on the one hand as the presence of the preterite marker *s* (*-snø* : *-nø*), and on the other hand also as the quality of the suffix vowel (KU *-sään* : *-iin*). In KM also the final vowel *ø* (KM *-sään* : *-iinø*) can be added. The variation is rather symbolic, as the element *n* remains the uniting element, the common element for all second person forms.

KM -iinø ~ KU -iin (2Du PRESENT TENSE)

ooliinø 'you2 are'	*ooliin* id.
nääriinø 'what (you2 have)'	*nääriin* id.
wööriinø 'you2 do'	*wööriin* id.
ønsyiinø 'you2 have'	*ensyiin* id.
tøsyøntööliinø 'you2 eat'	*tesyøntööliin* id.

KM -nø ~ KU -nø (2Du PRESENT TENSE)

jiiwnø 'you2 come'   *jiiwnø* id
tuunø 'you2 enter'   *tuunø* id.

It is mainly the suffix KM *-öä* ~ KU *-äö* that is identical to the absolute dual suffix functioning as the 3rd person dual present tense suffix. In KM there is also a monophthong variant *-aa*. The suffix variant KM *-gø* ~ KU *-gii* attaches to the thematic stems. There are very few examples of these forms. The basic variant identical to the dual marker is equivalent to the nominal absolute dual, and it is also very similar to the suffix in the double object category suffix of the object conjugation that is used when the 3rd person singular (ObjcDu3Sg.prs) is the subject. The lack of a tense element separates it from the previously described suffix. The vowel suffix *-öä* ~ *-äö* formally lacks the tense element, but the actual person is also absent from its person element, and what is visible is actually the number of the subject person only (c.f. the object conjugation suffixes Du3Sg and Sg3Du below).

KM -öä ~ KU -äö (3Du PRESENT TENSE)
oolöä 'live2'   *ooläö* id.
äälöä 'kill2'   *ääläö* id.
joxtöä 'come'   *joxtäö* id.
pølöä 'fear2'   *pøläö* id.
ponöä 'put2'   *ponäö* id.
rõõsöä 'cry2'   *raasäö* id.
kansyöä 'know2'   *xansyäö* id.
kontöä 'find2'   *xontäö* id.
k°åsgöä 'pray2'   *x°åsgäö* id.
wøktöä 'unite2, take each other'   *wøktäö* id.
löätkaatöä 'talk2'   *läötxaatäö* id.
køtiilaxtöä 'ask2'   *køtiilaxtäö* id.
nyiilytelaxtöä 'fight2'   *nyilytelaxtäö* id.

KM -aa (3Du PRESENT TENSE)
tunsyaa 'stand2'
joxtaa 'come2'
nyiilyetöäløxtaa 'fight2'

KM -gø ~ KU -gii (3Du PRESENT TENSE)

tøggø 'eat2'   *tøggii* id.
*wøggø 'take2'   *wøggii* id.
*wõõgø 'see2'   **waagø* id.

Plural person forms (1PL 2PL 3PL)
The 1st person present plural tense suffix is identical with the previously mentioned person element. The most frequent variant is *-øw*. In monosyllable thematic stems the variant is *-wø*, and it is attached to the stem *g* that is similar to the 3rd person dual suffix of the verb 'to eat' discussed in the previous example. In KU there is an assimilated variant (*-wwø*). The frequent verbs 'to come' and 'to be' have several realizations in the 1st person plural: 'we come (Pl)': KU *jiiwøw* ~ *jiiwø* ~ *jiiwwø*, KM *jiiwwø;* 'we are': KU KM *ooløw* ~ *ooswø*. Examples of other persons and form categories could be

expected in a larger corpus. The variant *-wø* is again used not only for the thematic verbs but in the fourth syllable also; In KU in the form *-øwwø* and *-iiwø*, in KM only in the latter. An explanation for this might be found in the tendency to favour a certain word rhythm.

KM -øw ~ KU -øw (1Pl PRESENT TENSE)

ooløw 'we are'	*ooløw* id.
åjgøw 'we shout'	*åjgøw* id
ääjøw 'we drink'	*ääjøw* id.
koojøw 'we hit'	*xoojøw* id.
mønøw 'we go'	*mønøw* id.
wöärøw 'we do'	*wöärøw* id.
tunsyøw 'we stand'	*tunsyøw* id.
joxtøw 'we come'	*joxtøw* id.

KM -wø ~ KU -wø (1Pl PRESENT TENSE)

tøgwø 'we eat'	*tewwø* id.
wøgwø 'we take'	*wøwwø* id.
jiiwwø 'we come'	*jiiwø, jiiwwø* id.
ooswø 'we are'	*ooswø* id.

KM -iiwø ~ KU -iiwø, -øwwø (1Pl PRESENT TENSE)

kåjtømtiiwø 'we raise'	*xåjtømtiiwø* id.
råwøktiiwø 'we bend'	*räöwøktøwwø* id.
møniiwø 'we go'	

The 2nd person plural forms are identical with the 2nd person dual forms, also in the present tense. The main variant is KU *-iin* ~ KM *-iinø*. As can be expected based on the dual forms, the suffix variant *-nø* is attached to thematic verbs and other monosyllable vowel stems; its free variation with the KU suffix *-øn* is unexpected, as the forms are equivalent with the 2nd person singular present tense forms.

KM -iinø ~ KU -iin (2Pl PRESENT TENSE)

jääliinø 'you go'	*jääliin* id.
wonliinø 'you sit'	*wonliin* id.
møniinø 'you go'	*møniin* id.
ønsyiinø 'you have'	*ensyiin* id.
tunsyiinø 'you stand'	*tunsyiin* id.
joxtiinø 'you come'	*joxtiin* id.
põõx°tiinø 'you shoot'	*paax°tiin* id.

KM -nø ~ KU -øn, -nø (2Pl PRESENT TENSE)

jiiwnø 'you come'	*jiiwnø, jiiwøn* id.
wøgnø 'you take'	*wøgøn* id.

The suffix in which a diphthong or a monophthong occurs in addition to the plural element *t* can be considered the main variant of the 3rd person plural present tense. For the vowel sequence these ending variants KM *-aat* ~ KU *-äöt* and KM *-öät* ~ KU *-äöt* resemble the 2nd person singular present tense suffix variants KM *-aan* ~ KU *-äön* and

KM *-öän* ~ KU *-äön* containing full vowels. The most simple ending variant in the 3rd person plural present tense is *-t* and it is often attached to the long vowel stem of the thematic verbs (*tee-* 'to eat' as an example) and also the stem of the verb *jiiw-*'come'. The short vowel stem receives the ending *-gt*, which as a sequence ending in *t* can occur as word final.

KM -aat ~ KU -äöt (3Pl PRESENT TENSE)

oolaat 'they are, they live'	*ooläöt* id.
jäälaat 'they go'	*jääläöt* id.
kojaat 'they lie'	*xojäöt* id.
jeek°aat 'they play'	*jeek°äöt* 'id.
koontlaat 'they listen'	*xoontläöt* id.
mønaat 'they go'	*mønäöt* id.
ønsyaat 'they have'	*ensyäöt* id.
löättaat 'they say'	*läöttäöt* id.
loåwaat 'they say'	*läöwäöt* id.
löätkaataat 'they talk'	*läötxaatäöt* id.
lowøntaat 'they count'	*lowøntäöt* id.
kårttaxtøntaat 'they creep'	*xårttaxtäntäöt* id.

KM -öät ~ KU -äöt (3Pl PRESENT TENSE)

kojöät 'they lie'	*xojäöt* id.
ääjöät 'they drink'	*ääjäöt* id.
kuulöät 'they stay the night'	*xuuläöt* id.
løløjöät 'they recover'	*løløjäöt* id.
mønöät 'they go'	*mønäöt* id.
kägmøjöät 'they think'	*keewmäöt* id.
tøgliitöät 'they fly'	*tøgliitäöt* id.
uulöät 'they are'	

The suffix variant KU KM *-gøt* including the tense marker *-g-* is contrasted with the preterite suffix *-søt*, but like the ending variants for the agglutinative and regularly contrasting 1st person and 2nd person singular ending variants, the plural 3rd person *-gøt* is also very infrequent.

KM -gøt ~ KU -gøt (3Pl PRESENT TENSE)

löätgøt 'they say'	*läätgøt* id.
sågørkaatgøt 'they fence'	*säögørxaatgøt* id.
uulgøt 'they are, they live'	

KM -gt ~ KU -gt (3Pl PRESENT TENSE)

wøgt 'they take'	*wøgt* id.

KM -t ~ KU -t (3Pl PRESENT TENSE)

teet 'they eat'	*teet* id.
jiiwt 'they come'	*jiiwt* id.

Paradigm models for the most frequent verbs

Present tense 'to be'	'to come'	'to eat'	'to go'
oosøm ~ oolaam	*jiiwøm*	*teegøm*	*mønååm*
oosøn	*jiiwøn*	*teegøn*	*mønäön*
ooli	*jiiw*	*teeg*	*møni*
oosmøn	*jiiwmøn*	*tøgmøn*	*møniimøn*
oolään	*jiiwään*	*teegään*	*mønään*
oolöä	*jiiwöä*	*tøggø*	*mønöä*
ooswø ~ ooløw	*jiiwwø*	*tøgwø*	*mønøw ~ møniiwø*
oolään	*jiiwään*	*teegään*	*mønään*
oolaat	*jiiwt*	*teet*	*mønaat*

Preterite 'to be'	'to come'	'to eat'	'to go'
oolsøm	*jøsøm*	*teesøm*	*mønsøm*
oolsøn	*jøsøn*	*teesøn*	*mønsøn*
ooløs	*jøs*	*tees*	*mønøs*
ooløsmøn	*jøsmøn*	*teesmøn*	*mønøsmøn*
oolsään	*jøsään*	*teesään*	*mønøsään*
ooløsgø	*jøsgø*	*teesgø*	*mønøsäg*
oolsøw	*jøswø*	*teesøw*	*mønsøw*
oolsään	*jøsään*	*teesään*	*mønøsään*
oolsøt	*jøst*	*teest*	*mønøst*

INDICATIVE PRESENT TENSE: OBJECT CONJUGATION

The object conjugation i.e. the definite (determinative) conjugation of the verb is used when the object of the finite verb is present in the clause or the situation. The use of the object conjugation thus allows for the definite and thus known object to be left unexpressed in the clause. If the clause constituent can be contextually predicted, the mere use of the object conjugation is enough to show that the constituent functions as the object of the clause in question. On the other hand also the definite object expressed in the clause, marked as definite either by the accusative suffix or a mere possessive suffix, launches the definite form of the verb. The use of the object conjugation is discussed in more detail after the morphological description.

The present tense forms and the preterite forms in the object conjugation are roughly as transparent with respect to the tense elements. On the other hand, in both the present tense and the preterite, the portmanteau-morphemes with some specific suffix parts clearly functioning in double roles are favoured by certain person forms. But then again, some suffixes or variants represent the agglutinative method in its most transparent form.

In addition to the tense and the person, also the presence of the definite object and its number, i.e. the number of the objects, have been coded in the object conjugation paradigms. As there are three number categories in Mansi and thus nine person markers, there are 27 parts in the object conjugation. Each of these subject person markers can be attached to three object numbers. The use of the object conjugation forms does not depend on the fact whether the definite object belonging to the verb is expressed or not. The object conjugation does, however, offer the speaker more options for expressing the object, even if this would not be indicated with a specific word in the surface structure. Different from Hungarian, which also has object conjugation, the definiteness of the object does not depend on the person category, i.e. also the 1st and 2nd person pronouns absent from the surface structure will launch the choice of suffix from the object conjugation paradigm.

The object conjugation present tense suffixes with the tense markers are the following (the forms found in the texts (bold face) in the table below have been complemented using Kannisto's grammatical notes):

KM	Sg object	Du object	Pl object
Sg1	**-iiløm, -løm**	**-gååm**	**-gäänøm**
Sg2	**-iiløn, -løn**	**-gään**	**-gään**
Sg3	**-iitø**	**-öä, -göä**	**-gään**
Du1	**-läämøn**	-goåmøn	-gønäämøn
Du2	-iilään	-gään	-gään
Du3	**-iitøn**	-gään	-gään
Pl1	**-iiløw, -liiwø**	-oåw -gønøw	**-løgnøw** **-øgnøw, -gønøw**
Pl2	**-iilään**	-gään -gønään	-gønään
Pl3	**-äänøl, -gäänøl**	-gäänøl	**-gään** **-gäänøl**

KU	Sg object	Du object	Pl object
Sg1	**-iiløm, -løm**	**-gååm**	**-gäänøm**
Sg2	**-iiløn, -løn**	**-gään**	**-gään**
Sg3	**-iit, -iitø**	**-äö, -gäö**	**-gään**
Du1	**-läämøn**	-gønäämøn	-gønäämøn
Du2	-iilään	-gään -gønään	-gään
Du3	**-iitøn**	-gään	-gään
Pl1	**-iiløw, -lew**	-gønøw	**-løgnøw -øgnøw, -gønøw**
Pl2	**-iilään**	-gään -gønään	-gønään
Pl3	**-äänøl, -gäänøl**	-gään -gäänøl	**-gään -gäänøl**

The forms indicating the dual object are found in the texts only as attached to the singular person forms, whereas the subject person forms denoting a plural object are lacking. This refers clearly to the fact that the dual category is infrequent, and it is thus not surprising that it has totally disappeared from Southern Mansi.

1SG
In the category for a single object the 1st person singular (from now on Sg1Sg and correspondingly; the object number followed by the subject person and number) has two ending variants. The primary basic variant *-iiløm* includes the tense, the element *-ii-* denoting the present tense (the same element that were discussed in some person forms in the subject conjugation already), the object, specifically the element *-l-* denoting its number (Sg) and the basic element *-øm* marking the person. Although the suffix *-ii-* in the subject conjugation seems secondary as the tense element, and although it occurs in few person forms only, it could form basis for the object conjugation interpreted as the tense suffix. It is, however, also in this context found only in the category of the single object, but it appears in all person forms excluding the 3rd person plural, and it definitely increases the coherence within the paradigm for the single object present. The less complicated suffix variant *-løm* is attached to the present tense stem of the thematical verbs. These forms do thus not need a separate present tense marker.

KM -løm ~ KU-løm (Sg1Sg PRESENT TENSE)
tøgløm 'I eat it'   *tøgløm* id.
wøgløm 'I take it'   *wøgløm* id.
møgløm 'I give it'   *møgløm* id.

KM -iiløm ~ KU -iiløm (Sg1Sg PRESENT TENSE)
wöäriiløm 'I do it'   *wöäriiløm* id.
kansyiiløm 'I know it'   *xansyiiløm* id.
keetiiløm 'I send it'   *keetiiløm* id.
peeltiiløm 'I change it'   *peeltiiløm* id.
kåntiiløm 'I find it'   *xåntiiløm* id.
eerøgpiiløm 'I sing it'   *eergepiiløm*

k°olytøptiiløm 'I leave it'   *xolytøptiiløm* id.
jältøptiiløm 'I revive him'   *jältøptiiløm* id.

In the category of the single object changing the subject person (shown in the first diagonal column in the table), the coherence of the paradigm is considerably greater than in the paradigm for the 1st person singular object conjugation changing the object number (found when progressing vertically in the table). These three suffixes have only the person element in common, the suffix final *-m*. In the paradigm of the non-singular object the function of the present tense is taken by *-g-*, that for its own part increases the internal coherence of these form categories. The difference between the singular and the non-singular object categories is thus twofold, and in a remarkably overemphasized: the difference is seen not only in the object marker but also in the tense marker.

KM -gååm ~ KU -gååm (Du1Sg PRESENT TENSE)
wøgååm 'I take them2'   *wøgååm* id.
pööjtøgååm 'I boil them2'   *pööjtøgååm* id.
søtgøløgååm 'I scorch them2'   *søtgøløgååm* id.

If the 1st person singular verb suffixes are considered as a whole, it is noteworthy that it is the suffix denoting dual objects in the object conjugation that resembles the subject conjugation present tense full vowel suffix *-ååm* the most. Only the object conjugation *-g-* separates these two. The contrasts in the 1st person singular suffixes in the object conjugation are overall surprising: the single, dual and plural object suffixes differ from each other with regard to the consonantal as well as the vocalic elements: they all have the basic element *-m* denoting person, and the non-singular object suffixes are linked together also through the suffix initial *-g-* that contrasts with two separate elements in the singular object suffix: this can be interpreted either as denoting the present tense (vs. ObjSg *-ii-*) or the non-singular object (vs. ObjSg *-l-*), or then this is an instance of a portmanteau-morph with these two functions. The suffix denoting the plural object introduces to the category of the 1st person singular subject suffixes yet another, the third [suffix type], [that includes a] full vowel and the actual plural object element *-n-*:

KM -gäänøm ~ KU -gäänøm (Pl1Sg PRESENT TENSE)
kasygäänøm 'I know them'   *xasygäänøm* id.
wøgäänøm 'I take them'   *wøgäänøm* id.
kårgøtøgäänøm 'I extinguish them'   *xårøgtøgäänøm* id.
öärtøgäänøm 'I close them'   *öärtøgäänøm*

The thematic verb *wø-* 'to take', to which, as with thematic verbs in general, the suffixes are attached to their »purest» form, and the 1st person singular forms contrast with each other in the following way:
wøgøm 'I take (something)'   *wõõgøm* 'I see'
wøgløm 'I take it'   *wõõgløm* 'I see it'
wøgååm 'I take them2'   *wõõgååm* 'I see them2'
wøgäänøm 'I take them'   *wõõgäänøm* 'I see them'

When the suffix *-g-* is part of the stem, the segmentation of the suffix elements is transparent: in the subject conjugation the person suffix *-(ø)m*, and in the object conjugation preceding it the suffix *-l-* (ObjSg) / *-åå-* (ObjDu) / *-ään-* (ObjPl) denoting

the object and at the same time denoting its number. The presence of the object as such, without a function denoting the object number, does not have a marker of its own. Among the three first forms the only differing form is the Pl1Sg, where the suffix makes the syllable number of the word increase with one. The subject conjugation form can be told from the Sg1Sg object conjugation form by the object marker, the frontal element *-l-* in the person suffix, and in the Du1Sg object conjugation the difference can be identified in the variation in the suffix of the full vowel as opposed to the reduced vowel; the morphological method is again in this case approaching a symbolic one. For the verb of the normal paradigm, with no alternating stem i.e. the sub stem of the present tense, the corresponding contrasts look like the following:

sonsååm 'I look at (something)'   *joxtååm* 'I come'
sonsiiløm 'I look at it'   *joxtiiløm* 'I reach him'
sosgååm 'I look at them 2' (*-ns- > -s- _#*) *joxtgååm* 'I reach them 2'
sosgäänøm 'I look at them'   *joxtgäänøm* 'I reach them'

The biggest difference would seem to be between the most frequent form Sg1Sg in the subject conjugation and the object conjugation, where the full vowels are mutually maximally contrasting, and in addition also the Sg1Sg object conjugation suffix disyllabic because it consists of three elements: the full vowel *-ii-* denoting tense, the object element *-l-* and the person element *-øm*. It thus increases the syllable number of the word form with one. There is no specific tense marker in the subject conjugation suffix, but the suffix rather resembles a portmanteau-morph. The element distinguishing the subject conjugation form from the Du1Sg object conjugation form on the synchronic level – seemingly – is the tense marker *-g-* found only in the non-singular object conjugation forms, the closed syllable in which and the following syllable final assimilation together make the contrast based on flexion in the paradigm of this stem type: these two forms differ from each other on the grounds on the stem internal consonantal variation. In other stem types there is an ostensible infix *-g-*. However, the suffix in the first form is a one-piece portmanteau-morph *-ååm* [T+P] (or alternatively a two-piece *-åå* [T] *-m* [P]) and the latter one is a three-piece *-g-* [T] *åå* [Odu] *-m* [P] (c.f. Pl1Sg *-g-* [T] *ään* [Opl] *-øm* [P]). The element that in the first example *joxtååm* is interpreted as a tense marker functions as the object suffix in the second example *joxtgååm*.[1]

2SG
The 2nd person singular (Sg2Sg) in the single object category has two ending variants comparable to the Sg1Sg suffixes. The primary basic variant *-iiløn* includes the element *-ii-* denoting tense, the element *-l-* denoting object (Osg) and the basic person element *-øn*, as in Sg1Sg *-iiløm*. The simpler suffix variant *-løn* attaches to the present tense stem in the thematic verbs, like in the 1st persons. The single stem *jø- ~ jiiw* -verb of the verb group denoting "to come" seems not to be used in the object conjugation, although the object and also the passive conjugation is an option for the motion verbs. The verbs meaning "to come" have been found in the object and the passive conjugation only for the disyllabic verb *joxti*.

KM -løn ~ KU -løn (Sg2Sg PRESENT TENSE)

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[1] This has a historical explanation: both are normalized to the marker *g* found in e.g. North Mansi: *sunseegøm* 'I watch (something)' ~ *sunsijagøm* 'I watch those two'.

wøgløn 'you take it'   *wøgløn* id.
*møgløn 'you give it'   **møgløn* id.

KM -iiløn ~ KU -iiløn (Sg2Sg PRESENT TENSE)
tankiiløn 'you want it'   *tanxiiløn* id.
kansyiiløn 'you know it'   *xansyiiløn* id.
peeltiiløn 'you change it'   *peeltiiløn* id.
loåwiiløn 'you order him'   *läöwiiløn* id.
nyowløsiiløn 'you follow it'   *nyawløsiiløn* id.
wäärøtiiløn 'you try it'   *wäärøtiiløn* id.

Instances of forms denoting dual objects attached to the 2nd person singular subject forms are not reliably identified in the corpus. If the examples below truly represent the dual object suffixes, they are exactly equivalent with the plural object suffixes. This as such would not be unheard of, on the basis on the fact that dual is a yielding category and, as described later, the same suffix is also equivalent with several other object conjugation suffixes and also the corresponding nominal possessive suffixes (Pl2Sg, Pl3Sg, Pl2Pl, Pl3Pl). In the Kannisto paradigms the dual object suffix is the expected KM *-göän* ~ KU *-gäön* (expected because the corresponding verbal suffix in each of the various of Ob-Ugrian dialects is phonologically mostly similar to the possessive suffix of the category of the dual possessed). There are no examples of these suffixes in the texts. The eventual examples of the dual are of the suffix *-gään*:

KM -göän ~ KU -gäön (Du2Sg PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgöän 'you bring them2'   *tåtgäön* id.
röärgöän 'you hit them2'   *röätgäön* id.

? KM -gään ~ KU ?-gään (Du2Sg PRESENT TENSE)
wøgään 'you take them2'   *wøgään* id.
låwgään 'you say them2'   *låwgään* id.

Both the dual and the plural readings for the example clause are possible (the clauses share the same context and they are consecutive; the latter is an answer to the question presented in the first clause.):
KU   *tit*   *jegøm-når*   *oorøm-når*   *päri-wøx°*   *låwgään*
         this   father-Px+revenge   family-Px+revenge   back+take-inf   order-ObjcDu2Sg
         äämnø äöt låwgään? (II: 308)
         of   not order-ObjcDu2Sg
             'do you order me or not order me to revenge my father's wrath, my
relative's wrath?'
KU   *elø-teeløp äöng-naat püwøng-naat mønnø mäntøl*   *wøgään*
         (…born daughter+time with the son+by time)   take-ObjcDu2Sg
         äämnø äöt wøgään   *pøl* (II: 308)
         or   no take-ObjcDu2Sg   and
             'during the lifetime of my daughter and my son to be born you either
             revenge or not (father-wrath, family-wrath), (it is your choice)'

In any case, the 2nd person singular object conjugation suffix denoting to a plural object is the suffix *-gään* that is identical with the suffix described above. It is composed of the element *-g-* denoting tense and the polysemous suffix element *-ään* that, as already

pointed out, in the verb conjugation only has a function of denoting to several person forms.

KM -gään ~ KU -gään (Pl2Sg PRESENT TENSE)
kööäsyelöälgään 'you (sg) notice them'   *kööäsyeläölgään* id.
låwgään 'you (sg) order them'   *låwgään* id.

If the contrasts included in the subject and object conjugation paradigms are considered with the 2nd person singular subject, the situation is as follows:
wøgøn 'you (sg) take (something)'   *wõõgøn* 'you (sg) know'
wøgløn 'you (sg) take it'   *wõõgløn* 'you (sg) know it'
wøgöän 'you (sg) take them2'   *wõõgöän* 'you (sg) know them2'
wøgään 'you (sg) take them'   *wõõgään* 'you (sg) know them'

In the category of thematic verbs the object conjugation forms Sg2Sg are differentiated from the subject conjugation form 2nd person singular by the frontal element *-l-* in the person suffix, the object marker, in the same way than in the 1st person singular paradigm. There is a vowel contrast between the forms denoting to dual and plural objects. In the suffixes there is the element *-n-* denoting to person that binds them to the paradigm of the person forms, but the plural object suffix would in the paradigm seem to miss either the marker for the object plural or the marker for the subject person form. The corresponding contrast for the verbs in the normal paradigm looks like the following (KU):
sonsäön 'you look at (something)'   *joxtäön* 'you come'
sonsiiløn 'you look at it'   *joxtiiløn* 'you reach him'
sosgäön 'you look at them 2'   *joxtgäön* 'you reach them 2'
sosgään 'you look at them'   *joxtgään* 'you reach them'

3SG
Differing from the subject conjugation, there is a clear separate person ending for the 3rd person singular forms in the object conjugation, specifically for the singular object. This Sg3Sg suffix consists of two parts, (mainly) of *-ii-* the element denoting to tense and the person element (person ending) *-t ~ -tø* (KU) / *-tø* (KM). While KM has one suffix *-iitø*, KU has also a suffix *-iit* and the variation seems to be free.

KM -iitø ~ KU -iit(ø) (Sg3Sg)
uusiitø '(he) can (do) it'   *uusiit, uusiitø* id.
kansyiitø 'knows it'   *xansyiit, xansyiitø* id.
säästøliitø 'raises him'   *säästøliit, säästøliitø* id.
pøsøwliitø 'blows it'   *peswøliit* id.
køtiliitø 'asks him'   *køtiliit* id.
kooliitø 'hears it'   *xooliitø* id.
tunsypiitø 'stops there'   *tunsypiit* id.
tøxtiitø 'feeds it'   *tittiitø* id.

The 3rd person suffix singular denoting the presence of the dual objects does not, in contrast with the suffix *-iit*, include any clear elements denoting the subject. But then again, this is precisely characteristic to the 3rd person singular subject. The suffix in the object conjugation consists of the present tense element *-g-* common for the suffixes

denoting to non-singular objects, and the diphthong element KU *-äö* KM *-öä* typical for the dual in general, and the dual object in this particular case.

KM -göä ~ KU -gäö (Du3Sg)

køtiiløgöä 'asks them2'   *køtøløgäö* id.
kønsyøltøgöä 'wakes them2'   *kinsyøltøgäö* id.

The object conjugation form KM *sosgöä* KU *sosgäö* 'he watches them2' thus includes the present tense marker, whereas the subject conjugation of the 3rd person dual form KM *sonsöä* KU *sonsäö* 'they2 watch' does not include any tense markers. This is the only difference between these two suffixes. Both of them are, however, present tense forms.

The 3rd person singular present tense suffix denoting to a plural object is equivalent with several suffixes already discussed. The suffix *-gään* does not include any elements denoting the 3rd person singular subject: *-g-* is a tense marker and *-ään* is a polysemous portmanteau-morph. The element *-n-* is a possessive suffix- and from the point of view of the object paradigms it is definitely plural, in this case it is the marker of the plurality of the object. There is again reason to state that the 3rd person singular subject naturally does not need any markers. The horizontal present tense paradigm (KM) *-iitø* / *-göä* / *-gään* in the object conjugation, following the subject person, is unsymmetrical: the ending for the singular object differs from the other suffixes both with respect to the tense marker that the subject person ending. The dual and the plural object endings in turn include the same tense marker and both of them have their own object number element, and they do not have separate subject person endings.

KM -gään ~ KU -gään (Pl3Sg PRESENT TENSE)

øsygään 'keeps them'   *esygään* id.
kotgään 'finds them'   *xootgään* id.
lowtgään 'washes them'   *lowtgään* id.
röätgään 'throws them'   *räötøgään* id.
junitätgään 'beats them'   *junitäätgään* id.

The suffix is thus polysemous: e.g. the word *lowtgään* means all of the following: 'you wash them (pl)' 'he washes them (pl)' and also 'you2 wash them2', 'they2 wash them (pl)', you (pl) wash them2', and possibly (at least partially) also 'you2 wash them (pl) and 'you wash them2'.These are the least infrequent person forms, and that partly explains why not all of them include knowledge derived from the corpus.

Dual person forms

The suffixes denoting to singular objects are the only forms available based on the texts of the dual subject forms, the rest of the forms are found in the Kannisto paradigms. Similar to the singular subject person suffixes, also the 1st and 2nd person forms have the element *-l-* as the object conjugation marker, which is preceded by the tense marker *-ii-* and at the end of the suffix there is an element denoting the subject. For the thematic verbs in the present tense, the object and the person elements without the tense element attach to the sub stem ending *-g-*.

KM -läämøn ~ KU -läämøn (Sg1Du PRESENT TENSE)
møgläämøn 'we2 give it'   *møgläämøn* id.
wøgläämøn 'we2 take it'   *wøgläämøn* id.

KM -iiläämøn ~ KU -iiläämøn (Sg1Du PRESENT TENSE)
ääliläämøn 'we2 kill him'   *ääliläämøn* id.
kansyiiläämøn 'we2 know it'   *xansyiiläämøn* id.
såjletiiläämøn 'we2 donate it'   *såjletiiläämøn* id.
jältøptiiläämøn 'we2 revive him'   *jältøptiiläämøn* id.
tulømtiiläämøn 'we2 steal it'   *tulømtiiläämøn* id.

In the category of dual object the object suffix in KU is equivalent with the plural object suffix (the examples are from the paradigms):
KM -goåmøn, -göämøn ~ KU -gønäämøn (Du1Du PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgoåmøn 'we2 bring them2'   *tåtgønäämøn* id.
röätgöämøn 'we2 hit it2'   *röätgønäämøn* id.

KM -gønäämøn ~ KU -gønäämøn (Pl1Du PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgønäämøn 'we2 bring them'   *tåtgønäämøn* id.
röätgønäämøn 'we2 hit them'   *röätgønäämøn* id

Examples of the 2nd person dual subject have not been found in the texts. The dual and plural 2nd person forms are usually identical, and based on the Kannisto paradigms, this is also the case for the category of the singular object in the object conjugation present tense: the Sg2Du suffix *-iilään* is identical with the Sg2Pl suffix. The suffixes denoting the dual and the plural objects have not been able to maintain a clear distribution on number: in principle the dual object is denoted by the polysemous *-gään* (cf. above) and the plural object by the *-gønään* that includes the marker for the plural object, but these suffixes have partially changed place in both paradigms:

KM -iilään ~ KU -iilään (Sg3Du PRESENT TENSE)
röätiilään 'you2 hit it'   *röätiilään* id.

KM -gään, -gønään ~ KU -gään, -gønään (Du3Du PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgään 'you2 bring them2'   *tåtgään ~ tåtgønään* id.
röätgønään 'you2 hit them2'   *röätgønään* id.

KM -gään ~ gønään ~ KU -gään, -gønään (Pl3Du PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgønään 'you2 bring them'   *tåtgään* id.
röätgønään ~ röätgään 'you2 hit them' *röätgønään ~ röätgään* id.

The object conjugation forms of the 3rd person dual are those in which the specific 3rd dual person element *-tøn* shows as a person ending. This person element contrasts with the person element *-møn* found in several 1st person dual suffixes. In the object conjugation suffix the person ending is preceded by the suffix *-ii-* functioning as a present tense element. In the thematic verbs the person element attaches without the tense element to the present tense sub stem with final *-g-*.

KM -tøn ~ KU -tøn (Sg3Du PRESENT TENSE)
wøgtøn 'they2 take it'   *wøgtøn* id.

KM -iitøn ~ KU -iitøn (Sg3Du PRESENT TENSE)

kansyiitøn 'they2 know it'	*xansyiitøn* id.
k°änsiitøn 'they2 scratch it'	*k°änsiitøn* id.
wøxriitøn ' they2 dig it'	*küpriitøn* id.

The 3rd person dual subject person suffix *-gään* denotes both the dual and the plural objects. In Kannisto's paradigms *tåtgään* and 'they2 bring them2' and they2 bring them(pl)' and *röätgään* as well as 'they2 hit them2' and 'they2 hit them(pl)'.

Plural person forms

The object conjugation suffix Sg1Pl denoting the 1st person subject plural person is built similarly with the corresponding singular 1st and 2nd person suffixes, and it contrasts clearly with them. The suffix consists of the tense element *-ii-*, the person basic element *-l-* denoting to the object, and the basic person elements that for the 1st person plural is *-øw* (c.f. Sg1Sg *-iiløm*, Sg2Sg *-iiløn*):

KM -iiløw ~ KU -iiløw (Sg1Pl REESENS)

kansyiiløw 'we know it'	*xansyiiløw* id.
peertiiløw 'we sell it'	*peertiiløw* id.
tuuliiløw 'we bring it'	*tuuliiløw* id.
wojliiløw 'we step there'	*wojliiløw* id.

There are no examples denoting to the dual object in the corpora. In the Kannisto paradigms there is clearly the original dual object suffix *-oåw* (*tåtoåw*, *röätgoåw*) as well as the *-gønøw* (*tåtgønøw*) borrowed from the plural paradigm. The plural object ending (Pl1Pl) has two variants in the texts: *-gønøw* and *-øgnøw*, where the suffix *-g-* is in the category of the non-singular object the frequent present tense marker, and *-n-* is the element denoting to the plural object:

KM -gønøw ~ KU -gønøw (Pl1Pl PRESENT TENSE)

toggønøw 'we take them'	*towgønøw* id.
wotøgønøw 'we call them'	*wowgønøw* id.
nyilyetalgønøw 'we drag them'	*nyilyøtäölgønøw* id.
tägølymäätgønøw 'we attack them'	*tägølymäätgønøw* id.

KM -øgnøw ~ KU -øgnøw (Pl1Pl PRESENT TENSE)

søriiløgnøw 'we defeat them with a sword'	*søriiløgnøw* id.
ääløpøgnøw 'we kill them'	*ääløpøgnøw* id.

The suffix *-iilään* denoting the singular object 2nd person plural consists of the tense element *-ii-*, the single object marker *-l-* and the multifunctional person element *-ään*. There are no examples of suffixes denoting non-singular objects, and the same suffixes than in the 2nd person dual subject person: *-gään ~ -gønään* alternate in the paradigms.

KM -iilään ~ KU -iilään (Sg2Pl PRESENT TENSE)

tuuliilään 'you (pl) let it (go)'	*tuuliilään* id.
uusiilään 'you (pl) can (do) it'	*uusiilään* id.
pårøwliilään 'you (pl) attack it'	*pårwøliilään* id.

KM -gään, -gønään ~ KU -gään, -gønään (Du2Pl PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgään 'you (pl) bring them2'   *tåtgään* id.
tåtgønään 'you (pl) bring them2'   *tåtgønään* id.
röätgønään 'you (pl) hit them2'   *röätgønään* id.

KM -gønään ~ KU -gään ~ -gønään (Pl2Pl PRESENT TENSE)
tåtgønään 'you (pl) bring them'   *tåtgønään* id.
röätgønään 'you (pl) hit them'   *röätgään* id.

The 3rd person plural forms in the object conjugation differ from all other subject person forms most clearly for their tense element. As the present tense is denoted by *-ii-* in all other person forms for singular object suffixes, the suffix denoting the 3rd person plural for both the singular and the non-singular object has the suffix *-g-* in the tense marker position. The most frequent variant is the KM KU *-gäänøl*, the variant without the tense marker is possible:

KM -gäänøl ~ KU -gäänøl (Sg3Pl PRESENT TENSE)
køtiløgäänøl 'they ask him'   *køtiligäänøl* id.
pägørtalgäänøl 'they roll it'   *pägørtäölgäänøl* id.

KM -äänøl ~ KU -äänøl (Sg3Pl PRESENT TENSE)
tåtäänøl 'they take it'   *tåtäänøl* id.

The same suffix KM KU *-gäänøl* can also denote the dual (Kannisto paradigms) or the plural object. Another suffix variant for both non-singular number forms of the object is the shorter, multifunctional *-gään*. In the longer variant there is no specific marker for the object number, as it is the same than the Sg3Pl suffix. The shorter variant *-gään* then again misses the clear element denoting to the person, as it is identical with several of the person suffixes for the plural objects (Pl2Sg, Pl3Sg, Pl2Du, Pl2Pl).

KM -gäänøl ~ KU -gäänøl (Pl3Pl PRESENT TENSE)
sonsiilegäänøl 'they look at them'   *sonsiilegäänøl* id.
påtørtøgäänøl 'they turn them'   *potørtøgäänøl* id.
kotgäänøl 'they find them'   *xotgäänøl* id.

KM -gään ~ KU -gään (Pl3Pl PRESENT TENSE)
wöärgään 'they do them'   *wöärgään* id.

INDICATIVE PRETERITE: OBJECT CONJUGATION

The preterite paradigms in the object conjugation are, similar to the subject conjugation also, more regular than the present tense paradigms. The tense marker in all person forms is the same in all object categories, and it is also the same than that of the subject conjugation preterite i.e. *-s-*. It has replaced the present tense elements *-ii-* and *g-* in most of the suffixes. Otherwise the elements denoting the object and the person included in the endings are mostly identical with the forms in the object conjugation present tense. The contrast between the present tense and the preterite for each person and the object number is thus transparent and clear. The element *-l-* is still strongly

present in denoting the singular object, and it is present in all 1st and 2nd person suffixes. There are, however, also examples of some quite surprising variants, as shown in the table below. The forms boldfaced are again from the texts, and the ones in regular font are from the Kannisto paradigms:

KM Preterite	Sg Object	Du Object	Pl Object
1Sg	**-sløm**	**-sååm** -saam	-säänøm
2Sg	**-sløn**	**-söän**	**-sään**
3Sg	**-øst, -stø**	**-söä, -saa**	**-sään, -saan**
1Du	**-øsläämøn**	-soåmøn -sønäämøn	-sønäämøn
2Du	**-slän, -slään**	-sään -sønään	-sønään
3Du	**-stäätøn, -støn**	**-sään**	**-sään**
1Pl	**-øsløw**	-soåw -sønøw	-sønøw
2Pl	**-øslään**	-sään -sønään	-sønään
3Pl	**-säänøl**	-säänøl	**-säänøl**

KU Preteriti	Sg Object	Du Object	Pl Object
1Sg	**-sløm**	**-sååm**	-säänøm
2Sg	**-sløn**	**-säön**	**-sään, -esään**
3Sg	**-øst , -stø**	**-säö**	**-sään**
1Du	**-øsläämøn**	-sønäämøn	-sønäämøn
2Du	**-slään**	-sønään	-sønään
3Du	**-støn**	**-sään** -säö -säänøl	**-øsään** -säänøl
1Pl	**-øsløw**	-sønøw	-sønøw
2Pl	**-øslään**	-sønään	-sønään
3Pl	**-säänøl**	-säänøl	**-säänøl**

Singular person forms

The 1st person singular (Sg1Sg) preterite suffix denoting a singular object clearly contrasts with the corresponding present tense suffix. The present tense (*-iiløm*) marker *-ii-* coincides with the preterite marker *-s-*. It is distinguished from the suffix for the 1st person preterite singular suffix (*-søm*) in the subject conjugation by the explicit suffix *-l-* denoting the presence of the singular object. The corresponding present tense form of the example verb evidently is *uujiiløm* 'I see it'.

KM -sløm ~ KU -sløm (Sg1Sg PRETERITI)
uusløm 'I saw it'   *uusløm* id.
The contrasts are less clear for the 1st person singular suffix denoting dual objects. The preterite suffix is distinguished from the object conjugation present tense suffix *-gååm* on the basis of the tense element. On the other hand the suffix is contrasted with the

tense elements also with the subject conjugation 1Sg present tense suffix (-*ååm*), were the tense element is absent:

KM -sååm ~ KU -sååm (Du1Sg PRETERITE)
kølsååm 'I dug it'   *xølsååm* id.

Thus e.g.   *joxtååm* 'I come'   (*joxtiiløm* 'I reach it')
                  joxtgååm 'I reach them2'
                  joxtsååm 'I reached them2'   (*joxtøsløm* 'I reached it')

But for the thematic verbs e.g.
wøgøm 'I take'   *wøgløm* 'I take it'
wøgååm 'I take them2'
wøsååm 'I took them2'   *wøsløm* 'I took it'

For the thematic verbs the contrasts are sort of expected: they are the clearest between the subject conjugation on the other hand and the object conjugation of the single object, and on the other hand between the present tense and the preterite of both object numbers. There are no text examples of the plural object: the suffix is the expected KM KU *-(ø)säänøm* : *wøsäänøm* 'I took them (pl)', *tåtsäänøm* 'I brought them (pl)'. The 2nd person singular (Sg2Sg) preterite suffix denoting the single object is the invariable *-sløn*. Its clearest contrasts are on the other hand between it and the neighbouring person (note, e.g. *uusløm* 'I saw it' — *uusløn* 'you saw it') and the corresponding present tense form. Similar contrasts operate like the Sg1Sg suffix.

KM -sløn ~ KU -sløn (Sg2Sg PRETERITE)
wøsløn 'you took it'   *wøsløn* id.
uusløn 'you saw it'   *uusløn* id.
koliiløsløn 'you heard it'   *xoliiløsløn* id.
tulmøntøsløn 'you stole it'   *tulmøntøsløn* id.

The 2nd person singular preterite suffix KM *-söän* ~ KU *-säön* denoting the dual object contrasts with the single object suffix by replacing the marker *-l-* in the single object form with the diphthong from the dual object form, where the diphthong as a pure vowel element is as such again similar to the nominal absolute dual suffix. The contrast with the corresponding 2nd person singular present tense suffix (-*gään*) in the object conjugation is greater and more irregular: there is a difference in both the tense elements, as can be expected, but in addition to this, unexpectedly in the vowel also. In this preterite suffix the vowel element is »more dual», and in the present tense the suffix seems to be borrowed from the category of the plural object.

KM -söän ~ KU -säön (Du2Sg PRETERITE)
wøsöän 'you took them2'   *wøsöän* id.

Similar to the Du1Sg suffix, also this suffix is contrasted by its tense suffix additionally, and in this case more directly, with the 2Sg suffix in the subject conjugation, its variant KM *-öän* ~ KU *-äön*.

thus (KU)   *joxtäön* 'you come'   (*joxtiiløn* 'you reach it')
                  joxtsäön 'you reached them2'   (*joxtøsløn* 'you reached it')

but   *joxtgään* 'you reach them2'
(and also   *joxtsään* 'you reached them (pl)' see the following)

The suffix *-sään* denoting the plural object thus contrasts by its vowel with the 2nd person singular dual object suffix:

KM -sään ~ KU -sään (Pl2Sg PRETERITE)
wøsään 'you took them'   *wøsään* id.
jeekørtøsään 'you squinted at them' *jeekørtesään* id.
tootsään 'you helped them'   *tootsään* id.

The main type of the 3rd person singular preterite form denoting the singular object in KU is the consonant final *-øst*, but also the vowel final variant *-stø* similar to the KM suffix is found here and there, especially with the thematic verbs and the four-syllable feet:

KM -stø ~ KU -st (Sg3Sg PRETERITE)
köältøstø 'he lifted it'   *köältøst* id.
kåntøstø 'he found it'   *xåntøst* id.
reettøstø 'he lured him'   *reettøst* id.
loåwøstø 'he ordered him'   *läöwøst* id.
wotpøstø 'he put it'   *wottøpøst* id.
öälmøjøstø 'he lifted it'   *äölmøjest* id.
pøsøwløstø 'he blew it (out)' *peswølest* id.
töärømäätøstø 'he let it go'   *täörømäätøst* id.

KM -stø ~ KU -stø (Sg3Sg PRETERITE)
wøstø 'he took it'   *wøstø* id.
møstø 'he gave it'   *møstø* id.
søgløjøstø 'he shredded it'   *søgløjøstø* id.

Instead of the present tense *ii*-element there is the preterite *-s-*. The true independent marker for the object conjugation or the single object is absent. Instead, it is justified to consider the ending *-tø* the basic person element, as it is remarkably similar to the possessive suffix of the same person form (e.g. *öä* 'daughter': *öätø* 'his daughter)
The 3rd person singular preterite suffix denoting the dual object (Du3Sg) includes, as does the corresponding present tense suffix also, in addition to the tense marker mainly the diphthong functioning as the basic element in the dual, so there is thus no element present to indicate the subject person form. The dual suffix in KM has two variants (-*söä* and *-saa*) that include the same vowels than the suffix variants in the subject conjugation 3rd person dual. In KU there is only one suffix (-*säö*).

KM -söä ~ KU -säö (Du3Sg PRETERITE)
teesöä 'he ate them2'   *teesäö* id.
ponsöä 'he put them2'   *ponsäö* id.
puwsöä 'he grapped them2'   *puwsäö* id.
loåwsöä 'he ordered them2'   *läöwsäö* id.
köältsöä 'he woke them2'   *köältøsäö* id.
sågrøpøsöä 'he beat them2'   *säögrøpøsäö* id.
k°änsiitøsöä 'he grabbed them2' *k°änsiitøsäö* id.

KM -saa ~ KU -säö (Du3Sg PRETERITE)
nyørøsøsaa 'he pulled them2' *nyørøsøsäö* id.
keeriitesaa 'he tied them2' *keeritesäö* id.

The suffix has the strongest contrast with the corresponding object conjugation present tense suffix (Du3Sg *-göä ~ -gäö*), and together they contrast with the 3rd person dual present tense suffix in the subject conjugation by either the presence or the non-presence of the tense suffix:

KM *tåtöä* (~ *tåtaa*) 'they2 bring (something)'
  tåtgöä 'he brings them2'
  tåtsöä (~ *tåtsaa*) 'he brought them2'
  (*tåtsäg* 'they2 brought (something)')

KU *tåtäö* 'they2 bring (something)'
  tåtgäö 'he brings them2'
  tåtsäö 'he brought them2'
  (*tåtsii* 'they2 brought (something)')

The 3rd person singular (Pl3Sg) preterite suffix denoting the plural object is the invariable *-sään*. The suffix is completely equivalent with several object conjugation suffixes (Pl2Sg, Du3Du, Pl3Du, Du2Du, Pl2Du, Du2Pl and Pl2Pl, see also below).

KM -sään ~ KU -sään (Pl3Sg PRETERITE)

wøsään 'he took them' *wøsään* id.
tåtsään 'he took them with him' *tåtsään* id.
råssään 'he threw them' *råssään* id.
keetsään 'he sent them' *keetsään* id.
kuutømsään 'he carried them' *xuutmøsään* id.
peersøsään 'he tied them' *peersøsään* id.
äätøsyløsään 'he gathered them' *äxøtsään* id.
öälmøjøsään 'he lifted them' *aalmøjøsään* id.
mänliitesään 'he tore them' *mänliitesään* id.
jäxtøpøsään 'he bashed them into two' *jäxtøpesään* id.

Dual person forms
In the category of the single object for the dual subject there is again the object conjugation marker *-l-* in the 1st and 2nd person subject suffixes. The 1st person dual suffix clearly contrasts with the corresponding present tense suffix *-iiläämøn* by denoting the tense by the present tense *ii*-element instead of the preterite element *-s-*. Both the present tense and the preterite suffix have *-ää-* functioning as the binding vowel. There are no examples in the texts of suffixes denoting dual and plural objects. In the paradigms the dual object is denoted by the KM *-soåmøn, -söämøn* ~ KU *-söämøn* including the diphthong functioning as the dual form marker, and *-sønäämøn* including the plural object plural form marker *-n-*. The plural suffix also partially occurs in the dual paradigm.

KM -släämøn ~ KU -släämøn (Sg1Du PRETERITE)
kontøsläämøn 'we2 found it'   *xontøsläämøn* id.

KM -soåmøn, -söämøn, ~ KU -söämøn (Du1Du PRETERITE)
röätsöämøn 'we2 hit them2'   *röätsöämøn* id.
tåtsoåmøn 'we2 brought them2'

KM -sønäämøn~ KU -sønäämøn (Du1Du PRETERITE)
tåtsønäämøn 'we2 brought them2'   *tåtsønäämøn* id.

KM -sønäämøn~ KU -sønäämøn (Pl1Du PRETERITE)
tå tåtsønäämøn 'we2 brought them'   *tåtsønäämøn* id.
röätsønäämøn 'we2 hit them'   *röätsønäämøn* id.

Correspondingly in the 2nd person dual the singular object is denoted by the preterite -*slään* contrasting with the present tense dual suffix *-iilään-*. This suffix is equivalent with the corresponding preterite form of the 2nd person plural subject person (denoting the singular object) (the contrasts are specified below, see page 000???).

KM -slään ~ KU -slään (Sg2Du PRETERITE)
såxtøslään 'you messed up with it 2'   *såxtøslään* id.

In the categories for the dual and the plural objects the suffix *-sään* denotes solely the dual object and the variant *-sønään* including the plural suffix *n* denotes either the dual or the plural object (data from the Kannisto paradigm):

KM -sään, -sønään ~ KU -sønään (Du2Du PRETERITE)
tåts[øn]ään 'you2 brought them2'   *tåtsønään* id.
röäts[øn]ään 'you2 hit them2'   *röätsønään* id.

KM -sønään ~ KU -sønään (Pl2Du PRETERITE)
tåtsønään 'you2 brought them'   *tåtsønään* id.
röätsønään 'you2 hit them'   *röätsønään* id.

There are examples in the texts of the 3rd person dual for the categories of the single, the dual as well as the plural objects. The most frequent form of the suffix denoting a singular object in both dialects is *-støn*. Similarly to the present tense, the latter element is the person element denoting the subject only. Its function, however, includes the presence of the object, because the element denoting person is absent in the subject conjugation, and there is the suffix denoting number instead (KU *tåtsii* 'they2 brought (something)') which, however, represents the subject person on the structural level of the suffix.

KM -støn ~ KU -støn (Sg3Du PRETERITE)
wøstøn 'they2 took it'   *wøstøn* id.
ääløstøn 'they2 killed it'   *ääløstøn* id.
wottøstøn 'they2 put it'   *wottøstøn* id.
sågrøpøstøn 'they2 beat it'   *säögrøpøstøn* id.
jäxtøpøstøn 'they2 cut it'   *jäxtøpøstøn* id.
mønømtøstøn 'they tore it'   *määnømtestøn* id.

öälmøjöäløstøn 'they lifted it'   *äölmøjöäløstøn* id.
sõõnkøsöäløstøn 'they bit it'   *saanxsöäløstøn* id.

In KM also the variant *-stäätøn* has been found but it can also be incidental. The suffix is pleonastic, and it seems to be built on the 3rd person form dual person suffix (*-tøn*) added to the suffix Sg3Sg (*-stø*): *punstäätøn* 'they2 put it (somewhere)'.
The dual and the plural objects are additionally denoted, in connection to the 3rd person dual subject, also by the same suffix *-sään* that has above been shown as multifunctional. The grouping of the examples below is based on contextual information, where the duality or plurality of the object is visible or can be concluded. According to the Kannisto paradigm there are in KU two optional suffixes denoting the dual object: the suffix *-säö* including the dual element (*tåtsäö* 'they2 brought them2' that has a different vowel element than in the subject conjugation form *tåtsii* 'they2 brought [something]'), and the second optional element is the suffix *-säänøl* (*tåtsäänøl*) that is equivalent with the suffix indicating Pl3Pl.

KM -sään ~ KU -sään (Du3Du PRETERITE)
såxtsään 'they2 wrapped them2'   *saxtsään* id.
õõx°sään 'they2 undressed them2'   *aax °sään* id.

KM -sään ~ KU -sään (Pl3Du PRETERITE)
jäxtøpøsään 'they butchered2 them (pl)'   *jäxtøpøsään* id.
jål-älsään 'they2 killed them (pl)'   *jal-ääløsään* id.
uuriilesään 'they2 waited for them (pl)'   *uuriilesään* id.

Plural person forms
In the plural 1st person suffix there is again the element *-l-* as the marker for the singular object, preceded by the tense marker. The person is denoted by the sole person element *-øw*. The suffix is extremely transparent and it contrasts clearly with both the corresponding present tense suffix (tense *-s-* cf/vs. *-ii-*) and the subject conjugation plural 1st person preterite suffix (object *-l-* vs. Ø).

KM -sløw ~ KU -sløw (Sg1Pl PRETERITE)
tåtøsløw 'we brought it'   *tåtøsløw* id.
uusløw 'we saw it'   *uusløw* id.

Cf. e.g.   *tåtiiløw* 'we bring it'   (*tåtgønøw* 'we bring them')
    tåtøsløw 'we brought it'   (*tåtsønøw* 'we brought them')
    tåtsøw 'we brought (something)'

or with a thematic verb (KM)   *wøgløw* 'we take it'
    wøsløw 'we took it'
    wøsøw 'we took (something)'

There are no text examples about the dual or the plural object suffixes. In the paradigms there is in KM a particular suffix *-soåw* for the dual object, and *-sønøw* for the plural object. In KU the latter also has the dual object function, and also in KM it is an alternative for the dual suffix.

KM -soåw, -sønøw ~ KU -sønøw (Du1Pl PRETERITE)

tåtsoåw 'we brought them2'   *tåtsønøw* id.
röätsoåw 'we hit them2'   *röätsønøw* id.
tåtsønøw 'we brought them2'

KM -sønøw ~ KU -sønøw (Pl1Pl PRETERITE)

tåtsønøw 'we brought them'   *tåtsønøw* id.
röätsønøw 'we hit them'   *röätsønøw* id.

The 2nd person plural single object (Sg2Pl) preterite suffix *-slään* is identical with the corresponding 2nd person dual suffix. The person element is the polysemic *-ään* that occurs in several person forms and from which it is possible to separate the suffix *-n* usually formally found in the 2nd person only.

KM -slään ~ KU -slään (Sg2Pl PRETERITE)

tåtøslään 'you brought it'   *tåtøslään* id.
täärøtøslään 'you let it go'   *täörøteslään* id

The suffix contrasts with the corresponding present tense suffix through its tense marker (*-s-* vs. *-ii-*), but through its object marker (*-l-* vs. Ø) it contrasts, not only with the corresponding person preterite suffix in the subject conjugation, but also with the 3rd person dual non-singular object preterite suffix. In the latter case the object marker is thus assimilated into the portmanteau-morph. Because of the semivowel and the changes in the syllable number the latter contrast in the normal stem verbs differs from the thematic verbs, in which the forms are more similar to each other (all of them are disyllabic):

tåtøslään 'you2/you (pl) brought it' *tåtsään*   'he brought them'
                                                         'they2 brought them2/them'
                                                         'you2 brought them2/them'

tåtiilään 'you2/you (pl) bring it'
C.f.

wøslään 'you2/you (pl) took it'   *wøsään*   'he took them'
                                                         'they2 took them2/them'
                                                         'you2 took them2/them'

wøglään 'you2/you (pl) take it'

The 3rd person preterite plural suffix is, as is the corresponding present tense suffix, the same suffix that denotes the singular, the dual and also the plural object.

KM -säänøl ~ KU -säänøl (Sg3Pl PRETERITE)

wøsäänøl 'they took it'   *wøsäänøl* id.
tuusäänøl 'they entered there'   *tuusäänøl* id.
wåxtsäänøl 'they threw it'   *wåxtsäänøl* id.
ääløsäänøl 'they killed it'   *ääløsäänøl* id.
mønøsäänøl 'they went there'   *mønøsäänøl* id.
nyørømtøsäänøl 'they pulled it'   *nyørømtøsäänøl* id.
mänømtøsäänøl 'they tore it'   *mänømtøsäänøl* id.

The difference between the singular and the plural object can be deduced from the context. There is thus no formal difference. The examples of the dual objects are from the Kannisto paradigm (in KU there are thus two variants).

KM -säänøl ~ KU -säänøl, -sään (Du3Pl PRETERITE)
tåtsäänøl 'they brought them2'   *tåtsäänøl* id.
röätsäänøl 'they hit them2'   *röätsään* id.

KM -säänøl ~ KU -säänøl (Pl3Pl PRETERITE)
såxtsäänøl 'they wrapped them'   *såxtsäänøl* id.
kotsäänøl 'they found them'   *xåtsäänøl* id.

The contrasts with the semantically close forms are the same for both the verbs with the normal stem and the thematic verbs. Differences between the subject and the object conjugation are significant, since the construction elements of the suffixes are completely different. In the object conjugation paradigm the suffix does contrast with the polysemic suffix *-sään-*, but the contrast remains unclear on the construction level (? *-øl* vs. Ø), as both suffixes as portmanteau-morphs, where no actual person elements can be identified.

       tåtgäänøl 'they bring it/them'   (*tåtäöt* 'they bring (something)')
       tåtsäänøl 'they brought it/them'   (*tåtsøt* 'they brought (something)')
       tåtsään 'he brought them (pl)'
       'they2 brought them2/them (pl)'
       'you2 brought them2/them (pl)'

       wøgäänøl 'they take it/them'   (*wøgt* 'they take (something)'
       wøsäänøl 'they took it/them'   (*wøst* 'they took (something)')
       wøsään / 'he took them/them (pl)'
       'they2 took them2/them (pl)'
       'you2 took them2/them (pl)'

Paradigm models of the most frequent verbs:
Present tense

'eat it'	'eat them'	'reach it'	reach them'
tøgløm	*teegäänøm*	*joxtiiløm*	*joxtgäänøm*
tøgløn	*teegään*	*joxtiiløn*	*joxtgään*
tøgtø	*teegään*	*joxtiitø*	*joxtgään*
tøgläämøn		*joxtiiläämøn*	*joxtgønäämøn*
tøglään		*joxtiilään*	*joxtgønään*
tøgtøn		*joxtiitøn*	*joxtgään*
tøgløw	*tøggønøw*	*joxtiiløw*	*joxtgønøw*
tøglään	*teegään*	*joxtiilään*	*joxtgønään*
teegäänøl	*teegäänøl*	*joxtgäänøl*	*joxtgäänøl*

'take it'	'take them'	'bring it'	'bring them'
wøgløm	*wøgäänøm*	*tåtiiløm*	*tåtgäänøm*
wøgløn	*wøgään*	*tåtiiløn*	*tåtgään*
wøgtø	*wøgään*	*tåtiitø*	*tåtgään*
wøgläämøn	*wøggønäämøn*	*tåtiiläämøn*	*tåtgønäämøn*
wøglään	*wøggønään*	*tåtiilään*	*tåtgønään*

wøgtøn	*wøgään*	*tåtiitøn*	*tåtgään*
wøgløw	*wøggønøw*	*tåtiiløw*	*tåtgønøw*
wøglään	*wøgään*	*tåtiilään*	*tåtgønään*
wøgäänøl	*wøgäänøl*	*tåtgäänøl*	*tåtgäänøl*

Preterite

'eat it'	'eat them'	'reach it'	'reach them'
teesløm	*teesläänøm*	*joxtøsløm*	*joxtsäänøm*
teesløn	*teesään*	*joxtøsløn*	*joxtsään*
teestø	*teesään*	*joxtøstø*	*joxtsään*
teesläämøn		*joxtøsläämøn*	*joxtsønäämøn*
teeslään		*joxtøslään*	*joxtsønään*
teestøn		*joxtøstøn*	*joxtsään*
teesløw	*?teesønøw*	*joxtøsløw*	*joxtsønøw*
teeslään	*teesään*	*joxtøslään*	*joxtsään*
teesäänøl	*teesäänøl*	*joxtsäänøl*	*joxtsäänøl*

'take it'	'take them'	'bring it'	'bring them'
wøsløm	*wøsäänøm*	*tåtøsløm*	*tåtsäänøm*
wøsløn	*wøsään*	*tåtøsløn*	*tåtsään*
wøstø	*wøsään*	*tåtøstø*	*tåtsään*
wøsläämøn		*tåtøsläämøn*	*tåtsønäämøn*
wøslään		*tåtøslään*	*tåtsønään*
wøstøn		*tåtøstøn*	*tåtsään*
wøsløw	*?wøsnøw*	*tåtøsløw*	*tåtsønøw*
wøslään	*wøsään*	*tåtøslään*	*tåtsään*
wøsäänøl	*wøsäänøl*	*tåtsäänøl*	*tåtsäänøl*

Use of the object conjugation

The object conjugation is used when there is an expressed definite object in the clause. Definite objects are all nominal objects that have been mentioned in the text previously, and generally known and thus considered definite and marked with the accusative or with the possessive suffix. Also all personal pronouns, including the object forms of the 1st and the 2nd person forms, are definite objects:

toorømmø ['god', acc.] *koot **kontiiløm**, pööli-**såågriiløm*** 'when I find god, I will beat him to pieces'

sålyøng-nyåløp woor-k°oløx söät jäg-püwønsymø [brothers', acc.] *koot **kööäsyelöälgään?*** 'have you happened to see seven white-frost-full forest- raven brothers?'

äk°-määsyt õx°tøs-påtøl nyoor-påtøltäätøl k°äältmø ['houses', acc.] *øläly møni **junitätgään**, päri møni **junitätgään*** 'then he goes forward and hit houses with his lump of stone, his lump of ural, return and hit houses'

tøtmø ['this', acc.] *öälmøx° **uusiilään?*** 'can you lift this?'

om öäm [daughter' + PxSg1Sg] *nägnöän öät **møgløm*** 'I will not give you my daughter'

tuulyøn ['axe' + PxSg2Sg] *nän **pöänliiløn**?* 'why do you sharpen your axe?'

näg tø jåltøn-pöälønt wøgrø ['blood' + PxSg3Sg] *wøx° tø **jømtøsløm**, wøgrø* ['blood' + PxSg3Sg] ***wøgløm**'* with your permission I am going to shed his blood, I shed his blood'

iity-søgør-kom jortöä ['partner' + PxDu3Sg] *nok-**kønsyøltøgöä*** 'red of eve man tries to wake up his two partners'

näg meen kom-syisyk°äämøn ['good man' + PxSg1Du] *juw-teex° **nyoriiløn?*** 'do you want to eat our good man?'

öänøm ['I', acc.] *jortii **wøgløn***? 'do you take me as a partner?'

meen nään ['you', acc., dative shift] *teenø-karøl **møgläämøn*** 'we give you food'

ääny meenk tääwø ['he', acc., dative shift] *määtørøl **såjletäniiläämøn*** 'now we would donate him something'

möänøw ['we (pl)', acc.] *komøly ooløx° **låwgään?*** 'how do you order us to live?'
The object can also be a whole clause:

*ääpgäänøm, teetal måsysään, om **kansyiiløm*** 'my sons, you have had no food, I know'

*öät **kansyiiläämøn** k°åt mønøs* 'we2 do not know, where he went'

(*näär eerkøløs, ton wöärsøw;*) *möänk **kansyiiløw:** ootør* '(What he said, so we did;) we know that he is a prince'.

The use of the object conjugation also reveals that the clause has a definite object, even if it is not expressed. The object conjugation ending expresses the number of the object. The object can be found quite near in the preceding context:

*työätyøwnøl k°olytøs äk° eemøn-jiiw soj-jiiw, **peertiiløw**!* 'our father left behind a holy staff-wood, let us sell it!'

*noåjøm-öä ootrøm-öä, juw-**tuuliiløw** jån.giläänø puumøsy-karøw!* 'daughter of the princess, daughter of the prince, let us take it in as our toy!'

*»Ääk», loåwi, »öät **ääliiløm**, säämøl **wöäriiløm**»* '»uncle», says, »I will not kill you, I will give you eyes»'

*k°än-**tulømtiiläämøn**, neegii **wøgläämøn**!* 'let us steal her, take as a wife!»

*k°åtøl **wøgååm?*** 'where do I take them2 from?'

*kønsøs, kønsøs, öät **kotgään*** 'he searched, he searched, does not find them'

***lowtsøgään**, løløng-wityøl **säärtgään**, nonkø-løløjöät* 'he washed them, sparkles them with water of life, they revive'

*jø **tägølymäätgønøw!*** 'at night we attack them!'

Also the target of the motion verb can be marked as the definite object, in this case it is in the accusative form. The motion verb object is inflected in the object conjugation:

seemøl-mõõ-käänmø ['earth crust', acc.] *lõõl-går-jõõtnøl töärø-sosiitiitø **jomiitiitø*** 'he walks steps along black earth crust groin deep'

tøt uusmø ['fortress', acc.'] *komlyäly **wojliiløw?*** 'how do we walk over this fortress?'
Also the target of the motion verb can remain not expressed in the clause. Using the object conjugation indicates that such a target exists, and at the same time it partially adapts the meaning of the motion verb (*joxti* 'to come' → 'to reach')

*täw mälkøt **mønøstø**, päri jøs, **joxtøstø** jøt.* 'he went past him, turned back, reached him'

IMPERATIVE AND OPTATIVE FORMS IN THE SUBJECT CONJUGATION

The imperative forms are primarily mood categories of the 2nd person forms. There are also 1st and 3rd person optative forms in Konda, and they are similar to the 2nd person basic imperatives both with respect to the formation and the markers. In the 2nd person imperatives, the contrasts with the indicative forms are interesting for the particular reason that the imperative as a speech act, especially for the 2nd person forms, is at least as central as the indicative. This understanding is backed up by morphology: the imperatives for the 2nd person forms are mostly very simple in structure, even primary. In the Konda texts a separate, common marker *-k-* for the imperative and the optative can be identified, but the imperatives involving this marker are notably less frequent than the zero marker imperatives. As with the indicatives, also verbs in the imperative are conjugated in the subject as well as the object conjugation. The imperative and optative formation of the subject conjugation is presented below:

Imp/Opt KM	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg		**-øn, -køn**	**-ø**
Du		**-ään, -kään**	-äg
Pl	**-iiwø, -køw**	**-ään**	**-øt**

Imp/Opt KU	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg		**-øn, -køn**	**-ø**
Du		**-ään, -kään**	
Pl	**-iiwø, -køw**	**-øn, -ään**	**-øt**

The most frequent variant of the 2nd person singular imperative suffix in the subject conjugation is the simplest possible person suffix, where the person element is the only element. The form only shows the person form in question, and the primary reading thus is the most salient speech act for the 2nd person singular, the imperative:

KM -øn ~ KU -øn (2Sg IMPERATIVE)

wäjøn 'take'	*wujøn* id.
jäjøn 'come'	*jääjøn* id.
oåjgøn 'shout'	*åjgøn* id.
ooløn ~ uuløn 'be'	*ooløn* id.
köäløn 'rise'	*köäløn* id.
mønøn 'go'	*mønøn* id.
määsøn 'get dressed'	*määsøn* id.
kønsøn 'find'	*kønsøn* id.
kåjtøn 'run'	*xajtøn* id.
wontøn 'sit'	*wontøn* id.
löättøn 'say'	*läöttøn* id.

The negation of the imperative is formed by adding to the imperative form the negation particle *wøl* 'do not' to the preverbal position. Also here the main verb includes the person ending in contrary to e.g. Finnish, where the negation verb is conjugated. The suffix *wøl* is invariant, as is the negation particle *at* in the indicative form also.

wøl ääløn 'do not kill'	*wøl ääløn* id.

wøl mønøn 'do not go'   *wøl mønøn* id.
wøl nyåwølkaatøn 'do not follow'   *wøl nyawølxaatøn* id.

The contrasts with the indicative are clear. For the normal stem verbs the corresponding indicative person form includes either the tense marker (in the preterite) or the portmanteau-morph (KM *-aan*, KU *-äön*) that is clearly longer than the basic person element, and in the imperative the mere person ending is included:

KM   *mønaan* 'you go'   *mønøn* 'go'   *mønsøn* 'you went'
      äälaan 'you killed (someone)'   *ääløn* 'kill'   *älsøn* 'you killed'
KU   *mønäön* 'you go'   *mønøn* 'go'   *mønsøn* 'you went'
      ääläön 'you kill (someone)'   *ääløn* 'kill'   *älsøn* 'you killed'

The verb *ooli* 'to be, to live' both the indicative present tense and the imperative have the same suffix, the plain person element. In the imperative it attaches directly to the normal stem, in the present tense to the present tense sub stem instead (as stated above). The contrast between the corresponding three forms shows thus partly in the stem and partly in the structure of the suffix.

KU KM   *oosøn* 'you are'   *ooløn* 'be'   *oolsøn* 'you were'

The thematic verbs also have the same suffix *-øn* in the indicative present tense and the imperative. So the difference between the indicative and the imperative forms is realized within the stem.

KM   *wøgøn* 'you take'   *wäjøn* 'take'   *wøsøn* 'you took'
      jiiwøn 'you come'   *jäjøn* 'come'   *jøsøn* 'you came'
      løgøn 'you shoot'   *lääjøn* 'shoot'   *løsøn* 'you shot'
      tøggøn 'you eat'   *toåjøn* 'eat'   *teesøn* 'you ate'

KU   *wøgøn* 'you take'   *wujøn* 'take'   *wøsøn* 'you took'
      jiiwøn 'you come'   *jäjøn* 'come'   *jøsøn* 'you came'
      løgøn 'you shoot'   *lääjøn* 'shoot'   *løsøn* 'you shot'
      tøggøn 'you eat'   *tåjøn* 'eat'   *teesøn* 'you ate'

The imperative suffix contrasts with the suffix *-gøn* that includes the indicative present tense marker (an infrequent variant, see above) with respect to the tense suffix. Caused by the shift in the syllable border, the contrast is seen in the stem:

KU   *tusygøn* 'you stand'   *tunsyøn* 'stand'   *tusysøn* 'you stood'

The more infrequent 2nd person singular suffix imperative variant in the object conjugation is the suffix *-køn* that includes the element *-k-* classified as the imperative marker:

KM -køn ~ KU -køn (2Sg IMPERATIVE)
roåwløkøn 'throw'   *räöwløkøn* id.
köälkøn 'rise'   *köälkøn* id.

The 2nd person dual of the subject conjugation imperative suffix has, like the singular 2nd person two variants, the suffix *-kään* that includes the mood marker, and the more frequent *-ään* with no mood marker:

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (2Du IMPERATIVE)

jäjään 'come2'	*jäjään* id.
kojään 'go2 to bed'	*xojään* id.
mønään 'go2'	*mønään* id.
øsään 'sit2 down'	*øsään* id.
tåtään 'bring2'	*tåtään* id.
k°olytään 'stay2'	*xolytään* id.
tujtkaatään 'hide'	*tujtxaatään* id.
uurkaatään 'wait2'	*uurxäätään* id.
lowøntään 'lower down'	*lowøntään* id.

This simpler variant contrasts with the indicative present tense forms through the suffix vowel. The indicative present tense suffix includes the vowel *-ii-* that is typical for the present tense forms, whereas the suffix in the imperative is the more neutral *-ää-* similar to the binding vowel. The imperative is discriminated from the preterite form by the lack of the tense suffix. Also the dual form of the verb 'to be' follows this model:

KM

møniinø 'you2 go'	*mønään* 'go2'	*mønsään* 'you2 went'
ääliinø 'you2 kill (someone)'	*äälään* 'kill2'	*älsään* 'you2 killed'
ooliinø 'you2 are'	*oolään* 'be2'	*oolsään* 'you2 were'

KU

møniin 'you2go'	*mønään* 'go2'	*mønsään* 'you2 went'
ääliin 'you2 kill (someone)'	*äälään* 'kill2'	*älsään* 'you2 killed'
ooliin 'you2 are'	*oolään* 'be2'	*oolsään* 'you2 were'

Thematic verb forms are more remote from each other because another suffix variant *-nø* is attached to them in the indicative present tense (without the present tense element *-ii-*):

KU

jiiwnø 'you2 come'	*jäjään* 'come2'	*jøsään* 'you2 came'

The variant including the mood suffix *-k-* is notably infrequent:

KM -kään ~ KU -kään (2Du IMPERATIVE)

jål-lääk°øltalkään 'dive2'	*jal-lääk°øltalkään* id.

The 2nd person plural imperative suffix resembles the dual suffix, similar to the indicative present tense forms. The contrasts are thus also similar. This suffix is also remarkably polysemic, as it seems that all imperative suffixes denoting non-singular objects in the object conjugation forms are of the same type (see below). For example

the word form *jäjään* is thus not only 'come (du)' but also 'come (pl)' and *tåtään* 'bring (du/pl) something' is also 'bring them (du/pl)' and 'bring (du/pl) them (du/pl)'.

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (2Pl IMPERATIVE)

jäjään 'come'	*jäjään* id.
oolään 'live'	*oolään* id.
kuulään 'stay overnight'	*xuulään* id.
mønään 'go'	*mønään* id.
wöärään 'do'	*wöärään* id.
ääsyøntaxtään 'trust'	*ääsyøntaxtään* id.

Optative suffixes

The suffix for the 3rd person singular optative is *-ø*. Its structure can be interpreted as a plain mood element or a portmanteau-morph (mood + person). The suffix is mostly contrasted with the corresponding indicative present tense person suffix, also a portmanteau-morph (tense + person), and with the vowel element (*-i(i)*). The 3rd person singular optative suffix resembles the person element in that the final vowel *-ø* is also the variant of the same person possessive suffix attaching to the consonant stem. It could thus be regarded as the person element proper for the 3rd person singular, in addition to the element *-tø* found in the object conjugation. It is also found in the passive indicative and optative endings.

KM -ø ~ KU -ø (3Sg OPTATIVE)

jål-jiinkø 'let it get darker'	*jal-jiinkø* id.
towlø 'let it be enough'	*towlø* id.
teelø 'let it be born'	*teelø* id.
mänliitø 'let it tear'	*mänliitø* id.

Thus e.g.	*towli* 'is enough' —	*towlø* 'let it be enough'
	teeli 'is born' —	*teelø* 'let it be born'

The optative form of the verb *to be*, *oolkø ~ uulkø* is used to form kind of a »compound-optative» together with the main verb. The form of the main verb is a verbal noun (gerund) with the marker *-k-*, and where the possessive suffix is attached (the full vowel *-aa-* in the example is part of the verbal noun suffix). Similar nominal verbs are also found in the conditional perfect form, see page 000.

KM	»*wojøng-kar*	*suurøng-kar*	*teep-mätør*
	fat-adj+Sbst	soft meat+Sbst	eating+something
	isykaam	*ulkø!*»	
	own-VNom-PxSg1Sg	be-Sbjc3Sg.Opt	

'I wish we (according to the text two, according to px 'I') had something fat eating, soft meat eating (i.e. child)'

There are no separate optative forms for the 1st or 3rd person duals available. Optative forms for the 1st persons are not included in the Kannisto paradigms. The full imperative/optative paradigm for the verb 'to come' is given in connection with the examples of the conditional, and there is an indicative form for the 1st persons. The 3rd

person dual form of this thematic verb is *jääjäg*: the imperative stem and the person basic element, quite similarly to the other 3rd person forms.

There are two variants of the 1st person plural optative suffix in the texts, out of which the other one is vowel final (similar to the 3rd person singular suffix). In addition it includes the tense element *ii-* typical for the indicative:

KM -iiwø ~ KU -iiwø (1Pl OPTATIVE)
nok-tuunsypiiwø 'let us rise'   *nonk-tunsypiiwø* id

This suffix mostly resembles the suffixes 1Du (*-iimøn*) or 2Pl (*-iinø*) in the subject conjugation in the indicative present tense paradigm
KM   *møniiwø* 'let us go (pl)'   *mønøw* 'we (pl) go'
        møniimøn 'we2 go'
        møniinø 'you(pl) go'

The other one of the 1st person plural optative suffixes includes the element *k* in the imperative/optative and thus contrasts more directly with the 1st person indicative present tense plural paradigm suffix and on the other hand also the 2nd person imperative suffixes including the element *-k-*

KM -køw ~ KU -køw, -xøw (1Pl OPTATIVE)
köäløkøw 'let us rise'   *köälekøw* id.
oormølaxtkøw 'let us try'   *oormølaxtxøw* id.

The 3rd person plural optative suffix comprises in principle of the mere plural element *-t-*. It is also possible to interpret the reduced vowel element as being part of the optative function, as it is the same suffix than in the 3rd person singular. The 3rd person plural optative would thus be the same as the plural form of the 3rd person singular optative. The phonetic transcription by Kannisto in the two last examples refers to the suffix *-øt* in KU, whereas in KM there is no sign of the schwa-vowel (*-lLt*).

KM -øt (-t) ~ KU -øt (3Pl OPTATIVE)
wonløt 'let them sit'   *wonløt* id.
syinyølt 'let them live well' *syinyøløt* id.
kämpølt 'let them prevail'   *käämpøløt* id.

UMF katso tämä vielä loppujen lopuksi että on oikein!
The contrast between the 3rd person optative plural and the 3rd person optative singular is clear. The 3rd person optative plural contrasts with the indicative in a similar way that the 2rd person singular imperative contrasts with the corresponding indicative forms. This is at least partly because the vowels resemble each other greatly.
e.g.   *wonlø* 'let him sit'
        wonløt 'let them sit'

and on the other hand:
KM
mønaat 'they go'   *mønøt* 'let them go'   *mønsøt* 'they went'
äälaat 'they kill (someone)' *ääløt* 'let them kill' *älsøt* 'they killed (someone)'

KU

mønäöt 'they go'	*mønøt* 'let them go'	*mønsøt* 'they went'
ääläöt 'they kill (someone)'	*ääløt* 'let them kill'	*älsøt* 'they killed (someone)'

IMPERATIVE AND OPTATIVE IN THE OBJECT CONJUGATION

The object conjugation marker in the single object category for the imperative is the suffix *-l-* familiar from the indicative forms. In the imperative it appears every now and then, also in the suffixes denoting several objects. Similarly to the subject conjugation imperatives, the imperative in the object conjugation also has in each person, at least in combination of a singular object, two basic variants, an unmarked one and another one with the mode marker *-k-*. The 2nd person imperative suffixes in the object conjugation differ from the indicative suffixes mostly in that the tense element (*-ii-*) is missing, because the imperative mood has neutralized the tense. The suffixes, however include phonetic substance approximately as much as the indicative forms. The differences are explained by the various functions of the elements, mostly the vowels. In the indicative, especially in the present tense forms the vowel elements function in denoting tense, whereas the imperative has no specific function, and it is kind of a binding vowel. In the suffixes denoting plural objects, the missing tense marker would seem to make the marking of both plurality and person in the same suffix possible, contrary to the indicative, where the suffixes denoting the 2nd person subject and the plural object only include one element *-n-* (*-gään, -sään*).

KM Imperat	Sg Object	Du Object	Pl Object
2Sg	**-ääløn**	**-öän**	**-ään (?-aan), -lään**
2Du	**-(ø)lään** **-kølään**	-ään	**-ønään**
2Pl	**-ølään** **-kølään**	-ään **?-lään**	-ønään

KU Imperat	Sg Object	Du Object	Pl Object
2Sg	**-ääløn** **-kääløn**	**-äön**	**-ään, -lään**
2Du	**-lään, -ääløn** **-kølään**	-ølään	**-nään** -ølään
2Pl	**-lään, -iilään** **-kølään**	-ølään **?-iilään**	-ølään ?-nään

The imperative suffix indicating the single object and the 2nd person singular is in its simple, unmarked form *-ääløn* in both dialects. The suffix begins with a full vowel in the position of a binding vowel (that is not in opposition with the reduced vowel, i.e. the suffix *-øløn* does not exist in any function). The marked suffix KU *-kääløn* shows that the tense and the mode always occupy the same position in the suffix; the simplest suffixes, where the position is empty, are imperatives.

KM -ääløn ~ KU -ääløn (Sg2Sg IMPERATIVE)

wäjääløn 'take it'	*wøjääløn* id.
wotääløn 'call him'	*wogääløn* id.
åjgääløn 'shout for him'	*åjgääløn* id.
uurääløn 'guard him'	*uurääløn* id.

ønsyääløn 'keep him'	*ensyääløn* id.
mønääløn 'go there'	*mønääløn* id.
loåwääløn 'say it; order him'	*läöwääløn* id.
jowtääløn 'buy it'	*jowtääløn* id.
tåxømjääløn 'pick lice from it (obj)'	*tåxømjääløn* id.
løliitääløn 'revive him'	*leliitääløn* id.
täärøtääløn 'allow him'	*täörøtääløn* id.
kojøptääløn 'put him to sleep'	*xujøptääløn* id.

KU -kääløn (Sg2Sg IMPERATIVE)
tøgøltøkääløn 'make it fly'

The simpler suffix is differentiated from the corresponding indicative forms the object element *-l-* by the quality of the preceding vowel. In the indicative forms the vowel is the tense marker, in the imperatives it is a binding vowel. The thematic verbs, to which the indicative suffix attaches with no tense markers, the contrast in these forms is found in the stem, and only partly in the subsequent vowel element.
e.g. (KU)

läöwiiløn 'you say it'	*läöwääløn* 'say it'
ensyiiløn 'you have it'	*ensyääløn* 'keep it'
wøgløn 'you take it'	*wøjääløn* (*wujääløn*) 'take it'

The 2nd person singular imperative suffix KM *-öän* ~ KU *-äön* denoting dual object also only includes the vowel element marking the object number, and the subject person element. The vowel element is the same than the absolute dual marker in the nouns, and the 3rd person dual subject conjugation indicative suffix. The only text example is a thematic verb. In the Kannisto paradigms there are verbs 'to bring' and 'to hit' in the corresponding forms KM *tåtöän*, KU *tåtään* 'bring them2', KM *röätöän*, KU *röätäön* 'hit them2'.

KM -öän ~ KU -äön (Du2Sg IMPERATIVE)
wäjöän 'take them2'   *wäjäön* id.

The suffix differs from the corresponding object conjugation indicative suffix surprisingly with its vowel. The corresponding indicative present tense suffix is identical with the plural object, *-gään*. Instead, the imperative suffix differs from the corresponding preterite suffix (ObjcDu2Sg.pret) only with respect to the missing tense marker,
e.g. KU

wøgään 'you take them2'	*wäjäön* 'take them2'	*wøsäön* 'you took them2'
låwgään 'you say them2'	*läöwäön* 'say them2'	*läöwsäön* 'you said them2'
tåtgään 'you bring them2'	*tåtäön* 'bring them2'	*tåtsäön* 'you brought them2'

The variant including the imperative marker is *-käön* and there is an example of it in KU only, similarly with the last marked imperative:

KU -käön (Du2Sg IMPERATIVE)
tøgøltøkäön 'make them2 fly'
Both examples come from the same text, from the same informant. The dual object suffix contrasts with the singular object suffix on the basis of the object element: [OSg]

= -(ää)l- >< [ODu] = -äö-. In the following examples the clause contexts are presented so that the in both cases there is an expressed object; in the first example the clause is singular, and in the second example it is clearly dual:

KU [OSg]
»tåt (– –) ootør-xarøn   xoløx-nyal-söäjøntøl
that   prince-Sbst-PxSg2Sg (O)   raven beak-arrow-PxSg2Sg-Instr

täörø-tøgøltøkääløn!» II: 20
through-make them fly-ObjcSg2Sg.Imp

'let your arrow pierce by flying that (– –) prince-like!'

KU [ODu]
»(– –) nyaaløntøl   x°oløx xojtøl täörø-tøgøltøkäön
arrow-PxSg2Sg-Instr raven like through-make fly-ObjcDu2Sg.Imp

xaap jaat   jex°øp   kit   ääsräjmø!» II: 18, 19
boat in the middle of dance-PrtcPrs   2   demon-Acc

'let your arrow pierce by flying those two demons dancing in the middle of the boat!'

The 2nd person singular imperative suffix denoting plural object is the simple *-ään* that is composed of a multifunctional portmanteau-morph forming an element also in the indicative plural object suffixes (also in the paradigms: KM KU *tåtään* 'bring them (pl)'):

KM -ään ~ KU -ään (Pl2Sg IMPERATIVE)
tåtilään 'take them'   *tåtiilään* id. (*tåtiili* 'bring frekv.)
wotään 'call them'   *woowään* id.
wöärään 'do them'   *wöärään* id.

The lack of the tense marker differentiates the imperative from the indicative in the object conjugation. The quality of the portmanteau-morph vowel element differentiates it from the 2nd person singular indicative suffix in the subject conjugation.
E.g. (KU)
wöäräön 'you do (something)'
wöärään 'do them (pl)'   *wöärgään* 'you do them (pl)' *wöärsään* 'you did them (pl)'

In the 2nd person dual imperative suffix denoting singular object, object conjugation is again represented by the element *-l-*, and the person is represented by the element *-n* usually denoting second person forms. The more usual variant is again the unmarked *-lään* for the mood, and the marked suffix variant is *-kølään*.

KM -lään ~ KU -lään (Sg2Du IMPERATIVE)
kølølään 'dig2 it'   *kålølään* id.
kønsølään 'find2 it'   *kønsølään* id.
töäjølään 'eat2 it'   *täöjølään* id.
wäjølään 'take2 it'   *wääjølään* id.

KM -kølään ~ KU -kølään (Sg2Du IMPERATIVE)
wöärkølään 'do2 it'   *wöärkølään* id.

Besides the unmarked variant there is in KU also the variant *-ääløn* that is identical with the Sg2Sg imperative suffix (see above). Based on the context, the imperative subject here is in every case clearly the 2nd person dual 'you2' (and KM corresponding in the text is the form *ponølään*).

KU -ääløn (Sg2Du IMPERATIVE)
ponääløn 'put2 it'
The suffix variant *-lään* (*-ølään*) also has the corresponding function to the 2nd person plural, but only partially. In this form group these two person forms are not, unlike in most cases, completely homonyms.

The 2nd person dual imperative suffixes denoting dual objects are not found in the texts but based on the manuscript paradigm it seems to be partly similar to the plural object suffix: KM *tåtønään* 'bring2 them2/them (pl)'. On the other hand, the verb 'to hit' in KM has been altered to the form *röätään!* 'hit2 them' and the KU form is similar to the singular object suffix: *röätølään!* The entity thus seems quite incoherent.

The imperative suffix *-ønään* denoting the plural object is the only 2nd person suffix with the expressed two separate *n*-elements: the other one denotes plural object and the other (including the vowels) the 2nd person dual category. The Kannisto manuscript gives from KU a similar form denoting the singular object.

KM -nään ~ KU -nään (Pl2Du IMPERATIVE)
kartønään 'pull them'   *xartønään* id.
(*tåtønään* 'bring them'   *tåtølään* id.; from the paradigm)

There is much variation in the 2nd person plural imperative forms in the object conjugation. Some of it might be quite apparent. The primary suffix variant *-(ø)lään* is identical with the corresponding 2nd person dual suffix, as is usual also in the other groups. One example is the KU suffix *-iilään* that is similar to the corresponding indicative suffix (Sg2Pl). It is clearly a question of an imperative, and corresponding KM in the text also the normal imperative form (*peertølään*) is usual.

KM -lään ~ KU -lään (Sg2Pl IMPERATIVE)
wotølään 'call him'   *wowølään* 'id.
tåtiilelään 'take it'   *tåtiilelään* id.
keetelään 'send it'   *keetlään* id.
tuulelään 'bring it'   *tuullään* id.
peertølään 'sell it'   (*peertiilään* id.)

In addition to these, the 2nd person plural also has a suffix variant *-kølään* that includes the imperative marker. The examples come from different texts.

KM -kølään ~ KU -kølään (Sg2Pl IMPERATIVE)
wøkølään 'take it'   *sopi-pårgøltøkølään* 'jump over it'

The KU equivalent *wøkään* for the KM *wøkølään-* includes the suffix *-kään* that is more simple and has no object marker; here it is evidently a question of a imperative form in the subject conjugation, even though in the corresponding KM text this formerly mentioned and well known prince is (as an object) is denoted by the imperative form in the object conjugation:

KU

»− −	*ootør*»,	*läöwi,*	»*wityøn päätøs*»		*läöwi.*
	prince	says	water-Lat fall-Sbjc3Sg.pret		says

»*witynøl wity wity*	*ootør*	*wøkään*!» (WV III: 68)
water-Abl water water	prince (O)	take-Sbjc2Pl.Imp

c.f. KM

»− −	*ootør*»,	*loåwi,*	»*wityøn päätøs*»,		*loåwi.*
	prince	says	water-Lat fall-Sbjc3Sg.pret		says

»*witynøl*	*ootørmø*	*põõ-wøkølään*!» (WV III: 69)
water-Abl	prince-Acc (O)	to the shore-take-ObjcSg2Pl.Imp

'»prince fell into the water» (someone) says, »lift him to the shore from the water!»'

Denoting the dual object can, in the light of the text example, happen either by the specific singular or plural object suffix. In the Kannisto paradigms the suffixes for the 2nd person dual and the 2nd person plural are similar: Kannisto gives from KM the forms *tåtønään* 'bring them2' and *röätään* 'hit them2', and from KU the corresponding (similar to singular object) *tåtølään* and *röätølään*. In the first text example 'let us two come in' the object marker is the singular *-l-* (preceded in KU by a full vowel). In the latter example form the same text 'let them2 in' the object marker is the suffix *-n-* denoting to plurality. Although it is not clear if the speakers in this example know how many persons are coming in, and also their actions are denoted in the passive voice in the preceding clause.

KM -ølään ~ KU -ilään (?Du2Pl IMPERATIVE)
tuulølään 'let us go'   *tuulilään* id.

KM -ønään ~ KU -enään (?Du2Du IMPERATIVE)

tuulølään 'let us go'   *tuulilään* id.

The whole passage (KM):

»*öälnø mõõnøl*	*jøm*	*kit kom*	*oosmøn,*
some land-Abl	come-PrtcPret	2 men	be-Sbjc1Du.prs

løgnøjääm	*nyoxsøjääm*	*jääliimøn,*
hunt squirrels-Prtc	hunt sables-Prtc	go-Sbjc1Du.prs [there are 2 of them!]

löämläx°	*kuulläx°*	*juw-tuulølään*!»
cook-Inf	stay overnight-Inf	in-allow-ObjcDu2Pl.Imp = ObjcSg2Pl

'We are two men, who have come from some corner of the world, we go hunting squirrels and sables. Allow us in to make food and sleep overnight!'

(*inkiit kuusyt jon koontlaat. mønøst ooträän pookøn, löättaat: »noåjønøw ootrønøw, nöän», loåwi, »tø (– –) uulløwään.» inkiit kuusyt keetwøst*:)
(maids and farmhands inside listen. They went to their prince, they say: our princess our prince, you are now spoken to. Maids and farmhands were sent to:)
»*mønään, juw-tuulønään*!» (WV II: 321)
go-Sbjc2Pl.Imp   in-allow-ObjcDu2Pl = ObjcPl2Pl.Imp

'Go, let them in!'

Such dual object treatment is a rather concrete example of how a marginal category can be represented by grammatical elements taken from another, but a less marginal category. What is surprising is the fact that within the same text there are two elements »borrowed» from different sources. This is also connected to the fact that the (subject) person suffixes of the 2nd person dual, and partly also the 3rd person dual, are equivalent with each other and with the corresponding plural suffixes when there is more than one object involved.
There are also optative suffixes in the object conjugation, i.e. the 1st and 2nd person endings including the same imperative marker. There are text examples of the 1st person duals and plurals (1 object):

KM -köläämøn ~ KU köläämøn (Sg1Du OPTATIVE)
peeløpøkøläämøn 'let us2 change it' *peeløpøkøläämøn* id.

KM -køløw ~ KU -køløw (Sg1Pl OPTATIVE)
jål-älkøløw 'let us kill him'   *jal-äälkøløw* id.

The Kannisto manuscripts do not know the 1st person optatives. Instead in the notes there are categories of the 3rd person object conjugation optative forms. The paradigms are not completely congruent, and the forms are clearly infrequent and uncertain (the bands also include strike-through markings and corrections). The verbs in the following table are the basic examples in the Kannisto paradigms, *tåt-* 'to bring' and *röät-* 'to hit'.

KM Optative	Sg Object	Du Object	Pl Object
3Sg	tåtäät	tåtöä	tåtään
	röätäät	röätöä	röätaan
3Du	tåtäätøn	tåtään	tåtään
	röätäätøn	röätään	röättäätøn
3Pl	tåtäänøl	tåtäänøl	tåtäänøl
	röätäänøl	röätäänøl	röätaan

KU Optative	Sg Object	Du Object	Pl Object
3Sg	tåtäät	tåtään	tåtään
	röätäät	röätään	röätään
3Du	tåttøn	tåtään	tåtøtøn
	röättøn	röätäö / röättøn	röätøn / röätäänøl
3Pl	tåtäänøl	tåtäänøl	tåtäänøl
	röätäänøl	röätäänøl	röätäänøl

CONDITIONAL

There are two conditional markers in Konda. It is possible to functionally and morphologically differentiate the conditional present tense, formed with the marker *-n-*, from the conditional preterite with the marker *-k-* positioned differently as the modal element. The same element *-k-* together with an auxiliary verb also produces the second past tense form of the conditional, the perfect tense.

CONDITIONAL PRESENT TENSE

The conditional present tense endings found in the texts have been summoned (in bold face) to the table below. The table also presents (in regular face) the KM *kånsi* 'to know' and KU *møni* 'to go' verb forms extracted from the Kannisto grammatical notes.

KM Cond Prs I	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-äänååm, -äänaam** kåsnaam	**-äänaan** kåsnaan	**-ni** kåsni
Du	**-niimøn** kåsniimøn	**-niinø** kåsniinø	kåsnöä
Pl	**-niiwø** kåsnøw	kåsniinø	kåsnaat

KU Cond Prs I	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-äänååm** mønnååm	**-äänäön** mønnäön	**-ni** mønnii
Du	**-niimøn** mønniimøn	**-niin** mønniinø	mønnäö
Pl	**-nøw** mønnøw	mønniinø	mønnäöt

The person markers following the conditional marker in the conditional present tense are the same than in the indicative present tense. This means that the mood marker in this category also follows the tense element assimilated in the vowel of the present tense person ending. In the conditional present tense, the present tense endings are in their most frequent forms, there is thus less variation than in the indicative present tense forms.

The 1st person singular I Cond.prs-suffix consists of the transitional vowel, the conditional marker *-n-* and the portmanteau-morph that includes the present tense and the person element. The transitional vowel is not found in the paradigms in the Kannisto grammatical notes (KM *kåsnaam* 'I would know', KU *mønnååm* 'I would go').

KM-äänååm, -äänaam ~ KU -äänååm (1Sg CONDITIONAL PRESENT TENSE)
k°olyiitäänååm 'I would let rise'   *xolyitäänååm* id.
kojøntäänaam 'I would lie'   *xojäntäänååm* id.
jeesøxtäänaam 'I would rub'   *jesøxtäänååm* id.

The corresponding 2nd person singular suffix is very symmetrical with the corresponding 1st person singular suffix. It includes the same transitional vowel, the

characteristic full vowel *-ää-*, the same conditional element and the most frequent 2nd person singular element in the present tense paradigm.

KM -äänaan ~ KU -äänäön (2Sg CONDITIONAL PRESENT TENSE)
komøjäänaan 'you would get married'   *xomøjäänäön* id.

In the 3rd person singular the conditional element is attached to the stem without the transitional vowel (similarly to the 1st and 2nd person forms in the Kannisto paradigms), and similarly to the other singular person forms, the person is denoted by the portmanteau-morph.

KM -ni ~ KU -ni (3Sg CONDITIONAL PRESENT TENSE)
köälni 'he would get up'   *köälni* id.

The structure of the non-singular subject person suffix cluster looks a bit different. The transitional vowel is also missing from the dual person suffixes also in the text examples, and the tense element in the 1st and the 2nd person forms is clearly recognizable. The 3rd person dual suffix is comprised of the mood marker *-n-* and the dual basic element only.

KM -niimøn ~ KU -niimøn (1Du CONDITIONAL PREESENS)
kotniimøn 'we2 would find'   *xotniimøn* id.

KM -niinø ~ KU -niinø (2Du CONDITIONAL PREESENS)
kåsniinø 'you2 would know'   *mønniinø* 'you2 would go'

KM -nöä ~ KU -näö (3Du CONDITIONAL PREESENS)
kåsnöä 'they2 would know'   *mønnäö* 'they2 would go'

The 1st person plural suffix in KM is structurally similar to the 1st person dual suffix (mood-tense-person). On the other hand, the KU suffix is lacking the tense element that is also missing from the indicative present tense 1st person plural suffix. The KM suffix *-nøw* in the paradigm is also similar in structure:

KM -niiwø, -nøw ~ KU -nøw (1Pl CONDITIONAL PREESENS)
kuulniiwø 'we would stay overnight'   *xuulnew* id.
kåsnøw 'we would know'   *mønnøw* 'we would go'

KM -niinø ~ KU -niinø (2Pl CONDITIONAL PREESENS)
kåsniinø 'you would know'   *mønniinø* 'you would go'
The 3rd person plural suffix is also comprised of the mood marker and the usual present tense subject conjugation person marker.

KM -naat ~ KU -näöt (3Pl CONDITIONAL PRESENT TENSE)
kåsnaat 'you would know'   *mønnäöt* 'they would go'

There are also comprehensive series in the manuscripts for the singular, dual and plural objects in the conditional present tense object conjugation. Let us present the KM *tåti* 'to bring' -verb forms here. The paradigm is relatively straightforward. In the category of the single object, the conditional present tense is represented by the ending *-nii-* in

other than the 3rd person plural ending, and it is followed by the 1st and 2nd person ending with the element *-l-* denoting the single object. The dual and the plural object category is a clear conditional present tense marker *-nøg-*, followed by a dual object category (excluding the dual and plural, scarcely occurring and often formally equivalent 2nd person subject forms), the vowel *-oå- ~ -öä- (~ -aa-)* slightly more characteristic for the dual, and the object plural marker *-n-* in the most frequent person forms of the plural category.

KM

Sg object	Du object	Pl object
tåtniiløm	*tåtnøgaam*	*tåtnøgäänøm* 'I would bring it/them2/them(pl)'
tåtniiløn	*tåtnøgöän*	*tåtnøgään*
tåtniitø	*tåtnøgöä*	*tåtnøgään*
tåtniiläämøn	*tåtnøgoåmøn*	*tåtnøgønäämøn*
tåtniilään	*tåtnøgønään*	*tåtnøgønään*
tåtniitøn	*tåtnøgään*	*tåtnøgään*
tåtniiløw	*tåtnøgoåw*	*tåtnøgønøw*
tåtniilään	*tåtnøgønään*	*tåtnøgään*
tåtnøgäänøl	*tåtnøgäänøl*	*tåtnøgäänøl*

CONDITIONAL PRETERITE

The conditional preterite is formed by attaching either *-k* or *-käät* to the full preterite. The choice of the suffix is completely free. The meaning of the form built this way does not necessarily refer to the past, but the present tense irrealis is formed on the basis of the preterite, as is usual or at least historically verified in many languages. This is at least the image emerging from the texts. In the Kannisto grammatical notes there are also additional paradigms on conditional marker *-k* attaching to the present tense forms, but the difference in the functions of these particular paradigms is not quite clear.

An exception to this full preterite formation is the verb 'to be' with its own conditional form KM *ooløx ~ ooløk,* KU *ooløx* 'if (it) were', KM *öätyøm ooløk,* KU *äötyøm ooløx* '(if it) were not'. This form of the verb 'to be' is used also in the conditional composite forms (se below). The second exception built on the non-preterite form is the KM KU *köärøxkäät* 'if obliged, if necessary' of the single person ambivalent word 'must; necessity' (see below). The conditional marker *-k* attached to the preterite person forms is (presumably because of a relatively late agglutination) phonetically exceptional: it attaches directly to the preceding consonant without a binding vowel and also without assimilating the nasal in the 2nd person marker:

KM -søn.k ~ KU -søn.k (2Sg CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
nyorsøn.k 'if you wanted'   *nyørsøn.k* id.
mønøsøn.k 'if you went'   *mønøsøn.k*
åjgøsøn.k 'if you shouted'   *åjgøsøn.k* id.

KM -søn.käät ~ KU -søn.käät (2Sg CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
oolsøn.käät 'if you where'   *oolsøn.käät* id.
kasysøn.käät 'if you knew'   *xasysøn.käät* id.

KM -øskø ~ -øskäät ~ KU -øskäät (3Sg CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
ooløskø ~ ooløskäät 'if (he) was'   *ooløskäät* id.

mønøskäät 'if (he) went'   *mønøskäät* id.
päätøskäät 'if (he) fell'   *päätøskäät* id.
jonkøskäät 'if (he) turned'   *joonxøskäät* id.

KM -sään.k ~ KU -sään.k (2Du CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
ääsyøntaxtsään.k 'if you trusted (yourselves)'   *ääsyøntaxtsään.k* id.
In the Kannisto manuscript materials there is the following subject conjugation preterite paradigm (KU):
wöärsømkäät 'if I do'
tox wöärsøn.käät nängnåån jåmøs äöt jømti 'if you do so, no good will follow'
wöärøskäät 'if they do'
wöärsäämøn.käät 'if we2 do'
wöärsään.käät 'if you2 do'
wöärsägkäät 'if they2 do'
wöärsøwkäät 'if we (pl) do
wöärsään.käät 'if you (pl) do'
wöärsøtkäät 'if they (pl) do'

In the Kannisto paradigms there is also a Pl3Sg object conjugation form for the *k*-conditional:

KM -sään.k (Pl3Sg CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
täw möänøw jøt-joxtsään.k älgään
'if he catches us, he will kill us'

The following object conjugation forms have been extracted from the texts:
KM -slään.k ~ KU -slään.k (Sg2Du CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
teeslään.k 'if you2 eat it'   *teeslään.k* id.

KM -sään.käät ~ KU -sään.käät (Pl2Pl CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
wøsään.käät 'if you (pl) take them'   *wøsään.käät* id.

KM -slään.k ~ KU -slään.k (Sg2Pl CONDITIONAL PRETERITE)
teeslään.k 'if you (pl) eat it'   *teeslään.k* id.
k°åltøslään.k 'if you (pl) destroy it'   *x°åltøslään.k* id.

The clause context for the previous forms as an example of the use of the conditional (KM):
*om tø lyälytøptääm teepøng k°ääløm, mooløng k°ääløm päri-**k°åltøslään.k**, päri-**teeslään.k*** ' if you fully destroy and eat empty this food-full house that I have acquired, my fur-full house'.

Fine examples of the use of the conditional are also the two subject conjugation conditional paradigms found in the Kannisto manuscript materials, of which the first one introduces the conditional preterite discussed above and the second one is the present tense of the conditional -*k*, that is the conditional form built on the usual subject conjugation present tense form that is not found in the texts. The choice of the suffix / the conditional marker seems to be free:

Present tense (KM)

öätyi-näär öät kontaamk[ø]/[äät], juw jiiwøm
'if I do not find anything, I will come back'
öätyi-näär öät kontaan.k[ø]/[äät], juw jäjøn!
'if you do not find anything, come back'
öätyi-näär öät kontiik[ø]/[äät], juw jääjø!
'if they do not find anything, let them come back'
öätyi-näär öät kontiimøn.k[ø]/[äät], juw jiiwmøn
'if we2 do not find anything, we2 will come back'
öätyi-näär öät kontiinøk[äät], juw jääjään
'if you2 do not find anything, come2 back'
öätyi-näär öät kontöäk[ø]/[äät], juw jääjäg!
'if they2 do not find anything, let them2 come back!'
öätyi-näär öät kontøwk[ø]/[äät], juw jiiwwø
'if we do not find anything, we will come back'
öätyi-näär öät kontiinøk[ø]/[äät], juw jäjään!
'if you do not find anything, come back'
öätyi-näär öät kontaatk[ø]/[äät], juw jäjøt!
'if they do not find anything, let them come back'

Preterite (KM)

öätyi-näär öät kotsømk[äät], juw jiiwøm
'if I do not (once) find anything, I will come back'
öätyi-näär öät kotsøn.k[äät], juw jäjøn!
'if you do not (once) find anything, come back!'
öätyi-näär öät kontøsk[ø]/[äät], juw jääjø!
'if they do not (once) find anything, let them come back!'
öätyi-näär öät kotsäämøn.k[äät], juw jiiwmøn
'if we2 do not (once) find anything, we2 will come back'
öätyi-näär öät kotsään.k[äät], juw jääjään
'if you2 do not (once) find anything, come2 back'
öätyi-näär öät kotsägk[äät], juw jääjäg!
'if they2 do not (once) find anything, let them2 come back!'
öätyi-näär öät kotsøwk[äät],eejuw jiiwwø
'if we do not (once) find anything, we will come back'
öätyi-näär öät kotsään.k[äät], juw jäjään!
'if you do not (once) find anything, come back!'
öätyi-näär öät kotsøtk[äät], juw jäjøt!
'if they do not (once) find anything, let them come back!'

CONDITIONAL PERFECT TENSE

The conditional perfect tense is formed by the verbal noun (gerund) with the marker *-k-*
including a possessive suffix, the possessive suffix of the subject person and the
conditional *ooløx ~ ooløk* for the verb 'to be'. The examples from the texts:

KM   **KU**
reextiiløkøm ooløk '(if) I had shaken'   *rextiiløkøm ooløx* id.

köälømtøkäät ooløx 'if they had told'   *köälømtøkäät ooløx* id.
jäxtkään ooløk 'if you2 had slaughtered'   *jäxtkään ooløx* id.
olkäätøn ooløk '(if) they2 had been'   *oolxaatøn ooløx* id.

In the Kannisto grammatical notes we can infer a paradigm for the conditional preterite in the object conjugation. Here the gerund is not followed by a possessive suffix but the whole finite verb person ending denoting a single object. The 1st and the 2nd person forms thus include the element *-l-* in the object conjugation. The 3rd person forms in the subject and the object conjugation are the same because the object conjugation ending as such is the same than the possessive suffix without the element *-l-* (see p. 000???).
om tääwø kasykääløm olk (ooløk) 'if I had noticed him'
näg tääwø kasykääløn ooløk 'if you had noticed him'
täw tääwø kasykäät ooløk 'if he had noticed him'
meen tääwø kasykøläämøn ooløk 'if we2 had noticed him'
neen tääwø kasykølään ooløk 'if you2 had noticed him'
teen tääwø kasykäätøn ooløk 'if they2 had noticed him'
möän tääwø kasykøløw ooløk 'if we had noticed him'
nöän tääwø kasykølään ooløk 'if you had noticed him'
töän tääwø kasykäänøl ooløk 'if they had noticed him'

In connection to the Tatar-based word *köärøx* 'to have to', the preterite form of the verb 'to be' is used in the conditional perfect tense. *köärøx* is ambivalent with respect to the word class, it functions as the clause predicate that is neither a verb nor a predicatival noun. But it still agrees in number with the verb 'to be', the number of which in turn is defined by the object number in the following example:
KM
öätømt   *jåt wøx°*   *köärøkøt*   *oolsøt*
man-PlNom   with take   must-Pl   be-Sbjc3Pl.pret

'people should have been taken along'

PASSIVE

All verb categories discussed so far have represented the active voice conjugation. In Eastern Mansi, as in the Ob-Ugrian languages in general, the passive as the main conjugation category and reverse to the active voice is extensively used, and this usage is also wider than in the languages with the passive as a main category in general. The passive in Mansi represents the type of the passive that is reversed from the active clause and the object in the corresponding active clause is promoted to the subject position, while the subject in the active clause moves to the position of the agent or remains unexpressed in the clause. It is thus used for the topicalization of the second actant of the verb. The clause constituent promoted to the position of the subject in the passive clause can be the object of the transitive verb in the active clause, but in addition also the object of e.g. an »intransitive» motion verb. The object of such a motion verb can also function as the accusative object in the active clause and it can launch the object conjugation form of the verb. It is therefore reasonable to keep the term »intransitive» in quotation marks when referring to the Ob-Ugrian languages. The recipient or the benefactor of a trivalent verb promoted to the object position can naturally also be promoted to the subject of the passive clause, when the original object is in the instrumental (see the section »the use of the instrumental»). Examples of all these can be found below in the section »Use of the passive». The verb in the passive form can further, in addition to the indicative mood, also represent the conditional preterite or the present tense (less frequently), or the optative with its own passive suffixes.

PASSIVE INDICATIVE PRESENT TENSE

The passive person paradigms are structurally logical and the individual suffixes are in the same way easily segmentable than the active indicative preterite suffixes are. The passive present tense and the active indicative preterite are parallel paradigms in that the different person suffixes in them correspond with each other very exactly. Where the indicative preterite suffixes are composed of the preterite marker *-s-* and the person basic element, the same person element is in the passive the suffixes combined with the passive marker *-w-*. In some verbs the passive marker can also be interpreted as a derivative suffix, because some verbs, such as *åjøw-* 'to sleep', *püümløw-* 'to freeze' have no active conjugation at all. There are also examples of these among the verbs in the clause examples.

KU Passive prs	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-wøm**	**-wøn**	**-øw, -wø**
Du	**-wäämøn**	**-wään**	**-wii**
Pl	**-wøw**	**-wøn, -wään**	**-wøt, -øwt**

KM Passive prs	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-wøm**	**-wøn**	**-wø**
Du	**-øwäämøn**	**-wään**	**-wäg**
Pl	**-wøw**	**-wään**	**-wøt, -øwt**

The passive present tense 1st person singular suffix *-wøm* and the corresponding 2nd person singular suffix *-wøn* are thus both composed of the passive marker and the basic

person element. Different from the other present tense suffixes (active indicative and the conditional present tense), the tempus marker is missing. The present tense in the passive is thus uncontrovesially an noncharacteristic tense category.

KM -wøm ~ KU -wøm (1Sg PASSIVE)

älwøm 'I am killed'	*älwøm* id.
wøwøm 'I am taken'	*wøwøm* id.
(jål) püümløwøm 'I am frozen'	*(jål) püümløwøm* id.

KM -wøn ~ KU -wøn (2Sg PASSIVE)

älwøn 'you are killed'	*älwøn* id.
k°äsøgløwøn 'you are hurt'	*k°äsgøløwøn* id.
juw-teewøn 'you are eaten'	*juw-teewøn* id.

These suffixes contrast most clearly with the active indicative preterite subject conjugation due to the structure of the suffix cluster, they are separated only by the gender element taking the position of the tense element:

wøsøm 'I took (something)'	*wøwøm* 'I am taken'
wøsøn 'you took (something)'	*wøwøn* 'you are taken'

or for a non-thematic verb:

älsøm 'I killed (someone)'	*älwøm* 'I am killed'
tägmäätsøm 'I hung (something)'	*tägmäätwøm* 'I am hung'

The 3rd person singular passive present tense suffix has at least in KU two variants: consonant final and vowel final. In KM the vowel final suffix is exclusive. The KU consonant final variant is equivalent with indicative 1st person plural present tense form in the subject conjugation.

KM -wø ~ KU -wø (3Sg PASSIVE)

wõõwø '(it) is known'	*waawø* id.
åjwø '(he) is asleep'	*åjwø* id.
tuulwø '(it) is allowed'	*tuulwø* id.
joxtwø 'he is reached'	*joxtwø* id.
tøxtwø 'he is fed'	*titwø* id.
såjølwø '(it) is broken down'	*såjølwø* id.
wöäxtwø '(it) is thrown'	*wöäxtwø* id.

KM -wø ~ KU -øw (3Sg PASSIVE)

køtiiløwø '(he) is asked'	*køtiiløw* id.
tulmøntøwø '(it) is stolen'	*tulmøntøw* id.
syonkløwø '(it) is dried'	*syonkløw* id.
täärøtøwø '(he) is allowed'	*täärøtøw* id.

The dual passive present tense suffixes are similarly parallel with the active indicative preterite suffixes in the subject conjugation than the 1st person singular and the 2nd person singular suffixes. They comprise of the gender element and the person basic element that in the 2nd person dual is again the polysemic *-ään*. The 3rd person dual person element KM *-äg* ~ KU *-ii* is still identical with the nominal absolute dual marker.

KM -wäämøn ~ KU -wäämøn (1Du PASSIVE)
köäsyøløwäämøn 'we2 are noticed'   *köäsyeløwäämøn* id.
jål-älwäämøn 'we2 are killed'   *jal-älwäämøn* id.

KM -wään ~ KU -wään (2Du PASSIVE)
puwwään 'you2 are caught'   *puwwään* id.
jøwään 'you2 are come to'   *jøwään* id.
joxtwään id.   *joxtwään* id.
loåwøltøwään 'you2 are ordered'   *läöwøltawään* id.

KM -wäg ~ KU -wii (3Du PASSIVE)
läxwäg 'they2 are crept towards'   *läxwii* id.
kasywäg 'they2 are known'   *xasywii* id.
røgtwäg 'they2 sweat'   *røgtwii* id.
kåjøxwäg 'they2 are touched'   *xåjøxwii* id.
køtiiløwäg 'they2 are asked'   *køtiiløwii* id.

The contrasts to the active indicative preterite paradigm in the subject conjugation are
identical with the singular person forms described above:
wøsäämøn 'we2 took (something)'   *wøwäämøn* 'we2 are taken'
wøsään 'you2 took (something)'   *wøwään* 'you2 are taken'
wøsii ~ wøsäg 'they2 took (something)'   *wøwii ~ wøwäg* 'they2 are taken'

or for a non-thematic verb:
älsäämøn 'we2 killed (someone)'   *älwäämøn* 'we2 are killed'
älsään 'you2 killed (someone)'   *älwään* 'you2 are killed'
älsii ~ älsäg 'they2 killed (someone)'   *älwii ~ älwäg* 'they2 are killed'

The 1st person plural suffix represents the same structure; the gender element *-w-* is
followed by the person element *-(ø)w*.

KM -wøw ~ KU -wøw (1Pl PASSIVE)
jøwøw 'we are come to'   *jøwøw* id.
älwøw 'we are killed'   *älwøw* id.

The 2nd person plural has in KU in addition to the expected suffix *-wään* that is similar
to the 2nd person dual suffix the suffix variant *-wøn* that is identical with the 2nd person
singular suffix. The latter is from a destiny song, and it does thus not represent normal
prose.

KM -wään ~ KU -wään (2Pl PASSIVE)
uulløwään 'you are shouted at'   *uulløwään* id.
sårgøltøwään 'you are bullied'   *sårgøltøwään* id.

KU -wøn (2Pl PASSIVE)
räx°wøn 'you (pl) are rained on'
wootwøn 'you (pl) are blown at'

The 3rd person plural passive suffix form varies based on the stem type. The difference between the variants *-wøt* and *-(ø)wt* is the placement of the transitional vowel within the suffix:

KM -wøt ~ KU -wøt (3Pl PASSIVE)

joxtwøt 'they are come to'	*joxtwøt* id.
kasywøt 'they are known'	*xasywøt* id.
röätwøt 'they are beaten'	*räötwøt* id.
tøxtwøt 'they are fed'	*titwøt* id.
öälømwøt 'they are carried'	*äölømwøt* id.

KM -øwt ~ KU -øwt (3Pl PASSIVE)

koontløwt 'they are defeated'	*xoontløwt* id.
køtiiløwt 'they are asked'	*køtiløwt* id.
k°ätørøwt 'they are suffocated'	*k°äätørøwt* id.
låwøsøwt 'they are rinsed'	*låwøsøwt* id.
k°olytøptøwt 'they are left'	*x°olytøptøwt* id.

PASSIVE INDICATIVE PRETERITE

The passive preterite suffixes are similarly transparent than the present tense suffixes. In the passive suffixes the tense elements are placed after the gender element. As noted above, the tense marker denotes the past only.

KM Passive pret	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-wøsøm**	**-wøsøn**	**-wøs, -øwøs**
Du	**-wøsäämøn**	-wøsään	**-wøsäg**
Pl	**-wøsøw**	**-wøsään**	**-wøst**

KU Passive pret	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg	**-wøsøm**	**-wøsøn**	**-wøs**
Du	**-wøsäämøn**	-wøsään	**-wøsii, -wøsgi**
Pl	**-wøsøw**	**-wøsään**	**-wøst**

In the 1st and the 2nd person singular forms the passive (*-w-*) and the preterite elements (*-s-*) are followed by the person basic element *-m* and *-n*.

KM -wøsøm ~ KU -wøsøm (1Sg PASSIVE PRETERITE)

mäjwøsøm 'I was given'	*mäjwøsøm* id.
wöärwøsøm 'I was made'	*wöärwøsøm* id.
keetwøsøm 'I was sent'	*keetwøsøm* id.
åjgøløwøsøm 'I slept'	*åjgøløwøsøm* id.

KM -wøsøn ~ KU -wøsøn (2Sg PASSIVE PRETERITE)

tåtwøsøn 'you were brought'	*tåtwøsøn* id.
wotøwøsøn 'you were called'	*wowwøsøn* id.

The contrast with the present tense passive forms (and the active preterite forms) is increased not only by the fact that the passive preterite forms are longer in syllable number, but for the thematic verbs especially also by the fact that the passive preterite is built on the same stem than the imperatives, but different than the passive present tense and the indicative active forms:

wøsøm 'I took (something)'   *wøwøm* 'I am taken'   *wäjwøsøm* 'I was taken'
wøsøn 'you took (something)'*wøwøn* 'you are taken'   *wäjwøsøn* 'you were taken'
                                                          wäjøn 'take (something)'

Non-thematic verb forms are distanced from each other by the difference in the syllable number:

älsøm 'I killed (someone)'   *älwøm* 'I am killed'   *älwøsøm* 'I was killed'
älsøn 'you killed (someone)' *älwøn* 'you are killed'   *älwøsøn* 'you were killed'

The person element is missing from the 3rd person singular passive preterite suffix. It comprises thus of the passive and the preterite markers.

KM -wøs ~ KU -wøs (3Sg PASSIVE PRETERITE)

jäjwøs '(he) was come to'   *jäjwøs* id.
åjwøs 'fell asleep'   *åjwøs* id.
älwøs 'he was killed'   *älwøs* id.
ponwøs 'it was put'   *ponwøs* id.
nyoåxwøs 'it was stamped'   *nyäöxwøs* id.
wotøwøs 'he was called'   *wowwøs* id.
tøxtwøs 'he was fed'   *titwøs* id.
öälømwøs 'it was lifted'   *öälømwøs* id.
öärtøwøs 'it was closed'   *öärtøwøs* id.
lükømøwøs 'it was pushed'   *lükømøwøs* id.
mønømtøwøs 'it was torn'   *määnømtøwøs* id.
töäjøpøwøs 'it was eaten'   *täöjøpøwøs* id.

In the thematic verbs the suffix attaches, as do the other passive preterite suffixes also, to the imperative stem (*jäjwøs* 'he was arrived at', *wäjwøs* 'he was taken'). As the passive suffix as such resembles the 1st person plural person marker, the preterite form is close to the 1st person plural optative form in the subject conjugation. Because of the different stems, both differ quite a lot from the passive present tense form:

KM   *toåjwøs* 'he was eaten'   *toåjwø* 'let us eat'   *teewø* 'he is eaten'

To begin with, the suffix in the 1st person dual has quite a heavy structure. Attached to the gender element there is a combination of the tense and person elements including a full vowel, a suffix that as such is found also in the active indicative preterite paradigm. The passive preterite suffix has two variants based on the word stem. The transitional vowel *-ø-* can be positioned either within the suffix (*-wøsäämøn*) or between the stem and the suffix (*-(ø)wsäämøn*). An example of both types:

KM -wøsäämøn ~ KU -wøsäämøn (1Du PASSIVE PRETERITE)
låwwøsäämøn 'we2 were ordered'   *läöwwøsäämøn* id.

KM -wsäämøn ~ KU -wsäämøn (1Du PASSIVE PRETERITE)

roåwløwsäämøn 'we2 were thrown'   *rawløwsäämøn* id.

There are no examples of the 2nd person dual, but by the other incomplete paradigms it is possible to assume that the suffix is identical with the corresponding 2nd person plural suffix (-*wøsään*, see below). In the 3rd person dual suffix the gender and the tense elements are followed by the element (KM -*äg* ~ KU -*ii*, -*gi(i)*) familiar from the absolute dual. The dual marker thus functions as the 3rd person dual person element. The variants in KU are the same ones that are also found in the active indicative preterite paradigm. In KM there is no such that would match the variation in the active voice suffix in question. In addition, also the position of the transitional vowel differs in KU. There are in KU thus three different variants, in KM only one.

KM -wøsäg ~ KU -wøsii (3Du PASSIVE PRETERITE)
mäjwøsäg 'they2 were given'   *mäjwøsii* id.
töärømäätwøsäg 'they2 were allowed'   *täörømäätwøsii* id.
k°olytøptøwøsäg 'they2 were left'   *x°olytøptøwøsii* id.
keeløptøwøsäg 'they2 were blooded'   *keeløptøwøsii* id.

KU -wsii (3Du PASSIVE PRETERITE)
tosytepøwsii 'they2 were put'

KU -wøsgii (3Du PASSIVE PRETERITE)
juw-tuulwøsgii 'they2 were let in'

The passive preterite suffixes of the plural person forms are also transparent. In the thematic verbs the suffix attaches to the imperative stem. This increases the distance of the forms to the corresponding passive present and indicative preterite forms, where the suffix person element is otherwise the same, e.g. (KU)

tåjwøsøw 'we were eaten'   *teesøw* 'we ate'   *teewøw* 'we are eaten'
tåjwø 'let us eat'
tåjwøsään 'you were eaten'   *teesään* 'you ate'   *teewään* 'you are eaten'
tåjään 'eat!'
tåjwøst 'they were eaten'   *teest* 'they ate'   *teewøt* 'they are eaten'
tåjøt 'let them eat'

KM -wøsøw ~ KU -wøsøw (1Pl PASSIVE PRETERITE)
toåjwøsøw 'we were eaten'   *tåjwøsøw* id.
äjwøsøw 'we were drunk'   *äjwøsøw* id.
moojtwøsøw 'we were told'   *moojtwøsøw* id.
eerøgwøsøw 'we were sung'   *eerøgwesøw* id.
kømtøwøsøw 'we were beaten'   *xømtøwøsøw* id.

KM -wøsään ~ KU -wøsään (2Pl PASSIVE PRETERITE)
tåjwøsään 'you were eaten'   *tåjwøsään* id.
äjwøsään 'you were drunk'   *äjwøsään* id.
mojtwøsään 'you were told'   *mojtwøsään* id.
eergøwøsään 'you were sung'   *eerøgwesään* id.
låwwesään 'you were ordered'   *läöwwesään* id.

KM -wøst ~ KU -wøst (3Pl PASSIVE PRETERITE)

wäjwøst 'they were taken'	*wäjwøst* id.
toåjwøst 'they were eaten'	*tåjwøst* id.
äjwøst 'they were drunk'	*äjwøst* id.
jixwøst 'the night fell on them'	*jixwøst* id.
kotwøst 'they were found'	*xotwest* id.
põõx°twøst 'they were shot at'	*paax°twøst* id.
pägøltøwøst 'they were bathed'	*pägøltøwøst* id.
nyowømtøwøst 'they were moved'	*nyuwømtøwøst* id.

Use of the passive (indicative)

The prototype of the passive represents a situation, where the constituent functioning as the object in the active clause is the topic of the clause and it is promoted to the subject position. If the agent of the action defined in the clause is known and/or it is to be expressed, it is present in the passive clause as the agent in the lative (see the section «Lative« for more information about the passivization):
nöän [subj] *tøt mõõnø tøt syöärnø nø(g) eergøm-karnø* [Ag] *tøg* **eergøwøsään**, *nø moojtøm-karnø* [Ag] *tøg* **mojtwøsään?** 'what singer [Ag] has you [subj] sung, what storyteller [Ag] has told you to this land, to this corner of the world?'
k°åsyø mønømäänøl [Subj] *konø*[Ag] **wõõwø**, *wõõty mønømäänøl* [Subj] *konø* [Ag] **wõõwø** 'who knows, if they went for a long time or a short time'.

The agent does not need to be animate: it can also be inanimate, a so called force, instrument or other cause:
älwøs [Pred + Subj] *kit-woor-ootør nõõlnø* [Ag] 'he [Subj] was killed by the two-ridge-prince's arrow [Ag]'

The verb person ending is sufficient for expressing the subject in the clause, as in the active clause also:
pees jägøn-öäsyøn teem-ääjøm-kartnø [Ag] *juw-***teewøn** [Pred + Subj] '(monsters, Ag) that ate your grandfater will eat you (too)'
påsøng-kom jägäännø [Ag] *tokø* **låwwesään** [Pred + Subj] 'your father the cheerful man ordered you this way'
møniimøn, työätyoåmnø-syükoåmønnø [Ag] **köäsyøløwäämøn** [Pred + Subj] 'let us go (we2), my father and my mother will notice us'
k°åsyø lyø wõõty oolsøt, kon[Ag] **kasywøt** 'for a long time or for a short time they lived, who knows (about them)'.

If the agent is unknown or it is not wished to be expressed, no agent is required. It can become evident from the preceding context:
söät täl säägöänøl **tägmäätwøs** 'she was hung (on the wall) by her 7 fathom (long) plaits'
äk°-määsyt **løsytwøst**, *sok i* **põõx°twøst** *i k°åløst* ' then they were wiped away, all were shot dead, it was their end'
løløng-wityøl **säärtliitøwøs**, *sop-lotø* [subj] **ponømtøwøs**, *løløng-wityøl rowtløwøs*, *soospøwøs* 'he was dabbed with water of life, the neck was put in its place, there water of life was sprinkled, poured onto'

 (*jø-pöälnøl koojøs lyüüly-nyåløp ogmøng woot.*) *teepnøl teeløm sowlyøkøng teep k°årøl* ***wootømløwøst***, *jäg kurøm öägåäm* [Subj] *syük kurøm öägåäm* [Subj] ***tåtwøst*** '(From the north hit an evil-nosed pain-full wind.) The wind blew them away like from cereal grown bastard-cereal, three daughters of my father, three daughters of my mother were taken away.'

The verb 'to ask' is governed by the object. In the passive clause the recipient of the question (the person who is asked) is the subject:
wisy-kar-küült [Subj] ***køtiiløwt: »öäsy-öägään k°åsyäät ämnø wõõttyøn oolii?»*** 'Little children [Subj] are asked: »Is your aunt far away or nearby?»'

The recipient promoted to the object position from the position of the directional adverbial or the directional locative can also function as the topic and the subject of the passive clause (see the instrumental and pp. 000 in the section on syntax)
(*k°oløx-tågøl määsøm ootørnø* [Ag] *tow i* ***k°olytøptøwøsäg*** [Pred + Subj]). *ox-toor nyåsømsiipøl* ***mäjwøsäg*** [Pred + Subj] '(prince dressed in raven-suit left them2 there.) They2 [Subj] were given a white shroud.'
løløng-wityøl säärtliitøwøs, sop-lotø [subj] *ponømtøwøs*, (*sop-lotø* [subj]) *løløng-wityøl* ***rowtløwøs, soospøwøs*** ' he was dabbed with water of life, the neck was put in its place, there water of life was sprinkled, poured onto'.

In the same way than the motion verb in the active voice can receive an object, it can also be passivized, and the object of the movement becomes the subject.
syuuløng-pänkøp öänsyøx°nø [Ag] ***jäjwøs*** [Pred + Subj], ***löätwø*** [Pred + Subj] 'a grey-haired old man [Ag] came [passive predicate] to him [Subj], says to him'
ääny jø-pöält koontnø [Ag] ***jøwään*** [Pred + Subj] *wisy-nee tuulmøntäämøn mås* 'now you [Subj] are being followed [passive predicate] by an army [Ag], because we have stolen a maiden'
läxwäg [Pred + Subj] *koontnø* [Ag] 'army [Ag] creeps [passive predicate] towards them [Subj]'.

The subject of the passive verb can also be a different kind of an »beneficiary» adverbial:
om jål-kolnøm jø-pöält (– –) soåw räx°nø [Ag] ***räxwään*** [Pred + Subj], *soåw wootnø* [Ag] ***wootwään*** [Pred + Subj] 'when I am dead, many rains [Ag] (– –) will rain [passive predicate] on you [Subj], many winds [Ag] will blow [passive predicate] against you [Subj]'

The agent can be very abstract or directly impossible, as in the following example:
*mønøst, mønøst, jål-****jixwøst*** [Pred + Subj] 'they went, they went, (to them, Subj) it became evening [passive predicate]'

Some verbs only conjugate in the passive voice. The agentive subject is not possible for these verbs:
*uus mønøs kåspøtään, kojøs. kojøs, **åjwøs**.* 'He went again to his sleeping tent, lay down and slept.'
*jål-neeg-öänk åjøltöäløm, åsøng uuløm worøng jålnø k°åsyään jål-****åjgøløwøsøm*** 'put to a heavy sleep by the underworld wife on a lumpy mattress for a long time I fell asleep'
jäni eek°øt öänsyøk°øt [Subj] *røgøtnäänøl nyownø päämølänäänøl nyownø k°åt* ***k°ätørøwt*** 'old wives and men [Subj] sweating and suffering from heat suffocate'

om [Subj] *jål pøl tø* **püümløwøm** 'I [Subj] quite freeze to death'
komøly öät **eesømøwøn**? 'why are you not ashamed?'

There is no subject in the impersonal passive clause. The verb is always in the generic
3rd person singular form with no subject person included. It cannot, however, include
an object as the corresponding constituent is always promoted to the subject position in
the passive clause in Mansi. If such a constituent is absent in the situation, the clause is
impersonal (Kulonen 1989: 259–60):
towøx° **nogwøs** '(we) started to row'
joxtwøs, *jøpøs k°äl, töäwt-jiiwøn öätyi* '(we) got (there), the house was dark, there is no
firewood'
mønøx° tø **mønwø** *ton k°äl töärø* '(our) going (we) go through that house'
tokäly tø **kønsiiløwø** 'this is how (we) hunt'
mät toorøm pojørtään mås päri **joxtlalwø?** 'is it so, that (we) return only when god
allows it?
oos kotøl **köälwø**, *äk° sowør-løgnø* **seelkäätøntøw** 'every morning (one) gets up, grabs
the same cow's tail'.

PASSIVE OPTATIVE

The passive optative has a specific marker separate from the passive proper, and it
seems that there is not even any historical connection between them. The marker is
especially characteristic, with a labiovelar as the consonant element; there are only two
conjugation suffixes that include a labiovelar in the morphology of the Eastern Mansi:
the infinitive in addition to the passive optative. In the infinitive the labiovelar is the
morpheme final and the word final *-x°*, in the optative passive it is the cluster *-nk°-* of
the nasal and the plosive preceding the person element, the optative person ending.
Phonetically both sounds in the cluster are labiovelars, i.e. the nasal also has the colour
of a labiovelar nasal, but it is the assimilation caused by *k°* that is the factor causing the
labial property. The labiovelar nasal never occurs alone in the word form, but as
preceding *k°* or *x°* only. The person endings in the passive optative forms are the same
than the active imperatives/optatives. There are no examples of the 1st person forms in
the texts, and neither are there any examples of them in the Kannisto paradigms.
Similarly to the optative active, the tense in the optative passive is neutralized and it has
thus no specific marker. The passive optative in the suffix is a combined function
supported by a single element, and *-nk°-* is thus a portmanteau-morph composed of the
gender and the mood markers. The vowel preceding the actual optative suffix has two
realizations, the full vowel *-ä-* and the reduced transitory sound *-ø-*. The variation is the
same than with the other labiovelar suffix, the infinitive. In the infinitive the vowel
quality seems to be more tied to the syllable number of the stem than to the suffix
discussed here. In the infinitive the vowel *-ä-* is found quite regularly in the third
syllable, i.e. when the infinitive form is trisyllabic. In the disyllabic and quadrasyllabic
infinitive forms the vowel is *-ø-*, and in the monosyllabic infinitive forms of the
thematic verbs, the labiovelar attaches directly to the monosyllabic vowel stem. In the
passive optative forms the suffix frontal *-ä-* also occurs mainly in the third syllable.

KM Passive Opt	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg		**-ønk°øn, -änk°øn**	**-ønk°ø**
Du		**-ønk°ään**	-änk°äg
Pl			-änk°øt

KU Passive Opt	1st	2nd	3rd
Sg		**-ønk°øn, -änk°øn**	**-ønk°ø**
Du		**-ønk°ään**	
Pl		**-ønk°ään, -änk°ään**	

Kannisto has (in the manuscript) the following paradigm for the verb 'to freeze' in the passive conjugation:

KM

näg wøl eesørmänk°øn 'do not let yourself freeze'

täw wøl eesørmänk°ø 'let him not freeze'

neen wøl eesørmänk°ään 'let you2 not freeze'

teen wøl eesørmänk°äg 'let them2 not freeze'

töän wøl eesørmänk°øt 'let them(pl) not freeze'

The 2nd person singular passive optative suffix is thus formed with the gender marker together with the mood marker and the person element *-øn*:

KM -nk°øn, -änk°øn ~ KU -nk°øn, -änk°øn (2Sg PASSIVE OPTATIVE)

puwønk°øn 'let you be caught'   *puwønk°øn* id.

soxriitänk°øn 'let you be pressed'   *soxriitänk°øn* id.

woxriitänk°øn 'let you be scratched' *wåxriitänk°øn* id.

The person element following the passive optative suffix in the 3rd person singular is the same than in the active optative form. The same element can also be interpreted to be included in the passive indicative person suffix of the same person form:

KM -nk°ø ~ KU -nk°ø (3Sg PASSIVE OPTATIVE)

piilyønk°ø 'let him be stung'   *piilyønk°ø*

nyawlønk°ø 'let him be followed'

The dual and the plural 2nd person forms have the same suffix also in the passive optative, as the basic person element (*-ään*) is the same with both suffixes. There are examples of the 2nd person plural in KU only.

KM -ønk°ään ~ KU -ønk°ään (2Du PASSIVE OPTATIVE)

koojønk°ään 'let you2 be hit'   *xoojønk°ään* id.

KU -ønk°ään (2Pl PASSIVE OPTATIVE)

uurønk°ään 'let you be waited'

läösyønk°ään 'let you be lurked'

köällänk°ään 'let you be risen/climbed on'

raax°ønk°ään 'let you be descended from'

The passive optative is used under the same syntactic constraints than the passive in general. The optative function is especially common in all kinds of wishes and incantations. Clauses containing the passive optative also include an expressed animate or inanimate agent:

KM *mønnø-mõõnt ponøng jøpiinø* [Ag], *ponøng torgiinø* [Ag] *wøl* **puwønk°øn***!* 'let no feather-full eagle owl catch you as you go, feather-full eagle!'

KU *tø jii-pöält xuun päri-jøx° jømtiin, sujt jäløp suj-lonkøsy püwnø* [Ag], *woort jäløp woor-lonkøsy püwnø* [Ag] *lyäölyt **uurønk°ään**, lyäölyt **läösyønk°ään**!* 'after this when you intend to come back, let you be expected, let you be lurked by the heath-going son of the heath-demon, forest-going son of the forest-demon!'
woor-jiiw-townø [Ag] *kõõpøn* [Subj] *töärø-**piilyønk°ø**!* 'let your stomach [Subj] be pierced by a branch [Ag] of a forest-tree!'
neen tujtkaatään jeek°ør-koopølnø, nyõõlnø [Ag] *jowtnø* [Ag] *wøl **koojønk°ään**!* ' Hide in the hollow of the roots of a tree, so that you will not be hit by arrows and bows!'
KU *toorøm-sex° maa-sex° mønnø määnt wisy wityøn* [Ag] *losøm-owlääntøl **köällänk°ään**, jäni-wityøn* [Ag] *losøm-owlääntøl **raax°ønk°ään**!* 'Together with the going of heaven mist earth mist let the small water rise over your bones, let the flood water run over your bones' (»come with your bones to be risen and laid down»).

Agentless passive optatives are also possible:
*kon määtør oolsøn.käät, sømøng käxrønnøl, måjtøng käxrønnøl töärø-**soxriitänk°øn woxriitänk°øn**!* 'whoever, whatever you are, let you be pressed down scratched on your heart-full stomach, liver-full belly!'

PASSIVE CONDITIONAL

The following paradigms are found in the Kannisto manuscripts, of the conditional preterite, and of the *k*-conditional also as attached to the passive present tense:

Passive conditional preterite (KM):
wotøwøsømkäät mønaam 'if I have been invited (once), then I will go'
wotøwøsøn.käät mønøn! 'if you have been invited (once), then go!'
wotøwøskäät mønø! 'if he has been invited (once), then let him go!'
wotøwøsäämøn.käät møniimøn 'if we2 have been invited (once), then we will go'
wotøwøsään.käät mønään! 'if you2 have been invited (once), then go!'
wotøwøsägkäät mønäg! 'if they2 have been invited (once), then let them go'
wotøwøsøwkäät mønøw 'if we have been invited (once) , then we will go'
wotøwøsään.käät mønään! 'if you have been invited (once), then go'
wotøwøstkäät mønøt! 'if they have been invited (once), then let them go!'

Passive conditional present tense (KM)
wotøwømkäät mønaam 'if I am invited, then I will go'
wotøwøn.käät mønaan 'if you are invited, then you will go'
wotøwkäät møni 'if he is invited, then he will go'
wotøwäämøn.käät møniimøn 'if we2 are invited, then we2 will go'
wotøwään.käät møniinø 'if you2 are invited, then you2 will go'
wotøwägkäät mønöä 'if they2 are invited, then they2 will go'
wotøwøwkäät mønøw 'if we are invited, then we will go'
wotøwään.käät møniinø 'if you are invited, then you will go'
wotøwtkäät mønaat 'if they are invited, then they will go'

There is a text example of one 1st person singular suffix only. In this example, the conditional marker is in the simpler form -*k*:

KM -wøsømk ~ KU -wøsømk (1Sg CONDITIONAL PRET PASS)

älwøsømk 'if I am killed'   *älwøsømk* id.

In the text there is one occurrence of a suffix that according to the translation and the interpretation given in the latter part of the text collection must be understood mainly as a passive present tense conditional. The suffix KU *-säänøw* ~ KM *-säänøwø* seems to be comprised of the preterite, the conditional and the passive elements and it thus follows the structure ([T][M][G]). What is exceptional is that the tense marker precedes both the mood and the gender elements, although the preterite *-s-* is here evidently part of the conditional marker without a proper tense function. The meaning of the form is the present tense. The suffix cluster ends with the gender marker and it lacks the person element, as does the passive 3rd person singular form as well. Based on the example at least the following passive conditional represents the impersonal passive:

KM -säänøwø ~ KU -säänøw (3Sg PASSIVE CONDITIONAL)
kõõnk°säänøwø 'one would climb'

»tøt	*öälnø*	*toorøm-pøsyøl*	*tosytøm*	*kõõnk°øltäp»,*	*loåwi.*
here	maybe	god+skill-Instr	put up-PrtcPret	ladder	says

»mätør	*wõõm*	*ämøn*	*öätyi,*
some	strength-PxSg1Sg	ori	has-not

tøg	*nåk*	*tø*	*kõõnk°säänøwø»,*	*loåwi.*
here	up	so	climb-Pass.Cond.pret3Sg	says

'»Here are some ladders put up with godly skill», says. »Had I strength (enough) or not, here should (one) now climb up'», says. (Kannisto: 'hier hinauf müßte man nun klettern')

NOMINAL VERB FORMS

The nominal verb forms in Eastern Mansi are the infinitive, the four participles and the gerund. The infinitive marker is a word final labiovelar. This suffix does not attach to other suffixes, unless it is assumed that the passive optative is this same suffix attached to the person endings. This could perhaps be hypothesized on morphological grounds, but the semantical interpretation does not really support such a hypothesis. The vowel preceding the labiovelar varies mainly in the same way than the passive optative suffix described above: in the 1st syllable the transitional vowel is missing, in the 2nd and 4th syllables it is *-ø-* and in the 3rd and 5th syllable it is *-ä-*. This is more like a tendency than a rule. As a rule, however, the full vowel is always short, unlike the other full vowel *-ää-* occurring in the other suffixes which is invariably long.

KM -x° ~ KU -x° (INFINITIVE)

jøx° 'come'	*jøx°* id.
wøx° 'take'	*wøx°* id.
teex° 'eat'	*teex°* id.
tuux° 'enter'	*tuux°* id.

KM -øx° ~ KU -øx° (INFINITIVE)

åjgøx° 'shout'	*åjgøx°* id.
ääjøx° 'drink'	*äjøx°* id.
syisygøx° 'scream'	*syisygøx°* id.
jääløx° 'walk, go, leave'	*jääløx°* id.
kønsøx° 'search'	*kønsøx°* id.
toogøx° 'row'	*toowøx°* 'take'
jeerlaxtøx° 'fight'	*jeerlaxtøx°* id.
soopørlaxtøx° 'be at war, fight'	*soopørlaxtøx°* id.

KM -äx° ~ KU -äx° (INFINITIVE)

komøjäx° 'wed'	*xomijäx°* id.
tåxømjäx° 'pick lice from'	*tåxømjäx°* id.
sonsiiläx° 'look'	*sonsiiläx°* id.
øsøpäx° 'sit down'	*øsøpäx°* id.
tuulmøntäx° 'steal'	*tuulmøntäx°* id.
äätøsyläx° 'pick'	*äxøtsyäx°* id.
peeltäx° 'change'	*peeltäx°* id.

The infinitive is used with auxiliary verbs. The most frequent auxiliaries are *päti, püümti, jømti* 'start, begin', *tanki, wäärøti* 'want', *nyori* 'try, want' and the single person *köärøx* 'must'.
älkaatøx° *tø pümtsøt* 'they started fighting'
eek°-ääpii-püw **pøltaxtøx°** *pümtøs* 'the old woman's nephew started to feel scared'
teex° *nyoråäm* 'I want to eat'
wityøng mõõnøl **wøx°** *wäärøtiinø, toosøm mõõnøl* **wøx°** *wäärøtiinø* 'you want to take from a wet land, you want to take from a dry land'
sår sonsøx° köärøx 'we must look'.

The declining auxiliary takes all finite endings. It declines in the object conjugation if the infinitive is followed by a definite object.

tøtmø **öälmøx°** *uusiilään?* 'can you lift this?'
tø syüwt påsøng-kom työäty jeekrøng säm kurøm owløl **sonspäx°** *tø nyorøstø*
'then the cheerful man the father tried to look at him with the three corners of his squinted eye'

The combination of the infinitive and the finite verb highlights the intensity of the action.
mønøx° *tø mønwø ton k°äl töärø* '(we) go, going and going through that house'
nookø **porkaatøx°**, *nookø* **porkaatøx°!** 'then they bite, biting and biting each other'

The third, important function of the infinitive is to denote finality, intention:
woor **kønsøx°** *mønøx°* *jømtøs* 'started going hunting'
nägrøsy, ääpii, näär **kønsøx°** *jøsøn?* 'what have you come to search for, you poor boy, you nephew?'
muuj-kom, koont-kom jåt **muujlaxtøx° koontlaxtøx°** *lyälyøgsøm* 'I am ready to visit and fight a stranger-man, a soldier'
kõõrøs-öänsyøx° kurøm püw öärmø **tusløx°** *møngäänøl* 'Kõõrøs-old man's three sons go to check the dam'
tow mønøsäg jåmøs uuløm **wöärøx°** 'they went there to say goodbye'
määnyøtään tärmøl jomliitøwøs **pääsyølaxtøx°** *lyõnkøl* 'his daughter-in-law stepped towards him in order to greet him'.

PARTICIPLE SUFFIXES

The past participle (PrtcPret) is formed with a suffix, where in addition to the element *-m* the same vowels than in the infinitive are in use, and they mostly also vary similarly. The suffix *-m* attaches directly to the single vowel stems, with the binding vowel is *-ø-* in the 2nd syllable and *-ää-* in the 3rd syllable, of which the latter is thus mostly long when preceding the suffix *m*. The vowel *-ää-* occurs for some reason also in the verb *peelt-* 'to change', and in this same verb the vowel occurred in the 2nd syllable also in the infinitive, which implies a lexical phenomenon. There are also other exceptions (*rõõpääm / raapääm* 'fallen').

KM -m ~ KU -m (PARTICIPLE PRETERITE)
jøm 'come'   jøm id.

KM -øm ~ KU -øm (PARTICIPLE PRETERITE)
säjøm 'rotten'   *säjøm* id.
nõõk°øm 'stung'   *naax°øm* id.
kuuløm 'worn'   *xuuløm* id.
ääløm 'killed'   *ääløm* id.
teeløm 'born'   *teeløm* id.
poolyøm 'frozen'   *poolyøm* id.
mønøm 'gone'   *mønøm* id.
jöänkøm 'frozen'   *jaankøm* id.
toosøm 'dried, dry'   *toosøm* id.
kansyøm 'known'   *xansyøm* id.

KM -ääm ~ KU -ääm (PARTICIPLE PRETERITE)

rõõpääm 'fallen'	*raapääm* id.
peeltääm 'changed'	*peeltääm* id.
sågrøpääm 'cut'	*sågrøpääm* id.
towørtääm 'barred'	*towørtääm* id.

The basic element in the past participle is the same than the 1st person singular basic element. These infinitive forms are thus phonetically close with the finite forms in question. The distinctive factor is the vowel preceding the consonant element, and/or the tense element in the finite forms suffixes, e.g.

mønøm 'gone'	*mønååm* 'I go'
møn.gøm 'I go'	(*møngååm* 'I go to them2')
mønsøm 'I went'	
xåløxtääm 'dug'	*xåløxtååm* 'I dig (something)'

The preterite participle is usual as a predicative or an attribute that can be either active or passive in meaning:

*uus-keewør öätøm **rõõpääm** pånlø kojtøl **rõõpääm** pum kojtøl tok i rõõpøs* 'town folk fell like a fallen tree, like a fallen grass'
*tääwø **woltøm** jiiw nårmøl wöärøstø* 'he made him a stage out of carved tree'
*ton tørmään syääptøstø **ääløm** põnytetääm* 'in that coffin he buried his killed brother-in-law
*joxtmäänøl wojøl nåj õõx°tøs-püxrøp keewørt jål-**towørtääm*** 'when they come, the virgin is locked in a cellar of stone'.

The preterite participle is also used to form modal converb constructions (such as the last example clause). The most usual suffix in the infinite participle (PrtcPrs) is formed of the element *-p* further with the same binding vowels than the infinitive and the past participle. Also this suffix attaches to the reflexive suffix always with the vowel *-ø-*, even in the case of an uneven syllable (KU *xoontlaxtøp* 'fighting'). This suffix under discussion is the only suffix with the element *-p* in Eastern Mansi.

KM -p ~ KU -p (PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE)

teep 'eating'	*teep* id.

KM -øp ~ KU -øp (PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE)

tusyøp 'standing'	*tusyøp* id.
pöältøp 'burning'	*pöältøp* id.
kojøp 'lying'	*xojøp* id.
mønøp 'going'	*mønøp* id.
jääløp 'going'	*jäløp* id.
ooløp 'living, being'	*ooløp* id.
koontlaxtøp 'fighting'	*xoontlaxtøp* id.

KM -ääp ~ KU -ääp (PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE)

kårilääp 'extinguishing'	*xarilääp* id.
põõx°tlääp 'shooting'	*paax°tlääp* id.
säästølääp 'raising'	*säästølääp* id.

The more infrequent participles, used mostly in the present tense, that is the infinite participle suffixes, are *-ii* and *-s*. As suffixes that form nominal verb forms they are interesting in so far as both of them are completely equivalent with the highly frequent and usual verb finite suffixes: 3rd person singular indicative subject conjugation present tense suffix *-ii* and the same person preterite suffix *-s* in the subject conjugation [2]. For the context the suffix *-ii* is similar to the present tense suffix is clearly in the function of the infinite participle, the epithets of the characters in the hero's tales:

KM -ii ~ KU -ii (PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE)
wõõtii 'picking'   *waatii* id.
pupti 'threading, setting'   *puptii* id.
mäxtøli 'setting a trap, lowering a net'   *mäxtøli* id.

The whole names are as follows (KU):
[*kurøm-täl* [*k-!!*] *woor-pupii öätø*] *poløm-waatii wisyøm-naaj, säöwøny-waatii wisyøm-naaj*
'[daughter of the three fathoms tall forest goblin's is] a lingonberry picking beautiful maiden, a bilberry picking beautiful maiden'
wisyøk öä tolyøm puptii wisyøm naaj, jontøp puptii wisyøm naaj (II: 266)
'[The youngest girl,] a thimble slipping beautiful maiden, a threading beautiful maiden'
äös-waatään mäxtii møl-kämkø-nääl-ootør (II: 266)
'on the shore of Ob a traps setting deep-lobster-trap-frame prince'
The same person : *äös-waatään mäxtøli täörwityøng kämkø-nääløp ootør*
'on the shore of Ob a traps setting heavy-trap-frame prince' (II: 308)

As stated above, the length of the non-initial syllable vowels does not have a phonematic function. Despite of this the closing vowel in the 3rd person singular present tense forms is usually short, and the final *-ii* in the dual forms is usually long. The length of the closing vowel varies in the participle. On the phonematic level and in the phonetic realism in any case the 3rd person singular present tense suffix in the subject conjugation and the present tense participle suffix discussed here, as well as the forms carrying these are completely equivalent, thus
puptii 'he slips', 'slipping (he, who slips)'
waatii 'he picks', 'picking (he, who picks)'

Another more infrequent participle, *-s* has more diverse functions. Some examples clearly denote infinite activity, while it is possible to interpret some examples also as indicators of completed activity, at least with the verb 'put to sleep' (below), where in the third example (*wåjgøløs* 'stepped') the corresponding KM participle is the *m*-participle denoting a completed activity. The verbs 'run' and 'tread' in the examples can be translated either as the present tense or the perfective.

KM -s ~ KU -s (PARTICIPLE PRESENT TENSE/PRETERITE)
tees 'eating, eaten'   *tees* id.
kojøs 'lying'   *xojøs* id.
kåjtøs 'running, run'   *xåjtøs* id.

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[2] Historically it is a question of the same suffixes. The *ii*-participle and the 3rd person singular present tense marker as its continuation correspond historically with the actor noun *-ja* in Finnish, and at the same time e.g. the 3rd person singular present tense ending in Mordvin.

wojølsøs 'treading, trodden' *wojgøløs* id.
åjøltöäløs 'putting to sleep, put to sleep' *åjøltäöløs* id.

There is a one example for the first two forms. The informant tells about a robbing of a wife (where one of the robbed is precisely the *puptii*-princess, and one of the robbers is the heavy-trap-frame prince). All example clauses are KU variants:

teepii	***tees***	*teepøng*	*jort,*	*uulmii*
food-Transl	eat-Prtc	food-Adj	partner-	dream-Transl

xojøs	*uulmøng*	*jortii*	*wäjwøst* (WV II: 270)
lie-Prtc	dream-Adj	partner-Transl	take-Pass3Pl.pret

'They were taken as food eating partners, in sleep sleeping sleeping-partners'

xom	***xojøs***	*toxøng*	*jalnø,*	*ootør*	***xojøs***
man	lie-Prtc	mattress-Adj	bed-Lat	prince	lie-Prtc

toxøng	*jalnø*	*täw*	*i*	*ponwøs* (II: 322)
mattress-Adj	bed-Lat	he	and	put-Pass3Sg.pret

'[prince] was put on a one-man-lying madrass-ful bed, on a one-prince-lying madrass-ful bed'

mäönsy-xom	***wojgøløs***	*såwøm-maa*	*ponøng-maa*
mansi+man	step-Prtc	crust-Adj+land	hair-Adj+land

tärmølnø	*joxtäön* (WV II: 306)
on top	come-Sbjc2Sg.prs

'you come (– –) to a crusty land stepped by a Vogul man, on a hairy land'

söät	*nååti*	***xåjtøs***	*töältøng*	*sunt*
7	female reindeer	run-Prtc	haven-Adj	mouth

töältään	*naaløw råwxaatsøt* (WV II: 322)
haven-PxSg3Sg-Lat	to shore	hurry-Sbjc3Pl.pret

'they hurried down to haven-full river mouth's haven, where seven female reindeer run («haven run by 7 female reindeer»)'

joorgøn	*neeg-äönk*	*ensyøm*	*söät*	*püw*	***åjøltäöløs***
Samoyedic	woman+aunt	gives birth-Prtc	7	son	put to sleep-Prtc

ååsøng uuløm worøng	*jålnø*	*x°åsyään*	*åjgøløwøsøm* (WV II: 308)
deep dream corner-Adj	bed-Lat	for long	sleep-(Pass)1Sg.pret

'»deep sleep, into which I was put by the seven sons who were given birth by a Samoyedic aunt, I have on this corner-full bed for a long time slept»'

The corresponding structure in the KM text (WV II: 256) corresponds with the preterite participle *åjøltöäløm* 'put to sleep (by someone)' (WV II: 257). The participle suffix is precisely equivalent with the subject conjugation 3rd person singular preterite suffix: *xåjtøs* thus both 'he ran' and 'running / run', *xojøs* and similarly 'he lay' and 'lying / lyable / lain'. The ambiguity caused by the equivalence of this suffix and the previous participle and finite forms might be dispelled by the other form being finite and the other infinite. In the example clauses above the interpretation changes towards unambiguity with the help of the context when a separate — and unambiguous — finite verb is also present in the clause.

GERUND SUFFIXES

The gerund suffix in Eastern Mansi is *-ään ~ -øn ~ -nø*. The frequent function of the suffix is to form the initial parts in compound nouns out of verbs, but some lexicalized gerunds, such as *äjnø-teenø, äjøn-teenø* 'drinking-eating' = 'food' also occur as such. The suffix form varies so that only the only suffix attaching to the monosyllabic vowel stems is the vowel final i.e. the syllable forming suffix *-nø* (*teenø* 'that eaten'), otherwise in bisyllabic feet the vowel and consonant final variants vary freely. Trisyllabic feet favour the full vowel variant *-ään*. Also the vowel final variant *-äänø* (KM) comprised with a full vowel occurs occasionally.

KM -øn ~ KM -øn (GERUND)

joxtøn 'coming'	*joxtøn* id.
mønøn 'going'	*mønøn* id.
	äjøn 'drinking'

KM -nø ~ KM -nø (GERUND)

äjnø 'drinking'	*äjnø* id.
teenø 'eating'	*teenø* id.
oolnø 'being, living'	*oolnø* id.
köälnø 'rising'	*köälnø* id.
joxtnø 'coming'	*joxtnø* id.
mønnø 'going'	*mønnø* id.

KM -ään(ø) ~ KU -ään (GERUND)

pølmään 'being frightened'	*pølmään* id.
jån.giilään(ø) 'playing'	*jån.giilään* id.
põõnklään 'getting drunk'	*paankølään* id.
ääjølään 'drinking'	*ääjølään* id.

The suffix *-n* is one of the most frequent suffixal consonants and therefore also its gerund forms are equivalent with several 2nd person finite forms. The context, however, functions as a separating factor. In addition, regarding the noun inflection, both the 2nd person singular possessive suffix (*-øn*) and the lative suffix (*-øn ~ -nø*) are also similar in form with the gerund suffix, thus e.g.
äjøn both 'a drink-' and 'drink (something)' *ääjølään* both 'a drink-' and 'drink (you2 you pl) something' *jon.gøn* both 'playing' and 'play!' and 'your (1) play' *jonøgnø* both 'playing' and 'to a play (lat)'
The gerund is thus used as the first part in the compound words: *jånøgnø-kän* 'playing ground', *äjnø-wity* 'drinking water'. Its other important function is to form temporal converb structures (see p. 000).

The other gerund suffix, with which temporal converbs are formed, is the verbal noun with the elements -k- ~ -x- that is used only as attached to other suffixes instead of alone, like the suffix described above. Most examples are of the 3rd person singular, where the suffix can be interpreted also as a possessive locative with a shorter px. This also explains the meaning of the converb:

KM -käät ~ KU -käät, -xaat, -xäät (-kø + PxSg3Sg ? + LOCATIVE)

møn.käät 'while going'	*møn.käät* id.	
wonølkäät 'while sitting'	*wonølxaat* id.	
jomiitekäät 'while going'	*joomiitekäät* id.	
k°åsøgkäät 'while praying'	*x°åsøgxäät* id.	
jälgølöälkäät 'while going'	*jälgølöälkäät* id.	
sågørkäät 'while whittling'	*sågrøkäät* id.	

KM -käätøn ~ KU -xaatøn (-kø + Px 3Du)

älkaatkäätøn 'while they2 were fighting'   *älxaatxaatøn* id.
tosjøxlaxøtkäätøn 'while they2 were beating each other'   *tosjøxlaxøtxaatøn* id.

The gerunds do not in this case attach to any temporal adverbs nor are there any case markers attached to them that have a temporal function, which would be expected in temporal converb structures usually:
teen tåk älkatkäätøn, tosjøxlaxøtkäätøn nyöäny-eek° söälyeläm øl-pägørmäätøs
'while they were there fighting and beating each other the bread-old-woman pitying rolled away'.

III SYNTAX: STRUCTURES

WORD ORDER AND CONSTITUENT ORDER

The basic word order in the neutral clause in Mansi is SOV:
om [S] *öägöän-püwöän* [O] *nåløw-pöäjtøgååm* [V]
'I [S] put [V] your children [O] in the pot'.

The verb-initial location is also taken by other verb modifiers:
ootør [S] *kõõp-jõõtnø* [Loc] *töäløs* [V]
'the prince placed himself in the middle of the boat'
toonäätøl [Temp] *käänøng põõwøl käänøtään* [Loc] *mønøs* [V], *käänøng uus käänøtään* [Loc] *mønøs* [V]
'then he went along his path in his pathful village, his road in the roadful town'
neenk [S] *põõwøl-kän jõõtnø* [Loc] *konii* [Mod] *kojään* [V]
'you go lie down on your back in the middle of the village road'.

Verbless clauses include predicative clauses, where the predicative takes the sentence-final position. The predicative agrees with the subject in number. The word order is thus S—Pvi. Other modifiers are placed in front of the predicative complement.
jääpoåm [S, PxDu1Sg] *løløngäg?* [Pvi, Du]
'are my brothers [S] alive? (»in life») [Pvi]'
jääpoåm [S] *øng* [Temp] *løløngäg* [Pvi]
'my brothers2 are still alive'
teen [S, 3Du] *toorømii* [Pvi, Du] *äm näärii* [Pvi, Du]?
'are they [S] gods [Pvi] or what [Pvi]?'.

In the noun phrase the modifiers take a headword-initial position: the adjective attribute or the participial attribute precedes the noun, and the modifiers of the participle (such as the object in the example) precede the participle:
juuntøp [garn] *puptii* [threading] *wisyøm* [beautiful] *naaj*
'beautiful maiden threading garn'
åsmäät [on the pillow] *kojnø* [resting] *åsmøng* [plenty of pillow] *jortøm*
'my pillow mate resting on a pillow'

Related to this general tendency, the genitive also precedes the possessed (see possessive constructions below), and the postpositions are in use:
kol ['house'] *keewørt* [PP] 'in the house'
söärøsy ['sea'] *öäløm-pöält* [PP] 'over the sea'
kotøl ['day'] *jõõt* [PP] 'in the middle of the day'
koont **õõkøt** **['strait']** *sopii* **[PP]** *jønø öämøläänøl öätyi*
'the army had no means to cross the strait'.

NEGATION

In the basic proposition of the clause, negation is expressed with an invariant negative particle added to the predicate KM *öät*, KU *äöt*. The negative particle occupies the position immediately before the verb.
om öäm nägnöän møgløm ~ om öäm nägnöän **öät** *møgløm*

'I give you my daughter ~ I do not give you my daughter'
*om lyoonkøm kansyiiløm ~ om lyoonkøm **öät** kansyiiløm*
'I know my way ~ I do not know my way'
*näg tøg joxtaan ~ näg tøg **öät** joxtaan*
'you come here ~ you do not come here'
*nee nåmttal päätøm pättyøtäät **öät** kooliitø, **öät** kansyiitø*
'the wife with her thoughts lost does not hear him, does not know him'.

The negation of the verbal attribute functioning as the modifier of the noun is indicated with the caritive affix (KM *-tal* (*-taal*), KU *-täöl*). In other words, the negative participle is formed with it:
*owlø **joxttal** põõwøl teelø, owlø **joxttal** uus teelø!*
let a never-ending (»end not encountered», »end non-reachable») village be born here, let a never-ending town be born!
*ton k°än-pöälnø määsøs sørii-**piilytal** sørii-**kåntal** tolyø-nyål-**kåntal** juuntøp-tågøl*
'on top of it did he put on his harness no sword will permeate, no sword will seize, no finger will claw'.

Existential verb phrases are negated by replacing the predicate *ooli* 'to be' with the negation predicate KM KU *öätyi* 'not to be'. The existential clause is also verb-final (contrary e.g. to the subject-final construction in Finnish):
*om ääsyøm **öätyi*** 'is not my concern'
*(jägnøl teelmøn öät kansyiitøn, syüknøl teelmøn öät kansyiitøn,) jeg **öätyi**, syük **öätyi***
'(they2 know of no father by birth, of no mother by birth,) there is no father, no mother'
*teen löättaat: öätøm ooli. öätøm **öätyi.***
'They say that there are people. There are no people.'
*nyør-uus töärø-mønnø öämøläät **öätyi.***
'they could not get through the pole paddock (»they had no possibility to leave»)'.

In the past tense the composite negative predicate form *öätyøm ooløs* 'was not' is used
*päri mønøst, ooträänøl **öätyøm ooløs***
'they went back, their prince was not (there)'.

The same negation word can also turn indefinite, interrogative and other pronouns into negatives. In addition to these negative pronouns, the clause is also negated with the negation particle *öät ~ äöt* or the negation particle *öätyi*.
***öätyi**-näär öät kontøs* 'he did not find anything' (*näär* 'which, what?')
öätyi**-k°åtøl juw-tuunø-kål **öätyi 'there is no opening to get in' (*k°åtøl* 'somewhere').

The same negation word *öätyi* is also used for negating the whole proposition in either-or structures:
*ääliiløn **öätyi**, nägnöän älwø*
'either you kill him or you do not kill him but if someone is able to do it then it is you'.

POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In the GN (possessor + possessed noun) constructions the noun expressing the possessor is not inflected, and the construction is marked with a possessive suffix (3rd person) attached to the possessed noun. When the possessor is given, the possessive suffix of the possessed noun alone is sufficient. (*sågrøpäät* alone corresponds with the Finnish construction »hänen kirveensä» 'his axe'). The possessed, marked with a possessive suffix, of a given possessor can naturally be a possessor noun of another noun (»his axe his blade» 'the blade of his axe'):
*kom **lølø** päri-tuujøpøs* 'the spirit of the man returned'
***sågrøpäät** iilymø mõõnk°ø ååstäg jømtøs* 'the blade of his axe had become as wide as his back'

The personal pronoun in a clause is marked only when necessary: when there is a wish to emphasize the possessor or a requirement to mark it for the sake of clarity:
om püwøm 'my son'
täw työätyø 'his father'
meen öäsymøn 'our2 grandfather'
töän k°äläänøl 'their house'.

When the pronoun possessor is present it is seldom possible to leave out the possessive suffix of the possessed. This operation seems not possible in the 1st and 2nd singular forms. A similar case is leaving out the final possessive suffix in a possession chain, as shown in the second clause:
***möän koløs** tokäly tårii wøglöäliitø* 'our man (»man of ours») takes it up this way'
*täw **työätyø** koontøt tøg tø jälsøt* 'his father's troops had come here'.

An existential possessive construction (without the possessive verb) is formed with a possessive suffix added to the possessed and with the 3rd person singular of an existential verb, e.g. *ooli* 'is', *öätyi* 'is not', *joxti* 'comes'. This is not necessarily an instance of a habitive possessive proper, but an expression of being a part of a bigger whole:
*täw **õõwäät** ooløskø, pøl korkii nõõk°øm wømääs* 'if the door (»his door») was indeed (in the house), it was like a hole knocked by a woodpecker'
*om jägøm-öä tulmøntøsløn, teep-**wånsyørøn** öätyi, loåm-**wånsyørøn** öätyi* 'you have robbed my sister, even though you possess no tablespoon, no soupspoon'
*mät **wöän** joxti lyøpø öätyi* 'you will gain strength or will not'.

An alternative, and a more frequent construction for the existential possessive is a construction formed by a habeo-verb *ønsyi*, where the possessor is the subject and the possessed the object of the clause:
*om lyõx **ønsyååm** nägnaan löättøx°* 'I have a message to tell you'
*äny mät wöä tø(g) **ønsyaan*** 'what powers do you possess now?'
*jäg-püw-kääsy koot **ønsyaan?*** 'where do you have your little brother?'
*jälwøl-öänsyøx° kuut **ønsyøs*** 'the devil had a container'
*töän pöältäänølt **ønsyøw** jäg-nor öäsy-nor* 'we feel father's hatred towards them, grandfather's hatred (that needs revenge)'.

DITRANSITIVITY AND DATIVE SHIFT

Such constructions are ditransitive, where the verb, in addition to the object (patient Pat), also takes a recipient (Rec) or some other lative case locative that for pragmatical reasons can be promoted past the patient in the syntactic hierarchy of the clause. As recipients are usually animate and recipients inanimate, the dative shift is a fairly usual syntactic configuration. In the dative shift the recipient moves into the position of the object, and the patient is demoted to the position of the adverbial marked with an instrumental case:
NP1 [S] — NP2 [O] [Pat] [nom / akk] — NP3 [Rec] [lat / dat] — V →
NP1 [S] — NP3 [O] [Rec] [nom / akk] — NP2 [Pat] [Instr] — V
Here the patient object is usually indefinite, and both the nominal and especially the pronominal recipient objects are definite. After the dative shift the predicate of the clause thus usually follows the object conjugation, and the suffix of the object number is determined by the number of the recipient (object).
meen [we2] [S] *nägnöän* ['you'] [Rec] [dat] *teenø-kar* ['food'] [O] [Pat] [nom] *møgmøn* [V] [Sbjc1Du.prs]
→
meen [we2] [S] *nään* ['you'] [O] [Rec] [akk] *teenø-karøl* ['food'] [Pat] [Instr] *møgläämøn* [V] [ObjcSg1Du.prs]
'we give you food'
toorøm ['god' [S] *meenöän* ['we2'] [Rec] [dat] *öä-püw* ['child'] [O] [Pat] [nom] *loawøs* [V] [Sbjc3Sg.pret]
→
toorøm ['god'] [S] *meenååm* ['we2'] [O] [Rec] [akk] *öäl-püwøl* ['child'] [Pat] [instr] *loawsöä* [V] [ObjcDu3Sg.pret]
'god has given us children'
jäg ['father'] [S] *püwäännø* ['boys'] [Rec] [PxPl3Sg.lat] *oosymøsy-köärøk°* ['bundle of keys'] [O] [Pat] [nom] *wöäxtøs* [V] [Sbjc3Sg.pret]
→
jäg ['father'] [S] *püwään(mø]* [' boys'] [O] [Rec] [PxPl3Sg.akk] *oosymøsy-köärøk°øl* ['bundle of keys'] [Pat] [instr] *wöäxtsään* [V] [ObjcPl3Sg.pret]
'father sent his boys a bundle of keys'

The recipients are the most common targets for the dative shift. Also the benefactive connected to the verb can be subjected to it although more indirectly, as in the following examples:
öänøm ['I'] [O] [Ben] [akk] *kääwøl* ['stone'] [Pat] [instr] *äxtølään!* [V] [ObjcSg2Pl.Imp]
'collect stones for me!'
Tänkørmø ['mouse'] [O] [Ben] [akk] *äät köärøs-toågøl* ('five full granaries')
løgnøl ['squirrel'] [Pat] [instr] *ääløstøn* [V] [ObjcSg3Du.pret], *äät köärøs-toågøl nyoxsøl* ['sable'] [Pat] [Instr] *ääløstøn* [V] [ObjcSg3Du.pret]
'they caught the mouse five granaries full of squirrels, five granaries full of sables'

Expressions of place can also be subjected to the dative shift, as can an inanimate constituent. It is often a case where a locative is marked with a lative case, and **essive** is also possible:
ääktø säämiimø ['eyes' Du] [O] [Loc] [akk] *løløng-wityøl* ['life water'] [Pat] [instr] *ponsöä* [V] [ObjcDu3Sg.pret]

'he put life water to the eyes of the uncle'
[*töän* 'they' O akk absent from the surface structure] *pöäjøltääm wityøl* ['water']
[Pat] [Instr] *soosøntäx°* ['to pour Inf] *pümtsään* ['begin'] [V] [ObjcPl3Pl.pret]
'they started to pour hot water over them'
(*kit-wor-ootør tomøn-päätyøtnø nyål-sõõt oonii jål-syäärkøtøs tomøn jõõtnø*.)
[*Tomøn-päätymø* 'bottom of the sea' O akk absent from the surface structure]
mõõl ['earth'] [Pat] [instr] *köältøstø* [V] [ObjcSg3Sg.pret], *sowøl* ['turf'] [Pat]
[instr] *köältøstø* [V] [ObjcSg3Sg.pret]
'(The prince of Kahdenharju put under water, in the middle of the lake Tuman, to
the bottom of the lake, four hundred tree trunks.) Lifted earth and turf on them.'

PASSIVE

Similar to the dative shift, the passive is also a case of pragmatically alternative
clause constructions. The most common motivation for using the passive is the
topicalization of the patient (object) of the clause, or else some other important
constituent, very often the recipient or the benefactive. When such constituent can
with the help of the passive be promoted to the subject of the clause, it
simultaneously occupies the most important position in the syntactic hierarchy of
the clause, and it is automatically positioned at the beginning of the clause. This
most important subject position in the syntactic hierarchy is also highly relevant in
that it is so evidently familiar to the listener that in practice it is often possible to
leave it unmarked in the clause. The same applies to the subject in the active
clause.
The passive in Mansi is an inverse construction alternative to the active transitive
clause, quite similar to e.g. the passive *be* in English. Using the passive, the object
of the active clause can be promoted past the original subject in the syntactic
hierarchy of the clause to become the subject of the passive clause, and the subject
of the active clause can, if desired, be marked in the passive clause as an agent in
the lative case. In a prototypical situation, the subject in the active clause assumes
the informed actor (agentive) role and the object assumes the patient role.
NP1 [S] [Ag] [nom] — NP2 [O] [Pat] [nom / acc] — V [act] → NP2 [S] [Pat]
[nom] — NP1 [Agent] [Ag] [lat] — V [pass]
 kääsyøm ['my little brother'] [S] [Ag] [nom] *nään* ['you'] [O] [Pat] [acc] *ääliitø*
[ObjSg3Sg.prs]
→
näg ['you'] [S] [Pat] [nom] *kääsyømnø* ['my little brother'] [Agent] [Ag] [lat]
älwøn [Pass2Sg.prs]
'my little brother kills you'
It is also quite possible to promote the goal of the motion verb, in addition to the
patient object, to the position of the subject in the passive clause:
NP1 [S] [Ag] [nom] — NP2 [Target] [lat] — V [akt] → (NP1 [S] [Ag] [nom] —
NP2 [O] [target] [nom / acc] — V [akt] →) NP2 [S] [target] [nom] — NP1
[Agent] [Ag] [lat] — V [pass]
muuj-kom ['guest'] [S] [Ag] [nom] *nägnöän* ['you' [target] [lat] *joxti*
[Sbjc3Sg.prs]
(→
muuj-kom ['guest'] [S] [Ag] [nom] *nään* ['you' [target] [lat] *joxtiitø*
[ObjcSg3Sg.prs]
→

näg ['you'] [S] [target] [nom] *muuj-komnø* ['guest'] [Agent] [Ag] [lat] *joxtwøn* [Pass2Sg.prs]

Likewise e.g.

Tøtø kotøl iity-pöälaa koontnø ['army'] [Agent] [Ag] [lat] *jøwään* ['come'] [Pass2Pl.prs], *joxtwään* ['come'] [Pass2Pl.prs]

'today towards the evening an army comes to you, you will be caught by an army' [*teen*, 'they2' S absent from the surface structure] *läxwäg* ['creep'] [Pass3Du.prs] *koontnø* ['army'] [Agent] [Ag] [lat]

'the army crept towards them'

Ditransitive constructions can be passivized based either on the patient object clause or on the recipient object clause. The latter case is a more frequent one, again motivated by the hierarchy of animacy. The recipient, in addition to the agentive, is most frequently the only conscious, human or animate constituent making the topicalization justified. Either

toorøm ['god' [S] *meenöän* ['we2'] [Rec] [dat] *öä-püw* ['child'] [O] [Pat] [nom] *loåwøs* [V] [Sbjc3Sg.pret]

→

öä-püw ['child'] [S] [Pat] [nom] *toorømnø* ['god'] [Agent] [Ag] [lat] *meenöän* ['we2'] [Rec] [dat] *låwwøs* [V] [Pass3Sg.pret]

'we were given children by god (»girl-boy»)'

or

toorøm ['god' [S] *meenöän* ['we2'] [Rec] [dat] *öä-püw* ['child'] [O] [Pat] [nom] *loåwøs* [V] [Sbjc3Sg.pret]

→

toorøm ['god'] [S] *meenååm* ['we2'] [O] [Rec] [akk] *öäl-püwøl* ['child'] [Pat] [instr] *loåwsöä* [V] [ObjcDu3Sg.pret]

'god has given us children'

→

meen ['we2'] [S] [Rec] [nom] *toorømøn* ['god'] [Agentti] [Ag] [lat] *öäl-püwøl* ['child'] [Pat] [instr] *låwwøsäämøn* [Pass1Du.pret]

'we were given children by god (»girl-boy»)'

E.g.

[*täw* 'he' S absent from the surface structure] *påsøng-kom jägøtään* ['father'] [Agentti] [Ag] [lat] *öätømøl* ['people'] [Pat] [instr] *mäjwøs* [Pass3Sg.pret], *kos sootør kom, wõõt sootør kom*

'shining man, his father gave him people, twenty thousand men thirty thousand men'

[*töän*, 'he', S absent from the surface structure] *wityøl* ['water'] [Pat] [instr] *lowsaxtøx°* [wash'] [inf] *köältiiløwt* ['carry'] [Pass3Pl.prs]

'they carried water so they can be washed'

CONVERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Modal converb constructions
Modal converb constructions are formed with a combination of a *m*-participle and a finite verb.

KM *löäsyøm wonlaan* KU *läösyøm wonläön* 'you sit spying'

KM *wooplääm jäälaan* KU *woopjelääm jääläön* 'you go spying'

KM *pølmääm pättyetäät* KU *pølmääm päättyetäät* 'with fright, frightened'

KM eesøplääm wonlaat KU nåmsääm eesøplääm wonläöt 'they sit thinking'
A similar modal converb construction is formed with the suffix KM *-käg* ~ KU *-xii* including a translative suffix:
KM *uurøkäg kojöät* KU *uurøxii xojäöt* 'they lie guarding'

Temporal and causal converb constructions

Two actions taking place at the same time is indicated with an gerund *n* by adding to it a possessive suffix and a temporal particle (e.g. *mänt, mäntøl,* KU *uujøl,* KM *wojt* 'during'). In the same way than other temporal phrases formed with the gerund or the participle, the possessive suffixes in these constructions derive from the class of the singular possessed.

KM	KU
mønnøm 'my going'	*mønnøm* id.
wønøn 'your taking'	*wønøn* id.
uusnøn 'your well being'	*uusnøn* id.
uusnäät '(his) well being'	*uusnäät* id.
kojnäät 'his laying'	*xojnäät* id.
joxtnäämøn 'our2 arriving'	*joxtnäämøn* id.
kuulnäätøn 'their2 staying the night'	*xuulnäätøn* id.
røgøtnäänøl 'their sweating '	*røgøtnäänøl* id.

tok **oolnäätøn kojnäätøn wojøl** *kuul kønsøx° pätsäg*
'while being and living (there) they started catching fish'
tokø **jån.gønäänøl wojøl**, *tokø* **pägørtöäløxtäänäänøl wojøl** *täw jålkäg täärøtaxtøs*
'when they were playing and wrestling, he sought (on purpose) disadvantage'
meenk jõõsønäämøn köätønäämøn kålt lølønäämøn syoonønäämøn **kåritänäämøn syüwt** *øl teeløp öäng nåt püwøng nåt* **mønnø mänt** *nø(g) eeri-owläämøn, nø moojt-owläämøn øl tø tåtwø?*
'if (when?) we ourselves in between our hands and feet **let** our soul and spirit **cease**, the new lines of daughters and sons **wandering** our memories of song, memories of tales moving forward?'
om tuttøläänø wisy õõwømt **lääk°øltäänäänøl wojt** *keepløng nee keepläänøl wøl towørmäätøt*
'when they **go** through the little door used by me, let their hemful women's hem not touch (the frame of the door)'

Also KM *mõõ,* KU *maa* 'earth, place' with the help of the nominal temporal constructions are formed. 'earth' can be marked either with a mere possessive suffix or a possessive locative:
KM *mønnø-mõõgäänøl,* KU *mønnø-maagäänøl* ' while (they) are going'
KM *mønnø-mõõmt,* KU *mønnø-maamt* 'while I go'
mønnø-mõõmt *öäl om løløngøn öäl om koolømnø*
'when (now) I go, (I return) either alive or I will die'
ääjøx° teex° **pümtnø mõõgøwt** *jål-älkøløw, k°åtøm öät rømliiløw?*
'when we start to eat and drink let us kill him, how do we do not catch him?'
åm tärmølømt teex° **wontøm-mõõgäänølt** *älkaatøx° pümtsøt*
'when he sat down to eat me they started to fight'

jäni pupi jäni teer lakøl tøg **wontøm-mõõgäänølt** *eeri-owläät, moojt-owläät tøgøl nok-kønsøtøs.*
'when they have settled there as great spirits great gnomes the end of song, the end of story has been achieved.'

The *m*-participle denoting a completed action can also be used in forming temporal or similar constructions with the help of possessive suffixes and case endings. With other than 3rd person singular possessives a temporal particle (KM *wojøl* KU *uujøl*, KM *löät* KU *läöt*) is required. The 3rd person singular does not require the particle because the longer px-variant can also be interpreted as a combination of the shorter variant and a locative. Similarly, the possessive locative of the *m*-participle in 2nd singular can as such be used as a temporal construction. In the second example from KU, the suffixes appear in an untypical order (Cx + Px)

tøt **öät kånsyømønt** *mõõ-säx° eek°äänøl teeløm mõõ-kål pöärt-kål püw tøttø naankii*
'this is, **if you do not happen to know**, the earth-hole son, the board-hole son who was given birth to by the land-hillock-old woman, here himself.'
näg om ooløm-mõõm k°åsyø **oolmønt** *koliilöäløsløn?*
'while **living** long have you heard of the land, where I live?'

Instead of the locative it is possible to use the temporal particle (KM *wojøl* KU *uujøl*, KM *löät* KU *läöt*):
õx°tøs-påtølmø **wöäxtmäät wojøl** *põnytø k°äl øl-öälømwøs*
'when he threw the lump of stone, his brother-in-law's house lifted up in the air'
lømäät wojøl *low sootør kom äk° nyõõl-näälnø keerøjøsään*
'while shooting at ten thousand men he pierced into one arrow shaft'
mønømäänøl wojøl *söärøsynø joxtøst*
'while going/walking/travelling they came to a sea shore'
mønømäätøn wojøl *söärøsy-wityøn täärøtaxtsäg*
'while going/walking/travelling they2 came to a sea shore'

Temporal syüwt-constructions

Yet another type of temporal constructions is the verb form formed with the agglutinated particle *syüwt* (> *-syøt*, *-syt*) 'during a time' (*syüw* 'time, times'). It can be added either directly to the participle suffix *m*, or a combination of the *m*-participle and a possessive suffix or a combination of the gerund *n* and a possessive suffix (note that in the agglutinated particle the palatal initial consonant does not assimilate the gerund *n*-marker nor the final consonant in the possessive suffix).

KM PrtcPret + Px + syüwt ~ KU PrtcPret + Px + syüwt

jømtmääsyt 'when he is beginning'	*jømtmääsyt* id
kojmääsyt 'when he is laying'	*kojmääsyt* [k-!] id.
lowøntaxtmäänøl.syøt 'when they (pl) are lowering'	*lowøntaxtmäänøl.syøt* id.
wojlømäänøl.syøt 'when they are stepping'	*wujølmäänøl.syøt* id.
pümtmømsyøt 'when I am beginning'	

mønømøn.syøt 'when you are going'
taarøtämääsyøt 'when (he is) letting go'

KM PrtcPret (+ Px) + syüwt
pööjøltäämsyøt ~ pööjøltäämääsyt 'when it is boiling'

KM Act + Px + syüwt ~ KU Act + Px + syüwt
sågrøpäänääsyt 'when cutting, when he has cut'   *sågrøpäänääsyt* id.
pätmään.syøt 'when you are having to, after you have been having to'
        pätmään.syøt id.
jømäänølsyøt 'when they are (pl) arriving'   *jømään.syøt* 'when they2 are arriving'
øsynään.syøt 'when they2 are owning'   *esynäänøsyt* id.

KM PrtcPret + Px + syüwt + ään ~ aan
mønømømsyøtään 'when I was going, when I had gone'
mønømønsyøtään ~ mønømønsyøtaan 'when you are going, when you had gone'
KM Act + Px + syüwt + ään
taarømätnømøsytään 'when I am letting go, when I had let go'

Examples:
*muujøng lyonk koontøng lyonk **jääløx° pümtmømsyøt** mõõ-kålt pöäsøng jiiw-kålt öät towørmäätåäm*
'after I started to go on the espousal trip, war trip, I have not been grabbed to an earth-hole, hole-full tree-hole'
*påsøng-kom jägään pookøn **joxtøx° jømtmääsyt** pon-sop kortkään k°årøl råwlaxtøs*
'when it came (when coming/after coming) to the cheerful man, its father, it turned into a moulting-full hawk'
*kom **kojmääsyt** åsøm-pänkøtään sørjäät nonkø-tägøtøstø*
'when lying down the man hung his sword next to his pillow'
*nø jow-sår kotølnø **pätmäänsyøt** tø päält mõõnø tøg jøsnø?*
'into which distress day have you got into (= **after you got into)** (when) you have this far come?'
*syükäänøl öäl-kuurnøl **k°än-wojlømäänøl.syøt** sõõnøng öä sõõnønäntøl öäpøng öä öäpønäntøl lüünsyøltääptwøst, nyowømtøwøst*
'when they had dashed from their mother's hem-edge, they were allowed to cry with the birch-bark-girl's birch bark, cradle-girl's cradle and then were let go' (= 'when they were first being born, they were taken care of as babies and then they started to walk').
*(mønøst, mønøst.) päri-**lowøntaxtmäänølsyøt** jøm mõõgäänøl päältø räx°-säm päätøs, tojii lowøntøsäänøl, tuujt-säm päätøs, töälii lowøntøsäänøl*
'(They went, went.) While figuring when there dropped a rain drop on the land they going on, they figured it as summer, when a snowflake dropped, they figured it as winter.'
Examples of the *n*-gerund:
*päämøngnyøw-kar **sågrøpäänääsyt** sågrøp-iilymäät mõõnk°-ääsø kuur mås tø jäli*
'when the stronger man **hits**, the axe blade goes into the (tree) up to the axe eye'

*nüünø säjøm püwii, neen lo-søm tesyøntöäliinø, wöä(g) öät **øsynäänsyøt**?*
'lads2 rotten into the cunt, are they bones you eat, **when you2 have no** strength?'