

The Conditional Sentence in the Ostyak Language*

1. The amount and type of research done on the two Ob-Ugrian languages, Vogul and Ostyak, is for all practical purposes the same. This is, of course, no wonder when we consider that research into both languages began at the same time and has been carried out for the most part by scholars of the same nations and of the same linguistic background. As is the case with Vogul, research on the Ostyak language has centered primarily on its phonetic, phonological, and morphological aspects with much attention also being paid to etymological questions. Less work has been done on Ostyak syntax, on the structure of the Ostyak sentence. As regards the Ostyak conditional sentence, the starting point is exactly the same as for its Vogul counterpart. On examining the various works published, one finds scattered references under various headings. To date, though, there has been no publication with the conditional sentence as its specific topic. In this study I should like to examine the Ostyak conditional sentence, using the knowledge obtainable from previously published works but in the main basing my observations upon and drawing my conclusions from the conditional sentences gathered by myself from various collections of Ostyak texts. It is not my intention to give an exhaustive account of every variant encountered but rather to present a survey of the structure of the major types of Ostyak conditional sentences.

It became apparent at the very beginning that it would be necessary to discuss the three major Ostyak dialect groups separately due to the large differences to be found in the structure of their conditional sentences. This results in a certain amount of overlap but is nevertheless to be preferred for the sake of clarity. The dialects will be treated in the following order: the northern dialect group (osN), the southern dialect group (csS), and the eastern dialect group (osE). In the discussion of each dialect group my remarks fall into two sub-categories, firstly, the linear arrangement of the conditional sentences along with the usage of conditional conjunctions and/or particles, and secondly, the usage of tense and mood in the conditional sentence.

2. As regards their linear arrangement, two major types of conditional sentences can be distinguished in osN: 1) protasis with the conditional particle *ki* (*kʲ*, *kē*) + apodosis, and 2) protasis with neither a conditional particle nor conjunction + apodosis. The frequency of these two types is, however, by no means the same, the apodoses containing the enclitic particle occurring

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considerably more often. In fact, *ki* occurred in 89% of the conditional sentences in osN, a frequency somewhat higher than in the corresponding Vogul sentences. As is the case in Vogul, *ki* can be attached to practically any element of the protasis but follows most often a noun or finite verb.

ki is quite clearly a loan word in Ostyak, being in origin a Ziryene word.¹ As is generally assumed, if not regarded as conclusively proved, the Ostyaks lived once on the European side of the Urals in the vicinity of the Ziryenes. The contact between the two peoples was not terminated when the majority of the Ostyaks moved to the Ob region in and after the Middle Ages. After this time, however, it was the northern Ostyaks who cultivated their contacts to the Ziryenes the most extensively. This is shown clearly in the borrowings from Ziryene. Y. H. TOIVONEN² estimates that of all the Ziryene loan words in Ostyak 20% can be found in all three major dialect groups and 39% only in osN. He also points out that some of the latter could have come into Ostyak via the Vogul language. With *ki* it is indeed very likely that we are dealing with such a case, i.e. that the Ziryene *ki* was borrowed through the Vogul. In Vogul the word is to be found in every dialect, in the Tavda dialect having even become the sign of a specific mood. In Ostyak we find the particle used extensively in the northern dialect group, with only few examples from other dialects. We can with a certain amount of safety assume that osN borrowed *ki* independently, most likely from the neighboring Voguls.

Examples for conditional sentences containing *ki*:

- Kaz. *mānem ān mōstī xōjat-kī, šūka-namra mānšāaen!* 'wenn es jemand ist, der mir nicht gefällt, (so) reißt ihn in Stücke!' (RÉDEI 64)
- Sy. *openņ ēsām jīnken āt ki jēsla, mā pošxema miži* 'wenn diese Milch von deiner Schwester nicht getrunken wird, gib sie meinem Jungen' (STEINITZ 149)
- Šerk. *šōp kē toxteņ sōt numpija kē pārsen, . . . tom juwtām sēmpņ kēw mā ŋotem jētpija itā āt kērijāt!* 'wenn du mich wahrhaftig über die geflügelten Hundert (Geister) bestimmt hast, . . . (so) möge dieser geschleuderte sēmpņr-Stein vor meiner Nase niederfallen!' (STEINITZ 249)
- O *luβām-ki mārtas, tām tojāna tālā āt uēllāiēn!* 'az evezōd ha eltōrōtt, ezen a helyen ám ölessél meg' (PÁPAY 136)

2.1. The other major type of conditional sentence in osN is that with a protasis not containing the conditional particle *ki*. This type still accounts for about 10% of the cases. Here we observe a mere juxtaposition of the two clauses. That the one is the protasis and the other the apodosis of a conditional sentence is inferred from the context. This paratactical relationship is, however, only of a formal nature; in reality we are dealing with logical hypotaxis. Examples for this type of conditional sentence can be found in all dialects of osN: Kaz. *ši āntōm, tām otem nārtama mānāt* 'wenn du das nicht tust, so geht dieses Jahr mir verloren' (RÉDEI 108)

- Sy. *mōlti porajņ pā joxātlan sā mā xōšema šarētati, mā ši porajņ nānen jāstati jāseņ tajlām!* 'wenn du irgendwann mal wieder zu mir kommst,

¹TOIVONEN, Y. H., Über die syrjänischen Lehnwörter im Ostjakischen. FUF 32: 24.

²Ibid., p. 159.

mich schamanisieren zu bitten, dann werde ich ein Wort mit dir zu sprechen haben' (STEINITZ 73)

Šerk. *tuw kášat ūt, at maṅnət!* 'wenn sie Lust hat, soll sie gehen' (STEINITZ 235)

O *toyi ḥoxlələn, xəβ xoza xaiḷən* 'ha oda tartasz, csónakba ütközöl' (PÁPAY 134)

The lack of a conjunction is by no means only typical of conditional sentences. Many different compound sentence types can be formed in Ostyak without a conjunction. In lieu of a conjunction we can observe the usage of verbal nouns or gerunds or as in the above cases there need be no formal connecting element whatsoever, the co-ordinate or subordinate relationship being made clear through context and intonation. The situation is no different in Vogul and other related languages. It is generally accepted that this feature of syntax (formal parataxis = logical hypotaxis) and the usage of verbal nouns in compound sentences were characteristic of PFU sentence structure.³ We can safely assume that Ostyak conditional sentences without a conditional particle represent an earlier stage than those containing *ki* even if *ki* is used nowadays in the overwhelming majority of conditional sentences. It is furthermore likely, as made evident through the related languages, that the protasis was originally an interrogative sentence which gradually lost its independence and now marks the condition under which the action of the apodosis will (or will not) take place.⁴ In this respect it is interesting to note that INGRID SCHELLBACH⁵ in her article on the Ostyak interrogative sentence lists *ki* specifically as an interrogative particle and apart from giving its meaning as 'wenn' withholds any comment on its conditional nature.

2.2. In the texts examined from osN there were several instances for the conjunction *xundi* (in PÁPAY's texts) or *xon* (in RÉDEI's texts) being used as a conditional conjunction. The main function of *xundi/xon* is, of course, that of a temporal conjunction, but the boundary between conditional and temporal conjunctions cannot always be clearly drawn, a good example being modern German, in which the word *wenn* can be either a temporal or a conditional conjunction, the context deciding which function is realized. It should also be noted that the Hungarian conditional conjunction *ha* was also at one time a temporal conjunction⁶ used in connection with non-recurring events in the past, i.e. where modern Hungarian requires *(a)mikor*.⁷ In STEINITZ's Ostyak etymological dictionary⁸ *xundi* is only listed with the definition 'wann'. Judging from the material available, a complete listing would also have to include the definition 'wenn'. In PÁPAY's texts we even find *xundi* used together with *ki* as an independent conditional conjunction (*xundi-gi*). A parallel to the archaic Hungarian *ha mikor, ha midén* is noted by D. R. FUCHS.⁹ Condi-

³ Cf. RIESE, Some Aspects of the Conditional Sentence in the Vogul Language. NyK 83: 383—384.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ SCHELLBACH, I., Struktur und Funktion der ostjakischen Fragesätze. FUF 35: 56.

⁶ TESZ. II, 7.

⁷ SIMONYI ZSIGMOND, A magyar kötőszók. III, 103. Budapest 1883. Simonyi gives several examples here for this archaic usage, i.a. *Dávid az csordát hagyá egy pászturnak. Oda ha juta Magalhoz táborba, nagy úvöltést halla.*

⁸ STEINITZ, W., DEWO 444.

⁹ FUCHS, D. R., Ha mikor, ha midén. Nyr 39: 280.

tional sentences employing *χundi* (*χundi-gi*, *χον*) are not very common in osN. While undeniably being in existence, they do not seem to constitute a major type.

Example for *χundi* as a conditional conjunction:

O *χundi senki šarəlləlen, mə ləbat tɔlə-tuŋəl i pul ant ɔləm 'ha* nagyon eről-tettek, én hét évig egy falatot sem veszek' (PÁPAY 91)

Example for *χundi-gi* as a conditional conjunction:

O *χundi-gi olda ant raxləm, səməm xol pitl, si manləm 'ha* pedig majd (itt) nem maradatok tovább, amerre a szemem lát, arra megyek' (PÁPAY 91)

Example for *χον* as a conditional conjunction:

Kaz. *χον meñne aňkija-ašija weŋ-xo pərməsət ən moštəət, eweΔ ən maΔeΔ ɔwweΔa* 'wenn die Gegenstände des Bräutigams der Mutter und dem Vater der Braut nicht passen, geben sie ihm ihre Tochter nicht' (RÉDEI 44)

2.3. As regards the sequence of the protasis and apodosis, the general rule is that the protasis precedes the apodosis. This was the case in 98% of the examples from osN. Indeed, this order of the component clauses of conditional sentences is regarded by many as a language universal.¹⁰ In most of the cases for the other variant (apodosis + protasis) the following observations can be made: 1) the sequence is very likely due to Russian influence, or 2) the apodosis consists solely of a verb in the imperative mood followed then by the protasis. If the protasis is preceded by the apodosis, the enclitic particle *ki* was always employed.

ad 1) Kaz. *jŋka ponetəm joxəm-wənsəm-ət jəma jət, sakkarən-ki pənta*¹¹ 'die eingewässerten Preiselbeeren werden besser, wenn man Zucker zugibt' (RÉDEI 128)

ad 2) Sy. *məna, ɔlti ki at xəšlən!* 'geh, wenn du nicht zu leben verstehst!' (STEINITZ 123)

Only one example was found for the protasis being inserted into the apodosis:

O *təus, tərəm louel pərdəm təski, ət tulli!* 'a tunguz, ha istentől neki rendelt nyáj, hadd vigye' (PÁPAY 39)

3. Another interesting aspect of the Ostyak conditional sentence is the usage of tense and mood. As is the case with other languages we can distinguish between conditional sentences of open condition and conditional sentences of rejected condition. The relative frequency of these two sub-groups is not equal; conditional sentences of open condition account for 89% of the sentences found, those of rejected condition for 11%, almost exactly the same ratio as in Vogul.

In conditional sentences of open condition both tenses (present and past) and both moods (indicative and imperative) are used, if not with the same frequency. The by far most common combinations are 1) present tense + present tense, and 2) present tense + imperative.

ad 1) Kaz. *ma-ki nəxpətəm, xənti xo, xənti ne wəpəseΔ ɔəškama pītəΔ* 'wenn ich siege, wird das Leben der ostjakischen Männer und Frauen frei sein' (RÉDEI 84)

¹⁰ Cf. GREENBERG, J. H., Some Universals of Grammar, in: GREENBERG, J. H. (ed.), *Universals of Language*. Cambridge/Mass., 1963.

¹¹ This sentence comes from the re-narration of a Russian text.

ad 2) Sy. *xojat ki tajlən, nəŋ jaŋxa joxi!* 'wenn du jemand hast, geh du nach Hause!' (STEINITZ 163)

The past tense is used much more sparingly than the present tense in conditional sentences of open condition; it is found in not quite 7% of such sentences. The following combinations occur: 1) past tense + past tense, 2) past tense + imperative, 3) past tense + present tense, and 4) present tense + past tense.

ad 1) Šerk. *ŋχ èttə tāpət puš kē tūlləste, tāpət tat χōt tiγəs* 'wenn er ihn siebenmal über den Kopf warf, entstand ein sieben Klafter (hohes) Haus' (STEINITZ 262)

ad 2) O *ázəm-ki ŋəlsən, nəŋ pà χālà!* 'ha az atyámat megölted, te is halj meg!' (PÁPAY 163)

ad 3) O *sörma jūwəm χōjat sār-ki tājəs, müj-pa nōmsen, aprən wos, χānnexōjətən mosman tājsa, širŋ dūw χotəŋdōŋxa jīd* 'wenn der Verstorbene Schamanentalent hatte, oder er war geschickt, klug, wurde von den Leuten geliebt, so wird er zum Hausgeist' (RÉDEI 36)

ad 4) O *kézən pvràdà-pələk ŋərna-ki ètl, mà si pvràina χplsəm* 'ha a késed bal oldalán vér jön ki, akkor meghaltam' (PÁPAY 64)

3.1. The osN conditional sentences of rejected condition present a somewhat different picture and raise several problems in their analysis. They cannot in every case be distinguished structurally from sentences of open condition which means that context often plays a decisive role in determining meaning. There are three elements which are important in the structure of osN conditional sentences of rejected condition: 1) the conditional particle *ki*, 2) the particle of unreality *loln* (*lūln, dōdən, totən*), and 3) the past tense. Of these, only the second element *loln* is specifically one of rejected condition, *ki* and the past tense being, of course, also employed in sentences of open condition.

As mentioned above, the enclitic particle *ki* is used in 89% of osN conditional sentences. The percentage is only a bit higher in sentences of rejected condition. Of the 26 conditional sentences of rejected condition found in texts of osN, 24 contained *ki*, one had *χundi* in the capacity of a conditional conjunction, and only one had neither conditional particle nor conjunction:

O *si toγàina ioxtas loln, si-pvràina χoldi χolt and ózəs loln* 'ha oda érhetett volna, akkor halálos veszedelembe nem jutott volna' (PÁPAY 158)

The particle of unreality *loln* is characteristic of osN conditional sentences of rejected condition. It is, however, not to be found in every such sentence, occurring in 20 out of 26 examples. The highest occurrence was in the sentences from the Obdorsk dialect. This word, which unmistakably stamps a sentence as being rejected, does not occur in conditional sentences of open condition and is thus a major factor of differentiation between the two types. *loln*, the etymology of which has not yet been clarified,¹² can occur 1) in the protasis and the apodosis (8 times), 2) in the apodosis alone (7 times), or 3) in the protasis alone (5 times).

ad 1) O *noχ-ki kilsəm loln, loyèl ŋəlsəm loln* 'ha főkeltém volna, őt megöltem volna' (PÁPAY 99)

¹² W. STEINITZ, DEWO 758—759.

ad 2) O *ādələmən troyàina ōsmən-ki, jəm ōs loln* 'ha külön helyen volnák, jobb volna' (PÁPAY 44)

ad 3) O *mà nənən mudrì il-ki tàlsè mloln, nən çolna i çotl-sis an çèrìtsèn* 'ha az elébb lehúztalak volna (a víz alá), te még egy napig se birtad volna ki' (PÁPAY 7)

While *loln* occurs in the majority of conditional sentences of rejected condition, it does not appear to be absolutely necessary, as evidenced by the following examples:

Sy. *nən ki antum ūsç, min kārti lōwç sīta sī lēsajmən* 'wenn du nicht gewesen wärest, wären wir von dem Eisernen Pferd da gefressen worden' (STEINITZ 144)

Šerk. *m ēwətiem tājəm poçen kē ūs, sīta çūn nērijəs!* 'wenn dein Sohn von mir erzeugt wäre, wie würde er (da) so (etwas) tun!' (STEINITZ 236)

O *an-ki lābətsèn, çək and āt lābətsèn!* 'ha nem tápláltál volna, hát örökre nem tápláltál volna' (PÁPAY 40)

osN possesses only two moods, indicative and imperative, and thus lacks in contrast to Vogul a mood of the subjunctive/conditional/potential type. What is expressed in other languages with such a mood is expressed in osN primarily with the past indicative. Indeed, the past tense is connected in a great many languages and language groups with a conditional function, also in Vogul and Hungarian, the languages most closely related to Ostyak. In connection with *loln* the past tense in osN is definitely of a conditional nature. In a few cases, such as in the sentences above, the past tense in the proper context is enough to establish the conditional nature of the sentence. Of the 26 sentences of rejected condition from osN, 22 use the past tense. When the present tense is used in a conditional sentence of rejected condition, the particle of unreality *loln* is also used and the following observations can be made: 1) the sentence expresses a polite request or suggestion and 2) *loln* is not placed after the finite verb as is usual but stands towards the beginning of the clause:

Sy. *nən in lūlç jəmən nola jənçəm wēren potəkən ki, muç çorpi pēla?* 'wenn du jetzt von deiner Fahrt zum Heiligen Kap erzählen würdest, wie wäre das?' (STEINITZ 65)

Sy. *nən in lūlç jəçlən ki oçsar iki çoša, luw ēsəm jənçəl wōçlən* 'wenn du jetzt zum Fuchs gehen würdest, du könntest ihn um seine Milch bitten' (STEINITZ 145)

3.1.1. One aspect of the osN conditional sentence of rejected condition remains yet to be discussed, that of a possible differentiation between time levels in such sentences. Many languages distinguish between present/future and past (or completed and incompleted action) in their corresponding sentences (*if I knew/if I had known, ha tudnék/ha tudtam volna, jos tietäisin/jos olisin tietänyt*). Other languages do not make this distinction, e.g. Russian: *если бы я знал* 'if I knew/if I had known'. Northern Vogul, which has an optative-conditional mood possessing only one tense-form, distinguishes in the protasis, but not in the apodosis. OsN would seem not to distinguish between time levels in its conditional sentences of rejected condition. This is probably not due to Russian influence as the Russian language has not had such a great influence on Ostyak syntax. We can find one and the same structure in osN conditional sentences referring to different time levels. The specific time level referred to

is inferred in each case from the context. Let an example be given to illustrate this point. If we label the time level present/future as A and the past as B, we have four combination possibilities for a complete conditional sentence of rejected condition: A+A, B+B, A+B, and B+A. In English, German, Hungarian, or Finnish, one would have to construct four different sentences, but in osN one single sentence structure may express several or even all of the above combination possibilities. The sentence structure following for example occurred in the material examined with three different combination possibilities: protasis with past tense and *ki* + apodosis with past tense and *loIn*.

B+B: O *χολιόν χοϊ mà-ki ant uèritsèm, manèm uèlsat loIn* 'ha a harminc embert én nem gyózttem volna le, engemet mególte volna' (PÁPAY 29)

A+B: O *nāñ śimaś wqatan ān-kī wqsan, mīn tqān ar mūsittak wansamān*¹³ 'wenn du nicht so erfahren wärest, hätten wir viel Not gelitten' (RÉDEI 126)

B+A: Kaz. *χοράη ιάχ χοζα si nāyurēm χολəs-ki, uulβaslaη ιάχ rōt andām ōs loIn* 'ha a χοράη népnél ez a gyermek meghalt volna, a nagy folyóági nép nemzetsége (már) nem volna' (PÁPAY 165)

Examples for other sentence structures capable of representing more than one tense level combination could also be given. No sentence structure was found which referred specifically to one tense level combination.

To recapitulate, we see that osN distinguishes between conditional sentences of open and of rejected condition in most cases formally, but that in a minority of cases, i.e. those without *loIn*, this distinction must be inferred from the context. OsN does not distinguish different levels of time in its conditional sentences of rejected condition. The time levels must, as in Russian, be inferred from context.

4. Let us turn our attention now to the conditional sentence in osS, firstly to its linear arrangement and conjunctionality. In this regard three major types can be distinguished, two non-conjunctional and one conjunctional. These are: 1) protasis — indicative mood, no conjunction + apodosis — indicative or imperative, 2) protasis — verbal noun, no conjunction + apodosis — indicative or imperative, and 3) protasis — conditional conjunction *χun* with indicative mood + apodosis — indicative or imperative. Noteworthy is the complete and total lack of the conditional particle *ki*, so widespread in osN.

4.1. The first type of conditional sentence in osS, found in 40% of the conditional sentences of open condition, is that employing non-conjunctional paratactical juxtaposition of the two clauses. As in the corresponding sentences in osN the clauses are not connected through formal means. Two clauses thus juxtaposed need not necessarily form a conditional sentence, being also capable of forming temporal, concessive, etc. compound sentences. That we are dealing with a conditional sentence is made plain from context and the individual meaning of the two clauses. The widespread occurrence of this type in osS lends further credence to the hypothesis that this type is older than that with the conditional particle *ki*. Examples for this type of sentence can be found in all dialects of osS:

¹³ This is the only example found for a conditional sentence of rejected condition which uses the past tense and has *loIn* in a different position.

- C *ən mənɔ́n úr(t)χoxáttà má sáptèn tšúvà sɛ̀uərməvè̀m* 'gehst du nicht freien, werde ich deinen Hals quer durchschneiden' (VÉRTES 72)
- Kr. *χəu ótəm áttə kátšén pít, χəuá áttèn* 'bekommst du Lust, einen langen Schlaf zu schlafen, (dann) schläfst du lange' (VÉRTES 214)
- Irt. *en meden, tut en mendam* 'wenn du sie nicht gibst, fahre ich nicht' (PATKANOV 74)

4.2. The second major type of conditional sentence in osS is of an interesting nature. It, too, is non-conjunctive; there is, though, no finite verb in the protasis, its place being taken by a verbal noun. This verbal noun can have one of two forms: 1) „potential” form, the marker being *η* to which the personal possessive suffixes are added, or 2) a participle with or without a personal suffix, followed by a case suffix or a postposition. Strictly speaking, we are no longer dealing with a compound sentence and thus with a 'classic' conditional sentence, but there is no reason to exclude this sentence type from the present discussion. This type of sentence represents an ancient feature of FU syntax, i.e. subordination is expressed not with a finite verb in a subordinate clause but rather with some form of a verbal noun, very often a participial construction. This syntactic feature is still wide-spread in the Uralic languages.¹⁴

Let us turn our attention first to the „potential” form. It occurs frequently in osS. 34% of the conditional sentences of open condition employ it in the protasis, the apodosis usually containing a finite verb in the indicative or imperative. There seems to be no uniform designation for this form. FUCHS¹⁵ speaks of „Konditional und Potential”, KARJALAINEN¹⁶ of „potentialiaali”, whereas GULYA¹⁷ uses the term „conditional” for the corresponding form in osE. In meaning, the potential form with the marker *η* followed by a possessive suffix is equivalent to the English *if* + subject + verb. Any conditional conjunction would be redundant and is not found together with this form. KARJALAINEN cites several examples for this form in various osS dialects, i.a. for the Savodnija dialect: *padšrdāŋəm* 'wenn ich spreche', *podāŋəm* 'wenn ich friere', *uérāŋəm* 'wenn ich mache', etc.¹⁸ Examples:

- Sotn. *pírəivāŋəm hoχsát tšúp má pírvəivè̀m, pírvəivè̀m* 'wenn ich nach Belieben wählen kann, wähle ich ihn, ich wähle ihn' (VÉRTES 138)
- Sav. *má árat tšúvə χuǐ údvāŋəm mońt tšúvə χuǐ údvāŋəm, íəvət nátyəsà tēvəŋ* 'wenn ich ein liederkundiger Mann bin, wenn ich ein märchenkundiger Mann bin, gerate er in seines Vaters Nasenloch hinein' (VÉRTES 170)
- Irt. *menəŋen, ti-mendən, χataŋəm, ti-χattam!* 'wenn du gehst, so geh, wenn ich sterben muß, so sterbe ich' (PATKANOV 156)

4.2.1. In 14% of the conditional sentences of open condition in osS the second type of verbal noun was found (participle with or without a personal

¹⁴ Cf. P. RAVILA: B. COLLINDER, CompGr. 250 and D. R. FOKOS-FUCHS, Rolle der Syntax in der Frage nach Sprachverwandtschaft. 106.

¹⁵ PATKANOV, S.—D. R. FUCHS, Laut- und Formenlehre der südostjakischen Dialekte. Budapest, 1911.

¹⁶ KARJALAINEN, K. F., Grammatikalische Aufzeichnungen aus ostjakischen Mundarten. Herausgegeben von E. VÉRTES. MSFOu. 128.

¹⁷ GULYA, J., Eastern Ostyak Chrestomathy. Bloomington 1966.

¹⁸ KARJALAINEN: op. cit., p. 64.

suffix, followed by a case suffix or a postposition). In the case of these latter verbal nouns the importance of context must not be underestimated since they are used in other sentence types as well (particularly as temporal qualifiers) and are thus not specifically conditional. In conditional sentences of open condition the present participle was used in most cases (12 out of 14) as the basis of the verbal noun, in two cases the past participle. In eight cases out of 14 the locative case suffix *-nə* was added to the suffixed or non-suffixed participle. Otherwise, various postpositions (*kemnə*,¹⁹ *tatnə*,²⁰ *piš*²¹) were used after the participle. These postpositions, it must be noted, are used most often with a temporal meaning. Present Participle + Locative Suffix:

D *m̄n t̄əm ɪəβɪ ʒ̄əuatt̄əm̄nə ʌŋcət oxt̄ɛyɪt̄ it̄ s̄āɪəmpət̄* 'wenn ich jenen Uhu von der Stadtstange (herunter) schieße, rollt er hinunter' (VÉRTES 59)

C *χ̄əv̄ə̀n̄ə nūn̄ən̄ t̄ənd̄ə n̄əŋ pūnt̄s̄ə n̄əŋ ɔ̄m̄ətt̄əm̄nə . . .* 'wenn ich sie dir später (als) Frau ohne Brautpreis, (als) zu heiratende Frau hinsetze . . .' (VÉRTES 75)

Present Participle + *kemnə*:

Kr. *m̄ɪnt̄ ɹ̄ətt̄ən̄ k̄əm̄nə m̄ɪn ɹ̄ər̄əm̄ m̄ənt̄s̄ t̄āχ̄āɪə s̄um̄ət̄ n̄ər̄əm̄ ɛt̄* 'wenn du mich tötest, entsteht eine Birkenrute auf der Stelle, wo mein Blut wegfließt' (VÉRTES 206)

In PATKANOV'S collection of texts two instances were found for the usage of a past participle in a conditional sentence of open condition. In each case the participle appears with a personal suffix and the postposition *piš*:

Irt. *m̄an̄ ʒ̄əst̄id̄əm̄ ʌī k̄edem̄ ɛnt̄ χ̄ūt̄m̄en̄-piš . . . ɔ̄n̄χ̄set̄em̄* 'hörst du aber nicht auf das Wort . . . werde ich berühren' (PATKANOV 92)

4.4. The fourth and last major type of conditional sentence in osS is the only one using a conditional conjunction. *χun* was used in the protasis together with the indicative in 12% of the conditional sentences of open condition. As has been seen, this usage occurs also in osN where it is, however, not very common and does not represent a major type. It is thus more widespread in osS without at the same time being a „serious rival” to the more frequent types. As in osN, *χun* is primarily a temporal conjunction in osS. Its use as a conditional conjunction is very likely a newer development in the Ostyak language. In his dictionary, Steinitz²² lists *χun* with the definition 'wenn' only for DN. This conditional meaning would, however, seem to be more wide-spread in osS, occurring in my material in D, C, Sav., Kr., and Irt:

D *χun̄ ɪ̄əv̄ə̀v̄ən̄ t̄ut̄nə s̄ərm̄əv̄ə tī ɪ̄əv̄ən̄* 'wenn du ihn verlierst, dann stirbst du' (VÉRTES 48)

C *χun̄ t̄āχ̄ā m̄ər̄ətt̄əm̄ χ̄əɪ̄ət̄ ɛn̄v̄ ʌ̄ɪ̄v̄əɪ̄ m̄ə t̄ə ɹ̄ətt̄āɪ̄əm̄* 'wenn nicht bald der Mensch, der ihn zerbrochen hat, gefunden wird, da werde ich getötet' (VÉRTES 95)

¹⁹ Cf. STEINITZ, DEWO 633—634. *kem* is listed with the meaning 'ein gewisses Maß, eine gewisse Menge'. With the locative case suffix *-nə* we find the definition 'zur Zeit von, um; nach; als'.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 810. STEINITZ gives the definition 'Zeit, Termin; Ziel, Grenze, Zielstreifen' for *tat*.

²¹ Cf. MSZFE 173—174 and KT: 752—753. The Ostyak particle with the meaning 'Mal: Schicht, Strähne' is related to the Hungarian *fágy*. The original FU meaning was likely 'Reihe, Schicht; drehen, winden, schichtweise aufeinander legen'.

²² STEINITZ, DEWO 444.

Irt. *χυν χαΰαδατ úδιδεν, tut ent júguttan* 'wenn du mit einem Manne gelebt hast, dann kommst du nicht hinüber' (PATKANOV 128)

4.5. As in osN, in the overwhelming majority of the cases the protasis precedes the apodosis in osS. Of the 113 conditional sentences, only four had the opposite order: apodosis + protasis. In three of these sentences the apodosis contains an imperative, the protasis containing the potential form:

Kr. *tèrmàt tòmpə tèrmàt jəuá, mánt yatà mòsāηə* 'eiliger als eilig komm, wenn du mich nehmen willst' (VÉRTES 212)

Irt. *mená, metta vèren tájanen* 'geh hin, wenn du (da) irgendein Geschäft hast' (PATKANOV 26)

5. As is only to be expected, the number of conditional sentences of open condition in osS is far greater than those of rejected condition, the ratio 88%/12% being for all practical purposes the same as in osN. As regards the usage of the tenses in conditional sentences of open condition, nothing new need be added here. The remarks on the combination possibilities of the indicative past and present and the imperative in osN apply also to the osS conditional sentences of open condition. The differences between osN and osS sentences of open condition have already been discussed, i.e. the employment in osS of a verbal noun or a conditional conjunction.

5.1. There is a great difference between osN and osS as regards their conditional sentences of rejected condition. Of the three elements instrumental in the formation of the protases of osN conditional sentences of rejected condition, *ki*, *lòln*, and the past indicative, not one is to be found in the corresponding osS protases. Instead, the following elements are important for rejected condition: 1) a verbal noun consisting of the past participle with or without a personal suffix, followed by a case suffix, usually the locative, 2) the particle of unreality *adaη* (*ádaη*, *átaη*)²³, and 3) the past indicative, but restricted to the protasis.

As has been seen, a verbal noun, having in the main a present participle as its base, was used in 14% of the osS conditional sentences of open condition. In the osS conditional sentences of rejected condition a verbal noun, practically always with the past participle as its base, was found in 100% of the cases. In no case was a finite verb found in the protasis. In the apodosis, on the other hand, we find in almost every case the indicative past. Only one instance was found for the usage of a present participle in the protasis and the present indicative in the apodosis in a conditional sentence of rejected condition. The past participle is used with or without a personal suffix being attached, followed by a case suffix. In the overwhelming majority of the verbal nouns the locative case was used (e.g. *χot/me/m/nə*), sporadically one finds the instrumental case (e.g. *tòmət/me/m/at*). In contrast to the verbal nouns used in conditional sentences of open condition no postpositions occurred instead of the simple case suffix. It must be noted that such a verbal noun is not specifically conditional but occurs extensively in a temporal meaning. Once again, context

²³ Ibid., p. 84. A Vogul counterpart to the Ostyak particles of unreality is *olk* (*olχ*) which is to be found in most Konda sentences of rejected condition.

and the individual meaning of the two clauses determine whether a sentence is a conditional one or not.

atan is the osS counterpart to the osN *loIn*. While being a particle of unreality like *loIn*, *atan* is not used in exactly the same way. It occurred in only 8 out of 14 sentences of rejected condition, i.e. with not quite the same frequency. In contrast to *loIn*, *atan* occurred primarily in the apodosis alone (six times) and only once each in the protasis alone or in both clauses. Examples for osS conditional sentences of rejected condition:

Protasis: Past Participle/Locative Suffix + Apodosis: Past Indicative

Kr. *tömtär ulät uχ pänmān nai arkit sīrē uīmēmns tēgātētāt ēi āt χōtmēmns ēuēn ūntēp χuī zōn ōt nūmēm* 'hätte ich früher diese kopfbedeckten Fürstentjungfern gesehen, hätte ich mit ihnen eine Nacht übernachtet, ich Mann mit Tochter (zeugendem) Innern würde mich zehn Jahre (lang) erinnern' (VÉRTES 218)

Protasis: Past Participle/Instrumental Suffix + Apodosis: Past Indicative

Irt. *noten mēget tōrenēmīvet pītmen uīmēm-at, ūgema sorūnī ōnet ēdōt* 'hätte ich deinen Pfeil bemerkt, als er mich in die Lunge (?) meiner Brust traf, so wäre auf meinem Haupte ein goldenes Horn gewachsen' (PATKANOV 70)

adan in Apodosis:

Kr. *tēpēn nīmāl uāχta kərəl uāχta ār nūrāt ent tēpēmns tēpēn χātχār sākātāt it morājāt ātan* 'wäre der Fußboden des Hausflurs nicht mit vielen blech-eisernen (und) metalleisernen Haken befestigt gewesen, wären wohl die Bretter des Hausflurs heruntergebrochen' (VÉRTES 227)

In this connection I should like to comment on E. Vértés's translation of several Ostyak sentences collected by H. Paasonen. Edith Vértés, an internationally recognized authority on the Ostyak language, undertook in the early 60's the editing and publishing of Paasonen's grammatical notes on the Konda and Jugan dialects.²⁴ Paasonen noted six sentences with the particle *atan* without, however, providing a translation. In her publication of Paasonen's unpublished notes, Vértés gives a German translation of these sentences. Five of these sentences have the same structure as the conditional sentences of rejected condition discussed above, i.e. verbal noun (past participle/personal suffix/case suffix) in the protasis, past indicative + *atan* in the apodosis. Vértés translates these sentences either as conditional sentences of open condition or as temporal sentences. As noted above, the verbal nouns are ambivalent and indeed usually temporal, the exact meaning being determined through the context. In the case of these isolated sentences there is no context, though, which means that more than one translation is possible. I therefore by no means maintain that Vértés's translation is incorrect. I do feel, however, that for at least some of these sentences a translation with a conditional sentence of rejected condition would be apter. As examples I should like to quote two of Paasonen's sentences, first with Vértés's translation and then with my own. It must be emphasized once more that in the lack of any context it is not possible to determine one specific correct translation.

tam wēr ūīmēmns ēā māχ χuī kītāpēnā nīpā mēmēm qātēn 'falls du diese Angelegenheit sahst, ging ich wohl nicht in das fremde Land'²⁵ — 'wenn

²⁴ PAASONEN, H., Ostjakische grammatikalische Aufzeichnungen nach den Dialekten an der Konda und am Jugan. Herausgegeben von E. VÉRTES. JSFOu. 66.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 59.

du diese Angelegenheit gesehen hättest, wäre ich nicht in das fremde Land gegangen'

tam wër ütmemnə ənà məγ χùì kittāpənà ŋtpà mənəm atàŋ 'wenn ich diese Sache erlebt habe, ging ich wohl nicht in das fremde Land'²⁶ — 'wenn ich diese Sache erlebt hätte, wäre ich nicht ins fremde Land gegangen'

As shown in the above, there are manifold differences between osN and osS in the formation of their conditional sentences both of open and of rejected condition. They are similar, though, in that different time levels are not distinguished in the conditional sentences of rejected condition. Just as in osN, one and the same structure in osS can refer to the present/future or to the past, the context deciding what is meant. To cite just one example, the following structure was found in three different tense level combinations: protasis — past participle/locative suffix and apodosis — past indicative/*ataŋ*.

A+A: Sav. *uāχsamēp iux ənv ūdāmnə tšūbà murtòt ādan* 'wäre der Baum nicht (einer) mit eisernem Innern, wäre er etwa quer durchgebrochen' (VÉRTES 148)

B+A: D *iaβz tad ütmetne tšūγar ādan saptat tšūba mənēmaì* 'wäre der Uhu hier gewesen, wäre (schon) der Hals des Hasen mit einem Ruck durch gerissen' (VÉRTES 54)

B+B: Kr. *tə χulèn uimèynə χōuān uètèu ātan* 'hätten wir nun diese Angelegenheit gewußt, hätten wir (dich) wohl schon längst getötet' (VÉRTES 208)

6. The third and last major dialect group of the Ostyak language is the eastern dialect group. This is at the same time the Ostyak dialect group on which the least research has been done. Only very few texts in osE have been published, which poses no mean problem for those interested in the Ostyak language. In contrast to osN and osS only a small number of conditional sentences could be collected for this study. As a result of this, no true analysis of the conditional sentence can be offered. This will only become possible when a considerably larger amount of osE texts has been published.

7. A total of only 42 conditional sentences of open condition in osE could be gathered from the material at hand; of these, 22 are from V, Vj. and 20 from the Surgut dialect group (Tra., Pim). No texts were available from Sal. These sentences are, of course, not enough to serve as a representative cross-section of osE, a thorough analysis having perforce to await the appearance of additional material, and can serve only to give an idea of the conditional sentence structures to be found in osE.

The sentence patterns which we find in osE are markedly similar to those of osS. Firstly, there were scattered examples in both V (Vj.) and Surgut of non-conjunctive paratactical juxtaposition of the two clauses, the protasis containing a finite verb, e.g.:

Pim *měna, pāγalem, top mōwəli wuΔən, kojayi ōjəγtəΔən, wičə rāγpəŋkə wāΔə!* 'menj, fiacs-kám, de (ha) valamit látsz, valakivel találkozol, mindig rava-sz légy!' (HONTI: NyK 79: 224)

Quite widespread in Surgut, but not occurring in the few sentences of open condition from V (Vj.) is the usage of the temporal/conditional conjunction *kuntə* with a finite verb in the protasis. *kuntə* was found in over 50% of the

²⁶ Ibid.

sentences from Sur. Noteworthy is its position in the clause. In osN and osS the conjunction introduced the clause; *kuntə* in osE stands at the end of it: Pim *ös wǎjɔɔΔΔən kuntə, mə ös kǔnΔəm* 'ha ismét megbántasz, ismét elmene-külök' (HONTI: NyK 79: 229)

Tra. *mǔnΔən kuntə, mǔnə!* 'ha mész, (hát) menj' (HONTI: NyK 80: 132)

In osE, too, one finds examples for the usage of a verbal noun in the protasis of a conditional sentence. The most common form was the „potential” form (marker *η* with possessive suffix) which in the V (Vj.) examples accounted for the great majority. In the Sur. examples it did not occur so frequently.

V *nǔŋ, — tǎ litot wǎhwǎl, — litǎ jǔŋən, liyǎ* 'here is food, — if you want to eat, eat'²⁷ (TEREŠKIN 104)

mǎ tǐ kul liŋəm, mǎnłəm '(if) I eat this fish, I shall go (away)' (GULYA 121)

In Trj. (Tra.) the potential form and a finite verb followed by *kuntə* would seem to be regarded as being synonymous. Karjalainen's remarks are quite interesting in this respect. His two informants were not in agreement on this grammatical point, one using the potential *mǔŋŋəm*, while the other replaced it with *mǔŋΔəm kuntə* (both meaning 'if I go').²⁸ A further illustration of this is given in a Tra. text supplied by Honti. The same conditional sentence occurs in the same context, but once a finite verb with *kuntə* is used, once the potential form:

Tra. *mǎntem mǔtΔekke jǔΔən kuntə, jǔyǎ, ǔntə jǔΔən kuntə, ǎΔ jǔyǎ! ~ mǎntem mǔtΔekke jǔkŋə, jǔyǎ! ǔntə jǔkŋə, ǎΔ jǔyǎ!* 'ha számomra valamivé lesz, légy, ha nem lesz, ne légy' (HONTI: NyK 80: 132)

An interesting occurrence in Tra. is the usage of the particle *kǎ* as a conditional particle in the protasis.²⁹ Whether this is related to the osN *ki* has not been clarified. There is at least one important difference: whereas *ki* in osN is usually used together with a finite verb, *kǎ* in both examples available follows a verbal noun (present participle with possessive suffix).

Tra. *ös mǎ kijtam kǎ ruł kǎntɔy tɔy tǎ ǎtŋə kǔΔnə wǎΔΔi* 'ha engem elhagy, hogyan ölik meg őt az emberek, amikor megjelenek' (HONTI: NyK 80: 128)

tǔm jǎkə jǔy ǎttan kǎ ǎǎ ǔktΔən kuntə, kiŋ pǎtΔəmtɔyət, ǎmp sǎy ǎrtə ǔj ko ǎΔ kiłtal 'ha hazaérsz és ha fegyveres csapatot gyűjtesz, betegség leljen meg benneteket (úgy, hogy még) egy kutyát széthasítani képes ember se maradjon' (HONTI: NyK 80: 136)

The question arises in connection with these verbal nouns whether or not osE has conditional sentences of open condition in the protasis of which we find a verbal noun such as in osS consisting of the present participle, a possessive suffix, and a case suffix. Such a form did not occur in the scanty material at hand, but can by no means be ruled out. In his survey of the Surgut dialects, Honti mentions such forms and indeed supplies a paradigm (*ma wǎr|t|am|nə, nǔŋ wǎr|t|an|nə*, 'wenn ich mache, usw.').³⁰ He discusses, though,

²⁷ An English translation is provided instead of the Russian translation to be found in TERESKIN.

²⁸ KARJALAINEN: op. cit., p. 269.

²⁹ The particle is also listed for Sal. (*ka*) in: N. I. TEREŠKIN, Slovar vostočno-chantyjskich dialektov. Moskva—Leningrad, 1981. p. 282.

³⁰ L. HONTI, Beobachtungen über die Laut- und Formenlehre gegenwärtiger Surguter Mundarten des Ostjakischen. ALH 27: 285.

only the temporal use of these forms. In osS, these forms are used mostly in temporal sentences but occur in conditional sentences as well. One could with some justification expect that these verbal nouns can also be employed in osE conditional sentences. Proof or rebuttal will depend, however, on a larger body of material being made available from osE.

8. As regards conditional sentences of rejected condition in osE, the possibilities of analysis are even worse than for those of open condition, a total of only six being found in the material at hand. To complicate matters even more, all of these sentences occurred in V (Vj.), no examples being found in the scanty material from Sur. It is, therefore, not possible to give here an analysis of the osE conditional sentence of rejected condition; only remarks on the sentences actually occurring can be made.

The conditional mood is formed in osE in general with the addition of a particle of unreality to the corresponding indicative form. (V *mà tōḡ ḡuləm* 'ich würde kommen'³¹, Vj. *mà mənłəm tōḡ* 'ich würde gehen',³² Trj. *mǝmp o: ɹən mənɹəm* 'ich würde gehen'³³ [in Trj. the personal pronoun receives the ending -p] Tra: *mà ɔɹəḡ ḡəḡəm* 'én elmennék'³⁴. This particle of unreality³⁵ occurred then in the apodosis of the conditional sentence with the past or the present tense.

In the protasis of the conditional sentence a verbal noun similar to that of osS was found. The past participle serves as a base and is usually followed by a personal suffix, after which we find the locative case suffix. No post-position occurred in place of the case suffix. One instance each was found for the usage of the present participle (+ personal suffix + locative case suffix) and for a conditional conjunction followed by the past indicative and *tōḡ*.

The particle of unreality *tōḡ* (*tōḡ*) occurred in five out of the six sentences, four times in the apodosis and once in the protasis (in the sentence containing the conditional conjunction).

Protasis: Past Participle/Locative Suffix + Apodosis: Past Indicative/*tōḡ*
V *mā nṑpik tǝjamannā tōḡ nōḡā mǝyāsım* 'if I had a book, I should have given it to you' (GULYA 122)

V *nōḡ kojmannā tōḡ kult tǝy tǝyaslan-pǝ* 'if you had wanted, then you would have brought fish here' (GULYA 122)

Protasis: *kuntǝnǝ*/Past Indicative/*tōḡ* + Apodosis: Past Indicative

V *kuntǝnǝ tōḡ mā mǝnyǝləm, tǝtnǝ lōyǝn mǝnt kǝskǝl* 'if I had gone, then he would have found me' (GULYA 122)

Protasis: Past Participle/Locative Suffix + Apodosis: Present Indicative/*tōḡ*
Vj. *ǝmǝmnǝ tōḡ tōlkǝltǝlim* 'jos olisin ottanut, sanoisin' (KARJ./VÉRTES 187)

9. As is well-known, the three major dialect groups of the Ostyak language diverge widely from one another, to which this present study bears further evidence. For this reason a separate discussion of the major dialect groups proved necessary. The differences between the dialects with regard to their conditional sentences are of two-fold nature: certain features can be

³¹ KARJALAINEN: op. cit., p. 129.

³² KARJALAINEN: op. cit., p. 174.

³³ KARJALAINEN: op. cit., p. 268.

³⁴ HONTI, Szurguti osztják szójegyzék. NyK 80: 328.

³⁵ Cf. STEINITZ, DEWO 84.

present in one or two of the dialects but are lacking in the other(s), or a certain feature can be present in more than one dialect but does not occur with the same frequency. OsN and osS are often grouped together as 'Western Ostyak' as opposed to Eastern Ostyak (osE). Interestingly enough, with regard to the conditional sentences we find more similarities between osS and osE than between osS and osN. With more material from osE it would be possible to determine more exactly the degree of affinity between the conditional sentences of the three groups.

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