

**Maximum model for Northern Mansi verbal forms:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme	VPrt	Neg ACTZ/HORT	R	Der1	Der2	Voice	Mood / Tense	NumObj	PersSubj

**Examples:**

**Indicative, active, present, subject agreement:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>xan'is't</i>				<i>ey</i>		<i>ət</i>
Gloss			teach				PRS		3PL

'they teach'

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>min</i>				$\emptyset$		<i>i</i>
Gloss			go				PRS		3SG

's/he goes'

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>xan'is't</i>				$\emptyset$		<i>ew</i>
Gloss			teach				PRS		3PL

'we teach'

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>xan'is't</i>				<i>ey</i>		$\emptyset$
Gloss			teach				PRS		3DU

'the two of them teach'

**Indicative, active, past, subject agreement:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>min</i>				<i>as</i>		<i>ət</i>
Gloss			go				PST		3PL

'they go'

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>xan'is't</i>				<i>əs</i>		$\emptyset$
Gloss			teach				PST		3SG

's/he teaches'

**Indicative, active, present, subject/object agreement:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				$\emptyset$	<i>il</i>	<i>əm</i>
Gloss			bring				PRS	SG	1SG

'I bring it'

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				$\emptyset$	<i>ijan</i>	<i>uw</i>
Gloss			bring				PRS	PL	1PL

‘we bring them’

**Indicative, active, past, subject/object agreement:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				<i>əs</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>te</i>
Gloss			bring				PST	SG	3SG

‘s/he brought he/she/it’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				<i>s</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>men</i>
Gloss			bring				PST	DU	1DU

‘we (the two of us) brought the two of them’

**Conditional, active, subject agreement:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				<i>nuw</i>		<i>iy</i>
Gloss			bring				CON		3DU

‘the two of them would bring’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				<i>nuw</i>		$\emptyset$
Gloss			bring				CON		3SG

‘he would bring’

**Conditional, active, subject/object agreement:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				<i>nuw</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>əm</i>
Gloss			bring				OPT	PL	1SG

‘I would bring them’

**Indicative, passive, present:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>			<i>awe</i>			<i>w</i>
Gloss			bring			PASS			1PL

‘we are brought’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>			<i>we</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>amen</i>
Gloss			bring			PASS	PST		1DU

‘the two of us were brought’

**Deverbal verbal derivation:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>k<sup>w</sup>al</i>	<i>tt</i>		<i>uwe:</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>t</i>
Gloss			go	CAUS		PASS	PST		3PL

‘they were made go outside’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme	<i>kon</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>al</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>es</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>te</i>
Gloss	out		go	CAUS			PST	SG	3SG

‘s/he was made go outside’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>ut</i>	<i>alt</i>	<i>axt</i>		<i>as</i>		$\emptyset$
Gloss			bark	MOM	REFL		PST		3SG

‘it [the dog] started to bark’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>pasa</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>axt</i>		<i>as</i>		<i>ət</i>
Gloss			greet	FREQ	REFL		PST		3PL

‘they welcomed each other’

**Verbal particles:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme	<i>juw</i>		<i>min</i>				<i>as</i>		<i>ət</i>
Gloss	into		go				PST		3PL

‘they entered’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme	<i>no:x</i>	<i>ul os</i>	<i>pa:jalt</i>				$\emptyset$		<i>ey</i>
Gloss	up	NEG HORT	start boiling				PRS		3DU

‘the two of them did not start boiling’

**Imperative:**

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>min</i>				<i>en</i>		
Gloss			go				IMP.2SG		

‘go inside!’

Position No.	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6
Morpheme			<i>tot</i>				<i>e:ln</i>		
Gloss			bring				IMP.SG < 2SG		

‘bring it!’

## Alternative representation:

E.g.,

*xan'is't -ey -ə't* 'they teach'  
0 +4 +6

*ut -alt -axt -as* 'it [the dog] started to bark'  
0 +1 +2 +4 +6

*no:x ul os pa:jalt -ey* 'the two of them did not start boiling'  
-2 -1 0 +4 +6

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## Abbreviations:

R	root
VPrt	verbal particle
Neg	negational clitic
ACTZ	actualizer
HORT	hortative clitic
Der	derivational suffix
NumObj	number of the object (Sg, Du or Pl)
PersSubj	person of the subject (number and person)